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The
**BRITISH COLUMBIA
 HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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

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THE WAR SCARE OF 1854.

THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE CRIMEAN WAR.

The Crimean War grew out of the hostilities which commenced between Russia and Turkey in October, 1853. From the first it was evident that Great Britain and France might join in the conflict, and within a few months they were preparing to intervene on the side of Turkey. Under these circumstances the British Colonial Office judged it prudent to sound an alert for the benefit of the colonies. It took the form of a circular dispatch, dated February 23, 1854, which warned that Great Britain and France were preparing for all contingencies, and which instructed the British officials throughout the world to act in conformity with the alliance of the two countries by giving protection to French subjects and interests, equal to that given to British interests.¹

It was the middle of May before this dispatch reached James Douglas, Governor of the remote colony of Vancouver Island. On March 28, fully six weeks before its arrival, Great Britain had declared war; but this was not known in Vancouver Island until June, and the Governor did not receive an official notification until as late as July 16.² Stranger still, Douglas was left for some months in complete ignorance of the fact that an exchange of letters between the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company³ had resulted in an agreement between Russia and Great Britain which, for practical purposes, made the whole eastern Pacific a neutral zone. Once this agreement was concluded, the British Government naturally looked upon the defence of Vancouver Island as a simple matter, and considered that the occasional visit of a British warship would

(1) Circular, February 23, 1854, signed Clarendon; MS., Archives of B.C.

(2) James Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, July 20, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(3) For a sketch of the growth of co-operation between the two companies, *vide supra*, pp. 33-51.

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suffice. But the Government and colonists in Vancouver Island, who knew nothing of its existence, naturally worried about a possible attack from Russian America, and took steps to meet it. Nor should the fact that the threat to the colony was never great, except in the minds of the residents of Victoria, be permitted to obscure the fact that their activities were sincere demonstrations of a desire to do their utmost both for local defence and for the prosecution of the war in its larger aspects.

The circular of February 23, 1854, was accompanied by a dispatch in which Douglas was instructed to report any measures which he might have taken to protect British and French interests and toward co-operation with the British Navy.⁴ The Governor replied to these instructions on May 16, three days after he received them. Having punctiliously acknowledged the part of the dispatches which had little application to Vancouver Island by stating that he would protect French interests, Douglas passed on to the much more important question of local defence. Since the Island was without military protection, he felt that an irregular force of whites and Indians should be raised in anticipation of possible attack. He pointed out that he had no authority to raise such a force and recommended that he be so empowered. He enclosed a requisition covering the estimated costs, including those of storehouses, barracks, arming, equipping, and maintaining. In addition to this levy of men, Douglas assumed that additional protection would be afforded by a detachment of the fleet which would be stationed at Vancouver Island. He also suggested the advisability of considering an attack on Russian America, which, he considered, could be taken by a force of 500 regular troops. This action would preclude the use of Russian American ports as privateering bases, and would deprive Russia of her possessions and fur trade in America.⁵

These tentative proposals of the Governor took into consideration the three factors which were important to the colony's defence as he saw the problem at the time. These were local protection against invasion by land, maritime defence against privateers and enemy vessels, and possible aggressive measures against Russian America.

(4) Newcastle to Douglas, February 24, 1845; MS., Archives of B.C.

(5) Douglas to Newcastle, May 16, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

Unofficial news of the declaration of war reached Victoria in the middle of June, and Douglas wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company expressing surprise that nothing had been done to protect the colony, either by sea or by land.⁶ The minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island for July 12, 1854, record that consideration was given to Douglas's proposal to draft all the men in the colony capable of bearing arms, and to supplement this group with armed Indians. Douglas found that the Council opposed his plan; it was felt that the number of white men in the colony was too few to offer effective resistance against an attack, and that it was even more dangerous to arm the Indians who might turn against the white men. It was therefore decided not to call out the militia, and to leave the defence of the colony to the British Government.⁷ Her Majesty's Government, according to a dispatch to Douglas dated August 5, thought that it would be "both unnecessary and unadvisable" to give the Governor powers to spend money on a military force, in view of the directions which had been given by the Admiralty for ships of war to visit the colony.⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company had previously suggested that the presence of one or two ships in the locality of Vancouver Island would be adequate for the protection of "our" servants and colonists, and concurred in the opinion that an armed force was unnecessary, except in so far as it might serve as protection against local Indian tribes,⁹ in which latter case, the Company, by its charter, would probably have been required to pay the expenses. As a consequence Douglas was not empowered to raise an armed force, but he continued to hold the opinion that some armed force should be at his disposal.¹⁰

The one positive action taken in the colony for its defence was the chartering of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Otter*, a move which was approved by the Council at the same meeting

(6) Douglas to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, June 15, 1854, extract enclosed in John Shepherd, Deputy Governor, to Frederick Peel, August 19, 1854. Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(7) *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island* (Archives of B.C., Memoir No. II.), Victoria, 1918, pp. 24-5.

(8) Sir George Grey to Douglas, August 5, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(9) John Shepherd to Frederick Peel, August 19, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(10) Douglas to Sir George Grey, February 1, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

at which it decided against calling out the militia. The vessel and her crew of thirty were to be employed as an armed guard-ship until London took other measures for the protection of the colony.¹¹ Thus, at an estimated cost of about £600 per month, an attempt was made to alleviate the fear of attack in Victoria, particularly by privateers. It was assumed that the costs would be paid by the Imperial treasury,¹² but, since the action was taken on local responsibility, the Governor later had great difficulty in justifying and securing payment for the £400 which was incurred for the short period during which the *Otter* acted as patrol. On December 18, 1854, Sir George Grey wrote that the Government could not hold itself responsible for that charge, and regretted that Douglas had not waited for instructions before taking action.¹³ The Government was ultimately persuaded to reconsider the matter, as the Hudson's Bay Company would have had to bear the expenses incurred by the colony. In August, 1855, Douglas was finally informed that the costs would be borne by the Government,¹⁴ and in December of that year he sent his accounts for the £400.¹⁵

With modern communication facilities the colony would long since have been relieved of its feelings of concern. Had Douglas been aware of the correspondence which took place between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company during the earliest months of the war he could have reassured the residents of Victoria, and would not have been embarrassed by the measures of protection which he took on his personal responsibility.

In the middle of February, some weeks before Great Britain entered the war, the Russian American Company had obtained Imperial approval of a plan to write the Hudson's Bay Company suggesting that efforts be made to have the territories of the two companies declared neutral. The Russian company had told its Government that this matter had been tentatively discussed at the time of the lease of the *lisière* to the Hudson's Bay Com-

(11) *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island, loc. cit.*

(12) Douglas to Newcastle, August 17, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(13) Grey to Douglas, December 18, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(14) Sir William Molesworth to Douglas, August 3, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(15) Douglas to Molesworth, December 10, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

pany and that the latter had approved the idea in principle.¹⁶ Soon thereafter a letter was on its way to London, reminding the Hudson's Bay Company that Sir George Simpson in 1839 had been of the opinion that it would be to the mutual interest of the two companies to have their territories declared neutral in case of war. The Russian company was able to state that it could secure official approval, if the Hudson's Bay Company could secure the consent of the British Government to such a declaration.¹⁷

The matter had been simple to arrange in St. Petersburg, and was to be almost as easy in London. The Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company sent a copy of the Russian letter to his Government on February 28, covered by a letter which emphasized the defenceless state of the area involved.¹⁸ On March 22, Her Majesty's Government informed the company that it was willing to agree to a statement of neutrality for the territories of the two companies, but reserved the right to seize all Russian vessels and to blockade any Russian port.¹⁹ These reservations were never of significance, but the Russian American Company promptly made arrangements to have all its vessels fly neutral flags and to increase trade with California.²⁰ In the middle of May arrangements for neutrality were complete and acknowledged by both sides.²¹ The Russian fleet had been informed of

(16) Memorial of Count Nesselrode, January 23/February 4, 1854, *Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Counter Case of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1903, *Appendix*, p. 14; cited hereafter as *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*. Also issued as *Proceedings of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal* (U.S. Cong., Cong. 58, Sess. 2, S. E. 162), Washington, 1903-04, vol. IV.

(17) Major-General V. Poltkovsky, Chairman, Board of Directors, Russian American Company, to Directors of Hudson's Bay Company, February 2/14, 1854. Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(18) A. Colville to the Earl of Clarendon, February 28, 1854. Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(19) H. U. Addington to Hudson's Bay Company, March 22, 1854, *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*, p. 18.

(20) Board of Directors, Russian American Company, to Chief Manager of Colonies, April 16/28, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

(21) John Shepherd to Russian American Company, May 16, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 18.

the agreement,²² and previous orders to the British fleet²³ on the subject were soon confirmed.²⁴

Technically, Vancouver Island, as a colony, was perhaps subject to attack by Russia. While the Government in St. Petersburg may have realized this, its official attitude was conditioned by the attitude and position of the Russian American Company. That organization had a complete monopoly of all phases of Russian activity in America. The Hudson's Bay Company had previously occupied a similar position, and a dual relationship continued in the new colony of Vancouver's Island. No Russian attack on the colony would have failed to harm the Hudson's Bay Company. It is doubtful if the northeastern Pacific was given much serious consideration in either London or St. Petersburg, except by officials of the companies.

Douglas reported that the colony was in "a state of perfect tranquility" in December, 1854, there being no rumours of attack from the enemy.²⁵ However, in acknowledging dispatches which disapproved of his somewhat ambitious plans of the previous summer, he became almost plaintive on the subject of his inability to allay the fears of the inhabitants by more concrete measures than passing on promises that the colony would be visited by ships of war. During 1854 only once had the colony been paid such a visit.²⁶

The first year of the war saw the completion of the neutrality agreement and the clarification of the policy of defence of the area solely by the British fleet. The year 1855 found the colony acting in co-operation with the Pacific Squadron in several ways and collecting for the Patriotic Fund.

The story of the colony's co-operation with the squadron, while marked with traces of discouragement, is of historic interest because it tells of the beginnings of Esquimalt as a naval

(22) Minister of Finance to Admiral of Fleet, April 8/20, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

(23) Lord Clarendon to the Admiralty, March 22, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(24) R. Osborne to Rear-Admiral David Price, May 4, 1854; M.S., Archives of B.C.

(25) Douglas to Archibald Barclay, December 20, 1854; MS., Archives of B.C.

(26) Douglas to Grey, February 1, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

base. In February, 1855, Rear-Admiral Henry W. Bruce, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station, wrote Governor Douglas from Valparaiso requesting that provisions, coal, and temporary hospital accommodation be made ready for a visit of the fleet in July. While the assembling of the supplies was a worry, the significance of this task was less than that laid before the colony in the request for a hospital.

One of the items required was 1,000 tons of coal. When he received the letter, Douglas was hopeful that this could be assembled by the time the fleet arrived. The meats he planned to secure from Fort Nisqually. Vegetables were difficult to procure, but Douglas hoped to secure these also.²⁷ Orders were sent to the superintendent of the coal-mines at Nanaimo for the coal; the agent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was instructed to forward 2,000 sheep and as much beef as possible, and the residents of the colony were informed of the coming visit of the fleet and encouraged to raise vegetables to fill the prospective demand. In addition, Douglas was of the opinion that the Admiral should appoint a commissary officer to remain in Victoria as agent for the purchase of foods from the colony and from the American settlements.²⁸ Since the colony could not produce enough, Douglas apparently had sent agents to Puget Sound to gather together live stock.²⁹ At the end of June Douglas himself went to Nanaimo in connection with the coal delivery, and reported that some 900 sheep and 40 head of cattle were in readiness for the fleet.³⁰ The supplying of the fleet was completed to the pride and satisfaction of Douglas.³¹ The hospital was a more thorny problem. Douglas decided the scope of this project largely on his own responsibility and found his action difficult to justify, although less so than in the case of the chartering of the *Otter*.

(27) Douglas to Barclay, April 25, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(28) Douglas to Rear-Admiral Bruce, May 8, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(29) Douglas to the Colonial Secretary, June 13, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(30) Douglas to Bruce, June 28, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(31) Douglas to William G. Smith, September 14, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

The phrasing of Rear-Admiral Bruce's request for temporary hospital accommodation was vague. Douglas was quick to detect that little was said on the subject of costs; indeed, he thought the Rear-Admiral evaded the issue.³² Despite doubts that the colony might eventually have to pay for the buildings, he went ahead with plans. Having found that there was no suitable building available, the Governor and Council decided to erect several buildings at Esquimalt.³³

Three buildings were completed by the end of June,³⁴ at an expense of £938/3/6.³⁵ The Governor was firmly convinced that they were the most economically built structures in the colony.³⁶ Each of the interconnected buildings was 30 by 50 feet and had 12-foot ceilings and large windows. There was an operating room, a kitchen, an apartment for the surgeon, and two wards, capable of accommodating 100 patients.³⁷

The hospital was adequate for an emergency greater than that created when the squadron visited the colony on its return from Petropaulovski in the fall of 1854. At that time those wounded at the siege of the Russian port were taken on to San Francisco.³⁸ In view of the fact that only one patient, an engineer very ill with scurvy,³⁹ occupied the hospital during the visit of the squadron in July, 1855, on its return from its second visit to Petropaulovski, the expense of almost £1,000 might well have seemed excessive to Rear-Admiral Bruce. He expressed surprise at the expense to which the colony had gone, and wondered if an existing building might not have been adapted for the purpose. Douglas replied with a long statement of his reasons for making a permanent investment in well and cheaply constructed buildings, in preference to modifying a structure which

(32) Douglas to Barclay, April 25, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(33) Douglas to Bruce, May 8, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(34) Douglas to Bruce, June 28, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(35) Douglas to Smith, September 14, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(36) *Ibid.*, September 21, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(37) *Ibid.*, October 10, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(38) W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 182.

(39) Douglas to Smith, July 19, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

would have remained the property of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.⁴⁰ The accounts, however, were not challenged by the Government in London.

"I think you would find it convenient to make this place a sick Depot, or what is better a general naval Depot for the Pacific Fleet." So wrote Douglas to Bruce in August, 1855.⁴¹ The erection of the hospital had a definite relation to this idea, for it marked the beginning of Esquimalt's fifty-year history as a British naval base.

Although Vancouver Island was visited a number of times in 1855 by British warships, the base at Esquimalt was not of importance in the strategy of the war in the Pacific. It was a convenient supply-point and not much more. This limitation was a direct result of the neutrality agreement made between the fur-trading companies of the nations at war. Had the agreement not been consummated the course of northwestern American history might well have been altered. Russia would have had to defend Sitka and other American ports, but would also have had bases for possible attacks on British Columbia.

It seems inconceivable that, at least, the import of the arrangement was not promptly communicated to Governor Douglas. Apparently, however, he received no official information on the subject until September, 1855. This represented a delay of over a year, and is a possible clue to the amount of thought given to the colony during the war. If Douglas knew of the agreement before this time he did not feel free to transmit his information to the colonists or to mention it in his official dispatches. At long last, he was sent copies of official instructions to the Admiralty on the subject of respecting the neutrality of Russian American Company's territory, and these provided him with the information by which he could allay the fears of the colonists.⁴² The unusual nature of the agreement may have accounted for the secrecy observed; but, whatever the reason, the colony apparently remained in ignorance to a very late date, despite its close connection with the Hudson's Bay Company and

(40) Douglas to Bruce, October 25, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(41) *Ibid.*, August 3, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(42) Lord John Russell to Douglas, June 20, 1855; Douglas to Russell, September 21, 1855; MSS., Archives of B.C.

despite the visit of ships of the fleet in 1854. Both the company and officers of the fleet were, of course, well aware of the agreement by the fall of 1854.

At the beginning of the war several Russian warships were in the Pacific. As a result of the agreement these vessels were forced to depend for a base on Petropaulovski, on the eastern side of the Kamchatka peninsula. Accordingly the naval strategy was confined to the northwestern part of the ocean, where the very weak Russian squadron made its base. An attack on Petropaulovski in the fall of 1854 was unsuccessful, perhaps because of the suicide of Rear-Admiral Price just before the attack started. When an augmented British and French squadron returned to the attack in May, 1855, it found that the Russians had slipped away, and was forced to content itself with the destruction of the fortifications.

Throughout the war the neutrality agreement was respected by both sides. On July 11, 1855, the Pacific squadron, on its return from Petropaulovski, approached Sitka. The Russians were alarmed and sent the Governor's secretary and a translator out to meet H.M. screw sloop *Brisk*. Rear-Admiral Bruce asked questions concerning ships in Sitka harbour, and left a package of newspapers. The squadron left without entering the harbour.⁴³

Vancouver Island came through the war unscathed. It had demonstrated its spirit of co-operation in a number of ways. It made what would seem to be an excellent showing in collecting contributions for war work. A Patriotic Fund had been established in Great Britain for the purpose of supporting the wives and families of members of the armed forces who fell in action. On receipt of instructions, Douglas promptly appointed a committee composed of Rev. Edward Cridge, the chaplain; Robert Barr, the master of the school; and James Yates, to organize the campaign.⁴⁴ This action was taken in May, 1855, and four months later over £60 had been collected. This amount,

(43) Report of the Board of Directors of the Russian American Company, November 16/28, 1855, *Counter Case of the United States, Appendix*, pp. 20-21. Douglas to Sir George Simpson, August 7, 1855; MS., Archives of B.C.

(44) Grey to Douglas, January 23, 1855; Douglas to Rev. Edward Cridge, May 16, 1855; MSS., Archives of B.C.

which seems large for a small settlement, was warmly acknowledged.⁴⁵ The same committee was appointed in 1856 to collect for the Nightingale Fund.⁴⁶

In general, the conduct of the new colony of Vancouver Island during the test of war was honourable. While there was fear, discouragement for the officials, and somewhat casual treatment by the Home Government, the colony showed its willingness to do its utmost in meeting the challenge.

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REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA.

(45) Douglas to Cridge, September 7, 1855; H. Gardiner Fishbourne, Honourary Secretary, Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund, to Douglas, December 10, 1855; MSS., Archives of B.C.

(46) Douglas to Cridge, May 19, 1856; MS., Archives of B.C.

SIMILKAMEEN TRAILS, 1846-61.*

The story of the discovery and development of transcontinental communications across the northern portion of North America is one beset with accounts of difficulties encountered by those travellers who had the hardihood to brave the unfriendly mountain barriers and forbidding swiftly running rivers of New Caledonia, as British Columbia was then called. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson were the fore-runners of others who, in their own particular way, were not less intrepid, even though their expeditions leaned towards a commercial, rather than a scientific or exploratory, end.

The Hudson's Bay Company, under the energetic leadership of Governor Simpson, in the early 1820's was expanding into new areas and sending out its men to reconnoitre new trapping-grounds and fresh routes of transport. Keen as Simpson was to develop the fur trade to its utmost, he did not consider that the Fraser River could ever become a waterway of communication such as was the Columbia. In 1826, in answer to the questions of Henry Addington, British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he says:—

. . . It is not my opinion that it [Fraser River] affords a communication by which the interior Country can be supplied from the coast, or that it can be depended on as an outlet for the returns of the interior. I will further . . . take the liberty of giving it as my opinion that if the Navigation of the Columbia is not free to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that the Territory to the Northward of it is not secured to them, they must abandon and curtail their Trade in some parts, and probably be constrained to relinquish it on the West side of the Rocky Mountains altogether.¹

Again, in 1828, after his canoe voyage from Hudson Bay to the Pacific in company with Archibald McDonald, he reported: "Frasers & Thompsons Rivers which never were passed, until this Season by my Canoes, are found exceedingly dangerous even

* Grateful acknowledgment is made of the generous assistance rendered by Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Provincial Archivist, in checking many of the historical details of this article.

(1) Otto Klotz (*comp.*), *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office and of the Hudson's Bay Company copied from original documents, London, 1898, Ottawa, 1899, part II., pp. 7-8.*

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to perfectly light Craft under the most skilful management, & in the most favorable state of the water, & cannot under any circumstances be attempted by loaded craft. . . .”²

Such remained the opinion in regard to the unnavigability of Fraser River up to the time of the settling of the Oregon Boundary Treaty in 1846, which made the providing of an all-British route to the interior of New Caledonia a pressing necessity.³ Although rights of navigation of the Columbia River were still retained for British subjects by the terms of the Treaty, an alternative route which might supplement or even eventually supersede the usual line of communication was considered desirable. This eventuality became an actuality on the outbreak of an Indian uprising in Oregon in the year 1848, which situation Alexander Caulfield Anderson summarized as follows:—

Victoria, however, did not at once spring into importance, even as a Hudson’s Bay depot. It was not until 1848, in consequence of an Indian outbreak locally known in Oregon as the “Cayouse War,” that the utility of the position, from a British point of view, became strikingly apparent. The communications along the Columbia River (secured to British subjects by the Oregon Treaty) were stopped through circumstances and it became suddenly necessary, for the interior supply, to force a passage to the sea by another route—avoiding that portion of Fraser River, practically unnavigable, lying between the vicinity of Alexandria and the head of navigation on the lower Fraser, now occupied by the town of Yale. The probability of this exigency, however, had not been overlooked by the agents of the Hudson Bay Company—at that time, as I have said, with their dependents, the sole civilized occupants of the interior. In the summers of 1846 and 1847 explorations under an experienced officer had been made; lines of communication had been traced; and when, in 1848, the Cayouse War suddenly broke out, these lines of transit were through many difficulties, made available.⁴

(2) Simpson to William Smith, November 17, 1828. In Frederick Merk, *Fur trade and empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 300. For an account of this voyage see Malcolm McLeod (*ed.*), *Peace River*, Ottawa, 1872.

(3) “. . . In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood, that nothing in this Article shall be construed as preventing, or intended to prevent, the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers, not inconsistent with the present Treaty.” Portion of Article II. of the Oregon Boundary Treaty, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1845–46, XXXIV., pp. 14–15.

(4) A. C. Anderson, *A Brief Account of the Province of British Columbia, its climate and resources*, Victoria, 1883, pp. 3–4.

Anderson, a valued servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a man of diverse gifts, had foreseen, in 1845, the probability of the closing of the Columbia River to the company brigades. In his *History of the Northwest Coast*, written in 1878, he commented:—

I judged it prudent therefore, to endeavor to provide . . . some route of access to the sea which might supplement and perhaps eventually supersede our usual route of communication, via the Columbia River . . . I accordingly, wrote to the Governor (Sir George Simpson) in council at Norway House . . . and requested to be allowed . . . to explore a route to Fort Langley on the lower Fraser through a tract of country at that time practically unknown.⁵

This proposal was accepted, and because of "his active habits and experience in Caledonia," Anderson was considered "fully competent to carry it into effect."⁶ Thus to him must go the honour of first penetrating the barriers of the Hope Mountains and proving the possibility of a communication between the navigable waters of the lower Fraser River and the rolling plains of the Thompson River district.

An examination of existing records and maps has been made to determine, if possible, the exact location of the early trails which were subsequently followed. These routes comprise A. C. Anderson's 1846 and 1847 explorations, the Brigade trails, the Hope or Dewdney trail, and the Whatcom trails, each of which will be discussed in turn.

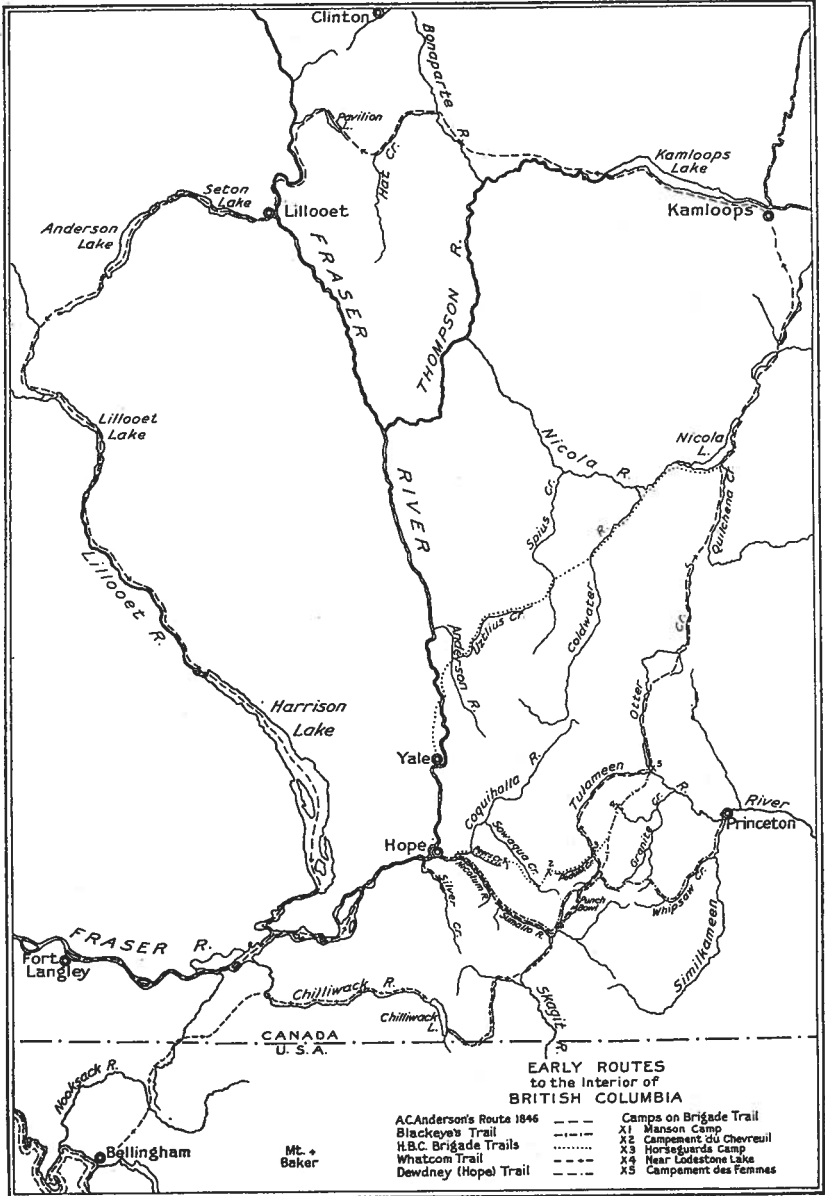
A. C. ANDERSON'S ROUTES.⁷

On May 15, 1846, Anderson set out from Fort Kamloops on Thompson River with a party of five men to examine, as had been suggested by Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden, the route west of Fraser River by the chain of lakes from Lillooet to

(5) A. C. Anderson, *History of the Northwest Coast*, pp. 50-51. MS., Academy of Pacific Coast History, University of California, Berkeley, California. Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(6) Extract, Peter Skene Ogden to Messrs. Tod and Manson, October 22, 1845. Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(7) Two original manuscript maps of this locale by A. C. Anderson are preserved in the Archives of B.C., i.e., *Original sketch of Exploration between 1846 and 1849*; and *Map of a portion of the Colony of British Columbia compiled from various sources, including original Notes from personal exploration between the years 1832 and 1851*, 23rd May, 1867.



Harrison River.⁸ They travelled by way of Kamloops Lake, Thompson River, Bonaparte River, Hat Creek, and Pavilion Creek to the Indian village of Pavilion; thence via Fraser River to the mouth of Cayoosh Creek, near the present site of Lillooet. From there the trail followed Cayoosh Creek, Seton Creek, Anderson Lake, Gates River, Birkenhead River, Lillooet (Anderson's Harrison) River, Lillooet Lake, Harrison Lake, and Fraser River to Fort Langley, which was reached on May 24th. Horses and canoes were used whenever practicable and, to expedite matters and do away with troublesome packs, the party "lived on the country."

The return trip, which was begun on May 28, was first of all by canoe up the Fraser to the mouth of Silver (Anderson's Tlae-Kullum) Creek, where a landing was made, and an investigation of the possibilities of a trail to the eastward executed with negative results. Returning to the river the journey was resumed by canoe to the mouth of the Coquihalla (Anderson's Que-que-alla) River. Having reached this river they proceeded up it to the Nicolum River, up that river, and thence down Sumallo (Anderson's Simal-â-ouch or Simall-â-ow) Creek to Skagit River; then up the Skagit and Snass (Anderson's Sk-hâ-ist) Rivers to the East Fork of the Snass. This branch of the Snass was followed to the divide which was crossed to join the Tulameen at a small lake which Anderson likened to the Committee's Punch Bowl in the Rocky Mountains. Thus the name "Punch Bowl" or "Governor and Council's Punch Bowl" was given, and the lake was referred to as such by the early map-makers and writers until, with the giving up of the route for better lines of communication, its exact location became uncertain. In recent years, however, owing to the detailed topographical surveys made by the late R. D. McCaw and Mr. G. J. Jackson, one is now able to follow Anderson's exact route without any possibility of doubt.

From the "Punch Bowl" Anderson's route lay down the Tulameen River to Otter Creek, near the present site of Tula-

(8) Judge F. W. Howay gives an exhaustive account of Anderson's expeditions in his "The Raison d'être of Forts Yale and Hope," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, xvi., 1922, section II., pp. 49-64. See also J. C. Goodfellow, "Fur and Gold in Similkameen," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, ii., 1938, pp. 67-88.

meen, where, opportunely, the Indian known as "Black-eye"⁹ was met. Black-eye offered to guide Anderson's party by "a shorter and better road to fall upon the track to Kamloops," instead of going to "the Red Earth Fork" (Princeton) where an arrangement had been made to meet the horses. This offer was readily accepted and Black-eye sent his son-in-law to have the horses brought from the Fork. Under Black-eye's direction the party crossed by way of Otter Creek to the vicinity of Myren Creek. Thence "across through a fine country till we fall on the Zouchameen road a little above the Rocher de la Biche." This "cut-off" was evidently up the valley of Myren Creek and down that of Gulliford Creek to again join Otter Creek, thus avoiding following around the bend of the latter. The route was then "10 ms Westward of N, then 5ms: NNE to encampment on McDonald's or Bourdignon's river"—apparently up Otter Creek to an encampment on Quilchena Creek. From this camp the road followed the river 6 miles to Nicola Lake and along its eastern

(9) "This old man, in whom, from his long connexion with the Fort at Thompson's River, and the character he has borne, I have much confidence, informed me that there exists a reluctance on the part of the Fraser's River Indians to our opening a road in this direction; from a dread of its affording facilities to the Indians of the Similkameen to make war upon them. He even went so far as to state that Pahallak, (a chief who had been engaged by C. T. Yale and sent on to Kamloops as guide, but with whom I did not fall in) had tampered with him, to deter him from rendering us any effectual assistance. This statement, which from several concurrent circumstances wears an air of likelihood, may afford a clue to the urgent desire of the guide I procured at Fort Langley to conduct us by the rugged and impracticable defile of the Tlae-Kullum. But I am of opinion that this reluctance, admitting its existence, is not general, but confined merely to a few individuals; and the measures I adopted to efface the impression, will, I imagine, have had their due effect. I mention this circumstance in explanation of the exaggerated account of the difficulties of the way in which some of the natives at Fort Langley, seem, upon being questioned, to have indulged." A. C. Anderson to the Board of Management, Fort Vancouver, June 23, 1846. MS., Archives of B.C.

Black-eye's trail or portage, not to be confused with the short-cut here mentioned, was an Indian hunting-trail between Campement des Femmes, near the confluence of Otter Creek and Tulameen River, to somewhere in the vicinity of the "Punch Bowl." It climbed over Jackson Mountain and crossed the plateau east and south of the Tulameen River, passing Lodestone Lake. Anderson not only describes it in his 1846 *Journal* but also traces it on his 1867 map.

side crossing Nicola River, the next landmark mentioned being San-Poila River (Campbell Creek). The party pushed on "through a beautiful country to Kamloops," arriving there on June 9, after a journey of thirteen days.¹⁰

THE BRIGADE TRAILS.¹¹

Although Anderson reported that a practicable route for the brigades might be opened along the line of his return journey of 1846, James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden, who were in charge of the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company at that time, did not favour the project. Consequently, in 1847, Anderson was instructed to explore a route from Kamloops along the Thompson River by way of the Cascade Mountains and Fraser River to the Indian village of Spuzzum. Not finding a suitable trail through the valley of the Thompson River, he did, however, find one farther to the south by branching off from the Kamloops-Vermilion Forks trail at Nicola Lake, following along the lake to Nicola River and descending it to its junction with Coldwater River. This river was ascended for about 20 miles to cut across (crossing a branch of Spius Creek, called "La Grimace" by Anderson) to Uztlius Creek, a tributary of Anderson River, and thence to the Fraser which was reached at Kequeloose, an Indian village on the eastern side.¹² The dangerous waters of the canyons presented many difficulties, but Anderson thought these could be overcome by making portages across the river at the very bad places.

Douglas, who was not entirely satisfied with Anderson's sanguine report, decided to investigate matters for himself. Judging the water route quite impracticable for the transportation of goods and furs, he ordered a short stretch of road to be built on the west side of the Fraser from Spuzzum, where a ferry was to be used, to the head of navigation, thus avoiding the rapids. This

(10) A. C. Anderson, *Journal of an expedition . . . taken with the view of ascertaining the practicability of a communication with the interior for the import of the annual supplies*, 1846. MS., Archives of B.C.

(11) For detailed maps of the section from Hope to Peers Creek, see Plan No. 64, Odd Plans, B.C. Department of Lands; and from Peers Creek to Sowaqua Creek, see Plan No. 1897, B.C. Department of Public Works.

(12) A. C. Anderson, "Journal of an Expedition to Fort Langley via Thompson's River, Summer of 1847," in his *History of the Northwest Coast*, pp. 77-84.

road, which was known as the "Douglas portage," was built in time for the two brigades of 1848 to try out the new route, and Fort Yale was erected as a junction-point between land and water travel. The attempt was fraught with numerous disasters¹³ and the outbreak of the aforementioned Cayouse War in Washington Territory, which foreshadowed international complications, made imperative the adopting of a reliable and convenient communication with the Interior.

During the summer of 1847 Henry N. Peers was sent to investigate Anderson's route of 1846 eastward to the Tulameen. Peers found that the snow, which Anderson had considered a definite problem, did not present such a difficulty after all, and he traced a line of communication, somewhat modified from that of Anderson, which was finally adopted for the return brigade of 1849.

Late in 1848, Douglas, realizing the utter futility of the brigades trying to use the difficult and dangerous Kequeloose-Yale route, gave orders for the building of a road eastward from the Coquihalla to the Tulameen along the line traced in 1847 by Peers.¹⁴ Time did not permit of this road being ready for the outward brigade of 1849, but another trading-post, Fort Hope, at the mouth of the Coquihalla, was rushed to completion, and the men of the return brigade cut a new trail through the Hope Mountains to the Similkameen Valley.

The Brigade Trail, as it came to be known, followed the Coquihalla Valley, passing by Kawkawa Lake, to Peers Creek, up that creek and over Manson Mountain to Sowaqua Creek and over the height of land to Podunk Creek, passing through Campement de Chevreuil just below the summit on the Sowaqua Creek side. It was while resting at this encampment that Chief Trader Paul Fraser was killed in 1855 by a falling tree; his grave can still be seen by the traveller.¹⁵ The trail followed the left bank

(13) Howay, "The Raison d'être of Forts Yale and Hope," *loc. cit.*

(14) Douglas to John Tod, October 30, 1848. Transcript in Archives of B.C. See also Douglas to J. M. Yale, October 30, 1848. MS., Archives of B.C.

(15) H. S. Palmer to Col. R. C. Moody, November 23, 1859. MS., Archives of B.C. For a printed version see H. S. Palmer, "Report on the country between Fort Hope and Fort Colville," *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, London, 1859-1862, part III., p. 82.

of Podunk Creek to the Tulameen River, which was forded. At this place it crossed Anderson's route of 1846. Another stopping-place on the way was known as the "Horseguard camp,"¹⁶ which was situated on the right bank of the Tulameen at the ford. Climbing to the plateau east of Tulameen River, Black-eye's trail was apparently followed past Lodestone Lake (another camping-site), over Jackson Mountain to the Tulameen River near the present town of Tulameen. At this place, formerly the site of Campement des Femmes, it joined Anderson's route of 1846. Until the completion of the Dewdney trail in 1861, the Brigade trail provided the main approach to the Southern Interior.

THE HOPE OR DEWDNEY TRAIL.¹⁷

With the discovery of gold in Similkameen late in 1859, the problem of finding a means of access to the mines presented itself to the infant colony of British Columbia. Governor Douglas employed the Royal Engineers to survey a line of communication from Hope to the east, and Edgar Dewdney¹⁸ and Walter Moberly were commissioned to build a good pack-trail to take the place of the very rugged brigade trail hitherto used chiefly by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The line as laid out by the Royal Engineers under Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the colony of British Columbia, followed Anderson's return route of 1846 as far as Snass Creek. At that point, instead of following the eastern branch of the creek, the Engineers, in order to procure a better gradient, favoured the western fork to cross the divide below the "Punch Bowl." The terms of the contract were for a pack-trail to this point, since the Whatcom and Brigade trails led thence to Vermilion Forks.

(16) Douglas to A. C. Anderson, March 18, 1850. MS., Archives of B.C.

(17) The maps and plans for this trail are as follows: Detailed plans by the Royal Engineers, 1861, Nos. 18-21, in the B.C. Department of Lands; Original map, No. 20, undated, in the B.C. Department of Lands; and the geological map, No. 82, 1877, in the B.C. Department of Lands.

(18) A sketch of the life and achievements of Edgar Dewdney is given by Madge Wolfenden in "Pathfinders and Road-builders: Edgar Dewdney," *British Columbia Public Works Journal*, July, 1938, pp. 3, 14.

Before the work was completed, Governor Douglas, acting against the advice of Colonel Moody,¹⁹ instructed Dewdney to extend the trail from the "Punch Bowl" to Vermilion Forks, cutting across the headwaters of Tulameen River and Granite Creek to join Whipsaw Creek some 5 miles below its source in Hope Pass. The trail was then to follow Whipsaw Creek and Similkameen River to the Forks. This Dewdney refused to do because of a disagreement over the contract and at the end of 1860 he left the work, discouraged, and his trail remained unfinished beyond the "Punch Bowl."

Eventually, in 1861, under the direction of Captain J. M. Grant, R.E., "the greatest builder of them all,"²⁰ an extension of Dewdney's Hope-Similkameen trail to Rock Creek was undertaken, for which Dewdney and Moberly again contracted. This enterprise, which was a very ambitious scheme of Governor Douglas, was to have been a wagon-road. Again, trouble ensued, this time on account of insufficiency of funds for such an expensive undertaking. The result was that only 25 miles of a wide road was built eastward from Hope. A compromise was effected by improving the remainder of the pack-trail to the "Punch Bowl" where Dewdney had left it the previous year, and extending it to a termination at Vermilion Forks as instructed by Governor Douglas the previous year. The townsite of Princeton, named to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII.) to Eastern Canada, had been surveyed late in 1860. Vermilion Forks, picturesquely named by the fur-traders and for many years a meeting-place for trappers and traders, was superseded by the typical frontier mining town, and the first link in the chain of what might have been a transcontinental highway was forged. The completion of this link with the existing trail running parallel to the Similkameen River southward to the American border gave the miners what they needed—communication with Hope—and at the same time secured for the British merchants the trade in supplies, which, until the completion of the trail, had been going across the border to the Americans. The continuation of the Dewdney

(19) R. C. Moody to Douglas, August 23, 1860. MS., Archives of B.C.

(20) F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia*, Victoria, 1910, p. 8.

trail eastward to Wild Horse Creek in 1865 is beyond the scope of this article.²¹

THE WHATCOM TRAILS.²²

The first Whatcom trail²³ built by the residents of Whatcom, Washington Territory, now Bellingham, was undertaken in the spring of 1858 with the object of diverting to that town a share of the trade which was bound to follow the influx of miners to the Fraser River gold diggings. Its line of direction was up the Nooksack River, across the international boundary at or near the present town of Huntingdon, along the eastern side of Sumas Lake (since reclaimed) to the Chilliwack River, thence to the Fraser "about thirty miles below Fort Hope."²⁴ The original intention was that it should lead overland to Fort Hope, but so numerous were the difficulties encountered in its construction that a compromise was effected by diverting it to the Fraser River at the point above mentioned.

The trail was far from an immediate success and the people of Whatcom soon realized that the popularity of a route to the goldfields by way of their town depended on its superiority over the existing routes wholly through British territory. A United States engineer, Captain W. W. DeLacy, undertook to locate such a trail by extending the existing trail farther inland with the object of linking it to the old Hudson's Bay Company's brigade trail, for by this time the "bars" of the lower Fraser were becoming exhausted and the miners were concentrating their attention on Thompson River and other up-country areas. DeLacy's task was a stupendous one for he had to search for a suitable pass through the Cascade Mountains, but, after sur-

(21) This has been dealt with in Harold T. Nation, "The Dewdney Trail," *Fourth Report and Proceedings of the British Columbia Historical Association*, 1929, pp. 30-33.

(22) For the maps in reference to this trail see: Detailed plans by the Royal Engineers, 1861, Nos. 17 and 19, B.C. Department of Lands; and Miscellaneous map No. 3, B.C. Department of Lands. It is also shown on A. C. Anderson, *Hand-book and map to the Gold Region of Frazer's and Thompson's Rivers*, San Francisco, 1858.

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

(24) *The Victoria Gazette*, July 7, 1858.

mounting untold difficulties, he succeeded in locating a route. The first part of this route passed along Chilliwack River to Chilliwack Lake. R. L. Reid states, chiefly on the authority of the Indian Chief Sapass, that the trail from the head of Chilliwack (Summit) Lake followed up Klabneh (Dolly Varden) Creek, over the divide and down to the Skagit River.²⁵ But from the Reports of the International Boundary Commissioners, a trail from Chilliwack Lake following creeks easterly, northerly, and easterly to the Skagit River, is recorded.²⁶ This would appear to be by Depot Creek, across the divide to and down Maselpalik Creek, and then down Klesilkwa River to the Skagit River. Then following the Skagit up to Sumallo River DeLacy's trail joined Anderson's 1846 route, which it followed up the Skagit River and Snass Creek across the divide and beyond the "Punch Bowl" to join Black-eye's trail. This latter trail was then followed to its junction with the Brigade trail, and so on to Kamloops.

DeLacy's trail, built hurriedly over a rough country, was not a good one and travel over it was difficult and arduous. Because of this and on account of the centre of interest in mining shifting from place to place, this trail was doomed to the fate of many another trail in the colony. Although finished during the summer of 1858, it was practically out of date and unnecessary even by that time. Nevertheless, "even if his endeavors proved to be useless, one must admire the indomitable spirit of the man."²⁷

The foregoing account of the various trails to the Similkameen country have been given in an attempt to bring together the various exploits of the pioneer road-builders of that part of the Province and to record the measure of success they attained and the usefulness their accomplishments have served in the past.

(25) R. L. Reid, "The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *loc. cit.*

(26) "Working parties were then pushed forward upon the trail between Chilukweyuk depot and lake, a distance of 35 miles, which was greatly improved and in some places diverted. . . . The trail used between Chilukweyuk Lake and the Skagit was reopened and improved by the Americans before our parties had advanced so far." Col. J. S. Hawkins to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, May 31, 1860, Otto Klotz, *op. cit.*, part III., p. 34.

(27) R. L. Reid, "The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *loc. cit.*

The gathering of the material was, in a way, accidental. It took shape some three years ago when the Geographic Branch of the Provincial Department of Lands was about to issue a new map of the Similkameen District and notes concerning the many trails had to be compiled in order that their routes could be traced upon the map.

With the building of the Kettle Valley Railway along the southern border of the Province, and the construction of a motor-road in the same area,²⁸ the old trails have long since passed into disuse. But the memory of the sturdy pioneers whose time and energy were given to exploring the country and developing its resources is still green and to them we to-day look back with admiration and respect.

E. P. CREECH.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(28) This motor-road is still in process of construction and far from completion.

HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD.*

Should students who seek a liberal education study anything *in particular*—mathematics, for example, rather than type-writing; history rather than automobile driving? Are there, in other words, any basic aims which liberal education—I am not speaking of technical training—ought to pursue, and, if so, are there any subjects, any branches of knowledge, the study of which is particularly calculated to realize these aims?

A very little reflection shows that there are *permanent* human relationships and capacities, and it is my conviction that any sound system of liberal education must be built upon them. Change is to-day so obvious, so rapid, and so vocal that anybody who says that anything is *permanent* runs the risk of being called an old foggy or, worse still, a mid-Victorian. The word permanent is scarcely respectable in progressive circles. Change has become so unco-ordinated and disorderly that a moratorium on scientific research and invention has actually been proposed seriously. The accelerated pace of change in our life to-day has given rise to the pedagogical slogan, "Education for a Changing World." The Progressive Education movement has, no doubt, substantial achievements to its credit, especially in the realm of educational psychology, but it seems to be suffering from an uncritical belief in the mystic efficacy of educational change, no matter in what direction, a naïve confidence that change is necessarily progress. "Like a baby shaking a rattle," an enlightened critic of Progressive Education has written, "we seem to be utterly content with action, provided it is sufficiently vigorous and noisy." And he went on to remark: "In the last analysis a very large part of American educational thought, inquiry, and experimentation is much ado about nothing." There is, indeed, no great novelty in the idea of a changing world or in a realization of the fact of change on the part of educators, as Professor Henry Johnson makes abundantly clear in his informing and charming little book, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools*, which takes the novelty out of most of the

* An address delivered to the Graduate Historical Society of the University of British Columbia, August 6, 1941.

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supposed innovations of recent years in history-teaching; a book, let me add, that ought to be read by all teachers of history and especially by all educational administrators and curriculum experts who tell the teachers how to teach.

In a physical sense, of course, nothing is permanent, and no long-range prediction of physical science is safer than that which foretells the extinction, under a dying sun, of the human race and all its works; if, indeed, some cosmic incident, such as the bursting of the sun or its collision with another star, does not annihilate us in the meantime. But, disregarding the unescapable doom in store for our descendants and taking the cosmically short-range view, we, as persons interested in education, can, and I believe that we ought to, think in terms of permanent human relationships and capacities. For it is these, I submit, which should determine the aims of liberal education, however much the content of particular studies and branches of knowledge may change.

One such relationship is that between man and the physical universe which surrounds and includes him and conditions his existence. This relationship is evidently a permanent one, unaffected by the changes and chances of this mortal life. This is not, of course, to say that man's conception of the universe has been unchanging, but ever since man has been man he has had *some* conception of it. Any programme of liberal education, to be worthy of the name, must include some study of physical science; and, in view of man's relation to his earthly abode, geography and geology ought not to be omitted.

Another permanent relationship is implicit in the fact that man, whatever else he may be, is a living being. As such he is related to all else that lives. The claim of the biological sciences to a place in liberal education does not seem open to dispute.

Ever since man has been man he has possessed the faculty of speech. He is the talking animal. Without the capacity to use language, thought, obviously, could not be communicated, and it is very doubtful if there would be anything that could be called thought to communicate. Life could not be lived on a human level. No particular language is permanent, and some of the noblest of them are no longer spoken. Our own is only a few hundred years old and is continuously changing, let us hope for

the better, though mid-Victorians are not sure that this is always the case. It is an affectation, and usually an intellectually snobbish affectation, to say that there is any one language which all educated persons must know. But everybody must know something of at least one language, and it would seem to be desirable that he should be able to use it fluently, correctly, and forcefully. This suggests another objective of liberal education. It is not unheard of for men and women to reach the stage of university work without the ability to write the English language with precision and coherence. It is one of the scandals of secondary and collegiate education.

All persons, except idiots, are capable, in some degree, of logical thought—of making correct inferences, perceiving implications, detecting fallacies. This faculty appears to be a permanent attribute of *homo sapiens*. It is what gives him the right to call himself *sapiens*. But it is a faculty that needs to be cultivated and disciplined, and under cultivation and discipline it has made possible what are perhaps the loftiest soarings of the human mind. Even in the speaking and writing of persons who pass for educated *non-sequiturs* and other confusions in thought are often encountered. For the cultivation of the logical faculty mathematics (broadly defined) is the unrivalled instrument. Liberal education cannot do without mathematics.

The subjects known as the social sciences are comparatively late arrivals in the curriculum, either in secondary or in higher education, mere infants alongside of mathematics. The reason for including them, or some of them at least, in any programme of liberal education is that one of the outstanding permanent human relationships is that of the individual to society. No man liveth unto himself. Community life is as natural to humankind as to ants or bees. The notion that man first lived in a pre-social state of individual self-determination—a “state of nature,” as it used to be called—however influential it may have been in the history of political theory, never had the slightest foundation in fact. It was his gregariousness that enabled man, first, to survive, and then to become civilized. To-day we are all members of various groups, and it behooves us to know something about their nature, their organization, and their functions; and this brings sociology, economics, politics, law, and other social studies into

education. Nowhere else, it may be remarked in passing, is the current educational ferment so heady and effervescent as in the field of the social sciences; nowhere else is "education for a changing world" changing so vociferously.

The last permanent human relationship of significance for education that I would remind you of is man's relationship to the past that stretches indefinitely behind him. We know something from personal memory of an infinitesimal part of the very recent past; but for anything beyond this our knowledge of what has happened must depend upon records of some kind and the uses we can make of them. That is to say, it must depend upon history. And even history can give us only some glimpses, for only a few fragments of the structure of past events can ever be recovered. George Macaulay Trevelyan has put this thought in an eloquent metaphor: "On the shore where time casts up its stray wreckage we gather corks and broken planks, whence much indeed may be argued and more guessed; but what the great Ship was that has gone down into the deep, that we shall never see." In view of the length of time during which these corks and broken planks have been more or less systematically gathered and pieced together it may seem strange that history was so tardy in making its appearance in formal educational programmes. Historical study was not a part of the educational curriculum in antiquity or in the Middle Ages. History was not one of the Seven Liberal Arts. Its value in formal education does not seem to have been very seriously urged before the sixteenth century. It appears to have been in that century and in Germany that it took its place as a recognized subject of study in schools. The earliest chair of history to be established in an English university was the Camden Professorship of Ancient History, at Oxford, founded in 1622. A century later, in 1724, Professorships of Modern History were established at Oxford and Cambridge. In English schools, history, apart from ancient history, which came in as ancillary to Greek and Roman literature, was scarcely studied at all before the nineteenth century.

History, it should be emphasized, is not co-ordinate with the other subjects that have been mentioned. It is really not a "subject" at all. It belongs to all subjects; it is a way of studying any of them. You cannot study language mathematically, or

mathematics biologically, or physical science politically, but you can study the physical sciences, language, and mathematics, as well as the social sciences, historically. You can study anything historically, and to call a person a student or professor of history leaves him about as indeterminate as to call him a student or professor of knowledge. History is commonly thought of nowadays as related most closely to the social sciences, but really it has no greater natural affinity with them than with art, religion, physical science, or what you will.

The educational values of historical study and the educational aims it ought to pursue have long been subjects of discussion and controversy. If we review briefly some of the educational claims that have been made for history, a significant conclusion, I think, will present itself.

An immense amount of historical study and writing has been inspired by a religious motive. Historical interpretation has always been influenced by the prevailing intellectual climate. In the ages of religious faith, when theology was the queen of sciences and history was written by churchmen, events were viewed as having taken place under an overruling Providence. To Christian Fathers and mediæval monkish chroniclers—and not to them alone—a conviction that the historic process had been controlled by a Divine purpose was the essence of the philosophy of history. Such was the historical interpretation of Bishop Bossuet, in his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, a work that has been called “the last great monument of the Augustinian philosophy of history”; and so he saw the Roman Empire, which united under a single rule so many different peoples formerly alien to one another, as a potent means created by Providence for the spread of the Christian gospel, an interpretation which had been a commonplace of Christian historiography since the days of St. Augustine and his disciple Orosius. History thus conceived was the handmaid of religion and a boundless source of human edification. Its function was to “assert Eternal Providence and justify the ways of God to man.” It needed no other, and could have no higher, educational justification.

The conception of history as an ethical guide has had a long career. According to Tacitus, the great virtue of history was to prevent meritorious actions from being forgotten and to deter

men from evil by fear of posterity's reprobation. This ethical object naturally appealed to Christian moralists and reformers. Thus the Venerable Bede wrote: "If history relates good things of good men, the attentive hearer is excited to imitate that which is good; but if it mentions evil deeds of evil men, the pious reader learns to shun that which is hurtful and perverse, and is excited to do things which he knows to be good and pleasing to God." A similar thought was in Luther's mind when he said that from history "we learn what things those who were pious and wise pursued . . . and how it fared with them, or how they were rewarded; and again how they lived who were wicked and obstinate in their ignorance and what punishments overtook them." History thus conceived was a branch of homiletics, exhorting to virtue and deterring from vice. Its primary function was to preach.

The belief that history repeats itself is very old and very persistent. It was held by Thucydides and is held nowadays by many men in the street and by some educators. If this belief is correct, then a knowledge of the past enables us to predict the future. History becomes prophet. Many historical philosophers have played with this alluring idea, which originated in an ancient theory of recurrence in history. Its best known recent exponent was Oswald Spengler with his doctrine of a cyclical development common to all cultures—a doctrine elaborated with the fruits of omnivorous reading, philosophical embroidery, and poetic fervor, and presented with unbounded self-confidence and dogmatism. "Every culture," Spengler announces, "every adolescence and maturing and decay of a culture, every one of its intrinsically necessary stages and periods, has a definite duration, always the same, always recurring with the emphasis of a symbol." Before the publication of his magnum opus, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, everybody was free, so he tells us, to hope what he pleased about the future, but now it is everybody's business to inform himself of what *can* happen "and therefore of what, with the unalterable necessity of destiny and irrespective of personal ideals, hopes or desires, *will* happen." If we know what befell Babylon, we know what destiny has in store for London and New York. History, as conceived by Spengler, offers the possibility of "predetermining the spiritual form, duration, rhythm, mean-

ing, and product of the *still* unaccomplished stages of our Western history." If this, or anything approaching this were true, the educational utility of historical study would need no further justification.

The use of history as an instrument of patriotic propaganda is familiar to us all. It seems to be about as old as patriotism. Professor Johnson refers to a history text-book published in Germany in 1505, the purpose of which was "to make young Germans proud of their German past and to stimulate them to enlarge the fame of Germans." Its author flourished rather early in the history of patriotism, but highly developed patriotic historians of later times have not been able to improve much upon his technique, for "he wrote," says Johnson, "of anything that promoted his purpose, and anything which did not seem to promote his purpose he simply excluded." He actually accomplished the patriotic feat of excluding Canossa! His spiritual descendants are flourishing throughout the world to-day, and the young of all nations are being made duly proud of their national past by means of history in school.

At present the most "progressive" educational opinion regarding history is that its only real value is to explain the present. According to this view history is useful only as giving the setting of current events and the background of contemporary civilization; and so-called "contemporary history" is necessarily the most important part of history. The educational claims of "contemporary history" are by no means novel; they have been set forth from time to time during the last two or three hundred years. And were not the greatest of the ancient historians—Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus—contemporary historians? But the-past-as-explaining-the-present doctrine no doubt owes much of its current vogue to the comparatively recent spread of evolutionary habits of thought. As to the predominance of this doctrine in the teaching of American schools to-day there seems to be no doubt. Speaking from the fullness of his knowledge, Professor Johnson tells us that history in the school curriculum "now revolves around current problems in about the way that history in the eighteenth century revolved around examples of conduct." In both cases, he adds, the principle is "to take out of the past only what is directly useful in the present." In our

college, too, the trend toward contemporary history has been marked. It should not be inferred that I have any quarrel with the study of recent history. I merely deny that it is the only part of history that is worth serious study, that one who concerns himself with remoter periods is wasting his time and should be dismissed with contempt as "a mere antiquarian."

Now the significant thing, it seems to me, about all such theories of the utility of history as I have touched upon is this: that the attempt to derive from the study of the past the educational values that are sought for, results in a treatment of the past which is repugnant to that spirit of free inquiry that is the essence of the scientific attitude, whether in the study of history or of anything else. Nothing could be more unscientific than to select historical materials, interpret events, and organize a narrative in the light of some assumption, and then to claim that "history teaches" the truth of that assumption. Such raids upon the past do not acquire scientific respectability even if the raiders have complete faith in the truth of their assumptions, and the objectives which they have in view happen to be ethically or socially desirable. It would be superfluous to demonstrate that the attitude of those who look upon history as a means of inculcating morality or patriotism is far removed from the spirit of science. But what about the attitude of those who believe that it is the prime business of history to explain the present? This doctrine has captivated Progressive Education; it is a cherished article of faith of what has been called for the last thirty years or so the "new history"; it has been embraced with ardour by social scientists. It deserves the thoughtful consideration of all mature students of history.

The past has produced the present, but it is the past *as it was* that has produced the present *as it is*. If we were historically omniscient, if we knew the whole past as it was, we should understand the whole present, in the sense of knowing all its antecedents. But the worst way to gain insight into the past *as it was* is to study the past with one eye fixed on the present. Present-mindedness is and always has been the great source of anachronism, the great distorter of the past, the great enemy of historical-mindedness. All propagandist history is present-minded in the sense that it aims at objectives in the present, but

what is in question is something subtler, something more difficult to detect and make allowances for, something of which the writer or teacher of history may himself be quite unconscious. Far from being "new," present-mindedness is extremely old, in fact primitive. It is indeed, the *natural* way of looking at the past, the way in which primitive man, no doubt, looked at *his* past. What is comparatively new is historical-mindedness, a product of the scientific spirit applied to the study of the past. Using the present as a basis of reference in historical study causes us to see the past through the medium of our own standards and pre-suppositions, to select for emphasis among past events what seems significant to us rather than what seemed significant to contemporaries. It leads to an oversimplification of the complexity of historical processes and to an exaggeration of the resemblances and an obscuring of the unlikenesses between past and present. Even in our own memories past experiences are coloured by subsequent events. A description of a state of mind at a critical juncture of life, written from memory fifty years afterwards in an autobiography, would not be identical with a description of it written in a diary at the time. And diaries are notoriously more reliable as historical sources than autobiographies.

Why is it that the views and interpretations of past events and epochs that emerge from the detailed researches of historical specialists are so different from those conveyed by writers of general historical surveys and text-books? I think it is largely because the text-book writer interprets the past in the light of the present and organizes the historical story by direct reference to the present. Needing some criterion for determining what was important in the past, he is impelled almost irresistibly to adopt the fallacious principle that what seems important from the point of view of his own day was actually important when it happened. His story is not a genuine abridgment of history because it does not convey the sense of the original. The scholar who has carried through a detailed piece of historical investigation is impressed by the complexity of events, but a selection of events that is guided by present-mindedness results not in a faithful summary of the complex but in a false abridgment which turns complexity into simplicity. By making the complex simple

and the crooked straight it leads to facile generalizations about historical tendencies, it nourishes the fallacy of "fundamental causes" and "inevitable results," it encourages uncritical belief in a *necessary progress* in human affairs, it gives rise to glib talk about the "verdicts" of history and the "logic" of history. It is the soil in which imposing deliverances concerning the *Zeitgeist* flower most luxuriantly. There must needs be text-books, but we do well to remember that it is only by historical research, it is not by reading, however extensive, in text-books and general histories, that historical-mindedness can be cultivated, because it is only through research that we can penetrate to the intricate warp and woof of the fabric of history. If I may quote Trevelyan again: "Textbooks and all manner of cramming for examinations, with their neat, necessary docketings of eras and movements, diminish the sense of the unplumbed and uncharted wastes of history. It is nourished by turning over original documents, old letters . . . diaries . . . memoirs. . . . Maitland revealed to us indeed many definite things; but he showed us also that the past, when we suddenly see a piece of it close at hand, was so different from the present that we no longer feel confidence in reconstructing the thirteenth century from the analogy of our own experience and observation in a different age."

I have called historical-mindedness the scientific spirit applied to the study of the past. A great deal of ink has been spilt in arguing the question of whether history is a science or not. We need not lose our footing in that bog. The answer must obviously depend upon how science is defined, and that much used and much abused term has never been defined, I believe, to the satisfaction of all persons who regard themselves as scientists. History is certainly not an "exact" science, but even the sciences that used to be called "exact" are not as exact as was formerly supposed. The most exact of them, physics, has substituted probability for certainty. To me the scientific spirit applied to the study of the past means, to put it shortly, disinterested curiosity about the past—some part or aspect of the past—and the satisfaction of that curiosity by the best available means of ascertaining the truth about the subject under investigation. It seeks knowledge of the past as an end in itself, not just as a means to some end.

It is not dismayed by the contemptuous question, "What's the use of such knowledge?" It is merely sorry for the questioner, for it looks upon knowledge as a good in itself. If it cared to do so, it could probably meet the materialistic utilitarian on his own ground, for it is almost certainly true, as Bertrand Russell says, that "a race of men without a disinterested love of knowledge would never have achieved our present scientific technique."

A cloud of witnesses could be summoned from the realm of science to corroborate his testimony, but one will suffice for present purposes. Lord Rayleigh, in his presidential address before the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1884, referred to the improvements that had recently been made in the incandescent lamp and added these words: "It is pretty safe to say that these wonderful results would never have been accomplished had practical applications alone been in view. The way was prepared by an army of scientific men whose main object was the advancement of knowledge, and who could scarcely have imagined that the processes which they elaborated would soon be in use on a commercial scale."

To be inspired by the scientific spirit does not imply acceptance of any particular tenets associated with the nineteenth century school of scientific historiography; for example, a belief that there are laws of history which can be discovered. Nor does it imply the belief that subjective elements can be wholly eliminated in the quest for historical truth, that a purely objective past can be described by means of historical research. What it does imply is rejection of the doctrine now preached in high places and widely accepted as a dispensation of advanced thought, that disinterestedness and impartiality, as historical ideals, are outmoded shibboleths that ought to be discarded and renounced in favour of historical interpretation based upon social philosophies of the present.

There are those, I know, who deny the possibility of disinterested motivation. I am not a psychologist, but I can at least quote some words of a great master of physical science, Max Planck, the author of the Quantum Theory, that seem to me pertinent to the question we are on.

Every individual science sets about its task by the explicit renunciation of the egocentric and anthropocentric standpoint. In the earlier stages of

human thought . . . primitive man made himself and his own interests the center of his system of reasoning. Confronted with the powers of nature around him, he thought that they were animated beings like himself and he divided them into two classes, the one friendly and the other inimical. He divided the plant world into the categories of poisonous and non-poisonous. He divided the animal world into the categories of dangerous and harmless. As long as he remained bound within the limits of this method of treating his environment, it was impossible for him to make any approach towards real scientific knowledge. His first advance in this knowledge was accomplished only after he had taken leave of his own immediate interests and banished them from his thought. At a later stage he succeeded in abandoning the idea that the planet whereon he lives is the central point of the universe. Then he took up the more modest position of keeping as far as possible in the background, so as not to intrude his own idiosyncracies and personal ideas between himself and his observations of natural phenomena. It was only at this stage that the outer world of nature began to unveil its mystery to him, and at the same time to furnish him with means which he was able to press into his own service and which he could never have discovered if he had continued looking for them with the candlelight of his egocentric interests. The progress of science is an excellent illustration of the truth of the paradox that man must lose his soul before he can find it. The forces of nature, such as electricity, for instance, were not discovered by men who started out with the set purpose of adapting them for utilitarian purposes. Scientific discovery and scientific knowledge have been achieved only by those who have gone in pursuit of them without any practical purpose whatsoever in view.

To return to history and education. Are there any educational values in historical study which aims simply at learning the truth, so far as is possible, about some aspect of the past, disclaiming as foreign to its nature the purpose of making us virtuous or patriotic or prophetic or even of giving us the background of the morning news, though it might, indirectly and incidentally, have any or all of these effects? I believe that the answer is emphatically in the affirmative. The subject is a large one, and I must be brief.

Such study, in the first place, is bound to widen one's temporal horizon, to mitigate at least, if not to cure, that temporal provincialism (if it may be so called) with which our own age in particular is sorely afflicted. It is natural to think of our present ways of living, habits of thought, and institutions as normal, and to think of all others as more or less abnormal—as natural as it used to be to think of our earth as the centre of the physical universe. The historically-minded study of the past has an educative effect comparable to that of foreign travel. It gives

insight into cultures different from ours and an appreciation of the fact that they were once as real and vital as ours is now. It makes for toleration. It teaches us, indirectly, to see our own age as one amongst many and not as the norm by which all others are to be judged. We may be the heirs of all the ages, but we are guilty of the most naïve temporal provincialism if we suppose that the ages existed for the heirs, if we fail to recognize that historical events had a validity of their own, that they did not happen merely in order to be antecedents, to lead up to us. In the words of a great mediævalist, the late T. F. Tout, "It is unwise for the historian to claim that a gross and direct utility arises from the study of his subject. The use of history is something broader, more indefinite, more impalpable. It widens the mind, and stimulates the imagination." Present-mindedness tends to deprive historical study of this educative value. It makes past ages seem too much like our own, and the men and women who lived in them too much like ourselves.

But, educationally speaking, historical method is probably more important than historical information, the processes of finding out more important than what is found out. *How* the student learns about the past is, I believe, of greater educational value than *what* he learns about it. I am thinking primarily of what we call historical research, but even in the elementary study of history some knowledge of historical method can be gained—if the teacher is capable of imparting it; and the teacher who has himself engaged in research is in a position to do this. Nobody who has not written some history, at least in a modest way (and I hasten to add that the matter of publication is entirely unimportant in this context), is qualified to teach history at all, not because he will not know enough facts, but because he will not know from personal experience how an historical composition is constructed, and will be unable, in consequence, to make historical study the powerful educational instrument which it is fitted, by its nature, to be. By critical use of the text-book and by judiciously chosen exercises in elementary historical criticism, the historically trained teacher can give his pupils some appreciation of the comparative trustworthiness of different kinds of sources, can make them aware of the superiority of first-hand to second-hand information, can make them alert to distinguish

between statements of carefully ascertained fact and statements of opinion, and so can do something to cure that credulity to which all flesh is heir. If the time spent in our would-be and self-proclaimed "progressive" schools in amateurish attempts to make history explain the morning newspaper were devoted to inculcating in pupils something of that critical sense which scientific historical study is eminently calculated to develop, the study of history in American schools would, in my opinion, be in a far healthier state, educationally, than it is.

So far as the more advanced study of history is concerned, it would be hard to imagine a better discipline in thoroughness and alertness in following up clues than the careful and prolonged search for materials that precedes and accompanies all historical investigation that deserves to be called scientific. There is developed in every real historical scholar something of the detective. He must have a scent for sources, just as the successful newspaper reporter must have a nose for news. Conclusions arrived at by the most approved methods of historical criticism, brilliant historical interpretations, are liable to collapse in ignominious disaster if essential sources have not been used. It goes without saying that the historian needs something more than industry. Like the natural scientist, he needs constructive imagination. But this is very different from the fancy that builds castles in the air. It does not operate without previous research; it does not give rise to fertile hypotheses in uninformed minds. It works under discipline and restraint.

Historical study, it has just been suggested, can do something—it can do much—to cure natural human credulity. It is here, I think, that it can render its crowning educational service. We are innately credulous. We become critical only through education, whether acquired formally or otherwise. The uneducated and the educated differ in nothing more than in this—that the uneducated believe whatever they hear or read, while the educated weigh evidence. Under stress of great emotion and the pressure of powerful propaganda the educated may lapse into credulity. During the World War of 1914–18, for example, there was something like a moratorium on the critical faculty, as regards the causes and issues of the war, in all the belligerent countries, and the part then played by historians, speaking gen-

erally, is not one to which the profession looks back with pride. But the uneducated are *always* credulous. As a means of ascertaining facts the historical method is inferior to the method of direct observation, which is the method of the natural sciences, but it is the only possible method of ascertaining *past* facts. Its very inferiority gives it its chief educational value. Because we cannot observe historical events directly, because we can learn of them only from records of some kind, the obligation is imposed upon us to deal with our records critically, to estimate their comparative reliability, to weigh evidence; and to facilitate and make more accurate the weighing of evidence, techniques of historical criticism have been elaborated.

The historian and the educator, it would seem, should both be interested in promoting historical research, though they look upon it from different points of view, the one interested primarily in its findings, the other in its methods. Similarly, I suppose, an Alpinist and a physical culturist would look upon mountain-climbing differently, though both would approve of it. For those of us who are historical students the methods of history are means, not ends. But if the discovery of truth is our end and we seek for it by the critical methods of scientific history, many good things, educationally speaking, will be added unto us.

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THE VOYAGE OF THE "CAPTAIN COOK" AND THE "EXPERIMENT," 1785-86.

Until recently little was known of the voyage of the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment*, the first trading adventure from India to this coast. In 1928,¹ as a result of a search urged by myself upon the late John Hosie, former Provincial Archivist, the complete journal kept by James Strange, the moving spirit in the venture, was discovered in the Madras Record Office and published by the Government of Madras Press.

The Sutro Branch of the California State Library contains, amongst its treasures, the manuscript sailing directions governing the voyage of these vessels to the Northwest Coast. The purpose of this article is, with the kind permission of the Sutro Library, to reproduce those directions, with a few explanatory notes.²

Bancroft says that the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment* sailed "under the flag of the East India Company,"³ but the sailing directions show that it was an independent venture, though operating in close contact with the Company.

The *Captain Cook* was a snow of 300 tons burthen; the *Experiment* was also a snow, but smaller, being of only 100 tons; both were coppered vessels; they were, of course, British, though the only flag mentioned in the directions is that of Portugal, which was to be flown as far as Canton. Perhaps it was not used at all, as the failure to obtain the necessary goods on the Malabar Coast put an end to the possibility of any traffic in China on the outward voyage and altered the whole course of the expedition. Instead of pursuing the route laid down in the directions the two vessels passed through the Strait of Sunda

(1) As early as 1918, through the courtesy of Mr. F. C. Swannell, of Victoria, B.C., a transcript of the *Strange Narrative* made from a copy in the possession of Strange's descendants was presented to the Archives of B.C. by Mr. A. P. Trotter.

(2) A limited edition of the sailing directions was published without notes by the White Knight Press, San Francisco, 1941.

(3) H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, I., p. 177.

and the Strait of Macassar, across the Sea of Celebes, to the southern shore of the Philippines, and thence in a general north-westerly course to Nootka Sound.

In the directions, discovery is given the first place and trade a secondary position; but from scattered hints therein Strange knew that he was expected to have trade constantly in mind. His *Journal and Narrative* shows that he did; and the voyage was carried on as a real trading expedition. Trade took the first place and discovery the second.

At Nootka every attention was centred on trade; Strange even condescended to play the mountebank, singing to the accompaniment of cymbals an extempore song "to strip" the natives "for each had on two or three fine skins." In the end he joyfully records that he had "got possession of every rag of Furr within the Sound." No attempt at exploration of the vicinity was made.

The sailing directions urged that Strange should land at some central point one of his crew who, for special reward, would volunteer to remain with the natives, learn their language, ingratiate himself into their affections, and thus, so to speak, pre-empt their sea-otter skins pending the return of the vessels. John McKay, who may be called the first white resident of British Columbia, accordingly undertook the service. Strange supplied him with all necessaries and equipped him in a way to induce the Indians' esteem. But this pioneer attempt to forestall opposition failed, as did every subsequent effort along the same line. He who sowed never reaped; the crop was garnered by the next visitor. When the *Loudoun*, alias *Imperial Eagle*, Captain C. W. Barkley, arrived at Nootka in June, 1787, McKay was still there and anxious to leave. According to Mrs. Barkley, soon after the *Imperial Eagle* had moored in Friendly Cove a canoe paddled alongside and a man in every respect like an Indian (and a very dirty one at that), clothed in a greasy sea-otter skin, came on board and to the utter astonishment of her and her husband introduced himself as John McKay, late surgeon of the trading brig *Captain Cook*; but Strange says he was "a young man, named Mackay, who acted as Surgeon on Board the *Experiment*."⁴ Captain Barkley took him on board as a

(4) James Strange, *Journal and Narrative*, Madras, 1928, p. 22.

member of the crew of the *Imperial Eagle*, and found his services very useful.

From Nootka the *Captain Cook* and *Experiment* proceeded northward and discovered and named Cape Scott and Queen Charlotte Sound. Strange appears to have entered Goletas Channel and to have landed on Nigei Island and taken possession. But obtaining no trade in that vicinity he lost interest in discovery pure and simple. He then steered for Prince William Sound, where Captain Cook about ten years before had found the natives dressed in sea-otter skins. After passing Cape St. James, Strange kept along but frequently out of sight of the western shore of Queen Charlotte Islands (a barren fur region, except at two points: Houston-Stewart Channel and Cloak Bay, neither of which he saw). At Prince William Sound his hopes of trade vanished when the snow *Sea Otter*, of Bengal, Captain Tipping, arrived there and anchored alongside. He then thought of sailing to China in the *Captain Cook* and leaving the *Experiment* to winter on the coast. Fortunately he abandoned his plan, for the *Experiment* might have had as heavy a death-roll from scurvy as Meares's *Nootka*. Next, recalling that Copper Island, called by the Russians "Mednoi Ostroff," in Bering Sea, was reputed to be rich in that metal he resolved to send the *Captain Cook* there for a cargo of copper, which he believed could be picked up on the beach, while the *Experiment* would try the trade to the southward of Prince William Sound; in the end he abandoned the idea of trading southward and resolved to sail the *Experiment* directly to China. The *Captain Cook* essayed the Copper Island venture but was prevented by boisterous storms and adverse gales from effecting a landing on that island. The *Experiment* reached Macao on November 15, 1786, and the *Captain Cook* on December 5, about three weeks later. There, as the East India Company's records show, a number of their seamen were discharged and the unsuccessful expedition was practically ended.

In this brief visit to the Northwest Coast—June 24 to September 14—the two vessels had collected the equivalent of 604 sea-otter skins, composed of 55 prime skins; some 340 second-

third-, and fourth-rate skins; and 210 pieces of different sizes and qualities, but they sold for \$24,000.⁵

The East India Company's Factory Records tell the remainder of the story. Under the date of April 4, 1787, they say:—

Mr. Sebastian Horback, agent for the Capt. Cook and Experiment, fitted out at Bombay for the Northwest Coast of America, paid into the Treasury the sum of dollars 24,000 the produce of the Furs imported in those two Vessels. We accordingly granted Bills for the same and wrote to the Court of Directors:

Honourable Sirs:

This is to advise you that since writing our former letter of this date and closing the books for the season, we have drawn bills upon you as per accompanying list for the sum of £6,600 being the amount of the cargoes of the Capt. Cook and Experiment from the Northwest Coast of America, which were not disposed of till this day.

We have the honour &c.

Canton, 4 April, 1787.⁶

Humble Servants.

The East India Company records show that the *Experiment* left China on December 6, 1786, presumably for Madras, and reached that port in May, 1787. There Strange presented to Major-General the Honourable Sir Archibald Campbell, the then Governor of Fort St. George, his journal of the voyage. When the *Captain Cook* returned to India has not been ascertained. This much is certain: neither of the two vessels ever visited the Northwest Coast again.

F. W. HOWAY.

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(5) George Dixon, *Voyage*, London, 1789, p. 318. George Dixon letter to Sir Joseph Banks, October 24, 1789, White Knight Press, San Francisco, 1941.

(6) East India Company's Factory Records, China II., vol. XVI., p. 1 (MS. in East India House, London). Transcript in Archives of B.C.

SAILING DIRECTIONS GOVERNING THE VOYAGE OF THE
VESSELS "CAPTAIN COOK" AND "EXPERIMENT" TO
THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE FUR TRADE, A.D. 1786.

To James Strange, Esq., Director of the Exploring Expedition to the
No. West Coast of America and towards the North Pole.

Sir:

As you are already acquainted with the purposes for which we have fitted out the Capt. Cook & Experiment, & have Yourself Superintended & Directed everything You wished in regard to their outset, we need be less particular in these our Instructions. We shall therefore in this touch on the subject of our wishes only, and leave to Your Direction the digesting, allowing & executing of them in such a manner, as Your judgment shall direct.

The Vessels are certainly as completely officered & manned as ever Vessels were:¹ They are furnished with all sorts of Stores which they probably can require for some Years; they are of the finest Construction for discovery, and have on board 15 months Provisions: we trust that Your prudence & capacity, aided by such advantages, will be crowned with success; if otherwise, we will ascribe it, Sir, to bad fortune & not want of Exertion in You.

The principal purposes for which we mean this Expedition are in the first instance Exploring for the benefit of Navigation, and 2dly with a view to establishing a new Channel of Commerce with the No. West Coast of America.

That You may have full scope for carrying these our Instructions into Execution, we do hereby give You the sole controul & direction of the Expedition, not only as to the Route of Navigation to be followed, but also in regard to the commercial transactions in which You have full Powers to act as Your Judgment may Direct. You are supplied with Letters from Mr. Scott to the Governors & Chiefs at Goa,² Mangalore, Tellicherry, Cochin³ & Macao. At Goa his Excellency Dom Frederick the Capt. General will supply You with Passes, Colours, &c., and Letters for procuring You a good reception at Macao. The necessity of your sailing under Portugueze Colours from the Mallabar Coast to China, is owing to the Probability of your vessels arriving there at a season of the Year when the intercourse with English Ships is not

(1) The *Captain Cook* had captain, six mates, surgeon, four gentlemen volunteers, boatswain and two mates, gunner and mate, carpenter and mate, sailmaker and mate, armourer and two mates, caulker, cooper, four quarter-masters, cook, captain's cook, two captain's servants, and 26 seamen; in all 60 of a crew. The *Experiment* had captain, six mates, surgeon's assistant, boatswain, gunner, carpenter and mate, armourer, sailmaker, two quarter-masters, cook, captain's servant, and 17 seamen; a total of 35 on board.

(2) Then and now a Portugueze settlement on the Malabar (western) Coast of India.

(3) Ports on the Malabar Coast.

permitted at Canton;⁴ You therefore without this Patronage from His Excellency might be distressed for Provisions or Refitting. For removing entirely every objection that might otherwise arise there, we have appointed Mr. George Sebastian Horback as our Agent at Macao, to execute such orders as he may from time to time receive from You during the continuance of Your voyaging.

At Mangalore, Tellicherry & Cochin You will take on bd. such articles as may have been provided for the China Market by our Agents at those places, which will consist of Sandel,⁵ Tins or such rich articles, as cannot require so large a space as to encroach on the room necessary for accommodating Your Men & Stores.

From Cochin, Your last port on the Mallabar Coast, You should carry sufficient cash in Spanish Dollars, that no detention may be occasioned, by trusting to sales of Merchandize for supplying refreshments to the crew. From Cochin we shall expect to receive the Diary complete up to the day of Your departure, giving a return of the respective Crews, the state of the Vessels, and an invoice of all articles of Merchandize then on board. We recommend as the best route to China from the Mallabar Coast, the passage thro' the straits of Bally⁶ & then between the Celebes and Borneo, to the Sooloo Isles, keeping the Western side of the Phillipine Islands close aboard untill as far North as Manilla, from wh. station You can fetch Macao with the N.E. Monsoon.

The Articles of Commerce for China (if any) should be landed immediately on Your arrival at Macao, & not a day lost more than is absolutely necessary for the purpose of procuring refreshments for the people.

We conceive the best Route from China towards the Coast of America will be to make the Sth. end of Formosa, & from thence to steer Sth.⁷ in such a course as to get without the Tropick with all speed; then run down Your Easting in about 38.00 No. and make the American Shore in about 40.00. Your object is then to explore along the Coast to the Northward, making every discovery you can, taking Surveys of every place & fixing their Latitudes and Longitudes with the greatest precision; You are supplied with the best Mathematical Instruments & have so many Gentlemen versed in Astronomy & Surveying,⁸ our hopes on this point are very sanguine. As we flatter our-

(4) "No Europeans were allowed to remain in Canton throughout the whole year. When the ships had sailed and they had settled their accounts with the Chinese, they retired to Macao, where each nation had its own establishment until their ships arrived the next season." *Old Shipping Days in Boston*, Boston, 1918. Dixon's *Voyage*, London, 1789, p. 308.

(5) Sandalwood.

(6) The Strait of Bali, east of Java, between Java and the island of Bali.

(7) Plainly a slip of the pen. The writer intended to write "north."

(8) There were four in the *Captain Cook*: Captain Henry Laurie and his first, second, and third officers; and one in the *Experiment*, Captain Guize.

selves that Your discoveries may prove very useful in future, & particularly to the East India Company, we therefore direct as follows.

That You transmit to us by every convenient opportunity correct Journals of the Tracts of the Vessels with Occurrences, Observations, Surveys &c. and particularly Your remarks on whatever relates to the possible & probable advantages to be derived to the East India Company from a commercial intercourse between America & China.

We farther expressly direct that You prevent all in Your power every communication of whatever intelligence relative to the Expedition from the Officers serving under You, as we mean to transmit all such information thro' this Government to the East India Company whose future views might otherwise be hurt by such intelligence becoming Public.⁹

We are the more inclined to serve the Board with the earliest Intelligence, from the knowledge we have of their ardent wishes for the success of the Explorers; indeed we are confident that, had the Company's finances permitted, these Gentlemen would, on application, with much pleasure have given us such supplies, as would have prevented the whole Expence of such an Enterprise falling on our Private Purses.

The outset has been so very heavy that we recommend to You more strongly the Subject of Commerce, than we thought we should have had occasion to do.

Altho' discovery is still in our wishes the primary object we however request You will let no opportunity escape You of benefiting by Trade. For this purpose You are supplied with a small Investment composed of all such Articles as appeared from Cooks Voyages¹⁰ to be held most in esteem by the Americans.

Should You find that the Spaniards have possessions so low as the Latitude in which You make the Coast of America, You will in such case proceed on to the No.ward and not explore untill You have passed their most No.thern possessions.¹¹ After this You will trade with the natives as You proceed to the No.ward, & as occasion may permit, picking up all the skins you can, in exchange for Your goods, and whatever other articles You see a prospect of advantage from.

We would wish You to range along the whole American Coast, up through Barings Streights, and thence to proceed on towards the Pole, keeping the Eastern Shore aboard, untill the Ice impedes Your nearer approach to it, & then steering to the Wt.ward, to keep as far north as the Ice will permit, untill You make the Coast of Asia, which You will

(9) From the commencement secrecy, jealousy, and deception were dominant in the maritime fur-trade.

(10) Captain Cook suggested that a trader should take about 5 tons of unwrought iron to be worked up into the articles that the natives desired, also a few gross of large, pointed case-knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth (because they would not accept linen from him), and a barrel or two of copper and glass trinkets. Cook's last *Voyage*, London, 1784, III., p. 436.

(11) The British view, that sovereignty could not extend beyond possession. The Nootka Convention settled the point in 1790.

in the like manner Survey, and afterwards direct Your course to Kamstkatska.

At Kamskatchka in case of accidents to You, previous to Your return to China, we have to desire that You will write in Cypher to Mr. Scott in London, furnishing him with such Intelligence respecting the Voyage as You may deem necessary for the information of the East India Company. This letter we recommend to You to send under cover to the British Ambassador at the Court of Russia, accompanied with a few lines from Yourself.

On Your leaving Kamskatska we direct You to steer along the Asiatic shore for China, surveying as well as the time will permit all the Islands in Your way, and particularly those of Japan.

On Your return to China You will proceed to Bombay, or back to Explore, as circumstances may direct You.

Should You have no success in procuring skins on the Coast of America, previous to Your return to China, so as to compensate in some degree for the heavy charges we have incurred, nor any good prospect of your succeeding in saving our Expences by making a second voyage, in such case we have to direct Your returning here with all Expedition, bringing from China such freights or cargoes as You see for our advantage.

Should it prove otherwise, and You are clearly of opinion that You can continue making discoveries & at the same time defray the charges by trade; You will in such case continue exploring as long as You please, subject however of course to our future orders.

If You could in Your range along the coast of America land any of Your Crew who choose to turn out Volunteers on the occasion, in central situation, with a promise of Returning to them again, we conceive it might be attended with singular advantage as by their attaining the language thus, might in future prove very useful. We have therefore to desire that You will offer a proper pecuniary reward to any such Volunteers, and as a farther Inducement assure them of our recommending them in the manner such a Publick spirited Service merits.¹²

Should this take place You of course will shorten Your Voyage, and alter Your Route in such a manner as to make certain of picking them up again, in Your return to China; & if in Your return to them You could induce them to remain untill You went to China & returned, no reasonable encouragement should be withheld to gratify them.¹³

This appears to us a matter of considerable consequence, & the more importance the person was of who stayed behind on this occasion, the more essentially would our future purposes be served; therefore let us entreat You ever to have an Eye to this object.

(12) Under this arrangement John McKay took up his residence at Nootka.

(13) The vessels never returned for him, and he embarked in 1787 in the *Imperial Eagle*.

The above occurrence, Your getting a sufficient Cargo of skins at the nearer places (to insure such a Fund as to render the prosecution of future Voyages certain, from the ease it would give our Expences) and many other circumstances may occur, to make Your first excursion shorter than the outlines we have here recommended. In this we therefore give You our Ideas only, but have to desire that You will act according to Your own discretion; that is to say,

You will stay at any place as long as You please, shorten or extend Your Route as to You seems proper, send either of the Vessels where You judge fit, and move unencumbered in every respect.

On Your approach to the No. Pole, we conceive that sea horse teeth¹⁴ might be an object worthy of Your notice, for as we understand they are valuable ivory, and You are well provided with plenty of powder and shot; a quantity of them would assist in defraying the Expence. At China You can best ascertain their value.

As You are perfectly acquainted how necessary subordination & regular discipline are for an enterprize of this kind, we trust to Your enforcing them by every means in Your power, & as You have not the aid of martial Law, we have to desire Your discharging every officer and man that may show the least tendency to subvert discipline, at the first English Port or at China. In such case we would advise Your holding a Council of the Officers, & entering their report on the Log Book; as we feel an interest in every man who embarks on the expedition, it would be pleasing to see that no person was discharged but in consequence of the voices of the Officers.

As virtue ever leads to good order, we have the happiness to know that the Explorers must benefit by the Example of You, Sir, their Director; & to assist our wishes in this respect, we recommend Your having Publick Divine Service read in each Ship every Sunday or at least as often as circumstances will permit.

As the health of the people is of the first consequence we flatter ourselves You will spare neither Trouble nor Expence to secure it to them. We cannot on this head hold up to You a brighter Example to copy from, than You will find in attending to the advice of that humane & celebrated navigator Cook.

(14) Evidently the trade-name for walrus-tusks.

The following is the Establishment fixed on for the two Vessels on the present Expedition, with the Regulations for preferment &c., in favor of the Officers.

The Captain Cook			Versed in	To receive p. mo.
			Lunar observ.	Rs. 300
Captain Laurie	late Lieut. of ye Rl. Navy			300
Mr. Geo. Chalmers	do. 1st officer		do.	125
Mr. Cunningham	do. 2d do.		do.	85
Mr. Scott	Lieut. Marine	3rd do.		65
Mr. White,	Cir. Navigator			
	Survey & Draftsman	4th do.	do.	50
Mr. Simson	Marine Officer	5th do.		26
Mr. Stackhouse		6th do.		25
Mr. Home	Surgeon			100
The Volunteers ea.	to receive			20

The Experiment				
Capt. Guize	late Lieut. of ye Rl Navy		do.	250
Mr. John Chalmers	do. 1st Officer		do.	110
Mr. Wedgbrough	Cir. Nav. Surv. Draft.		2d Officer	80
Mr. Thomson			3d do.	55
Mr. Hunter			4th do.	45
Mr. Wather	Lt. Army Offr. Marine		5th do.	25
Mr. Cambell			6th do.	20

That in case of vacancies: The Commander of the small vessel shall succeed to the Commd. of the large.

The 1st Off. of the large Vessel to the Commd. of the small.

The 1st Off. of the small vessel to the same rank on bd. the large, and so on in rotation.

That if Mr. Strange shd. see it proper in consequence of any, or all of the Commanders, officers, volunteers exertions meriting an addition to their present allowances, for the second voyage, in such case Mr. Strange shall signify the same in writing to the concerned: and such additional allowance shall become due, upon his proposal being approved.

That as a further inducement to the exertions & zeal of the commanders, officers, volunteers, employed in this Service, the concerned hereby assure them, that whatever be the event of the present Expedition, their future interest & advancement in this Country will have with the concerned a preferable claim to that of any others.

DAVID SCOTT & Co.

Bombay
Dec. 7, 1785

Jas. Strange

We with this enclose You our Sailing Orders to Captain Lowrie and Guize the Commanders of the Captain Cook and Experiment. You will observe that in every respect we feel them under Your Orders, and refer them to You for farther instructions.

We have great confidence in the abilities of those Gentlemen and also of the Officers under them, owing to the strong recommendations we have had in their favour. The Interest of those Gentlemen Volunteers also we have much at heart, and Your recommendations of any of them will have full weight according to Your mention of them, they will be entitled to our future good offices.

We have to beg You will write to us fully by every opportunity, and that You will believe us to be, with most unfeigned wishes for Your success,

Your very sincere Friends and
humble servants,

DAVID SCOTT & COMP'Y.

James Strange

Eventual Instructions

Should any accident to Mr. Strange occasion the management of this Expedition devolving on Captain Lowrie, we do hereby invest him with similar Powers to the above given to Mr. Strange, which we have no doubt of his exercising with discretion.

In the like manner do we invest Capt. Guize, and so on according to the Resolutions relative to rank in the Publick Diary, which will be found amongst Mr. Strange's Papers with this express proviso however, that Mr. Strange or the Manager for the time being, shall, if he sees proper, alter that arrangement at any time, which alteration shall be binding to the whole Expedition, if found written in the Manager's hand in the above Diary, or by his order, and regularly witnessed by two or more Officers.

(Signed) DAVID SCOTT & COMP'Y

James Strange

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To Captain Lowrie of the Captain Cook

Bombay Dec. 7, 1785

Sir:

Mr. Strange being now about to proceed and having the sole direction of the Expedition, we have supplied him with full powers from us so that in future You will consider him as our Representative & implicitly follow orders and Instructions from him, as such received from us.

We have a perfect confidence in Your good conduct & we hope from time to time to find You rising still higher in our esteem by our advices from Mr. Strange. Enclosed You will receive a Copy of our Instructions to Captain Guize of the Experiment. With most sincere wishes for Your success, we remain,

Sir,

Your sincere Friends & hu'ble Srts

DAVID SCOTT & COMP'Y.

Jas Strange

To Captain Guize of the Experiment

Bombay Dec. 7, 1785

Sir:

Mr. Strange being now about to proceed, and having the sole direction of the Expedition, we have supplied him with full powers from us; so that in future You will consider him as our representative and implicitly follow all orders & instructions from him, as such received from us.

We have a perfect confidence, Sir, in your good conduct, and we hope from time to time to find You still rising in our esteem by our advices from Mr. Strange. We have supplied Captain Lowrie the Senior Captain with Copy of these Instructions, and trust that You will cheerfully exert Yourselves in carrying his orders into execution towards accomplishing Mr. Strange's views, we wish You every Success, and remain,

Sir,

Your sincere f'ds & hu'ble S'rts

D. SCOTT & C'Y.

James Strange

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

NAME.

The name of the Society is The British Columbia Historical Association.

OBJECTS.

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

MEMBERSHIP AND FEES.

1. The membership shall consist of two classes, namely, Ordinary members and Honorary members.

2. Ordinary members shall pay a fee of \$2 annually in advance; the fiscal year shall commence on the first day of January.

3. Honorary members shall be persons specially distinguished for their attainments in history and historical research, or otherwise deemed worthy of the honour, who shall be duly elected as Honorary members of the Association by the Council.

4. Fees shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Council, and upon the organization of a local section the Council shall make an appropriation of 50 cents per member in good standing annually towards its expenses; the remainder of the fees being devoted to the general purposes and publication fund of the Association.

5. The name of any Ordinary member that has failed to pay the fees for two consecutive years shall be struck from the roll and notice thereof shall be mailed to such member, addressed to the place stated in the membership roll. Such member may be reinstated on payment of the fees due from him.

ORGANIZATION.

1. The headquarters of the Association shall be at Victoria, in the Provincial Archives; and the affairs of the Association shall be administered by a Council elected annually by ballot.

2. If five or more members desire to form a section of the Association in any centre within the Province, the Council may, upon receipt of a petition duly signed by five or more members, authorize the formation of a section; and such section shall have an annually elected executive, composed of such officers and others as the section may decide, which shall have full control over its programme and local business.

3. Such sections shall have such powers not exceeding the powers of the Society as the Society may from time to time confer.

4. The Victoria section shall rank as the senior section of the Association.

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OFFICERS.

The officers of the Association shall be a Patron, an Honorary President, a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall consist of ten elected members. In addition, the Immediate Past President, the Presiding Officer of each section, the Provincial Archivist, and the Editor of the British Columbia Historical Quarterly shall also be members of the Council *ex officio*.

2. A ballot-paper shall be sent by the Secretary to each member in good standing at least one week before the annual meeting. Each such ballot-paper shall contain fifteen or more names, including names proposed by the Council, as well as the names of any that may have been nominated by three members in good standing at least one week prior to the issue of the ballot-papers; and to be valid the ballot must be received by the Secretary before the time of closing the poll at the annual meeting.

4. As soon as convenient after the election the Council shall meet, and from amongst its members shall select the officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

5. Should an office for any reason become vacant, or should any elected member of the Council die or resign before the expiration of his term, the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term shall be filled by vote of the Council.

MEETINGS.

1. The annual meeting shall be held in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, or elsewhere at the discretion of the Council, on the second Friday of January in each year. Further meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council.

2. Fifteen members present shall constitute a quorum at any general meeting and five shall constitute a quorum at a meeting of the Council.

3. The annual meeting of any section must precede the annual meeting of the Provincial organization.

4. The officers and Council of the Association now holding office are hereby constituted the officers and Council until the annual meeting of the Association hereinbefore provided to be held on the second Friday of October this year (1936), and all business and purposes of the Association shall be carried on as if constituted under the provisions of these by-laws.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1. (a.) The Association may become a member of, affiliate with, and co-operate with any other society or association, whether incorporated or not, whose objects are in whole or in part similar to its own.

(b.) Any incorporated or unincorporated society or association in sympathy with the objects of this Association may become affiliated with this Association upon the payment of an annual fee of \$2, and shall be entitled to two representatives at general meetings of the Association.

2. The by-laws of the Association shall not be altered, added to, or amended except by an extraordinary resolution of the Association passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of such members entitled to vote, as shall exercise their franchise, notification specifying the intention to propose the resolution having been duly given. Such notice shall be given by lodging with the Secretary, two weeks before the meeting, a copy of the resolution showing the proposed alterations, additions, or amendments. The Secretary shall, within one week before the time of voting, mail a copy of the proposed resolution, alterations, additions, or amendments to each Ordinary member addressed to the member at the address given on the roll. Members of sections shall vote upon the proposed alterations, additions, or amendments at a regular section meeting. The result of such voting shall be recorded and forwarded to the Secretary within seven days of the date of voting. Members-at-large shall vote by a mail ballot.

3. Any officer or member whose fees shall have been fully paid, desiring to withdraw from the Association shall tender his resignation to the Secretary, and the Council shall have power to deal with the same.

4. Any officer of the Association or any member that in the opinion of the Council shall be no longer worthy of holding office in or being a member of the Association may be expelled by a majority vote of the Council passed at a meeting of the Council. Notice of expulsion shall be mailed to the officer or member expelled and addressed to his address as given on the roll. The officer or member expelled may at the next ordinary meeting of the Association appeal against such expulsion. The question of such expulsion shall then be put from the Chair and decided by a majority vote of the members present, and such decision shall be final.

5. The Association shall exercise no borrowing-powers.

6. The accounts of the Association shall be annually audited by auditors appointed by the Council.

7. An official seal shall be provided by the Council, which shall have the power from time to time to change the same and substitute a new seal in lieu thereof. The seal shall be used in manner to be provided by the Council.

8. The books, papers, records, official seal, and other property of the Association shall be in the custody of the Secretary and shall be open to inspection by the members upon demand at any reasonable time.

9. Roberts' Rules of Orders shall, so far as applicable, apply to all meetings of the Association.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The summer outing and meeting, which has become a popular feature of the Section's programme, was held on Saturday, July 12, at Woodside Farm, Sooke. About ninety members were in attendance. Tea was served by Mrs. A. Glintz, after which the meeting was called to order by the President, Mrs. Curtis Sampson. The first speaker was Mr. Willard Ireland, Provincial Archivist, who spoke on the history of the Sooke district. The discoverer of Sooke was a Spaniard, Sub-Lieutenant Manuel Quimper,

who explored the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1790, and gave the high-sounding name of Puerto de Revillagigedo to the present Sooke Inlet. The period of exploration may be said to have come to an end in 1846 when the inlet was surveyed by Captain Henry Kellett, of H.M.S. *Herald*. Three years later Captain W. Colquhoun Grant, Vancouver Island's first independent settler, took up land at Sooke, and in addition to farming set up a small sawmill there. His holdings were acquired later by the Muir family, the best-known pioneers of the district. Mr. Ireland gave an interesting sketch of the conditions of life at Sooke in early times, and described the start of the farming, fishing, lumbering, and flour-milling industries there. The President next called upon Mr. Donald Fraser, a pioneer teacher in East Sooke, who contributed reminiscences of his experiences, both grave and gay.

As a preliminary to the commencement of the regular meetings of the section, a "Helmcken House Tea" was held on Monday, October 6. The members were received by the President, Mrs. Curtis Sampson, in the drawing-room of the Glenshiel Hotel. Throughout the afternoon small parties were conducted through Helmcken House by the members of the staff of the Provincial Archives. In all about sixty members availed themselves of this opportunity to view one of the most recent additions to the historical attractions of the city.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The fifth annual banquet of the Section was held in Spencer's Dining-room on the evening of Friday, October 3. The attendance set a record, as over 125 members and friends were present. Mr. E. S. Robinson, the President, presided. The speaker of the evening was to have been His Honour Judge Howay, but, unfortunately, illness prevented him from attending. Mr. Willard Ireland, Provincial Archivist, very kindly consented, at very short notice, to address the meeting, and took as his subject *Pre-Confederation Defence Problems of the Pacific Colonies*. Commencing with the Oregon "war panic" of 1845-46, Mr. Ireland traced the rise and progress of British interest in the Pacific Coast and of the measures taken from time to time for its defence. The Queen Charlotte Islands annexation scare of 1852-53, the Crimean War (which, by a coincidence, is discussed in an article in this issue of the *Quarterly*), the San Juan dispute, and the Civil War were dealt with in turn. Once the famous *Trent* incident was disposed of, the British Government seems to have ceased to worry about the Pacific Colonies, and it is significant that the Royal Engineers were withdrawn in 1863, while the Civil War was still in progress. Mr. Ireland told his story with point and anecdote, and the address was much enjoyed by the large number present.

Mr. Kenneth Waites, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, spoke briefly, and reported that the paid-up membership of the society for 1941 had reached the gratifying total of 497, or only sixteen members below the total a year ago. Mr. Waites announced further that His Honour W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, had consented to become Patron of the Association.

Mr. Ireland brought greetings from the Victoria Section, and Mrs. Burton Kurth gave a brief song recital, accompanied by Mr. Kurth.

Annual reports were submitted by Miss Jean Coots, Secretary, and Miss Thelma Nevard, Treasurer, of the Section. Dr. Kaye Lamb reviewed the progress of the *Quarterly*. The election of officers for the year 1941-42 was then held, the result being as follows:—

Honorary President.....	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
President.....	Dr. M. Y. Williams.
Past President.....	Mr. E. S. Robinson.
Vice-President.....	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Secretary.....	Miss Jean Coots.
Treasurer.....	Miss Thelma Nevard.
Members of the Council:	
Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.	Miss Helen Boutilier.
Mr. D. A. McGregor.	Dr. Kaye Lamb.
Mr. George B. White.	Mr. K. A. Waites.
Mr. E. G. Baynes.	Mr. J. M. Boady.
Dr. W. N. Sage.	Miss Eleanor B. Mercer.
Dr. O. M. Sanford.	Mr. T. M. Stephen.
Mr. R. L. Boroughs.	Mr. F. Henry Johnson.

THE OPENING OF HELMCKEN HOUSE.

On August 26, 1941, a long-cherished dream of the Provincial Archives became a reality with the opening in Victoria, B.C., of Helmcken House as an historical museum. In many ways it is a unique attraction; for as far as is known the house is the oldest residence in British Columbia which has survived in anything approaching its original condition. Erected in 1852, additions were twice made in later years, but fortunately the original unit has survived practically unaltered. The house is located on Elliott Street, adjoining Thunderbird Park, and stands on ground which, originally forming a part of the James Bay estate of Sir James Douglas, was given by the Governor to his prospective son-in-law, Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken.

In his manuscript *Reminiscences*, written in 1892, and acquired by the Provincial Archives in 1939, Dr. Helmcken has left a vivid description of the building of this house—a veritable pioneer epic.

“Mr. Douglas gave me a piece of land, an acre, wanted me to live on it, because being close together there would be mutual aid in case of trouble—for in those days trouble might at any time come from Indians and so forth—besides there were no servants save Indians—and they never remained for long and would not live in houses. I ought not to have built there, for it was away from my work and office, and so soon found it very inconvenient. My house and office ought to have been together near the fort—as well for commerce as profit, but this was found out by experience. A doctor[']s office and his home ought to be together for it adds materially to his comfort, convenience and profit, saves no end of time and labour, besides other advantages. Of course for the time being it pleased Cecilia—she was near her mother and relatives—no small comfort to her during my absence.

"The piece of land was of course very rough and cost a good deal of time and money to clear it—this being done by Indians chiefly from the north.

"To build a house now is a very easy matter—but a very different matter then. How we studied over the design, i.e. interior divisions of the building 30 x 25!! Then to get it done for there were no contractors, everything had to be done piecemeal. There being no lumber, it had to be built with logs squared on two sides and six inches thick. The sills and uprights were very heavy and morticed—the supports of the floor likewise—the logs had to be let into grooves in the uprights.

"Well the timber had to be taken from the forest—squared there and brought down by water. All this had to be contracted for by french canadians, then when brought to the beach I had big oxen of the company to haul it to the site. Then other canadians took the job of putting the building up as far as the logs were concerned—and then shingling—the indians at this time made shingles—all split. All this was very heavy, very expensive, and very slow work, for the men were by no means in a hurry. Among the names I find Maurice, Peltier, Dubois—all dead now. They chiefly took their pay in blankets and provisions and other ectas—the balance in coin.

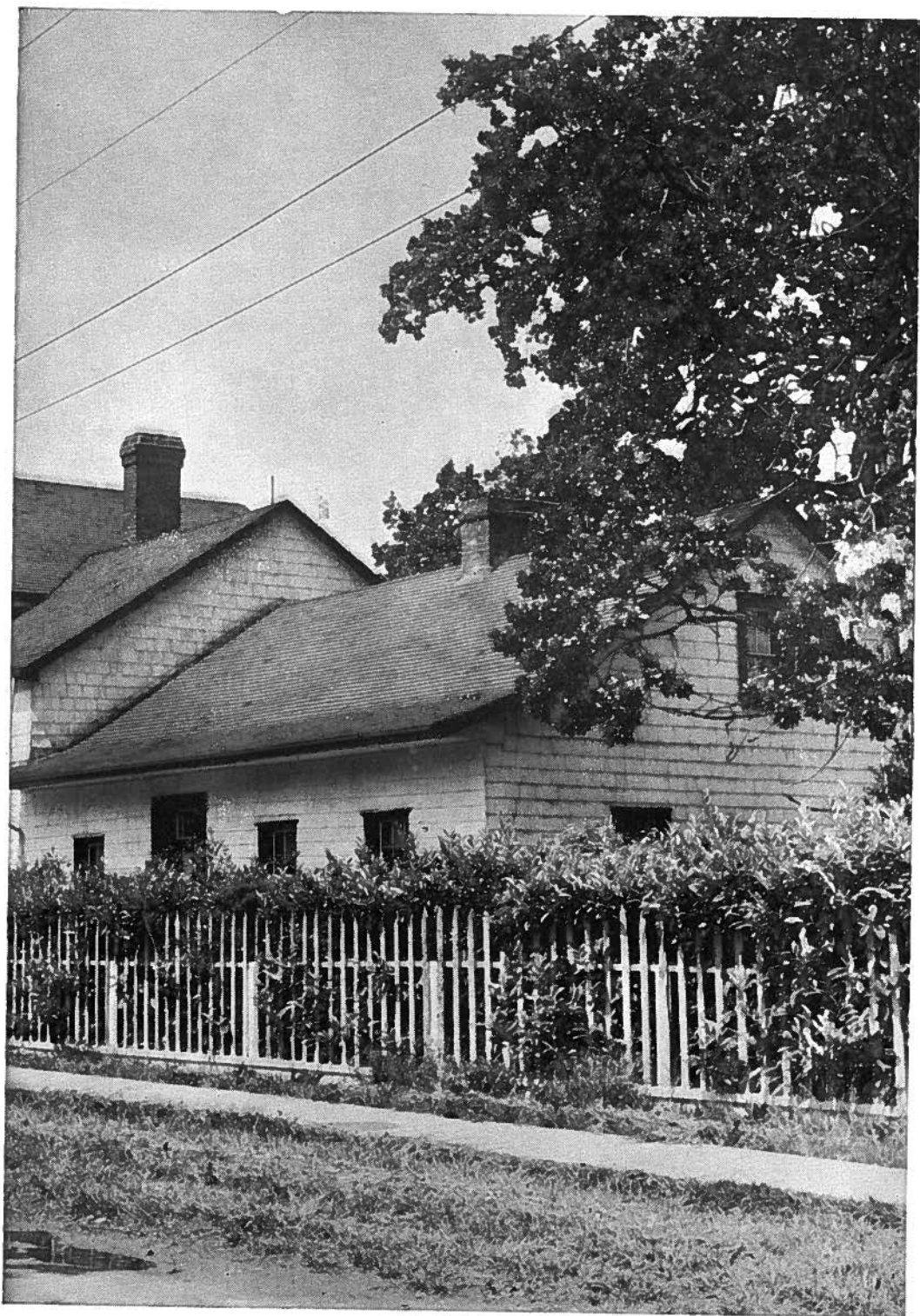
"Well the shell is up—now to get it finished—lumber very scarce and a favor to get any at forty dollars per thousand in the rough—so it all had to be planed and grooved &c by hand! Much of it was cut by Kanakas in a saw pit—so it was not very regular in thickness. I wrote to Blenkinsop at Fort Rupert for plank—he sent me some and also at my wish some yellow cedar, with these latter the doors, windows, and skirting boards were made.

"It so happened that Gideon Halcro, a crofter—a mechanic of all work was here—he could do carpentering, plastering and everything connected with a house, so I got him to go on with the work, but oh, the grumbling about the irregular wood—so much planing down—besides the flooring was 8 or ten inches wide—no narrow plank then. Fortunately I had bought the two lots next mine—a house stood on it, put there by the man who built Mr. Douglas[']s house—at least who finished the inside. Here Halcro worked and I think lived—but oh, how slowly—for I wanted the house to be finished by the spring-time.

"Then to get Lime—this came from Langford[']s and McKenzie[']s—who burned lime occasionally for their own use—after time and trouble I got this and Indians split cedar laths—a work pretty new to them—so the laths were too thin and too springy. The expense and annoyance of all this was very great, in fact the house cost more than treble of a good house now.

"Indians dug a couple of wells and lined one with boulders! The boulders left very little well—they were to[o] large and heavy—I now wonder how the indians handled these stones and built the well without a severe accident.

"A well was an important thing then. Most of the water in the summer time had to be drawn in carts from a spring at a place now called Spring Ridge.



Helmcken House.

"Of course whilst all this was going on I was 'courting'—but never outside—save on Saturdays, when lots of horses were driven into the fort, and clerks, ladies, Mr. Douglas and others would form a party and ride to the country round about. Every one kept his own horse then—one or more. Altho [sic] we all started together—we certainly returned in small parties—having gone helter skelter everywhere. . . .

"It so happened that at this time a Cowitchin indian committed a murder and as usual it was determined that he must be had, but the chiefs could not or would not give up the culprit. Mr. now Governor Douglas determined to go with an expedition to seize him. . . .

"A short time before he went on the aforesaid expedition, Mr. Douglas spoke to me—saying—I am going on this expedition—it is dangerous and what may happen to me is uncertain. I have made my will and so forth. You design to be married at Easter, but it would please me were you to marry before I go, then I would go feeling that if anything happened to me my daughter would be in safe hands and Mrs. Douglas would have some one to look too as well as my children—and so forth. Of course I immediately consented and so my marriage was fixed to come off hurriedly and unexpectedly early. . . .

"My house not being finished it was arranged that we should live in Government House—i.e. Governor Blanshard['s] house formerly. So we lived there for some months, had two rooms and a kitchen, with mighty little furniture—but quite enough for two. . . .

"We remained at 'Govt House' a few months, and then had to remove to my residence, still standing. It was habitable—roughly finished, plastered &c, but inner doors were wanting, so to supply these, grey cotton curtains were hung across—the furniture did not amount to much, but we were soon better supplied, as I received some from England—the horsehair chairs remain—the windsor chairs came from the HBCo store."

Every care has been taken in the restoration of this old house to create a colonial home of the 1850's. Most of the furniture is original. Some of it was brought around Cape Horn in the *Norman Morison* by Dr. Helmcken in 1849-50. Other articles were acquired at the time of and subsequent to his marriage. Some pieces of furniture have been added. All are of great historic interest and come from the homes of such early pioneers as Sir James Douglas, John Work, and Chief Justice David Cameron. At present the restoration includes the Doctor's bedroom, lady's bedroom, hall, and sitting-room; one room has been reserved for exhibition purposes. Of particular value and interest are the collection of early medical instruments and the medical library, to say nothing of the medicine chest—with the medicines intact—used by the Doctor *en route* to the infant colony of Vancouver Island.

A schedule of hours has been arranged, at which times a curator is present to conduct persons through the museum. A nominal charge is made for admission.

Helmcken House stands as a tribute to one of British Columbia's most distinguished pioneers. Dr. Helmcken was the first magistrate appointed in the old Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. When a Legislative Assembly was constituted in 1856 he became its Speaker, a post he retained until the union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1866, at which time the Legislative Assembly was abolished. Thereafter he was a member of the Legislative Council of British Columbia until confederation with the Dominion of Canada was accomplished in 1871. Dr. Helmcken accompanied the Hon. J. W. Trutch and the Hon. R. W. Carrall to Ottawa in 1870 to negotiate the terms of Confederation. Although offered a senatorship, Dr. Helmcken retired from active political life in 1871, and lived quietly in Victoria until his death on September 1, 1920, at the ripe old age of 95.

REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The *Similkameen Historical Association* held its annual banquet in the Travellers' Hall, Princeton, on Friday, October 3. The celebration was the tenth of its kind, as the first of the series took place on August 18, 1932, the 92nd birthday of Mrs. S. L. Allison, "Mother of Similkameen," who was the first Honorary President of the Association.

The *Ninth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* has just come from the press of the Kelowna Printing Company. As usual, the appearance of the report is due in great part to the interest and untiring efforts of Mr. Leonard Norris, Secretary-Treasurer of the Society. A review will appear in the next issue of this *Quarterly*.

GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

For some years past the Graduate Historical Society has had the pleasure of entertaining, at a special summer meeting, the visiting professors who join the faculty of the University of British Columbia for the Summer Session. Continuing this custom, the Society met in the Brock Memorial Building, on the University Campus, on the evening of August 6. About fifty members and friends attended. Professor A. C. Cooke was host, and the guests of honour were Professor F. Lee Benns, of the University of Indiana, author of *Europe since 1914*, and Professor Robert L. Schuyler, of Columbia University, New York City. The President, Mr. Ludlow Beamish, conducted the meeting and Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Honorary President, introduced the guests. Dr. Benns spoke on *Some American Traditions and the War*, with particular and timely emphasis upon those traditions which relate most closely to foreign policy. Dr. Schuyler had chosen a topic farther removed from day-to-day events, and read the paper entitled *History in a Changing World* which is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Considerable discussion followed, in the course of which Professor H. Noel Fieldhouse, Head of the Department of History in the University of Manitoba, was introduced to the meeting and spoke briefly.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JUDGE BEGBIE.

The Associate Editor of the *Quarterly* received the following letter from the Hon. Archer Martin, retired Chief Justice of British Columbia, in July:—

DEAR SIR,

In the April issue of our *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, pp. 125 and 139, it is "presumed" by Dr. Kaye Lamb as "almost certain" that the author of the article on Chief Justice Begbie that appeared in the *Victoria Province* (then a weekly) on 22 Dec. 1894 signed "A. B.," was by Canon Arthur Beanlands.

You will doubtless be pleased to know that Dr. Lamb's "presumption" is correct, because I was so informed by Mr. A. H. Scaife (the Editor of the *Province*) at the time the article was published.

Yours very truly,

ARCHER MARTIN.

This letter was received only a few weeks before Mr. Justice Martin's death, which occurred suddenly on September 1. The late Chief Justice was called to the bar of British Columbia in 1894, and was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1898, and to the newly-constituted Court of Appeal in 1909. He retired as recently as May, 1940. A keen student of history, he joined the British Columbia Historical Association upon its formation in 1922, and was a Past President of the Society. It will be recalled that following his retirement he arranged for the transfer of a large and most valuable collection of legal records from the Law Courts in Victoria to the Provincial Archives. To these public records the Chief Justice most generously added his own note-books, covering his forty-two years on the bench, and his set of judge's wigs, which is believed to be unique on the continent.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Donald C. Davidson, Ph.D. (California), a graduate of the University of British Columbia, was formerly Educational Adviser to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. He has recently been appointed to the staff of the University of Redlands, Redlands, California.

E. P. Creech, is associated with the Geographic Division of the Department of Lands, Victoria, B.C.

Robert Livingston Schuyler, Ph.D., L.H.D., is Professor of History in Columbia University. A former editor of the *Political Science Quarterly*, he has just resigned from the editorship of the *American Historical Review*, the leading historical journal on this continent.

Judge F. W. Howay, LL.D., F.R.S.C., President of the Royal Society of Canada, is the acknowledged authority in the field of British Columbia history.

W. T. Easterbrook, Ph.D. (Toronto), is Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Manitoba. He is the author of *Farm Credit in Canada*. This year he is the holder of a Guggenheim Fellowship and is conducting research on the economic history of the Pacific Northwest.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-1831.

Edited by R. Harvey Fleming, with an introduction by H. A. Innis.
Toronto: The Champlain Society, and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940. Pp. lxxvii., 480.

The second volume in the Hudson's Bay Company series, *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book*, centred about the final stages of the great struggle which culminated in the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies. This, the third volume in that admirable series, forms an interesting companion-piece, for herein are traced the main threads of the first decade of the new company's existence, when a period of intense competitive activity ends and is replaced, of necessity, by a period characterized by retrenchment and consolidation. In this same decade an efficient scheme of organization is hammered out on the hard anvil of practical experience and its efficacy almost immediately subjected to the test of new competitive undertakings throughout the entire sweep of its widespread domain.

The *minutes* themselves occupy some 289 pages of the text and represent the concisely worded conclusions and recommendations of the Northern Council. While they contain much information of great interest of themselves, they do not give a complete nor comprehensive picture of the actual operation of the company, for due consideration must always be given to the part played by the Governor and Committee in London and to the wide discretionary powers vested in the resident governor, George Simpson. An appreciation of this reservation will save the student more particularly interested in the activity of the company in the Pacific slope considerable disappointment. The reorganization in this area and the main trends of policy were more the work of men on the scene, particularly during Simpson's tours of inspection in 1824-25 and 1828-29, than of consultation round the council board in Rupert Land. The editors, fully aware of this limitation in the *minutes*, have very wisely included, in a lengthy appendix, letters from the Governor and Committee in London, and official reports and private correspondence of Governor Simpson for the period 1821-22, which effectively illustrate how the terse, formal resolutions were transmuted into the functional operations of a vital fur-trade organization. This appendix reveals pointedly the paucity of information contained in the *minutes* themselves and to many students it will, perhaps, be a matter of regret that more material of this nature was not made available.

From his wide knowledge of the fur trade of Canada and with his typical erudite scholarship, Professor H. A. Innis has contributed a masterly introduction. Fortunately, it was made possible for him to draw considerably on the large mass of still unpublished records of the company. The result has been an analysis of the problems facing the company after union

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and of the means devised to meet the new conditions in the numerous spheres of activity, which is remarkable both for its conciseness and clarity.

Without in any way belittling the excellence of this introduction or of those which have accompanied the preceding volumes, the time would appear opportune to raise a question concerning the general editorial policy for the series. Considering the great bulk of the material in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and the keen anticipation with which scholars have looked forward to its publication, it would appear to be open to question whether the inclusion of lengthy introductions is in the long run a wise plan of procedure, if in so doing the amount of original source material published has, of necessity, to be reduced. Moreover, the reviewer is of opinion that a change in the format, substituting smaller type for the main text and less generous margins, would not impair the appearance of the publications but materially improve its usefulness by reason of the increased amount of source material which might thereby be printed. *The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843* (Toronto, 1938), suggests itself as an excellent example of a less lavish publication.

In keeping with previous practice a series of biographical sketches forms an extensive appendix. Of the fifty-three individuals thus noted, over twenty served at some time or other on the Columbia or in New Caledonia. The foot-notes throughout the volume are up to the usual high standard. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the index, which is entirely inadequate for a publication of this sort. The frontispiece is a reproduction of silhouettes of three of the London Committee, Nicholas Garry, Benjamin Harrison, and Edward Ellice, and of the Secretary, William Smith.

The publication of this volume under the serious handicap of war conditions redounds greatly to the credit of all concerned. It is a further evidence, if such be necessary, "that although the war can delay, it cannot break, co-operation between Canada and the Mother Country."

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

North Pacific Fisheries with special reference to Alaska Salmon. By Homer E. Gregory and Kathleen Barnes. (Studies of the Pacific No. 3.) New York: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1939. Pp. xviii., 302. \$3.

When Japanese intervention threatened a valuable food resource already endangered by improved techniques of exploitation in Canadian and American hands, the complex problem of conservation of the North Pacific fisheries became acute. Since solutions lie essentially in the sphere of international adjustments, this study, along with others devoted to legal aspects of the fisheries—Dr. Joseph Walter Bingham's *Report on the International Law of Pacific Coast Fisheries* (Stanford University Press, 1938), and a more detailed analysis under preparation by Dr. Stefan Riesenfeld, of the University of California—quite properly takes its place as part of the inter-

national research programme of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The result is an important and useful contribution to research in the economy of the Pacific Northwest.

The primary issue, as stated, is that of conservation. Governmental policies and procedures devoted to this end are described briefly; Alaska, here as elsewhere throughout the book, receiving the most detailed treatment. Canadian-American negotiations in the salmon and halibut fisheries, and particularly in the latter, are discussed as illustrations of the possibilities of international co-operation. More elaborate treatment is reserved for a discussion of Japanese encroachments in the North Pacific—the book opens and closes on this note. The complexity of the problem of conservation, and the urgent necessity of more satisfactory solutions than at present obtained, are emphasized in a treatment notable for its astute handling of controversial issues.

Another and closely related issue is that of monopolistic tendencies in the production, processing, and marketing of fish. The organization of the canning industry is regarded as a determining factor in fishing operations, and a study of the combination movement among canners leads to the conclusion that a balance appears to have been maintained between competitive and monopolistic elements, competition having been preserved to a considerable extent by expansion. The tendency to integration between the stages of processing and marketing, however, and lessened possibilities of expansion in the future, promise a higher degree of centralization in the fishing industry. These chapters on industrial organization are among the best in the book.

Other aspects of the fisheries which receive attention include a description of biological factors, fishing techniques, and processing methods; an account of methods of marketing, advertising, and distribution, and of regulations for the protection of consumers; an analysis of prices, profits, and costs in the industry; a study of the position of labour, and a short chapter on foreign trade in canned salmon. There is a brief treatment of the problems of the halibut industry, and an excellent discussion of the place of the fisheries in the Alaskan economy. Although attention is directed largely to the American scene, British Columbia is included where necessary to make the picture complete. The volume is not only the first comprehensive study of the fishing industry of the North Pacific, but a clear, realistic analysis of the major problems of that industry. It is to be hoped that other industries will be subjected to the same treatment.

W. T. EASTERBROOK.

BRANDON COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA,
BRANDON, MANITOBA.

Ultima Thule, by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. 383. Ill. \$3.50.

Mr. Stefansson's previous book on *Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic*, published in 1938, was deeply interesting. He solved the mysteries by aid of his knowledge of the Arctic regions and his indefatigable research. In this book he penetrates the mystery surrounding Thule, the modern Iceland. This is done with reference to the voyages of Pytheas and Columbus, 1,167 years apart.

The three most famous voyages of antiquity were the Phœnician circumnavigation of Africa during the reign of the Pharaoh Necho, early in the seventh century B.C.; the voyage of Hanno from Carthage to the west coast of Africa in 550 B.C.; and the voyage of Pytheas, the Greek astronomer, from Massilia (Marseilles) to Britain and beyond in 325 B.C.

It is a question whether Pytheas went to Thule, and it is a further question whether Thule was Iceland or Norway. Our author brings wide research to bear on the problem, and concludes that Pytheas did go to Thule, and that his Thule was Iceland. The evidence for and against is given judiciously, and with pleasant touches of humour. It is intellectual fun of the best kind.

The supposed voyage of Columbus to Iceland is treated in the same manner, with numerous citations from conflicting writers. The reviewer found it deeply interesting, for it is all done skilfully and pleasantly, with a total absence of dogmatism or acerbity. The two chief sources of information, the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the Admiral of the Ocean, and the *Historia* of the Spanish bishop, Bartolomé de las Casas, are examined carefully, and in the end the literary and textual criticism of Miss Eloise McCaskill, who has collaborated with our author, presents a new and ingenious argument. A blunder supposed to have been made by Columbus in his description of the high tides on the coast of Iceland proves to be nothing of the kind when attention is directed to the meaning of *grosse maree* or *marea*, the phrase used by Ferdinand Columbus and incorrectly translated as referring to high tides instead of high waves. On the whole, despite new arguments, the reader is left in doubt, as he should be left, because the evidence is inconclusive. However, if Christopher Columbus went to Iceland in 1477, he must have heard about the Norse voyages to Greenland and to the North American coast; if he did, why did he sail through the South Atlantic to the West Indies?

In the third and last chapter of this book the author discusses Arctic climate, a matter on which it will be granted readily he is better qualified to speak than anybody living. Here the title of his famous book *The Friendly Arctic* will have prepared the reader for his decisive opinion on the question. Philosophers and cosmographers have prevailed too long in their misconceptions. In his conclusion Mr. Stefansson quotes the meteorologist of the U.S. Weather Bureau: "That high temperatures necessarily go with low latitudes is one of the most stubborn of delusions. This notion has come down to us from the ancient Greek philosophers. . . . It is false even in regard to the extreme temperatures of summer and winter." The

reviewer remembers basking in a temperature of 90° at Dawson and fearing for his life in a temperature of -65° in the Bitter Root Mountains of western Montana.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

War Chief Joseph. By Helen Addison Howard and Dan L. McGrath. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941. Pp. 362. Ill. \$3.50.

The history of the Indian in the Pacific Northwest normally does not make pleasant reading, for few aboriginal peoples have been made the victims of more inhuman maltreatment. In this book we are told the life-story of Young Joseph, Hin-mut-too-yah-lat-kekht, the great chief of the Nez Percés, with particular emphasis upon the military campaign of 1877. From the scattered and fragmentary sources available the authors have pieced together a dramatic story. Conflicting testimony has been carefully analysed. A sympathetic appreciation of Indian practices and customs made easier the task of reviewing with proper historical perspective the tragic details of an Indian war.

As might be expected the biographical material relating to the early years of Chief Joseph is not abundant. What does exist has been skilfully interwoven into a background for the Nez Percés War of 1877. Due attention is paid to the earlier Yakima War of 1856-58 and to the subsequent councils and treaties. The story of the military campaign of 1877 is told in great detail, for it was during this epic struggle that the full genius of the young Nez Percés leader, as diplomat as well as warrior, came to be recognized. In all he fought eleven engagements, five of which were pitched battles, and marched some 1,800 miles in seventy-five days—a military exploit of no small magnitude. The nobility of character of this great Indian leader is amply evidenced by the fortitude with which he endured the years of unwarranted punishment following his surrender and the constancy with which he sought to regain freedom for his people.

This is a book for the general reader and the historical student alike. In the words of Clifford M. Drury, in a foreword: "Let the reader get but a few pages into this book and, if he has any compassion in his heart for the mistreated red man, or any interest in a dramatic story, he will be loath to lay the book aside till he has read the full account. No novelist could ever have conceived such a tale." Yet it also stands as a sound piece of historical research, for the facts related therein are well authenticated. An excellent bibliography and a detailed index greatly enhance the usefulness of the volume. The illustrative material selected reflects careful consideration. All in all *War Chief Joseph* is a book well worth reading.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

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