THE

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 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.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VI. VICTORIA, B.C., OCTOBER, 1942. No. 4

CONTENTS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHINOOK JARGON.

The article by Dr. R. L. Reid, K.C., in the January number of this *Quarterly* on "The Chinook Jargon and British Columbia" makes opportune a discussion of its origin; and this paper is intended as a sort of postscript to that article. Dr. Reid mentions two theories and a tradition of the origin of the jargon. The tradition—that it was invented by the Hudson's Bay Company—has only to be mentioned to be laughed out of court. The theories are: first, that it grew up naturally out of the conditions on the Coast in the early days of the maritime fur-trade; second, that it was a prehistoric inter-tribal language already in existence when the explorers and traders arrived.

The prehistoric inter-tribal view is found in the *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1911), where it is stated in these words:—

> There can be no doubt that the jargon existed as an inter-tribal medium of communication long before the advent of the whites, having its parallel in the so-called "Mobilian language" of the Gulf tribes and the sign language of the plains, all three being the outcome of an extensive aboriginal system of inter-tribal trade and travel.[1]

This view has been repeated in the reprint entitled *Handbook of Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1913), and it has also been adopted in the *Encyclopædia of Canada* (Toronto, 1935), in practically the same words.[2]

Parallels are always dangerous arguments unless they are parallels. It is doubted whether there ever was on the Pacific Coast such a "system of inter-tribal trade and travel" as is alleged to have existed amongst the wandering, horse-riding aborigines of the plains.[3] Inter-tribal trade amongst the Coast Indians, it is believed, was rare; and travel from tribe to tribe rarer. Like our primitive ancestors in England, the Coast Indians stayed at home. True, Alexander Mackenzie in July,

(1) F. W. Hodge (*ed.*), *Handbook of American Indians*, Washington, 1911 (Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin 30), I., pp. 274–5.

(2) See *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, Ottawa, 1913, p. 94; *Encyclopædia of Canada*, Toronto, 1935, II., p. 50.

(3) Compare Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Philadelphia, 1836, I., pp. 133 ff., 167.

1793, met an Indian on the Bella Coola River who had journeyed, about ten years before, in a canoe with forty of his people "a considerable distance towards the mid-day sun" and had seen two ships with white people in them.[4] Curiosity probably lay at the root of this adventure. Sometimes, too, the Coast Indians travelled with letters of the land fur-traders; the Fort Langley *Journal* gives an instance, and others will be found in Harmon's *Journal*.[5] Sometimes they travelled to obtain food or even to obtain a wife. But travelling for pleasure—just for the sake of travelling, or of making a friendly visit—was unknown, or, at any rate, so unusual as not to furnish a plausible necessity for an inter-tribal language. It could not be in such an atmosphere of suspicion and enmity as existed amongst the Coast tribes. The evidence of the explorers and maritime traders makes it clear that wars, rumours of wars, war forays, enmity, and suspicion were the normal condition.[6] The journal of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Langley, for example, contains many illuminating entries showing the constant fear in one tribe of attack by some other, the coming of war parties, the marauding expeditions, especially of the Yucultas.[7]

These circumstances have not deterred the various exponents of the theory that the Chinook jargon was a prehistoric inter-tribal language — a sort of *lingua franca* — amongst the Coast Indians. But when their statements are examined it will be observed that in no solitary instance are any facts offered to sustain it; in every instance it is simply taken for granted.

This alleged inter-tribal origin is put forward rather lamely and inferentially in the preface to John Gill's *Dictionary of the*

(4) Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages . . . to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*, London, 1801, p. 335.

(5) Fort Langley *Journal*, MS., Provincial Archives, October 7, November 15, December 24, 1827; January 25, June 14, July 11, 1828.

(6) *See* Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, Santa Ana, 1933, p. 6; Ingraham's Journal of the *Hope*, MS., July 7, 1792; G. M. Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, Montreal, 1878, p. 132; A. P. Niblack, *Report of the National Museum*, 1888, p. 340; Robert Brown (*ed.*), *Adventures of John Jewitt*, London, 1896, pp. 17, 21, 22, 191 ff.; Jewitt's *Journal*, reprint, Boston, 1931, p. 46.

(7) Fort Langley *Journal*, MS., August 11, September 7, 24, October 9, 11, 18, 23, 28, 1827, etc.

Chinook Jargon, published in 1902. It is found in good company, for the preface is filled with errors. Gill there says that there are five different languages in the territory between the mouth of the Willamette and the ocean. He continues:—

> But in voyages along the rivers or in hunting parties in the mountains, the Wasco Indian who happened to meet the Clatsop—one from the mouth of the Columbia and the other from central Oregon, made himself perfectly understood in this accommodating jargon, which was in use from the Cascade Mountains to the Pacific as a trading language, and widely known along the coast.[8]

From the context it is plain that the author is dealing with an imaginary Indian on an imaginary journey at a time antecedent to the coming of the white man. Yet he produces no evidence in support of his assumption that the jargon existed at that time. Obviously it would have been a most convenient medium if it had existed; but the question is: Did it exist? Supporters of the prehistoric *lingua franca* must, surely, be required to offer some evidence of its existence before the advent of the white man. But, as already noted, no believer in this inter-tribal language produces any facts in support, or even any from which its probable existence may be inferred. They draw the theory from the blue. It is a case of wishful thinking.

Such evidence as we have points unmistakably to the non-existence of any such inter-tribal language. For instance when the two Indian women from Spokane House, garbed as men, reached Astoria, June 25, 1811, Franchère says:—

> We put questions to them in various Indian dialects; but they did not understand us. They showed us a letter addressed to "*Mr. John Stuart, Fort Estekatadene, New Caledonia.*" Mr. Pillet then addressing them in the Knisteneaux language, they answered, although they appeared not to understand it perfectly.[9]

This event occurred three months after the Astorians had arrived. In that time they should have picked up a smattering of the inter-tribal prehistoric language, if it had existed, for they had been constantly in contact with the Indians. Why, after they had tried the Indian dialects on the strangers, did they

(8) John Gill, *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon,* Portland, Ore., 1902, p. 4.

(9) Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage . . . ,* New York, 1854, p. 118.

not use the *lingua franca?* Why did they resort to Cree, which is a language known to most Indian tribes east of the Rockies? Is not the answer to these questions, that there was no inter-tribal language?

Nor is this experience unique. Nowhere in the first contacts of the civilized with the savage on the Coast do we find any evidence of a prehistoric inter-tribal language. We have, fortunately, the diaries of Fathers Crespi and Peña, who accompanied the first Spanish expedition along the British Columbian Coast. This was in July and August, 1774, eleven years before the advent of the maritime fur-traders, and four years before Captain Cook—a time when the inter-tribal language would have been in full flood.

Here is Father Crespi's report of the meeting with the Haidas near the northwestern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The date is July 20, 1774; the *Santiago* is about 9 miles offshore; it is evening, but through the fog the Indians discern the strange vessel. Nine Haidas venture out to the exotic monster, but they fear to come on board. When, however, they were shown gifts —handkerchiefs, beads, and biscuits — they approached near enough to receive them. Father Crespi says that, as the ship was drifting dangerously close to the land, she was put about.

> The pagans, seeing that we were going away from their country, invited us thither, and we knew or understood from their signs, that they told us there were provisions and abundant water there and a place where the ship might anchor; and we replying by signs that on the following day we would go thither, they went away.

Father Crespi tells us that later another canoe came out to the *Santiago.*

> They were asked to come aboard the ship, but either they did not wish to do so or they did not understand the signs made to them.

And, again, he says that in welcoming some of the sailors the Haidas danced with them,

> And gave it to be understood by the sign of placing the hand on the breast that they loved them dearly.

When the Spaniards were about to sail away Crespi records that the Haidas invited them to revisit their country:—

> And we understood them to say by signs that we should not go farther up the coast because the people there were warlike and slayers of men, this

being the customary warning of almost all pagans, in order to make it understood that they are good men and the rest bad.[10]

It will be observed that there is no hint of any means of communication with the natives except signs. Nor is there anything to suggest that they had any expectation that some language they spoke would be understood, as presumably would have been the case had they been accustomed to converse with strangers in a *lingua franca.*

The *Santiago* made her next landfall near Estevan Point, at the entrance to Hope Bay. There, at the threshold of Nootka Sound, the Spaniards should surely have found some evidence of this alleged prehistoric inter-tribal language, for Nootkan words were an important element in the Chinook jargon. Let us call the witnesses. Father Peña first:—

About four o'clock three canoes came out to us; in one were four men, three in another, and two in the third. They remained at some distance from the ship, crying out and making gestures that we should go away. After some time, we having made signs to them that they should draw near without fear, they did so, and we gave them to understand that we were in search of water; but they could not have been satisfied with our signs, and went back to the land.

Now let us hear Father Crespi. He says:—

Before reaching us they began to cry out, making gestures and signs that we should go away. Our people made signs to them that they should draw near without fear, and gave them to understand that we were seeking water; but either they did not understand our meaning, or they gave no heed to it, for they went back to the shore.

On another occasion the natives came out to the *Santiago.* Father Crespi's account follows:—

We called out to them and they came nearer; whereupon we asked them by signs whether water was to be had. They did not understand or paid no attention, and went toward the land; but on the way thither, meeting two other canoes, all five came on together to about a musket shot's distance from the ship. Although from on board we made many signs to them and cried out to them, they would come no nearer, but remained where they were until about eleven o'clock, talking one with another, and from time to time crying out.[11]

(10) These quotations are from Crespi's *Diary* as printed in the *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California,* Los Angeles, 1891, pp. 188, 189, 193. Similar entries are to be found in Peña's *Diary,* in the same volume. Compare Herbert E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi,* Berkeley, 1927, pp. 324, 325 ff., 333.

(11) *Ibid.,* pp. 131, 201, 202.

These are the Fathers' accounts of the first meetings with two of our coastal tribes, the Haidas and the Nootkans or Ahts, and signs are the only means of communication on both sides.

It may be urged that the Spaniards were unacquainted with the alleged prehistoric inter-tribal language and might have overlooked its use by these Indians. But surely its existence would have become known as soon as the trading ships arrived and white men began to comb the coast systematically, year after year, for the skins of the sea-otter. Difficulty of communication with the natives was a major trading obstacle, and had a *lingua franca* existed it would have solved that problem and been promptly put to use.

But evidence that any such inter-tribal language did exist is entirely lacking. Over and over again the records of the early voyages reveal that the maritime traders were compelled to have recourse to the miserable expedient of signs. Of the scores of instances that might be cited in proof the following are representative examples. In July, 1788, Captain James Colnett spent some time at and near Nootka, where he picked up a few words of the language; in August he was at the lower end of Queen Charlotte Islands, and in September he was at Banks Island, amongst the Tsimshian. The Chief arrived in a canoe, and Colnett reports:—

I went into the Canoe & *by signs*, for their Language differ'd from any we had heard before, invited the Chief, who was a very respectable old man on board.

On his arrival at Nootka in May, 1789, Martinez writes in his MS. diary: "They [the Indians] indicated to us *by signs* that these instruments were for fishing"; and when he landed with armed men: "They gave us to understand *by signs* that the soldiers should go back." John Bartlett in his diary, published as a narrative in *The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor*, states that when the snow *Gustavus*, in March, 1791, was entering Barkley Sound, "The natives on shore began *to make signs* to us to stand more to the northward." And in July, 1791, when the Spaniards met the Salish at Point Roberts, Pantoja says:—

They speak an entirely different language and in spite of the fact that we did not understand it they explained with entire clearness that there had been vessels within the canal much larger than the schooner. . . .

This explanation, as appears later, was by signs; for the Indian made reference to traders with animals bearing burdens, and

Comprehending *from his signs* that these were horses, a painting of one was shown to him. As soon as he saw it he said that that was what they were.[12]

But it may, perhaps, be claimed that the prehistoric intertribal language did not then extend so far north. In that event let us look at the record of the earliest contacts of the white man and the red man along the coasts of Oregon and Washington, where this *lingua franca* is alleged to have been in use for untold centuries before the advent of the maritime traders.

In July, 1788, in the vicinity of Gray's Harbour, John Meares, in the *Felice*, met a canoe containing a man and a boy. He says:—

We endeavoured to make ourselves intelligible, by addressing them in the language of King George's [Nootka] Sound, which we had found to prevail from thence to the district of Tatooche [Cape Flattery]; but they did not comprehend a word we uttered, and replied to us in a language which bore not the least resemblance or affinity, as far as we could form judgment, to any tongue that we had heard on the coast of America.[13]

In the following month, off Lincoln County, Oregon, the sloop *Washington* encountered two Indians in a small canoe. After listening to a long oration by one of them, which Haswell thought was designed to inform him that they had plenty of food and water at their homes, he proceeds:—

We could proceve there Language was entierly different from those we had first fell in with to the southward.

Of the natives of Murderers Harbour (probably Tillamook Bay), whom he met nine days later, he says:—

There language we attained no knoledge of and I am of opinion it was very Hard to lern.

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(12) These quotations are from Colnett's MS. *Journal*, September 13, 1788; Martinez's MS. *Diary*, May 2, 5, 1789 (both in my library); Hoskins's *Narrative* in F. W. Howay (*ed.*) *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* Boston, 1941, p. 219 f.; Pantoja's account in Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, p. 187. The italics are mine. Similar statements are to be found in, e.g., Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages*, pp. 318, 319, 322, 353, 354; Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies*, London, 1791, p. 488; Hoskins's *Narrative* in *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* p. 219 f.; George Vancouver, *Voyage*, 1801 edition, many references in volumes II. and III.

(13) John Meares, *Voyages . . . to the North West Coast of America*, London, 1790, p. 165.

The *Washington* spent the winter of 1788–89 in Nootka Sound, and apparently Haswell mastered the Nootkan language sufficiently to prepare a vocabulary. In the spring of 1789 the *Washington* was at Port San Juan, and Haswell writes: "We were glad to find they spoke a dialect of the Nootka Language." A few days later the sloop was at Neah Bay, where Haswell records that "they spoke the Nootka Language." The natives in both these places were of the Nootkan (Aht or Wakashan) division, and hence spoke their language.[14]

Now let us follow the *Columbia* along the Oregon and Washington coasts in April and May, 1792. Off the mouth of the Umpqua River, some 150 miles below the Columbia River, Boit says that some canoes came off to the ship. "These natives talk'd a different language from any we have before heard." It will not be overlooked that in the preceding year the *Columbia* had met Nootkans, Haidas, Kwakiutls, Tsimshians, and Tlingits. A few days later when off the mouth of the Columbia River, Boit records that the natives frequently came alongside in their canoes, but "their language to us was unintelligable." On May 7, in Gray's Harbour, Boit remarks: "Their language was different from any we have yet heard." The Indians there made an attack on the *Columbia* in which many were killed. Two days later the ship was visited by Indians from the upper part of the Chehalis River, and some of the tribe that had made the assault also came alongside. But we shall let Boit continue the story.

> Their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they were telling the very circumstance to their Acquaintances from down [up] River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavouring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our Coming amongst them.[15]

All the other incidents that have been mentioned deal with the first contacts between red man and white man, and in them we have found (and will find as we proceed) that communication was always by signs; that any attempt by the natives to converse, except in the case of the Aht people (they spoke Nootkan), invariably evoked the remark that the language was

(14) Haswell's *First Log*, in *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* pp. 33, 39, 71.
(15) Boit's *Log*, in *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* pp. 391–2, 394, 395.

unintelligible or different from that of Nootka.[16] Here, however, we have a meeting between the Coast Indians at Gray's Harbour and their neighbours, the Indians from the upper Chehalis River; it is a case where we would expect the prehistoric inter-tribal language to be spoken; but instead of that language which, E. H. Thomas claims, "All the Indians talked . . . to each other,"[17] the natives resorted to the pitiable medium of signs. And it must not be forgotten that this incident occurred within 50 miles of the mouth of the Columbia River, the very cradle of this alleged prehistoric inter-tribal language.

Having thus shown that the first Europeans found no *lingua franca* on the Coast, and that the Indians used only signs in their communications with them, let us see what is alleged by the supporters of the theory that the Chinook jargon is a prehistoric inter-tribal language. First we will take Judge James G. Swan. He says:—

> It is a language confined wholly, I believe, to our Northwestern possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It originated in the roving, trading spirit of the tribes, and has been added to and increased since the introduction of the whites among them.[18]

The book is a comparatively modern one. Judge Swan arrived at Shoalwater Bay (Willapa Harbour) late in 1852. The subtitle of his book is *Three Years Residence in Washington Territory.* The above quotation is, therefore, the result of a three years' residence; not such a length of time as can justify this sweeping categorical statement, especially as all of it was spent in the vicinity of Shoalwater Bay. The supposed roving spirit of the Coast Indians has already been dealt with; it is believed that such roving was confined to war expeditions. Judge Swan takes it upon himself to assert that when Maquinna, the Nootkan

(16) *See*, for instance, *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* pp. 33, 39, 87, 90, 92, 391, 392.

(17) Edward Harper Thomas, *Chinook: A History and Dictionary*, Portland, Ore., 1935, p. 2. *See also* pp. 1, 18, 22, 26.

(18) James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast*, New York, 1857, p. 310. Similarly Thomas states that "the Jargon was in use among the natives as a trading language long before the trader and trapper arrived on the scene, and that contact with the whites enlarged and enriched it by the addition of many words of French and English derivation." *Chinook: A History and Dictionary*, pp. 22–3.

Chief, sucked blood from a wound, as recorded by Meares in his Voyages,[19] and exclaimed "Cloosh, cloosh," ("Good, good"), he was speaking the Chinook jargon. He says that is the first mention of the jargon he has seen. But he is wrong — entirely wrong. The word *cloosh* is pure Nootkan;[20] Maquinna was merely using his own language. Had Maquinna added a word from the Salish or the Chinook *language* that would have been some evidence of the existence, at that time, of the Chinook jargon.

As well might he say that the Nootkans were speaking the Chinook jargon when they demanded of Captain Cook in April, 1778, that he *makook* the grass his crew were cutting at Friendly Cove.[21] Zimmerman tells us they in trading

> used the words, "makuk, tschibocks and tschikimli" repeatedly. "Makuk" means "buy," "tschibocks" "good," and with the word "tschikimli" they indicated that they wanted a large nail in exchange.[22]

The word *makuk* (it is spelled in half a dozen different ways) was the first word recorded by the traders at Nootka. James Hanna, the first maritime trader, upon his arrival at that Sound on August 9, 1785, states that the natives called out *maakook*, "which," says he, "was asking to trade." It was night and the Indians were at a distance; hence it may be presumed that Hanna knew the word from Captain Cook's vocabulary, where it is written *macook*, to barter. Again, Judge Swan might as well assert that Callicum, the Nootkan Chief, was talking the Chinook jargon when he, as Martinez sets forth in his MS. diary under the date of July 13, 1789, "insulted me from his canoe saying

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(19) Meares, *Voyages*, p. 257.

(20) *The Northwest Coast*, p. 307. James Strange, who was at Nootka in 1786—eight years after Captain Cook—gives in his "Additions to Captain Cook's vocabulary of the Nootka Sound Language in 1786" (*James Strange's Journal*, Madras, 1928, p. 52), the word *klookhsh* or *klookh*, as meaning "good," or signifying any degree of excellence; and Haswell, in 1788, in his "vocabulary of Nootka Sound" (*Voyages of the "Columbia,"* p. 103), has *cloosh*, meaning "good"; Horatio Hale, in 1842, spells it *kloshe* and says it is Nootkan, meaning "good," or "well" (*The Oregon Trade Language*, London, 1890, p. 45).

(21) Captain James Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1776–1780*, London, 1784, II., p. 284.

(22) F. W. Howay (*ed.*), *Zimmerman's Captain Cook*, Toronto, 1930, p. 71.

to me in his language 'Martinez *pisce;* Martinez *capsil,*'"[23] which expressions were interpreted by the English prisoners as meaning (which they do) that Martinez was a bad man and a robber.

The fact that the words *klooshe, makook, peshak,* and *kapswalla,* meaning respectively "good," "buy" or "barter," "bad," and "steal," are found in the Chinook jargon does not deprive them of their Nootkan origin, and is no justification for Judge Swan or any one else to say that the Nootkans in speaking their own language were using the Chinook jargon.

Having disposed of Judge Swan, let us turn to E. H. Thomas, who has been led astray in a similar fashion. In his article on "The Chinook Jargon" in *American Speech,* June, 1927, after mentioning "the logs [*sic*] of Meares, Cook, and Barclay [*sic*] which have preserved the embalmed mummy of Chinook," he proceeds:—

All the tribes talked it, so this Jargon was the language spoken between strangers. When the white men came beginning with Drake and Juan de Fuca, and two centuries later, Cook, Meares, Barclay, Vancouver, and Elisa, their attempts to converse with the natives drew replies in the Jargon. Jewett [*sic*] was addressed in this tongue by the Nootkans. That is the reason he has a dozen Jargon words in his supposedly Nootkan vocabulary.

A more ridiculous congeries of incorrect statements it would be hard to find. There is no line without its error. The source of Thomas's historical facts is his own fertile imagination. But he continues in the same vein:—

It was Jewett who discovered that the Indians had a *common* language,[24] as he thought, for every day use. He tells about it in a note in the back of his book, "A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewett," in which he gives the words of a Nootkan War Song. He says there are two expressions meaning "Ye do not know," and observes "from this, it would seem that they have two languages, one for their songs and

(23) These words would now be written: Martinez *peshak;* Martinez *kapswalla;* but with the same meaning. The words *klooshe, makook, peshak,* and *kapswalla* are Nootkan, and are found in the vocabularies of Captain Cook (1778), Strange (1786), Haswell (1788), and in the anonymous vocabulary of 1791, published by Franz Boas in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* 1916.

(24) On the contrary, Jewitt speaking of the Newchemass (Kwakiutl), says that Maquinna informed him they spoke quite a different language, although it was well understood by the Nootkans. *See* Jewitt's *Narrative,* Brown edition, p. 136.

another for *common* use." What Jewett discovered, though he never knew it, was that there was a jargon of prehistoric origin, a language in use among all the tribes, which all talked and all understood."

I pause here to point out two fundamental errors in the above quotation. Jewitt or, rather, his writer Alsop, did not say that the *Indians* had a common language, but that the *Nootkans* had, as the context shows. Secondly, Thomas has italicized and distorted the meaning of the word "common," which he takes to be, common to the tribes, instead of its plain meaning, "usual," or "ordinary." If he had taken the trouble to read the book through, or if he had not been so "wedded to his idols," he would have found the following words on page 129. On that page Jewitt, or rather Alsop, speaking of the Nootkan songs, says:—

The language of the most of these appears to be very different in many respects from that used in their common conversation, which leads me to believe either that they have a different mode of expressing themselves in poetry, or that they borrow their songs from their neighbours; and what the more particularly induces me to the latter opinion is, whenever any of the Newchemass, a people from the northward, and who speak a very different language, arrived, they used to tell me they expected a new song, and were almost sure to have one.

Thomas appears to be unaware of the genesis of Jewitt's *Narrative* and does not realize that its language is not Jewitt's, but that of Richard Alsop, who touched up and fleshed the dry bones of Jewitt's *Journal*, and, incidentally, complained that Jewitt had "small capacity as a narrator." A comparison of Jewitt's own matter-of-fact account of his marriage and his escape and of the saving of Thompson's life, as given in the *Journal*, with the romantic, almost melodramatic version in the *Narrative*, shows that these incidents lost nothing on Alsop's pen.[25]

More recently, in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Chester A. Fee, in an article on "The Chinook Jargon," accepts Thomas's wild theory with his own variations and errors. After citing Thomas's discovery of Jewitt's (Alsop's) discovery he continues:—

Jewitt had actually discovered two languages: Nootka proper, and this bastard tongue of pre-historic origin which Cook, Barclay, Meares, Elisa

(25) On the authorship of Jewitt's *Narrative*, *see* Edmond S. Meany, Jr., "The Later Life of John R. Jewitt," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 143–157.

and Vancouver had previously accepted as the actual languages of the respective tribes they encountered on Puget Sound, and which Lewis and Clark in 1805 assumed to be the real tongue of the Chinook chief, Concommolly, when, as their journal shows, he said, *wak-et com-ma-tux* (I do not understand). All these notations concerning the jargon were penned between 1778 and 1805.[26]

Fee here emulates his mentor (pardon the word) in historical inaccuracies. But not content with them he adds two notes of the same stripe. The first runs:—

Cook visited this coast in 1778; Meares came ten years later; the others followed before 1805. *The information comes from the narratives of the respective five captains.*[27]

Before quoting the other note I pause to say that the italics above are mine; and I am at a loss to find words exactly suited to characterize the italicized statement. It is absolutely wrong; none of the five except Vancouver was ever in Puget Sound, and he, certainly, makes no such statement, as will later be shown. But here is the second note:—

Its [the Chinook jargon's] existence at the time of the first white visit proves a prior state. Had it been recorded in Drake, de Fuca, Heceta, or had it reflected either Spanish or English influence at the time of Jewitt, we would, of necessity admit white invention. Spanish influence is non-existent, as is English in all original notations.[28]

This note is as full of errors as a colander of holes; but space would be wasted in pointing them out. Macaulay's school boy would have revelled in that easy task. It is a choice example of *lucus a non lucendo*. Although I leave the patent errors for others, I object to the incomplete quotation in the text. The complete words are: "*Clouch Musket, wake com ma-tax Musket.*" To misquote in order to bolster up a flimsy theory really isn't done. Had Fee given the expression in full, as above, he would have shown the English influence which, he says, is lacking. The Indian—not Concommolly, as Thomas says, however—was merely saying "A good musket, I do not understand a musket." Not one of the words he used was of his own language; except "musket" they were all Nootkan: *clouch, wake, commatax*. The Indian was speaking the Chinook jargon.

(26) Chester Anders Fee, "Oregon's Historical Esperanto—The Chinook Jargon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLII. (1941), pp. 176–7.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 177, note 6.

(28) *Ibid.*, note 8.

Thomas conjures up a prehistoric slave trade between the Chinooks of the Columbia River region and the Nootkans, as the source from which sprang the Chinook jargon.[29] But where, may I ask, is there any evidence of such a trade? That the Chinooks had slaves is true, and so had every coastal tribe; that the Nootkans had *hiqua*—the shell money—is also true; but about 300 miles of treacherous ocean lay between. And where is there any evidence that in prehistoric days the Chinooks, who did not know the use of the sail before the advent of the whites,[30] ever essayed that long and dangerous navigation? The maritime traders did traffic in slaves, and they visited the country of the Chinooks, but they obtained no slaves there, only sea-otter skins and clamons, that is, tanned elk hides, the armour of the northern tribes. Their slave trade was confined to the British Columbian coast. In 1794 the MS. log of the *Jefferson* shows that her consort, the schooner *Resolution*, on returning from the Columbia River had reported that *hiqua*, the shell money,

> is in great demand on the south coast of Queenhythe; these shells they call hi-qua; and when our little vessel was at Gray's River [Columbia River] the natives said that they would give a prime skin for one string a fathom in length.

There is no hint of slaves being exchanged for *hiqua;* and, presumably, if the Chinooks had been accustomed to exchange slaves for *hiqua* they would have offered them, for they knew the traders were open to do any kind of business. Further, there is no mention of such a trade in Lewis and Clark's *Journal.* Though Jewitt lived three years at Nootka, neither in his *Journal* nor in the *Narrative* is there any hint of such a trade; nor is there in either book any mention of Chinooks arriving at Nootka by canoe or any other method; nor is there any statement that the Nootkans in all that time journeyed to the Chinooks. I venture to assert, confidently, that the source of the alleged trade of slaves for *hiqua* is identical with that of the statement that the Indians replied to Vancouver in the Chinook jargon: a vivid, but ill-informed imagination.

Having dealt with Thomas's imaginary prehistoric slave trade as the origin of the Chinook jargon, let us consider his

(29) Thomas, *Chinook: A History and Dictionary,* pp. 24 ff.

(30) *See* F. W. Howay, "The First Use of the Sail by the Indians of the Northwest Coast," *American Neptune,* I. (1941), pp. 374–380.

proof of that jargon's existence when the first white men arrived. He says boldly, as already quoted, that Drake, de Fuca, Cook, Meares, Barclay, Vancouver, and Elisa in their attempts to converse with the natives drew replies in the jargon. But here are the historical facts.

Drake's only contact with the natives was at Drake's Bay, near San Francisco, beyond the jargon's limits.

De Fuca's voyage is a fabrication; but, at any rate, Lok's account has no reference to conversations with the natives.

Cook has not a jargon word in his text; and the only Nootkan words are in his vocabulary.

As to Meares, his attempt to converse with the natives has been already quoted.

Barclay [Barkley] left no record of any attempt to converse with the Indians.

Vancouver's *Voyage* does not contain from cover to cover a single word spoken by the natives. Whenever he condescends to particulars of his communications with the Indians of Puget Sound he invariably states that they used signs.[31] And that applies also to those on the Columbia River whom Broughton met.

Elisa has nothing to say regarding his means of communication with the natives, but he does record that when Narvaez met the Salish near the mouth of Fraser River,

> Notwithstanding that the idiom of these natives was different from that of those at Nuca [Nootka] they [the Spaniards] were able to make out *by their signs* that the grand canal [Strait of Georgia] extended much farther on.[32]

If Thomas ever read these books he must have used distorted eyes, for they contain no such statements as he claims to have found. His alleged proofs having failed him, his prehistoric origin of the Chinook jargon falls of its own weight.

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(31) Vancouver, *Voyage*, 1798 edition, I., pp. 285, 286, 291, 307, for example. Near Thormanby Islands Vancouver says the Indians "spoke not the Nootka language, nor the dialect of any Indians we had conversed with; at least the few words we had acquired were repeated to them without effect."

(32) Elisa's report to the Viceroy of Mexico in 1791, in Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, p. 152.

Now, having shown that none of the first white men, explorers or traders, met on the lips of the Indians such a *lingua franca* as the Chinook jargon, let us leave Messrs. Thomas and Fee to enjoy their rose-coloured bower of imagination and cobwebs and consider the other theory—that the Chinook jargon grew up naturally out of the conditions on the Coast in the days of the early maritime fur-traders.

Captain Cook in 1778 remained about a month at Nootka Sound. During that time his surgeon, William Anderson, compiled a vocabulary which is published in the third volume of Cook's *Voyage*.[33] The maritime traders naturally familiarized themselves with this dictionary before undertaking their ventures. At first Nootka Sound was the rendezvous; and when these maritime traders, flitting from village to village, encountered an Indian they, of course, tried him with their Nootkan equipment, as we have seen that Meares, Vancouver, and the Spaniards did. Cook himself reports that on meeting the natives near Prince William Sound:—

> Some of our people repeated several of the common words of the Nootka language, such as *seekmaile* (iron) and *makook* (barter); but they did not seem to understand them.[34]

In the end his men resorted to the use of signs. Ten years later, Colnett, meeting the Tsimshians near Banks Island, found that "their language differed from any we had heard." He conversed with them by signs, but as he had already heard Nootkan and Haida, is it any stretch of the imagination to suggest that he first tried them out with words from those two tongues? And that other traders did the same? Franchère, in his account of the loss of the *Tonquin* at Clayoquot Sound in 1811, says that McKay and Lewis called out to the natives, "*Makoke! makoke!*"[35] The trader was thus bringing back to the Aht or Wakashan people their own word, which had in the meantime been carried to the Columbia River, and found there by the *Tonquin*. The maritime traders had learned at Nootka the words *kloosh*, "good"; *peshak*, "bad"; *makook*, "buy" or "barter"—all

(33) Many others compiled similar lists of Nootkan and other Indian words: Strange (1786), Haswell (1788), Ingraham (1791), Martinez (1789), and the anonymous vocabulary (1791) published by Boas.

(34) Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II., p. 355.

(35) Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 182.

Nootkan words—words which would be the very tools of their trade of obtaining sea-otter skins; and not knowing the dialect of a strange tribe, we may suppose they simply used the Nootkan word. We do know that in a short time after the maritime trade began the Nootkan word *peshak,* "bad," took root in the Haida tongue.[36] In 1791 Ingraham found this word *peshak* on the tongue of Cow, the Haida Chief at Parry Passage, Queen Charlotte Islands. Parry Passage had been a favourite resort of the maritime traders from the days when Dixon and, later, Gray, made there such bargainful purchases of sea-otter skins. Indeed, Ingraham then learned from Cow that Douglas and Barnett, traders from Nootka Sound, had been at Parry Passage just before he arrived. Ingraham reports that in July, 1791, the Haidas greeted him with *Was-con, wascon,* "a term of friendship," as Ingraham says.[37] Ingraham in 1791 does not mention the use of signs; evidently in the six years since the advent of the traders a few simple Nootkan words like *peshak* and *wascon* had come into use, sufficient to enable a primitive trade to be carried on with, it may be, some easily understood signs. At Kaigahnee, in southern Alaska, in July, 1795, Cow, a sub-chief of the Haidas, told Captain Bishop: "If we were *peshak,* "bad" God would throw us in fire, where we should be *illiwee.*" And when Bishop was at the mouth of the Columbia River, in December, 1795,

> Several of the Chinook people being on board when the new moon was first seen and pointed at with our fingers these people immediately caught hold of our hands saying it was *peshak*—that we should offend her and should be punished with bad weather.[38]

(36) That the word *peshak* is Nootkan and Nootkan only, we know by finding it in Cook's vocabulary (*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean,* III., p. 540), in 1778; in Haswell's vocabulary (*Voyages of the "Columbia,"* p. 103), in 1788; in Martinez's MS. vocabulary of Nootka, in 1789, and in the Boas (anonymous) vocabulary of Nootka, in 1791.

(37) Plainly this was the Nootkan word *wokash,* or as the Spaniards spelled it, *guacash,* or as the anonymous vocabulary has it, *worcushhowlth.* It was the word with which the Nootkans welcomed strangers, as recorded by Martinez in his MS. diary. It is easy to see how it was transplanted to Queen Charlotte Islands: the trader approaching an Indian village making signs of friendship and using the Nootkan word.

(38) The last two quotations are from Charles Bishop's MS. journal of the *Ruby,* July 31, and December 20, 1795. Compare R. G. Thwaites (*ed.*), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* New York, 1905, III., p. 321.

Ten years later Lewis and Clark found the word *peshak* fully acclimated on that river. Another instance of this transplanting of Nootkan words by the maritime traders is found in the journal of Stephen Reynolds, where under the date July 19, 1811, he records that some of the men of the *New Hazard* were ashore at Nahwitti, on the northern end of Vancouver Island, when Indians came to them and demanded their tools:—

They held daggers to their breasts and said they would *cockshuttle*, "kill" them if they did not give them cartridge box, etc., but they saved all.[39]

Now, what reasonable explanation can be given of the presence of these three Nootkan words amongst tribes far removed from Nootka, who, when the maritime traders came, could only communicate with them by sign? And these words are found in four places that for years were regular resorts of the traders: Parry Passage, Kaigahnee, Nahwitti, and the Columbia River, amongst the Haidas, the Kwakiutls, and the Chinooks. Five hundred miles and more of open ocean lie between Kaigahnee and the Columbia River; Nootka is, roughly, about midway between them. We have no knowledge of any persons other than the maritime traders having been at these four spots between 1778 and 1811. In that time more than two hundred vessels visited the coast, touching everywhere from Alaska to the Columbia River, and carrying Nootkan and English words to every Indian village. Here clearly is the fact from which an inference, well founded, can be drawn regarding the means by which these Nootkan words reached points so widely separated. Dr. Franz Boas was convinced of this, and opposite the word *peshak* in the Haida vocabulary (anonymous) of 1791 he set the remark: "Not a Haida word; Chinook jargon from Nootka." Though inartistically expressed, Dr. Boas is saying that this word came to the Haidas from Nootka when the Chinook jargon was in process of formation.

These three transplanted Nootkan words show the seed of the jargon. That it grew quickly we may well believe, considering the number of vessels in the trade, the strain of the circum-

(39) Stephen Reynolds, *The Voyage of the New Hazard . . .* , edited by F. W. Howay, Salem, Mass., 1938, p. 33. The word *cockshuttle*, "kill," is pure Nootkan. It is found in Cook's vocabulary as *kaksheetl*, "dead," and in the anonymous vocabulary as *caksorbut*, "kill," and in Haswell's vocabulary as *kaksabut*, "to kill."

stances, and the natural ability of the Coast Indian as a linguist. Let us see how he appears in this respect in the records left by the maritime traders. He is shown as a man quick to pick up any language he heard. From 1789 till 1795 a little Spanish settlement existed at Nootka, and the natives soon enriched their tongue with Spanish words; the Spaniards reciprocated by incorporating some Nootkan words into their speech: *tais, tyee,* " chief," and *mis-chimas,* " lower class of people," are frequently found in their journals and reports. Ingraham mentions in 1791 the use by the Nootkans of the Spanish expression *Adieu, Senor;* Roquefeuil, who was at Nootka in 1817, more than twenty years after the Dons had departed, says the natives spoke well of the Spaniards in general, adding: " Ils ont adopté plusieurs termes de leur langue." Spanish spread quickly amongst the Indians, for Quimper tells that in June, 1790, Wickananish, the head Chief at Clayoquot, welcomed him " with much joy, saying *Amico amar a dios,* words he had learned at Nootka."[40] Caamaño reports that at Parry Passage in July, 1792, he was greeted by the Indian Chief, Douglas-Coneehaw, with *Bueno! Bueno!* The words and the accompanying action, says Caamaño, the native had learned from Europeans.[41] And Father Brabant in a letter of March 3, 1896, to the late Captain J. T. Walbran wrote: " An Indian woman one day at my request sang different Catholic hymns in Spanish before the late Archbishop Seghers."[42]

Similar evidence exists to show the Indians' facility in picking up English words. Nicol, a seaman on Portlock's ship *King George,* says that in 1786, " The Indians there could pronounce every word we spoke almost as well as ourselves," and after saying that the name of the ship's dog was Neptune, informs us that the Indians soon began to call " *Lally,* Neptune "; the first word meant " friend " in their language.[43] Portlock and Dixon in the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* in 1787 were

(40) Roquefeuil, *Voyage autour du Monde,* Paris, 1843, I., p. 184; Quimper's diary in Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca,* p. 86.

(41) " The Journal of Jacinto Caamaño, " *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* II. (1938), p. 216.

(42) Compare Moser's edition of A. J. Brabant, *Vancouver Island and its Missions,* Kakawis, B.C., 1926, p. 11.

(43) *Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner,* Edinburgh, 1822, p. 81.

near Cook River (Inlet) when Meares in the *Nootka* was at Prince William Sound. Later when Dixon reached that Sound he was puzzled by the constant repetition by the natives of "Nootka, Nootka." They pointed towards Snug Corner Cove and endeavoured to make him understand that a vessel lay there at anchor; he afterwards found that it was the snow *Nootka,* under Meares and in distress.[44] Dixon records an interesting incident at Prince William Sound:—

> Some dogs we had on board, hearing strangers about the ship, ran upon the gun-wale, and began to bark at them, on which the Indians directly called out "Towzer, Towzer, here, here," whistling at the same time, after the manner used to coax dogs in England.[45]

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in July, 1793, met Indians who mentioned that *Macubah* (Vancouver) and *Bensins* (Broughton) had been there. When he tried to purchase a sea-otter skin

> they shook their heads, and very distinctly answered "No, no." And to mark their refusal of anything we asked from them, they emphatically employed the same British monosyllable.[46]

Menzies reported in his *Journal,* that Hanapa, a chief of Nootka Sound

> had through his intercourse with the English Traders acquired a smattering knowledge of the English Language, & pronounced & understood a number of words distinctly; indeed he seemd to have a quick & ready comprehension in acquirements of this kind, as evinced from the stay the Spaniards made in the Sound he was equally conversant in their language. . . .[47]

Gradually the natives acquired a knowledge of English. In September, 1795, Bishop in the MS. log of the *Ruby* says of Tatoochetticus, a chief of Clayoquot, that he "speaks a little English." So far had the Indians on the Columbia River pro-

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(44) George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World* . . . , London, 1789, p. 152. Similar incidents are reported by Meares (*Voyages,* p. xii. and p. 309); Etienne Marchand, *Voyage Round the World,* London, 1801, p. 424. In the MS. journal of the *Ruby,* Bishop relates that when approaching Kaigahnee, Southern Alaska, he was hailed by Douglas-Coneehaw, who called out: "Douglas-Coneehaw, What's your name?" (July 28, 1795).

(45) Dixon, *Voyage,* pp. 146 f.

(46) Mackenzie, *Voyages,* pp. 345, 347. Nevertheless, all Mackenzie's communications with them were by signs; *ibid.,* p. 328.

(47) C. F. Newcombe (*ed.*), *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792,* Victoria, 1928, p. 114 (September 1, 1792). On Puget Sound, Menzies in his converse with the natives mentions only the use of signs; *see* pp. 34, 36, 39.

gressed towards a mastery of English that under date December 10, 1805, Clark records that an Indian told him he was seeking fish thrown up on the shore and left by the tide, "and told me (*in English*) [the italics are Clark's] the 'Sturgion was verry good.'" And Clark gives a list of thirteen captains whose ships had been in the river, though it must be admitted that the Chinooks or Clatsops had murdered the names, frightfully, and beyond all recognition.[48] From 1792 onward the maritime traders visited the Columbia River, where they obtained few sea-otter skins, but many tanned elk-skins for barter with the northern tribes. The Indians repeated to Lewis and Clark some English words they had learned from them: "musket, powder, shot, knife, file, damned rascal, son of a bitch," also "heave the lead & maney blackguard phrases."[49] In August, 1818, the Chief at Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands, according to Roquefeuil,

> piqued himself not only on speaking English well, but also on his polished manners; of which he endeavoured to persuade us by saying frequently: "Me all the sames Boston gentleman," meaning an American.[50]

Dr. John Scouler, in June, 1825, says of the Haidas: "The number of English words they knew surprised us."[51] Here we have seen the roots of the Chinook jargon gradually extending up and down the coast.

Next, we shall see it in process of construction. Two examples of it at this stage are to be found in Jewitt's *Narrative.* Thompson, the companion of Jewitt in captivity at Nootka, had made a robe for Maquinna, who, pleased, exclaimed: "*Klue shish Kotsuk—wick kum atack Nootka,*" meaning, "a fine garment, Nootka can't make them." Here all the words in the sentence are Nootkan except, oddly enough, the word "Nootka," which was born of Captain Cook's misconception of the Nootkan name. In Dr. Brown's edition of the *Narrative*, he appends a note to this expression:—

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(48) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, III., p. 276.

(49) *Ibid.*, III., pp. 327, 344.

(50) Roquefeuil, *Voyage*, French ed., II., p. 132; English ed., p. 89.

(51) "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N.W. America," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, VI. (1905), p. 178.

This is a fair specimen of the kind of *lingua franca* which even then had begun to spring up in the intercourse of the early traders with the Indians, and which by now takes the shape of the Chinook jargon.[52]

On another occasion when a Nootkan had become mentally deranged and Maquinna inquired if either Jewitt or Thompson were responsible for his condition the native replied: "Wik; John klushish—Thompson klushish," meaning: "No, John is good, Thompson is good." In each instance we find the rudiments of a jargon—the mixture of two or more languages. No instance of such a mixture can be found until some years after the maritime traders had begun to frequent the Coast and flit from tribe to tribe in search of sea-otter skins. The expression recorded by Lewis and Clark and referred to by Dr. Reid: "*Clouch Musket, wake com matax Musket,*" shows the jargon in a more advanced stage.[53] All the words are on the lips of an Indian at the Columbia River, nearly 300 miles from Nootka, yet they are all Nootkan, except "musket." The jargon was in this shape when the Astorians arrived. Finding this ready-made means of communication at hand they and the land traders who followed them seized upon it and added to it many French words, sadly disfigured on the Indian's tongue, enriched it with numerous onomatopæic words, and carried it to the Interior tribes. With the growing importance of the Columbia River Chinook words increased in number, crowding out the older Nootkan expressions; one example, *peshak,* the Nootkan word for "bad," has been forced out of the jargon and its place taken by the Chinook word *mesachie.* But that is another story.

It is worthy of note that the only bit of evidence in support of the alleged prehistoric inter-tribal language is offered by Gibbs, who, after stating his belief that the Chinook jargon originated in the days of the maritime traders, who

picked up at their general rendezvous, Nootka Sound, various native words useful in barter, and thence transplanted them, with additions from the English to the shores of Oregon,

proceeds to say that even before that time the coasting tribes had opened up a partial understanding of each other's speech

(52) *Op. cit.,* p. 154. In modern form the words are: *kloshe kotsuck, wake kumtuks Nootka.* The maritime traders appropriated the word *kotsuck* as *cutsark,* meaning a robe made of three or more sea-otter or other skins. It was a case of exchanging words all around.

(53) *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* III., p. 276.

for when in 1792, Vancouver's officers visited Gray's Harbor, they found that the natives, though speaking a different language, understood many words of the Nootka.[54]

Oddly enough this statement of Vancouver supports the theory that the Chinook jargon was evolved by the maritime traders and does not in the least support a prehistoric inter-tribal origin. For long before Vancouver's officers saw Gray's Harbour the maritime traders had been there; for example, in July, 1788, Meares records—his exact words are quoted on page 231 *ante*—that he tried the natives of that vicinity with Nootkan words, but they didn't understand. We know that in 1788 the sloop *Washington* traded along the coast, but cannot identify her contacts; again, in 1790 both Colnett's longboat and Metcalf in the *Eleanora* were in this vicinity; naturally the longboat would keep the coast-line close on board, and her map shows a "village" near Shoalwater Bay (Willapa Harbour), and that she "traded 30 skins" near Quinault—the former about 25 miles south, and the latter about 40 miles north of Gray's Harbour; the *Columbia* was in Gray's Harbour in May, 1792; and to sheet the matter home, the *Columbia* was in the Columbia River in May, 1792, for ten days and had much trade and many contacts with its natives; and again, the *Jenny* of Bristol made a long stay in the Columbia River in the summer of 1792, and was there again whilst Vancouver's officers were at Gray's Harbour. These contacts, it is believed, gave the Indians of Gray's Harbour and vicinity ample opportunities to pick up the few Nootkan words found there in December, 1792, without the necessity of drawing on the imagination to account for them.

To conclude, the theory that the Chinook jargon grew naturally out of the contacts of the maritime traders with the coastal tribes is accepted by Dr. Brown, Gibbs, Hale, and Father LeJeune. Shaw contents himself with merely stating the two theories and the tradition; but in view of the facts presented in this paper can any one doubt that the Chinook jargon grew out of the contacts of maritime traders and the natives?

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(54) *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*, Washington, 1863, quoted in J. C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Chinookan Language*, Washington, 1893, p. vi.; and compare, Vancouver, *Voyage*, 1801 edition, III., p. 138.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In the appendix to Jewitt's *Narrative* is included:

WAR-SONG OF THE NOOTKA TRIBE

Commencing with a Chorus repeated at the end of each line.

Hah-yee hah yar, he yar hah.
Hah-yah hee yar har —he yar hah.
Iye ie ee yah har —ee yie hah.
Ie yar ee yar hah —ee yar yah.
Ie yar ee I yar yar hah—Ie yar ee yee yah!

Ie-yee ma hi-chill at-sish Kla-ha —Hah-ye-hah.
Que nok ar parts arsh waw —Ie yie-yar.
Waw-hoo naks sar hasch—Yar-hah. I-yar hee I-yar.
Waw hoo naks ar hasch yak-queets sich ni-ese,
Waw har. Hie yee ah-hah.

Repeated over and over, with gestures and brandishing of weapons.

NOTE.

Ie-yee ma hi-chill signifies, "Ye do not know." It appears to be a poetical mode of expression, the common one for "You do not know" being *Wik-kum-atash;* from this, it would seem that they have two languages, one for their songs and another for common use. The general meaning of this first stanza appears to be, "Ye little know, ye men of Klahar, what valiant warriors we are. Poorly can our foes contend with us, when we come on with our daggers," etc.[1]

The above note affords Messrs. Thomas and Fee an opportunity to make a wonderful discovery. Upon a distorted meaning of the word "common" they have erected an inverted pyramid—the existence of the Chinook jargon as a prehistoric inter-tribal speech. E. H. Thomas takes the responsibility as its originator, but Chester A. Fee shares it as endorser. In his article on "The Chinook Jargon" in *American Speech,* June, 1927, already referred to, Thomas wrote:—

It was Jewett [*sic*] who discovered that the Indians had a *common* language, as he thought, for everyday use. He tells about it in a note in the back of his book, "A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewett," in which he gives the words of a Nootkan War Song. He says there are two expressions meaning "Ye do not know," and observes "from this it would seem that they have two languages, one for their songs and another for *common* use." What Jewett discovered, though he never knew it, was that there was a jargon of prehistoric origin, a language in use among all the tribes, which all talked and all understood.

Thomas, enamoured of his great discovery, repeats it in his book, *Chinook: a History and Dictionary,* published in 1935. Chester A.

(1) Jewitt, *Narrative,* Brown ed., p. 248.

Fee in an article on the Chinook jargon in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (1941) took up the torch and waved it and burned his fingers. He out-Heroded Herod.

As has been already shown, the theory of these two writers is found in very questionable company: that of the worst muddle of historical inaccuracies that has appeared in years. It has been shown, moreover, that it is based on a distortion of the meaning of the word "common," which Richard Alsop did not italicize, as they have made it appear, and, apparently, without reading the whole *Narrative*, and in ignorance of the part that Alsop played in the writing of the *Narrative*.

But let us look a bit more carefully at the War Song and its accompanying note. They are not in Jewitt's *Journal*, which was published in Boston just after his arrival there in the *Lydia*. The *Journal* is a concise, dry-as-dust record, kept by Jewitt during his three-year captivity. There is only one Nootkan word in it, from which fact it might be inferred that the Nootkan vocabulary and the War Song that precedes it in the *Narrative* were taken from memory. Jewitt had mastered the Nootkan language, as we are told in the *Narrative* (Brown edition, p. 92); moreover he had married in September, 1804, a daughter of a chief (according to the *Narrative*, but not the *Journal*) of the neighbouring Nootkan village of Ahasset. Hence we may take it that Jewitt was *au fait* with the Nootkan language. This is important when we consider the wording of the note: its "appears" and "seem" stamp it unmistakably as Alsop's. Jewitt would not have used such tentative expressions. Knowing the language he would have spoken unequivocally, and stated the existence of two languages as a fact. It may even be that some of the Nootkan songs were in the Kwakiutl language as the *Narrative* suggests; for we know that one tribe frequently adopted the songs and accompanying dances from another. Thus Niblack, speaking of the Haidas says:—

> In most of the songs accompanying the Haida dances the Tsimshian language is used, and many customs of the Tsimshian are avowedly followed.[2]

But the suggestion that a Nootkan *war* song would be in any language except their own requires the mind of a Thomas or a Fee to accept. Even Alsop shies away from making such a statement. In the only war which the *Narrative* describes in detail, the preparations were by abstinence, ablutions, and prayer, and when the victorious Nootkans returned they were received with joy by the women and children, "accompanying our war song with a most furious drumming on the houses."[3] This would indicate that it was in reality a song of triumph. In any event, even if the Nootkan songs were in another language, how does that fact (if fact it be) establish that the Chinook jargon is a prehistoric inter-tribal language? Where is the connecting link?

(2) Albert P. Niblack, "Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," in *Report of the National Museum*, Washington, 1888.

(3) Jewitt, *Narrative*, Brown ed., pp. 192, 195.

Thus we are driven back to the perverted meaning attached by Thomas and Fee to the word "common"—a sandy foundation.

Jewitt sang this supposed war song many times, not only for Alsop, but when he played the part of the armourer in *The Armourer's Escape.*[4] It was plainly his great stock in trade, in 1817, at the Philadelphia Theatre. It may be that we have in it, as printed, merely Alsop's memory of Jewitt's remembrance of the words and tune. When we try to hum this so-called war song it will be found that the first five lines are mere sounds, apparently without sense. Those lines, which appear to be a chorus, are reminiscent of the nonsensical refrains of our childhood days, or the "la-la-las" of the folk-songs. They seem to fall naturally into a soothing bit of rhythmical, meaningless chant, utterly unsuited to stir the blood of any person civilized or savage, and very similar to what in my boyhood I heard the Indians sing at their gambling games.

The next five lines, beginning *Ie-yee ma hi-chill,* have but little rhythm. That expression is, according to Alsop in the note, a poetical one meaning "Ye do not know." But oddly enough this alleged poetical expression is included in "A List of Words, *in the Nootkan Language, the most in use,*" which immediately follows the war song in the *Narrative.* There Jewitt spells it *I-yee ma hak,* meaning "I do not understand." To increase our surprise we find it in Haswell's vocabulary, 1789, as *Ayemahah,* "I don't understand." More surprising still, it is twice given in the anonymous vocabulary, 1791, first as *Ahimahais* and again as *Ayemeah;* in each case the meaning is "I don't understand," and with the same phonetic orthography for both forms: *hayimihai'.* And, not to over-labour the point, Martinez in his MS. diary, 1789, has it in the form *Ay-emuha,* signifying "I don't understand. Thus Alsop's *Ie-yee ma hi-chill,* instead of being a poetical expression for "Ye do not know," appears to have been on the general tongue of Nootka. In the words of Bret Harte it was "worn and polished in the current of their speech." And there we leave this wild theory of the origin of the Chinook jargon in an imaginary prehistoric inter-tribal language.

In conclusion I can only express my deep regret that in spite of many efforts I have not been able to secure a translation of this war song—if it be translatable.

F. W. H.

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(4) Meany, "The Later Life of John R. Jewitt," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV. (1940), pp. 145, 159.

HOW ONE SLAVE BECAME FREE.

AN EPISODE OF THE OLD DAYS IN VICTORIA.

Charles (not Charlie, and with no surname), a mulatto boy, lived in 1860 in the City of Olympia, the capital of the Territory of Washington. He lived there because one Major James Tilton wished him to. There were strong ties between the two, for slavery was then still a legal relation in the United States, and the Major was the owner of Charles, who was his slave. We presume that Tilton treated Charles with all due kindness, for we know nothing to the contrary. But evidently Charles disliked the tie that bound him to the Major, and longed to be a free man. It may be that the white blood that flowed in his veins had something to do with his dislike of his servile condition. At all events he longed for Freedom, and was willing to take any chance to obtain it.

In some way Charles had heard of a country to the north, the laws of which did not recognize slavery, and where every person, no matter what his colour, was entitled to his freedom. Many of his coloured brethren were living there, and being on British soil they enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the whites. If in some way Charles could reach that country he, too, would be his own master and no one's chattel. It did not seem so very far away, for the *Eliza Anderson,* an American steamer, made regular trips from Olympia northward. If Charles could stow away on her, and contrive to slip ashore when she reached Victoria, he would no longer be a slave. Of course, he quite understood that if he were caught attempting to escape it would mean severe punishment, but he was willing to take that risk.

Accordingly, while the *Eliza Anderson* was lying at her berth in Olympia on September 24, 1860, Charles managed to secrete himself on the vessel and was soon on his way to the land of the Free under the British flag. But disaster soon overtook him. He was discovered by the officers of the ship before she reached Victoria and was locked up in a cabin, to remain there until the steamer should again reach Olympia, when he would be returned to his owner.

The vessel reached Victoria on September 26, but it brought no solace to the prisoner, who could *see* the land of Freedom but could not share its benefits. It was a case of so near and yet so far.

But he was not without friends, although he did not know it. In some way, how, we do not know, word reached others of his colour who lived in Victoria in freedom, that Charles was confined on board the *Eliza Anderson.* They talked it over among themselves and determined to get the advice of George Hunter Cary, the Attorney-General, and if there were any means by which Charles could be landed and freed they were anxious that the necessary steps should be taken. Cary, well-versed in English law, said he thought he saw a way out. They urged him to do his best to obtain the release of the boy, so he immediately drew up the necessary affidavits and applied to Chief Justice Cameron for a writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the Sheriff, ordering him to take Charles into his custody, and bring him before the Court in order that it might be decided whether or not his imprisonment on the vessel was legal. The writ was issued and placed in the hands of the Sheriff—big, burly Thomas Harris —who was thereby authorized to take the negro from the ship on which he was confined and bring him in person before the Court. Armed with the writ, the Sheriff went to the *Eliza Anderson*—a foreign vessel in a British port—and demanded the negro Charles.

The Captain, John R. Fleming, refused to give him up to the Sheriff. Irrespective of what his personal feelings might be, his home was in Olympia, and he knew that if it were even suspected that he was in any way a party to the attempt to free Charles he would find himself in hot water. On the other hand, he recognized that he would also be in trouble if he refused to obey the order of the Supreme Court of Vancouver Island. He admitted that Charles had been found as a stowaway on board the ship after it had left Olympia, and that he had locked him up and proposed to take him back to his owner. At first he refused to open the cabin at the Sheriff's demand; but when he found that if he did not do so the Sheriff proposed to break down the door, he yielded to necessity and opened it. The Sheriff took the negro ashore and put him in safety in the local lock-up.

No time was lost in bringing the matter before the Court for the hearing. Chief Justice Cameron presided and Cary appeared as counsel for Charles. Cary read the affidavits on which the writ was based, showing the circumstances under which Charles had been held on board the *Eliza Anderson.* Naturally, he contended that the Vancouver Island authorities had the right to board an American vessel in a British port and take the negro from the custody in which he was being held, but he based his argument principally on the ground that, whether or not there was such a right, the fact remained that Charles was now on British soil and hence within the jurisdiction of the Court. He argued that when a slave touched British soil he was free under British law, and he therefore asked that Charles be set at liberty. No doubt Cary quoted the famous case of Somersett *v.* Steuart,[1] decided by Lord Mansfield in 1772, in which that great Judge held that slavery is repugnant to British law and that when a slave touches British soil he is free.

Captain Fleming of the *Eliza Anderson* appeared in person to sustain his action in holding Charles on board the vessel, and filed a written protest against the action of the Sheriff in removing the boy from his ship. It reads in full:—

United States Mail Steamship
Eliza Anderson
Victoria September 26th, 1860.

Whereas a Negro boy called " Charles " the property of James Tilton Esq. of Olympia Washington Territory did on the 24th inst run away from his Master and secrete himself on board this vessel, and upon the fact being made known to the undersigned the said negro was placed in charge of one of the officers of the ship that he might be returned to his Master and whereas upon the arrival of the ship at Victoria a writ of Habeas Corpus was issued by Chief Justice Cameron and placed in the hands of the Sheriff of Victoria who demanded of the undersigned the delivery of the said Negro and upon the refusal of the undersigned to deliver the Negro the said Sheriff threatened to force open the room in which the Negro was confined on board of said vessel Whereupon the undersigned to prevent the destruction of property and in all probability much bloodshed opened the door of said room and upon doing so the Sheriff took the Negro from on board said vessel.

(1) Howell's *State Trials,* XX., pp. 1–82, Lofft, 98 E.R. 499.

Now, therefore the undersigned protests against the whole proceedings as illegal and a breach of international Law, and demands the immediate delivery of the said negro Charles that he may be returned to his master.

(Sgd)
John R. Fleming
Captain of U. S. M. Steamship
Eliza Anderson.

Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 26th day of September, A. D. 1860
(Sgd) George Pearkes
Notary Public
(Notary Seal)

Chief Justice Cameron then gave his decision. He held that the law was clear; that no man could be held as a slave on British soil (in which he was undoubtedly correct); that there was no doubt about the Court's jurisdiction in the case (which is debatable); and that the arrest by Captain Fleming was illegal (which finding is also questionable); and he ordered Charles to be set free.

The decision was greeted with considerable applause from the audience and a few hisses, and Charles was welcomed as a free man by his coloured friends.

The case of Somersett *v.* Steuart above referred to, is, in its facts, almost on all fours, as the lawyers say, with the case of Charles. A gentleman from the West Indies had brought with him to England a slave, the plaintiff in the action, as his body servant. After being for some time in England the slave left his master's service, was apprehended, and confined in chains on a vessel, to be taken to Jamaica for sale. The circumstances differ from the Charles case in that the slave had been landed on British soil by his master; and the vessel on which he was confined was, no doubt, a British ship. By contrast Charles had never been on British soil until he had been forcibly taken there by the Sheriff from a foreign vessel which happened to be in British waters on her lawful occasions. Under these circumstances there is some doubt as to the legality of his removal, especially at that period of our law's development. I am indebted to my legal friend, Mr. G. L. Murray, of Vancouver, for a lengthy and most interesting memorandum on this point.

There seems to be no direct authority for the action of the Vancouver Island Court in this case. It has been held that a person on board a foreign vessel in an English port is subject to the Criminal Law of England. This is also American law. A logical conclusion from this is that there is all the more reason that he should have the right to that State's remedies for the protection of his liberty.

Mr. Murray sums up his conclusions as follows:—

(1.) At one place Wheaton's International Law, a recognized American authority, suggests that the view that there is any right to liberate a slave from a foreign ship in British waters cannot be supported.

(2.) Yet in certain cases it has been done, although cases cited on this point do not state whether it was by way of Habeas Corpus or otherwise.

(3.) It is submitted that Wheaton's view is wrong because foreign ships in British ports are subject to British law, and hence must be subject to British civil remedies.

(4.) A close reading of the decided cases cited by Wheaton at pages 224–295 clearly leads to the conclusion that once a ship is subject to British jurisdiction by virtue of its being in a British port, it makes no difference what the legal status of a slave may be by reason of any law or enactment of the home State of the foreign ship.[2]

Thus it is probable that Chief Justice Cameron's view of the law on this point was correct, and there is no possibility of it being reversed at this late date. Charles was, no doubt, entirely satisfied with it. It is merely an academic question now. It was not, however, to the taste of the residents of Olympia; at least, to those who believed in slavery. The *Pioneer and Democrat* newspaper of that city stormed against what it considered to be the terrible misconduct of the Supreme Court of Vancouver Island. In an editorial of two columns and a half it delivered itself of its indignation, which the Victoria *Colonist* dubbed "buncombe." Apparently the only thing that saved Victoria from absolute annihilation was that at the time there was no American naval force on Puget Sound.

The *Colonist* replied in kind. It called Olympia "That inland village" (a most unkindest cut of all). It poked fun at the American naval force which was not there, and discussed the republican doctrine that "men are born free and equal" applied to white men only. It pointed out that Victoria was a Free Port,

(2) Letter, G. L. Murray to R. L. Reid, September 14, 1942.

and that even negroes could not be kept *in bond* there. The editorial ended thus:—

> We certainly have no wish to be bothered by spending our time in catching "negroes," even to endow them with liberty, although we don't intend that others shall make our soil a rendezvous for slave catchers.[3]

After reading the whole proceedings in the matter one wonders if Captain Fleming was really anxious to return Charles to his owner. He was a man of some education and standing, otherwise he would not have occupied the position he did. He was in touch with a lawyer, and a good one, George Pearkes, as is shown by his protest. And yet he thought his case good enough for him to appear on the trial and act as Counsel for himself. It almost seems as if he were more anxious to save his face with his Olympia friends than to carry Charles back to that town in triumph.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(3) *Colonist*, September 27, 1860.

SOME PIONEERS OF THE CATTLE INDUSTRY.

The cattle-raising industry on the mainland of North America had its origin in Mexico, to which a few Andalusian calves were shipped from the Island of Santo Domingo in 1521 by one Gregoire de Villalobos. How many animals were in the shipment is not known with certainty, but one account of the venture gives the number as seven. These became the progenitors of the great herds of Texas Longhorns which, three hundred years later, grazed on the vast range areas of the United States. Cattle were first introduced from Mexico into the country north of the Rio Grande River in 1580. By 1848 there were 382,873 head of the Andalusian breed in Texas. By 1855 the number had increased to 1,363,688, and by 1860 to no less than 3,786,443.[1]

To dispose of the surplus cattle in Texas " trail drives " were organized, the first recorded drive being in 1842 from Texas to New Orleans. The first drive northward took place four years later. Consequent upon the California gold-rush of 1849 a few Texans began driving cattle to San Francisco. But the climax in the development of trail-driving as an important feature in the cattle industry did not take place until 1866, after the close of the Civil War. It was then that Texas ranchers returned from service in the army to find the herds increased to the limit of grazing possibilities. To relieve these conditions drives of large herds were organized to the ranges of Wyoming and Montana. In each of these drives there were as many as 3,000 head of cattle, intended upon arrival at their destination to fatten upon the rich grasses of the northern ranges, before shipment to stockyards established in Chicago in 1865 and in Kansas City in 1869. Railway facilities became available in 1867 over the Union Pacific Railway, which reached Wyoming in that year.

Compared with the Texas industry, cattle-raising and cattle-driving in the Pacific Northwest were naturally on a small scale. The first cattle in the area were a few head brought by the Spaniards to their historic village at Nootka Sound, probably in

(1) *See* Paul I. Wellman, *The Trampling Herd*, New York, 1939.

1790. The first on the mainland were two bulls and two heifers brought to the Columbia River by the Astorians in 1814.[2] After the arrival of Dr. John McLoughlin, a decade later, the Hudson's Bay Company slowly but systematically built up large herds at several of its posts in Old Oregon. To the thousands of cattle owned by the company and its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, thousands more were added by the settlers who poured into the country in the eighteen-forties. The census of 1850 revealed that there were no less than 41,729 cattle in Oregon. Ten years later the State of Oregon and the Territory of Washington between them possessed 182,382 head.

It was against this immediate background that cattle-driving, and later cattle-raising, began in what is now the mainland of British Columbia. The driving of herds from Oregon and Washington started with the gold-rush. The first shipload of miners from California reached Victoria in April, 1858. The first drive of which we have record commenced two months later. It was organized by the celebrated General Joel Palmer, and consisted of some cattle (the number is unknown) and several wagons, drawn by oxen. Leaving Fort Okanagan, in Washington Territory, Palmer followed the Okanagan River northward, crossing the International Boundary south of Osoyoos. Continuing on, he skirted the shore of Okanagan Lake and ultimately reached the vicinity of Kamloops. He made a second journey, over much the same route, in 1859.[3] Several references to Palmer are found in the journals kept at the time at old Fort Kamloops. Thus on June 6, 1859, it is recorded that he had arrived with "a band of one hundred odd mules laden with provisions and merchandise . . ." A month later the journal states that "General Palmer started this morning for the Dalls [*sic*] with the intention of bringing in Beef Cattle and liquor"[4]—a plan which he does not seem to have carried out. A mention of the cattle he had already driven in is found in the Calumet journal for May 17, 1860, which

(2) *See* C. S. Kingston, "Introduction of Cattle into the Pacific Northwest," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV. (1923), pp. 163–165.

(3) *See* William C. Brown, "Old Fort Okanogan and the Okanogan Trail," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV. (1914), pp. 30–34. Palmer himself described these journeys in an article in the *Oregon Statesman* for February 14, 1860, which is here reprinted in part.

(4) Kamloops Journal, July 5, 1859.

records that " Many Trains passed this day and amongst others Mr Dupea to whom I delivered a Cow belonging to Gen. Joel Palmer he being directed to apply for the same here."

Records relating to the early drives are incomplete, but it is clear that most of them entered the country by way of Osoyoos and the Okanagan Valley. The majority probably passed through Kamloops. To the seeker after exact information, many of the entries in the Fort Kamloops journals are exasperatingly vague: " another band of cattle arrived on their way to the Mines," and " a large band of cattle arrived from the Dalls," are typical of these. Nevertheless, the journals do give many details of interest, and a good many facts and figures are to be found in the surviving records of the Customs office at Osoyoos. These sources, together with the *Blue Books* of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, would indicate that approximately 22,000 range cattle were driven into the country between 1859 and 1870.

Year by year, so far as they can now be ascertained, the importations were:—

1859	499	1863	1,299	1867	1,897
1860	962	1864	3,000 (est.)[5]	1868	1,841
1861	1,625 (est.)	1865	3,429	1869	698
1862	4,343	1866	2,399	1870	264
				Total	22,256

The rapid increase in the number of cattle imported in 1861–62 came in response to the rush to the goldfields of the Cariboo. The abrupt decline in 1863 was the result of an embargo upon the export of cattle imposed by the Government of the United States, as a Civil War measure, late in 1862. Although established in November, news of the embargo apparently did not reach British Columbia until June, 1863, when editorial reference to it was made in the Victoria *British Colonist*. Writing on August 31, 1863, J. C. Haynes, Collector of Customs at Osoyoos, noted that he had received instructions from the Governor " not to interfere with any officers of the United States Government following animals smuggled across the boundary, but on the

(5) The Osoyoos records show that during the four months, March–June, 1864, a total of 1,665 cattle passed through the Customs at that point. The number entered during the balance of the season has been estimated at 1,335, making the total of 3,000 in all.

contrary to refund all duties" which might have been collected on such stock.[6] Haynes added that he had information that over a thousand cattle would arrive at Osoyoos before the close of the season, but his reports show that only 188 head passed the Customs in September, and none during the rest of the year. Due to agitation on both sides of the line the embargo was modified in September, 1863, to permit the export of stock raised in any state or territory bounded by the Pacific Ocean. The Osoyoos records indicate, however, that this order came too late to permit the resumption of large-scale drives that season.

Only a few of the pioneer drovers can be identified to-day. The name mentioned most frequently in the journals of Fort Kamloops in the years 1859 to 1862 is Jeffreys (sometimes spelled "Jeffrie" or "Jefferie"). The reference is either to John P. Jeffreys, who came originally from Alabama, or to his brother Oliver. A reference to "Jeffreys Junr.," who obtained "a loan of $400.00 in cash to clear his animals through the Custom House"[7] is unexplained; it probably refers to the younger of the two brothers.

The name appears first in October, 1860, when it is recorded that "a large Band of cattle arrived from the Dalls" in charge of "a Mr Jefferie's."[8] Again in the spring of 1861 the journal notes the arrival of "a Large Band of animals . . . on the opposite side [of the Thompson River] supposed to be Mr Jefferies."[9] In 1862 he is referred to as having arrived with "upwards of 700 head" of horned cattle.[10] He was ambitious, for in 1861 the Collector of Customs at the border reported to the Colonial Secretary that "A Mr Jeffreys is approaching with eight hundred [cattle], I understand, and will, if possible, control the beef market in the upper Country"[11]—meaning the Cariboo. Two years later he seems to have tried to take advantage of the American cattle embargo, with the same end in view. In the letter to the Colonial Secretary dated August 31, 1863, to which

(6) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1863.
(7) Kamloops Journal, May 28, 1862.
(8) *Ibid.*, October 1, 1860.
(9) *Ibid.*, April 24, 1861.
(10) *Ibid.*, June 1, 1862.
(11) W. G. Cox to the Colonial Secretary, March 3, 1861.

reference has already been made, J. C. Haynes wrote: "I further beg to inform you that I have been told by a Mr. Murphy, who passed this station on the 20th inst. on his way from Oregon to Lillooet, that several cattle dealers having herds for this country were prevented from Starting owing to reports circulated by a Mr. Jeffreys, and other interested persons, to the effect that all live-stock intended for this country would be stopped on the frontier by officers of the United States Government placed there for that purpose."[12] Actually the American authorities seem to have made little or no attempt to prevent cattle from crossing into British Columbia.

In the winter of 1862–63 John and Oliver Jeffreys took part in an attempt to outfit a Confederate privateer in Victoria, as related by D. W. Higgins in his well-known volume, *The Mystic Spring*.[13] In this venture they were associated with the Harper brothers, to whom extended reference will be made below, and other sympathizers with the South. Their hope was to equip a raider which would prey upon American shipping out of San Francisco; but the scheme came to nothing. The Jeffreys brothers later returned to the United States, where John T. Jeffreys died at Dalles City, Oregon, on February 24, 1867.[14]

The driving of cattle from Oregon and Washington to the mining districts of the Cariboo presented many difficulties. There were swollen rivers, in the months of June and July, across which the cattle had to be forced to swim, and occasionally obstacles were presented by the Indian tribes, who had inhabited for generations the lands crossed by the large herds of cattle driven by the white men. The Hudson's Bay Company was itself under the necessity of swimming cattle across the Thompson and other rivers, and the difficulties and losses involved are mentioned from time to time in the Kamloops Journal. An instance of trouble with the Indians is noted in the Journal in December, 1860: "An American paid us a visit today he is one of a party that arrived lately at Rochie de Moton [Rocher du Mouton?] with a drove of cattle—reports having had searious [*sic*] difficulty with Indians at Okanagan Lake."[15]

(12) J. C. Haynes to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1863.

(13) *See* D. W. Higgins, *The Mystic Spring*, Toronto, 1904, pp. 106–126.

(14) *British Colonist*, Victoria, March 14, 1867.

(15) Kamloops Journal, December 28, 1860.

Fortunately a detailed first-hand account of one of the Washington-to-Cariboo drives has been preserved and printed. The narrative was written by A. J. Splawn, and forms a chapter of the volume entitled *Ka-mi-akin: The Last Hero of the Yakimas.*[16] Splawn was a member of a party organized by Major John Thorp in 1861 to drive a herd of cattle from Yakima to the goldfields. The border was crossed at Osoyoos, where a duty of $2 per head was collected. Owing to trouble with the Indians in the district, an escort was supplied for three days by Chief Tonasket, who shepherded the party as far as the foot of Okanagan Lake, along the western shore of which the route to the north lay. Five days were spent in travelling the length of the lake. In the vicinity of Kamloops, Major Thorp and his men overtook several herds which had been driven up from Washington Territory earlier in the season. That of Ben E. Snipes and William Murphy was later left to winter at Cherry Creek, in charge of an employee, whilst the owners returned to The Dalles because they were unable to effect a sale of their cattle. A second outfit, owned by Henry Cock, joined forces with the Thorp expedition and proceeded with it towards Cariboo.

At this point may be interpolated the story of a near-lynching in British Columbia. The earliest mention of the affair is found in the Kamloops Journal, dated September 28, 1861: "I omitted mentioning yesterday that a party of Americans, three in number, called here, Murphy, Stevenson and Cook [presumably this should read *Cock*], inquiring how they should act towards another American who it was strongly suspected had stolen from Murphy in gold dust and coin something over $200." The sequel was recorded on October 4: "The Americans camped on the opposite side [of the river] had a trial yesterday of the party suspected of having stolen the money of Snipes and Coy." A. J. Splawn's narrative gives further details of the incident:—

> The frontiersman's court convened, consisting of a jury of six men . . . I was one of the number. The prisoner was brought before us. He was unable to give any account of himself, or of his suddenly acquired wealth; in fact, he had a sullen, hang-dog expression that we did not like. After talking the matter over, we decided that he had a thief's face, anyway, and that, if not guilty of this particular theft, it was probably because he had not had just the right opportunity. We thought he had better hang to avoid

(16) Portland, Ore., 1917, pp. 160–180.

future complications. As the rope was being prepared for the execution, a former magistrate of Kamloops, Mr. McLean, appeared and demanded an explanation. Mr. Cock gave it. To hang a man on that kind of evidence was hardly safe, Mr. McLean thought, and he advised that we give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt. Not being wise to British laws, we turned him loose.[17]

The reference is to Donald McLean, who had formerly been an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in charge of Fort Kamloops.

Leaving Kamloops, Thorp and Cock proceeded on their way, but after swimming the cattle across the Thompson River at Savona and arriving at the Bonaparte River, they found that hundreds of miners were coming out for the winter, and that prospects for the sale of beef were not good. Donald McLean advised them to move the cattle to Hat Creek valley, and to hold them there for a while; but when snow began to fall the herds were moved back to the valley of the Bonaparte, where camp was made near Scotty's wayside house, described as "a real hostelry of the early type . . . consisting of two rooms, one a kitchen, and the other a general purpose affair." The owner spoken of as "Scotty" was William Donaldson, in whose memory two creeks have been named—Scotty Creek in the Kelowna district and Scottie Creek in the Bonaparte valley.

Whilst camped here for ten days hopes ran high, but discouragement followed. A presumptive sale of the cattle was made to one James Batterton who, however, failed to turn up again to take the animals away and pay for them.[18] With no prospects of a sale, preparations were made to camp in the valley for the winter. Major Thorp left for Yakima by way of Lillooet. Owing to the severity of the winter he did not reach his destination and had to remain in Lillooet, being unable even to return to the Bonaparte, where Splawn was left in charge of the Thorp herd.

In the spring, when preparations were being made to resume the drive, William Murphy, of the firm of Snipes & Murphy,

(17) Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin*, pp. 167–168.

(18) Batterton was evidently connected in some way with Ballou's Express, for an item in the New Westminster *British Columbian*, January 16, 1862, reads: "Mr. Batterton, who brought down Ballou's Express, was 14 days from Lytton, and reports stock wintering very well, although fears to the contrary had prevailed."

arrived from The Dalles and reported that cattle had died by the thousands in Oregon and Washington from the cold, but that his own herd at Cherry Creek had come through the winter in good condition. Later he sold his cattle without going farther.

In May, 1862, the drive northward was resumed, and at Canoe Creek, Splawn states, they found " a farmer with a herd of cows." For the first time in eighteen months they had milk to drink, but the minimum price was 25 cents a bowl. North of Soda Creek, owing to a slide, it was necessary to cut 10 miles of trail through the timber to reach the Quesnel River. Here Cock sold his cattle and commenced to operate a ferry.

Whilst the Thorp herd was at Quesnel a large raft came floating down the Fraser River, and when brought to shore it was found to have on board the historic party of " Overlanders of 1862."[19] Splawn describes them as " a sorry sight, twenty men, gaunt and almost naked, with four poor oxen."

At Cottonwood Creek, between Quesnel and Barkerville, good grazing was found, and from there a bunch of cattle was driven each week to Lightning Creek, where the meat sold for $1.50 per pound, with the offal bringing an additional $30.

Splawn's story has been summarized at some length because his experiences were probably typical of those of most of the cattle-drovers of the time. A shorter narrative available in printed form is that by Daniel M. Drumheller, who in 1862 drove 240 head of cattle from Washington Territory to Ashcroft.[20] There he sold some of the herd to the Oppenheimer Bros., who at the time held a Government road-building contract. Unable to dispose of the rest of the stock, he spent the winter with William Gates, who was in a similar predicament. They were by no means alone, as packers and drovers regularly assembled in the district when the travel season ended, built themselves small log cabins, and settled down to wait for spring. Splawn found small colonies in the Bonaparte valley, on Hat Creek, and along the Thompson River, and received many kindnesses from them. Drumheller notes that there were about fifty men winter-

(19) *See* Mark S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62* (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. IX.), Victoria, 1931.

(20) " *Uncle Dan" Drumheller Tells Thrills of Western Trails*, Spokane, 1925, pp. 66–72.

ing in the vicinity of Ashcroft in 1862–63, with a few hundred cattle and about 500 mules.

Some of these men took up land and settled down in the district. Lewis Campbell, for example, who wintered near the Bonaparte River in 1861, later became a prominent landowner and cattleman. He settled east of Kamloops on land at the mouth of San Poel Creek (now Campbell Creek) which was originally pre-empted by his father-in-law, John Leonard, in 1862. That property was added to by purchases of river frontage eastward and westward, until the total acreage rose to 969, extending for nearly 6 miles along the south bank of the Thompson River. There Campbell resided until his death on June 11, 1910,[21] at which time he was said to have had between 2,000 and 3,000 head of cattle.

In 1865 Lewis Campbell joined with John Wilson to drive a herd of 300 cattle from Umatilla, Washington Territory, to British Columbia.[22] Wilson, who came to British Columbia in 1858, and went to Cariboo in 1862, was occupying land at Battle Creek (now Eight Mile Creek) at the time. His holdings there totalled 638 acres, to which, in 1868, he added another 1,047 acres at Grand Prairie, acquired by purchase or pre-emption. John Wilson became interested in another phase of the beef cattle industry, that of driving in cattle for the purpose of establishing herds on permanent ranches, and became known as the "cattle king" of the Thompson River district. He died on January 25, 1904, at the age of 72.[23] His estate, which James B. Leighton states was valued at approximately $400,000, included 4,400 head of cattle.

Another of the early drover-settlers who became well known in later years was Aschal Sumner Bates. He first appears on the scene in 1862, when he took up land described as being on the Thompson River, about 2 miles from Deadman's Creek. In March, 1863, he purchased the cattle driven in the previous year by Daniel Drumheller. This purchase had one string attached which was to prove unfortunate for Bates. Just before

(21) Kamloops *Sentinel*, June 17, 1910.

(22) *British Colonist*, Victoria, May 17, 1865, quoting *Umatilla Advertiser* of May 9, 1865.

(23) Kamloops *Sentinel*, January 26, 1904.

the close of 1862 one "Spokane" Jackson and his son had arranged with Drumheller to have forty head of cattle and four horses wintered for $40 per month. Jackson then left for Spokane, Washington. When Bates took over Drumheller's cattle he paid an extra $100 for the keep of Jackson's herd, saying that he would collect the amount from Jackson when he reclaimed the animals. But whilst Bates was absent upon one occasion "Spokane" arrived at the ranch, rounded up his cattle, sold them, and left the country without paying Bates anything for their keep.

The story of the Harper brothers, for many years the best-known of all the pioneers of the cattle industry, deserves to be told at some length. Their varied interests extended all over the Thompson River and Cariboo districts, and their name is associated in the memories of old-timers with enterprising and daring ventures.

It has been said that the birthplace of the Harpers was Harper's Ferry, Virginia; but they were not descendants of Robert Harper, founder of Harper's Ferry. They were the sons of Adam Harper, of Tucker County, West Virginia. Jerome was born in 1826; Thaddeus in 1829.[24] In 1852 they were resident in Santa Clara County, California. The census of that year classes them as farmers.[25] The exact date of their arrival in British Columbia is not known, but in October, 1859, Jerome Harper was operating a sawmill on London Flats, at Yale.[26] On March 10 of the following year Thaddeus Harper submitted a tender to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the construction of the portion of the Cariboo Road extending from Yale to Hodges' store, a distance of about 4 miles. A notation on the letter accompanying this tender shows that it was rejected as exorbitant, judged by an estimate made by Captain Lemprière, of the Royal Engineers.[27]

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(24) Data from Genealogical Studies, Division of Bibliography, Library of Congress, Washington.

(25) California State Census, 1852; in California State Library, Sacramento.

(26) *Victoria Gazette*, November 10, 1859.

(27) Colonel Moody to Governor Douglas, March 22, 1860.

In 1861 the Harpers first appear in the early records as landowners. In the spring of that year Thaddeus Harper, although an American citizen, and therefore not legally eligible to pre-empt land, was nevertheless granted a pre-emption record, at the office of the Magistrate at Yale, for a property described as "a bit of land on the south side of the Fraser River near Pike's Riffle."[28] Title to this claim was never completed by Crown grant.

From this small and uncertain beginning large holdings grew. In 1888, at the time of the sale of the Harper lands to the Western Canada Ranching Company, they aggregated no less than 38,572 acres.[29] Part of the property was located east of Kamloops, on the north side of the Thompson River, with additional lands at Cache Creek and at Kelly Lake. Most of it had been acquired in connection with the activities of the brothers as cattle owners and drovers.

Jerome Harper was evidently occupying land east of Kamloops for the purpose of grazing cattle as early as the autumn of 1862. The Kamloops Journal for October of that year contains the entry: "Mr [J. W.] McKay payed [*sic*] a visit to Harpers ranch to see as to that mans cattle."[30] This undoubtedly refers to the property east of the city known for many years as Harper's Ranch, or Harper's Camp.

Later in the same month W. G. Cox arrived to stake out an Indian reserve, which when defined extended for 12 miles eastward, along the north bank of the Thompson River.[31] In 1865 P. H. Nind, then Magistrate at Lytton, reported to the Colonial Secretary that part of the reserve was being used for grazing purposes. He had "heard of one cattle-owner who paid their Chief, Nisquaimlth, a monthly rent for the privilege of turning his cattle on these lands."[32] It would be interesting to know whether or not the owner in question was one of the Harpers. In any event, in 1866 Edgar Dewdney resurveyed the boundaries of the reserve, and revised them to embrace an area only 3 miles

(28) Pre-emption Record 15, Yale Register, March 14, 1861.

(29) A. W. McMorran (Manager, Western Canada Ranching Company) to G. D. Brown, Jr., April 17, 1940.

(30) Kamloops Journal, October 21, 1862.

(31) British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, *Papers connected with the Indian land question, 1850–1875*, Victoria, 1875, p. 26.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 29; Nind to the Colonial Secretary, July 17, 1865.

square, extending eastward from the mouth of the North Thompson River.[33] This change left a large acreage open for settlement eastward of the revised reserve, including, evidently, the land upon which Nind reported that " a cattle owner " had been given the privilege of grazing his cattle. In 1869 William Charles, Chief Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company at Kamloops, made application to pre-empt 160 acres of this land, and two years later to purchase an adjoining 480 acres.[34] Both of these parcels were later transferred to Thaddeus Harper.

The same year James Todd, John Holland, and Robert Thompson pre-empted lands within the area, title for which ultimately passed to Thaddeus Harper, as did title to the military grant of William Yates.[35] These four properties amounted in all to 832 acres. Eight years later Harper made application to purchase a further 1,942 acres,[36] shortly before a second revision of the reserve boundaries was made by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Indian Reserve Commissioner. Sproat extended the reserve to its present boundaries, embracing an area approximately 7 miles square.[37] None of the land held by the Harpers was included within these new boundaries, but, as a result of the purchases and transfers outlined above, they possessed 3,414 acres which had been inside the limits of the reserve as originally established by W. G. Cox in 1862.

Thaddeus Harper also acquired 544 acres on the south side of the Thompson River,[38] thus making a total of 3,957 acres held east of Kamloops. The whole of this property was transferred to the Western Canada Ranching Company in 1888.[39]

As the cattle interests of the Harpers grew, they purchased large tracts in several other districts. In Cache Creek they secured the 906 acres now known as the Perry Ranch. Originally

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 38.

(34) Lot 1, Group 5, Yale-Lytton, and Lot 280, Group 1, Kamloops.

(35) Todd, Lot 285 (187 acres); Holland, Lots 1 and 2, Group 6, Yale-Lytton (323 acres); Thompson, Lot 283 (160 acres); Yates, Lot 2, Group 5, Yale-Lytton (162 acres).

(36) Lots 282, 286, Kamloops.

(37) The Scheidam Ranch, held at the time by John Holland, was specifically exempted from the reserve area.

(38) Lot 274, Group 1, Kamloops, held originally by James Ruch (286 acres), and Lot 273, originally held by J. Newman Squires (258 acres).

(39) A. W. McMorran to G. D. Brown, Jr., April 20, 1940.

this had been pre-empted in seven parcels, between 1865 and 1871.[40] Several transfers took place in each instance before they passed into the possession of Thaddeus Harper. At Clinton, in Cut-off Valley, the original claim which formed the nucleus of the property known as the Kelly Ranch was pre-empted by Edward Kelly on September 17, 1866, and later transferred by him to Thaddeus Harper.[41] To this Harper added by purchase, in 1884, no less than 14,517 acres, making a total of 14,797 acres in all.[42] Finally, the famous Gang Ranch, in the Chilcotin District, now the headquarters of the Western Canada Ranching Company, was acquired by purchase from the Government in 1883–85. It comprises in all 18,912 acres.[43]

James B. Leighton states that it was in 1863 that Jerome Harper began to secure control of the cattle importing business. It was his custom to buy cattle in Washington and Oregon during the winter months, drive them to the International Boundary at Osoyoos, and hold them there till spring. Some time in May, when the grass was good, he would start a drive. In the herds there would be 400 head of good steers, 50 head of picked milch cows, and 50 head of fine Oregon horses.

Upon arrival at Barkerville, Harper had the stock herded on Bald Mountain, about 2 miles from Richfield. Animals were driven to the slaughter-house as required, at the rate of about twenty per day. Generally it took about 1,400 head for the season. These drives continued for several years, as British Columbia did not produce enough cattle to supply the demand until after 1870. That year Jerome Harper was stricken with a serious illness and had to be taken to California, where he died four years later.

His interests in British Columbia were committed to the care of his brother Thaddeus, who, according to James B. Leighton, was not as successful as Jerome had been. Changed circumstances were no doubt largely responsible for this. The number of miners began to decrease as the Cariboo rush waned, while

(40) Lots 3, 5, 6, and 7, Group 2, Yale-Lytton, and Lots 435, 436, and 437, Group 1, Kamloops, first held by W. F. Caughill, Thomas Dunn, and E. G. Perry.

(41) C./G. Register, Lillooet, Lot 9, Group 1.

(42) *Ibid.*, TP. 10.

(43) *Ibid.*, TP. 1 and 2.

the number of cattle in the country continued to increase rapidly. In the spring of 1876 Thaddeus Harper ventured on a speculation which was reported in the press as follows:—

Beef Exportation.—Mr. T. Harper proposes to take some 800 head of beef cattle from British Columbia to Chicago. He intends to drive via Salt Lake and then take the railroad. At present there are large numbers of cattle in the interior; the market is limited and a band of beef cattle would hardly realize $15 per head. At present, at Chicago, cattle will nett over the cost of driving and railroad expense about $40 a head. A few shipments to that point would tend to relieve the market in the interior and consequently give stockowners a better opportunity of disposing of their cattle.[44]

A later report states that on May 16 the drive had reached a point "a little above Clinton, bound for Salt Lake City."[45] It added that a few of the animals looked poor, but that the majority were good beeves. Upon the arrival of the herd at O'Keefe's another 428 animals were purchased, and the drive continued southward by way of Penticton and Osoyoos to the International border. From there it followed the Okanagan River to the Columbia, and followed that stream to the junction with the Snake, near which a camp for the winter was selected.

Of the cowboys on that trip only one is alive at the present time—Jimmy Joseph, an aged Indian living at O'Keefe's, near Vernon, from whom the foregoing particulars were secured. He is reported to be very diffident about speaking on the subject of the drive, but he has told fellow Indians that he himself went only as far as the winter camp, where he, with some others, was paid off. Jimmy Joseph recalls that those engaged on the drive, in addition to Thaddeus Harper, were Antoine Allen, Charlie Connor, Tom Moore, Joe Tenice, Louis Eneas, Jimmy Rendall (a boy), a man named King, and possibly one other. They provided their own horses and were paid $60 per month, with board and feed. J. B. Leighton is certain that Newman Squires also accompanied the drive, as Squires had been Harper's mainstay in the earlier drives from Osoyoos to Barkerville.

A letter from the Collector of Customs at Osoyoos which was copied in the press indicates the prices prevailing in the Interior at the time the drive was passing through:—

Some of the cows mentioned . . . have been lately sold in Similkameen at $12 each. . . . I subjoin a list showing the prices at which cattle are

(44) *British Colonist*, Victoria, April 20, 1876.

(45) *Ibid.*, May 21, 1876.

at present offered at a place within a few miles of the boundary, viz., Cows with calves, $10 each; steers, three year old and upwards, $17 each; Steers, two year old, $10 each; yearlings, $6.00.[46]

At the same time in the cattle areas of Wyoming, where rail transportation was available to Chicago at $250 per car of twenty head, prices were: yearlings, $7.50 to $8.50; two-year-old cows, $12; two-year-old steers, $13; three-year-old steers, $16 to $17.[47]

From the Columbia River in Washington to the nearest shipping-point on the railway at Kelton, Utah, north of Salt Lake, there was a drive of approximately 600 miles. Changed conditions led Harper to divert his herd, first to Idaho and finally to California, as revealed in an item in the Victoria *Colonist*:—

British Columbia Feeding California with Cattle.—Some eighteen months ago Mr. Thaddeus Harper drove from British Columbia into Northern Idaho 1200 head of beef cattle. These cattle were summered during 1877 in Idaho, where there was scarcity of neither water nor feed. The drought in California during the same year caused the death of many thousand head of stock, and now Mr. Harper's band is coming into market at San Francisco. The cattle are large and well-grown beeves, rolling in fat, and have been sold at $70 per head.[48]

Another successful cattle venture of Harper's was referred to two months later:—

British Columbia oxen.—An advertisement in the S[an] F[rancisco] *Bulletin* offers a lot of extra large tame oxen from British Columbia for sale in quantities to suit. "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" "Mr. Thaddeus Harper of British Columbia has imported into San Francisco some extra large steers, selected expressly, and intended for heavy work, etc. They are larger and finer than anything usually found in California, and Mr. Harper believes they will supply a want which has heretofore been difficult to fill."[49]

Thus it was that what looked at one time like a certain financial loss turned out to be a successful deal.

Legends current in the cattle country insist that the cattle brand used by the Harper brothers was the first used in British Columbia. This may be quite correct, but the brand in question was not officially registered until June 10, 1884,[50] whereas legislation requiring the registration of all brands was enacted as

(46) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1876.

(47) Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, Minneapolis, 1929, p. 52.

(48) *British Colonist*, Victoria, February 5, 1878.

(49) *Ibid.*, April 30, 1878.

(50) Clinton Registry: Thaddeus Harper, June 10, 1884.

early as 1869.[51] The first brands registered in the Colony were in the names of cattle-owners in the Chilliwack district, and were dated 1870.[52]

The cattle business was by no means the only commercial enterprise in which the Harpers engaged. It will be recalled that Jerome operated a sawmill at Yale in 1859. The files in the Provincial Archives show that on May 4, 1863, he made application to the Governor for the right to purchase 5 acres of land, adjoining the townsite of Yale, for the purpose of erecting and operating a sawmill.[53] Evidently permission to purchase had been refused by the local magistrate, and there is nothing in the file to indicate the Governor's decision. The application may well have been refused, for six months later a traveller in Cariboo reported that on November 23 " Harper's new saw mill at the Mouth of Quesnelle had commenced work."[54] Nearly two years later an announcement appeared in the *Cariboo Sentinel* stating that Messrs. Harper and Wright desired to erect a flouring mill at Quesnelmouth, and offering for sale the machinery of their steam sawmill.[55] After this advertisement had appeared at varying intervals over a period of nearly a year the *Sentinel* noted that Messrs. Meacham & Coombs, proprietors of the sawmill at Stouts Gulch, had purchased the engine and machinery of the mill at Quesnelmouth, and that the plant would arrive at Barkerville in the course of a fortnight.[56]

The project of Harper and Wright to erect a flour-mill at Quesnelmouth did not materialize, and the partnership evidently came to an end. Jerome Harper then undertook, in partnership with Jonathan Hoiten Scott, of Parsonville, the operation of a flour-mill a few miles north of Clinton. This was in 1868.[57] After a time Scott evidently withdrew from the enterprise, leav-

(51) *Cattle Ordinance*, March 9, 1869.

(52) Chilliwack Registry: Jonathan Reece, Isaac Kipp, John Shelford, and John McCutcheon, February 2, 1870.

(53) Harper to Governor Douglas, May 4, 1863.

(54) *British Columbian*, New Westminster, December 9, 1863.

(55) *Cariboo Sentinel*, Barkerville, June 24, 1865.

(56) *Ibid.*, July 23, 1866.

(57) *Ibid.*, May 14, 1868. On this mill *see* F. W. Laing, " Early Flour-mills in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 201–203.

ing Harper in full control.[58] Following the death of Jerome, and apparently in anticipation of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway along the north bank of the Thompson River, Thaddeus Harper moved the mill structure and machinery to the mouth of the Bonaparte River. Unfortunately the railway was actually built on the south bank of the Thompson, which left the mill isolated, as a ferry could not be operated at that point. The flour-mill finally closed down about 1890.[59] Evidently Harper did not hold title to the land upon which the mill was then situated, as it was later secured by Crown grant by the Western Canada Ranching Company. Known as the "Old Mill," the property was leased to various persons, until sold to the present owner, who conducts a business known as the "Old Mill Apiaries."

In the later seventies the cattle industry was in a depressed condition, and Thaddeus Harper became engaged in mining activities on Lowhee Creek, in Cariboo.[60] In this connection R. N. (Bob) Campbell, of Horsefly, states in a letter that "Harper also acquired some mining property at Lightning Creek near Stanley, also an interest with Pinkerton [said to be one of the overland party of 1862] in ground now paying well as the Lowhee Hydraulic."[61] Mr. Campbell states further that Harper had another partner named John Cameron, but that the latter was no relation of the famous "Cariboo" Cameron.[62]

The next reference to Thaddeus Harper's mining activities is found in the *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* for 1885. It relates to a claim on the Horsefly River, regarding which the Government Agent at Quesnel wrote: "The ground all round the China Company's claim is held under a lease by Mr. T. Harper, which prevents considerable prospecting being done there this winter. There has not been any work done upon the

(58) Oddly enough there is no indication that Harper secured either title to the site of the mill, or water rights on the creek upon which it was located.

(59) *See* R. D. Cumming in *Ashcroft Journal*, February 9, 1939.

(60) British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1878, p. 395 (*Annual Report of the Minister of Mines*).

(61) R. N. Campbell to F. W. Laing, March 16, 1941.

(62) William Bent, of Kamloops, states that the Harper-Cameron claim was on Lightning Creek, and that Harper bought out Cameron's interest.

ground by Mr. Harper since the lease was obtained."[63] Various degrees of activity were shown in the reports for 1887–90, but by 1891 the Harper interests had been taken over by R. T. Ward,[64] formerly storekeeper at 150-Mile House, who took into partnership R. P. Rithet, of Victoria.[65] A large plant was then erected on the Horsefly property, but mining there was later abandoned and the claim is now part of a sheep ranch. From the association with Thaddeus Harper, the area became known locally as Harper's Camp. The local post-office was so named until 1921, when it was changed to Horsefly;[66] but the original designation survives to-day in Harper's Camp School and School District.

The death of Jerome Harper took place in December, 1874, in San Francisco, where he was found dead in a bath-tub.[67] His will was probated by Thaddeus in 1875; but the next year relatives in Virginia contested it unsuccessfully on the grounds that Jerome was insane at the time of execution, and that two other wills of later date were extant. The estate involved was valued at $150,000,[68] although news items at the time of probate placed the total value of the property at $300,000.[69]

The last ten years of the life of Thaddeus Harper were tinged with tragedy. According to a statement attributed to A. W. McMorran, present manager of the Western Canada Ranching Company, Thaddeus " was kicked in the face by a horse on his Chilcoten ranch, which was no doubt the Gang or Harper ranch."[70] R. N. Campbell, of Horsefly, believes that he was " thrown from

(63) British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, p. 489 (*Annual Report of the Minister of Mines*).

(64) *Sessional Papers*, 1892, p. 563 (*Annual Report of the Minister of Mines*).

(65) R. N. Campbell to F. W. Laing, March 16, 1941.

(66) District Director of Postal Services to F. W. Laing, February 28, 1941. Horsefly had been the name of a post-office formerly existing about 6 miles north of Harper's Camp.

(67) *British Colonist*, Victoria, December 10, 1874.

(68) *Ibid.*, September 14, 1876.

(69) *Ibid.*, February 14, 1875.

(70) *Ashcroft Journal*, February 9, 1939.

a horse at Lac La Hache and sustained a brain fracture from which he never recovered."[71] No date is given in either account.

As noted above, Thaddeus Harper sold his lands and herds to the Western Canada Ranching Company in 1888. He died in Victoria on December 9, 1898.[72]

F. W. LAING.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(71) R. N. Campbell to F. W. Laing, March 16, 1941.
(72) *Daily Colonist*, Victoria, December 10, 1898.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NAVAL BASE AT ESQUIMALT, 1851–57.

The present importance of Esquimalt as a base for naval operations in the Pacific gives a topical interest to the appended letters and dispatches, which record the circumstances under which the first buildings erected there for naval purposes were constructed in 1855. The correspondence is for the most part self-explanatory and little in the way of introduction is required. The Royal Navy first organized a Pacific Station in 1837, with headquarters at Valparaiso. To begin with it was concerned almost entirely with South American waters. The tension which arose over the Oregon boundary question in 1845–46, and the founding of the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1849–50, led to the extension of its operations to the North Pacific. This made a northern base of some kind desirable, and from the first Esquimalt Harbour was regarded as the most suitable location. Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station, 1850–53, was one of the early advocates of a base there. One of his reports to the Admiralty in which the matter is dealt with is included in the documents which follow. From the first Governor Douglas regarded the establishment of a base at Esquimalt as a matter of some urgency, and he, too, pressed the point at every opportunity.

Nothing was actually done until the Crimean War, which broke out in 1854. In September of that year an Anglo-French squadron made an ill-advised assault upon Petropavlovski, in Kamchatka. It was repulsed with 200 casualties. The wounded suffered greatly because no base was available in the North Pacific where they could receive proper attention ashore. The following year Rear-Admiral Bruce, who had succeeded to the command of the Pacific Station, planned to renew the attack. Anticipating further casualties, Bruce wrote to Governor Douglas and requested that he provide the hospital accommodation which would probably be needed. Douglas arranged at once for the construction and equipment of three wooden hospital build-

ings, at a cost of approximately £1,000. As it turned out they were not required, for the fleet found Petropavlovski abandoned, and no action occurred.

From the first it was obvious to Douglas that there would be some dispute about who was to pay for the buildings. Immediately after he had received the first letter from Admiral Bruce, Douglas wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company: "The question arises of the expense, which the Admiral cautiously evades, so as to throw the onus of failure on me or rather on the Company."[1] The dispute duly arose, as the letters which follow show, but in the end the Admiralty paid the bill, apparently with a good grace.

The net result of this transaction was that, although the Royal Navy was not yet prepared to authorize a shore establishment at Esquimalt, it found itself possessed of three buildings there. For a time they were left in Douglas's charge, but in 1857 the Governor was able to transfer responsibility to the Navy, which was represented upon the occasion by Captain J. C. Prevost. Even before this one of the buildings had been used for stores and provisions. An officer was placed in charge, but as the stores depot still had no official existence he was nominally attached to the flagship. Finally, on June 29, 1865, an Order in Council was issued creating the Royal Naval Establishment of Esquimalt.

The detailed history of the three buildings erected in 1855 would make an article in itself, for they far more than justified Douglas's belief that they would last for half a century. One of the three vanished at a date not yet precisely ascertained, but the other two survived until recently. Lieutenant G. A. Heal, R.C.N.V.R., has very kindly supplied the following details of their last years.[2]

One of the two was used in the early years of this century as a double residence, and was occupied by the Chief Boatswain and the Carpenter of the dockyard. From 1910 until 1914 one half was occupied by the Chief Clerk of the Naval Stores Officer, the other half being vacant. Following the outbreak of the Great War the building was used as the office of H.M.C.S. *Shearwater*

(1) Douglas to Barclay, April 25, 1855.

(2) Lieutenant Heal to Acting Provincial Archivist, October 23, 1942.

Shore Establishment. The rear portion, originally the kitchens, was condemned in 1917 and demolished. The main part of the building stood empty from the conclusion of hostilities until about 1936, when it was torn down in order to round off a dangerous corner and remove a fire-hazard.

The other building was apparently used until 1910 as the office of the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Coast, when ashore, and by the Naval Agent. Thereafter it became the general office of the Dockyard Civilian Staff. It was enlarged in 1915 to accommodate the larger staff required during the Great War. The building was condemned in August, 1936, because of the ravages of dry-rot, but it was not actually demolished until the summer of 1939, when it was removed to make room for a garage and to give a better approach to a nearby residence.

One of the original structures thus stood for no less than 84 years, and it is to be regretted that ways and means could not have been found to repair and preserve it as a dockyard museum.

The original or letter-book copies of all the documents which follow are preserved in the Provincial Archives.

W. K. L.

1. REAR-ADMIRAL MORESBY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Report connected with Vancouver's Island.
" Portland "[1] at Esquimalt
Vancouvers Island.
3rd July 1851.

No. 55.
To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir

My letter No. 54 will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the " Portland " and " Daphne "[2] arrived here on 27th Ultimo, and of my intention of sending the " Daphne " with Governor Blanshard to the Northern Settlements.[3]

. . . . .

(1) Frigate, 52 guns, built 1822. Flagship of Rear-Admiral Moresby, 1850–53.
(2) Sloop, 18 guns, built 1838.
(3) This was for the purpose of punishing the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Rupert, who had murdered several deserters from a British merchantman the previous year. Particulars of the cruise will be found in Blanshard's dispatches, and enclosures.

3. I beg to call their Lordship's attention to the exorbitant price charged by the Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Supplies, of necessity purchased for this ship, and to suggest the propriety of an arrangement being made with the Directors of the Company for obtaining with certainty, at reasonable prices, such supplies as are likely to be wanted, for it is impossible to victual the smaller vessels at Valparaiso for any extended service, if required at Vancouver to protect the interests of the Company. Flour is issued to the servants of the Company at 12/- per Cwt, by the "Voucher for Purchase" enclosed herewith, the difference in price will be seen.—I would ask that the prices for supplies to H. M. Ships should be the same as those charged to the Servants of the Company, with the exception of spirits, upon which their policy places a price tantamount to interdiction. Of vegetables we have only obtained 78 lbs., a sad disappointment to a crew that have, since leaving England on the 8th Novr last, been 183 days at Sea.

4. There cannot under present circumstances be any expectation of competition, the interests of a Company with exclusive rights of trade being incompatible with the free and liberal reception of an Emigrant community.

. . . . .

6. Victoria has been too hastily preferred to Esquimalt, it happily leaves this beautiful Harbour and its shores in their primitive state.—I earnestly recommend the Government to reserve for "Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors" this Harbour of Esquimalt and its shores; the only place where a Naval Establishment can be formed, and admirably adapted for all its operations.

. . . . .

I have &c.
signed Fairfax Moresby.
Rear Admiral & Commander in Chief.

2. THE GOVERNOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Hudson's Bay House.
November 7, 1851.

To the Right Hon^ble^ Earl Grey.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Hawes's letter of the 3^rd^ Instant, transmitting for any observations which the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company may have to offer the Copy of a letter from Rear Admiral Moresby to the Board of Admiralty, containing a Report connected with Vancouvers Island.

Respecting the price of provisions supplied or to be supplied to Her Majesty's Ships I have nothing to remark until I receive a reply to a letter which I have written to the Board of Admiralty requesting to be informed of the prices complained of as being overcharged by the Company's Agents at Vancouver's Island. I may however observe that there is a market price there, as everywhere else, and that Admiral Moresby's remark "that the interest of a Company with exclusive rights of trade is incompatible with the free and liberal reception of an emigrant community" is not applicable to the Hudson's Bay Company, inasmuch as that Company neither possesses nor exercises an exclusive right of trade in Vancouver's Island.

. . . . .

I have further to observe in reference to Admiral Moresby's recommendation that a naval Station should be formed at Esquimalt Harbour, that if any portion of the land there be required for Public purposes, it can according to the Grant be resumed by Government at any time; but it is highly desirable that the Company should have early notice of the intentions of Government, as otherwise difficulties may occur from previous appropriation.

. . . . .

I have &c.
signed J. H. Pelly.

3. REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE TO GOVERNOR DOUGLAS.

President,[4] at Valparaiso.
14th February 1855.

B.7.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the Service upon which the Allied Squadron will be employed during the present year, will bring to the Island of Vancouver three of Her Majesty's Steamers of War, and perhaps a fourth, in the month of July next. It will therefore be of the utmost consequence that a quantity, not less than a thousand tons, of coal should be retained in store for Her Majesty's Service; and I therefore beg the favor of your giving the necessary directions.

In all probability an opportunity will be afforded me of visiting the Island about the same time in my Flag Ship, the Monarch, 84,[5] and bringing with me other Ships of War; I am therefore led thus early to express a hope that arrangements may be made with a view to obtaining a full supply of fresh meat and vegetables, to prevent the incon-

(4) Frigate, 50 guns, built 1822. She had been the flagship of Rear-Admiral David Price, Admiral Bruce's predecessor, 1853–54.
(5) Line-of-battle ship, 84 guns, built 1832.

venience to which Her Majesty's Ships were subjected during their recent visit.

Your Excellency will probably be able to provide a building upon the arrival of the Squadron, that may service as a temporary Hospital for the sick and wounded: the want of which was seriously felt last year.[6]

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
H. W. Bruce
Rear Admiral.
Commander in Chief.

James Douglas Esq^re
&c &c &c
Governor of
Vancouver's Island.

[A notation in Douglas's handwriting states that this letter was received on May 7, 1855, and answered on May 8.]

4. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE.

Victoria Vancouver's Island
8th May 1855

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt on the 7th of Inst of a communication from you dated the 14th February, last informing me that several of Her Majesty's Steamers of War, would in course of service, visit Vancouvers Island, in the month of July next, and requesting that a quantity not less than one thousand tons of Coal, should be retained in store for Her Majesty's service.

You also mention the probability of your visiting the Colony in person with the Flagship, and other ships of war, and suggest that arrangements may be made with a view to obtaining a full supply of fresh meat, and vegetables for the Forces under your command, and lastly trusting that I may be able to provide a building to serve as a temporary hospital for the sick and wounded.

I have to assure you, in reply, that every exertion shall be made, on my part to meet your demands, and to promote the interests of the public service intrusted to your charge.

Arrangements for the following objects have already been made. Firstly. Instructions have been sent to the superintendent of the Coal

(6) An Anglo-French squadron attacked Petropavlovski, in Kamchatka, in September, 1854, but was repulsed. There were 200 casualties. Part of the squadron subsequently called at Esquimalt, but there were no facilities to aid the wounded there.

works at Nanaimo, to secure the quantity of Coal ordered for the use of the Squadron.
Secondly I have sent instructions to the Agent of the Puget's Sound Company, at Nesqually [*sic*] to forward to this place 2000 head of Sheep, and as many beeves as he can manage to purchase.
Thirdly I have issued a notice announcing to the public at large, your intention of visiting this Colony, in the month of July next, with the Fleet under your command, and exhorting them to use every exertion in raising vegetables for its supply.

Those precautions will I feel assured place, at your disposal, the requisite supply of Coal and fresh meat, though I greatly fear there will be a scarcity of vegetables, which will not arrive at maturity until a later season, than you propose to visit the Colony; a circumstance that will also have the effect of enhancing their market value.

It has occurred to me that it would be only a proper and necessary step, more particularly during the continuance of hostilities, to appoint an officer to act as Commissary for the Fleet, and to make all the necessary arrangements and purchases in this quarter preparatory to the arrival of Her Majesty's Ships. A person so authorised and commissioned might always, by offering a liberal price, secure a full supply of every necessary, requisite for the Fleet; and draw provisions from the American settlements, in all cases when the produce of this Colony, proves insufficient to meet the demand.

Lastly — I have to inform you in reference to the building required for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, that it appeared to me a matter of so much importance, as to demand my immediate attention, and finding, on enquiry that no disposable building, in the Colony was perfectly adapted for that purpose; I resolved with the advice of a majority of the Members of my Council, to take immediate steps for the erection of decent and comfortable buildings, to serve as a naval hospital; and the work is now in progress, and will probably be sufficiently advanced, on the arrival of the Fleet, to receive the sick.

In taking that step, I have assumed a responsibility beyond the limit of my instructions from Her Majesty, and entirely of a personal nature, but this being done from motives of humanity, and with the view of promoting the interests of the public service, I am in hopes it will meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government, and I feel assured that you will not hesitate, to share that responsibility with me.

I have only further to observe that we shall be most happy to see you in this Colony, and to make your stay here as agreeable as possible.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obdt Servt
Sd James Douglas Governor

Rear Admiral
Henry W Bruce
Commander in Chief in the Pacific Station

5. JAMES DOUGLAS TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

On the affairs of Vancouvers Island Colony

Victoria V. I.
19th July 1855

William G Smith Esqre
Sir

. . . . .

Her Majestys Propellor "Brisk"[7] arrived here on the 19th of Inst having left Rear Admiral Bruce two days previously with the rest of the squadron off Sitka in search of the Russian Frigates, "Aurora" and "Diana", which were not discovered.[8] The Admiral ran in close to the establishment with the Brisk. The Governor's Secretary pulled off with a Canoe, to ask the object of the visit, and was assured by the Admiral, that he had no hostile intention, and that he would scrupulously observe the Treaty of Neutrality.[9]

Her Majesty's Ship "Dido"[10] Captain Moorshead [Morshead] also direct from Sitka arrived here a few days after the Brisk, and both ships are now at anchor in Esquimalt Harbour, and are abundantly supplied with vegetables and fresh provisions.

Rear Admiral Bruce mentions in a letter from Sitka that he will not visit Vancouvers Island this season it being his intention to proceed direct from Sitka to San Francisco,[11] and after a short stay there to Valparaiso, and that he will despatch the "Trincomalee"[12] to refit in this Port.

The ships companys are all in good health and the hospitals untenanted, except by one patient, the Chief Engineer of the "Brisk" who is suffering from scurvy, and is not expected to recover.

The squadron called at Petropaulski in the first part of the season, and to their great regret found the place entirely abandoned, ships troops and inhabitants having all fled, and no traces of the fugitives could any where be found.

The batteries and Government buildings were destroyed, and the greater part of the Town was burnt by "accident"

I have the honor to be
Sir
Yours obdt Servt
James Douglas

Sd

(7) Steam sloop, 14 guns, built 1851.
(8) The *Diana* (50 guns) was the flagship of the Russian Pacific Squadron. Having found Petropavlovski deserted, Admiral Bruce thought that the vessels might have gone to Sitka.
(9) By agreement between the British and Russian governments the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company were to be considered neutral zones.
(10) Sloop, 18 guns, launched 1836.
(11) Admiral Bruce later changed his mind and came north to Esquimalt, as the letters which follow show.
(12) Sailing frigate, 24 guns, built 1819.

6. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE.

Victoria V. I.
3rd August 1855

Sir

Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 7th and 8th of May last, I have received two letters from Mr Martin dated respectively 15th April and 14th July kindly announcing the movements of the squadron under your command, and we have since then had the pleasure of seeing Her Majestys Ships "Dido" and "Brisk" at this place. The Naval Hospital built in consequence of your demand on this Government for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, was ready for the reception of patients on their arrival, and though fortunately not required on that occasion may be of very essential service at some future time.

The cost is about £1000, and I trust that in your reports to the Admiralty you will fully represent the great importance of those buildings as respects the public service otherwise a question may be raised as to the payment of the expenses incurred in these erections, and it may be therefore out of my power to meet your views in other matters.

I wish you could conveniently make some arrangement to take charge of the hospitals, in order to relieve me from that expense; it being the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make this a self supporting Colony, they have not authorised me to draw upon the public Treasury, for such outlay.

I think you would find it convenient to make this place a sick Depôt, or what is better a general naval Depôt for the Pacific Fleet.

Should you think it expedient as I before recommended in my letter of the 8th May to appoint an officer to act as Commissary for the Fleet, fresh supplies could always be procured here in the greatest abundance, and no part of the coast is better adapted for refitting ships, the harbours being safe and commodious and spars of every description may be procured in the neighbouring forests at a trifling cost. The Colony would largely share in the advantages of that measure, and I therefore feel a deeper interest in its accomplishment, and have in my Despatches strongly urged it upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

The "Dido" and "Brisk" have been abundantly supplied with fresh provisions, during their brief stay and I have no doubt their commanders will make a favourable report to you.

Had their visit been later in the season, they might have carried away a large sea stock of ripe full grown potatoes.

The west coast of Vancouver's Island is still visited by American vessels, who are carrying on an illicit trade in fire arms and spirituous

liquors, to the great injury of the country, and I trust you may find it convenient to cast an eye to that quarter.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient Servant
James Douglas
Governor

Rear Admiral
H. W. Bruce
Commander in Chief on the Pacific Station.

7. REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE TO GOVERNOR DOUGLAS.

Monarch, at San Francisco.
30th July 1855

B.25.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 7th and 8th of May.

Being about to sail hence in my Flag Ship for Vancouver, I will not enter upon the subject of your Despatch of the former date until I have the pleasure of a personal interview with Your Excellency.

My best thanks are due for the steps taken by you to meet the anticipated requirements of the Squadron under my command upon its projected arrival at the seat of your Government.

Although circumstances have occurred which have made much that has been done by you to meet the wants of the Squadron unnecessary; yet, I beg to assure you that it is not the less appreciated by me: and it will be most satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government to find that the young Colony under your charge can be made so serviceable to Her Majesty's Ships in time of need.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
H. W. Bruce
Rear Admiral.
Commander in Chief.

James Douglas Esqre
&c &c &c
Governor of
Vancouver's Island.

8. JAMES DOUGLAS TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

On the affairs of Vancouver's Isl[d] Colony

Victoria V I
28th Augst 1855

William G. Smith Esq[re]
Sir

. . . . .

Her Majesty's Ship "Trincomolee" [*sic*] direct from Sitka, anchored in Esquimalt Harbour on the 25th of Inst. She has a defective spar to replace and other repairs to make which will detain her here till the beginning of October.

Yesterday afternoon Her Majesty's Ship "Monarch" the Flag Ship, with Rear Admiral Bruce on board anchored in Esquimalt Harbour. I have this morning had a very interesting interview with Admiral Bruce. He kindly observed that his present visit is intended as a mark of regard for the Colony, and that he will endeavour to protect its interests and render every assistance in his power in respect to the San Juan question.

This is satisfactory and releives [*sic*] me of much anxiety.

I herewith transmit a copy of Admiral Bruces Despatch of the 30th July which will further explain the object of his present visit.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obdt Servt
Sd. James Douglas

Duplicate forwarded pr Monarch.

9. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Executive
No 17

Victoria Vancouvers Island
13th Sept[r] 1855

My Lord

I have the honor to inform your Lordship, that this Colony has been lately visited by Rear Admiral Bruce with the "Monarch" and several other of Her Majesty's Ships, forming part of the squadron employed in the Pacific.

In consequence of the arrangements made by this Government, the ships while here were abundantly supplied with vegetables and fresh provisions, so that the officers and men were all in good health and in a state of perfect efficiency, when the Fleet sailed from this Colony.

The naval hospitals constructed at Esquimalt, have, from unforseen circumstances, been only partially required this season; but nevertheless our wish to assist Her Majesty's ships, in time of need, has been appreciated by the Commander in Chief, as you will observe, through a letter from him which I have the honor to enclose herewith. No 1.

The Outlay caused by the erection of the naval Hospitals, so far as it has yet been ascertained, is £938.3.8 Sterling; and I believe that £60 or £70 more, making altogether the sum of £1000, will cover every expense connected with the undertaking.

I have now to request, that your Lordship will be kind enough to direct whether that outlay is to be defrayed out of the Imperial Treasury, or from the Colonial Funds; and if the latter, that the wishes of Her Majestys Government to that effect, may be communicated to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

. . . . .

Her Majesty's Ship " Trincomalee ", is at present refitting in Esquimalt and will probably not leave Port, before the first week in October, when the " President " is expected to touch here for refreshments.

Perhaps your Lordship will pardon me for alluding to an opinion which I have long entertained in respect to the important advantage the public service would gain by forwarding the provisions and stores required for the national ships employed in the northern Pacific, direct from England to Vancouver's Island, instead of landing them, in the first place, and storing them at Valparaiso, an arrangement involving one of two evils —, either the ships of war must, at brief intervals, abandon their distant stations, and to the neglect of other objects, resort to Valparaiso, to re-victual,—or that service must be performed by means of hired transports, at a very considerable expense, in fact, I believe in all cases, exceeding the sum that would be required to bring the supplies, in the first instance, direct from England to Vancouver's Island.

As a means of avoiding that expenditure, and the inconvenience of employing Her Majesty's ships as mere transport vessels, I would take the liberty of proposing to your Lordship that a Naval Store House be erected here, or rather in Port Esquimalt, and that the provisions and stores required for the ships employed in the Northern Pacific, be sent from England directly to this place and stored here.

I will further remark, on that subject that the expense of erecting a proper building for a naval store House, would not exceed the sum of £1500, and should your Lordship think favourably of the plan, and authorise me to carry it into effect, and to appoint a store keeper; I think the Council of this Colony would cheerfully vote a sum of money in aid of so popular an object.

With those remarks I will leave this suggestion for your Lordships consideration.

I have the honor to be
Your Lordships
most obedient
humble servant
James Douglas
Governor

The Right Hon^ble^ Lord John Russel [*sic*]
Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State
For the Colonial Department.

[This dispatch was received in London on December 18, 1855.]

10. REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE TO GOVERNOR DOUGLAS.

Monarch, San Francisco,
12^th^ September 1855.

B.26.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, this day, of your Despatch of the 3^rd^ ultimo, from which I learn with surprise, that the three buildings erected at Esquimalt to serve as a Hospital, for Her Majesty's Navy, have cost about £1.000.

Being quite at a loss to understand under what circumstances they have cost so large a sum, I have directed Captain Frederick of Her Majesty's Ship President, to place himself in communication with you, and shall feel obliged for any information with which you can furnish him on the subject.

Having, in my letter of the 14^th^ February last, expressed a hope only that Your Excellency might be able to furnish a building which would serve for a temporary Hospital, during the visit of the Squadron expected in July last, I cannot but regret that the building on M^r^. Skinner's[13] premises was not prepared for this purpose (which might have been done for a few pounds) rather than so large an outlay should have been incurred for a temporary purpose.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
H. W. Bruce.
Rear Admiral.
Commander in Chief.

His Excellency
James Douglas Esq:
Governor of Vancouver

(13) Thomas James Skinner occupied and managed the Constance farm at Esquimalt, owned by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

11. REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE TO GOVERNOR DOUGLAS.

Monarch, San Francisco
Septr 15/55.

My dear Sir,

I received your letter, on arrival here, respecting the Expense of the Buildings you kindly caused to be erected for a Naval Hospital; the Cost is very much above what the Government would give their sanction to, and — much as I should recommend the measure — I do not think that any resident from Govt will be appointed to reside at Esquimault [*sic*]. Captain Frederick[14] will confer with you on the subject.

Capt Pease[15] has assured me of his good feeling, and his desire to co-operate with you in any way for the security of peace and tranquillity, that may be in his power, and to assist in his vessel with the Otter,[16] should it at any time meet your views.

We had a good run down here arriving on the 12, and sail for Valparaiso on the 19th.

Believe me
very sincerely
H. W. Bruce

H.E.
Govr Douglas.

12. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE.

Victoria V. I.
25th October 1855

Rear Admiral Bruce.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from you dated San Francisco 12th Septr 1855, respecting the expenditure incurred in the erection of the Naval Hospital at Esquimalt, and I shall now offer, on that subject, a few explanatory remarks.

In your brief and hurried visit to this Colony, I can easily understand, that you had little time, to devote to the inspection of those buildings, forming the Naval Hospital, or to make enquiries, in respect to the actual value of labour and material, or you could hardly have arrived at the conclusion, that the estimate of their probable cost, stated in my letter of the 3rd of August last, was extravagant, seeing that from circumstances, — that is the moderate price of labour and material, they are incomparably the cheapest buildings of their size

(14) Of H.M.S. *President.*

(15) Not identified, as the name does not appear in the Navy List of the time.

(16) Upon the outbreak of war between Russia and Great Britain, and before the neutrality agreement was known in Vancouver Island, the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Otter* had been hastily commissioned as a guardship to defend the Colony.

that have been erected in this Colony. I assure you it is a matter of regret to me that you did not examine while at this place, the accounts of the expenditure connected with those erections, as the facts I have herein stated, would have appeared evident to your own observation. Those accounts with proper vouchers, have been forwarded to England and I also herewith transmit a copy of the same for your information. You will thereby observe that the entire cost of the buildings is £932.5.0, and considering the character and size of the buildings, the cost appears moderate. You are aware that the hospital consists of three buildings each 50 feet long by 30 feet wide with a height of 12 feet from floor to ceiling.

The windows are large and the ventilation good. The centre building contains a Kitchen, operating room, Despensary [*sic*] and surgeons apartments, the wings contain the sick wards and will accommodate 100 patients, forming a cost of about £9.7.0, for each ward. You will also observe by the account that no charge is made on the part of this Government, for advertisements, for deeds, effecting contracts, and for the great trouble and responsibility of general superintendence, in short the work would have cost a much larger sum, had it been undertaken by any private person.

In respect to the building on M^{r} Skinner's Premises, which you suppose might have been prepared as an hospital for a few pounds. I would remark for your information that the idea of converting that building into an hospital, at the public expense, was suggested to me by parties interested, and for good reasons was not adopted. One reason is to be found, in the fact that the building itself is not large enough for the purpose, being equal in extent to one third only, of the area of the buildings we have erected.

Another objection, is the great expense of the building in question, it having already cost about £350, and it will at least take a sum equally large to finish it, making the total cost about £700. Moreover that building is the private property of the Puget Sound Company, and not at my disposal, and had it been finished at the public expense at a cost of £350, the Puget's Sound Company were not bound to repay the outlay, and thus a fruitless expenditure of £350 would have been incurred.

That plan was likewise objectionable in principle, and would have exposed the Government of this Colony, to the charge of making an improper use of the public money.

There is no question, in my mind, that the plan adopted, of constructing buildings adapted for the purpose intended, was the only proper and advisable course for us to take in the circumstances; the buildings being in that case, ready for use if wanted for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, and if not immediately wanted, the buildings and ground are worth the outlay, and if put up for sale, should that step be at any time deemed advisable, it is certain that they will fetch a larger sum than they have cost.

I have now much pleasure in communicating to you, that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were apprized through a communication to the Hudson's Bay Company, as early as the 24th of July last, of the measures I had taken to provide a supply of Coal, fresh provisions and vegetables for the forces, under your command; and for the erection of the Naval Hospitals at Esquimalt the cost of which was then estimated at £1000, and their Lordships in a communication from Secretary Osborne dated Admiralty 30th July 1855, make the following observations on the subject "My Lords desire"

"me to acquaint you for the information of the Governor"
"and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, that my"
"Lords have not as yet received any accounts from"
"Admiral Bruce, but they cannot entertain any doubt"
"of Mr Douglas' exertions for the good of Her Majesty's"
"Service, and my Lords desire me to state, that they will"
"be ready on receiving proper accounts and vouchers,"
"to pay all just demands upon this department."

This may be considered as a solution of the question mooted, in a manner satisfactory to us all, and for my part I never entertained a doubt of the readiness of Her Majesty's Government, to make any reasonable provision for the comfort and welfare of the brave fellows who are so nobly fighting their country's battles, and with that object in view you may, at all times, rely with confidence, on my humble services.

Her Majesty's Ship President is on the eve of leaving this Colony, and I feel assured it will afford you satisfaction to learn, that peace and quietness prevails throughout the Colony; a result due under Providence in a great measure to the vigilant protection of the forces under your command.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Sd James Douglas
Governor

13. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR DOUGLAS.

No 2

Downing Street
24 December 1855.

Sir

With reference to your despatch No 17 of the 13h of September in which you suggest that the Provisions and Stores required for Her Majesty's Ships should be sent direct from this Country to Vancouvers Island, and that Store Houses for their reception should be erected at Port Esquimalt. I have to acquaint you that having referred this

despatch to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, their Lordships have instructed Rear Admiral Bruce to furnish a report on the subject.

I have the honor to be
Sir
your most obedient
humble Servant
H. Labouchere

Governor Douglas
&c &c &c

[A note by Douglas states that this dispatch was received on April 3, 1856, and answered on April 8.]

14. REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Victualling arrangements of the Station.

Monarch, at Punta Arenas.
No. 118. 28 November, 1856.

Sir,

I have the honor to offer the following observations regarding the Victualling arrangements of the Station under my command, as called for by your letter of the 1. January 1855, No 18, and its enclosures from the Comptroller of Victualling.

2. In sending provisions to Valparaiso, care should be taken to avoid their arriving, between May and September, the season of the Northers.

3. I would recommend that Chocolate be in future sent out to the Depôt instead of being supplied by Contract, for the reasons set forth in my letter to the Comptroller of Victualling, N° 8 of the 11 Ultimo.

4. I am of opinion that it would be an advantage to the Service, if a Provision Depôt were established at Vancouver for the Ships employed in the North Pacific.

5. At present a Ship stationed at that Island, for the protection of the Colony, has to sail over a space of seven thousand miles to get to her Depôt: so that in point of fact, when a vessel arrives at that distant part of the Station, it is time to think of returning again for supplies.

6. By having a Depôt for provisions and stores at Vancouver, Ships employed at the Sandwich Islands and San Francisco, could repair thither for supplies, and it would thus tend to lessen materially, the number of very long voyages made on this station and the wear and tear of sails &ca consequent thereon; and Ships would be able to remain longer, at ports where there presence may be required.

7. In my letter of the 11 September, 1855 — No 64 I recommended that the Naiad[17] should be removed there from Callao, but now that the Sailing Vessels on the Station are being replaced by Steamers, she will probably be found more useful as a Coal Depôt than she has hitherto been, but I am satisfied that a Depôt at Vancouver, would prove advantageous and economical, and I beg therefore to recommend the same for their Lordships adoption.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient
humble Servant,

(Signed) H. W. Bruce
Rear Admiral
Commander in Chief.

Ralph Osborne Esq^re MP.[18]
&^ea &^ea &^ea
Admiralty

15. THE ADMIRALTY TO REAR-ADMIRAL BRUCE.

Admiralty, 12^th January 1857.

No. 2 S W

Sir,

Adverting to your letter of the 28^th of Nov^r last No 118, respecting the victualling arrangements of the Station under your command, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, that they do not intend to send out a vessel to Vancouvers Island as a depôt; my Lords consider it would be better that you should enter into a Contract at the Sandwich Islands and San Francisco for the supply of Provisions for the ships employed on the Northern parts of the Station, and that you should issue instructions for ships to be sent to complete their provisions at those places, or that provisions be sent to Vancouvers Island, as you may deem most advisable, and my Lords desire that you will take the necessary steps accordingly.

I am Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Thos Phinn

Rear Admiral Bruce
&c &c &c
Valparaiso

---

(17) H.M.S. *Naiad*, an old frigate built in 1797, which had been present at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, was sent out in 1849 as a store-ship for the Pacific Station. She was stationed first at Valparaiso and later at Callao.

(18) Ralph Bernal Osborne, Secretary of the Admiralty, 1851–58.

16. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Victoria Vancouver's Island
28th July 1857

To the Secretary of the Admiralty

Sir

I have received a copy of Mr. Phinns letter of the 27th of March last to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, announcing for the information of the Governor and Committee that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had instructed the Accountant General of the Navy, to pay into their hands the sum of nine hundred and thirty two Pounds five shillings, advanced by their order for the erection of the temporary Naval Hospital at Esquimalt.

I have now to communicate in reference to those buildings for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; that a further sum equal to £76. 1. 1 has been subsequently disbursed on the same account for necessary extensions, repairs, and for wages to the Keeper of the buildings who received the very moderate sum of £17 a year for his services. And moreover that there is an interest charge on that sum of £3.9.9 and of the sum of £932.5. previously due for the erection of the buildings, a charge for interest equal to £73.16.1 forming altogether with the disbursements the sum of £153.6.11, due to the Hudson's Bay Company, as is set forth in the accompanying account for your information. In payment of that sum I have now drawn a Navy Bill of Exchange in Duplicate upon the Accountant General of Her Majesty's Navy for £153.6.11 in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and I beg that the same may be paid at maturity.

I beg further to state that I have delivered the Hospitals into the hands of Captain Prevost of H M S. " Satellite ",[19] and have discharged the Keeper who is however paid his regular wages up to the 16th Proxo, when his agreement as Keeper will cease.

I have further to request your instructions should their Lordship's desire me to take any further charge and to keep the Naval Hospitals in a state of repair after the departure of the " Satellite ".

They are very substantially built and with ordinary care will last for half a century to come.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obdt Servant
Sd James Douglas
Governor Vancouvers Island.

---

(19) Screw corvette, 21 guns. The vessel is very well known, both because of her long service on the Pacific Station and because she was used as a guard-ship at the mouth of the Fraser River during the gold-rush in 1858.

17. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS TO CAPTAIN J. C. PREVOST.

Victoria Vancouvers Island
19th October 1857

Sir

I herewith transmit a sketch shewing the lot of land intended for the use of the Naval Hospital at Esquimalt, being section XVI containing 7 acres on the accompanying plan.[20]

No formal conveyance of the land has yet been made by the proper authorities, but should any question hereafter arise, touching the character and extent of the Grant, this letter and plan will sufficiently explain the object and prove the intention of the Colonial Government in regard to it.

You will observe that the line of road from Victoria to Ferry Point, on Esquimalt Harbour, is traced upon the plan, giving a right of way to the public, through the Hospital grounds.

It may be advisable for convenience sake to alter the direction of the road at that point, by leading it between the Hospitals and Constance Cove to Ferry Point, a plan which I suggest as a matter for arrangement.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obdt Servt
Sd James Douglas
Governor

James C Prevost Esqre
Her Majesty's Commissioner
&c. &c. &c.

(20) Other letters show that Captain Prevost had requested, on September 28, 1857, that this plan be prepared.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE "KOMAGATA MARU" AND THE CENTRAL POWERS.

In my article on "The Inside Story of the *Komagata Maru*" (in this *Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 1–23), I made no reference to any connection between the coming of the vessel and the intrigues of the Central Powers. Mr. Eric Morse, in a paper entitled "Some Aspects of the *Komagata Maru* Affair, 1914," which he read before the Canadian Historical Association in 1936 (*see* the *Report* of the Association, 1936, p. 102), says:—

"A good deal was said, after the [Great] War broke out, hinting at German complicity, but (though the vessel had been chartered through an agent of German nationality at Hong Kong) such charges appear to be quite groundless."

A copy of my article happened to fall into the hands of my old friend, Stephen Raymer, J.P., who had been closely associated with the late Malcolm Reid, of the Immigration Department, during the *Komagata Maru* episode. After reading it, he told me that I had omitted a very important part of the story—the German connection with it—and told me the facts as they were known to him. At my request he later sent me the following letter, which shows clearly the German connection with the coming of the vessel and her passengers. It not only shows clearly that the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, with her belligerent human cargo, was a German scheme to create trouble in Canada but it also explains what I never understood before—why the would-be immigrants, headed by Gurdit Singh himself, absolutely refused to accept the advice of their solicitor to agree to the proposition made by myself, on behalf of the Government, whereby the whole matter could have been taken at once to the Court of Appeal of British Columbia, and the legal questions at issue quickly and finally settled. (*See* pp. 9–10 of my article.) It is now apparent that a quick settlement had no place in the plans of those responsible for the coming of the *Komagata Maru*.

Now let Mr. Raymer speak for himself.

ROBIE L. REID.

Vancouver, B.C.,
July 15, 1942.

Dear Dr. Reid:

I desire to thank you for your kindness in mailing me a copy of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* of January, 1941, in which there appears your interesting and unbiased article on "The Inside Story of the *Komagata Maru*." You have, however, not discussed the question as to the German-Japanese part in the episode. Here are some facts on that point.

At the time of the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, May 23, 1914, I was, and had been for two years, official interpreter for the Department of Immigration at Vancouver, under the late Malcolm J. R. Reid, an officer of that Department. My duties as such were to attend the sittings of the Board of Inquiry when required, and to make investigation in respect to the activities of certain elements, especially of those, who a short time afterwards, became our enemies in the first Great War.

In March 1914 I received information, which I submitted to Mr. Malcolm Reid, that the Germans intended to start a War, which would be swift and

short, and that it was expected that the whole affair would be over in six months.

On the 14th of that month, Baron Groedel, the son of a ship-owner, in Braila-Roumania, became the first Consul for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and as such, had taken an office in the Rogers Building in the City of Vancouver.

As a former citizen of Zagreb in Croatia and conversant with the German language, I had many conversations with him from time to time. In these he (Baron Groedel) told me that he had two missions to carry out here. The first was to recall to Austria as many reservists of that Empire as possible; and, second, *to see that a cargo, to be brought from India, was properly discharged here and the cash for the return cargo paid to him* because he was the representative of the agency in Calcutta.

To me, at that time, this conversation did not convey much. A few days later, about the middle of April, Baron Groedel left in a hurry, to go to Buda-Pesth, leaving his nephew, Egon Ulrich, in charge of the Austrian-Hungarian Consulate.[1]

When I asked, why the hurry, I was told by Ulrich that something very important would happen in the next few days. On May 21, 1914, a long distance call was put through by Ulrich to Victoria, B.C., and the answer was: "The Hindoo passengers arrived and the ship proceeding to Vancouver." Two days later the *Komagata Maru* arrived, May 23, 1914.

Mr. Malcolm Reid assigned me, in co-operation with the late Bela Singh, also an employee of the Department, a very delicate job, i.e. to watch Egon Ulrich who was in constant communication with the local East Indians. During various conversations with him, I had no difficulty in ascertaining that Baron Groedel's agents in Calcutta had collected riff-raff and men with criminal records, in Calcutta and elsewhere, who had no personal desire to come to Canada but who were promised everything to go there and be let loose, where they were to act as Saboteurs when the "*Big Things*," as Ulrich told us, were to happen there.

I was present in Ulrich's office when he spoke to C. Gardner Johnson's office and said "That under no circumstances was the coal to be discharged from the *Komagata Maru* unless *all the passengers were given the right to land.*"

Other important information that I submitted to Mr. Malcolm Reid was that Ulrich had said to Mr. J. E. Bird, the solicitor for the passengers on the ship, that Hindoos, being subjects of the British Crown had the right to be admitted to any portion of the British Empire, notwithstanding any laws of the Canadian Government, "Irrespective of nationality, creed and colour," were Ulrich's exact words. I also remember another reason given why the passengers should be allowed to land, was that the *Empress of Russia* (I think it was) arrived in the harbor at about the same time with 500 Chinese who were allowed to land on payment of Head Tax.

To sum up:

1. The German agents in Calcutta and elsewhere, collected these East Indian passengers for no other purpose than to dump [them] in Canada, as willing tools to foster discontent and become willing saboteurs.
2. That the Austro-Hungarian Consul, partner of the Germans, and his nephew who succeeded him in charge of the Consulate, had an interest in the whole affair.

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(1) The records of the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, show that the Department was informed by a dispatch dated April 3, 1914, from the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in London, that it was proposed to create an honorary consulate in Vancouver, and to appoint Arthur Freiherr von Groedel von Gyulafalva und Bogdan as Consul. On the outbreak of war, in August, Egon Ulrich was ordered to leave the country. Shortly afterwards he was paroled, and in May, 1915, he was interned at Vernon, B.C. When examined Ulrich stated that he was a German, not an Austrian.

3. If this was an honest endeavor to bring honest-to-goodness subjects of His Britannic Majesty to Canada, why was it that Japan had the only steamer ready for such a purpose, and that through a German shipping agent? We can understand it better today.
4. Why was it that on the return of the *Komagata Maru* to Japan, the Japanese Government refused to allow any of the passengers to land in Japan?
5. If these passengers, as has been argued, were innocent victims and law-abiding people, why the bloody riots in Calcutta? My suggestion is, that being unable to land in Canada, they, as a last resort, were to make trouble in India and so assist their employers, the German Government.
6. The twenty odd passengers, who had a right to enter Canada, having acquired residence there, were merely a smoke-screen, to give an appearance of bona fides for the rest of them.

Had those 360 East Indians been allowed to land in British Columbia great damage might have been done by them, and great expense caused to the Canadian Government.

Yours truly,

[signed] Stephen E. Raymer

SOME ARCHIVES ACCESSIONS, 1941–42.

PRINTED BOOKS.

Amongst the printed books acquired by the Archives since the last list of accessions was printed in the *Quarterly* is a complete run of the *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia, A.F. and A.M., 1872 to date, received through the kindness of the Grand Secretary, Mr. Frank S. McKee, of Vancouver. Many of the later volumes contain valuable and interesting historical articles compiled by the Grand Historian, Dr. Robie L. Reid, Mr. G. Hollis Slater, and others. In addition the Archives has received, through the courtesy of Mrs. Joseph Hunter, a number of volumes from the libraries of her father, the Hon. John Robson, and of her husband. The late Joseph Hunter, well known to pioneers as one of the first civil engineers engaged in the surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway, had amongst his books a number of volumes from the library of Sir James Douglas. Although these and the Robson books do not themselves pertain to the history of the Province, because of their associations with three outstanding figures in British Columbia history they are a valuable asset to the collection. Most of the volumes contain autographs.

The files of the *Nor'Wester*, the first newspaper published at the Red River Settlement, the first issue of which appeared in December, 1859, have been augmented by the purchase of a number of copies dated 1860 and 1861. The Archives now possesses an almost complete set of the first volume (1859–60) as well as some odd numbers of later years.

Major F. V. Longstaff very kindly presented about twenty gazetteers published in England in the 18th and early 19th centuries, a notable addition to the collection of early geographical works.

A copy of *The Re-annexation of British Columbia to the United States*, an address delivered at Olympia by Elwood Evans on January 18, 1870, and published in pamphlet form, has long been coveted by the custodians of the Archives. This wish was happily fulfilled last year by the purchase of the pamphlet.

A small volume recently purchased, entitled *A Sealer's Journal; or a Cruise of the Schooner "Umbrina,"* by William George, is a unique and interesting item. William George signed on the *Umbrina* as a cabin boy in December, 1894, and the entries in his diary, which he kept faithfully all during the nine months' cruise from Victoria to the sealing-grounds in Bering Sea and home again, tell the story of the routine life of a sealer from a participant's point of view. The book was published in a limited edition by H. G. Waterson, of Victoria, in 1895.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The outstanding addition to the Manuscript Collection was the gift of James Strange's *Additions to Captain Cook's Vocabulary of the Nootka Sound Language in 1786*, received from Mr. A. P. Trotter, of Salisbury, England. This manuscript has already been noted and commented upon in the April, 1942, issue of this *Quarterly*.

Several more ships' logs have been added to the growing collection of log-books, one of which is the journal of H.M.S. *Termagant*, 1859–63, kept by John C. Sabben, presumably a non-commissioned officer of the ship. The *Termagant* was at Esquimalt from July 12 to September 10, 1860. With this log is bound the log of H.M.S. *Clio*, 1861–62, the author having been transferred from the former ship. The book is embellished with attractive pencil and water-colour sketches. The log of H.M.S. *Cameleon*, 1867–71, comprises two volumes, the first written by Commander W. H. Annesley and the second by Midshipman A. T. Holmes. The *Cameleon* was stationed at Esquimalt from March 14 to April 6, 1868, and again from August 14 to October 21, 1869, during this commission. Midshipman Holmes was apparently the artist who decorated these attractive volumes.

The log of the brig *Halcyon*, of which Captain Charles W. Barkley was master and part owner, and in which he made his second voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in 1792–93, was acquired from the estate of the late Mr. Justice Archer Martin. In addition to the log of the *Halcyon*, this book contains the logs of the *Princessa Frederica*, of the *Diana*, and also of the *Warren Hastings*. The two latter were ships which Captain John Barkley, brother of Charles, either commanded or in which he served; while the *Princessa Frederica*, which proved a lucrative investment to Captain Charles Barkley, was engaged in coastal trading in East Indian waters.

This log of the *Halcyon* concludes with an entry for July 19, 1792, the ship having weighed anchor the previous day in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, Kamschatka, but fortunately it is continued in a further volume already in the possession of the Archives.

The Department's valuable collection of judges' trial note-books was amplified by the acquisition of those of the late Judge H. E. A. Robertson, of Prince George, who passed away on May 3 last. Judge Robertson was a member of a well-known and much esteemed pioneer family, being the son of Alexander Rocke Robertson. The transfer of the note-books was made possible through the co-operation of his son, Mr. John S. Robertson, of Calgary, and the Government Agent and Clerk of the Court at Prince George.

Mr. John Dean, of Victoria, has presented a set of some forty or so diaries which he kept from the years 1877 to 1937. Mr. Dean has always been interested in the progress of the city and at one time was an active member of the city council. His interest in financial and economic topics is reflected in his diaries, which are of much interest from that point of view.

Other diaries acquired recently by the Archives include those of the late Edward Mallandaine, Sr. Mr. Mallandaine, who came to Victoria during the Fraser River gold-rush, was an architect by profession and is best known as the compiler of a series of early Directories. His diaries, unfortunately, deal with events prior to his arrival in the Colony of Vancouver Island.

A fragmentary diary kept by Martha Beeton Cheney, niece of Mrs. Thomas Blinkhorn, who came to Victoria in the barque *Tory* in 1851, was presented by her son, Mr. H. R. Ella, shortly before his death. This journal, the diary of a young girl, is concerned chiefly with the social side of life in and about Fort Victoria from the autumn of 1853 to the end of 1856. Martha Cheney became the wife of Captain H. B. Ella in July, 1855.

Through the kindness of Dr. J. G. Davidson, of New Westminster, the *Minute Book* of the British Columbia Bible Society, 1863 to 1929, has been deposited in the Archives. This branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded by the Rev. Lachlan Taylor, and Colonel R. C. Moody acted as chairman of the first meeting. The early minutes contain the names of many well-known New Westminster pioneers.

As a companion to the above-mentioned *Minute Book* the Archives has on deposit, through the courtesy of Mrs. C. J. Fagan and her cousin, Mr. R. Bryce Brown, one of the first New Testaments sold in New Westminster by the society. The Testament was purchased in 1863 by Mrs. Fagan's grandfather, Mr. William Clarkson.

A very interesting collection of documents and correspondence concerning Assiniboia and the Red River Settlement has recently been purchased through the widow of an ex-Hudson's Bay Company official in the Northwest. There are reports, marriage declarations, trade statistics, and general correspondence, as well as other miscellaneous material. One of the most outstanding items is the passport issued to the De Meuron immigrants in 1821.

A typewritten account of eighteen months' experience in Alaska and the Yukon, 1898–99, compiled from a day-to-day journal by Thomas W. Moore and entitled *Grub Stake*, is a valuable addition to the growing collection of Klondike items.

A number of letters to the late Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, written chiefly in the 80's, and two fragmentary diaries covering parts of 1880 and 1882 were presented by Mr. A. J. O'Reilly. The Archives is also indebted to Mr. William Moresby for a copy of the probate of the will of Governor Seymour and other manuscript material; to Miss Charlotte Armstrong for lending a letter of her father, Captain Francis P. Armstrong, and his *Reminiscences* of pioneer days at Golden to be copied; and to Mr. H. E. A. Courtney for presenting documents relating to his grandfather, Alexander Calder, of New Westminster.

From the Mallandaine estate were also received several volumes of *Minutes* of the Victoria District Road Commission from 1861 to 1870, of which Edward Mallandaine was Secretary. With these were various miscellaneous items, including bank-books and cheque-books from Macdonald's Bank of Victoria, which was forced out of business following a disastrous robbery in 1864.

MUSEUM EXHIBITS.

To the executors of the estate of the late Mr. Justice Martin the Archives is indebted for the gift of the Judge's Court costume, consisting of a blue velveteen coat and breeches, the former lace trimmed, and a magnificent scarlet cloak enriched with ermine. These were worn in 1911 when he attended the Durbar at Delhi as Chief Justice of British Columbia.

Shortly after the opening of Helmcken House in 1941, the Archives was enabled to purchase a settee and table, both of which had once been the property of Chief Justice and Mrs. David Cameron and used in their home, "Belmont," at Esquimalt. The sofa has a mahogany frame and is upholstered in crimson plush, while the card table, which has a separate folding top, is also of mahogany. In Helmcken House they furnish an agreeable and suitable complement to the other furnishings, and since Mrs. Cameron was a sister of James Douglas their association is appropriate.

The late Mr. H. R. Ella very kindly gave to the Archives a silver cup which, as an inscription records, was presented to Captain William Mitchell by the officers of H.M.S. *Thetis* "in appreciation of acts of kindness between Jan. 4–27, 1853." This was presumably to commemorate an episode of the expedition against the murderers of Peter Brown, when the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Recovery*, of which William Mitchell was master, transported 130 officers, seamen, and marines from the *Thetis*.

From the Mallandaine estate were acquired a beautiful old rosewood piano, with a "player" attachment, and a quaint travelling trunk. Both of these interesting objects were brought to the Colony of Vancouver Island by Louisa Townsend in the ship *Tynemouth* in 1862. Miss Townsend later became Mrs. Edward Mallandaine.

Also from the Mallandaine estate came an interesting old Enfield rifle, once the property of Edward Mallandaine, Sr. This type of rifle was issued to members of the Volunteer Rifle Corps in Colonial days.

Some interesting Klondike items, including a miner's "poke," were presented by Dr. T. A. Rickard and Major Seymour Rowlinson.

Two paintings of the old Langford farmhouse in the Colwood district were recently presented to the Archives, and are attractive additions to the collection of original paintings. One, a water-colour by E. P. Bedwell, of H.M.S. *Hecate*, was given by the late Mr. H. R. Ella, and the second, an oil-painting by Mr. Herbert Carmichael, was presented by the artist.

The Archives Department is also indebted to Miss Becker, of Victoria, for presenting a curious and interesting clothes mangle, the first of its kind to be used in Colonial days; to Mr. N. S. Fraser for a cup and saucer from the home of Simon Fraser; to the late Mr. H. R. Ella for Thomas Blink-

horn's silk hat, worn on his arrival in Victoria in 1851; and to Mrs. P. Cunningham for a cash-box used by Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Among the many donations of photographs given by kind and interested friends were collections of Klondike gold-rush photographs, the gifts of Mrs. D. D. McTavish and Major Seymour Rowlinson. Both these donors were themselves in the north in early days and their excellent photographs are a great asset to the Archives.

Miss Beatrice Gilley, of New Westminster, gave a numerous collection of photographs and souvenirs pertaining to the Royal City in the late nineties and early 1900's. Many of these photographs were entirely new to the collection and have helped to build up a very interesting New Westminster section. Members of the Gilley family were prominent participants in the athletic and social life of New Westminster, and their activities and tastes are reflected in the numerous programmes and invitations which were also donated at the same time.

From Mrs. Herne, of Vancouver, widow of the late Thomas Herne, former Government Agent at Prince George, were acquired four volumes of photographs depicting the history of Prince George from its inception as a municipality. The volumes themselves are unique, in that they are similar to those used by Chinese merchants as account-books, the leaves being composed of rice paper.

Mr. John Dean presented a generous collection of miscellaneous British Columbia photographs, and Lieutenant G. T. Emmons, U.S.N. (ret.), gave a number of prints of Northern British Columbia Indians taken with his own camera. These photographs, by one who knows and understands Indian life, are particularly well taken and have made a valuable addition to the photograph section.

The Archives is much indebted to Major H. T. Nation, of the Department of Mines, for several hundred negatives depicting mining scenes in British Columbia; to Mr. T. W. S. Parsons, Commissioner, British Columbia Police, for plates and prints of Atlin and other interesting scenes in other parts of the Province; as well as to Mr. George Green and Major J. S. Matthews.

Mr. W. W. Coton very kindly presented a number of excellent photographs of the 88th Regiment of Victoria Fusiliers and the Battalion into which it developed, a unit which had a distinguished career during the first world war 1914–18.

The Archives has been most fortunate in securing through the kindness of Mr. A. S. Deaville, of Ottawa, a very fine album of Canadian Pacific Railway views. The album was compiled by the late Dr. Edouard Deville, former Surveyor-General of Canada, in 1886, and contains a series of beautiful photographs of scenery taken *en route*, also a few pictures of Victoria and New Westminster, and other smaller towns.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, President of the Association, visited Vancouver and Victoria in September. Meetings of the Sections were called in order that he might address the members in both cities. The Vancouver Section met in the Hotel Grosvenor on Thursday, September 24, and the attendance indicated that, in spite of the pressing demands on the time and energies of many of the members, interest in the Association and its activities is almost as great as ever.

Mr. Goodfellow had chosen as his subject *The Story of the Similkameen.* He is thoroughly familiar with both the history and lore of the district, and his address was enlivened with many amusing anecdotes and stories of the Similkameen of to-day and yesterday. Mr. Goodfellow first sketched the geography of the region, and explained the way in which mountains and streams had determined the travel routes through the country, and consequently the way in which it was approached by the pioneer explorers, miners, and settlers. First came the fur-traders, led by Alexander Ross, an employee of Astor's Pacific Fur Company, who, so far as is known, was the first white man to visit the Similkameen. A generation later came the celebrated journey of A. C. Anderson, who, in 1846–47, was searching out new travel routes for the brigades of the Hudson's Bay Company. Presently gold replaced fur as the chief object of search, and Mr. Goodfellow sketched the rise and fall of the Rock Creek placers, which were the centre of a gold-rush in 1859–60. The coming of the miners and the beginnings of settlement gave rise to a need for roads and trails, and the speaker sketched the early history of the Hope–Princeton trails, which it is hoped will, at long last, soon be succeeded by a modern highway.

The building of railways and the development of coal-mines have been the most important activities in Similkameen in recent decades. These have substantially increased the population of the district. Men and women from many lands have settled there; and Mr. Goodfellow's stories related to many of them, as well as to the Indians who were there before the white man came.

At the conclusion of his address Mr. Goodfellow showed a series of slides, which included panoramic views of the mountains and valleys of Similkameen, and colour photographs of some of the wild flowers of the region. The speaker has for some years been in the habit of organizing a small party and making an annual pilgrimage from Princeton to Hope in July, over the old Hope–Princeton trail, and some of the pictures shown were taken upon one or other of these trips.

Mr. A. G. Harvey, Vice-President of the Section, presided at the meeting, which was thoroughly enjoyed by all present.

The Victoria Section called its meeting for Monday, September 28. Unfortunately a black-out took place that evening, and it was impossible to proceed as planned. Mr. Goodfellow hopes to be at the coast again early in November, and the Section is looking forward to hearing him at that time. Meanwhile a meeting was called for October 20, at which Dr. W. Kaye Lamb spoke on *McLoughlin of Old Oregon.*

The annual meeting and election of officers of the Vancouver Section will be held in November.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist, enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force early in July, and was called up for service at the end of the month. It is much to be regretted that the outstanding work he has been doing in the Archives must be interrupted, and it is to be hoped that his absence will not be an extended one. Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Archivist since 1935, has been appointed Acting Provincial Archivist, and any one familiar with her work will know that the Department has been placed in thoroughly competent hands.

It appeared at first that it would not be practicable to continue publication of the *Quarterly* in Mr. Ireland's absence, but in response to his most insistent urging, the Editor has agreed to accept full responsibility for the magazine, and to try and carry on as usual. Miss Wolfenden and the Archives staff have undertaken to do the major share of the research and checking which must precede the printing of every issue, and, barring accidents, the *Quarterly* will appear as heretofore.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

F. W. Laing was for many years Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, Victoria, and has made a careful study of the early days of the agricultural industry in the Province. It will be recalled that he contributed an article on early flour-mills to the *Quarterly*, in July, 1941.

Stephen E. Raymer, J.P., is a native of Zagreb, Croatia. At the time of the *Komagata Maru* episode he was Consul for the Kingdom of Jugoslavia in Vancouver, as well as a member of the staff of the Immigration Department. He is now a Special Representative of the Vancouver *Sun*.

Helen R. Boutilier, M.A., is a member of the staff of the Vancouver High Schools. She is Honorary Secretary of the British Columbia Historical Association.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. Illustrations drawn and collected by C. W. Jeffreys, assisted by T. W. McLean. Vol. I.: Discovery to 1763. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1942. Pp. xiv., 268. $2.

"Canadian Development to the Conquest as seen by an Illustrator" might well be the sub-title for the latest of Dr. Jeffreys' contributions to Canadiana. The subject of a pictorial reconstruction of Canadian history has long engaged the author, and readers of this *Quarterly* may recall his article entitled "The Visual Reconstruction of History," which appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1936. At that time Dr. Jeffreys stressed the fact that every artist is influenced by the conventions of his time, and clothes his subjects accordingly. The plates in Cook's *Voyages*, for example, show South Sea natives having classical features and wearing togas! Later reproductions often "improve" upon an original illustration, and in his article Dr. Jeffreys showed how a sketch of an Indian dance was modified to include John Smith as the central figure. In his *Picture Gallery* he has pointed out numerous fallacies honoured by constant repetition, and included his own imaginative sketches based on a careful reading of source material. Read with the thought of visual presentation in mind, old documents reveal sidelights on life which provide flesh for the otherwise dry bones of history.

The book is divided into four parts, each containing sketches by the author (either line drawings based on contemporary paintings or imaginative) and reprints of historic pictures and sketches. In addition to interpretative comments with the illustrations, explanatory notes follow each section. The inclusion of these notes on the page with the illustrations would spoil the appearance of the volume, but it is unfortunate that there are no cross-references to show which pictures are commented upon, or where such notations are to be found.

Part one, which is devoted to Indian life before the white man came, is particularly valuable. The general reader will be impressed by the influence which environment had upon the aborigines in the various districts of Canada. From a teacher's standpoint, this particular section alone would justify the inclusion of the book in every school library. *Why* and *how* are constantly before the pupils' eyes: why moccasins were made in special styles; how the Indians made their pipes; even to an Indian forerunner of a typical coast fertilizer, fish-meal.

Part two deals with the Eskimo and the beginnings of the French Regime. As in the previous section, maps and sketches have been arranged to show the close relationship of geography and social life. The detailed illustration of chain mail (p. 62), and the plan of an igloo (p. 66), are excellent examples of how the author has put portions of an illustration under the microscope to satisfy curious minds. The sketches of ships include not only those used by the explorers, but Canadian fishing-vessels as well.

Parts three and four both illustrate life in the colony, and no basis for their separation is apparent. For this reason, if no other, it is unfortunate

that the author did not preface these later sections with an explanatory introduction, as he did that describing Indian life. Both contain illustrations of life in Canada and the Nova Scotia of pre-Loyalist days. The reader has the feeling that he is being escorted through such collections as those in the Public Archives, Ottawa, the McCord Museum in Montreal, and the J. C. Webster Collection in the St. John Museum. Home life is illustrated by a series of typical houses of Quebec, and the Château de Ramezay in Montreal. Series of sketches illustrate ceremonials connected with the seigneurial system, and the work of the Catholic Church. Missions and explorations are shown going hand-in-hand, and many "firsts" are noted: the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, the first hospital north of Mexico (p. 139); St. Maurice Forges, the earliest iron-foundry in Canada (p. 223); and so on. The Acadian expulsion and the British settlements in Nova Scotia are illustrated by well-known pictures. Views of life in France are included, so that readers may better understand the background from which colonists came. The biographical notes are particularly interesting, and bring out the close connection between Nova Scotia and the American Colonies.

A useful appendix of sources aids those who wish to make a more thorough study of the subject. British Columbians may wonder at the omission of the Provincial Archives as a source of material. Possibly the answer lies in the fact that much of our history belongs to a later period. More difficult to understand, considering the attention given to Acadia, is the fact that the Nova Scotia Archives is never mentioned.

The Picture Gallery fills the long-felt want for a moderately priced volume which introduces the general reader to the vast storehouses of Canadian history and literature, and encourages him to seek further, and for a collection of illustrative material for both the senior and juvenile student.

HELEN R. BOUTILIER.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Cheechako into Sourdough. By Thomas Wiedemann (The Klondike Kid). Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1942. Pp. 266. Ill. $2.50.

This is a genuine tale of adventure, and misadventure, in the Far North. The author was a boy of 18 when, in 1897, he joined the rush to the Klondike. He had good sense and excellent powers of observation, so that his diary, which became the basis for this book, contained much authentic information, expressed without literary skill but in unaffected straightforward language. More than a hundred eager gold-seekers started from Seattle in August, 1897, as passengers on a wretched little side-wheel craft, the *Eliza Anderson*, bound for the Klondike diggings by way of Kodiak, 850 miles; Unalaska (650 miles more); St. Michael, at the mouth of the Yukon (another 750 miles); thence up the Yukon River 1,700 miles. The total distance was nearly 4,000 miles. Needless to say the miserable little steamer never reached its destination, although the author did—and one year later the *Eliza Anderson*, badly crippled by the raging seas, was abandoned at Kodiak. Her passengers were transferred to a whaling schooner, on which they proceeded

to St. Michael. There, two months after leaving Seattle, they changed to a river steamer and started on the long voyage up the Yukon. It proved longer than anticipated. They had lost so much time that they were caught in the ice of the lower Yukon, near an Eskimo settlement named Nunabislogarth. In two days the Yukon had changed from a river running freely to a solid mass of ice from bank to bank.

There was no chance of getting nearer to Dawson until the ice broke in spring. Our author was keenly interested in the Eskimos, and gives a good account of them. The life of the marooned gold-seekers was not without incident; we are told of some funny happenings, and one or two minor tragedies. Christmas and New Year were celebrated cheerfully. The New Year's Eve affair was as noisy and hilarious as the Americans could make it, and we are told that the Eskimo chief "shook his head in a puzzled manner as he watched the unusual antics." Finally "he tapped the side of his head with a finger in significant manner as an indication that he considered us all crazy in the head." My sympathy is all with the Eskimo, as I remember similar scenes on New Year's Eve in San Francisco, New York, and London.

On July 9, 1898, the Eskimos became excited for a much better reason; the ice began to break, and with a deafening roar the great river broke its winter chains. For three days the crashing ice rushed headlong to the sea and then the main river channel was left clear.

The gold-seekers started again for Dawson. On a stern-wheel steamer they proceeded slowly up the Yukon. The channel of the river shifts every spring and even during other seasons. The lower Yukon therefore is difficult to navigate. Eskimo pilots assist. Often the steamer has to slow down while the Eskimos go ahead in their kayaks, or skin canoes, to make soundings. Farther up the river the pilotage is in the hands of Indians. Without the help of the indigines the captains of the river-steamers would be at a loss to find a safe passage amid the sand-bars and shallows. The fuel used was wood, at $22.50 per cord, decreasing to $15 when the forested region was reached. Our author saw thousands of caribou swimming across the Yukon in their northward migration. Then he and his comrades made the acquaintance of the Alaskan mosquitoes and midges. They were extremely unpleasant and interfered seriously with the cutting of wood, for it was necessary, several times, for the passengers to assist the crew in rustling for wood.

All voyages come to an end, of some kind. Soon the weary gold-rushers saw the dome-like hill on which a lookout signalled their arrival by the raising and lowering of a white flag. The little steamer came to the muddy landing and a crowd of onlookers hailed the newcomers as Cheechakos. This the author resents, because, as he says, they had spent the winter in the Yukon and were entitled to consider themselves Sourdoughs. Cheechako means greenhorn or tenderfoot; sourdough is the name for the seasoned miner, who uses a fermented dough as a leaven in making his bread in the form of flapjacks, or griddlecakes. This explains the title of the book. He uses "The Klondike Kid" as an adjunct to his own name, for apparently

he is proud of this nickname, with which he gained spurious notoriety on his return home, as we shall see.

Only two of the more than a hundred men that started on the *Eliza Anderson* ever did any digging for gold. Many of the others turned their backs on Dawson soon after their arrival. One of the younger members of the crew joined the author in working a claim on Dominion Creek. Their life and doings are described, and we are told how they dug for the gold, with moderate success. This part of the book is good, for it describes in untechnical language the particular difficulties that had to be overcome in mining frozen ground and in extracting the gold when the spring thaw provided the necessary water. Here lies the explanation for the fact that the news of the rich discoveries did not reach the outside world until the diggers with their bags of gold actually arrived at Seattle and San Francisco, eleven months later. During winter, eight or nine months, all that could be done was to use heated water to pan samples of the gold-bearing gravel, thereby gaining some idea of its richness. No larger-scale extraction of the gold was feasible until the spring, when running water became available for sluicing.

The author makes an error in speaking of George Carmack, the discoverer of gold on Bonanza Creek, as a Siwash. He also calls him a half-breed. This is quite wrong. Carmack was a Californian who, at the time of his discovery, was living with an Indian girl. This was better than marrying a prostitute, as many of the diggers did.

The author left Dawson in the spring with a little more than $5,000. It is a pity that the story does not end here. The last chapter describes how he made an utter fool of himself by spending his money in San Francisco like a drunken sailor, all for the sake of newspaper publicity. He won cheap notoriety and lost every cent, finally getting a job at $10 a week and board in a restaurant where previously he had spent $10 on a meal. A friend from Seattle rescued him and took him home. He left Seattle penniless and he returned penniless, but he retained his good health, and was enriched by experience.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Captain William Oliver: A Fisher of Men. By Wilfred H. Morris. Trujillo, Peru: Casa Evangélica de Publicaciones, 1941. Pp. xii., 117. 35 cents.

The purpose for which this book was written, and the fact that it was printed in Peru, must be considered in seeking to appraise it as an historical record. In spite of adverse criticism, we can still be grateful for the records of conversations which have the true Oliver ring about them. In a foreword Dr. S. S. Osterhout states that Mr. Morris had "known Captain Oliver intimately for some years . . . having travelled with him on various occasions . . ."

The closing paragraph of chapter 3 indicates that the biography is not an end in itself, but a means whereby the author hopes that readers will be converted to the faith which inspired Captain Oliver to noble endeavour.

Printer's errors are too numerous to list. In a letter dated June 22, 1942, Mr. Morris attributes this to the fact that the book was printed in South America, whither he and his wife had gone to do missionary work among the Quechua Indians of the Department of Ancash. The Spanish printer, who was responsible for the mission literature, had helpers less competent than himself. "Although the whole book was carefully proof-read it did not seem to do much good and he just went ahead and printed the mistakes anyway."

In chapter 2, which deals with the "Early Years" of Captain Oliver's life, it is stated that he was born "in Bishoptown on the Clyde, on March 19, 1849." An obituary notice prepared for Presbytery for presentation to the United Church Conference in 1937, states that "William Oliver was born at Bishopton on the Clyde, Scotland, Mar. 19th, 1848." Apart from the difference in the spelling of Oliver's birthplace (the latter being correct), there is a discrepancy of a year in the date of birth. It seems quite evident that Mr. Morris was not careful to check any factual statement, for on page 23 we have the uncertain sentence: "Finally, at about the age of 32 or 33, he arrived on the American sailing ship 'City of Brooklyn' at the city of Victoria, B.C. He left this ship there and went to New Westminster, which, at that time, was a hive of activity because of the gold strike in the Caribou." As this quotation indicates, names are often misspelled, and dates are vaguely or inaccurately given. The truth is that as an historical record the book has little value, apart from the conversations it records.

The memory of Captain Oliver is held in grateful remembrance by thousands of people along the Canadian Pacific Coast. From the time he was 8 years old, when he went to work in the shipyards on the Clyde, his life was connected with the sea, ships, and sailors. As ship's carpenter he sailed the seven seas, and at the age of 35 secured his certificate as master mariner. The life of a sailor sixty-five years ago was a hard lot, and the young Scot acquired a taste for liquor that threatened both body and soul. The story of his conversion is an epic of Christian experience. This happened soon after his arrival in New Westminster, in 1884, and he long remembered the Rev. Ebenezer Robson as his spiritual father. Thereafter he was associated with the Rev. Thomas Crosby, for whom he built and sailed the *Glad Tidings*, known among the Indians of the Coast as "the Come-to-Jesus steamboat." Until he retired in 1930, and made his home in New Westminster, Captain Oliver was a leading figure in the Methodist (and after 1925 in the United) Church marine missions. During these years he built and sailed a number of mission boats, and gave of his strength and substance to further this work. Long before his death on Sunday, January 3, 1937, his name had become a household word, and a legend of service had grown up around his name. Like the Galilean fishermen, he had left all and followed Christ.

He was survived by his wife, who had been his constant helpmeet through years of service.

J. C. GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME VI.

1942

VICTORIA, B.C.

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

All communications should be addressed to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.

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ERRATA.

Page 45, line 27. For *Princess Frederica* read *Princessa Frederica.*
Page 86, line 22. For *1832* read *1834.*
Page 130, footnote (5). For *$5,500* read *$55,000.*
Page 152, second last line. For *the British* read *a middle channel.*

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

600-1042-9630

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Organized October 31st, 1922.

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