THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JULY, 1942

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

Editorial communications may be addressed either to the Editor or to the Associate Editor.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. Price, 50c. the copy, or $2 the year. Members of the British Columbia Historical Association in good standing receive the *Quarterly* without further charge.

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VI. VICTORIA, B.C., July, 1942. No. 3

CONTENTS.

THE INTRODUCTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS AMONGST THE INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.*

One of the earliest proclamations of James Douglas dealing with peace and order on the mainland of British Columbia was issued at Fort Hope on September 6, 1858, immediately after the Indian trouble of that summer and more than two months before he became Governor of the Colony of British Columbia. It recited that

It has been represented to me that Spirituous and other intoxicating Liquors have been sold to the Native Indians of Fraser River and elsewhere, to the great injury and demoralization of the said Indians; and also thereby endangering the Public Peace, and the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects and others in the said Districts.

And then proceeded to make it

Known unto all men that the Sale or Gift of Spirituous or other Intoxicating drinks to the said Native Indians is contrary to Law, and is hereby strictly prohibited, and that persons charged with such offences will be proceeded against accordingly, and on conviction thereof before a Magistrate, will be mulcted in the penal sum of not more than Twenty Pounds, nor less than Five Pounds.

Et cetera. In view of this stern enactment, based on the protection of the Indian and the preservation of peace and order, it is well to trace the steps whereby the Indian of the Coast became acquainted with, and acquired a taste for, intoxicating liquor—" fire-water."

The first European to see any part of the Pacific Coast north of California was Vitus Bering, a Dane in command of a Russian exploring expedition. He records, under the date of September 5, 1741, that being anchored near one of the Schumagin Islands, he sent an officer to interview the natives. On his return the officer reported that he had offered one of the natives " a glass of liquor, but as he tasted it he spat it out and returned the glass."[1] Other records of the incident are to the same effect. We have no information as to the "drink" further than Bering's

* A paper read before Section II., The Royal Society of Canada, at Toronto, May, 1942.

(1) F. A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, New York, 1922, I., pp. 147–148.

statement that before leaving Kamchatka, for lack of anything better to take along on a sea voyage, they distilled liquor from a sweet grass by a process known in that country. Steller's *Journal* identifies the grass as *Sladkaya trana.* Probably we are justified in assuming that liquor so obtained required at least an educated taste.

This plain story was a bit embroidered by G. P. Muller in his Collection of Historical Materials. The French translation of Professor Muller's account runs as follows:—

Waxel [the officer] lui présenta une tasse d'eau-de-vie. Mais cette boisson lui parut aussi désagréable qu'étrange. Il cracha ce qu'il en avoit dans la bouche, & se mit à crier, comme pour se plaindre aux siens qu'on en agissoit mal avec lui. Il n'y eut pas moyen l'appaiser. On lui offrit des éguilles, des verres à collier, un chaudron de fer, des pipes; il refusa tout.[2]

When the great Captain James Cook reached Nootka Sound in March, 1778, he, the first European to tread the soil of British Columbia, found no intoxicating liquor, or any taste for it, amongst the natives. He writes that the Indians required that all of their food "should be of the bland or less acrid kind"; they would eat neither the leek nor garlic, "and when offered spirituous liquors, they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate."[3] None of the other accounts contains any reference to the matter, although Ellis says, "Their drink is water and train-oil."

Mozino, the Spanish botanist who was at Nootka in 1792, gives similar evidence in his *Noticias de Nutka.* He states:—

I doubt if they care for garlic, as although they come to sell it to us in their canoes, it appears to cause them some disgust when they see it on our tables. They had no fermented drink, and had satisfied their thirst with water only, until they began to trade with the Europeans. Since then they have become fond enough of wine, whiskey, and beer, to all of which they give themselves to excess when some one provides it liberally. Until now the thought does not seem to have occurred to them to procure these liquors through the medium of commerce. . . . They love excessively tea and coffee. . . .[4]

(2) *Voyages et Découvertes faites par les Russes* . . . traduits de l'allemand de G. P. Muller, Amsterdam, 1766, I., pp. 271–272. On this is based the version in Burney's *North-Eastern Voyages*, London, 1819, p. 168.

(3) Captain James Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1776–1780* (Folio ed.), London, 1784, II., p. 323. (Book IV., Chapter III.)

(4) José Mariaño Mozino Suárez de Figueroa, *Noticias de Nutka*, Mexico, 1913, p. 18. A translation was made for the writer by V. D. Webb, Esq.

This contemporary evidence establishes what later visitors support: the Indian of the Northwest Coast had no inborn desire for or knowledge of intoxicating liquor, and his first reaction to it was one of disgust. A few years of the maritime trade completely changed him: he became inordinately fond of such liquor, indulging in it to excess and becoming under its influence a perfect demon. It reminds us of Pope's lines:—

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated, needs but to be seen;
> But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The pioneer maritime fur-trader, James Hanna, arrived at Nootka Sound in the year 1785, seven years after Captain Cook's visit. In the interval Spanish exploring expeditions had ranged along our coast, but none had landed. It appears that at first the maritime traders did not use liquor as a trade medium. Sea-otter skins were then very plentiful, and the trading goods were of the simplest: bars of iron, sheets of copper, kettles, pots and pans, besides blue cloth blankets, beads, buttons, and trinkets. The aim of the trader then was to seek out some Indian village not before known, where the display of his wares would be like the casting of an attractive fly upon the surface of a trout-filled lake. The avidity of the natives for European manufactures, the absence of opposition, and the carrying-on of the trade with the canoes alongside whilst the vessel was hove to, miles from shore, combined to prevent the use of intoxicating liquor as an article of trade or even as an inducement. Apparently the only liquor that Hanna, Meares, Strange, Portlock and Dixon, Colnett and Duncan—the earliest maritime traders—had on their ships was for the personal use of the officers and crew, and it was strictly confined to such purpose.

The Spaniards, who were settled at Nootka Sound from 1789 until 1795, to their credit be it said, offered the Indians only tea, coffee, and chocolate. Martinez in his manuscript diary states that when he was about to leave Nootka Sound, on August 25, 1789, Maquinna, the head chief, came aboard the *Princesa* and begged for a drink of "Cha," that is tea, of which he had become quite fond. Malaspina, on August 27, 1791, on the eve of his departure from Nootka, had a visit from Maquinna, whom Roquefeuil calls "an importunate beggar," and records that,

"He took some cups of tea aboard the *Atrevida*, a custom already established amongst his relations and subordinates."[5] Valdes, when at Neah Bay, in June, 1792, was visited by Tetacus, the head chief of the vicinity. He writes:—

When they presented him with a cup of chocolate, he gave proof of the affection which he had for his wife, since, having found at the first sips which he took that the taste was pleasant, he immediately moistened a piece of bread with it and was insistent that she should share in the treat.[6]

The first record of a change in the natives' attitude towards intoxicating liquor that I have met is dated July, 1790. Manuel Quimper, in the *Princesa Real*, the Spanish name of Meares's captured sloop *Princess Royal*, was lying at anchor in Neah Bay when to his surprise arrived one of his Indian friends from Clayoquot, who had come all the way, about 80 or 90 miles, to visit him. The Indian embraced Quimper with great joy, saying that he had left home two days before, merely to see him. "I was most obliging to him," says Quimper, "and to prove how true was my former friendship, I entertained him with wine and biscuit of which he is very fond, proving by this that he had much intercourse with other nations."[7]

Marchand, in 1791, wrote:—

It is not known that the Tchinkitanayans [Tlingit] make use of any fermented drink or any strong liquor, and the brandy of which they were prevailed on to make a trial, appeared not to be to their liking.[8]

In 1805, Langsdorff met in the neighbourhood of Sitka some Tlingit Indians, of whom he says:—

Though they would like brandy very much, they reject it because they see the effect it produces, and are afraid that, if deprived of their senses, they should fall into the power of the Russians.

And again:—

Brandy, which is sometimes offered them by the Russians, they reject as a scandalous liquor, depriving them of their senses.[9]

(5) Alejandro Malaspina, *La Vuelta al Mundo*, Madrid, 1885, p. 193. (Translation.)

(6) *Viaje hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802, p. 33. English translation by Cecil Jane: *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast of America*, London, 1930, p. 29.

(7) Quimper's diary, quoted in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, Santa Ana, Calif., 1933, p. 124.

(8) Etienne Marchand, *A Voyage Round the World* (8 vo. ed.), London, 1801, I., p. 340.

(9) G. H. Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels*, Carlisle, 1817, pp. 396, 412.

And Ross Cox said:—

All the Indians on the Columbia entertain a strong aversion to ardent spirits, which they regard as poison. They allege that slaves only drink to excess; that drunkenness is degrading to free men.[10]

It appears, however, that the Indian's natural dislike of strong liquor very quickly broke down under the constant temptation to accept a drink in the spirit of *bonne camaraderie.* Marchand expressed the pious hope that the "fatal liquor" which had made such ravages amongst the natives of the eastern part of the continent might not find entry on its western shores; and his countryman, La Pérouse, declared that if to their own vices the Indians of the Coast should add "a knowledge of the use of any inebriating liquor" he feared that the race would be entirely annihilated. Having become acquainted with liquor by gift from a trader friend, the Indian at first regarded good fellowship as its proper environment. In 1791, when John Hoskins, the clerk of the ship *Columbia,* of Boston, visited Wickananish, the chief at Clayoquot, the latter expressed regret that he could not welcome Hoskins with liquor, and said that if he had been forewarned of the visit the deficiency would have been met.[11] Evidently the Spaniards followed the practice of the other Europeans and began to offer liquor, usually wine, to the chiefs. Thus, Galiano, in 1792, says that Maquinna "drank wine with pleasure and in order that his mind might not be fogged left others to determine the amount which he should drink of that which he called 'Spanish water.'"[12]

In 1792 we find the first vessel that brought intoxicating liquor to the Coast as a part of her trading media. The discredit belongs to the French nation. In that year the French ship *La Flavie* arrived at Nootka Sound, loaded with brandy "with design of disposing of it in Kamschatka, to trade in skins and to search for the Count de la Pérouse," as Quadra says in his manuscript journal. In reference to the alleged intention to search for La Pérouse the *Viage* remarks that "It seemed to

(10) Ross Cox, *The Columbia River,* 3rd edition, London, 1832, I., pp. 291–292.

(11) Hoskins' narrative in F. W. Howay, *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* Boston, 1942, p. 260.

(12) *Viage Hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana,* p. 17; *A Spanish Voyage . . .* p. 17.

us that this purpose was very secondary"—a very pertinent remark, for La Pérouse was last heard of at Sydney, Australia. It may be that the brandy was intended to find its principal market in Siberia, but Haswell tells us that at Nootka Sound *La Flavie* "sold a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors and clothing for sea-otter skins."[13] This is the first recorded sale of liquor by the maritime traders to our Indians, and it will be observed that it was brandy—strong stuff. In the same year the Boston ship *Margaret* anchored in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in front of the quaint Spanish settlement. Her captain, James Magee, was very ill, and Quadra, the kind-hearted *Comandante*, granted him the use of a house during his illness.

"But before we were here long we found," says Edward Bell, the clerk of the *Chatham*, one of Vancouver's ships, "that ill-health was not Mr. Magee's only motive for remaining on shore here, for he was carrying on a most profitable trade with the Spaniards & Seamen in Spirituous Liquors, generously charging only four Dollars a gallon for Yankee Rum that cost him most probably about 2/- or half a crown per gallon."

Bell then continues:—

Indeed, the ill effects of this shameful trade were soon too great to pass without taking notice of it, and endeavouring to put a stop to it. Our Seamen were continually drunk which from the badness of the liquor threw them into fits of sickness; and Captn. Vancouver was at last oblig'd to take measures that prevented any further trade of that nature with our people.[14]

It will be noticed that the writer of the above journal is silent regarding any sale of this awful liquor to the natives, for whom it was undoubtedly intended; nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that some part of it, at least, did not reach them. Frequent indulgence had conquered the original and inherent aversion. We are now at the headwaters of the liquor traffic; the Indian is started on his downward path.

When Vancouver anchored in Friendly Cove, in August, 1792, Maquinna came to pay him a formal visit, but his superior rank not being known to the sentinel, he was refused admittance to the *Discovery*. The mistake being discovered he was invited on board, complaining angrily of the affront to his savage dignity. Quadra, who was also on the ship as a visitor, obligingly took

(13) Haswell's Second Log, in *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* p. 347.

(14) "A New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), p. 224.

upon himself the task of explaining the error and smoothing the ruffled feathers of the chief. Suitable presents placated him and he was at last satisfied of the friendly intentions of the British commander.

. . . but no sooner had he drank a few glasses of wine, than he renewed the subject, regretted the Spaniards were about to quit the place, and asserted that we should presently give it up to some other nation; by which means himself and his people would be constantly disturbed and harassed by new masters.[15]

This is one of the first recorded instances of the effect of liquor on the Indian, arousing in him forgotten grievances and latent animosities.

The maritime traders did not, at first, realize the great hold that liquor had obtained on the natives, and until about 1800 did not include it in their trade goods, but only used it as a means of encouraging trade. In 1793, Captain Roberts, of the Boston ship *Jefferson,* says of the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands:—

Jusqu' ici les liqueurs fortes sent peu désirées par eux; le cuivre, le fer, sont ce qu'ils recherchent davantage: particulièrement le cuivre en feuille.[16]

But six years later R. J. Cleveland says that when the *Caroline* was lying at anchor near Rose Point, Queen Charlotte Islands, the son-in-law of Conehaw, a Haida chief of Kaigani, approached the cutter and at his earnest solicitation was invited on board.

We invited him into the cabin, and gave him a glass of wine, which pleased him so much that he soon asked for another.[17]

The evidence shows that in the 1790's the Indian everywhere on the coast had acquired a taste for intoxicating liquor. In August, 1793, when Vancouver was near Cholmondeley Sound, Clarence Strait, in southern Alaska, he gave the Haida chiefs bread and molasses—always a great treat to the Indians. In return they presented to him a bladder of whale-oil, extolling its superior qualities and claiming that it was the equal of treacle; but the odour was so obnoxious that Vancouver excused himself from taking even a spoonful. To clear himself from

(15) Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery,* 8vo. edition, London, 1801, II., p. 337.

(16) Rochefoucald-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis,* Paris, An VII. [1800], III., p. 25.

(17) Richard J. Cleveland, *Voyages and Commercial Enterprises of the Sons of New England,* New York, 1855, p. 107.

this seeming impoliteness he offered them "a large glass of rum, a luxury to which they seemed by no means strangers."[18] Again, in 1794, at Cook Inlet—a place long frequented by Russian and other traders—Vancouver was visited by a young man and a girl, in a skin canoe. Both showed by their conduct that they were acquainted with European liquors and customs. They came on board the *Discovery* without the least hesitation.

> The man took his dinner without the least ceremony, drank brandy, and accepted such presents as were made him, but seemed to prefer snuff and silk handkerchiefs to everything else.[19]

A few days later, in the same vicinity, three natives paddled to the ship, and on coming aboard made signs for snuff and tobacco; on receiving them they expressed regret that they had nothing to offer in return.

> At dinner they did not make the least scruple of partaking of our repast, with such wine and liquors as were offered to them; though of these they drank very sparingly, seeming to be well aware of their powerful effect.[20]

In June, 1795, Captain Charles Bishop, in the *Ruby*, was at Banks Island, where he met the chief Shakes, and regaled him, as he informs us in his manuscript journal, with "biscuits and butter, and a few glasses of wine, and the trade commenced."

Up to this point, with the exception of the French ship *La Flavie* and the Boston ship *Margaret*, the maritime traders had used liquor, not as a trade medium, but as a concomitant of trade, and as a means of ingratiating themselves with the natives. By about 1800 the keen competition for sea-otter skins had led to the general introduction of intoxicating liquor as an article of barter, for which the ground had been well prepared. In the fifteen years that had intervened since Hanna's arrival in 1785 the whole system had changed: no longer was the trade carried on while the ship lay-to anywhere from 3 to 6 miles offshore; no longer was entry upon the vessel's deck confined to the chiefs or prominent persons—every native had come to regard it as his *right* to be on board when disposing of his skins; no longer was trade confined to iron bars, sheets of copper, cloth, blankets, beads, buttons, bangles, and trinkets. The trading ships now

(18) Vancouver, *op. cit.*, IV., p. 225.
(19) *Ibid.*, V., p. 151.
(20) *Ibid.*, V., p. 162.

carried an assorted cargo of European manufactures; they were a combination of liquor store and modern department store, aiming to supply every need, every fancy, of the fickle native. They even dealt in the products of the Coast itself: clamons (native armour of tanned elk or moose hide), shrowton (grease extracted by the natives of the Nass River from the small fish, oolachan), haiqua (the dentalium shell), and slaves. All these the traders obtained from tribes having them in quantity, and carried for sale to distant tribes. On board every trading vessel as a part of her goods for barter were arms and ammunition, and casks—many casks—of New England and West Indian rum, whether shown on her manifest or not. Dr. S. E. Morison, a very accurate and reliable authority, fell into a sad error when he wrote:—

> New England rum, that ancient medium for savage barter, is curiously absent from the Northwest fur trade. Molasses and ship-biscuit were used instead of liquor to treat the natives.[21]

After 1800 the only vessels in the maritime trade were American, usually from Boston; and so notorious was the fact that they were carrying large stocks of liquor that as early as 1808 the Russian Government complained of their traffic with the natives in fire-arms and "fire-water"—certainly a dangerous combination. The *Columbia*, of Boston, on her second voyage had on board three hogsheads (311 gallons) of New England rum, two hogsheads (225 gallons) of West Indian rum, and, possibly, four more hogsheads (451 gallons) of New England rum, together with half a ton of powder and about 200 muskets. Jewitt informs us that the *Boston*, at the time of her capture in 1803, had as part of her trading-goods nearly twenty puncheons of rum, about 2,000 gallons. Fortunately the *Boston* was burned before the Indians had secured more than a case of gin and one tierce (about 35 gallons) of rum, "with which," says he, "they were highly delighted, as they have become very fond of spirituous liquors since their intercourse with the whites." And they drank so freely of it

(21) Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860*, Boston, 1921, p. 57.

. . . that in a short time they became so extremely wild and frantic that Thompson and myself, apprehensive for our safety, thought it prudent to retire privately into the woods, where we continued till past midnight.[22]

The Indian women, who he says then drank nothing but water, concluding also that discretion was the better part of valour, had fled before the orgy commenced. When Jewitt and his companion returned they found the Indians stretched out on the ground in a state of complete intoxication. Jewitt seized the opportunity of protecting himself by boring a hole in the cask, and in the morning it was empty. He had saved a case of port wine, " which the Indians are not fond of," he says, probably because it was not ardent enough to produce intoxication quickly.

The Columbia River region, being infrequently visited by the maritime fur-traders and thus free from any struggle for trade, was the last part of the Coast to be reached by the traffic in intoxicating liquor. James G. Swan, who came to Shoalwater Bay in 1852, writes:—

They are all extravagantly fond of ardent spirits, and are not particular what kind they have, provided it is strong, and gets them drunk quickly. This habit they have acquired since the visit of Lewis and Clark in 1805, for they state that they had not observed any liquors of an intoxicating kind used among any of the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. . . .

An old woman told him that liquor was introduced amongst the Chinooks by a person whom from her description Swan thought to be Lieutenant Broughton, of H.M.S. *Chatham,* who was in the Columbia River in 1793—sixty years before Swan arrived. The old woman must have been but a small child at the time. However she said that

They drank some rum out of a wine-glass—how much she did not recollect; but she *did* recollect that they got drunk, and were so scared at the strange feeling that they ran into the woods and hid till they were sober.

This is just another example of the introduction of liquor in the spirit of good comradeship; for if the person were Broughton he had nothing to gain by the act, and nothing to sell to the natives. Swan continues:—

They have been apt learners since that time, and now will do any thing for the sake of whisky. Old Carcumcum [the old woman] said they had but

(22) *The Adventures of John Jewitt,* edited by Robert Brown, London, 1896, pp. 84 ff.

a very little rum from the traders till the settlement of Astoria, when they began to get a little more used to it.[23]

We have now traced the stream of liquor amongst the natives of the Coast from its source in the friendly glass of wine given by the explorer simply for good fellowship, or by the maritime trader to ingratiate himself and enable him more easily to do business with the Indian; we have seen the Indian's original antipathy and disgust change rapidly to fondness for and intense desire for intoxicants; and we have seen the casual friendly glass replaced by thousands of gallons of liquor sent out as the best trade medium. The deleterious and dangerous effects upon the Indians are shown by Jewitt's description of the wild debauch that followed the looting of the *Boston*. Everywhere the effect was the same. But the unrestrained maritime traders, seeking only present gains, utterly oblivious of the terrible results, finding it a potent trade medium continued to bring the "fire-water."

The land fur-traders on the contrary, having permanent trading-posts and a continuing interest in the fur-harvest which the ephemeral maritime traders lacked, saw the necessity of refraining from the use of liquor in their relations with the Indians. In 1812 the representatives of the North West Company and the Pacific Fur Company entered into a compact "to abstain from giving the Indians any spirituous liquors, to which both parties strictly adhered."[24] And thirty years later the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company agreed not to use liquor in any way in the fur-trade with the natives, unless made necessary by the presence of "opposition" on the Coast, which meant in reality the trading vessels from Boston, the "Boston pedlars," as they were sometimes deprecatingly called.

To complete the circle with a contemporary picture of the effect of intoxicating liquor on the Indian, I am reproducing, with the kind permission of the Provincial Archivist, Dr. W. F. Tolmie's eye-witness account of the wild debauch when in 1834 the Hudson's Bay Company, to ensure the safety of its people in

(23) James G. Swan, *Three Years at Shoal-water Bay*, New York, 1857, pp. 155 ff.

(24) Cox, *op. cit.*, I., p. 180.

abandoning the old Fort Simpson, gave rein to the Indian's acquired taste for that liquor.[25]

On Saturday morning [August 30, 1834] rum had been sold to the Indians & some of them getting intoxicated were very turbulent & from noon till sunset when we embarked we were all under arms & in momentary expectation of having to fight our way on board [the *Dryad*] or being butchered on the spot. They attempted frequently to beat down the slight barricade raised on the site of the bastions, but were deterred on seeing us ready with firearms to send a volley among the intruders. About a dozen or twenty indians with muskets were posted on a hill immediately behind from whence they could fire with deadly effect into the Fort at any part. Outside the pickets they were numerous & armed with guns, boarding pikes & knives & endeavouring by their savage whoops & yells to intimidate us. Remained quite in this state for sometime but owing to a temporary lull in the clamor outside, ventured to send a few articles to the boats which were waiting at the beach one or two had passed down with wooden utensils unmolested—no indians appearing in sight—another man was proceeding with a barrel, full of miscellaneous articles, & unheaded [*sic*] when [all] at once several armed villains rushed out from amongst the bushes—& one more inebriated & thence more daring than the rest, seized the barrel & with drawn dagger drove the man from his charge—he returned to the fort & first meeting me I went out but seeing the savage advancing with his knife aloft in a menacing attitude I stepped slowly to the gate & procured a cutlass from the doorkeeper. Thus armed I walked towards the Indian who was surrounded by his friends persuading him to desist & at the same time Kennedy issued & addressed the savages while the barrel was rolled to the beach in the meantime without molestation. Soon after a gun was fired from the woods at one of the people employed at the strand, the ball whizzing past his ear. Every thing of value having been already embarked, no further attempts were made to ship what remained. Red Shirt the indian just mentioned, was, to prevent his doing mischief outside, admitted into the Fort & was immediately assailed by Caxetan the chief with a volley of abuse for his conduct. From words they soon came to blows. Red Shirt's dagger was prevented from doing mischief by two sober indians Jones & Couguele, but being a tough active fellow he still retained it in his grasp & managed with the other hand most cruelly to abuse Caxetan's visage who, on his part fought bravely tooth & nail, considerably damaging his opponents visual organs. Mr Ogden at length got Caxetan & Jones to accompany him on board & once there retained them as hostages for our safety. Now prepared to abandon the Fort & held a debate as to the propriety of leaving behind a cask containing 25 gallons Indian Rum. It was left, Kennedy being the only person who wished to take it along with us. Took the precaution of drawing the priming from all the superfluous muskets after each man had been provided with one. As soon as the gate was

(25) Quoted from the original *Private Diary* of William Fraser Tolmie, August, 1833–December, 1835, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

opened, the armed natives collected around. I went out first & stood at the threshold until the last person had issued. The natives then rushed in to pillage & we reached the boats unmolested. Soon after to our astonishment, Caxetan & Jones from the bank shouted to us, that they wished us to send the boat for the Rum & on our refusing, offerred [*sic*] to bring it on board themselves. They were then told to appropriate it to themselves & on this intelligence they brought the rum on board the vessel to be divided by us. This act proved them to be possessed of more prudence & foresight than we would have given them credit for. Had the division been made amongst themselves bloodshed would in all likelihood have ensued. All night a constant hammering was kept up in the deserted fort & dawn revealed several gaps in the pickets made by those who were intent on procuring the iron spikes which attached the pickets to the bars. It blew a NE We set sail sail [*sic*] soon after daybreak bidding adieu without regret to the inhospitable regions of Nass & in the evening after a pleasant sail, anchored in McLoughlin's Harbour at the new establishment.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

THE KLONDIKE RUSH.*

The river Yukon has its source only 15 miles inland from the tidal waters of the Lynn Canal, in southeastern Alaska, and flows from there in a great arc northwestward to St. Michael, on Bering Sea. The Yukon was first made known by the exploration of Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka[1] in 1883 and it was made famous by the discoveries of gold in 1896.

Previously the upper watershed of the Yukon constituted a part of the Northwest Territories. After the gold-rush, in 1898, the region became a separate Territory. It covers 207,076 square miles.

This northern land had been prospected and mined for gold in a small way long before the days of the Klondike rush. More than a century earlier the occurrence of gold was known to the Russians, when they owned Alaska, but they discouraged the search for the precious metal for fear that it might conflict with their lucrative fur trade. The search for peltry likewise brought the far-ranging trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company into the region. In 1848 Robert Campbell established an outpost at Fort Selkirk, at the junction of the Pelly and Lewes rivers, two main tributaries of the upper Yukon. The fort, or stockade, was burned in 1852 by Indians of the Chilkat tribe from southeastern Alaska.[2] These truculent aborigines controlled the trade with the interior through the Lynn Canal and exacted tribute from any incoming trapper or miner. They checked intrusion until in 1878 a party of nineteen resolute Americans led by Edmund Bean, and protected by a small American gunboat from Sitka, forced their way ashore and compelled the Chilkats to make an agreement allowing prospectors to proceed unmolested over the Dyea Pass into the hinterland.[3]

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* A paper read before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, April 28, 1942.

(1) Frederick Schwatka, *Along Alaska's Great River*, New York, 1885, *passim*.

(2) George Bryce, " Sketch of the Life and Discoveries of Robert Campbell," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, lii., 1898, pp. 11–14.

(3) J. E. Spurr, *Through the Yukon Gold Diggings*, Boston, 1900, p. 37.

The first diggings in the Yukon valley were started on the Stewart River, where some rich bars were discovered in 1885, but news of coarse gold having been found by Howard Franklin at Forty Mile drew the prospectors thither in 1886.[4] Forty Mile took its name from the fact that it was supposed to be that distance down the river from Fort Reliance, another Hudson's Bay outpost established in 1873 on the Yukon, only 6 miles below the later site of Dawson. For some time the Forty Mile mining camp was believed to be on the Yukon-Alaska boundary, but it is known now that the international line is 14 miles to the west. These diggings produced gold on a small scale until 1893. Birch Creek was the next locality to attract prospectors, and soon afterward gold was found on Glacier, Miller, and Mission creeks, all of them lower down the Yukon in Alaskan territory. A little gold had been gathered also along streams tributary to the *Thron Duik*, an Indian name meaning " plenty of fish," which later was changed by the prospectors to *Klondike*. The vast wilderness had been penetrated by a few intrepid gold-seekers, but their findings had been insignificant and the world outside had ignored their doings.

Then suddenly, and unexpectedly, came the astounding news that a rich goldfield, a veritable Eldorado, had been discovered in the North. A bugle-call to adventure was heard across the continent.

The discovery that started the stampede was made by Carmack in 1896. George Washington Carmack, as his name suggests, was an American; he was a Californian by birth and had spent thirteen years in Alaska before he went up the Yukon into Canadian territory. In the early part of July, 1896, Carmack came to the place, now the site of Dawson, where the Klondike River enters the Yukon.[5] With him were two Tagish Indians, known as Skookum Jim and Tagish Charlie. He had been with them for many years and together they had done some prospecting. They were now engaged in fishing. A month later, Carmack decided to ascend the Klondike and explore the river-

(4) T. A. Rickard, *A History of American Mining*, New York and London, 1932, p. 46.

(5) T. A. Rickard, *Through the Yukon and Alaska*, San Francisco, 1909, p. 189 ff.

bed for gold. He was attracted by the schist debris that he saw at the mouth of the river, because it reminded him of similar conditions he had seen on Miller and Glacier creeks, where profitable diggings had been developed. Shortly before starting from the fishing-camp, a man paddled to the shore in a canoe and greeted him. It was Robert Henderson, whom he knew well. This Nova Scotian prospector told him that he was going to a creek on the other side of the Dome, a prominent hill that separated the Klondike and Indian rivers, where he had found some gold-bearing gravel. When Carmack asked if there was any chance to locate a claim, Henderson replied that there was for him, but not for any "damned Siwashes," looking askance at the Indians. These heard, understood, and deeply resented the insult. In his own account Carmack[6] says that the two Indians were fine fellows, but he does not refer to the fact that at the time he was living with their sister, known as Kate. Therefore he was a "squaw-man."

The next day Carmack and his Indian comrades poled their boat 2 miles up the Klondike. Then they disembarked and shouldered their packs, proceeding on foot along the bank of the river for a mile until they came to a creek that showed quartz and schist. This was known then as Rabbit Creek. Soon they came to a place where the stream made a bend, and below it was a bar of gravel. It was a likely spot for gold. Dropping his load, Carmack took a pan to the water's edge and tested the ground. It yielded some nice "colours," or particles of gold. The party of three went farther up the creek and detected gold in several places. Then they camped for the night. Next morning they continued their way up the creek, testing the gravel on the edge of the stream as they proceeded. They passed the confluence of Eldorado Creek and turned westward along the ridge. Here Jim shot a small black bear. Then they went to the Dome, from which they could see the smoke from Henderson's camp on Gold Bottom, a branch of Hunker Creek. They went down thither, and Henderson greeted Carmack in a friendly fashion. Four men were at work. Carmack asked permission to pan the gravel, and noted that it was relatively poor, whereupon he showed

(6) George W. Carmack, *My Experiences in the Yukon* (edited by Marguerite P. Carmack), n.p., 1933, p. 7.

them the gold he had obtained on Rabbit Creek and invited them to return with him to locate claims. They "did not seem to be interested," Carmack says. His inference was that Henderson declined to go because of his prejudice against the Indians. "So his obstinacy," adds Carmack, "lost him a fortune."[7]

The Carmack party did not linger at Henderson's camp; they returned to Rabbit Creek and resumed their prospecting. At length they came to a place where a long strip of bed-rock, 10 or 12 feet wide, lay exposed. It looked promising. Throwing his pack off his tired shoulders, Carmack walked to the rim, and there, on the surface, he saw "a nugget about the size of a dime." He put it between his teeth and bit it. This is a good test for gold, which is malleable. Then he called for pick and shovel. With the latter he turned over some of the loose bed-rock, and saw more gold in crevices. "I could see the raw gold laying thick between the flaky slabs, like cheese sandwiches,"[8] is Carmack's graphic description. A further test by panning was rewarded by the finding of more coarse gold.

The party of three thereupon performed a dance around the pan. They were gloriously happy. Then they sat down and had a smoke. "After resting a few minutes," Carmack says, "I washed a few more pans and filled an empty shotgun cartridge shell full of coarse gold, after which we crossed the creek and made camp on the flat."[9] They started a fire and roasted their bear meat. A pot of tea was brewed. Later they smoked their pipes and slept the sleep of tired men.

Next morning, Carmack, with his axe, blazed a spruce-tree, on which he wrote his location notice:

> To Whom it May Concern:
>
> I do, this day, locate and claim, by right of discovery, five hundred feet, running up stream from this notice. Located this 17th day of August, 1896.
>
> G. W. Carmack.[10]

It will be remarked that he took his claim up-stream from the place of discovery, because usually the gold is coarser in that direction. The three men then, with a 50-foot tape, measured

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 11.
(8) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
(9) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
(10) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

the length of the claim, together with 500 feet more for Jim up-stream. Going back to the discovery-point, they located another similar claim down-stream for Carmack and beyond it one for Charlie. Next Carmack tore a piece of bark from a birch tree and wrote upon it the words: "I name this creek 'Bonanza.' George Carmack."[11] This he fastened to the discovery-stake and thus Rabbit Creek was renamed. Then the three happy prospectors shouldered their packs and returned to their camp at the mouth of the Klondike, 11 miles distant. Next day Carmack and Charlie went in a boat down the Yukon to register their claims at Forty Mile, where Captain A. Constantine, in command of nineteen men of the North-West Mounted Police, was acting as Mining Recorder.

There has been much controversy concerning the first discovery of gold in the Klondike valley. William Ogilvie, Commissioner for the Yukon, and other Canadians that have written on the subject exhibit some prejudice against Carmack, largely because he was an American; whereas his rival for the honour, Robert Henderson, was a Canadian. Ogilvie suggests that Carmack was disreputable and untruthful. This is rendered improbable by the fact that he was a member of the Masonic order at Seattle. He was a man of fairly good education, as his pamphlet shows. When he gained his fortune suddenly, he was only 36 years of age. Two years later he abandoned his Indian mate, and married an attractive and intelligent American woman, Marguerite Safteg, with whom he lived happily until his death in 1922, at the age of 62. Money did not spoil him, which is proof of character; he and his wife travelled widely and made the most of their good luck in a sensible and temperate manner.

Ogilvie says that Carmack cannot properly be credited with the discovery of the Klondike gold because he could not have reached Forty Mile until August 21, and meanwhile others had staked claims on Bonanza Creek without his knowledge.[12] Carmack and Charlie went down the river in a boat, not on a raft, as Ogilvie states. Before starting, Carmack told two men about his discovery; and when going down the river, he met four

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(12) William Ogilvie, *Early Days on the Yukon*, Ottawa, 1913, pp. 115–136.

others towing a boat. To them also he gave the good news. It was these men that located claims along Bonanza Creek on August 19 and 20. As Carmack was a squaw-man, he was depreciated by the diggers, although it is fair to say that a man that was living with an Indian girl should not have lost caste as much as one that bought a harlot for a wife in a dancing-saloon at Dawson, as was done by many of the lucky diggers during the boom days. Bob Henderson was liked by his fellows and sympathy went to him when he made his claim as the discoverer. The Canadian Government was favourable to him and awarded him a pension of $200 per month. Nevertheless it is well known that gold was found in the tributary streams of the Yukon, and even in the Klondike valley, before either Carmack or Henderson came thither. The discovery made by Henderson on Gold Bottom was of no consequence either then or thereafter. The point is that the discovery that started the stampede, and the intensive exploitation of the river-gravels in the Yukon basin, was the one made by Carmack, because it was rich enough to appeal to the imagination and to cause an excited migration as soon as it became known.

The story of the discovery of gold in California is analogous. The Indians picked up gold and gave it to the padres during the Mexican regime; placer-diggings were worked at San Fernando, near Los Angeles, for six years before James W. Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's mill, near Coloma, on January 24, 1848. The preceding discoveries were of no consequence, whereas Marshall's discovery incited a great rush and started the intensive search for gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada.

To Columbus is given the credit of discovering the New World, although it is known that the Norsemen had reached the North American coast five centuries earlier. They found an inhospitable land, and their discovery proved of little consequence; whereas the Spaniards, led by Columbus, found regions rich in vegetal and mineral products. His exploration opened the portals of the New World; therefore his was *the* discovery.

News concerning the gold discoveries on the edge of the Arctic did not reach the outside world until many months had elapsed. The first announcement appeared in the form of gold-laden diggers arriving on a ship at San Francisco. On July 14,

1897, the little steamer *Excelsior* brought half a million dollars in gold-dust and a number of miners, who told the tale of a fabulously rich goldfield in the Far North. Three days later the *Portland* reached Seattle with a richer freight in gold and diggers. On board her was more than a million dollars in gold, the winnings of sixty-eight lucky men. At once the newspapers of the Pacific Coast broke into hysteric descriptions; they magnified the few facts available into sensational tales that spread across the continent like a prairie fire. An irresponsible press was abetted eagerly by the shipping companies and the merchants that saw their chance for a feverish trade during the stampede that was impending. The Klondike region was almost unknown to the public; in London it was supposed to be in British Columbia; in New York it was supposed to be in Alaska.

The hiatus of eleven months between the discovery of gold and the announcement of the news to the outside world is a remarkable feature of the Klondike rush. Late in November, 1896, a small party headed by Captain William Moore went from the diggings to the coast at Juneau. They carried letters from William Ogilvie, then in charge of the boundary survey. He was stationed at Cudahy, a trading-post half a mile below Forty Mile. In January, Thomas O'Brien started for the outside and reached Juneau with more letters from Ogilvie to be forwarded to Ottawa.[13] These letters reached Ottawa probably in March. His first reference to the discoveries appears under date of September 6, 1896. Three months later, on December 9, Ogilvie wrote: ". . . now it is certain that millions will be taken out of the district in the next few years."[14] This information was not made public until, in June, 1897, the Dominion Government issued a pamphlet entitled *Information respecting the Yukon District*.[15] It contained Ogilvie's letters.

Until the summer of 1897 but little information was available as to the extent of the new goldfields, for the simple reason that the extraction of the gold from the gravel was impracticable while the streams were frozen. The seasonal frost came soon

(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 212–213.

(14) Department of Interior, *Information respecting the Yukon District*, Ottawa, 1897, p. 60.

(15) *Ibid., passim.* A prefatory note is dated June 8, 1897.

after the first discoveries were made. The first tests by panning proved the ground to be rich, but its extent could not be determined because no water was available. During the winter the diggers could only excavate holes by aid of wood fires and then accumulate the gravel in dumps ready for washing when the thaw began, in the following May. Therefore no proper idea of the importance of the discoveries on the creeks could be formed until eight or nine months had passed. Thus the first conclusive information came with the successful diggers on the returning ships in July, 1897.

The arrival of the treasure-laden ships incited a tremendous stampede to the Klondike diggings. The rush was at its maximum when the snows of winter had fallen on the intervening wilderness. Some of the adventurers went by water, from Seattle or San Francisco, to the mouth of the Yukon, at St. Michael, and thence by paddle-steamer up the river to Dawson. That was a comparatively slow and easy journey, even if it was marked by overcrowding and underfeeding. But most of the men, in an urgent hurry to reach the diggings before all the gold had been gathered, went by way of the passes over the Coast Range and then down the upper Yukon. They travelled by steamer to the head of Lynn Canal, which divides into two inlets, one leading to Skagway and the other to Dyea, two petty hamlets that soon grew into crowded camps. Each served as an entry to a pass—from Dyea to the Chilkoot and from Skagway to the White Pass. From Dyea the distance to Lake Bennett, at the source of the Yukon was 30 miles; from Skagway, 42 miles. The latter route was preferred because it was less steep than the other. The summit is 2,886 feet above tide-water.

Both Dyea and Skagway became dens of iniquity in which gun-men of the American frontier type victimized and murdered many of the inexperienced gold-seekers. At Skagway a ruffian named Soapy Smith, the leader of a gang of 150 desperadoes, dominated the town and did much as he pleased. The law was held in derision. Nevertheless, and in sharp contrast, on the other side of the pass, life and property were safe. Why? Because the summit marked the boundary of Canada, and once within the territory of the Dominion the adventurers found themselves protected by an incorruptible police. A detachment

of the North-West Mounted Police was stationed there, to collect customs duties, and remained there despite the rigour of the winter and the attacks of furious snowstorms. And when the swarm of gold-seekers reached Dawson they found the same police in control, ready to act with courage, intelligence, and kindness, for among their duties was the care of those disabled by illness or accident.[16]

During the winter of 1897 no less than 33,000 men and women went over the passes. Owing to the difficulty of transferring their equipment across the range after the snow had fallen, thousands of them were stalled at Dyea, Skagway, and White Pass City. These mushroom camps became badly congested. The conditions of living were wretched; dissipation, poor food, excitement, and inadequate clothing combined to decimate the throng. In April, 1898, sixty-three men were killed by a snowslide on the Chilkoot trail. Other snowslides took their toll of life. During the winter forty-six died of spinal meningitis, caused by overexertion and exposure. Many young men from decent homes were victimized; they found themselves in a "wide-open" town, with saloons, dance-halls, and gambling-dens in full swing; they easily went wrong and spent all their stake money. These never reached Eldorado; most of them crossed that far range from which no traveller returns.

The ascent of the passes and the descent of the other side was made arduous by the fact that the adventurer had to carry his equipment, the total weight of which averaged 1 ton. The loads belonging to parties of two or three men required many trips up and down the pass. The first and last method of transport is human porterage. It is the load, as well as the pace, that kills. Many men that had never carried more than a few pounds on a good road felt heavily burdened with 80, 60, or even 50 pounds when trudging over a trail that was rocky, boggy, or snow-covered.[17] At first a few Indians were available as porters, at the rate of 50 cents per pound. Later horses were employed, and the carcasses of 3,000 of them were strewn along the trail, spoiling the mountain-air with their stench.

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(16) Colonel S. B. Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, Toronto, 1914, pp. 288–337.

(17) Angelo Heilprin, *Alaska and the Klondike*, London, 1899, p. 176.

The eager mob that climbed the passes during the first winter and spring of the rush made a pathetic spectacle. With a harness over his shoulder, carrying a pack or tugging a sled heavily loaded, with eyes bulging, sweating, swearing, the "musher" would advance a few miles and then deposit his load. While he returned for more, his partner stood on guard. Usually the Klondikers worked in parties of two or three, and even then it might be weeks before they had carried all their belongings over the summit. After a day of continuous toil, these men found shelter in a bare shack or in a flimsy tent. This was dangerous, although it was not unusually cold during the winter of the first rush, the lowest temperature being only five degrees below zero in February of 1898. Nevertheless, the incoming "tenderfeet" suffered severely, while the seasoned "sourdoughs" returning from Dawson were mushing at a temperature much lower, sleeping in tents, and travelling comfortably. The terms "tenderfoot" and "sourdough," for newcomers and seasoned men respectively, explain themselves. To "mush" is to walk; the word being derived from the French *marcher*, brought into the Northwest by the *coureurs de bois* from Quebec.

If the unholy pilgrimage to Dawson was marked by the horrors of privation and death, it was largely due to the inexperience of the pilgrims. Among them were old men and immature boys; also women, both old and young. As a matter of fact, the ascent of either pass would constitute a pleasant excursion for a vigorous man accustomed to the mountains and unburdened by the supplies needed by the prospector on his way to diggings 570 miles distant. Most of the men, and women, that faced the trail were unfamiliar with snow and with mountain-climbing. People from the cities, unused to open-air life, unaccustomed to carrying loads, wholly ignorant of how to take care of themselves, in a frenzy to reach Eldorado, were sure to get into trouble on a rough trail crowded with others like themselves. In short, the stampede was composed largely of persons unfitted by physique and temperament for the hardships of the northern frontier; it was a mob mainly of inexperienced people, without a directing hand, without any organization. If properly organized under competent leaders, the whole of the feverish migra-

tion might have been effected with a fraction of the labour spent and the hardships endured.

After surmounting the Coast Range and arriving at the lakes —Bennett, Lindeman, and Tushai—at the head of the Yukon watershed, the adventurers had to procure boats of some kind for the transport of themselves and their equipment down 500 miles of river. A few of them had brought sectional boats or canoes that could be put together without delay, but most of them had to construct a craft of some kind. Rafts sufficed in many cases. A large concourse was camped for a while in tents and shacks on the lake-shores while the work was in progress. Usually two men were sent ahead over the passes to cut timber and prepare lumber for the boat-building. They had to go several miles up the valleys to find the trees, spruce and pine, and then float the logs down the stream. A saw-pit was prepared, and with whip-saws they cut the planks, 9 or 10 inches wide. Later a sawmill became available at Lake Bennett and boats were made under contract at prices ranging from $250 to $500.[18]

When the vessel was completed, the seams were caulked with oakum and pitch. As the lumber was green, the boats leaked like sieves at first, but the load was placed on the cross-ribs and thus was kept dry. As soon as the boats were ready the parties of men started down the lake with salvoes of revolver-shots to salute them. A spritsail was hoisted if the wind was favourable. In the late summer of 1897 there was a race to get to Eldorado; it was a race also against the oncoming winter, which closes the Yukon and its tributaries for eight months in the year.

The miners at Forty Mile were the first to reach the rich diggings on the creeks tributary to the Klondike River. Then those at Circle City and other camps on the lower Yukon came up the river to peg their claims. Bonanza Creek was soon staked into the 80's above and the 60's below discovery; that is to say, more than 140 claims had been located. The other creeks, such as Hunker and Eldorado, were likewise plastered with locations; so that by the time the adventurers from the " outside " arrived

(18) Tappan Adney, *The Klondike Stampede*, New York and London, 1900, pp. 120–123. Adney was the special correspondent of *Harper's Weekly* in the Klondike.

on the scene, they found that most of the rich ground had passed into the possession of the old-timers. Many of the newcomers were bitterly disappointed, and it remained for most of them to accept employment by those already at work.

Nevertheless, there were more discoveries to be made, even by those inexperienced in placer-mining. Late in the summer of 1897 a greenhorn went up Eldorado Creek in search of a place to start work. He encountered a group of men on the claim known as No. 18 Eldorado, and asked where he could stake a claim for himself. They, as a joke, told him to go to the top of the hill above Bonanza Creek. He did, and dug a pit in which he struck bed-rock, where he found some coarse gold. Then he started to drive a tunnel into the gravel and uncovered the alluvial channel that became celebrated as the White Drift. The hill was named "Cheechako" or "greenhorn," now a famous part of the Klondike goldfield.[19] The bench claims on this deposit proved almost uniformly rich.

Dawson was a rip-roaring town. Gold was gathered rapidly, and spent recklessly. Payments were made in gold-dust, which was poured from the miner's "poke," or leather bag, into the pan of a pair of scales upon the counter of the store or the bar of a saloon. Usually the dust was valued at $16 per ounce; that is, it was rated at four-fifths pure. The saloon served as a meeting-place for relaxation and for business transactions. It was lighted with oil-lamps and kept warm with large stoves, made of oil-drums into which logs were thrust. The doors of the saloon were never closed. Vice and drunkenness were rampant. Strong drinks and scantily clad women provided the enjoyment the diggers desired. On the ground floor was the bar and the gambling-room, where roulette and poker were played. Upstairs were bedrooms, ready for orgies beyond belief. The dancing women in these places received a salary and also a commission on the drinks ordered by their male companions. In the first rush only the worst kind of harlots came to Dawson; they were the rejects of the nearest big cities, such as Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco. Some of the prostitutes were well

(19) Major Neville A. D. Armstrong, *Yukon Yesterdays*, London, 1936, pp. 62–86.

educated and shrewd; they left the Klondike with lots of money; others married lucky diggers; many died of disease; a few committed suicide.

There was no romance in this hectic and sordid life. The real glamour was in the gulches, where energetic men wrestled with the forces of nature to win the gold from the frozen gravel. At first, on the edge of the stream, the digger found gravel that he could remove with pick and shovel, and then extract the gold by washing in a rocker or sluice-box. But a little more digging disclosed the fact that the gravel was frozen. The condition was unfamiliar; it was wholly unlike that faced by the argonauts of California and Australia. The Yukon valley was still in the grip of a glacial period; that is to say, the summer heat failed to overcome the winter cold, and the ground was frozen to an unknown depth. Even drill-holes 200 feet deep did not penetrate below the frost. The surface was covered with moss, the *tundra* of the Russians, and beneath this came a blanket of frozen mould, which when thawed turned into black mud. Under this was the gravel, also frozen solid, because it had contained water. It was impracticable to reach bed-rock by aid of pick and shovel, nor would ordinary explosives prove of any use. What could the miner do?

One of the methods first adopted was to dig a narrow ditch lengthwise along the centre of the claim. By means of a wing-dam the water available in the creek was diverted into the ditch. The running water deepened the ditch to the bottom of the "muck," or frozen mould, on the top of the gravel. Then the miners plied their picks to break the "muck" and ice from the sides of the ditch into the running water, which dissolved some of it and carried away the rest. As the ditch thereby became wider, the water was directed against the sides by little dams until eventually an area from 100 to 200 feet was freed from the mantle of moss and the underlying gravel was laid bare, to be thawed by the sun, the wind, and the rain of the summer months. The top ground, being nearly barren of gold, was shovelled into wheelbarrows and dumped aside, and thus all the overburden was removed until the gold-bearing layer above bed-rock was reached. A dam was then built across the stream at some distance above the prepared ground, which was now con-

siderably lower than the former surface. A flume conducted the water from the dam into sluice-boxes into which the "pay-dirt" was shovelled from the bottom of the cut. Such an operation was known as ground-sluicing.[20]

This was a slow and laborious process, but the gravel of many claims was rich enough to justify it. When the overlying material was too thick to permit the application of such a method, the miner sank a shaft by thawing the ground. He laid bundles of sticks on the surface and made a fire, which softened the ground so that it could be loosened by the pick and then shovelled. By repetition the hole became a shaft. Each fire thawed from 12 to 18 inches deep, and the thawed ground was then dug and hoisted to the surface by means of a bucket and windlass.

By use of this method of thawing a shallow shaft was sunk, and then a drift, or horizontal opening, was made in the gold-bearing layer at the bottom of the creek. The product of excavation was stored at the surface until the spring, when water became available for sluicing and the dump, thawed naturally, could be washed for its gold. Owing to the difference of temperature, the noxious fumes made by the wood fires in the lower workings rose to the surface quickly, and in this respect it was much healthier to do such work in cold weather than in summer, when the products of combustion lingered underground.[21]

The wood fire was a slow and laborious method of overcoming the frost. Soon a better way was devised. It was noticed that the steam escaping from the exhaust of an engine made a hole in the frozen ground. A rubber hose from a boiler was attached to a piece of iron pipe and the "steam point" was invented. The pipe was pointed at one end and had a solid head at the other; the hose was inserted through a hole bored in the side, and the blows of a hammer at one end could force the other forward as the ground was thawed by the steam. Later hot water was tried, successfully, and, finally, cold water was found to serve just as well.

By aid of these devices the miner overcame the chief obstacle that faced him in this sub-Arctic goldfield, and was enabled to

(20) J. B. Tyrrell, "The Yukon Territory," *Canada and Its Provinces*, Toronto, 1914, vol. xxii., pp. 620–621.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 622.

reach the bed-rock of the creeks on which the gold lay concentrated. This concentration seems to be more complete in Alaska and the Yukon than in other regions; it may be due to the clean character of the gravel, its freedom from clay, so that the descent of the gold particles is not hindered. That descent of the gold through gravel is aided by the seismic tremblings of the earth's crust, the slight, but frequent, tremors serving to producing a sieving action.

On the whole, it may be said that the frost proved to be the miner's friend. It enabled him to sink a shaft even in the bed of the creek; it permitted him to dispense with timbering; it allowed him to burrow with safety and to follow the layer of golden sediment with impunity under the ice-bound surface. Moreover, the frost encouraged work on a small scale. One man could, and sometimes did, work alone, descending the shaft, filling the bucket, ascending to the surface, hoisting the load and dumping it aside. No machinery was needed save the simplest tools, no organization was required beyond a willing partner; no capital, save muscle, aided by optimism.[22]

The gold-bearing gravel was collected at the surface, to remain there until summer, when water became available for washing. This might be done, on a small scale, by means of "rockers," which were like cradles provided with a box that had a bottom of sheet-iron perforated with holes so as to serve as a sieve, permitting the finer sediment to fall to the sloping floor of the cradle, along which the light stuff ran off with the water, fed by hand, while the particles of heavy gold remained. Usually a wooden trough, or launder, was attached; on the bottom of this were cleats, or riffles, nailed transversely, so as to arrest the gold. This was known as a "long tom." Next, working on a larger scale, and more expeditiously, the miner constructed a series of sluice-boxes, wooden launders with riffles, linked in series, into which the gravel was thrown by means of shovels and forks, while a stream of water was directed upon it for the purpose of disintegrating the material and aiding the separation of the gold from the dirt. Here "dirt" is really equivalent to "ore"; it contained the gold.

(22) T. A. Rickard, "Mining Methods in the North," *Mining and Scientific Press*, xcviii., 1909, p. 86.

Various methods of carrying the gravel were introduced, notably a bucket running on a wire rope. Scrapers pulled by horses or actuated by steam-power were used for removing the overburden. Water was pumped for use on the bench claims, and flumes were constructed, miles long, for bringing water from tributary streams to the places of mining. Hydraulic mining was employed on Hunker Creek and later on Bonanza, but these operations were only partly successful owing to the high cost of providing large amounts of water under the pressure required for effective work.

In 1906 the Yukon Gold Company started the building of a pipe-line to bring water from the head of the Twelve Mile River, in the Tombstone Range. It provided 5,000 miners' inches of water at a capital expenditure of over $3,000,000. The line was 70 miles long and various parts consisted of ditch, flume, wooden-stave pipe, and steel pipe. The water arrived under an effective head of 375 feet.[23]

In 1899 a 3¼-foot bucket-dredge was built on the Cassiar Bar of the Lewes River, and in 1901 it was moved and rebuilt at claim No. 42 below discovery on Bonanza Creek. Small as the machine was, it proved that dredging was practicable on the creeks of the Klondike. In 1905 a 7-foot bucket-dredge went to work in the valley of the Klondike itself, and in 1907 the Yukon Gold Company began dredging on a large scale, operating seven dredges in 1908. Thawing cost 15 cents per cubic yard, about three-quarters of the ground needing such treatment. In 1911 seventeen dredges were at work.[24] This marked a new era in the history of the district. The gold won by means of mechanical digging soon exceeded the winnings from the creeks. Most of the dredging was done on ground, along the bed of the Klondike River, that had not been exploited by ordinary sluicing operations, but eventually even the abandoned claims along the famous creeks tributary to the Klondike were reworked successfully by bucket-dredges.

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(23) T. A. Rickard, "The Yukon Ditch," *Mining and Scientific Press*, xcviii., 1909, pp. 117–120, 148–152.

(24) O. B. Perry, "Development of Dredging in the Yukon Territory," *Transactions of the Canadian Mining Institute*, xviii., 1915, pp. 26–44.

In 1901 the population of the Yukon was 27,219; in 1911 it was 8,512; in 1941 it had diminished to 4,687. The output of gold from the Yukon in 1897 was $2,500,000; this rose to $10,000,000 in 1898 and reached its maximum of $22,275,000 in 1900. Up to the end of 1911 the total output was over $140,000,000. After 1900 a decrease began, continuing until the output in 1910 was only $4,570,000. In 1939, with the price of gold at $35 per ounce, it was $3,171,000.

An idea of the richness of the ground is indicated by the fact that a pan of gravel, weighing about 15 lb., taken from undisturbed ground on Bonanza Creek in 1906, and washed in the presence of J. B. Tyrrell, yielded 40¼ oz. of gold. Whole claims averaged $60 to $100 per square yard of bed-rock. Miners with a rocker won as much as $5,000 per day, or at a rate of $2,000 per cubic yard. The bottom of Eldorado Creek in a length of 4 miles yielded at the rate of $1,200 per running foot. At the start the Dominion Government imposed a royalty of 10 per cent.; this was reduced later to 5, and eventually replaced by an export duty of 2½ per cent.[25]

The Klondike rush and its sequel of mining operations are not to be measured merely in terms of dollars. The finding of gold in the North opened a fresh field to human industry; within two years big paddle-steamers were ploughing the waters of the Yukon, a railroad had been constructed over the Alaskan range from the sea coast to the interior, the telegraph had linked the Arctic frontier with the nerve centres of the world, and new communities had arisen in the very heart of the vast solitude. It was not long before agriculture was started in the wilderness, and children played where but lately the moose and caribou had roamed at will. Once more, the miner had established outposts of civilization in the waste places of the earth and opened a new domain to human endeavour.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(25) J. B. Tyrrell, *loc. cit.*, p. 632.

FOUR LETTERS RELATING TO THE CRUISE OF THE "THETIS," 1852–53.

The visit of H.M.S. *Thetis* to the Northwest Coast in 1852 was occasioned by the discovery of gold in the Queen Charlotte Islands. As early as August, 1850, rich ore specimens from a quartz vein on Mitchell Inlet, Moresby Island, had been brought to Victoria, and Governor Blanshard duly noted the fact in a dispatch to the Colonial Office. In the spring of 1851 the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company decided that the time had come to investigate the source of these and other specimens. Chief Factor John Work made a first and hazardous trip by canoe from Fort Simpson to the Queen Charlotte Islands in May. Two months later he returned to the islands in the brigantine *Una*, and the workmen who accompanied him enabled him to make a more thorough investigation of the quartz veins. Later in the year the *Una* made a second voyage, with Chief Trader W. H. McNeill on board. Upon his return to Fort Simpson, in November, Captain McNeill reported to James Douglas that the expedition had "discovered and proved . . . that gold is to be found in [sufficient] quantities at Mitchell's Harbour alone to pay an expedition to go there, and work it."

In his capacity as governing Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas welcomed this news, and prepared to exploit the goldfield in the interests of the Company. In his capacity as Governor of Vancouver Island, however, the discoveries caused him acute anxiety. Word that gold had been found in the Queen Charlotte Islands had travelled to Puget Sound and to California, and by the end of 1851 it was known in Victoria that several American vessels had sailed, or were preparing to sail, for the islands. Bearing in mind the result of American settlement in Old Oregon, Douglas feared for the safety of British interests in the Queen Charlottes. Writing to Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, on January 29, 1852, he reported that it was said that if the American miners found gold it was "their intention to colonise the island, and establish an independent government, until, by force or fraud, they become annexed to the United States." The same day Douglas appealed

for help to Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby, Commander-in-Chief on the Pacific Station. ". . . From all accounts," Douglas wrote, "I think there cannot be less than 500 Americans, well armed and equipped, on the island." He added that he was convinced that "if left unmolested" they would "attempt to wrest that valuable possession from the British Crown." In response to Douglas's appeal, Admiral Moresby in April, 1852, ordered H.M.S. *Thetis*, a frigate of 1,450 tons, to proceed to the Northwest Coast and take such steps as seemed necessary to safeguard British interests there.

The *Thetis* was commanded by Captain Augustus Leopold Kuper,[1] who subsequently described the cruise in the three letters to Admiral Moresby here printed. As these letters indicate, the rush to the Queen Charlotte Islands failed to develop upon the scale Douglas anticipated, and British sovereignty was never endangered there. Ten or a dozen vessels from Puget Sound or San Francisco did visit the islands, but the quartz veins proved to be so limited in extent, and so difficult to work, that all departed empty-handed. An expedition outfitted by the Hudson's Bay Company and sent to Mitchell Inlet in the schooner *Recovery* fared no better. The value of the gold secured was no more than £90, and the loss to the Company (on paper, at least) was not far short of £1,000.[2]

The most interesting service performed by the *Thetis* was an unexpected one. On November 5, 1852, while she was lying in Esquimalt Harbour, news came of the murder of Peter Brown, a young shepherd employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Two Cowichan Indians were suspected of having committed the crime. Douglas was determined to bring them to justice, yet he was loath to resort to the old method of destroying canoes and bombarding and burning villages in order to secure their surrender. He was anxious that only the guilty men themselves should suffer,

(1) Both before and after his brief stay on the Pacific Station, Captain Kuper (1809–85) served with distinction in many parts of the world. He became a Rear-Admiral in 1861, Vice-Admiral in 1866, and Admiral in 1872.

(2) On the gold excitement in the Queen Charlotte Islands *see* E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, II., pp. 1–9; and the two Parliamentary returns entitled *Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold in Queen Charlotte's Island*, London, 1853 (usually referred to as the "Queen Charlotte Islands Papers").

rather than the whole tribe; and he was hopeful that he might gain his end by a display of force, rather than by its use. Captain Kuper promised every assistance and the expedition was planned accordingly. The tactics proposed involved grave personal danger, and it is evident that Douglas was fully aware of this. Thus Dr. Helmcken, who at the time was engaged to Douglas's daughter Cecilia, recalls in his reminiscences that Douglas insisted that the wedding should take place before his departure, in order that Helmcken might be in a position to look after his family and affairs if he should not return.[3] As it happened, the expedition was a complete success, and Douglas felt, with justice, that it marked a definite landmark in the development of better relations between the whites and the Indians on Vancouver Island. For this reason his own account of the affair, as forwarded to the Hudson's Bay Company, has been appended to Captain Kuper's letters.

The text of the letters themselves has been taken from a collection of original papers relating to the Pacific Station which was transferred to the Provincial Archives many years ago. Douglas's letter has been copied from the original Fort Victoria outward letter-book, which is preserved in the Archives.

Another account of the cruise of the *Thetis*, written many years after the event, will be found in the volume entitled *Two Admirals*, by Admiral John Moresby.[4] Admiral Moresby was Gunnery Lieutenant of the *Thetis* in 1852.

W. KAYE LAMB.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

(3) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, MS., III., p. 64.

(4) Admiral John Moresby, *Two Admirals: Sir Fairfax Moresby, John Moresby: A Record of a Hundred Years.* Revised edition. London, 1913, pp. 99–114.

1. CAPTAIN KUPER TO REAR-ADMIRAL MORESBY.

H.M.S. Thetis,
San Francisco, 20th July 1852

Sir,

I have the honor to Report my proceedings up to this date, since I parted from your Flag at Callao on the 10th April last.

1. Having crossed the Line in 96° 30′ W. fresh S.W. winds carried us up to 11° north, where with very little interval of variables we fell in with the N. E. trade which was very light throughout. We carried Northerly and N. Westerly winds up to 38° N. and 135 W. Where we got a fine breeze from the S. Eastwd which carried us up to within 150 miles of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, which we entered on the evening of the 23d of May and anchored in Esquimalt Harbour on the morning of the 24th.

2. As it was considered full early in the season to ensure fine weather at Queen Charlottes Island,[1] I completed the ship with wood and water previous to starting and on the morning of the 5th June I left Esquimalt harbour, but owing to calms and strong tides did not succeed in getting fairly into the straits of Juan de Fuca until the afternoon of the 7th where we met a very strong breeze from the Westwd accompanied by a dense wet Fog, and we had a very disagreeable and anxious beat down the straits during the whole night, being scarcely able to see a ships length ahead. It cleared off on the 8th and we got out to sea in the afternoon, we made the Southern Point of Queen Charlottes Island on the evening of the 13th but owing to light and variable winds did not arrive off our Port until the morning of the 16th June.

3. The only Person I could find at Fort Victoria who professed to have any knowledge whatever of Queen Charlottes Island, was a Mr. Nevin, a Gentleman now in the Hudson's Bay Company's surveying service, who had formerly been chief Officer of the "Una" schooner during her two visits to the Island, and whom, Mr. Douglas, the Governor kindly allowed to accompany me. Mr. Nevin declined taking any responsibility as Pilot, but I naturally supposed from his having twice visited the Island previously, he would possess some useful Knowledge of the localities &c.. He proved however of no service whatever, and on arriving off the entrance of the straits leading to Port Mitchell,[2] did not even recognize the head lands, therefore as we had had a thick fog the whole of the previous day and were uncertain of our reckoning, and the entrance appeared very much narrower that it had been

(1) This was the usual form of reference to the Queen Charlotte Islands until 1853, when, in recognition of the existence of Skidegate Channel, which divides the two main islands of the group, the latter were named Graham Island and Moresby Island.

(2) Now Mitchell Inlet, and formerly known as Mitchell Harbour. Named by Captain Kuper after Captain William Mitchell, of the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Una*.

described to me, I stood off and on and sent a boat in with an Officer to ascertain whether it was the right place. On her return I hove up and ran through a narrow strait of little more than half a mile in width, with no soundings at 80 and 100 fathoms in most parts of it, and entered Port Mitchell at 3 P. M. where I found the Hudson Bay Company's schooner "Recovery" the only vessel in the Port, anchored close to the rocks near the spot where the Company were carrying on their mining operations. I anchored near her with the Stream and sent the Boats away to find a secure berth, and in the evening ran farther up the Harbour with a snug anchorage, which I have called "Thetis" Cove;[3] where the Ship was safely moored in 22 fms., with barely room to swing, and surrounded by precipitous hills of nearly 1000 feet in height.

4.[4] It would appear that the information contained in the letter addressed to you by Her Majesty's Consul at San Francisco, on the 1st Mch. last[5] was substantially correct, but the amount of Gold as yet procured from Queen Charlottes Island has I think been overrated. The only place where Gold has as yet been found, is in Port Mitchell and the Indians maintain that all they have procured came from the same spot, and that they have not found it in any other part of the Island, their reports however cannot be depended upon.

5. The Hudsons Bay Company's schooner "Recovery" arrived at Port Mitchell from Fort Victoria on the 5th April last with a party of men who had agreed to work on shares, the vein of Quartz which had first been worked by those on board the "Una." The Hudson's Bay Company finding all the materials, powder, mining tools &c., and receiving one half of the proceeds towards paying the expenses, the other half being equally divided amongst those employed; who, although the regular servants of the Co. were to receive no wages during the time. This Expedition is under the command of Doctor Kenneday,[6] but from the information I received from [him] as well as from some of the miners it would appear that they have been much disappointed in their expectations. Several of the men had already deserted, and the rest all expressed themselves as anxious to get away, as the amount of Gold procured would not according to the account of Dr. Kenneday by any means pay the expenses of Powder and Tools and would only give a very trifling share to the men. The Gold they have got has been procured by dint of very hard labor, the mere clearing the ground being a matter of difficulty, and the stone contiguous to the vein of Quartz

(3) Still known by this name.

(4) Paragraphs 4 to 12, inclusive, are printed in *Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold at Queen Charlotte's Island*, London, 1853, pp. 10–12.

(5) For this letter *see ibid.*, p. 7.

(6) Dr. John Frederick Kennedy, surgeon and Chief Trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was stationed for many years on the Northwest Coast, usually at Fort Simpson.

being exceedingly hard and difficult to blast. They told me that they had been sometimes days without finding gold. The vein is close to the waters edge and the portion opened about 20 feet in length, and in the deepest part 6 or 8 feet below the surface.[7]

6. I have been unable to obtain any correct information as to what amount of Gold has actually been taken from the Island, but the "Una" previous to her being wrecked in Neah Bay in the straits of Juan de Fuca, certainly got *some*, and I was informed by Mr. Mitchell who then commanded the "Una" and is now in command of the Recovery that when he left the Island in the "Una" there was a considerable quantity of Gold *visible* in the vein, but not being in sufficient numbers on board they were prevented from working it by the Indians, but that the place had been visited subsequently by a vessel with a party of adventurers from San Francisco, who are supposed to have met with some success.

Of the existence of Gold in considerable quantity upon the Island there can be no doubt from the specimens of fine metal which have been brought for barter by the Indians. The largest peice [*sic*] as yet seen, weighs 22 ounces, and is in possession of one of the Chiefs, who however places such an exorbitant a price upon it (I believe 1500 blankets) that nobody has been able to make a bargain with him.

The mountains as far as we were able to explore abound with veins of Quartz, but the extremely rugged and impracticable nature of the Country will present most serious obstacles to the success of any adventurers who may be disposed to visit the Island in search of Gold.

7. I enclose a List of the vessels[8] which have visited port Mitchell since April last for the purpose of seeking for Gold. I am told that they had each from 40 to 50 Californian Adventurers on board but they appear to have met with no success whatever and returned to San Francisco after remaining only a short time, during which they appear to have examined many of the Hills and water Courses in the vicinity of the Port. The only persons left behind were a party of seven men professing to be British Subjects, whom I found living on a small rocky island close to the Thetis anchorage. They had been landed in the beginning of May from the Schooner "Susan Sturges" which vessel they expected daily to return to take them away again. They were preparing a boat in which they intended to return to San Francisco should the schooner not arrive shortly. This party were also working a vein of Quartz not far from that of the Hudsons Bay Company, but according to their own account had not found sufficient Gold to make it worth their while to continue their operations and were anxiously looking out for an opportunity to leave the Island.

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(7) As noted in the introduction, *supra*, this expedition was a costly failure.

(8) For this list *see Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold . . .* p. 12. It gives the names of five vessels which had sailed from San Francisco in April and May, 1852, and that of a sixth which had sailed in May from the Columbia River.

8. I have purchased for Her Majesty's Government such specimens as I could procure from Dr. Kennedy of the Gold, and Gold ore found on Queen Charlottes Island. Those of pure metal were purchased by him from the Indians. The specimens of Quartz all containing more or less Gold were taken from the vein which the Compy are now working in Port Mitchell.

9. The Country around Port Mitchell is a series of rugged and precipitous Rocky mountains in some parts perpendicular for 100 feet or more, and thickly wooded wherever it is possible for a tree to take root. The woods, particularly where exposed to the N. W. winds are much blighted in many places. It is impossible anywhere to penetrate more than a few yards into the country without extreme labour, the ground being a mere mass of Rocks and fallen and decayed trees of great size everywhere covered very thickly with moss. We found good water abundant in many accessible streams, but I think it probable that later in the season, when the snow is all melted on the Hills, that it would be more scarce, as even during our short stay we found the streams considerably diminished, and few were sufficiently large to warrant the supposition that they would continue to flow during the heat of the Summer Months.

We found the climate damp and very changeable, the thermometer during the five days of our stay ranging from 56 to 80 in the shade.

Lieutenant Moresby[9] after a fatiguing walk succeeded in reaching a fresh water lake of some extent about a mile and a half from the head of the Harbour and supposed to be about 400 feet above the level of the sea, and Lieutenant Peel[10] reached the summit of one of the highest peaks, where he and his party walked for some distance over snow of considerable depth. Mr. Peel describes having seen from thence a large inlet or harbour to the Southward. From the information I received there would appear to be many good harbours in Queen Charlottes Island. Not far to the northward of Port Mitchell is a passage which completely intersects the Island,[11] and which was navigated by the Hudsons Bay Company's Steamer "Beaver" from the Eastward to within a few miles of its western entrance, where she was stopped by dangerous rapids. The eastern coast of Queen Charlottes Island is said to be much more level and the neighbouring waters not so deep. It is said that Antimony, Lead and Iron are plentiful in that part.

10. The navigation of that part of the Island which I visited appears to be very free from hidden dangers but is difficult and dangerous for sailing vessels of any size, in consequence of the great depth of water every where, there being no anchorages except in a very few places, too close to the Rocks for a large ship and the moun-

(9) John Moresby, Gunnery Lieutenant, H.M.S. *Thetis*, and son of Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby.

(10) Francis Peel, 3rd Lieutenant, H.M.S. *Thetis*.

(11) Skidegate Channel; *see* note 1, *supra*.

tains are so high and abrupt that the winds are unsteady and partial.

Mr. George Moore, the Master of the "Thetis" has by my direction made a plan of Port Mitchell and the channel leading to it, a tracing of which I enclose herewith.

11. The Indians upon Queen Charlottes Island appear to be very numerous, and are a finer and fairer race of men than those on Vancouvers Island. From our first arrival we were daily surrounded by numbers of large canoes, full of men, women and children. All the tribes within reach came to see what they called the mountain ship, and we had at one time upwards of 100 canoes Round the ship, but the Indians invariably behaved in the most friendly manner towards us, and beyond the noise they made caused us no annoyance whatever. They have almost all some portion of European Dress and many understand some words of English. They are considered to be generally well disposed towards their white visitors, and I was informed by the Officers of the Hudsons Bay Company that they rarely had any trouble with them.

12. The Furs procured from Queen Charlottes Island by the Hudson's Bay Company are Sea and Land Otter, Bear and Martin.

13. On the 22nd June I got underweigh taking advantage of a light brieze [*sic*] from the S. Eastward, which with the assistance of the boats carried us down to the entrance of the straits, where it freshened to a strong breeze with heavy and variable puffs off the Land, enabling us barely to weather the Rocks to the Northward, and having hoisted the boats in I was glad to get Her Majesty's Ship safely out to sea.

14. Shortly after I weighed the American Schooner "Susan Sturges" made her appearance round the point, but as I could not recover the anchorage I had left, I sent an officer to board her, and finding that she had only returned for the purpose of conveying the party landed on the island in May back to San Francisco, and had nobody on board but a sufficient crew to navigate her, I proceeded, warning the master of her, who together with most of his crew were Englishmen, that all speculators on this coast, could be there only upon sufferance.

15. We had S. E. winds with a good deal of rain until off Cape St. James's at noon on the 24th when after some hours calm a westerly wind sprang up. Passed Scotts Islands on the afternoon of the 25th entered the Newitty Canal or Goletas Channel on the morning of the 26th crossing the Bar in 9 fms. with very smooth water and anchored in Beaver Harbour at 1 P. M.[12]

16. On the 28th I went in a Boat to visit the place where the Hudsons Bay Company are carrying on their operations in search of coal, which is about 10 miles from Fort Rupert. They have got boring

(12) The *Thetis* sailed from the southern tip of Moresby Island (Cape St. James) to the Scott Islands, off Cape Scott, the northwestern tip of Vancouver Island, and then followed the northern and eastern coast-lines of Vancouver Island, through Goletas Channel, to Beaver Harbour.

apparatus at work in three different places and have reached the several depths of 45, 35 and 27 fms. but hitherto nothing has been brought up to indicate any probability of finding coal. I was informed that it is their intention to continue boring to the depths of from 80 to 100 fms. after which no hope of success would be entertained of finding coal in that part of Vancouvers Island. The surface [*coal*] appears to be abundant in the neighbourhood and is good of its kind.

17. No alteration has taken place in the settlement of Fort Rupert since the Daphne's visit in July 1851, nor has any vessel visited the Port since, with the exception of the Hudson's Bay Company's Steamer "Beaver" which called there some months ago in passing on one of her trading voyages to the northward.

The only land cleared or under cultivation consists of 2 or 3 acres of Potatoes and a Garden in the immediate vicinity of the Fort.

18. I received a most favorable report from Mr. Blenkinsopp,[13] the Gentleman in charge of the Establishment at Fort Rupert, of the conduct of the Indians in that neighbourhood generally. I was informed by this Gentleman that the Newitty tribe had latterly been perfectly quiet and peaceable and that shortly after the departure of the "Daphne" last year, they had themselves shot three of the tribe who had been guilty of the murder of the three white men, and brought the bodies over to the Fort as a proof, when they were Recognized as those of the real delinquents.[14]

19. I enclose herewith for your information the copy of a Letter addressed to me at Fort Rupert from Mr. William Brotchie, who it appears has been occupied for some time in cutting and preparing the spars named in the accompanying list.[15] I went with the Master to examine the spars and can confidently bear testimony to their superior quality. Mr. Brotchie deserves great credit for the patience and perseverance he has displayed in teaching the Indians to square and trim spars of such large dimensions, and it is much to be regretted that having exhausted all his means, he has not been left in a position to enable to get them conveyed to England in completion of his contract with the Admiralty, as I feel satisfied that the introduction of spars from Vancouvers Island for the purposes of Her Majesty's Navy would be most desirable.

20. I left Beaver Harbour at 10.30 A.M. of the 29th June and beat down the Newitty canal against a strong breeze from the Westd making

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(13) George Blenkinsop (1822–1904), at this time a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was second in command at Fort Rupert, and was in charge only in the absence of Chief Trader W. H. McNeill.

(14) So ended the so-called "Fort Rupert affair," which looms so large in the dispatches of Governor Blanshard.

(15) On Captain Brotchie's activities *see* W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 33–38.

56 Tacks in 13 hours.[16] Crossed the Bar at the entrance at Midnight in 7 fms on which there was a very high swell. At 1 A. M. when nearly in mid-channel with the westernmost visible point of Galiano Island bearing N. E. we shoaled the water suddenly from 14 to 5 fms with Rocky bottom. As the ship was pitching very deeply I feared she would have struck, but a strong ebb tide running, swept her over the rock and into deep water again before she came round on the other tack. We were becalmed off Cape Scott with a very heavy swell setting on to the Point until the afternoon of the 30th when a breeze sprang up from the Eastward which lasted 3 days, a most unusual occurence I understand at this season of the year. We entered the straits of Juan de Fuca at 4 P. M. on the 3d July but the Fog being too thick to run during the night did not anchor in Esquimalt Harbour until the afternoon of the 4th.

21. Very little change appears to have taken place in the settlement at Victoria, which is in much the same state as when you visited it in the "Portland" last year.[17] There are no new colonists since then, and the only arrival during the Year have been about thirty five servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who I understand are barely sufficient to supply the vacancies caused by desertion or otherwise.

The few settlers occupying land in this part of Vancouvers Island, complain much of the Hudson's Bay Company who so far from rendering them any assistance, appear by their account to throw every possible obstacle in their way of the advancement or improvement of the Colony, and all not actually in the service of the Company are anxiously looking forward with the Hope that Her Majesty's Government may be induced to take the colonization of this fine Island into their own hands, when it would doubtless become a most valuable possession.

The Indians during my second visit to Esquimalt, were almost all absent at the Salmon Fisheries—they have latterly been quiet and peaceable, but there was some disturbance in March last which however was fortunately put down without bloodshed, since then everything has gone on quietly.

Mr. Douglas the Governor was at Frayzers River in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and was not expected to return to Victoria for some days.

22. I sailed from Esquimalt on the 9th July, got to sea on the 11th after two days beating in the straits of Juan de Fuca with light winds and very thick fogs, and anchored in this port on the 16th.

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(16) The *Thetis* now sails back through Goletas Channel (here called Newitty canal), in order to round Cape Scott and proceed down the west coast of Vancouver Island to Esquimalt.

(17) Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby was the first Commander-in-Chief to visit Esquimalt. He arrived in his flagship, H.M.S. *Portland*, in June, 1851.

23. Since my arrival at this port I have not after strict enquiry been able to ascertain that it is the intention of any parties to renew for the present the search after Gold on Queen Charlottes Island.

I have.

(signed) Augustus L. Kuper
Captain

P. S. I send herewith through Her Majesty's Consul at San Francisco a part of the specimens of Gold and Gold ore from Queen Charlottes Island. The Remainder I have forwarded direct to the Admiralty together with a copy of this Letter.

(signed) A. L. K.

Rear Admiral
Fairfax Moresby C. B.
Commander in Chief
&c &c &c

2. CAPTAIN KUPER TO REAR-ADMIRAL MORESBY.

H. M. Ship "Thetis"
Esquimalt, 9th December 1852.

Sir,

I take the opportunity of a Mail about to start from Victoria to the Columbia overland, to Report my proceedings up to this date.

1. I sailed from Saucelito Bay, San Francisco, on the 5th October, arrived in the straits of Juan de Fuca on the 15th and anchored in this Port on the 17th.

2. All has gone on quietly in this Colony with the Exception of a Robbery and Murder, which were committed by two Indians of the Cowitzen or Nanoimo Tribe, on the 5th November on a shepherd named Peter Brown, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, at a Sheep station about Five miles from Victoria. The murderers escaped to the Cowitzen river and the Governor sent a message to the Chiefs demanding their surrender, but hitherto without effect. At this season of the year it would be impossible to send an effective expedition in open boats for the purpose of enforcing the apprehension of the criminals and His Excellency has acquainted me that he is only awaiting the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "Beaver" from the North which is already much beyond her usual time, when it is his intention to call upon me to embark a sufficient force from this ship to ensure success.

3. Since our Return to Esquimalt the weather has been most unfavourable, we have had a continuation of heavy rain, and occasional snow, and several heavy gales from S. E. and S. W.

4. The Reports from the recently discovered coal mines at Nanaimo, of which I informed you in my letter No. 10 of the 29th Septemr.

last[18] continue to be most satisfactory. A Shaft has been sunk to a vein of coal, six Feet, two inches in diameter, and there appears to be every prospect of the mines yielding an abundant supply. The "Recovery" and "Mary Dare" two of the Hudson's Bay Company's Vessels, have just returned from San Francisco whither they sailed early in October with coals from Nanaimo, and it is reported that their quality is considered to be equal to the best English coals imported. The miners and Machinery hitherto employed at Fort Rupert, are to be landed at Nanaimo by the "Beaver" Steamer on her way down to Victoria.

5. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a Packet by the "Recovery" containing your letters No. 4. 1st Septemr. 1852, with Enclosures relative to Queen Charlottes and Vancouvers Islands—No. 5. 15th Septemr. and one Letter bearing no number, dated 14 Septemr. 1852 with orders for my further proceedings.

6. With reference to the 3d Paragraph of your letter of the 14th Septemr 1852 I beg to enclose a copy of Mr. Douglas' reply to me.

7. I have heard nothing lately respecting any adventurers to Queen Charlottes Island. The Schooner "Susan Sturges" belonging to British owners at San Francisco which was one of the vessels that visited the Island in the summer, is reported to have returned thither for a cargo of spars and dried fish. Any research after Gold would be almost impracticable in that region during the winter season.

I have, &c.

(signed) Augustus L. Kuper.
Captain.

Rear Admiral
Fairfax Moresby C. B.
Commander in Chief
&c &c &c

3. CAPTAIN KUPER TO REAR-ADMIRAL MORESBY.

H. M. Ship "Thetis"
San Francisco, 4th Feby 1853.

Sir,

I have the honour to Report my proceedings since the date of my last letter to you from Esquimalt on the 9th December.

2. On the 23d December I received a requisition from Governor Douglas to send a force from the "Thetis" to accompany him to the Cowitzen Country for the purpose of compelling the chiefs of the tribes to deliver up two Indians who were accused of the murder of Peter Brown, a Shepherd in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company on the 5th November last, the Governor having demanded their surrender from the Chiefs and offered a Reward for them without any result.

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(18) No copy of this letter is available.

In consequence of the very bad state of the weather at that time, the Expedition was not able to leave until the 3rd January, when I dispatched Lieutenant Sansum Senior[19] of this ship with 130 Officers, seamen and Marines, who together with about 20 men from the Settlement at Victoria were embarked on board the Hudson's Bay Company's Brigantine "Recovery" and steamer "Beaver," taking the "Thetis'" Launch, Barge and Pinnace in tow.

I am happy to be able to report to you that the expedition was perfectly successful in attaining the desired object, and although the Indian Tribes appeared at first much inclined to be hostile, they were awed by the force sent against them, and the two criminals were ultimately given up, the one at the Cowitzen River and the other at Nanaimo without the necessity of firing a shot. They were tried by the Governor at Nanaimo and having been proved guilty were hung on the same day at that place in the presence of the whole assembled tribe.

This summary measure will no doubt have a most beneficial effect for the safety of the colonists against attacks from the Indians in future, and it is most satisfactory that the object was gained without bloodshed, as the Cowitzen Tribe is very numerous, and from their proximity to Victoria would probably have caused much annoyance to settlers, had it been found necessary to Resort to hostile measures, and thereby excite their revenge.

The party were much exposed to cold and wet in performing this service, but I am happy to say that only one or two trifling cases of Rheumatism have resulted from it, and Governor Douglas speaks most highly of the steady conduct of Lieutenant Sansum, and the Officers and men under his command when in momentary expectation of an attack from the excited Indians. The boats did not return on board the "Thetis" until the 19th January.

3. I enclose herewith the copy of a letter from Mr. Matthew Rooney, reporting the Capture and plunder of the American Schooner "Susan Sturgess," by the Indians off the north coast of Queen Charlotte Isld in September last. I sent for Mr. Rooney who arrived at Victoria in the steamer "Beaver" for the purpose of obtaining any additional information that might lead to the recovery of the poor fellow he mentions as being left amongst the Indians but could arrive at nothing beyond what is stated in his letter.

Mr. Work who was the Chief Factor at the Hudson's Bay Company's station at Fort Simpson at the time, arrived at Victoria, before I left, and he had no doubt but that the man would be recovered from the Indians and brought to Fort Simpson. Mr. Work as well as all those who have seen much of the Indians was of opinion that Edensaw the Chief mentioned by Mr. Rooney as having been instrumental in saving the lives of himself and crew, was a party to the whole affair, and it has been ascertained that he shared in the plunder.

(19) Arthur Sansum, 1st Lieutenant, H.M.S. *Thetis*.

4. From all the information I have been able to obtain it would appear that the weather in the vicinity of Queen Charlottes Island would render it impossible to carry out any successful operation against the Indians as a merited punishment for this piratical attack upon the "Susan Sturges," until the spring is well advanced. The tribes on the Island are numerous and warlike, Masset Harbor is about 30 miles West or W. S. W. of the N. E. point of the Island, and is said to be a good Harbour, and easy of access to a Steam vessel at all times.[20]

5. I have heard of no more Expeditions to Queen Charlottes Island, in search of Gold either from San Francisco or Oregon, but it is probable that the Island will again be visited for that purpose when the winter is over.

6. The Hudson's Bay Company's Annual Ship "Norman Morison" arrived at Vancouver Island from England a few days before I sailed, bringing out a number of the servants of the company, with their wives and families, amounting to 125, including women and children, but there were no free settlers amongst them.

The winter at Vancouvers Island has been unusually severe, and a great number of sheep and some cattle had died from cold and want of food in consequence of the snow lying deeply on the ground for several weeks.

But little or no improvement has taken place in the state of the colony since my first visit in May last, much discontent prevails in the Settlement from the want of proper Government Officers, the whole management of affairs however trifling being exclusively in the hands of the Governor, who has at the same time the entire management of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company, and during his temporary absences there is no efficient person to act as his Representative.

Since Licenses for the sale of spirits have been granted, there has been very much drunkenness and irregularity amongst the labouring classes at Victoria, which there does not appear to be any sufficient authority to check. There is not even a secure place of confinement for offenders, and during the absence of the Governor I was applied to by the senior member of Council[21] who was acting for the time being, to confine some of the crew of the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner "Vancouver" who had been guilty of some misdemeanours, on board the "Thetis," which I of course declined to do.

7. As I believe that there is much truth in the statements contained in two letters addressed to me by Mr. James Cooper one of the few

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(20) H.M.S. *Virago*, Commander James C. Prevost, visited Masset in 1853 in an effort to punish the culprits who attacked the *Susan Sturges*. Prevost found it impossible to identify those responsible, and took no action. The officers of the *Virago* were much impressed with Chief Edenshaw, and formed a very favourable opinion of his character and friendliness towards the whites.

(21) Hon. John Tod.

free settlers endeavouring to establish themselves upon the Island I enclose copies of them for your information.[22]

8. I attempted to go to sea on the 22d January but a dead calm detained me until the 23d when I succeeded in getting out of the straits of Juan de Fuca. Having encountered much bad weather on the passage down I anchored off the Bar of San Francisco on the evening of the 1st instant and entered the Harbour on the 2nd.

9. I shall sail for San Lucas as soon as wind and tide will permit tomorrow morning.

I have &c
(signed) Augustus L. Kuper.
Captain.

Rear Admiral
Fairfax Moresby C. B.
Commander in Chief
&c &c &c

4. JAMES DOUGLAS TO ARCHIBALD BARCLAY.[23]

Fort Victoria
January 20th [18]53

Archibald Barclay Esqre
Sir

I beg to communicate for the information of the Governor and Committee, that I left this place on the 4th inst in the Honble Company's steam-vessel "Beaver," with the Recovery and the boats of H.M.S. Thetis in tow, for the purpose of proceeding into the Cowegin and Nanaimo districts to demand the surrender of the two Indians who murdered Peter Brown, a servant of the Honble Company, near this place, on the 5th of November last. The force for field operations consisted of 130 seamen and marines under the command of Lieutnt Sansum of H.M.S. Thetis, and a body of 11 half whites, enlisted in the Colony for that service. The Expedition anchored off the mouth of the Cowegin River on the 6th, and I immediately despatched messengers to the several Native Tribes, who live on the banks of that stream, with an invitation to meet me for the purpose of settling

(22) Unfortunately these letters are not available. Captain Cooper first visited Vancouver Island as an officer on one of the annual supply ships of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1850 he resigned and determined to come to the Island as an independent settler. He soon came to the conclusion that the restrictions imposed by the Hudson's Bay Company were throttling the Colony, and became an active opponent of its policy. He was appointed a member of the first Council of Vancouver Island by Governor Blanshard. He was in London in 1857, and testified before the Select Committee investigating the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(23) Secretary to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London.

the difference which had led to my present visit, and at the same time to inform them, that, in the event of their refusal to do so, I should be under the painful necessity of assuming a hostile attitude, and marching the force under my command into their country. I received their answer the same evening accepting the invitation and expressing a wish to meet me the following day near the mouth of the River. The disembarkation of the Force was made early the following morning, and we took post on a commanding position at the appointed place fully armed and prepared for whatever might happen. In the course of two hours the Indians began to drop down the River in their war canoes, and landed a little above the position we occupied; and last of all arrived two large canoes crowded with the relatives and friends of the murderer, hideously painted, and evidently prepared to defend him to the last extremity; the criminal himself being among the number. On landing they made a furious rush towards the point which I occupied, a little in advance of the Force and their demeanour was altogether so hostile that the marines were with difficulty restrained from opening a fire upon them. When the first excitement had a little abated, the murderer was brought into my presence and I succeeded after a good deal of trouble, in taking him quietly into custody; and sent him a close prisoner on board the steam vessel. This capture having removed all cause of dispute, I assembled the Indians and spoke to them long and seriously on the subject of their relations with the Colony, and the rules which must govern their conduct in future. They expressed the utmost regret, for the misconduct of their countryman, and their desire to live on friendly terms with the Colony; and appeared much intimidated by the imposing Force before them. They left us in course of the afternoon in the best possible temper, and the Forces were immediately afterwards re-embarked, having fortunately concluded the days work, without firing a shot in anger; though several times, on the very point of coming to a serious rupture, which indeed could not have been prevented had the discipline of the troops been less perfect; and my orders not been rigidly enforced by Lieutnt Sansum, who, on all occasions, gave me the most hearty and cordial support.[24]

Having thus effected all that was desired at Cowegin, we proceeded towards Nanaimo and arrived there on the evening of the 9th. I pursued the same course, as at Cowegin but found a decided reluctance on the part of the Tribe to surrender the murderer; they however at length consented to deliver him into our hands; but on the day appointed they failed in their promise, and made an attempt to ransom his life by a payment of Furs. In consequence of that breach of faith, I took his father and another influential Indian into custody, in hopes of inducing them by that means, to bring in the criminal; my object

(24) These events at Cowichan were recorded by Douglas at length in his diary. For the text *see* W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 178–180.

being if possible to settle the difference without bloodshed and without assailing the tribe at large. After two days of the most anxious suspense, it was again arranged that they should bring the criminal to the vessel, and he was accordingly brought to within half a mile of the anchorage; but on seeing me repair to the spot, he was landed and fled to the woods. There, being then no alternative except a recourse to coercive measures, without a positive loss of character, I ordered an immediate advance, towards the River, near the mouth of which the Nanaimo villages are situated; We accordingly pushed rapidly in that direction but from the shallowness of the water, the boats grounded about three quarters of a mile below the first village where the troops were immediately landed, and we pushed rapidly towards it, and before the Indians had recovered from their first consternation we succeeded in carrying the stockade without fireing [*sic*] a shot. We spent the night there, and the boats came up before morning.

We then moved up the River, to the second village which we found nearly deserted, by its inhabitants who had fled, with their property to the woods. The murderers father was Chief of this last village; consisting of many large houses and containing all their stock of winter provisions.

They were now completely in our power, and as soon as I could assemble a sufficient number of the inhabitants, I told them it was my intention to treat them as enemies unless they submitted to the demands of justice. We then learned that the murderer had left the River, and was concealed in the woods, on the sea coast, about 3 miles distant. The pinnace was immediately despatched with 16 seamen, and 9 half whites, towards that point where his place of refuge was soon discovered and after a long chase in the woods in which the half whites, took a principal part, the wretched man, was captured, and taken on board the Steamer "Beaver." The Force was withdrawn the same day from the River, without molesting or doing any damage whatever to the other Natives. The two criminals being now in our possession were brought to trial, and found guilty of murder, by a Jury composed of the officers present. They were sentenced to be hanged, and the execution took place in the presence of the whole tribe, the scene appearing to make a deep impression upon their minds, and will I trust have the effect of restraining others from crime.

I am happy to report that I found both the Cowegins and Nanaimo Tribes, more amenable to reason, than was supposed the objects of the expedition having been brought to a satisfactory close under providence, as much by the influence of the Company's name as by the effect of intimidation. The surrender of a criminal, as in the case of the Cowegin murderer, without bloodshed, by the most numerous and warlike Tribe on Vancouver's Island, at the requisition of the civil power, may be considered as an epoch in the history of our Indian relations which augurs well for the future peace and prosperity of

the Colony. This however could not have been effected without an exhibition of force. I feel much indebted to Lieut Sansum for his perfect arrangements and for the admirable temper and forbearance exhibited by the force under his command in circumstances more trying to brave men than actual conflict. The Officers and men have won my thanks not only by their discipline and steadiness but also for their promptitude and alacrity in the field, and the half whites emulated their good example.

The reflection that our success has been unstained by a single act of cruelty and that no blood has been shed except that of those who paid the just penalty of their crimes, adds not a little to the satisfaction, which I have derived from the result of this expedition.

We returned here yesterday with the whole party safe and well.

. . . . .

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your obt Servt
Sd. James Douglas

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The Victoria section of the Association held two meetings during the spring months. On April 28 the Section met in the Provincial Library, the speaker of the evening being Dr. T. A. Rickard, who had chosen as his subject, *The Klondike Rush.* In his very interesting paper Dr. Rickard dealt at some length with the perennial controversy as to who should rightfully rank as the discoverer of the fabulous riches of the Yukon goldfield. In his opinion, and in the light of the evidence which he reviewed in detail, the honour belonged to George Washington Carmack. Dr. Rickard went on to explain the curious circumstance that a year passed before news of Carmack's discovery, and the local rush within the Yukon which followed it, reached the general public, and in conclusion described the peculiar methods of mining which were developed to meet the difficult climatic conditions in the region. Dr. Rickard's paper is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly.*

On June 16 the members assembled in the Provincial Library to hear an address by Miss Violet Wilson on *Some Early Canadian Women.* Those present were delighted with her paper, which recalled Canada's earliest days and described most graphically the part played by the pioneer women in those strenuous times. The first white woman to arrive in Canada was Marie Hébert, wife of Louis Hébert. That was in 1601. Other noted women mentioned included Mrs. Simcoe, wife of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, whose diary recalled the fact that Canada possessed a Navy —the "Lake Ontario Armed Fleet"—in 1792; Laura Secord, whose daring and bravery saved a Canadian force from certain defeat; Madame Champlain; Letitia McTavish; and Mrs. John McDougall, one of the early heroines of the Prairie settlements. In conclusion, Miss Wilson told of the experiences of her own grandparents, who lived in Edmonton in the days when the city was only an outpost. A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, who recalled some of the pioneer women of the Pacific Coast, including Frances Barkley, the first white woman to visit the Pacific Northwest; Mrs. Catherine Schubert, who was a member of the famous Overland Party of 1862; and the early Sisters of St. Ann.

Mrs. Curtis Sampson, President of the Section, presided at both meetings.

GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Graduate Historical Society was held in June at the home of Miss Rose Whelan, 3085 Tolmie Street, Vancouver. Mr. John

Gibbard read a most interesting paper on *Ireland's Position in World War II.*, which gave rise to a lively discussion. The following officers were elected for the year 1942–43:—

Honorary President	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.
Staff Representative	Dr. W. N. Sage.
President	Miss Rose Whelan.
Vice-President	Miss Elspeth Munro.
Recording Secretary	Miss Lillian Cope.
Corresponding Secretary	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Treasurer	Miss Patricia Campbell.

The Book Prize offered annually by the Society to the student in the graduating class of the University who has done the most outstanding work in History during the third and fourth years was awarded in May to Mr. Robert J. D. Morris, of Nelson.

The annual Summer Meeting of the Society, at which visiting professors of History are guests, was held at the home of Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History, on July 7. The principal speaker was Dr. Henry S. Lucas, Professor of History in the University of Washington. His subject was *The Fall of the Low Countries.* Dr. Lucas has talked with many refugees from Belgium and Holland, and he gave an illuminating account of, and commentary upon, the events of May and June, 1940. Brief addresses were given by Dr. H. N. Fieldhouse, Head of the Department of History, the University of Manitoba; and Dean G. S. Brett, of the School of Graduate Studies, the University of Toronto.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

G. Neil Perry is Director of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Victoria.

H. Ronald Kenvyn is a well-known authority on maritime and naval affairs. Shiplovers long ago learned to watch for his articles in the Vancouver *Province*, and elsewhere.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast 1787–1790 and 1790–1793. Edited by Frederic W. Howay. Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941 (*Collections*, v. 79). Pp. xxxi., 518. Ill. $4.

This volume "aims to offer everything of value that is still extant" relating to the historic American ship *Columbia*. Whether or not the *Columbia* and her small consort, the *Washington*, were the first American vessels to visit the Northwest Coast is now uncertain, but they were undoubtedly the first of the many ships which sailed thither from New England. The venture was not a success financially, largely because its direction was entrusted to the unreliable and leisurely Captain Kendrick, who kept the *Columbia* lying idly at anchor in Nootka Sound for months on end. Before the *Columbia* sailed for home, however, Kendrick exchanged commands with Captain Gray of the *Washington*. Gray was an able and resourceful master, and the fortunes of the *Columbia* seem to have changed when he stepped aboard. Returning home to Boston by way of China she acquired a small measure of fame, for she was the first vessel to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world. In spite of the loss the expedition had incurred, Gray had sufficient faith in his ship and her trading prospects on the Coast to subscribe personally towards the cost of outfitting her for another voyage. Within six weeks she was at sea again. That was in September, 1790. So began the most important historically of all the voyages by American trading-ships to the Northwest Coast; for in the course of his cruise, in May, 1792, Gray was to win lasting fame for his ship and himself by discovering and naming the Columbia River.

The only day-by-day record of the first voyage of the *Columbia* known to exist is the journal kept by Robert Haswell, which is here printed in its entirety for the first time. Even this narrative is incomplete, and breaks off in June, 1789, shortly before the *Columbia* sailed for home. Haswell was originally third mate, but was promoted to second officer a few months after the ship left Boston. He and Kendrick could not get along, however, and he was later transferred to the *Washington*. He returned to the *Columbia* when Gray exchanged ships with Kendrick. He thus had a very complete knowledge of the doings of the expedition, and this is reflected in his journal.

Three accounts of the second voyage of the *Columbia* have survived, and Judge Howay presents the complete texts of them all. These include Haswell's "Second Log" (which, like his earlier journal, does not cover the entire voyage); the detailed and very interesting "Narrative" of John Hoskins; and John Boit's well-known "Log." Glancing through Judge Howay's admirable introduction one is struck with the youthfulness of all three writers. Haswell was only 18 when the *Columbia* sailed on her first voyage, and no more than 22 when she left Boston a second time. Hoskins was the same age. Boit, on the other hand, was only 16 when he joined the *Columbia* as fifth mate. He was the son of a well-to-do merchant, and

had received a good education, which explains the presence of the numerous quotations which give his narrative a literary flavour. Oddly enough, only Boit records the historic visit to the Columbia River in May, 1792. Hoskins's "Narrative" ceases abruptly in March, and at the time of the discovery Haswell was cruising far to the north, in command of the tender *Adventure*. Fortunately, a fragment of Captain Gray's official log, covering the fortnight spent in the river, has been preserved and is here reproduced. This reviewer happens to know that Judge Howay felt some hesitation in including Boit's "Log" in his volume, because it had already been printed elsewhere twice, but its inclusion is more than justified. A collection of documents relating to the *Columbia* would have been incomplete without it, and students will find both the revised notes and the cross-references to the other journals invaluable.

In addition to the four journals, Judge Howay includes two collections of miscellaneous papers, one relating to each voyage of the *Columbia*. These run in all to more than 100 pages. In addition to such items as the instructions received by Kendrick and Gray, and the accounts of the ship, they include correspondence, reports, official returns, and various oddments bearing upon one or other of the expeditions. The selection has been made with care and judgment, and students will find that the documents throw light upon many aspects of the voyages which are not touched upon in the longer narratives. In sum, Judge Howay has given us a definitive and authoritative source-book that will immediately take its place as one of the standard references on the history of the Pacific Northwest.

It is interesting to note that the mysteries surrounding the origin and end of the *Columbia* herself have at last been cleared away. Careful searching has brought to light entries in the old registers preserved in the National Archives of the United States which prove that she was built in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1787, and was "ript to pieces" (or "broken up," in the somewhat gentler phrase of our own time) in 1801. Hers was probably a longer-than-average life for a ship in those days of hasty construction and green timber.

The appearance of this handsome volume emphasizes anew the progress that has been made in an important field of historical research during the last dozen years. In 1930 Judge Howay wrote: "The page of Northwest Coast history which has yet to be written and which affords an ample field for research is that which deals with the days of the maritime fur-trade, from 1785 till 1825." Since that time our knowledge of the period has increased immeasurably, thanks in great part to the work of two scholars—Mr. Henry R. Wagner, and Judge Howay himself. The work of the one has formed an almost perfect complement to that of the other. Mr. Wagner is interested primarily in exploration and cartography. He has devoted most attention to the official expeditions sponsored by the Spanish and British Governments. Judge Howay, on the other hand, has studied the movements and activities of the numerous trading-ships, of several nationalities, which arrived on the Northwest Coast in 1785 and succeeding years. The extent of his research is suggested by the lists of vessels known to have

visited the Coast which he contributed to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada in 1930–34. Although the entries are given in a most compact form, these lists run to a total of no less than 179 closely printed pages. The wealth of the material which has been unearthed is astonishing, and Judge Howay has printed or described his choicest finds in a long series of articles, papers, and books. Two of his major contributions in the field have appeared within the last eighteen months. First came *The Colnett Journal,* issued by the Champlain Society; now from the Massachusetts Historical Society there comes the *Voyages of the "Columbia."*

Five years ago Mr. Wagner published *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800,* which in effect was a synthesis of a large segment of his earlier research. Is it too much to hope that Judge Howay may feel impelled to give us a corresponding work, dealing with the history of the maritime fur-trade?

W. KAYE LAMB.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Esquimalt Naval Base: A History of its Work and its Defences. By Major F. V. Longstaff. Vancouver: Clarke & Stuart, 1942. Pp. 189. Ill. Paper, $1.75; cloth, $3.75.

For many years Major F. V. Longstaff, of Victoria, a member of the Society of Nautical Research, has been compiling information about Canada's Pacific naval base at Esquimalt. The result of his investigations has now been published in book form under the title of *Esquimalt Naval Base: A History of its Work and its Defences.* The volume is printed by Clarke & Stuart, Vancouver, and distributed by the Victoria Book and Stationery Company.

Major Longstaff's publication should be required reading for all Canadians who take an interest in naval affairs, particularly on the Pacific. It is a complete record of Esquimalt and its activities and carries the story up to the outbreak of the present war. There are facts, figures, and dates; names of ships and officers; and a series of most interesting photographs, which show the various types of warships which used the base from the earliest days onward.

Esquimalt's connection with the navy goes back to 1837. In that year Britain established the South American station with headquarters at Valparaiso. From this Chilian port frigates and corvettes and line-of-battleships used to make a cruise north to give their crews the benefit of a change of climate. In 1848 Esquimalt harbour was surveyed by Her Majesty's surveying brig *Pandora,* and in that year the first British war vessel to enter the harbour was the frigate *Constance.* The war between Britain and France against Russia in 1854 was the cause of the first shore establishment at Esquimalt. A British and French squadron sailed against Petropavlovsk, on the coast of Kamchatka, and their sick and wounded were cared for at Esquimalt on the return of the expedition. In 1865 an Order in Council was

passed in London creating a royal naval establishment at Esquimalt and the naval base was put on a permanent footing.

The Russian war had made the colonists alive to the need of protection and it was the Victoria *British Colonist* which led the fight for a dry-dock. That was in 1861. Three British ships—the *Plumper*, *Termagant*, and *Hecate*—had been forced to go to San Francisco for repairs, and this condition had the settlers feeling nervous. Plans for the dry-dock dallied on from 1875. There was delay and political trouble, but in 1884 contracts for its completion were let, and the last stone was laid on June 26, 1886, and the water was first let into the dock on April 1, 1887. The dock was officially opened on July 20, 1887, and the first ship to enter was the sloop-of-war *Cormorant*.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway the "All-red Route" to the Orient was established and there were a number of troop movements between England and the Far East via Esquimalt. Major Longstaff gives details of these movements, with the names of the units and the number of men involved. In fact, he includes in his book a fair amount of military as well as naval information. He has gone to considerable trouble to collect biographical sketches of the naval officers who did commissions on the Esquimalt station. Many of them who were on this coast as midshipmen or junior officers distinguished themselves in later years in other oceans and climes.

The story of Esquimalt is carried on through the days to the time when Canada accepted responsibility for the defences at Halifax and Esquimalt. The transfer of Esquimalt took place on November 9, 1910, and then the base fell on idle days. The attempt to start a Canadian navy did not prove a success. In this first year only fifty-six boys joined up. There were some strenuous days around Esquimalt in 1914 after the Great War broke out. The author gives some interesting facts about the limited naval dispositions and the acquisition of two submarines from a Seattle firm. These vessels had been constructed for the Chilian navy, but Sir Richard McBride, then premier of British Columbia, stepped in and on his own initiative bought the underwater boats for about a million dollars. The story of their arrival off Esquimalt, when they were very nearly fired on, is one of the interesting stories of those days.

After the Armistice there were sporadic attempts to foster a Canadian naval service. In September, 1922, a new start was made. Destroyers were built and acquired, establishments of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve were set up across the Dominion, and when the present war crashed upon a bewildered world Canada's little navy was ready and efficient. And now the Royal Canadian Navy is a very potent factor in the war at sea.

Most interesting are the naval photographs incorporated in this volume. They include the *Hyacinth*, 1888; the frigate *Tribune*, on the station as long ago as 1855; the corvette *Satellite*, 1856; the *Reindeer*, 1866; the gunboat *Sparrowhawk*, 1863; gunboat *Rocket*, 1874; the *Zealous*, armour-clad, 1866; battleship *Triumph* (sail and steam), 1878; sloop *Cormorant*, 1885; cruiser, *Amphion*, 1888, 1897, and 1900; the last Imperial ships to be based there

as a squadron, the *Bonaventure*, *Grafton*, and *Flora*, 1904; and the sloop *Algerine*, 1908 to 1919.

Included in the volume is a list of important dates in Pacific history ranging from 1500 up to modern times, and including references to the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen to British Columbia in 1939.

Major Longstaff's work is thoroughly recommended as a concise record of the base and also of many interesting phases in Canada's defence story.

VANCOUVER, B.C. RONALD KENVYN.

The British Columbia Fisheries. By W. A. Carrothers. (University of Toronto, Political Economy Series, No. 10.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1941. Pp. xv., 144. $2.

Based on material largely drawn from official reports, this little book provides a short summary of the economic development of the fishing industry in British Columbia between 1858 and 1939. As one would expect from an author of Dr. Carrothers's experience, it is a competent and thoroughly objective study of a field which has not yet been fully explored. It should be read with interest by specialists and those readers who are seeking a factual account; there is little to suggest the romance of the fisherman, or the aroma of the reduction plant, in this condensed, economic treatise.

In an eight-page foreword, which forms a valuable complement to the book, Dr. H. A. Innis traces the question of divided jurisdiction from its origin in the "British North America Act" to the 1928 decision of the Privy Council, which limited the powers of the Dominion to control of fishing operations. Foreshadowing matters which are examined in later chapters, Dr. Innis outlines the governmental attempts to cope with Japanese infiltration, the growth of large-scale processing operations, the resulting trend towards amalgamation, and the protracted International negotiations over conservation measures.

The first seven chapters are devoted to a description of the important salmon industry. Preceded by a short historical account, the author sets forth an abbreviated description of the techniques employed, capital invested, governmental regulations, tariff incidence, and the International agreements affecting the salmon-fisheries. The prolonged negotiations between Canada and the United States over the conservation of sockeye salmon are fully discussed in chapter seven. The halibut industry, second in importance to salmon, is studied in chapter eight; while the last two chapters contain brief descriptions of the herring, pilchard, cod, sturgeon, dogfish, whaling, and sealing industries.

The book is amply supplied with supporting statistics, which are not always fully interpreted in the text, and includes a short index. Apart from a slip on page 37, where it is stated that "British Columbia entered Confederation in 1872," the book is relatively free from minor errors. Since it

was written, the outbreak of war has dislocated markets, displaced the Japanese fishermen entirely, and created many new and difficult problems for the fishing industry. In spite of the changed circumstances, it remains a readable and authentic study of an important native resource.

G. NEIL PERRY.

BUREAU OF ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS.
VICTORIA, B.C.

The First Two Years: A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1858–1860. By David Rome. Montreal: H. M. Caiserman, 1942. Pp. 120. $1.25.

There has been little, if any, anti-Semitism in British Columbia. From the earliest days of the Province members of the Jewish faith and race have taken a prominent part in the life of the community. In business, in public and in private life, they have done their share in the building-up of the country, but little has heretofore been done to put on record their activities and the part they have played in our history.

Within its chosen limits this book goes far to make good this deficiency. The author is a Jew, a native of the City of Vancouver, educated in our schools, and a graduate of the University of British Columbia. At present he is editor of the English-language columns of the *Daily Hebrew Journal* of the City of Toronto. During his days in the University he became interested in the early history of British Columbia, and especially in the story of the Jewish pioneers. With indefatigable zeal he made it his business to gather all data obtainable about them. His book, which covers the first two years of the colony, 1858 to 1860, is the result, and it is invaluable to all those interested in the story of early British Columbia.

It is crammed with references to the Jews of those days, whether favourable or otherwise. We hear of their good deeds, but we are given also the unfavourable comments on their conduct. We meet such prominent business men as Joseph Boscowitz; we hear of Kady Gambitz, who founded the business later carried on by W. and J. Wilson; of the Joseph Brothers; of the firm of Lewis & Lewis; of the Sutros, so prominent later in San Francisco; of David Belasco, the famous actor and manager, who spent his boyhood days in Victoria; of John Malowanski, the first man elected as assistant engineer in the old volunteer fire company in Victoria, who died years later in Siberia; and of Selim Franklin, who defeated the famous Amor de Cosmos in the election of 1860, in Victoria District, the first Jew to sit as a member of the Legislature of British Columbia; and many others.

In short, Mr. Rome's book is a valuable addition to the historical literature of British Columbia, as it tells the story of an important factor in our history which has never been told before.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Bullion to Books: Fifty Years of Business and Pleasure. By Henry R. Wagner. Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1942. Pp. 370. Ill.

Readers of this *Quarterly* are familiar with the valuable historical work of Mr. Henry R. Wagner, and will welcome his autobiography, *Bullion to Books:* an apt title. Long have we known him as a fine historical scholar, but many did not know him as the energetic, far-seeing, successful administrator of Big Business.

The volume is written in a chatty, free-and-easy, familiar style. Its title might have been "Henry R. Wagner en Pantoufles." As we read we can see Mr. Wagner, seated in a comfortable chair, with one of his favourite Corona Coronas, reminiscing to his friends. The picture unfolds: a young lawyer fresh from Yale University, with a bent for mining and metallurgy, rising step by step until he becomes the confidential agent of the Guggenheim interests in the Americas, and their superintendent in Mexico during the troublous years 1907–14—years of revolutions, near-revolutions, and "small revolutions," when Diaz, Madero, Orozco, Carranza, and Villa were playing their parts. We see these men not as figures on the page of history but in a personal and intimate way. Then a turn of the kaleidoscope and we are with the book lover and book collector in the marts and auction rooms of London and New York, "nosing" about in places well known to us by name —the Museum Bookstore, the Cadmus Book Shop, Edward Eberstadt. Again, a turn of the kaleidoscope and we see the historian at work in his chosen field, Spanish America. The bibliography of fourteen pages which closes the book shows how completely he has filled his hours of "leisure" for his own pleasure and the benefit of all students of Coast history.

The volume is more than a very readable story of a well-filled life. The author keeps himself in the background, frankly evaluates many of the prominent persons he meets, and interestingly portrays life in the London, Chile, and Mexico of his day.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

THE RELATIONS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749–1763. By Max Savelle. Pp. xiv., 172.

The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace after the War of 1812. By A. L. Burt. Pp. xv., 448.

The Crisis in Canadian-American Relations, 1830–1842. By A. B. Corey. Pp. xvii., 203.

Canadian-American Relations 1849–1874. By Lester Burrell Shippee. Pp. xi., 514.

Reciprocity 1911, A Study in Canadian-American Relations. By L. Ethan Ellis. Pp. x., 207.

Toronto: The Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1939, 1940, 1941.

The five volumes listed above form a notable addition to the evergrowing series, *The Relations of Canada and the United States*, published for the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In spite of chronological gaps, they possess a certain historical continuity stretching from colonial times to 1911. All five volumes may, on the whole, be commended for their objectivity and fairness of treatment. Four of them are from the pens of American historians and the fifth is the work of a Canadian, yet it would often be difficult to determine by internal evidence the nationality of the writer. In every case the author has delved deep into the original sources, and the volumes are based on thorough research.

Professor Max Savelle, of Stanford University, in *The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749–1763*, has thrown new light on a hitherto somewhat obscure subject. He shows that the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 left the boundaries between New France and the British Colonies still unsettled. The French advance into the heart of the continent threatened both the expansion of the English seaboard colonies and the overland trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Seven Years War in America was fought not only "to determine the question of what the boundaries between the British colonies and the French should be," but it was also, as the author makes clear, a "sociological conflict which was of profound and fundamental importance to the history of the future United States and Canada." The land-hungry English colonists were swarming over the Alleghenies by 1750, were settling the Mohawk Valley in New York, and were extending northward to Lake Champlain. In order to stop the English advance the French fought a desperate struggle in North America and lost. If France had triumphed the English colonies would probably have been hived between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies, and Western Canada might still be a fur preserve.

The Peace of Paris wiped out for the time being the uncertain boundary-lines between New France, Acadia, and New England, and extended British North America to the Mississippi. In one sense it was not a real settlement

at all. No satisfactory lines were drawn between Canada, Acadia, and New England. The attempt to define the boundaries of Quebec, and the setting-up of the Indian Territory in 1763, merely led to disputes between Great Britain and the American colonies which culminated in the American Revolution. Professor Savelle's volume indicates the importance of the Canadian boundary before 1763, and forms the first chapter of a diplomatic study of the intricate relationships between the scattered colonies in eastern North America which were finally to coalesce into the two new nations which now control the continent north of New Spain.

As yet no study in this series deals at any length with the period between the Peace of Paris, 1763, and the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, but this gap has been bridged to some extent by Professor A. L. Burt, of the University of Minnesota, in the opening chapter of his important volume, *The United States, Great Britain, and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace after the War of 1812.* Professor Burt has already gone thoroughly into the problem of Canadian-American relations in a previous work, not included in this series, *The Old Province of Quebec.* The present volume, which is really a continuation of the former, brings the story down to the Convention of 1818.

As usual, Professor Burt is provocative. He often disagrees with previous writers and backs up his opinion with copious references to original sources. Sir Guy Carleton, for example, is held responsible for the British defeat in the American Revolutionary War. The War of 1812 was not the result of the efforts of the " Expansionists of 1812." None the less Mr. Burt has done a real service to historical scholarship, especially in his study of the deterioration of Anglo-American relations before 1812 and their betterment after the Treaty of Ghent.

One of the most important chapters in the book, entitled " The Dividing Line," deals with the settlement of the International Boundary in 1783. A glance at the map on page 17 shows no less than nine possible boundary-lines. In spite of the uncertainties over the St. Croix River, the New Brunswick-Maine boundary, and the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods, the line chosen proved definitive and has never since been seriously challenged. But many important British fur-trading posts were now within American territory, and were not surrendered until after the conclusion of Jay's Treaty in 1794. Mr. Burt has told the story of the struggle for the retention of these posts at length, and has recounted the negotiations which led to the settlement of the problem and the evacuation of the posts in 1796. The effects of the Nootka Sound controversy on Anglo-American relations are also fully discussed, and it is interesting in this connection to note that the British as early as 1790 realized the necessity for a definition of the International Boundary west of the Lake of the Woods.

The five chapters which deal with the War of 1812 and the Treaty of Ghent constitute a re-examination into and re-estimate of the last great conflict between the British Empire and the United States. In his " analysis of issues," Mr. Burt upholds the traditional interpretation that the United States attacked Canada because " Canada was the only part of the British

Empire vulnerable to American attack," and rejects the revisionist view that the United States declared war on Britain "as an excuse for the attack against Canada." "As Canada was caught between the United States and Britain, so was the United States caught between Britain and France." The United States wished to be neutral in the great struggle between Britain and Napoleon, but she was unable to keep out of war. Because Britain controlled the seas and interfered with American trade, and above all insisted on the "right of search," the United States was forced to fight to protect her neutrality. The War Hawks might, and did, clamour for the invasion of Canada, but the real cause of the war, in the opinion of Professor Burt, was the unwillingness of the United States to accept the Orders in Council which Britain used as a weapon in her commercial war against Napoleon.

In his chapter on "The War of 1812: Its Operations," Mr. Burt has carefully evaluated the strategy of the naval and land campaigns. He points out that "most Canadians are prone to ignore the fact, which Americans can never forget, that the War of 1812 was oceanic as well as continental." The land campaigns were conditioned by the war at sea. The United States Navy could not hope to risk a general engagement against the Royal Navy, and the American campaign was conducted by United States frigates and privateers. The heroic fights between the American and British frigates have been remembered, but it is seldom realized that the British, with comparatively little fighting, were victorious in the naval war. By 1814 "American privateers as well as merchantmen were pretty well swept from the ocean and the United States Navy had practically ceased to exist." The British blockade of the American coast-line was effective. Even before Napoleon's defeat in 1814 British sea power had "strangled the ability of the American government to continue the war on land." The Royal Navy was the "ultimate guarantee not called upon because not needed, that British North America would survive the war."

At Ghent the American representatives outshone the British. Now that the war in Europe seemed over, both sides tacitly agreed to ignore the issues from which the conflict in America had sprung. The "right of search," "contraband," and "blockade" were practically ignored. The British, to be sure, once more attempted to establish an Indian buffer state between the United States and Canada and once more they failed. The chief problem before the negotiators was to make peace and to leave the unsettled problems to work themselves out. For both belligerents the Treaty of Ghent was a face-saving device.

During the four years which followed the signing of the peace treaty the United States and Great Britain quietly disposed of most of the outstanding points at issue. The Rush-Bagot agreement provided for the mutual disarmament of the Great Lakes region. The Convention of 1818 settled the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, provided for the joint occupation of Old Oregon, restored Astoria to the United States, and made a provisional settlement of the vexed Atlantic

fisheries dispute. As Professor Burt has clearly shown, the convention introduced a new era in Canadian-American relations.

This "era of good feeling," was, however, terminated by what Professor Albert B. Corey, of the St. Lawrence University, has termed *The Crisis of 1830–1842 in Canadian-American Relations.*[1] Expansionist sentiment, which had been quiescent in the United States after 1815, awoke to new life after 1825. In 1830 the *North American Review* "advocated the union of Canada and the United States an an unmitigated blessing." An attempt was made during the next few years to link up the acquisition of Canada with the annexation of Texas. If Texas was admitted as one or more slave states, then Canada could provide a balance of "free" states. As the political struggle in the Canadas became more acute, American newspapers began to predict separation from Great Britain and union with the United States. The outbreak of rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada produced a ferment along the American border. The escape of William Lyon Mackenzie to the United States led to the formation of the Patriot Volunteers. The *Caroline* incident almost led to war. Fortunately, Major-General Wingfield Scott, of the United States Army, took command on the Niagara frontier, and his good sense prevented an outbreak then, as it was later to do during the San Juan controversy. President Van Buren was also opposed to war, and would not take action until after the burning of the *Caroline.* Even then he counselled General Scott "to prevent excesses." Sir John Colborne in Upper Canada was also anxious to avoid bloodshed, and soon British and American authorities were co-operating to preserve peace.

None the less the border was far from quiet. Secret societies sprang up, the best known being the "Hunters Lodges," who swore "never to rest until all tyrants of Britain cease to have any dominion or foothold in North America." The Hunters attacks on Upper Canada failed, but they indicated the tenseness of the situation.

The arrival of Lord Durham as High Commissioner and Governor-General was most timely. His appointment was popular in the United States and it was soon increased by his studious attempt to cultivate the good-will of the Americans. He sent Colonel Grey, a member of his staff, on a special mission to Washington. President Van Buren, although hampered by his political position and by the hotheads on the border, did what he could publicly to maintain good relations with Lord Durham. Privately he seems to have sympathized to some extent with the Patriots, but in his public pronouncements he emphasized the obligation resting upon the United States "to prevent raids and other attacks on the Canadas." Although

(1) In his valuable review of this volume in the June, 1942, number of the *Canadian Historical Review* XXIII., p. 206, Major C. P. Stacey, the official military historian of Canada, dryly remarks: "The one really bad thing about this useful book is its title. There was no 'crisis of 1830–1842' in Canadian-American relations, nor does the book treat of the whole of this period. There was a crisis of 1837–1846, one distinct phase of which ended in 1842, and Mr. Corey's volume, though not wholly exhaustive, is the best study we have had of the five troubled years from Papineau's rebellion to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty."

public feeling ran high in both countries, especially over the case of Alexander McLeod, a Canadian deputy sheriff who was seized by the Americans and held on charges of arson and murder, neither Government allowed itself to be stampeded into violence.

The final chapter in Mr. Corey's careful study deals with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. Changes of government in both Great Britain and the United States in 1841 paved the way for the settlement of outstanding diplomatic problems. Daniel Webster was now American Secretary of State, and Lord Aberdeen, as British Foreign Secretary, was much more conciliatory than his predecessor, Lord Palmerston. Alexander Baring, Viscount Ashburton, was sent to Washington early in 1842 to negotiate with Daniel Webster. The result was the well-known treaty which bears their names. It was an achievement of friendly common sense. The International Boundary was finally settled, and although New Brunswick has lamented the loss of most of the disputed territory, the compromise seems to have been satisfactory. An extradition treaty which provided for the surrender by either country when requested by the other of all persons "charged with murder, assault with murderous intent, piracy, arson, forgery or utterance of forged paper" was included in the final draft of the agreement. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed on August 9, 1842, and ratified by the United States Senate on August 20th. For British North America, and in particular, for Canada, it meant the cession of border difficulties, the removal of the dangers of war, and an immediate withdrawal of a considerable proportion of the British military forces, who were needed elsewhere. It meant that naval forces on the Great Lakes would again be reduced to the strength provided for by the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817. It meant that that phase of Canadian-American relations represented by "incidents growing out of the Canadian rebellions and of Americans' hope of freeing Canada from Great Britain had definitely come to an end."

The period from 1842 to 1849 still awaits treatment in the Canadian-American Relations series, but it will be touched upon in two forthcoming volumes. Professor L. B. Shippee, of the University of Minnesota, is the author of *Canadian-American Relations 1849–1874*. It was during these years, in the words of Professor Shotwell, that "the decision of the Canadian and American peoples to accept their separation and to make the most of it was taken, half consciously, half unconsciously." The central events of this quarter of a century were the Civil War and the formation of the Dominion of Canada. The period begins with annexation movements and the reciprocity treaty, and ends with the Treaty of Washington, the settlement of the San Juan boundary, and the Geneva Award which terminated the long dispute over the *Alabama* claims.

The story of the annexation movements beginning in 1849 is closely interwoven with that of the reciprocity agreement of 1854. The repeal of the British Corn Laws in 1846 and the loss by Canadians of their preference in the British market, coupled with the repeal of the Navigation Acts, led in 1849 to the Annexationist Manifesto issued by prominent citizens of Montreal. Those same merchants who before 1846 had been warm in their protests of

loyalty to Great Britain were now turning in their need to the United States. Lord Elgin stated that three-quarters of the commercial men in Canada were bankrupt, and that property values, especially in Montreal, had fallen 50 per cent. within a few years. In addition, destitute Irish immigrants, anti-English in feeling, the pathetic survivors of the great famine, were arriving in large numbers. In the Maritimes the annexationists were also very vocal, but neither there nor in Canada did they form a large proportion of the population. United States border opinion mildly favoured the acquisition of the British Provinces, but in Congress and in administrative circles "the ground of annexation was warily trod." The South was already threatening secession unless the North would agree to the extension of slavery, and the admission of the British North American Provinces would still more overset the balance in favour of the free states.

Lord Elgin saw that reciprocity was the natural foil to annexation. In this view he was supported by the Canadian Government. The Maritime Provinces also desired reciprocity, and the British Government was benevolently disposed. Lord Elgin went to Washington to arrange the terms of the treaty which Lawrence Oliphant stated Lord Elgin's enemies claimed was "floated through on champagne." Elgin had been given a free hand by the British Government, but his mission could not have succeeded if a former American Consul in Canada, Isaac D. Andrews, had not carefully prepared the way, and if Secretary of State Marcy had not been most sympathetic. The treaty provided for the free exchange of the natural products of the mine, land, and sea, and gave to the Americans "the right to fish the inshore waters of all the colonies on the Atlantic except Newfoundland," and to British subjects equal fishing rights along American shores north of the thirty-sixth parallel.

The Americans wished to have the terms extend to the Pacific, and especially to Vancouver Island. The British Government, however, did not consider the plan feasible because, in their opinion, the rights already granted to the Hudson's Bay Company seemed to prevent the admission of Americans to the Coast fisheries. Secretary of State Marcy always raised the fisheries issue whenever the British appeared willing to discuss the project. The result was stalemate.

The treaty was to remain in force for a period of ten years, and then could be terminated if either side gave a year's notice. On the whole, Canada gained more from the Reciprocity Treaty than did the Maritime Provinces. The United States also felt it was not getting the best of the bargain. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 and the consequent necessity for the North to import supplies weighted the balance still more in Canada's favour. Anglo-American relations became strained during the Civil War, and the British North American Provinces were naturally adversely affected thereby. Anti-British feeling, inflamed by the activities of the *Alabama*, rose to fever heat. Confederate agents in British North America added fuel to the flames. The raid on St. Albans, Vermont, from Canadian territory in 1864 brought matters to a head. The Congress of the

United States decided to end the agreement. The required notice was given, and reciprocity was doomed.

By this time the British Provinces were debating federation. It was a critical period not only in the history of British Columbia but of all British North America. The issue was "Confederation or Annexation?" Professor Shippee has carefully traced the annexation movements in the United States during the late 1860's. The New York *Herald*, the organ of James Gordon Bennett, preached annexation in season and out. W. H. Seward as early as 1860 made a campaign speech in St. Paul, Minnesota, in which he prophesied the admission to the American Union not only of Alaska but also of Rupert's Land and Canada. If the South was determined to secede, the North could compensate itself by building up a huge empire "to embrace every acre of territory as far as the Arctic Ocean." After the Civil War the Fenians undertook to free the unfortunate British Provinces from the hated British tyranny which they were enduring. Unfortunately the British Provinces did not respond! On the whole, the Americans were so obsessed with the idea of annexation that they paid little attention to the Confederation movement which was sweeping Canada and the Maritimes.

In the House of Representatives General Nathaniel P. Banks, on July 2, 1866, introduced a Bill to admit "the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West, and the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia" to the Union. This Bill, Professor Shippee tells us, "was a copy of one prepared by James W. Taylor, Special Agent of the Treasury Department in the Northwest, and was incorporated in his report transmitted to Congress, June 12, 1866." The Bill, which never became law, apparently created some small stir in Canada. In Kingston, Ontario, a meeting adopted resolutions "advising the Canadian people to accept the terms of annexation proposed in Gen. Banks' bill."

Early in 1867 Sir Frederick Bruce, at Washington, reported to Lord Stanley, at the Foreign Office, that Confederation was looked upon with mixed feelings in the United States: "*with favour* by those who do not wish the extension of the States, but who would gladly see the Provinces break their connexion with Great Britain, to which result they think Confederation tends; *with disfavour*, by the ambitious part of the population who desire peaceful or forcible annexation, and who are averse to Confederation because they think it will create the germ of a powerful nationality in sympathy with, if not directly incorporated with, the Old World."

The Alaska Purchase of 1867 stimulated American interest in British Columbia. The New York *Herald* stated that there was "a considerable movement, both in British Columbia and California and Oregon, to annex to the United States the territory of Great Britain in that part of America." It claimed further that "the press and people of Victoria are outspoken in favour of annexation." In December, 1867, Senator Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota, spoke in favour of the purchase by the United States of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company "including all claims of territory in North America clear through to the Pacific Coast." General Grant privately

hoped for the annexation of all Canada. In January, 1870, Henry W. Cobbett, of Oregon, spoke in the House of Representatives in favour of a transfer of British Columbia to the United States. The annexationist petition from British Columbia created some favourable comment in Washington.

Professor Shippee has done a real service in tracing the American movement towards annexation, but unfortunately he is rather weak on the Canadian side of the question. True, his book was published before Mr. W. E. Ireland's article on " The Annexation Petition of 1869 " had appeared, but he does not seem to have read the earlier studies on the annexation movement in British Columbia. He has paid more attention to the situation in Red River, but his treatment of the opposition to Confederation in Canada and the Maritimes is scarcely adequate.

Other chapters in the book deal with the Fenians, the fisheries, further attempts at reciprocity, and the San Juan water boundary. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the Joint High Commission of 1871, the Washington Treaty and its ratification, the effects of the treaty on what the author terms the " everlasting fisheries question," and on reciprocity. Mr. Shippee has made good use of the official sources, American, British, and Canadian, and has thrown new light on many obscure points. British Columbians will note perhaps a lack of local colour in his treatment of the San Juan water boundary issue, but the author has worked over his sources carefully.

On the whole this volume is one of the most useful in the diplomatic series. It strikes one as being the most " American " in the narrower sense of the word. But an unravelling of the tangled skein of Canadian-American relations during this important quarter century was badly needed, and no one could write such a volume unless he was familiar with the mass of American source material. Canadian historians have not pursued their studies of diplomatic history nearly so far as have the Americans, and it was fitting that this task should be allotted to an American scholar.

From 1872 to 1911 there is a huge gap in this series. It is to be hoped that it will be filled later in whole or in part. The last volume under consideration is by Professor L. Ethan Ellis, *Reciprocity 1911*. Mr. Ellis, who is Assistant Professor of History at Rutgers University, sets forth his purpose as follows:—

" This study presents the results of an investigation into the forces underlying and conditioning an experiment in the field of international trade. It attempts to indicate the setting of uneasiness and multiple dissatisfactions on both sides of the Canadian-American border out of which came William Howard Taft's offer and Sir Wilfrid Laurier's acceptance of a reciprocity which as negotiated carried large possibilities of mutual advantage. It surveys the development of opinion and of legislative discussion and action on both sides of the border, culminating in success to the south and in an appeal to the country and failure to the north. An effort is made to clarify the activities of interested parties, political and economic, and to show their influence, through skillful manipulation of the organs of propaganda and public opinion, upon the issue in each country."

In the United States "reciprocity became a battleground whereon was fought a skirmish in the background of the 1912 presidential campaign and whereon was won a battle for the advancement of the economic interest of the newspaper press." In Canada, on the other hand, the economic advantages were "obscured by a smoke screen of national and Imperial patriotism designed to induce repudiation of the agreement." The issue was confused on both sides of the border, the defeat of reciprocity in Canada was based on propaganda and sentiment rather than on sound economic reasoning.

Professor Ellis, having thus elaborated his thesis, expands it in his study of approximately 200 pages. It is an illuminating discussion, based on contemporary sources, chiefly official, pamphlets and newspapers. The few books on the subject have been carefully used. The period covered is short, but the subject is sufficiently important to deserve such full treatment.

In conclusion, the reviewer wishes to commend once more the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for publishing these five volumes. No one who has perused them carefully is likely to make the usual after-dinner speech on the subject of the "undefended frontier." But he will have a much clearer idea of how that frontier came into being, and of how it has figured in the intricate diplomatic history of the two great English-speaking nations in North America. It is to be hoped that before the series is completed that the gaps in this important diplomatic history may be filled.

WALTER N. SAGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1942.

600-642-8235

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