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EDITOR.

W. KAYE LAMB.

*The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.*

ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

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# The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. VII.

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## CANADA'S FIRST SUBMARINES: CC1 AND CC2.

### AN EPISODE OF THE NAVAL WAR IN THE PACIFIC, 1914-18.

"About ten o'clock on the morning of the Fourth of June, the destroyer *Wolverine* commanded by Lieut.-Commander Adrian Keyes, the younger brother of the Commodore, took us from Kephala to Helles. . . . Keyes was full of stories about his experiences in Canada at the very beginning of the war, when he manned a submarine with a crew of local business-men. I wish I could remember the details of the good stories he told us; but they have passed from my recollection irretrievably, and I can only remember the gold watch that was presented to him by his amateur crew. One of those Canadian business-men ought to give us the tale of that submarine's adventures: *Blackwood's Magazine* would be the proper medium. Keyes himself is no longer alive, and the little epic ought not to be lost eternally."

—COMPTON MACKENZIE, *Gallipoli Memories*,  
London, 1929, p. 110.

When the British Empire went to war on August 4, 1914, the coast of British Columbia and the shipping in its neighbourhood were almost unprotected against attack by German cruisers, of which two, the *Leipzig* and the *Nürnberg*, were believed to be on the west coast of North America. The *Leipzig* was, in fact, in a Mexican port, and a squadron of German cruisers was known to be in the western Pacific. There were some shore batteries at Esquimalt; but the single warship of any fighting strength stationed on the coast was H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*, a cruiser which was obsolescent, undermanned, and supplied with ineffective ammunition. The only ships of the Royal Navy anywhere near were the sloops *Shearwater* and *Algerine*. From the naval point of view, therefore, the north-eastern Pacific area held out some very unpleasant possibilities.<sup>1</sup>

Although vessels able to navigate under water had been thought of and built in the eighteenth century, it was not until near the end of the nineteenth century that a fully practicable

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(1) For a full account of the *Rainbow*, the German cruisers, and the general situation in the Pacific, see G. N. Tucker, "The Career of H.M.C.S. 'Rainbow,'" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, vii. (1943), pp. 1-30.

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one had been designed. The prototype of the modern submarine was invented by John P. Holland, of Paterson, New Jersey, an Irish patriot who saw in such a vessel, used against the Royal Navy, a means of achieving independence for Ireland. His boats were the first to use a combination of internal-combustion engines for cruising on the surface and electric motors driven by storage-batteries for propulsion when submerged. In the year 1900 the Admiralty ordered the first submarines for the Royal Navy, and these were of the Holland type. By 1907 all the great naval powers, most of whom had bought plans and permission to use them from the Holland Company in the United States, were building their own submarines. Smaller countries, when they wanted them, usually ordered them from the ship-builders of their larger neighbours.<sup>2</sup>

On July 29, 1914, the Admiralty sent out the "warning telegram," and the precautionary stage of the various defence schemes was ordered. The German Navy too was preparing for the worst:—

On July 29 the ships lay in Kiel Harbour and were engaged in effecting the pre-arranged measures which as a rule precede a regular mobilization, measures which were ordered on account of the increasing tension of the political situation.<sup>3</sup>

On the same day also, a group of about half a dozen men met at the Union Club in Victoria, B.C. Among them were Captain W. H. Logan, Surveyor to the London Salvage Association, and Mr. J. V. Paterson, President of the Seattle Construction and Drydock Company, who was in the city on business.<sup>4</sup>

War possibilities were under discussion. The acquisition of a Chilean warship was suggested and put aside as impossible. Paterson stated that his company had, at Seattle, two submarines which might be obtained. Of their existence Logan was aware. This was the first intimation, however, that there was chance of their acquirement.

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(2) Article on Holland in *Dictionary of American Biography*, ix.; W. L. Clowes (ed.), *The Royal Navy*, London, 1897–1903, vii., p. 61; Bernard Brodie, *Sea Power in the Machine Age*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 288 and 296 n.

(3) Admiral Scheer, *Germany's High Sea Fleet in the World War*, London, etc., 1920, p. 9.

(4) Account of this meeting and the following part of the paragraph are based on *Report of the Commissioner concerning Purchase of Submarines* [Davidson Commission], Ottawa, 1917, pp. 7–25. It is not clear whether Paterson had come to Victoria in order to sell his submarines or whether he was there on other business.

These submarines had been ordered by the Chilean Government in 1911 from the Electric Boat Company of New Jersey, holders of the Holland patents, who had arranged for Paterson's company to build them. The Chilean Government had agreed to pay \$818,000 for the pair, and had actually paid \$714,000; but the payments were slightly in arrears. Chilean naval experts had recommended that the boats should not be accepted, on the ground that they were overweight and that their sea endurance was consequently not up to specification. The builders were willing and anxious to sell the submarines to some one else, because their relations with the Chileans were strained, and also because in this way they would probably obtain a much higher price.

During the first two days of August the international situation was rapidly deteriorating. The Premier of British Columbia, Sir Richard McBride, took the matter of the submarines in charge, and conferences of leading men were held at McBride's office, at the Dockyard, and elsewhere. The Honourable Martin Burrell, Dominion Minister of Agriculture and member for Yale-Cariboo, happened to be taking a holiday on the Pacific Coast at the time, and McBride obtained his advice and personal support; but Burrell would not commit the Federal Government. So exigent did the situation become, that a summons was issued to meet at the Naval Yards on Monday morning the 3rd of August at 3 o'clock. Later in the day other meetings took place. Logan got into telephonic communication with Paterson, and asked for a definite price. The answer was \$575,000 each. Logan expressed surprise at the figure, and handed the receiver to Mr. Burrell, who found it confirmed. To an attempt at bargaining Paterson answered brusquely: "This is no time to indulge in talk of that kind and that I would not listen to it, and that if they did not care to get the boats they did not need to take them." On the next day Logan, at Seattle, again brought up the question of price. Paterson replied that the price was not open to discussion at all. The price included the cost of delivering the vessels at the border of Canadian territorial waters. Naval opinion supported the belief that the purchase ought to be made, and Sir Richard McBride assumed the responsibility of completing arrangements.<sup>5</sup>

On August 3 the Commander-in-Charge at Esquimalt telegraphed to Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa:—

Two submarines actually completed for Chilean Government Seattle, estimated cost £115,000 each. Could probably purchase. Ready for action

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 11. The *Report*, the whole of which should have been rewritten before publication, is responsible for the strange mixture of *recta* and *obliqua* in Paterson's quoted reply.



torpedoes on board. Chilean Government cannot take possession. I consider it most important to acquire immediately. Burrell concurs. Provincial Government will advance money pending remittance.<sup>6</sup>

The next day, having been warned that the submarines should leave American waters by midnight, he sent another signal to Headquarters:—

Can get submarines over immediately. Urgently suggest to do this before declaration of war, after which builders fear international complications. Shall not act without authority.<sup>7</sup>

After receiving the first signal from the Commander-in-Charge, Naval Service Headquarters had twice cabled to the Admiralty:—

Am informed two submarines ready for delivery Seattle, ordered by Chile. Chile unable to take possession. Government desires information as to Admiralty opinion of capabilities of Chilean submarines at Seattle. Understand skilled British ratings in crews. Do you advise purchase?<sup>8</sup>

As time was very pressing, however, McBride, fearful that further postponement might make it impossible to obtain the submarines at all, went ahead on his own responsibility and arranged to buy them with Provincial money. The negotiations were completed by Captain Logan who had gone to Seattle for that purpose, accompanied by Sub-Lieutenant T. A. Brown, R.N.C.V.R.<sup>9</sup> The Chilean Government strongly objected to losing the submarines; but it had not fulfilled its part of the contract.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the day of August 4 Logan kept in touch

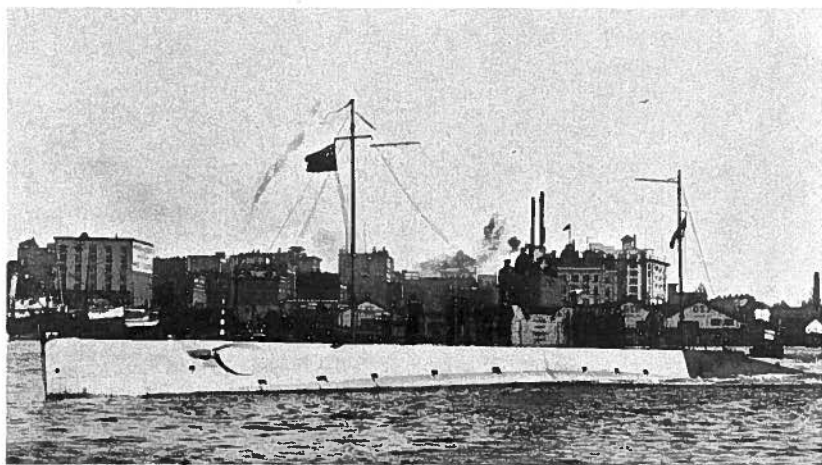
(6) Naval Service Records, Ottawa (hereafter cited as "N.S.R."), Folder No. 1062-1-2(1). Printed in *Correspondence relating to the Purchase of Two Submarines*, Sessional Paper No. 158, 1915, p. 3. The statement that the submarines had torpedoes on board was incorrect.

(7) N.S.R., 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 4.

(8) Headquarters to Admiralty, August 4, 1914, N.S.R., 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 4. (Two signals.)

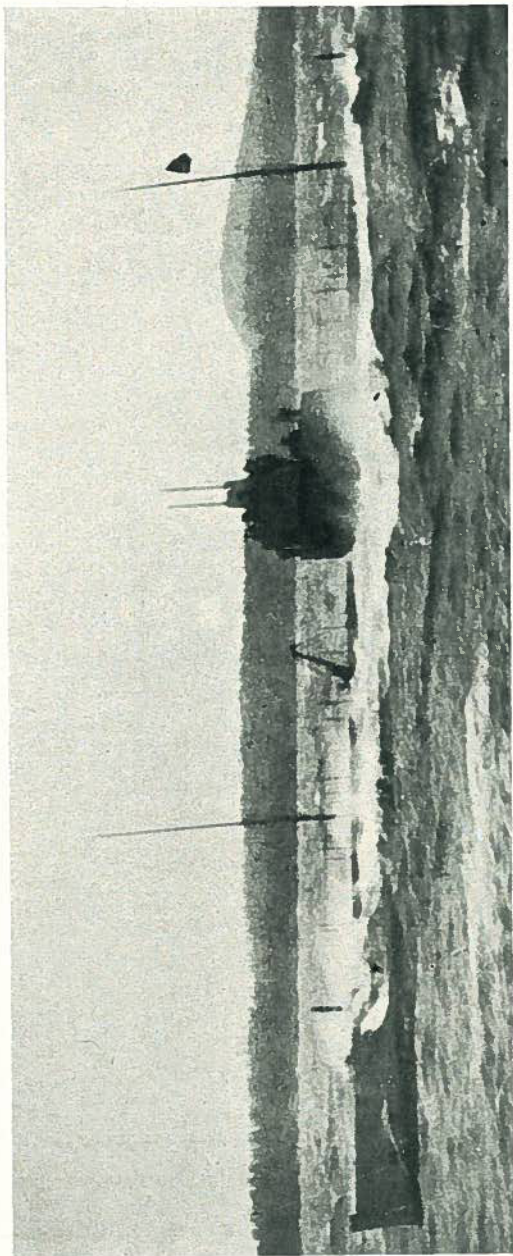
(9) McBride later told the Davidson Commission that "had it not been for Captain Logan, we would never have had these vessels." *Royal Commission concerning Purchase of War Supplies* [Davidson Commission], Evidence. *Sess. Papers, 1917, No. 60*, p. 1598. Brown was disguised in clothes which he had borrowed from a cook. His job seems to have been to try to make sure that no German agents were included in the crews when the submarines left Seattle.

(10) The rather formidable Chilean navy which had been in the making was deprived of more than the two submarines at this time. The British Government requisitioned the battleship *Almirante Latorre*—28,000 tons, ten 14-inch guns—which had been launched a short time before in a British yard. Renamed the *Canada*, she was present at Jutland, and



One of the submarines in Victoria Harbour.





*CC1* in a good seaway.  
Photograph from the collection of Lieut.-Commander J. V. Argyll, R.C.N.V.R.

with Victoria by telegraph and telephone. Paterson finally accepted McBride's assurance that whatever amount was agreed to would be paid, and the deal was closed at the price which he had earlier set and refused to discuss. The amount was \$1,150,000 for the two submarines, which was \$332,000 more than the Chileans had agreed to pay.

While the negotiations had been proceeding that afternoon in Seattle, a dramatic scene had been witnessed at the Admiralty, in a London on which the sun had already set:—

It was 11 o'clock at night—12 by German time—when the ultimatum expired. The windows of the Admiralty were thrown wide open in the warm night air. Under the roof from which Nelson had received his orders were gathered a small group of Admirals and Captains and a cluster of clerks, pencil in hand, waiting. Along the Mall from the direction of the Palace the sound of an immense concourse singing "God save the King" floated in. On this deep wave there broke the chimes of Big Ben; and, as the first stroke of the hour boomed out, a rustle of movement swept across the room. The war telegram, which meant "Commence hostilities against Germany," was flashed to the ships and establishments under the White Ensign all over the world.<sup>11</sup>

The Seattle Construction and Drydock Company had agreed to take the two submarines out so as to reach, by daylight on the morning of August 5, a position 5 miles south of Trial Island, where, just outside Canadian territorial waters, the S.S. *Salvor* was to meet them. Precautions were taken to prevent news of the transfer from reaching the ears of American officials, of the local Germans, and also of certain Chileans who were in Seattle in connection with the hoped-for release of the submarines to their own Government. It was to be an escape rather than a clearance, for clearance papers had not been obtained. Paterson and Logan went on board one of the submarines, and at about 10 o'clock in the evening of August 4 the boats cast off, manned by company crews. Covered by darkness and fog, and running on their comparatively silent electric motors, they came safely to the harbour entrance. Here, in spite of the loud noise which the exhausts would make, the

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was released to Chile after the war. Three powerful Chilean flotilla leaders were similarly requisitioned for the duration of the war. (See *Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual*, 1920–21, p. 61.)

(11) Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis, 1911–14*, New York, 1924, pp. 245, 246.

Diesel engines were started and the submarines worked up to full speed. During this cruise, or earlier, one of them must have scraped her plates on some obstruction; but this fact was not known to their new owners until later.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile the Canadian authorities had been arranging to receive the two vessels. An officer who had had several years' experience with submarines was fortunately available in the person of Lieutenant-Commander Bertram Jones, R.N. On the retired list and living on the west coast, he had reported at the Dockyard in Esquimalt when war seemed imminent, and his services had been accepted. Jones was ordered to go out with the *Salvor* to meet the submarines at the rendezvous. He carried written instructions to inspect them as carefully as conditions permitted, spending at least an hour in each boat. If they appeared to be fully satisfactory the submarines were to be paid for, and he was then to bring them to Esquimalt. Jones carried with him a cheque for \$1,150,000, drawn by the Province of British Columbia on the Canadian Bank of Commerce and endorsed by McBride. Accompanied by Lieutenant R. H. Wood, Chief Engineer at Esquimalt, Jones met the submarines at the appointed place, where they drew alongside the *Salvor*. About four hours were spent in inspecting the boats, the huge cheque was then given to the impatient Paterson, British colours were hoisted, and no time was lost in making for Esquimalt, which they reached safely on the morning of August 5.

On the heels of the various declarations of war President Wilson signed a series of identical Neutrality Proclamations. These forbade, within the jurisdiction of the United States, a number of acts likely to benefit one of the belligerents at the expense of the other. The acts which were specified included:—

Fitting out and arming, or attempting to fit out and arm, or procuring to be fitted out and armed, or knowingly being concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of either of the said belligerents.

This, the most nearly relevant section, would hardly have made an offence of an intention to take the two submarines out of American and into Canadian waters. As the two boats had not

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(12) The story of how the submarines were acquired, except where otherwise indicated, is based on the evidence given before the Davidson Commission, and the ensuing report.

been cleared out of Seattle, however, their seizure could no doubt have been based on that fact, and it is easy to see why the United States authorities should have wished to bar any possibility of a couple of miniature *Alabamas* running loose in the Pacific. Whatever the legal position may have been, the President's Proclamation covering the hostilities between Germany and Great Britain was signed on August 5, and the following day, at 8 a.m., the United States cruiser *Milwaukee* sailed from Bremerton Navy Yard in order to intercept the two submarines, if they were still in American territorial waters, and "prevent violation of Neutrality." The *Milwaukee* searched Port Townsend harbour, and having steamed for some distance towards New Dungeness without finding the submarines, she returned to Bremerton.<sup>13</sup>

The unheralded arrival of the submarines caused much excitement. Many of the people in Esquimalt concluded that the enemy was upon them. The examination vessel on duty outside ran hastily into the harbour, with the lanyard of her siren tied to the rail and the siren sounding an uninterrupted alarm. The shore batteries, which were manned by the Army and which had not, apparently, been warned, telephoned to the Dockyard before opening fire, in order to find out whether or not any submarines were expected. In the end, the causes of the excitement entered the harbour unmolested, and tied up at the Dockyard. The Esquimalt base was ill-prepared to receive the newcomers, and wired at once to Ottawa:—

Require all gear in connection with 18" submerged tubes firing torpedoes; including gyroscopes spare tools and torp. manuals, torp. artificers, torp. ratings. We have nothing.<sup>14</sup>

They also asked for any submarine officers and men who might be available.

The Admiralty's reply to the request from Ottawa for advice favoured the purchase, provided that Canada could man the boats.<sup>15</sup> This opinion was given principally on the advice of

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(13) Material from the *Milwaukee's* Cruising Report and Log was kindly furnished by the Officer in Charge of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D.C.

(14) Dockyard to Hdq., August 5, 1914. N.S.R. 46-1-48(1).

(15) Admiralty to Naval Hdq., Ottawa, August 5, 1914. N.S.R. 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 5.

Sir Philip Watts, who had been for many years Director of Naval Construction at the Admiralty. He was naval adviser to the Chilean Government, and he knew all that could be known about the two submarines by anyone who had not actually seen them. He thought that they were well worth buying, and his opinion was supported by the Commodore of the British submarine service. The Canadian Government had thus been advised to buy the boats by the best-informed authority accessible to it.

As soon as he had made up his mind to buy the submarines with Provincial funds, Sir Richard McBride had sent the following telegram to Sir Robert Borden:—

After consultation with Burrell and Naval Officers have advanced to-night one million and fifty thousand dollars . . . for purchase two modern submarines lying Seattle harbour and built for Chile. All arrangements complete for their arrival Esquimalt to-morrow morning unless untoward incident occurs. Congratulate Canada if this operation successful on acquisition of such useful adjunct defence of country.

Borden replied:—

Yesterday morning we communicated with Admiralty as to advisability of securing two submarines mentioned, and as to feasibility of manning them, as without crew they would be useless. They advise purchase provided crews could be secured. As this has been accomplished we appreciate most warmly your action which will greatly tend to increase security on the Pacific coast, and send hearty thanks. Please advise us of their arrival.<sup>16</sup>

The naval signals which bracketed the actual buying of the submarines were very terse. On August 5 Naval Headquarters sent a signal to Esquimalt: "Prepare to purchase submarines. Telegraph price." The reply was: "Have purchased submarines."<sup>17</sup> British Columbia thus became the only Province that has ever, since Confederation, owned any warships. On August 7 the Dominion Government assumed responsibility for the purchase, and the boats were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty by Order in Council on the same day.<sup>18</sup>

Their prospective Chilean owners had named the vessels *Iquique* and *Antofagasta*. The Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, subject to the approval of Headquarters, called the new

(16) McBride to Borden, August 4, 1914; Borden to McBride, August 5, 1914. *Sess. Paper No. 158*, pp. 4, 5.

(17) N.S.R. 1062-1-2(1). *Sess. Paper No. 158*, p. 5.

(18) *P.C. 2072* of August 7, 1914.

arrivals *Paterson* and *McBride* after their builder and buyer. His action, however, was not approved, an Australian precedent being followed instead. Some time previously the Royal Australian Navy had acquired two submarines of the Royal Navy's E class, and had named them *AE 1* and *AE 2*. The Canadian submarines approximated to the Admiralty's C class boats, so the *Iquique* became *CC 1* and the *Antofagasta* *CC 2*. Yet President Paterson did not go entirely unrewarded, for the Electric Boat Company let him keep \$40,000 by way of commission.<sup>19</sup>

These were small submarines of a type well adapted to operating in coast waters. The approaches to Victoria and Vancouver through the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the islands within were admirably suited to defence by means of submarines, because a ship entering those narrow waters would have to follow more or less predictable courses. Also the knowledge that submarines were present might weigh heavily with the commander of a raider so far from any friendly base that a serious injury would make her return home impossible. It was with this in mind that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he accepted the submarines for operational purposes on behalf of the Admiralty, transmitted the following suggestion:—

The fact of their being on the coast cannot be too widely advertised but their actual position should be concealed. Plausible reports should be issued from time to time of their presence at different ports.<sup>20</sup>

Nor was the knowledge that two submarines were stationed on the coast valuable only with respect to its probable effect on the enemy. During those earliest days of the war there was much uneasiness among the seaboard population. The banks in Victoria and Vancouver, for example, were transferring their cash and securities to inland or neutral cities. Blasting in connection with work on sewers in Victoria was stopped, because of nervousness among the people. Several million dollars' worth of insurance against bombardment seems to have been bought, and one family went so far as to prepare a vault in the cemetery for occupancy in case of attack. There was no panic, yet it was

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(19) The Electric Boat Company's representative had quoted to Paterson the price of \$555,000 for each of the submarines. Paterson hoisted the amount to \$575,000, and pocketed the difference.

(20) Sec. of State for Colonies [Harcourt] to Governor-General, August 9, 1914. Copy in N.S.R. 1062-1-2(1).



very desirable that the coast should not only be but also seem to be adequately protected. The local press almost from the start struck a note of confidence, and the submarines gave it something tangible to work with. Thus the *Victoria Daily Times* was only enlarging a salutary fact when on August 5, after announcing their arrival, it added:—

The Iquique and Antofagasta are modern submarines of high speed and wide radius of activity. They could cope with a hostile fleet of considerable proportions.<sup>21</sup>

The following day the *Colonist*, of the same city, alluded to the arrival of the submarines in an editorial:—

These vessels are a highly important addition to the defences of the Coast, and fortunately one of the best experts in submarine navigation is on hand to take charge of them. . . .

The southwestern part of the British Columbia Coast is now very well provided for in the matter of defence. In deference to the wishes of Ottawa we shall not enter into any details as to the nature of these preparations, but we can assure the citizens that nothing has been left undone that ought to be done or that can be done with the available facilities, and that these are quite sufficient for defence against any probable enemy.<sup>22</sup>

During the first few days of the war the naval arrangements at Esquimalt call to mind those on board H.M.S. *Pinafore*. The Senior Naval Officer, who had been overloaded with work, had a nervous breakdown, and his actions showed that he roundly suspected the enemy of roaming at large in the streets of the town. Accordingly there was a hiatus which was filled for the time being, adequately if unofficially, by the Provincial Premier. The position of Senior Naval Officer was then assumed by Lieutenant Bertram Jones, pending the arrival from Ottawa of Admiral W. O. Storey, who took over the duties on October 20. Preparations were begun to man the submarines and get them to sea, and much of the credit for this achievement belongs to the late Lieutenant Adrian Keyes, R.N. (Retired). An experienced submarine officer of great ability, he was working in Toronto for the Canadian Northern Railway when the war came. Admiral Kingsmill,<sup>23</sup> at his wits' end to find a submarine officer at a moment's notice, heard of Keyes and asked him to

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(21) *Victoria Daily Times*, Victoria, B.C., August 5, 1914.

(22) *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Victoria, B.C., August 6, 1914.

(23) Director of the Naval Service. Keyes was a brother of the present Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Keyes.

report in Ottawa. After an interview, Keyes was sent forthwith to Esquimalt to take charge of the submarines. His resources consisted of a badly equipped dockyard, two strange boats, and about a hundred volunteers. These last Keyes lined up, asking any man who might not wish to serve in a submarine to step out of the ranks, whereupon not a man moved. From this group the crews were chosen, and the work of learning to handle the boats began.<sup>24</sup>

No torpedoes for the submarines had been supplied at Seattle, and none of the required 18-inch calibre were available at Esquimalt as the *Rainbow's* were 14-inch ones. The *Niobe*, which was at Halifax, used 18-inch torpedoes, however, and a supply of these was sent to Vancouver as quickly as possible. One of them went bumping across the continent with its compressed-air chamber filled; but all arrived safely.

Less than two weeks after the boats had reached Esquimalt long strides had been taken towards making them fit for active operations. Keyes himself commanded *CC 1*, and with him were Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Commander) Wilfrid T. Walker, R.N. (Retired), and Midshipman Maitland Dougall, a graduate of the Royal Naval College of Canada, who was later to see much submarine service and to lose his life on the other side of the Atlantic. The crew consisted of three former naval ratings and thirteen volunteers who had been enrolled locally. *CC 1* had on board five of *Niobe's* torpedoes and was fitted with wireless. She was reported ready for active service. *CC 2* had a full complement in training under the command of Lieutenant Bertram Jones. His first officer was Lieutenant (now Captain) B. L. Johnson, R.N.R.<sup>25</sup> The crew was composed of six active or former naval ratings and ten local volunteers. The *CC 2* had three torpedoes and was expected to be ready for service

(24) Most of the information contained in this paragraph was supplied by Captain B. L. Johnson, D.S.O., R.C.N.R.

(25) This officer was later to command H.M. submarine *H 8*, which he took from Montreal across to Great Britain and afterwards commanded in the North Sea. On one occasion, while running submerged, the *H 8* struck a mine which blew off a portion of the bow. Lieutenant Johnson brought her safely back to Harwich, was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander, and awarded the D.S.O. a year and a half later for continued good service in H.M. submarines. For a description of this extraordinary incident see William Guy Carr, *By Guess and By God*, New York, 1930, pp. 280-282.

before the end of the month.<sup>26</sup> The two submarines were almost identical. Their surface displacement was 313 tons, and their submerged displacement 421 tons. They measured 15 feet across the beam and were 144 and 152 feet long respectively. *CC 1* had five torpedo tubes and could stow five torpedoes; *CC 2* had three tubes and could carry six torpedoes. One of the tubes in each submarine was mounted in the stern. The designed speed of these boats was 13 knots on the surface and slightly over 10 knots submerged; on November 2, 1914, however, in a surface trial over a measured mile, *CC 1* achieved a speed of 15.1 knots. Neither of the submarines possessed any gun armament.

On September 8, H.M.S. *Shearwater*, one of the two Royal Navy's sloops which were stationed on the coast, was commissioned as tender to the submarines, having been lent by the Admiralty for that purpose. Workshops and other conveniences were installed in the *Shearwater*, so that the endurance of the submarines would be greatly increased by cruising in company with her. The *Shearwater's* former crew had been sent east to join the *Niobe*, and the officers and men of *CC 1* and *CC 2* lived in the sloop when in port. She also accompanied her charges wherever they went, and acted as a target for their practice torpedoes. A submarine is at once the least comfortable and the most dangerous of all naval craft which spend any prolonged periods of time at sea. The discomfort arises principally from the lack of space on board. On the surface, submarines have only a small margin of buoyancy, and when submerged they are exposed to a whole series of hazards which surface vessels never know. Experienced "submariners" testify that the life is made much more eligible than it would otherwise be by a characteristic informality and an unusually strong feeling of comradeship.<sup>27</sup> The crews of these two Canadian submarines had given themselves to an exigent apprenticeship which was more irksome if less perilous because, except during the first few weeks of the war, there was no likelihood of their seeing the enemy. These

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(26) Telegraphic report, August 17, 1914. N.S.R. 46-1-48(1).

(27) E.g., "In a U-Boat there was scarcely any visible difference of rank: no clicking of heels. The life itself bound us to a common fate: a common life or death." (Ernst Hashagen, *U-Boats Westward!*, London and New York, 1931, p. 131.)

crews were largely composed of landmen, most of whom probably had never seen a submarine before, and the way in which they carried out a task which was the more dangerous because of their inexperience was, as Sir Richard McBride put it, "most creditable to the naval volunteers of British Columbia."

An exceedingly unpleasant experience early befell the complement of *CC 1*. During her first cruise, with an expert from the Seattle yard still on board, somebody accidentally pushed against the handle controlling the horizontal rudders. The tremendous down helm which the boat received resulted in a steep and sudden dive. The Seattle man instantly called for full speed ahead while Lieutenant Keyes ordered full speed astern. Fortunately it was Keyes' command which was obeyed, and the submarine righted herself.<sup>28</sup>

The following descriptions are taken from a personal account supplied by a former R.N.C.V. Reservist who was selected at the beginning for one of the crews:—

A few days after the commencement of the fateful 4th of August, 1914 . . . I was "peeling spuds" as "cook of the Mess" for the day, when I happened to glance casually seaward from outside the old barrack room of the present Dockyard and observed two low lying craft proceeding towards the entrance of Esquimalt Harbour. . . . Little did I realize . . . that these boats in about a week's time were to be my home for over three years. . . . It was an extreme transformation from an office to a submarine complete with electric motors, pumps, pipe lines, high pressure lines and air bottles, but with the tolerance of those splendid men of the Royal Navy, who willingly assisted me in my new duties, I spent three of the happiest years of my life on these two boats. . . . in a few months the work of each branch of the boat i.e. engineers, stokers, seamen, electricians and torpedo men, was splendidly coordinated and resulted in most efficient operations. . . .

After Coronel was avenged . . . there was no menace to the B.C. coast and for two years the peacetime routine of the Royal Navy for submarines was observed, which was approximately two weeks sea time per month and two weeks harbour routine which included the care and maintenance of the engines, torpedoes, motors and so on.

During these years with diving and torpedo running, the boats reached a high state of efficiency and had the opportunity of showing the White Ensign in many parts of British Columbia where it had not been previously seen and possibly in many places where it has been impracticable to show it since. . . . Many interesting practice torpedo attacks were made, one

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(28) Information supplied by Captain B. L. Johnson.

being an attack on H.M.S. "Orbita,"<sup>29</sup> an auxiliary cruiser which "CC 1" attacked scoring a direct hit with a collision head. This attack was the result of a wager made in the wardrooms the previous night between the Captain of the "Orbita" and our Commanding Officer. The submarines, in accordance with plan, proceeded to sea early in the morning to attack "Orbita," although it must be admitted "Orbita" had little chance to see our periscope as the sea was very choppy that particular morning. . . .

Leave was practically unobtainable in the months which succeeded the opening of the war and one afternoon both boats happened to be in Harbour, having returned from patrol that morning. The crew desired leave and after a "council of war" it was decided that we would have a wedding, to which the Officers could hardly refuse to grant leave for the afternoon and evening. This was consequently applied for in the service manner to attend the wedding of a petty officer whose name I will not record. This was readily granted and one of our officers even kindly thought that a wedding present would not be inappropriate and proceeded accordingly. As many men from both boats as could be spared went ashore and the first problem was to procure a bride and bridesmaids. This was not a difficult matter in Victoria and a most glorious party resulted. This took the form of a dinner party in the famous Westholm Grill, attended of course, by the bride and her maids. It was felt that the suspicions of the officers might be aroused and this actually proved to be the case, as several of the officers attended the Westholm Grill and witnessed the wedding supper and they were then apparently satisfied, or at least they could not deny the existence of the wedding. Leave expired at 1 a.m. and our Commanding Officer, being still somewhat suspicious, to use his own words, decided "to give the beggars a wedding breakfast" and took both boats to sea at 4 a.m. in very heavy weather.

For nearly three years the submarines remained on the west coast, based on Esquimalt and engaged in cruising and training. The Admiralty then sent them around to Halifax on their way to Europe, and they left Esquimalt for the last time on June 21, 1917, accompanied by the *Shearwater*. During this cruise engine-trouble was almost chronic, and twelve days were spent at Balboa for overhaul and repairs, after which, on August 12, the sloop and the two submarines obtained the distinction of being the first warships flying the White Ensign ever to pass through the Panama Canal. The United States naval authorities signalized this event by giving the little flotilla a welcome at Balboa and Colón. The British Minister to Panama and the Vice-Consul at Colón accompanied them through the canal. The

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(29) A new liner of 15,486 tons gross, owned by the Pacific Steam Navigation Co. In 1939 she was still in service, running between Great Britain and South America.

personal account which follows<sup>30</sup> testifies to the fact that this was no ordinary cruise.

Leaving Esquimalt harbour quietly on the morning of June 21st, the three vessels started on their long voyage. Two days later bad weather set in and the submarines were battened down with the decks just awash. The temperature in the engine rooms of these subs in the Tropics reached as high as 140 degrees and considerably added to the discomfort of the crews as we were unfortunate in having much bad weather which necessitated the boats steaming battened down.

In order to keep the engines from racing it was necessary for the CC 2 to keep charging the storage batteries. Then the submarine would use her motors until the batteries were run down. The only ventilation obtainable was through the operation of the engines. They would be run for ten minutes drawing fresh air into the craft, and in twenty minutes time they would be again started and would draw in a fresh supply.

It was not often possible to keep both engines running at once. While one engine was propelling the submarine, the engine crew would be working feverishly on the other. When the running engine showed signs of weakening and then quit entirely the idle engine would be started while the disabled one was fixed.

Then came another horror. During a heavy gale off Cape Blanco on the Oregon coast, and again off Salina Cruz, Mexico, the storage batteries, through weak construction, were short-circuited time and again and caught fire, giving out chlorine gas that laid low the greater portion of CC 2's personnel. For one night the craft was navigated by the coxswain, while only one or two others were fit for duty, the others lying around in an unconscious state. Sardine sandwiches were the only sustaining power given the men for their all-night vigil. Sometimes they wondered if the game wasn't up for them. That was one of the worst experiences of the whole trip.

On October 14th, 1917, the Shearwater and the submarines made Halifax, and the latter were promptly ordered to refuel and proceed across the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. This was impossible, and the order was later cancelled.

The CC 1 and CC 2 were badly strained and their engines were down and out. A pile of cracked piston heads, and other parts discarded, bore testimony to the difficulties of the long trip. The CC 2 made 7,000<sup>31</sup> miles with her own engines, a wonderful tribute to the men who coaxed and enticed the machinery to endure the strain which it was never designed to bear. The engine room staff was repeatedly complimented by the Shear-

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(30) Account by a crew member, printed in *Harbour and Shipping* (Vancouver), April, 1921, p. 745.

(31) "CC 2 has been the more reliable of the two boats and her engines have run 5000 miles out of the whole distance of 7300." Letter of Proceedings by the *Shearwater's* Commanding Officer, October 17, 1917. N.S.R. 45-2-12(1).



water's commander on the fine performance and on arrival at Halifax the little flotilla received a highly congratulatory message from Sir W. Brown- ing, then Commander-in-Chief of the North America and West Indies station.

As it was evident after their arrival in Halifax that the submarines were unfit to cross the Atlantic without new engines, the Admiralty cabled:—

Consider submarines should be repaired and should remain at Halifax where they may be useful if enemy submarines cross Atlantic.<sup>32</sup>

The two boats remained at Halifax until the close of the war. They were laid up for repairs during the summer and early fall of 1918, and it was during this time that German submarines appeared in those waters. In 1920 *CC 1* and *CC 2* were sold out of the service.

The purchase of these two submarines in 1914 had been made in very unusual and difficult circumstances, and Sir Richard McBride seems to have realized from the first that he was taking his political life in his hands. If the boats were to be obtained at all, steps had to be taken swiftly, secretly, and illegally. McBride's action bears a striking resemblance to that which had been taken by Disraeli in 1875 when he bought the shares in the Suez Canal for the British Government. Unlike Disraeli, however, McBride broke the law in that he caused Provincial money to be spent without the authority of his Legislature. These lapses from orthodoxy had been inevitable; but the transaction was made to appear even more questionable by two incidents which happened to occur in connection with it. In the telegram quoted above which McBride sent to Borden on August 4, due to a clerical error made in Ottawa the amount paid for the submarines was stated to have been \$1,050,000, which was \$100,000 less than the amount that had actually been asked for and paid. Furthermore, as soon as the submarines had been delivered in Esquimalt, Paterson had taken his cheque for \$1,150,000 to the Canadian Bank of Commerce in Victoria, the bank that had issued the cheque, and had there converted it into three drafts, two on New York and one on Seattle. The manager of the bank seems to have considered this to be an odd proceeding. He evidently expected a simple transfer of credit to a single account somewhere, and he probably wondered why

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(32) Admiralty to Hdq., October 28, 1917. N.S.R. 45-2-12(1).

Paterson was in such haste to get his money out of the country.<sup>33</sup> Altogether it is not to be wondered at that the transaction gave rise to criticism. By the end of the year scandals were beginning to be suspected in connection with many acquisitions of war materials, and the purchasing of the submarines, when viewed from the outside, had a sinister appearance.

On February 11, 1915, the Honourable William Pugsley, who had been Laurier's Minister of Public Works, moved in the Dominion House of Commons that a copy of all the official correspondence and reports relating to the submarines and their purchase should be laid before the House. Pugsley asserted that the submarines were out of date and not built according to specifications, that Chile had not wanted them, that the price paid had been too high, and that the Government had been too secretive. He also asked whether anyone had got a commission out of the deal. In the course of his speech he referred to McBride as "the sixteenth member of this Government, though he is not yet sworn in." Pugsley also said:—

. . . it looks to me as if this Government was hesitating about purchasing the submarines and Sir Richard McBride took it upon himself to force the hand of the Government by purchasing them himself on behalf of the British Columbian Government. . . . I myself am very much in favour of adding submarines to the Canadian navy. . . . My only regret is that there should be any question as to the suitability of these submarines for the purpose for which they were bought.

Later in the debate Pugsley expressed the opinion that McBride would probably have known what to do with a quarter of a million dollars. The suggestion was, not that McBride had put money into his own pocket, but that he might have used it for party purposes.

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries,<sup>34</sup> to whose Department the Naval Service was at that time attached, replied for the Government. He argued that there was no reason to consider the submarines defective; that the naval experts, including those at the Admiralty, had recommended that the boats should be bought; that it had been exceedingly desirable to have two submarines stationed at Esquimalt; and that there had been

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(33) The evidence given before the Davidson Commission is extremely detailed regarding the whole transaction.

(34) Hon. J. D. Hazen.

no time to lose. He promised to produce all the relevant documents at an early date, excepting any that might give useful information to the enemy. Sir Robert Borden supported his Minister, emphasizing the danger that had seemed to threaten the west coast and the duty of the Government to furnish all possible protection. He added:—

If Sir Richard McBride had not taken the action which he did the submarines could not have been purchased by Canada and the security they have afforded to the Pacific coast would not have been available.<sup>35</sup>

McBride also defended what he had done, in a long speech delivered on February 24, in the Provincial Legislature.<sup>36</sup> The same day he telegraphed to Borden asking for a strict investigation. The Prime Minister replied that he did not think Pugsley worth that much attention, and McBride agreed to let the matter rest for the time being. On June 2, 1915, the Dominion Government authorized Sir Charles Davidson, under Royal Commission, to inquire into war purchases, and during the same month McBride went to Ottawa and asked once more for an investigation. The buying of the submarines was included in the terms of reference of the Davidson Commission, which took evidence on that subject in Victoria, Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, and New York. The Commission reported that the submarines could not, in the circumstances, have been obtained for less, and that alternative purchasers were available to whom Paterson or the Electric Boat Company would have sold them had McBride not met the quoted price. The report also completely exonerated McBride and all others whose names had been unfavourably mentioned in connection with the purchase, stating that "this . . . enterprise was, throughout, of blameless character."<sup>37</sup> Both of these verdicts seem to be worthy of acceptance. The sequence of political events which has been described—the unorthodox transaction in emergency; the criticism and demand for information, by the opposition; the publishing of the relevant documents; and the Commission's investigation, followed by a published report and minutes of

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(35) The debate on the submarines is in *House of Commons Debates*, CXIX., pp. 94–116. *Sess. Paper No. 158, 1915*, carried out the Minister's promise.

(36) Reported in *Colonist*, Victoria, February 25, 1915.

(37) *Report*, p. 25.

evidence—furnishes a good instance of parliamentary institutions functioning at the top of their form in time of war.

The assertion that the boats were of an unsuitable type was invalid. Their design was not perfect; but it should be remembered that practical submarines were a comparatively recent invention, and that contemporary boats of virtually the same design gave an excellent account of themselves in European waters. The question of workmanship is more difficult; yet on this point, too, it is possible to reach a fairly certain conclusion. The Kingston valve leading from the main ballast-tank of each submarine seemed from the first to be obstructed, and on examination a piece of 2-inch plank was discovered in one of the tanks and a pair of overalls in the other. Both submarines were docked for overhaul in the spring of 1915, and the Chief Engineer at Esquimalt reported on their condition. Of *CC 1* he said among other things that: "The general state of the valves conveyed the impression of gross carelessness in the original workmanship;" and of *CC 2*: "The defects mentioned indicate a lack of detailed inspection during the Construction of the boats." Of both submarines he stated that: "The workmanship put into the vessels does not approach the Admiralty standard of construction." *CC 1* was docked again in December, 1915, and on this occasion about seventeen hundred of her hull rivets had to be renewed.<sup>38</sup>

The Davidson Commission, on the other hand, basing its judgment mainly on evidence given by a number of naval officers who were in a good position to know the facts, praised the construction of the boats.<sup>39</sup> The overalls and plank in the tanks did not necessarily indicate inferior workmanship, and the deterioration of the rivets referred to above has been credibly attributed to electrolytic action resulting from contact between the steel hulls of the submarines and the copper sheathing of the *Shearwater*. Among those who served in the boats, whose special knowledge carries weight and whose opinions have been available, the prevailing judgment is that the submarines were well constructed, and this verdict it is probably safe to accept.

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(38) Reports by the Chief Engineer, Esquimalt, various dates, in N.S.R. 45-2-8(1).

(39) *Report*, pp. 15-20.

The main propelling machinery consisted of two direct, reversible, six-cylinder, two-cycle Diesel engines, of 300 b.h.p. each at 500 r.p.m. The engines operated under blast injection, with a two-stage air-compressor driven directly from the main crank-shaft at the forward end of the engines. Blast air was supplied at 1,000 lb. pressure per square inch at the compressor, and restricted to 900 lb. at the fuel-nozzles. Circulating water, lubricating oil, and primary fuel pumps were connected to a single cross-head and driven by a small auxiliary crank-shaft, also geared to the main crank-shaft at the forward end. A single cam-shaft operated the fuel-injection valves, scavenger valves, and air-starting valves, and was mounted on top of the cylinders and fitted with a reversible clutch. Lubrication was on the closed pressure system, and the oil, after passing the main bearings and the bottom and top ends of the connecting-rods, passed into the piston-heads in order to cool them, and then returned to the crank-case. These engines had been designed at a time when the Diesel was in its infancy, and trouble with them was almost chronic. Cracked piston-heads, broken auxiliary crank-shafts, and trouble with the compressor and the inter-coolers, were extremely frequent experiences, and only the untiring efforts of the engine-room staff kept the engines running.<sup>40</sup>

The German cruiser *Leipzig* had been in Magdalena Bay, Mexico, when she received the news that Great Britain had declared war on Germany, and from August 5 to September 9 she operated off the west coast of North America between Mazatlan and Cape Mendocino.<sup>41</sup> She learned for the first time that the naval force at the Admiralty's disposal on the west coast included "two submarines bought from Chile," during a press broadcast from San Diego on the night of August 6-7, while on her way to San Francisco.<sup>42</sup> The German Official His-

(40) "At the beginning of the World War [the United States Navy possessed] . . . about fifty serviceable submarines, of small size and indifferent engine efficiency." [Dudley W. Knox, *A History of the United States Navy*, New York, 1936, p. 385.]

(41) See the article cited in footnote No. 1 above.

(42) Several weeks later S.M.S. *Nürnberg* informed Admiral von Spee from Honolulu that the enemy ships on the Canadian coast consisted of three cruisers [correct] and two auxiliary cruisers [Hilfskreuzer]. It seems much more likely that the last three words were an inaccurate description of the *Algerine* and *Shearwater* than that they referred to the submarines.

tory<sup>43</sup> does not represent the *Leipzig's* captain as having known that *CC 1* and *CC 2* would for some time be unprepared for serious operations. Nor does it credit the Canadian submarines with having influenced the *Leipzig's* movements in any way. Submarines were an untried weapon at that time, and many naval officers, of whom the *Leipzig's* captain may possibly have been one, had a low opinion of their capabilities. A more likely explanation, however, is that the Germans probably weighed the two submarines very lightly in their calculations because they had no intention of entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca or its approaches.

In the light either of the supposed or of the actual situation in the Pacific on August 3, 1914, it was highly desirable to buy the two submarines. Numerous and powerful enemies, whose intentions were known only to themselves, were at large in that ocean, while the base at Esquimalt was destitute of warships. There was much anxiety on the coast at that time: the presence of the submarines helped to restore confidence and set the *Rainbow* free for other work. If at any time the boats should no longer be needed in those waters, they would be available for use elsewhere. In the actual event, after their transfer to the east coast they added something to the defensive strength of Halifax; and had they possessed more dependable and longer-lived engines, one of them might possibly have sunk or disabled one of the Kaiser's finest warships. Even had their mechanical shortcomings been known in advance they would still have been worth buying, as one of them at least could always get to sea, there was nothing wrong with their diving and torpedo mechanisms, and beggars cannot be choosers. They were worth a war-time price too, for when shooting is about to begin, ships that can fight are more precious than gold to those who lack them. At such a time, moreover, warships are much more difficult to obtain than gold is, and it was only a most unusual combination of circumstances that had made possible the purchase of these particular vessels.

The great masters of naval strategy from Drake to Mahan have practised or preached concentration of force, and offensive

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(43) *Der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918: Der Kreuzerkrieg in den ausländischen Gewässern* [by Vice-Admiral E. Raeder] I., Berlin, 1922, Chap. V.



action whenever practicable. Landsmen, on the other hand, often think of naval war as being chiefly a matter of passively defending coasts and ports. During the Napoleonic wars Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty and one of the greatest of all British naval strategists, was loudly criticized for keeping the fleet concentrated and out of sight of land when invasion seemed to threaten.

As the panic grew, frenzied demands came from all parts of the kingdom for ships to be stationed on the nearest parts of the coast, and an insistence on the manning of flat boats, brigs, and other small craft to repel a landing.<sup>44</sup>

In the United States, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War,

the seaboard people were swept off their feet by fear of invasion or bombardment. . . . Senators rushed to the Secretary of the Navy pleading that a naval vessel, any kind of ship, be sent to the leading ports of their states to reassure the population.<sup>45</sup>

The phenomenon is not peculiar to English-speaking countries, nor does it occur only in time of war. "Throughout my whole career," wrote Grand-Admiral Tirpitz at the end of it, "I have always had to oppose two ideas, especially beloved of the lay mind—the idea of a special coastal defence, . . ."<sup>46</sup> The fundamental objection of the experts to a shallow-water policy is that it violates the principle of concentration of force and destroys any prospect of offensive action. To place a warship or a small squadron like a goal-keeper outside each port, will weaken the main fleet to the point of ineffectiveness and may expose the isolated ships to being destroyed in detail by superior forces of the enemy. This policy is therefore one of passive defence. The most eminent of the prophets of concentration and the offensive as sound principles of naval strategy has declared that:—

When war has been accepted as necessary, success means nothing short of victory; and victory must be sought by offensive measures, and by them only can be insured.<sup>47</sup>

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(44) O. A. Sherrard, *A Life of Lord St. Vincent*, London, 1933, p. 207.

(45) George T. Davis, *A Navy Second to None*, New York, 1940, p. 81.

(46) Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz, *My Memoirs*, London, n.d. [1919], I., p. 92.

(47) A. T. Mahan, *Retrospect and Prospect*, Boston, 1903, p. 152. Mahan's insistence on offensive measures as the only certain means to

He also writes:—

A raid? Well, a raid, above all a maritime raid, is only a raid; a black eye, if you will, but not a bullet in the heart, nor yet a broken leg.<sup>48</sup>

Lord Fisher has put the naval point of view on this subject into two pithy sentences, written in his tempestuous style:—

General principle: The Admiralty should *never* engage itself to lock up a single vessel even—not even a torpedo-boat, or submarine—anywhere *on any consideration whatever*. *The whole principle of Sea fighting is to be free to go anywhere with every d--d thing the Navy possesses.*<sup>49</sup>

This plebiscite of the giants has been held only in order to show that a blessing pronounced upon the action of the Provincial and Dominion governments in acquiring the two submarines should not be construed too widely.

Purchasing the submarines, and stationing them at Esquimalt, were acts thoroughly justified in the circumstances of place and time. The 500-mile front which British Columbia presented to the ocean was exceedingly easy to protect against a naval attack. By fortifying its northern entrance, the Strait of Georgia could be quickly and easily converted into an inlet from the strategic point of view. Inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which would then form its single, narrow entrance, lay all but one of the important ports. The exception, Prince Rupert, was not a vital spot except in the virtually impossible event of an attempted invasion, and lent itself admirably to local defence by means of shore batteries. The remainder of the exposed coast, including the seaward side of Vancouver Island, was practically uninhabited except for a few very small towns and an occasional village. Through the Strait of Juan de Fuca came and went almost all the merchant ships which plied overseas, and into it or its approaches any enemy ship hoping to cause serious physical damage would have to come. The coastwise trade route up to a point nearly 200 miles north of Vancouver was covered by the rampart of Vancouver Island. The presence of the submarines in or near the Strait of Juan de Fuca, therefore, achieved far more than merely local pro-

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victory is too extreme to win unreserved acceptance among the expert; but there is general agreement that naval forces should act offensively whenever practicable.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

(49) Lord Fisher, *Memories*, London, 1919, p. 197.

tection for Esquimalt and Victoria. Placing them there was, in fact, applying the principle of concentration for defence to the abnormal coast of British Columbia.

Had it been possible to obtain and man, in place of the submarines, one or more cruisers as good as the *Leipzig* or better, they would have been even more effective than the submarines were, for pure defence. They would also have been able to go wherever the enemy might be, and so to make a positive rather than a purely passive contribution toward winning the war. Such ships could have caught the *Leipzig* off the coast of Mexico, or driven her at once from North American waters. They could then have formed an important addition to the allied naval forces in the Pacific or elsewhere. The supreme merit of the two submarines was, however, that they were available.

Among many persons who have afforded invaluable information and criticism in connection with this article, special thanks are due to F. W. Crickard, Esq., for having written the personal account on pp. 159-160; to J. H. Hamilton, Esq., editor of *Harbour and Shipping*, for his kind permission to reproduce the account of the cruise from Esquimalt to Halifax; and to Captain B. L. Johnson, D.S.O., R.C.N.R., whose time and expert knowledge were unstintingly given.

GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVAL SERVICE,  
OTTAWA.

## THE EARLY GOVERNMENT GAZETTES.

Readers of the *British Columbia Gazette*, the weekly periodical published by the King's Printer in Victoria, and devoted to official Government notices, appointments, proclamations, and orders in council, may be interested to know something of the history of the paper and its predecessors. Probably few of them are aware that the foundations of the current *Gazette* were laid in Victoria as long ago as 1858, and that they are bound up with the earliest days of printing in British Columbia.

Although no official organ of the Government of either Vancouver Island or British Columbia appeared until the autumn of 1859, an enterprising Englishman by the name of Frederick Marriott launched a small newspaper in July of 1858, in Victoria, which he called the *Vancouver Island Gazette*. Marriott, who had been residing in California, was the owner of the *San Francisco News Letter* when word of the discovery of gold on the bars of the Fraser River caused a wave of excitement in the southern city. He thought he saw an opportunity of being one of the first newspapermen at the scene of operations, and he was evidently hopeful that the young colony would need an official Government organ. Accordingly he settled in Victoria, which was both the seat of Government and the one and only centre at which miners could obtain supplies of food, tools, and clothing for their hazardous undertakings on the mainland.

Whether or not Marriott opened negotiations with Governor Douglas in the hope of securing official sponsorship for his paper, history does not relate; but an interesting dispatch from Victoria, dated July 28, 1858, and published in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* on August 2, indicates that he may have done so, for it says:—

The *Vancouver Island Gazette*, Mariott's [*sic*] paper, came out to day. It is but a small affair. The "By Authority" manoeuvre has ended, and does not appear either on the paper or on any of the publisher's placards printed here. The title, like California Generalships, will, I think, involve neither honor nor profit to those concerned.

In spite of its unofficial character the *Gazette*, which was a small 4-page paper measuring approximately 8½ by 14 inches,

*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII., No. 3.

bore as its heading the Royal Arms. Three weekly issues are in existence, dated July 28, August 4, and August 11, 1858. It published Government notices, and the usual colonial news and advertisements, and was printed at the "Vancouver Island Gazette and General Printing Office" on Wharf Street. Exactly how many issues appeared is not known definitely, but it is certain that its career was brief, doubtless owing to Marriott's failure to secure recognition from the authorities. Shortly afterwards Marriott devoted himself to a journal with no pretensions of an official nature, which he called the *News Letter*, in imitation of his San Francisco publication. It was produced in the same form as the latter, on blue-lined foolscap, with the fourth page left blank for private correspondence. So far as is known there exists to-day only one issue, No. 3, dated September 25, 1858, "Printed and Published by John Martin for the Proprietor."

In the meantime official Government notices were printed in Victoria's first newspaper, the *Victoria Gazette*; and when the *British Colonist* commenced publication in December, 1858, they appeared in it as well. It was not until September 10, 1859, that a special official gazette made its appearance. As its title indicates, the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* was designed to serve both Vancouver Island and the new colony on the mainland. It was "Printed Every Saturday,<sup>1</sup> by Leonard M'Clure, at the Office, Yates-street, Victoria, in the Colony of Vancouver Island," under the proprietorship of Captain E. H. King, with whom Leonard McClure was associated. Fifty-one issues of this interesting publication appeared, but copies of only twenty-six of these are known to be in existence. They were well printed on paper 9 by 11 inches in size. Most of the issues consisted of four pages; the price was 6d. a copy. Although Captain King was not a printer by trade, his *Gazette* would have done credit to most presses of the day, in spite of the criticisms of the *Victoria Gazette*, which, on September 13, commented thus:—

We have received from Capt. King the first number of a weekly issue entitled "Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia." For the first number of a periodical, it is remarkably

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(1) Commencing with No. 17, January 3, 1860, publication day was changed to Tuesday.

free from "literal" errors, although there is great room for improvement in its typographical arrangement. . . .

The appearance of this *Gazette* caused considerable ill-feeling amongst the printing fraternity of Victoria. Amor De Cosmos, of the *British Colonist*, came out with a long editorial on September 12, 1859, *re* the appointment of a Queen's Printer, the unnecessary extravagance attached to such an appointment, and the useless expense of running another printing-shop when there were already three such in Victoria.<sup>2</sup> Two months before, when rumours were circulating that a Government *Gazette* might be forthcoming, he had written: "We trust this exploded custom will not be allowed to take root in these colonies. . . . Public printing . . . should be given to those who work best and cheapest. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Knowing the lack of cordiality that existed between Governor Douglas and Amor De Cosmos at that early date, it is not to be wondered at that Douglas refrained from delegating to his most ardent antagonist even a small share of the Government's work.

In March, 1860, Leonard McClure and Captain King sold the *Government Gazette* to George E. Nias, whereupon it was produced at the premises of the latter on Langley Street. Nias, like so many of the printers in colonial Victoria, had his financial difficulties, and soon found it impossible to carry on with the *Government Gazette*, which came to an end with the issue of August 28, 1860. The following notice appeared on the last page:—

The Publication of the *Government Gazette* for Vancouver Island, will be discontinued until further notice. Government Proclamations and Notices for British Columbia will hereafter be published in the *New Westminster Times* newspaper.

De Cosmos, who had been persistent in his offers to the Colonial Secretary to execute Government printing of all descriptions, including a gazette, and even gratuitous advertisements, all of which had been declined, must have welcomed the news with enthusiasm. He lost no time in again bombarding the Government with charges of extravagance in a long editorial in

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(2) Two of these printing establishments were the *British Colonist* office and the office of the *Victoria Gazette*, both on Wharf Street. The location and ownership of the third shop has not yet been discovered.

(3) *Colonist*, July 11, 1859.



the *Colonist* of September 22, 1860. In this he accused the authorities of deliberately subsidizing the *Victoria Gazette*, which Captain King and George Nias had in turn controlled, by paying extra high prices for all Government work in order to secure the meagre political support that that newspaper was able to give the Government and its policies. At the same time he hinted strongly that certain members of the Legislative Assembly might be part owners of the paper. These insinuations were directed against George Hunter Cary, who at that time was Attorney-General for Vancouver Island, and who was subsequently proven to be not a partner of Nias, but his mortgagee.<sup>4</sup>

When publication of the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* ceased, official notices and proclamations for the colony of British Columbia appeared, as announced, in the *New Westminster Times*. This practice was continued until the demise of the *Times*, on February 27, 1861, whereupon the *British Columbian*, owned and edited by John Robson, which had just commenced publication in New Westminster, sold space in its columns for the same purpose. Eventually almost the whole of the last page was devoted to Government matter. Official notices for the colony of Vancouver Island were advertised in the *Colonist*, and also in the *Victoria Press*, when the latter came into being on March 9, 1861, while the proclamations and statutes of the colony continued to be printed by job-printing shops in Victoria, as had been the case since 1859.

We now come to a consideration of the Royal Engineers, who were stationed in the colony of British Columbia from 1859 to 1863, and their printing activities in relation to Government work in general and the official *Gazette* in particular.

Soon after their arrival in British Columbia the Engineers acquired a "small hand Columbian Press and about £30 worth of type."<sup>5</sup> The printing office, which was a branch of the Lands and Works Department, since Colonel Moody was also Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, consisted of a single room,

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(4) See *ibid.*, October 5, 1860.

(5) *Government Printing Office, Victoria, B.C.*, by R. Wolfenden, 1892. Typescript in Provincial Archives. The Columbian hand-press is now on exhibition in the entrance lobby of the Government Printing Bureau.

measuring about 12 by 18 feet, in one of the buildings comprising the barracks at Sapperton, New Westminster. Corporal Richard Wolfenden, who had served an apprenticeship at printing before joining the Engineers, had charge of the press.

The only printing done at first was the printing of forms and circulars for the Corps itself. Then in 1860 the Royal Engineer press was requisitioned to do some of the Government printing for the colony of British Columbia. The quality of the work evidently pleased Governor Douglas, for we find that in writing to Colonel Moody on July 2, 1860, he said:—

I have received your private note of the 28th June with the two forms of Tenders enclosed which do infinite credit to the conductor of the Camp printing Press; the style of printing being far superior to anything yet produced in this Country.

From time to time additional type was ordered to supplement the original supply and to keep pace with the increasing work. The Royal Engineers' letter-books for the years 1860–62 show that several requests were made for new founts of type. One letter from Colonel Moody to the Colonial Secretary of British Columbia, written on May 2, 1861, includes this statement:—

I find that for the sum of about £50 we shall be able to execute any description of Printing that may be required by Government, including Gazette, Book of Colonial Laws, &c. I should be glad to be informed early if H[is] E[xcellency] will grant this sum in order that I may send to San Francisco for the materials & type.

In another letter, dated June 16, 1862, this interesting item is found: "I forward you 100 Blank Notes for \$25 for signature & seal"—showing that the printing of paper money was at least contemplated, if not carried out.

It has already been stated that the official Government notices for British Columbia were published in the New Westminster *British Columbian* during 1861. This practice was continued during 1862, but on December 1 the Colonial Secretary, W. A. G. Young, notified John Robson, proprietor of the paper,

that the arrangement hitherto existing for printing the Government Gazette in the Columns of the "*British Columbian*," will cease at the close of the present year, December 1862. The Government having made arrangements to print the Gazette as a separate publication.

This notification must have been a severe blow to Robson, who thought he had a contract to the end of August, 1863. He waited until the 10th of the month before replying and stating

his side of the question. The correspondence that ensued between himself and Young reveals the fact that no *written* contract had been entered into, so consequently Robson was the loser. He took the matter much to heart, and from January 21 until May 13, 1863, frequently aired his pent-up grievances through the medium of letters to the editor and editorials in his paper. He seems to have had some idea that the Government contemplated publishing a full-fledged newspaper, by which they hoped to bolster up their own policies and actions, for on May 13, in an editorial in the *British Columbian*, he wrote:—

This Government Gazette is gradually to assume the shape of a Government organ to be employed in puffing and defending the acts of a Government that is execrated by the people and forsaken of Heaven . . . an Editor is hired, soldiers are transmogrified into printers, and a Government organ is to be published in defiance of public opinion, and that very public, too, is to be made to pay the piper!! . . . It may be wicked, but we could almost wish to see this organ scheme developed. Not that we would wish to come in professional contact with the ill-begotten, illegitimate offspring of a corrupt, purile [*sic*] and asinine Government . . . We shall closely watch the progress of this thing, and will not fail to keep the public advised of it. Let them come on if they dare! . . .

Meanwhile the *Government Gazette—British Columbia* made its first appearance on January 3, 1863. It was a small 4-page sheet, 8 by 11 inches in size, "Printed every Saturday at the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia." Its contents were strictly confined to official matters and, in spite of Robson's prognostications to the contrary, they have always remained so. By June, 1863, the size had been changed to a larger sheet, 10½ by 15½ inches, and after further slight changes a standard size of 8 by 13 inches was adopted.

On October 26, 1863, after the disbanding of the Corps, Corporal Wolfenden, upon the recommendation of Colonel Moody, was appointed Superintendent of the Printing Office; and the imprint of the *Gazette* for November 14, 1863, bore the name of the "Government Printing Office" for the first time. When Victoria became the capital of the united colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, in May, 1868, the printing establishment was at once moved to the Island, the first issue of the *Gazette* emanating from the new quarters being that of May 30. On November 14, 1871, the title was changed to the *British Columbia Gazette*, the phrase "Published by Authority"

being added. This heading continues in use to-day, after more than seventy years.

Having traced the development of the mainland *Gazette* up to and slightly beyond the date of the union of British Columbia with Canada, we must go back to events on Vancouver Island, while it was still a separate colony, and before its union with British Columbia in 1866.

On May 10, 1864, Harries & Co., of Victoria, who had just purchased the *Colonist* from Amor De Cosmos, accepted a contract to publish for the Government of Vancouver Island a weekly gazette, to be printed every Tuesday, beginning May 17. The term of the agreement was one year. On the appointed date the new gazette duly appeared, printed on blue foolscap paper, headed by the Royal Arms, and entitled "*Government Gazette. Vancouver Island. Published by Authority.*"

The paper was destined to have a troubled career. By July 14, Harries & Co. were writing to the Colonial Secretary asking permission to throw up their contract on account of financial difficulties, and a misunderstanding over the printing of assessment rolls. Governor Kennedy was not willing that they should be released until other arrangements could be made, and, after considerable correspondence, the firm agreed to carry on until the end of the year.<sup>6</sup>

Thereafter changes in publisher became so frequent that it is not possible to trace them all with any certainty. Most of the printers in Victoria seem to have been connected with the *Gazette* at one time or another during its brief life of two and a half years. Beginning January 3, 1865, Wallace & Allen, printers and publishers of the *Evening Express*, took over the *Gazette* from Harries & Co. Their contract, like the previous one, was for one year; but in February the partners sold the *Express*, and soon after both left the city. The purchaser was Alexander D. Bell, proprietor of the *Vancouver Times*, who merged the *Express* in his own paper. The contract to print the *Gazette* seems to have been considered part of the assets of the *Evening Express*, and after the sale Bell published the *Gazette*.

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(6) See Letter Book, Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island, March 24, 1863, to September 20, 1864.

Six months later another change occurred, as Bell sold out in August, 1865, to W. L. Mitchell, proprietor of the *Vancouver Daily Post*. Once again the *Gazette* appears to have been included in the transfer. On August 18, Mitchell wrote to the Colonial Secretary and referred, unfortunately without giving details, to "the circumstances under which the contract [to print the *Gazette*] was taken at such a ridiculously low rate . . . ." Presumably Mitchell fulfilled the contract and printed the *Gazette* until the end of the year, but the evidence is purely circumstantial.

Higgins & Long, publishers of the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, were the next aspirants for the honour of producing the *Vancouver Island Gazette*. They took over the task beginning January 2, 1866, and carried on until June 19. What happened thereafter is not clear. The July 10 and subsequent issues appeared with a different heading, and the supposition is that some other printing firm, whose name has not yet been traced, was responsible for producing them. The last issue is dated November 6, 1866; and without any comment, or notice to that effect, the *Government Gazette—Vancouver Island* folded up, in view of the approaching union of the colony of Vancouver Island with its sister colony of British Columbia, which became effective on November 19.

The dozen or more men who, at one time or another were concerned in printing the early *Gazettes* form an unusual and colourful group. As relatively little is known about most of them, some account of their careers may be appended to the story of the *Gazettes* themselves.

Frederick Marriott, who launched the unofficial and short-lived *Vancouver Island Gazette* of 1858, soon returned to San Francisco, and died there, in his 80th year, in December, 1884. The obituary printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* thus described his early career:—

Marriott was born in Enfield, Middlesex county, England on July 16, 1805. At an early age he went to India in the service of the Madras branch of the Honorable East India Company. Staying there but a short time, he returned to England, where he engaged in journalism. About this time the Green-acre murder occurred, which caused considerable excitement and it occurred to the deceased to publish in the *London Weekly Chronicle* wood-cuts depicting the scene of the murder. This met with good reception and induced him



to start, in conjunction with others, a paper which afterward became the *Illustrated London News*. When the news of the discovery of gold in California was carried to London, Mr. Marriott started for this country and arrived in 1849. He went to the mines and afterward was engaged in the real-estate business. In July, 1856, he began publishing the *News Letter* and was actively connected with it until a few years prior to his death. He leaves a widow, one son and two daughters . . .<sup>7</sup>

Since the *News Letter* was such an unusual publication, it will be of interest to give a brief description of it:—

The first issue was published July 20, 1856, and was printed on a very thin, dull blue paper [foolscap size] . . . The first two pages were covered with the general news of the day in short paragraphs and with advertisements . . . The last two pages were left blank, so that the third page might be used for a letter and the fourth page for writing the address of any one abroad to whom the subscriber or purchaser might care to mail it. The idea was at once a hit with the community, and the *News Letter*, backed by its timely news and the personal news of its senders, was conspicuous in the outgoing mails of the regular steamers. Later, the *News Letter* in its light and unique form of four pages, was readily carried by the Pony Express messengers across the plains.<sup>8</sup>

As we have seen, news of the Fraser River gold discoveries induced Marriott to come to Vancouver Island, where he started the *Vancouver Island Gazette* and, later, a Victoria version of the *News Letter*. Neither venture was a success, possibly because of the powerful competition of the *Victoria Gazette*.

While Marriott was in Victoria the San Francisco *News Letter* was evidently suspended, but within a year of the failure of its Vancouver Island counterpart it was being issued again. According to one story, Marriott and \$8,000 mysteriously and suddenly left Victoria together. This may well be a libel, but the few references to Marriott to be found in Victoria newspapers of subsequent date are uniformly unflattering, and give the impression that he was not a person of good reputation. Nevertheless, he made good with the San Francisco *News Letter*, which flourished until 1928, and during the lifetime of its founder sponsored campaigns against quack medicines and adulterated foodstuffs, while advocating the building of good roads in the State of California.

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(7) *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17, 1884.

(8) *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, 60th Anniversary Number, July 20, 1916.



Marriott was much interested in aviation, and was a generous subscriber to schemes for promoting research in this branch of engineering. One of the articles printed at the time of his death states that in his later years he "made a reputation as an inventor of a steering machine for balloons . . . and organized Marriott's Aeroplane Company."<sup>9</sup> However, after the failure of one of his inventions, the avitor, the exact nature of which does not appear, his enthusiasm for aeronautics diminished.

As noted previously, Captain Edward Hammond King, publisher of the first official gazette, was not a printer by profession. He was born in England in 1832, entered the army in 1851, and served abroad in India and China until his retirement on account of ill-health, in 1858. The next year he came to Vancouver Island with his family, travelling by sailing ship, and in September, 1859, in partnership with Coote M. Chambers, founded the *New Westminster Times*.<sup>10</sup> Although, as its name suggests, the *Times* was intended to circulate on the mainland, it was actually printed in Victoria and shipped to New Westminster by steamer. Later, in 1859, Captain King founded another journal, which he called the *Victoria Gazette*, thus appropriating the name of the city's first newspaper, which had ceased publication a few weeks previously. For this he was sued by the last owners of the old *Gazette*, but after a short time the case was dropped. It is amusing to note that while the matter was before the courts, several issues of Captain King's paper were printed without any name; and when the dispute was settled, the gallant captain offered to print the name on these copies for any subscribers who cared to bring them to his printing office!

In March, 1860, King disposed of the *New Westminster Times* to Leonard McClure, and his *Victoria Gazette* came to an untimely end the following September. Captain King's intention had been to advocate the cause of the Government but, partly because of the unpopularity of the administration and partly because he lacked sufficient knowledge of the printing business, his venture into journalism resulted in serious financial loss.

Doubtless because he printed the official *Gazette* of 1859-60, Captain King was at times referred to in the *British Colonist* as

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(9) *San Francisco Examiner*, December 17, 1884.

(10) *Colonist*, August 19, 1883.

"Queen's Printer." Colonel Moody refers to him in the same terms in some of his letters; but this was only a courtesy title. It is true that King was in correspondence with the Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island from November, 1859, until July, 1860, requesting an appointment in the public service; but there is no record of any such appointment having been made. There is nothing to indicate that any one was appointed as an official Government printer until October, 1863, when Richard Wolfenden was named Superintendent of Government Printing of the Colony of British Columbia.<sup>11</sup>

At the time of his accidental death on the West Coast of Vancouver Island in March, 1861, at the early age of 29, Captain King was acting as agent to a firm of marine underwriters, on whose behalf he had gone to investigate the wreck of the barkentine *Florencia*.<sup>12</sup> Two grandsons, Messrs. Edward and Henry King, partners in the firm of King Brothers, shipping agents, are well known in business circles in Victoria at the present time.

When publication of the *Government Gazette for the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia* commenced, in September, 1859, Captain King was in partnership with Leonard McClure. McClure, who was born in Ireland about 1836, had been brought up in the printing trade. At an early age he visited

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(11) Richard Wolfenden, who for forty-eight years had charge of the Government Printing Bureau, was born on March 20, 1836, at Rathmell, Yorkshire. Receiving his education in Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, where he also served an apprenticeship in printing, he was later articled to an older brother, a land-surveyor. Joining the Royal Sappers and Miners (as the Corps of Royal Engineers was called at that time) in 1855, he became Instructor of Musketry at Hythe, Kent, in 1858.

In April, 1859, Corporal Wolfenden arrived in what is now Westminster, as a member of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers, under Colonel R. C. Moody. At first he was employed as clerk in the office of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, but later was given charge of the Columbian hand-press of which mention has already been made.

Upon the disbanding of the Corps in 1863, Wolfenden was appointed Superintendent of Printing for the Colonial Government of British Columbia. In 1868, when Victoria was chosen as the capital of the united colonies, he moved his establishment to the island city, remaining in charge of it until his death which occurred at Victoria on October 5, 1911. According to the *British Columbia Gazette* of April 25, 1889, he was designated "Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty."

(12) *Colonist*, March 27, 1861.

Australia, where he lived for a short time. Drifting to California, he engaged in journalism in the mining districts, and by 1859 was in Victoria, where he met King. The partnership lasted only a few months, for in March, 1860, McClure took over the *New Westminster Times*, moved the printing plant to New Westminster and published the paper there. The event is of some historic interest, as the *Times* was the first newspaper printed on the mainland. Just a year later, in March, 1861, McClure returned to Victoria and commenced publishing the *Victoria Press*. In this he merged the *New Westminster Times*, thus leaving the mainland field to John Robson's new paper, the *British Columbian*. Although McClure's period of residence in New Westminster was brief, he was popular there, and was elected first President of the City Council (as the Mayor was originally termed) in 1860.

The *Victoria Press* ceased publication in October, 1862, whereupon McClure became active in politics. Later in the year he travelled to London with the Hon. Malcolm Cameron to lay before the Home Government a petition which asked for responsible government, and which aired many grievances of the colonists against the domination of the Hudson's Bay Company. Towards the end of his stay in London he wrote a lengthy letter to his colleagues in Victoria, part of which is worth quoting:—

At all events we have succeeded in ousting Gov. Douglas, and I think Cary and the rest will have to follow suit. The thing might have been done long ago, had the people possessed sufficient sense and spirit to send a delegation.<sup>13</sup>

Upon his return to Victoria McClure joined the staff of the *Colonist*, becoming editor in October, 1863, a position which he retained until the merging of the *Colonist* and *Chronicle* in June, 1866. The following month, with W. L. Mitchell, he established the *Evening Telegraph*, which came to an untimely end on November 13, its annexationist sympathies causing its premature death.

From 1865 to 1866 McClure represented Victoria in the Legislative Assembly, and it was while so acting that he took part in the famous filibuster of April 23–24, 1866. He spoke con-

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(13) *Ibid.*, April 4, 1863.

tinuously for seventeen hours, and the ordeal was so severe that it undermined his health.<sup>14</sup>

After the collapse of the *Telegraph*, McClure left Victoria towards the end of December, 1866, and took up residence in San Francisco, where he was almost immediately appointed editor of the *San Francisco Times*. His death occurred in the southern city on June 16, 1867, only three weeks after that of his former associate, W. L. Mitchell. Writing at the time, the *San Francisco Bulletin* said of him: "He was a writer of great eloquence and considerable power. In good humored banter he was unapproachable."<sup>15</sup>

It will be recalled that Captain King disposed of both his *Victoria Gazette* and the first official *Government Gazette* to George Elmes Nias in April, 1860. Nias was a Yorkshireman by birth and a printer by trade. He arrived in Victoria in 1858, or possibly earlier, having previously been a resident of San Francisco. Our first knowledge of him is as a petitioner, protesting to Lord Derby against the land speculation in Victoria which resulted from the Fraser River gold-rush. The letter was dated San Francisco, July 3, 1858, and read in part:—

I was a strong radical when I left England, I am anything but a radical now and shall return to Victoria under the British Flag at the earliest opportunity with great pleasure.

Nias's newspaper venture did not prosper, and the *Victoria Gazette* ceased publication in September, 1860. Little is known about his activities thereafter, but presumably he carried on a job-printing business. In 1862 he requested permission to preempt about 180 acres of land, part of an extensive common on the shore side of Dallas Road, between what is now Paddon Avenue and Menzies Street. Here he built a cottage and stables.<sup>16</sup>

The house was occupied by his family until 1871, when it became for a short time a quarantine hospital for several small-pox patients who arrived in Victoria from San Francisco, and

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(14) For a full account of this event see D. W. Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, Toronto, 1905, pp. 51-55.

(15) See *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 11, 1867.

(16) See Nias to the Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island, October 16, 1862.

for whom no other accommodation was available.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that the beach adjoining this property, which was frequented by children from the James Bay district, was still known as "Nias's Beach" in the early 1900's.

During the summer of 1866 Nias was employed by the Dietz and Nelson British Columbia Express Company between Victoria and the Big Bend of the Columbia River. In December of that year he wrote to Governor Seymour requesting an appointment as Government Printer of the newly united colony of British Columbia, but his proposal was not entertained, and in February, 1867, he left Victoria for Australia.

There was trouble over gaining title to the Dallas Road property, as revealed in a letter written from Melbourne to Governor Musgrave on December 3, 1869. In 1871 we hear that Nias has written a pamphlet entitled *Protection vs. Free Trade*.<sup>18</sup> Presumably his wife and large family eventually joined him in Melbourne, but no later news of him has yet been found.

The first printers of the *Government Gazette—Vancouver Island*, in 1864, were Harries & Company. Walford Arbouin Harries was an English lawyer who came to Victoria in 1862 or 1863, in company with his brother, Julian B. Harries, bearing a letter of introduction to Governor Douglas from the Duke of Newcastle.<sup>19</sup> For a time he was interested in a mining venture.<sup>20</sup> The local directory for 1863 describes him as a "Real estate and general agent." Eventually drifting into journalism, Harries formed a syndicate under the name of Harries & Company,<sup>21</sup> which in 1864 purchased the *Colonist* from its famous founder, Amor De Cosmos. In 1865 Harries was admitted to the Van-

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(17) For further details regarding the Nias homestead see Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, pp. 34-46.

(18) *Colonist*, September 21, 1871.

(19) This letter was dated June 4, 1862.

(20) The claim in question was at Quamichan Lake; Harries, in association with nine others, organized the Comiaken Quartz Mining Company. No details of its activities have come to light.

(21) In August, 1864, Harries & Co. comprised: Walford Arbouin Harries, William Lang Mitchell, William Oughton, John Lawrie, and David McKenzie. See Memorandum of Agreement between Harries & Co. & Henry Wakefield, Acting Colonial Secretary of Vancouver Island, dated September 5, 1864.

couver Island Bar,<sup>22</sup> but apparently did not practise, for, when his firm sold the *Colonist* to Higgins, Long & Company, in 1866, he was engaged as an assistant on the paper, and later became one of the editors.<sup>23</sup>

In April, 1867, Harries severed his connection with the *Colonist* and started off on a tour of Europe, with the intention of corresponding with the *Colonist* during his absence. From Europe he went to South Africa, and when next heard of, in 1869, was practising law in Port Elizabeth.<sup>24</sup> He became interested in diamond-mining, and described conditions at the mines in a long and interesting letter printed in the *Colonist* of April 18, 1871. His death occurred at Port Elizabeth on January 2, 1881.<sup>25</sup> While in Victoria, Harries was an active member of the Victoria Amateur Dramatic Association, and seems to have been popular with his associates and with the public generally.

Harries's principal partner in the printing business in Victoria was W. L. Mitchell, of whom more later.

At the beginning of 1865 the contract for printing the Vancouver Island *Government Gazette* was awarded to the firm of Wallace & Allen, publishers of the *Evening Express*. The partners were a picturesque pair. George Wallace came to Vancouver Island, travelling overland, in 1862, and began his journalist career by joining the staff of the *Colonist*. Charles William Allen, who was presumably an Englishman, is first heard of in Victoria in 1862, as a reporter for the same paper. The two men quickly joined forces, and in April, 1863, launched the *Daily Evening Express*.

Allen is best known as a figure in a *cause célèbre* against the Hon. Horace Lascelles, who in 1863 was Captain of H.M. gunboat *Forward*. Allen filed suit against Lascelles for "assault and battery" inflicted upon himself as the outcome of an unfortunate report in the *Express* of the *Forward's* unsuccessful expedition against the treacherous Cowichan Indians, earlier in the year, and was awarded \$1,000 damages.<sup>26</sup> This spectacular clash

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(22) He was admitted "as an Attorney in the Supreme Court" of Vancouver Island. See *Colonist*, September 19, 1865.

(23) *Ibid.*, May 5, 1866.

(24) *Ibid.*, August 29, 1869; February 21, 1871.

(25) *Ibid.*, February 6, 1881.

(26) *Ibid.*, May 22, May 23, November 24, November 25, 1863.



between a commissioned officer of Her Majesty's Navy and the editor of a newspaper has formed the basis of more than one romantic narrative of early British Columbia history.

In February, 1865, only six weeks after they had commenced to print the *Government Gazette*, Wallace & Allen sold the *Express* and their printing office to A. D. Bell. Allen left Victoria the next month, bound for England on a visit, and while there bought the *Coventry Times*. Wallace, on the other hand, shifted the scene of his activities to Cariboo, where at Barkerville, in June, 1865, he became founder, editor, and proprietor of the famous *Cariboo Sentinel*. The paper was printed on the old hand-press brought to Vancouver Island by Bishop Demers about 1856—the first printing press to arrive in what is now British Columbia. Wallace was enterprising enough to have the little press and his other equipment carried into Cariboo by pack-train.

Within a year Allen turned up in Barkerville. His *Coventry Times* venture had not been a success; and as Wallace was willing to sell the *Cariboo Sentinel*, Allen purchased it, in association with a new partner, Warren Lambert. Wallace, for his part, moved to Yale, where, in April, 1866, he started still another paper, the *Tribune*. This proved to be a short-lived venture, and lasted only until the end of the season's mining activities, in October.

Having cleared a large sum by a successful speculation in Japan, Wallace started off for Europe in 1867.<sup>27</sup> One account tells of his conducting a company of Japanese jugglers, and amassing a small fortune by exhibiting them both in England and on the continent. After living in London for a time he unfortunately lost most of his wealth by the failure of a banking concern, in which he had invested heavily. He thereupon returned to the show business, this time exhibiting the Siamese twins.<sup>28</sup>

In 1881 Wallace was said to be in Montreal, on the staff of the *Mail*. His death occurred in that city in May, 1887.

Allen retained his interest in the *Cariboo Sentinel* until 1868, when he and Lambert disposed of the paper to Robert Holloway. He is next heard of in Toronto, in July, 1872, at which time he was night editor of the *Globe*. By 1877 he had removed to Win-

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(27) *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 8, 1867.

(28) *Colonist*, May 19, 1887.

nipeg, residing there for some years, where he became associated with the *Manitoba Free Press*, after participating as a volunteer in the Riel Rebellion of 1885.

After his retirement from journalism Allen became a resident of Philadelphia, and during the autumn of 1924, at the advanced age of 84, he revisited Victoria on his return home from a trip to New Zealand.<sup>29</sup> Both in Victoria and also in Winnipeg Allen was a prominent member of the local Rifle Corps, and active in athletics.

Alexander Dalrymple Bell, the next printer of the Vancouver Island *Government Gazette*, was a man of many interests. In 1863 he was in business in Victoria as a commission merchant. The next year he formed a company to seek gold at Goldstream, a few miles from the city, where a small rush had occurred.<sup>30</sup> The same year—1864—he was editor of the *Chronicle* until September, when he launched a new evening paper in Victoria, the *Vancouver Times*.<sup>31</sup> In February, 1865, Bell purchased the *Express* from Wallace & Allen, and merged it in his own paper; but in August he himself sold out to W. L. Mitchell. He is next heard of in San Francisco in March, 1866, when he was reported to be writing a play. The next month he was conducting the San Francisco *Dramatic Chronicle*. Later he became one of the editors of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, while continuing his interest in playwriting, and at least one of his plays, entitled *Millicent's Husband*, is reported to have been a success.<sup>32</sup> By 1869 Bell had become interested in the California State Immigration Society, and was touring the state giving addresses on its behalf. He was last heard of in 1887, when he was again engaged in newspaper work in San Francisco.<sup>33</sup>

William Lang Mitchell, a young Canadian of education and ability from St. Mary's, Canada West, appears to have come to Victoria in 1861 or 1862, where he engaged in newspaper work.

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(29) *Colonist*, September 25, 1924.

(30) In association with J. H. Turner, A. F. Main, H. F. Heisterman, and Lionel Varicas, Bell formed the Britannia Quartz Company. Its activities came to nothing.

(31) Bell was editor, but the *Vancouver Times* was actually printed by the *Colonist* presses. See *Colonist*, August 29, September 5, 1864.

(32) *Colonist*, January 17, 1867.

(33) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1887.

In August, 1865, he bought the *Vancouver Times* from Bell, changing its title to *Vancouver Daily Post*. The printing contract for the *Government Gazette* presumably was included in the deal. The *Post* came to an end in April, 1866, and in July Mitchell joined forces with Leonard McClure to found a new paper, the *Evening Telegraph*. As we have seen, this journal espoused the unpopular cause of annexation and, as a consequence, was forced to suspend publication in November.

In 1867 Mitchell gave up newspaper work and proceeded to Cariboo, where he bought a half interest in the Davis claim, at Barkerville. It was whilst working this claim that he met with the accident that caused his untimely death on May 24, 1867. He was buried at Camerontown, and "in the absence of a clergyman the English funeral service was read by Mr. Robertson, Barrister."<sup>34</sup>

The only other printers of the *Gazette* which have been identified were Higgins & Long, publishers of the *Victoria Chronicle*. Thomas Holmes Long, the junior partner, was in all probability an American. He is first heard of in 1863, when he was reporting for the *Chronicle*. In February, 1865, he purchased an interest in the paper, and the firm of Higgins & Long came into being. The partnership lasted until January, 1869, when Long withdrew. In May he left Victoria and travelled to the Eastern States, where in July he was married. No record of his doings after his return to Victoria has been found, but it is presumed that he was associated with Amor De Cosmos when the latter commenced publication of the *Standard* in June, 1870. The next year Long purchased a half interest in the *Standard*, which he retained until 1876, when he retired from newspaper work.<sup>35</sup>

Long's name appears in a Victoria directory for 1877-78, but by 1881 he was established as a wholesale merchant in New York City.<sup>36</sup> He was still in business there in 1887,<sup>37</sup> after which date no further references have been found concerning him.

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(34) *Cariboo Sentinel*, May 27, 1867. The Mr. Robertson was Alexander Rocke Robertson, later first Provincial Secretary of British Columbia, and later still a Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia.

(35) *See Colonist*, August 19, 1883.

(36) *Ibid.*, December 28, 1881.

(37) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1887.

David Williams Higgins is so prominent a figure in the early history of the Province that his career need only be summarized here. He was born of English parentage in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1834, but was brought up and educated in Brooklyn, where he served an apprenticeship as a printer. In 1852 he emigrated to California, and in 1856, in San Francisco, founded the *Morning Call*.

Having disposed of this paper, he was dispatched in 1858 to the Fraser River as special correspondent by one of the leading San Francisco journals.<sup>38</sup> Settling temporarily at Yale, he engaged in various mercantile pursuits, in addition to reporting for his newspaper. Two years later, after a chance meeting with De Cosmos, he was persuaded to join the staff of the *Colonist*, on which he served until 1862. After a break with his fellow Nova Scotian, he, in partnership with J. E. McMillan,<sup>39</sup>

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(38) D. W. Higgins in *Colonist*, January 1, 1891.

(39) James Eliphalet McMillan who was a native of Niagara-on-the-Lake, was born on July 25, 1825, of Irish and Canadian parentage. He received his education in Toronto, where he served an apprenticeship in printing. In 1844 he was engaged in newspaper work at Galt, and from 1854-59 published the *Messenger* at Bowmanville, Ontario, in partnership with Alexander Begg.

McMillan came to Victoria in 1859, and joined the staff of the *Colonist* the following year as assistant editor. Six months later he departed to New Westminster and worked for two years in association with John Robson on the *British Columbian*.

Returning to Victoria in October, 1862, he, with D. W. Higgins, commenced publication of the *Daily Chronicle*, continuing in partnership with Higgins, and as editor of the journal, until 1865, when he sold out his interest to T. H. Long, and for a short time carried on a job-printing business in Victoria. During this period he executed a certain amount of work for the colonial government of Vancouver Island, and outlined, in one of his letters, which is still extant, a proposal whereby his print-shop should become a government printing bureau, with himself as Queen's Printer, which proposal was not considered by Governor Kennedy.

Upon his failure to persuade the colonial government to accede to his recommendations, McMillan again transferred the scene of his activities to the mainland and this time bought a half interest in the *British Columbian*. This venture was also of short duration, coming to an end about 1867, when he returned to Victoria to reside permanently. At this time he established the *Morning News* which, after a year or so, developed into the *Evening News*.

This journal has been described by D. W. Higgins as "A lively little paper and made politics in and about Victoria rather warm for its morning

bought the plant of the defunct *Victoria Press* and commenced publication of the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, in opposition to the *Colonist*.

In 1864 De Cosmos sold his *Colonist* to a syndicate composed of some of his staff, known as Harries & Company, as has been mentioned previously. The syndicate not having made a success of their undertaking, after two years, Higgins bought them out and merged the papers under the name *Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle*. This voluminous title was employed for six years, when the former title *British Colonist* was resumed. Higgins continued as owner of the *Colonist* until shortly after his entry into politics in 1886, when he sold out to W. H. Ellis and A. G. Sargison. In 1890 he was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, where his political career proved to be as brilliant as his journalistic one had been.

In 1897 Higgins resigned the speakership, and in 1900 retired altogether from public life. During his long residence in Victoria he took an active part in all municipal undertakings, and in 1889, with other prominent citizens, promoted the organization of the National Electric Tramway and Lighting Company, becoming its first president. As the author of *The Mystic Spring* and *The Passing of a Race*, his name became widely known to the reading public. He died in Victoria on November 30, 1917.<sup>40</sup>

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,  
VICTORIA, B.C.

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brethren. But in an evil hour it turned a listening ear to the blandishments of the Annexationists . . .” During the summer of 1867 McMillan travelled to San Francisco in the interests of Annexation.

In June, 1870, McMillan sold his printing plant to Amor De Cosmos who, in June, launched the *Standard* at Victoria. McMillan later accepted a position on the staff of the newspaper, eventually becoming editor. In 1871 he entered the political arena as a candidate for the City of Victoria, but was not elected, primarily because of his annexationist sympathies. He was twice mayor of Victoria, in 1872 and 1873, and eventually retired from journalism in 1875. In 1876 he was appointed Immigration Agent for Victoria. Becoming Sheriff for the District of Victoria in 1884, he held that position until six years before his death, which occurred in Victoria on August 13, 1907.

(40) For a full account of Higgins's life see *Colonist*, December 1, 1917.

## ARCHBISHOP SEGHERS: THE MARTYRED ARCHBISHOP OF VANCOUVER ISLAND.

In November, 1863, the Reverend Charles John Seghers, a young priest, delicate in health, but strong in mind and of burning energy, arrived in Victoria and entered into the work of the Church. Being well educated, with a gift for languages, an eloquent preacher, and a fine musician, he sprang at once into a prominent position in the diocese, and became a most valuable assistant to Bishop Demers, who entrusted to him the administration of its finances. He was rector of the Cathedral, then St. Andrew's Church, on Humboldt Street, and chaplain to the Sisters of St. Ann. In him these qualities and scholarly graces were combined with an exquisite courtesy which made him respected, admired, and beloved by all Victoria, regardless of creed or sect. Bishop Demers died on July 21, 1871, and on March 21, 1873, Father Seghers was preconized, and on the 29th of June following was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction included the Territory of Alaska, then recently purchased from Russia by the United States. He felt very strongly the call of that Northland for missionary work, and as Bishop he answered that call and visited Alaska in 1877-78. Sailing from San Francisco to St. Michael and thence ascending the Yukon River, he made his headquarters at Nulato, a Russian trading-post, well known in the days of the Collins Overland Telegraph scheme, more than ten years before.

On his return from the North he was greeted at San Francisco with the news that he had been named as Coadjutor to Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon. His old parishioners in Victoria had heard of his appointment while he was on the ocean returning from Alaska. In the following June he left Victoria, which had been his official home for six years. His departure was felt as a great loss to the life of that city, for he had made his way into the hearts of all its people, regardless of their religious connections.

For four years he remained as Archbishop of Oregon; but even in his ministration over the length and breadth of that vast archdiocese, which included what is now Oregon and Idaho, his



heart pined for the wilds of Alaska, hearing like St. Paul the call of Macedonia, "Come over and help us." Missionary work in Alaska drew him as the magnet draws the iron; and when he was in Rome in 1883, the benighted religious conditions of the Indians and other residents in Alaska came up for discussion. Pope Leo XIII. had just transferred Bishop Brondel of Victoria to the new diocese of Montana, and was at a loss to find a successor. Archbishop Seghers informed His Holiness that he would gladly give up the Archdiocese of Oregon for the See of Vancouver Island, as this would enable him to follow his conscience and perform his promise to bring the Gospel to the natives of that distant region. The Sovereign Pontiff, having carefully examined the situation and satisfied himself that the offer came from no other reason than that the Archbishop was filled and fired with missionary zeal, consented to make the change; and so, for the love of God and urged by a true apostolic spirit, Archbishop Seghers of Oregon became again merely Bishop of Vancouver Island.

Every one in Victoria, Catholic and Protestant alike, rejoiced to have him once more in their midst; and the whole city acclaimed him when, on May 30, 1886, His Holiness conferred the Pallium on Bishop Seghers and raised him once more to the exalted rank of Archbishop. But above rank, above such reception, above such honours, Archbishop Seghers heard, like Kipling's Explorer, a voice as strong as Conscience, calling from the far-away Yukon, calling for the salvation of souls: "Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go."

The Archbishop had been in Victoria only a year; but amid the stress of his many duties he had found time to evolve his plans for the fulfilment of his promise to return with priests to "the frozen fortresses of the Alaskan Yukon." In selecting these ensign-bearers of the Church, the Archbishop naturally looked for aid to the great missionary branch, the Jesuits, who had been in the forefront in New Spain and New France. The Jesuit Superior entered whole-heartedly into the effort, and selected two able and devout sons of Loyola: Father P. Tosi and Father Aloysius Robaut. These three were to be the nucleus of the party; native guides and assistants were to be added in Alaska. But, hearing of the expedition, an American, John F.

Fuller, volunteered to join the party; his earnestness and insistence overcame all objections. He appeared to be devotedly attached to the Archbishop; but with him entered the element of tragedy.

On July 13, 1886, with fond yet sad farewells, the Archbishop and his three companions sailed on the fatal voyage. On reaching the mouth of the Stewart River, Father Tosi, who had even then become suspicious of Fuller and doubted his sanity, endeavoured to persuade him to abandon the party and return by the next steamer, but Fuller clung to his service of the Archbishop with seeming devotedness and sincerity. The party made their painful way over the Chilcoot Pass, so well known in the Klondike gold-rush of later years, and on September 7, 1886, after untold privations, difficulties, and dangers, arrived at the confluence of the Stewart and Yukon rivers.

There, with many misgivings on the part of Father Tosi, the party separated: the two Jesuits to visit the Indians on the upper reaches of the Yukon, and the Archbishop, with the half-demented Fuller, to descend the river to Nulato. Father Tosi, whose keen penetration had discerned that "Fuller was a worthless scamp and perhaps a villain whose specious attraction for the Archbishop was founded on reasons best known to himself," doubted the wisdom of this division and urged the Archbishop to take Father Robaut as his companion. But he would not consent to the proposal, and with fear in their hearts the two Jesuits bade him a sad farewell and saw him depart the next day for Nulato, accompanied only by Fuller. As they set out on the thousand-mile voyage down the already ice-encumbered river, the Archbishop seemed to have some momentary apprehension of the approaching tragedy. By the 4th of October he and Fuller reached Nukloroyet, where lived an Indian-trader, Walker, who according to the Archbishop's diary received them courteously. There the Archbishop decided to rest for a few days, for the excessive privations and fatigues of the long, hard voyage had made inroads on his weak body; but he was nearing his goal, and his purpose grew in strength as his body weakened. Walker appears to have been a man bitterly opposed to religion, thinking that his lucrative trade with the Indians would suffer if they were Christianized and began to conform their lives to

the teachings of the Church. While the Archbishop and his companion remained at Nukloroyet, Walker had many opportunities to put his views before Fuller, and he seems to have instilled into the weak mind of this man a hatred of the Archbishop, and to have inoculated him with the poison of his own depraved mind. At any rate, from that time Fuller's obsequiousness vanished and was replaced by an attitude of truculence and hostility to the Archbishop. He became insolent to a degree, and finally refused to continue the journey by water. The Archbishop yielded, and the delay of six weeks until the ice became strong enough to carry them and their dog-sled left Fuller under the pernicious influence of Walker. It was now the Archbishop's desire to rid himself of Fuller, but the latter clung to him with diabolic tenacity. To free Fuller from Walker's influence the Archbishop determined to press on; he must reach Nulato that winter. When the two arrived at a small trading-post kept by a Russian named Korkorin, this trader, sensing the Archbishop's danger from the now crazed Fuller, determined to accompany the two until they should reach Nulato; but ultimately he sent two Indians as guides instead. The party, thus increased to four, set out over the ice-covered snow on November 18, 1886. At the end of a week's journeying they reached a place named Yissetlatoh, where they found a loosely-built fishing-hut for their night's shelter. Nulato, the end of the journey, was distant only one day's travel. That night Fuller was very violent and abusive to the Archbishop, and "spoke very loud" according to the Indians' testimony. The Archbishop's only reply was "Thanks be to God, Brother, this is the last day." In that wretched hut the Archbishop laid himself down for his last sleep. He was then only 30 miles from Nulato, the place of his greatest earthly desire—a place he was destined never to reach.

Up to this point I have followed closely the story as told by Sister Mary Joseph Calasanctius in that rare volume *Voix d'Alaska*, since translated and published in 1935 under the title *The Voice of Alaska*. I propose to tell the rest of the story by direct quotation from that translation.

Towards morning Fuller left the cabin saying that he was going to hunt fuel for the fire. He did so and, at the same time, took his gun from the sled and re-entered the hut. He found one of the Indian guides already up

and, to get rid of him, sent him to fetch some ice to melt and heat for their tea. The other Indian was awake but still wrapped in his blankets.

Fuller threw a large handful of birch bark on the fire to make a bright blaze, at the same time calling loudly, "Archbishop, get up!" He added some words that the guide did not understand. The Archbishop raised himself to a sitting position on the rug, and seeing the levelled rifle, took in the situation at once. Crossing his hands upon his breast, he bowed his head in an act of supreme resignation, as the assassin fired. The bullet grazed the heart of the heroic missionary and he died instantly.

The Indian was on his feet in an instant, wrenching the gun from the maniac's hands as he prepared for a second shot. The other Indian entered and demanded if Fuller was going to kill them too. "No," said Fuller, "I wanted to kill only that bad man." Then, deserting the body, the ruthless assassin and the Indians took the trail to Nulato.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of the story is soon told. An Indian, in whose house the Archbishop had dwelt during the winter of 1877-78, with a companion proceeded to the scene of the murder and brought the body of the martyr from Yissetlatoh to Nulato. In the spring the remains were buried at St. Michael—the place where, by agreement, before the separation in the preceding September, the two Jesuits were to meet the Archbishop. A sad and solemn reunion! In the fall of 1888 the sacred remains of the Apostle of Alaska were transferred from St. Michael to Victoria, where they rest in the crypt of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

To mark the spot where the horrid deed was done, the Jesuits erected a large wooden cross, which was blessed on August 26, 1892, Father Tosi, Father Robaut (his two companions on the tragic voyage), and Father Treca saying Mass in the presence of a vast concourse of Indians. The high water of the Yukon River in 1894 carried away the cross, jammed between blocks of ice. But the sacred spot was remarked: a white enamelled cross high up on the rock bears witness to the sad event:—

Here was murdered  
Bishop Seghers  
November 28, 1886.

Captain Healy, master of the revenue cutter *Bear*, hearing of the murder, proceeded to St. Michael to arrest Fuller. He succeeded in the effort, and brought the criminal to Sitka for trial. Strangely enough the jury returned what was plainly a

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(1) See Sister Mary J. Calasactius, *The Voice of Alaska*, Lachine, 1935, pp. 42-43.

compromise verdict, "manslaughter"; and Fuller was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$10,000. Under the circumstances detailed above, it is difficult to understand this verdict. The whole matter hinged upon Fuller's sanity: either he was insane and not responsible for his act, or, being sane, was guilty of one of the most unprovoked and cold-blooded murders in the annals of the Pacific Coast.

SISTER MARY ANNUNCIATA.

ST. ANN'S CONVENT,  
NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

## THOMPSON COIT ELLIOTT (1862-1943): A TRIBUTE.

With the death on May 5, 1943, of Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, there passed one of the outstanding historians of the Pacific Northwest. For over thirty years the name "T. C. Elliott" appended to an historical study has been a hall-mark of quality and accuracy. His chosen field was, naturally, the Inland Empire, for from 1886 until his death his home was in Walla Walla. To research into Pacific Coast history he devoted a lifetime, never counting the time consumed or the difficulties to be faced and overcome; the truth was there to be ascertained and when, after patient and laborious digging, it was discovered he subjected it to every check and test that meticulous care could devise or suggest before he accepted it. In the identification of historic sites no travel was too severe or exhausting, as with book or manuscript in hand he examined and scrutinized the *milieu*. (I know, for many a time, as his companion, he made me footsore and leg-weary.) This course constantly pursued gave to his historical findings a factual finality that was accepted as basic by all his co-workers.

He delighted to follow the wanderings of David Thompson from the Howse Pass through Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, and to settle the position of his trading-posts, or to trace the footsteps of Lewis and Clark and the Overland Astorians. He was never happier than when engaged in editing some early journal; then his intimate knowledge of the country, the men, and the customs of the fur-trade shone forth and transformed a seemingly dry-as-dust record into an interesting human story.

Though thoroughly familiar with the whole story of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Elliott could not be induced to attempt a detailed and connected history of the region. He chose, rather, to smooth the pathway of the future historian by intensive studies of persons, places, and incidents connected with the fur-trading period, and these he published mostly in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* and the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. The index volume of the former lists over one hundred items, including book reviews and some sixteen original journals and

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documents, whilst the latter contains, up to 1929, over thirty articles, book reviews, and some fifteen original journals. Surely a wonderful record of a completely-filled leisure in the long life of a busy business man. Naturally his fund of local information made him in demand as a speaker at historical gatherings and memorial exercises throughout the Pacific Northwest. When in 1916 Mr. J. B. Tyrrell was editing *David Thompson's Narrative* for the Champlain Society, he called Mr. Elliott into collaboration, and his luminous notes and geographical identifications furnished a clear light for every student who desired to follow intelligently, on a modern map, Thompson's various travels.

Modest and unassuming, Mr. Elliott left his work as it fell from his pen, but some six or seven years ago he gathered together into a bound volume which he called *Historical Addresses and Papers*, and distributed amongst his friends those items which he evidently thought of special value, including "The Land of the Kootenai," an address delivered in 1926 at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho; "Spokane House," "The Chinook Wind," and "Richard ('Captain Johnny') Grant."

Mr. Elliott's thorough-going, scholarly work brought him rewards and recognition. In 1919 the University of Oregon conferred on him its Honorary Degree of Master of Arts, and in 1930 his Alma Mater, Amherst College, which had graduated him in course in 1885 as a Bachelor of Arts, recognized his high standing as an historian by granting him its Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.). The British Columbia Historical Association in 1939 elected him an Honorary Life Member; and even across the Atlantic his scholarship was known and was recognized in his election as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

So, Thompson Coit Elliott, B.A., M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., with his well-earned honours, closed his earthly career at the ripe age of 80 years—a student and a hard worker in history, even to the last. I shall miss him as a true friend, whose kindly guiding hand was ever at my service.

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

# THE DIARY OF ROBERT MELROSE.

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ROYAL EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK  
concerning  
FIVE YEARS SERVITUDE  
under the  
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY  
on  
VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

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## PART II.

JANUARY.

1854.

- S. 1 Drouthy New Year.\*  
Mo. 2 Holiday given. Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.  
Very wet day.  
Tu. 3 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.  
We. 4 Tremendous hard frost.  
Th. 5 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Bellview [ie San Juan] Island.  
Indians dropped work.  
Fr. 6 More Indians started to work.  
Sa. 7 Slight fall of snow. Barque "Fanny Major" arrived in Port.  
S. 8 Rain.  
Mo. 9 John Russel removed to the Farm. Rain.  
Tu. 10 Brig "Rose" sailed Coal Mines. Signed a Petition to throw  
off Judge Cameron.<sup>1</sup>

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\* [Footnote in original.] New Year's Day, a day above all days, for rioting in drunkenness, then what are we to expect of this young, but desperate Colony of ours; where dissipation is carried on to such extremities my readers will be expecting to find nothing in my Almanack, from Christmas, till past the New Year, but such a one drunk, and another drunk, and so on; how different is the scene, then what must I attribute the cause of all this, too, must I prescribe it to the good morals of the people; no! no! my friends, no such thing could be expected here; the grog-shops were drained of every sort of liquour, not a drop to be got for either love or money, had it been otherwise the case, there is no saying whither my small Almanack would have contained them or not; it would almost take a line of packet ships, running regular between here, and San Francisco to supply this Island with grog, so great a thirst prevails amongst its inhabitants.

(1) A petition to the Queen, which in effect asked for the removal of David Cameron, brother-in-law of Governor Douglas, who had recently been appointed Judge of the new Supreme Court of Vancouver Island. See Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, I., pp. 547-51; also "Correspondence with the Government of Vancouver Island, relative to the Appointment of Chief Justice Cameron," in *Papers Relating to Vancouver Island*, London, 1863, pp. 37-52.

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1854—*Continued.*

## JANUARY

- We. 11 Brig "Archimades" arrived in Port.<sup>2</sup> Showers of snow.  
 Th. 12 Frost and snow.  
 Fr. 13 Severe Frost.  
 Sa. 14 One dwelling house finished. Mrs. Cooper gave birth to a female child.  
 S. 15 Andrew Muir and Isabella Weir proclaimed for marriage.  
 Mo. 16 Brig "Archimades" sailed. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. James Wilson whole D. The Author whole.  
 Tu. 17 John Hall dropped work. J. Instant whole Drunk.  
 We. 18 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. James Stewart  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. John Hall  $\frac{3}{4}$  Drunk.  
 Th. 19 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Most severe frost.  
 Fr. 20 Heavy fall of snow 18 inches deep.  
 S. 22 Docters child died.<sup>3</sup>  
 Mo. 23 Governor Stevens arrived<sup>4</sup> in Sloop "Sarah Stone."<sup>5</sup>  
 Tu. 24 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Nisqually.  
 We. 25 J. Hall removed to the Fort. J. Downie removed to Hall's house. P. Bartleman removed to the Farm.  
 Th. 26 Tremendous frost lasted from the 12th instant.  
 Fr. 27 Rain.  
 Sa. 28 Sloop "Sarah Stone" sailed. Rain.  
 S. 29 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with fresh meat. Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Island.  
 Mo. 30 Monthly Ration Pay due and settled. J. Wilson whole D. The Author whole Drunk.  
 Tu. 31 Andrew Muir and Isabella Weir married.

## FEBRUARY.

- We. 1 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Bellview Island and Nisqually. Frosty morning.  
 Th. 2 Mr. Staines gained a law plea over Duet.<sup>6</sup> Brig "Rose" visited Port.  
 Fr. 3 Fresh Beef served out. Barque "Matilda" visited Esquimalt. Showers.

(2) This brig of 157 tons was engaged in the coal and lumber trades to San Francisco.

(3) The infant son of Dr. J. S. Helmcken, born October 29, 1853.

(4) On Governor Stevens's visit see Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, Boston and New York, 1900, I., pp. 416-18.

(5) This small American sloop plied regularly between Olympia, Bellingham Bay, and Victoria, carrying the mails.

(6) Emanuel Douilet, who was fined and imprisoned for making off with a number of pigs belonging to the Rev. Robert Staines. See James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, November 3, 1854.

1854—*Continued.*

## FEBRUARY

- Sa. 4 Public Meeting held on the state of the Colony. Superscription set agoing in purpose to send Mr. Staines home, to lay the proceedings before the house of Parliament.<sup>7</sup> God speed. Indians dropped work.
- Mo. 6 Quarters Pay due.
- Tu. 7 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with fresh meat.
- We. 8 James Downie  $\frac{1}{2}$  Drunk.
- Th. 9 W. Veitch  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Enoch Morris  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. Wilson  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Fresh beef served out. John Russel  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Peter Bartleman  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- Sa. 11 Canadians put up a bught [?] for catching cattle.
- Mo. 13 More Indians started to work.
- Tu. 14 Showers of snow, Frosty. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
- We. 15 Canadians commenced to fence a field.
- Sa. 18 Showers.
- Mo. 20 John Instant whole Drunk.
- Tu. 21 Peter Bartleman  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. "Cock Watt" and "Saucy Jack" arrived.
- We. 22 Barque "Fanny Major" sailed. Mr. Staines left for England on his important mission.
- Th. 23 Celebrated Bacchanalian hunt.
- Fr. 24 John Russel  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Author almost whole [drunk].
- Sa. 25 Monthly Ration pay due, not settled, want of money. J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- S. 26 Schooner "Honolullu" arrived from San Francisco. J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. Whyte  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Rain.
- Mo. 27 William Veitch  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. James Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- Tu. 28 "Cock Watt" & "Saucy Jack" sailed, T. Reed and other two men escaped to America.

## MARCH.

- We. 1 Scientific meeting instituted. Schooner "Honolullu" sailed out of Port.
- Th. 2 Schooner "William Allen" arrived with a cargo of sawed lumber.
- Fr. 3 John Russel  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. James Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- Sa. 4 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a female child. John Russel whole Drunk.
- S. 5 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  Drunk. Schooner "William Allen" sailed.
- Tu. 7 More Indians started to work. Commenced to plough.

(7) Staines, although chaplain and schoolmaster for the Hudson's Bay Company, joined the anti-Company faction in the Colony, and agreed to return to England and present their grievances to the British Government. The vessel upon which he sailed foundered, and Staines was drowned. See entries for February 7 and July 8, 1854.

1854—*Continued.*

## MARCH

- We. 8 Lecture on the pleasures of studying the sciences, by W. Veitch.  
 Th. 9 One Sow ferryped [farrowed]. Rain.  
 Fr. 10 One field fenced in. Canadians dropped work. One Sow ferryped.  
 Sa. 11 Commenced to fence in the gardens. One Sow ferryped.  
 S. 12 Showers.  
 Tu. 14 Mail came in.  
 We. 15 Lecture on the discoveries of Optical science, by the Author.  
 Fr. 17 Smiths dropped work for want of coals.  
 Sa. 18 Mail came in.  
 Mo. 20 Commenced to plant in the gardens.  
 Tu. 21 John Russel & Peter Bartleman fought a battle. J. Russel  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. S. B. "Beaver" sailed.  
 We. 22 Rehearsal of Wilson's "Tales of the Borders," by James Downie. Peas Sown.  
 Th. 23 Smiths commenced to work. Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived.  
 Fr. 24 Mrs. Whyte gave birth to a male child.  
 Sa. 25 Monthly Ration Pay due & settled. J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. W. Veitch  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Mo. 27 Wet Morning.  
 Tu. 28 Mrs. Cornelius gave birth to a female child.  
 We. 29 Lecture on the Nobility of man by James Deans. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from San Francisco, brought a Mail along with her.

[Entries for April and May, 1854, are missing in the original.]

## JUNE.

- Fr. 2 Showers.  
 Sa. 3 Six Sheep killed and divided.  
 Mo. 5 One Bull drowned in the Rapids. Thunder showers. Pair of Horses started to work.  
 Tu. 6 Smith-shop shut up. Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.  
 We. 7 Lecture on the Phases of the Moon by James Deans.  
 Th. 8 Showers.  
 S. 11 Thunder showers.  
 Mo. 12 John Crittle and wife removed to Mr. Skinner's.<sup>8</sup> Mail came in.  
 We. 14 Lecture "from the flood to the times of Abraham," by James Wilson.  
 Fr. 16 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Fraser's River.  
 Sa. 17 Monthly Ration Pay due. The Author  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Showers.  
 Mo. 19 Lime Avenue fenced in. Jack Humphrey started to work.

(8) That is, to one of the other farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, of which Skinner was bailiff.

1854—*Continued.*

## JUNE

- Tu. 20 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Fraser's River.<sup>9</sup> Showers.
- We. 21 Lecture "on the propriety of Prayer." Barque "Thomazine" sailed Sandwich Islands.
- Th. 22 Showers.
- Fr. 23 Turnips sown.
- Sa. 24 Showers.
- S. 25 Drizzly Rain.
- Mo. 26 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fraser's River along with the Governor. Thomas Williams started to work. First Lime Kiln burnt off.
- Tu. 27 Mrs. Guthrie (Helen Fisher) died.
- We. 28 Lecture "on the wonders of civilization" by the Author. Peter Bartleman  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Mrs. McNeil gave birth to a male child.
- Th. 29 Showers.
- Fr. 30 Five sheep killed and divided. Wet day.

## JULY.

- Sa. 1 Public Sale of Horses at View Field farm. Mail came in.
- S. 2 James Jeal died.
- Tu. 4 Showers.
- We. 5 Tales of "Duncan Fraser, and the Seer's Cave" recited by James Downie.
- Th. 6 Licences for selling Grog granted 120£ per Annum.
- Sa. 8 S. S. "Otter" arrived. The Late Mr. Staines' Farm Stock sold by Public Auction. Yankee Scow arrived from Bel-lingham Bay with sawn timber.
- Mo. 10 More Indians started to work.
- Tu. 11 J. Wilson whole D. Yankee Scow sailed Nisqually for Live Stock.
- We. 12 Lecture "who is the working man" by James Deans.
- Th. 13 Indians dropped work. Dick Williams, Hollains, and 7 In-dians drowned.
- Fr. 14 Four Sheep killed and divided.
- Sa. 15 Monthly Ration Pay due. Brig "Cadboro" arrived. Tur-nips sown. S. S. "Otter" sailed.
- S. 16 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.
- Mo. 17 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. Commenced to mow.
- Tu. 18 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived.
- We. 19 Lecture from the times of Abraham, to the glory of the Roman Empire, by J. Wilson.
- Fr. 21 Mail came in.
- Mo. 24 Very warm weather.

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(9) Meaning, in 1854, from Fort Langley.



1854—*Continued.*

## JULY

- We. 26 Lecture on the duty and advantage of Prayer, by William Veitch.  
 Th. 27 Mail came in.  
 Fr. 28 Four Sheep killed and divided. John Instant whole D. James Downie  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Sa. 29 Yankee Scow arrived with sheep & cattle from Nisqually. James Wilson whole D.  
 Mo. 31 Turnips thinned.

## AUGUST.

- Tu. 1 Commenced to shear.  
 We. 2 Lecture on the Earths Diameter, Circumference, Revolution &c by the Author.  
 Th. 3 Cattle Shed put up. James Whyte  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Magistrates declared by Government.<sup>10</sup>  
 Fr. 4 Quarters Pay due. Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed. One sheep killed.  
 S. 6 Schooner "Honolullu" arrived from San Francisco.  
 Mo. 7 Mrs. Liddle gave birth to a female child.  
 Tu. 8 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Barn Yard fenced in.  
 We. 9 Description of the River Jordan by James Deans. Brick kiln burnt off. Showers.  
 Fr. 11 2<sup>nd</sup> Lime Kiln burnt off. Schooner "Honolullu" sailed.  
 Sa. 12 6 Sheep killed & divided. John Instant whole D. The Author  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Monthly Ration Pay due.  
 Mo. 14 Colonial Roads commenced to make.<sup>11</sup>  
 We. 16 Tales of the "Just Retribution," and the "Young Laird of Towsielaw," recited by J. Downie.  
 Th. 17 James Whyte  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Fr. 18 Wet day.  
 Sa. 19 Indians dropped work. Mail came in.  
 S. 20 John Instant whole D. Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Mo. 21 Gideon and his Gang commenced to build a School, and School-house.<sup>12</sup>  
 Tu. 22 James Wilson  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. The Author  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 We. 23 Lecture on the "Immortality of the Soul," by James Wilson.  
 Th. 24 Showers. One Sow killed.  
 Fr. 25 Two Swine killed.  
 Sa. 26 Brig "Cadboro" arrived from Coal Mines.

(10) The meaning of this entry is not clear. It would seem to refer to the appointment of magistrates, but no such appointments were made by Governor Douglas at this time. Kenneth McKenzie, Thomas Skinner, E. E. Langford, and Thomas Blinkhorn had all been appointed in March, 1853; John Muir, of Sooke, was not appointed until September, 1854.

(11) Construction of the road to Sooke commenced at this time.

(12) The original Craigflower school. The building is still standing, and is now a museum.

## 1854—Continued.

## AUGUST

- S. 27 Thunder, lightning, and rain.  
 Mo. 28 More Indians started to work.  
 Tu. 29 New Forge put up.  
 We. 30 Lecture on the "Atmosphere," by William Veitch.  
 Th. 31 Brig "Cadboro" sailed Coal Mines.

## SEPTEMBER.

- Fr. 1 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. One Sow killed.  
 Mo. 4 Showers. Bombardment of Petropaulski in Kamtschatka.  
 Tu. 5 Harvest completed.  
 We. 6 Geographical description of England, by the Author. Brig  
       "Rose" arrived from Coal Mines.  
 Th. 7 Our Honourable Court attempting to try Captain Mills.<sup>13</sup>  
 Fr. 8 Barque "Prince Albert"<sup>14</sup> arrived from England.  
 Sa. 9 Monthly Ration Pay due. P. Bartleman  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  
        $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Four sheep killed & divided.  
 S. 10 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Thomas Williams  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Jack Humphrey  
        $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Mo. 11 Carpenters Shop put up. Mail came in.  
 Tu. 12 Captain Mills released from prison.  
 We. 13 Tales of the "Young Laird of Rycan & Brunsfield Links"  
       recited by James Downie.  
 Sa. 16 S. Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco. American S.  
       Frigate "Active" visited Port. John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Mo. 18 Steam Boat "Major Tompkins" commenced to run the Mail  
       between Victoria and Olympia every week.<sup>15</sup>

(13) John Powell Mills, master of the barque *Colinda*. The story behind this case is a complicated one. The *Colinda*, under charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, sailed from London with a cargo of supplies and 212 passengers, and Mills was instructed to proceed direct to Vancouver Island. Instead of doing so he put into Valdivia, in consequence, as he asserted, of a mutiny of the passengers. At Valparaiso the passengers were brought to trial before Admiral Moresby, Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, for "mutinous and piratical conduct," but were acquitted of the charge. While in Valparaiso, Captain Mills sold a large portion of the *Colinda's* cargo, despite the fact that it was the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result of Mills's conduct, all but seventeen of the passengers refused further passage in the ship, which eventually reached Vancouver Island in April, 1854. Upon the non-delivery of her passengers and cargo the Hudson's Bay Company applied for redress to the Vice-Admiralty Court of Vancouver Island, and obtained an injunction against the ship, which was in due course made over to the Company's representative for adjustment of the claims. Governor Douglas subsequently received a Power of Attorney from James Tomlin, of London, owner of the *Colinda*, placed a new captain in charge, supplied him with capital, and secured a charter for the ship. She sailed from Victoria on March 16, 1855, for San Francisco, *en route* to London.

(14) A supply ship for the Hudson's Bay Company.

(15) This 97-foot vessel, built in Philadelphia in 1847, was the first regular mail-steamer on Puget Sound. She was wrecked a few months later; see entry for February 10, 1855.

1854—*Continued.*

## SEPTEMBER

- Tu. 19 Turning Lathe put up.  
 We. 20 Geneological description of the Anglo-Saxon race, by James Deans.  
 Sa. 23 School-house frame erected,<sup>16</sup> whole company in general notoriously drunk.  
 S. 24 Brig "Cadboro" arrived from Nanaimo.  
 Mo. 25 John Instant whole D.  
 Tu. 26 Do. do. do. do. Showers.  
 We. 27 Lecture "on the immortality of the soul," continued, by James Wilson.  
 Th. 28 American Steam Frigate "Active" visited Port. Showers.  
 Fr. 29 One Cow killed. Brig. "Cadboro" sailed Nanaimo.  
 Sa. 30 Barque "Prince Albert" sailed Nanaimo. Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.

## OCTOBER.

- S. 1 Showers.  
 Tu. 3 H.M.S.'s "President," 50 Guns, "Pique," 42, & Steam Frigate "Virago," 6, arrived from an unsuccessful attack upon Petropuliski, in Kamtschatke.<sup>17</sup>  
 We. 4 Lecture "on the pressure of the Atmosphere," continued by William Veitch.  
 Th. 5 Captured Russian Transport ship "Sitka" arrived. S. F. "Virago" sailed Nanaimo.<sup>18</sup>  
 Fr. 6 Mr. McKenzie's vent put up. Jack Humphrey, & Thom Williams dropped work.  
 Sa. 7 Monthly Ration Pay due. J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. James Downie  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Will. Veitch  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. Frosty.  
 S. 8 Mr. McKenzie, J. Whyte, J. Downie, J. Liddle, & the Author's children baptized by the Chaplain of the "President." Sermon preached by the Chaplain of the "Pique."

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(16) The Craigflower school is meant.

(17) The Crimean War was in progress at this time. The attack on Petropavlovski took place in September, 1854. On this action, and the movements of naval craft noted in subsequent entries, see "Correspondence relating to the establishment of a naval base at Esquimalt," in this *Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 277-96.

(18) Melrose himself gives this note elsewhere in his diary: "When leaving the port, and a short distance outside, the steamer 'Virago' captured a Russian schooner, and after taking every thing out of her, set her on fire, shortly after a Russian merchantman, the 'Sitka' of 800 tons 10 guns, with a crew of 35 men, and 20 passengers, was taken by the 'President' her cargo chiefly gunpowder, is valued at 40,000£, sterling."

1854—*Continued.*

## OCTOBER

- Mo. 9 Dinner given to the Governor on board the "President."  
 Tu. 10 Wet day.  
 We. 11 Geographical description of Scotland, and Ireland by the Author.  
 Th. 12 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco. Brig "San Francisco" sailed.  
 Sa. 14 Steam Frigate "Virago" arrived from Nanaimo. "Yankee Scow" arrived from Bellingham Bay.  
 S. 15 Transport Ship "Sitka" 10 guns sailed San Francisco. Sermon by the Chaplain of the "President."  
 Mo. 16 Frigates, "President," and "Pique" sailed San Francisco.  
 We. 18 Harry Teasdale the smuggler of Embleton, recited by James Downie.  
 Th. 19 John Instant whole D.  
 Fr. 20 Four Swine killed. Jo. Instant whole D.  
 S. 22 Steam Frigate "Virago" sailed San Francisco.  
 Tu. 24 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed Fort Simpson.  
 We. 25 Geographical, and Political view of Vancouvers Island, by James Deans.  
 Th. 26 One working bullock died.  
 Fr. 27 Frequent showers.  
 Sa. 28 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.  
 S. 29 Duncan Lidgate whole D.  
 Mo. 30 John Instant whole D.

## NOVEMBER.

- We. 1 Lecture on the resurrection of the body, by James Wilson.  
 Th. 2 Two more vents put up. Provision Store, & Slaughter house finished.  
 Fr. 3 One Bullock killed. Monthly Ration Pay settled.  
 Sa. 4 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition. Quarters pay due.  
 S. 5 Duncan Lidgate whole D. J. Wilson  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Mo. 6 Wheat sown.  
 We. 8 Geographical description of Sweden and Norway, by the Author.  
 Fr. 10 New Wharf erected. Drizzly rain.  
 Mo. 13 J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author whole D.  
 Tu. 14 Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. John Instant whole D.  
 We. 15 Tales of "Lyl Lisle," & "Raulin Roarin Willie," recited by James Downie.  
 Th. 16 School vents finished.  
 Fr. 17 One Cow killed.  
 Sa. 18 Showers.  
 S. 19 Barque "Prince Albert" arrived from Nanaimo. Wet day.

1854—*Continued.*

## NOVEMBER

- Mo. 20 James Tait paid his passage money. Rain.  
 Tu. 21 Barque "Prince Albert" sailed for England. Rain.  
 We. 22 Lecture from Romans 5 Ch. 19 V. by James Deans. Rain.  
 Th. 23 Barque "Princess Royal" arrived from England with Miners.<sup>19</sup> Rain.  
 Sa. 25 S. Boat "Beaver" & Brig "Recovery" sailed Nanaimo with the Miners. Peter Bartleman  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Mo. 27 Rain.  
 Tu. 28 Rain. One Sheep killed.  
 We. 29 Lecture on the inventions of man by James Wilson. One Pig killed.

## DECEMBER.

- Fr. 1 Screw Steamer "Otter," & Brig "Cadboro" arrived from Nanaimo.  
 Sa. 2 Monthly Ration Pay due & settled. Two pigs killed. Frosty.  
 S. 3 Frosty.  
 Mo. 4 Ship "Mason" visited Port. Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Frosty.  
 Tu. 5 Brig "Recovery" sailed Fraser's River. Frosty.  
 We. 6 Geographical description of Denmark by the Author. James Stewart  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Th. 7 More cattle got for the farm.  
 Fr. 8 Schoolmaster got a house.<sup>20</sup>  
 Sa. 9 James Wilson taking money for his Rations.  
 Mo. 11 Rain.  
 Tu. 12 Mr. McKenzie whole D.  
 We. 13 Lecture on the Atmosphere by William Veitch.  
 Th. 14 Rain.  
 Fr. 15 One Sheep, and two Swine killed.  
 Sa. 16 Celebrated feasts of Bacchus. John Russel taken money for his Rations.  
 Mo. 18 Frosty.  
 Tu. 19 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo.  
 We. 20 Tales of the "Cloth-Merchant of Selkirk," "Paddy gone to the West Indies" and "Mary-Martin," recited by James Downie.  
 Th. 21 Slight rain.  
 Fr. 22 Two Swine killed. Store broken into. Rain.  
 Sa. 23 Rain.  
 S. 24 Rain.

(19) Many of those on board are remembered as pioneer citizens of Nanaimo. See Barrie H. E. Goult, "First and Last Days of the *Princess Royal*," in this *Quarterly*, III. (1939), pp. 15-24.

(20) Charles Clarke, who arrived in the *Princess Royal* to be master of the new school at Craigflower.

1854—*Continued.*

## DECEMBER

- Mo. 25 Christmas celebrated by Fiddling, dancing, singing, eating, and drinking. Rain. Brig "Recovery" arrived.
- Tu. 26 Rain.
- We. 27 Rain. Scientific meeting postponed till after the daftdays.<sup>21</sup>
- Th. 28 Rain.
- Fr. 29 Rain.
- Sa. 30 Monthly Ration Pay due and settled. Frosty.
- S. 31 Frosty. Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived.

## 1855.

## JANUARY.

- Mo. 1 New Years day celebrated in a glorious Bacchanalian manner. Frosty.\*
- Tu. 2 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived. Frosty. Mrs Porter gave birth to a female child.
- We. 3 Fall of snow. Frosty.
- Th. 4 Frosty.
- Fr. 5 Mrs Stewart gave birth to a male child. Frosty.
- Sa. 6 Yankee Scow arrived. Rain and Sleet.
- S. 7 Rain and snow.
- Mo. 8 Mr Clark taken up his school. Rain.
- Fr. 12 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco. Frosty.
- Sa. 13 Barque "Princess Royal" sailed for England. J. Russel stopped taking money for his rations. Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.
- We. 17 Wet day.
- Th. 18 Showers of sleet and snow.
- Fr. 19 Another Bacchanalian spree held this evening. Showers.
- Sa. 20 Screw Steamer "Otter" sailed San Francisco.
- S. 21 Rain.
- Mo. 22 Rain.
- Tu. 23 Rain.
- We. 24 James Deans bought an Indian woman.
- Th. 25 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Bellvue. Rain and sleet.
- Sa. 27 Monthly Ration Pay due. S. Boat "Beaver" arrived.
- S. 28 Barque "Colinda" sailed Nanaimo.<sup>22</sup> Walter Ross died.<sup>23</sup>
- Mo. 29 James Deans divorced his Indian woman.
- We. 31 Brief review of ancient and modern Athens, by James Wilson.

(21) "The epithet of the Daft (mad) Days, applied to the season of the New Year in Scotland, indicates very expressively the uproarious joviality which characterized the period in question." (Chambers, *Book of Days*.)

(22) A supply ship of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(23) Presumably the son of the late Chief Trader Charles Ross, in charge of Fort Victoria, 1843-44.



1855—*Continued.*

## FEBRUARY.

- Sa. 3 Rain.  
 S. 4 George Jeal drowned in the arm.  
 Mo. 5 Quarterly Pay due and settled.  
 Tu. 6 Search made for George Jeal, not to be found. John Smith started to work.  
 We. 7 M<sup>rs</sup> Hume gave birth to a female child. Frosty. J. Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Th. 8 M<sup>rs</sup> McAulay gave birth to a female child.  
 Fr. 9 Rain.  
 Sa. 10 Flying Showers. Steam Boat "Major Tompkins" wrecked on Mc Aulay's Point.  
 Mo. 12 Showers.  
 Tu. 13 William Veitch whole D. James Wilson whole D. The Author whole D.  
 Th. 15 Old-Store weather-boarded.  
 Fr. 16 M<sup>rs</sup> Irving gave birth to a female child.  
 Sa. 17 J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. Russel  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author whole D.  
 Mo. 19 Wreck of the "Major Tompkins" towed into harbour. Frosty.  
 Tu. 20 S.B. "Beaver" conveyed the crew and passengers of the "Major Thompson" over to Port Townsend.  
 We. 21 Frosty.  
 Th. 22 Frosty.  
 Fr. 23 School and school-house finished.<sup>24</sup> Pine-field fenced in.  
 Sa. 24 Peter Bartleman dropped taking money for his rations. Mo[nthly]. Ra[tion]. Pay settled.  
 S. 25 Frosty.  
 Mo. 26 Chess commenced to put up the saw-mill frame. Frosty.  
 We. 28 Fresh weather. Bridge over the Arm completed.

## MARCH.

- Th. 1 Wreck of the "Major Tompkins" sold by public auction.  
 Fr. 2 Schoolmaster removed to his new house. S.S. "Otter" arrived from S. Francisco.  
 Sa. 3 James Wilson dropped taking money for his Rations.  
 Mo. 5 High wind and rain.  
 Tu. 6 Showers. Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo.  
 We. 7 Rain.  
 Th. 8 "Major Tompkins's" bell hung at the end of the school.<sup>25</sup>  
 Fr. 9 George Jeal's body found.  
 Sa. 10 S. S. "Otter," and Brig "Cadboro" sailed Nanaimo. Showers.  
 S. 11 Schoolmaster started to preach.  
 Mo. 12 Coroner's inquest held upon Jeal's body, buried also. Showers.

(24) The Craigflower school.

(25) Again the reference is to the Craigflower school.

1855—*Continued.*

## MARCH

- Tu. 13 Barque "Colinda," and Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from Nanaimo.  
 We. 14 Duncan Lidgate whole D. J. Instant whole D. The Author whole D.  
 Fr. 16 Barque "Colinda" sailed San Francisco.  
 S. 18 Frosty.  
 Mo. 19 M<sup>rs</sup> Helmkin gave birth to a female child.  
 Tu. 20 Major Thompkins's Force-Pump placed on the well. Frosty mornings.  
 We. 21 Steam Boat "Beaver" sailed Nanaimo along with the Governor.  
 Th. 22 Yankee Scow arrived from Bellingham bay with sawed lumber for bridge.  
 Fr. 23 S.B. "Beaver" arrived.  
 Sa. 24 The Author dropped taking money for his rations. G. Geal's effects sold by auction.  
 S. 25 M<sup>rs</sup> Wilson gave birth to a still born female child.  
 Mo. 26 M<sup>rs</sup> Wilson's child buried. Commenced to sow.  
 Tu. 27 M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie laid siege to Peter Bartleman's castle and destroyed it.<sup>26</sup>  
 We. 28 Peter Bartleman stricken work.  
 Th. 29 Yankee Scow sailed Soack, with the Major Thompkins's boiler and engine.<sup>27</sup>  
 Fr. 30 Slight rain.

## APRIL.

- S. 1 Ship "Marquis of Bute" arrived from England, brought a minister.<sup>28</sup> Showers.  
 Mo. 2 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.  
 We. 4 Andrew Hume's son half-drowned.  
 Th. 5 Quarters Session, Robert Porter imprisoned for six months. Rain.  
 Fr. 6 Good Friday kept.  
 Sa. 7 Brig "Rose" arrived from San Francisco.  
 Mo. 9 John Smith dropped work.  
 Tu. 10 Andrew Hume  $\frac{3}{4}$  Drunk. Brig "Rose" sailed Nanaimo.  
 Th. 12 Peter Bartleman sentenced to be sent home.  
 Fr. 13 Screw Steamer "Otter" and Brig "Cadboro" arrived.  
 Sa. 14 Frosty mornings.  
 S. 15 John Instant whole D. Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.

(26) The meaning of this entry is not clear.

(27) *Sooke* is spelled *Soack* by Melrose throughout the diary. The engine and boiler had been purchased by John Muir, who installed them in his sawmill on Sooke Basin.

(28) The Rev. Edward (later Bishop) Cridge, who succeeded Staines as chaplain for the Hudson's Bay Company.

1855—*Continued.*

## APRIL

- Mo. 16 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Tu. 17 Steam B. "Beaver" sailed on her trading expedition. Fifteen Indians drowned by the upsetting of a canoe.  
 We. 18 Slight rain.  
 Th. 19 House for Brick Machine put up.  
 Fr. 20 James Tait engaged again with Mr. McKenzie.  
 Sa. 21 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Bellevue with sheep.  
 Mo. 23 J. Tait started to work. Rev. E. Cridge paid us a visit. Showers.  
 We. 25 Frosty mornings.  
 Fr. 27 Blue Grouse served out.  
 Sa. 28 W. Veitch whole D. J. Wilson whole D. J. Downie  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author whole D.  
 Mo. 30 John Instant whole D.

## MAY.

- Tu. 1 Mrs. Clark gave birth to a female child. Mr. McKenzie and J. Downie trying a wrestle.  
 We. 2 Two Private houses put up. Saw mill frame raised. J. Downie stricken work.  
 Th. 3 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Frasers River. The Author whole D.  
 Fr. 4 Barn frame raised. John Smith started to work. Quar. Pay due & settled.  
 Sa. 5 Screw Steamer "Otter" arrived from Nanaimo.  
 Tu. 8 S. S. "Otter" sailed Fraser's River. Showers.  
 Fr. 11 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.  
 Sa. 12 Eight Sheep killed and divided.  
 Mo. 14 Slight rain.  
 Th. 17 Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. John Russel  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 Fr. 18 Peter Bartleman removed to his own house. S. S. "Otter" arrived.  
 S. 20 Carpenters Shop went on fire, but extinguished without much damage.  
 Tu. 22 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually for sheep. James Liddle removed to P. Bartleman's house.  
 Mrs. Deans gave birth to a female child.  
 Th. 24 Victoria Races celebrated on Beacon hill. D. Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. Instant  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. James Tait whole D.  
 Sa. 26 Eight Sheep killed & divided. S. S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with 700 Sheep.  
 Mo. 28 James Deans put on for a Shepherd.  
 Tu. 29 James Downie warned out of his house.  
 We. 30 Ship "Marquis of Bute" sailed.  
 Th. 31 Thom Bates started to work. Mrs. Capt. Muat [Mouat] gave birth to a male child.

1855—*Continued.*

## JUNE.

- Fr. 1 Grand Picnic held on Esquimalt Bay in honour of Mr. Douglas's son's birth-day.
- Sa. 2 James Downie, wife, and family removed to Mr. Skinner's farm.
- Mo. 4 James Stewart and Andrew Hume's children baptized by the Rev. E. Cridge.
- We. 6 Grand Picnic held at Soack. Warm weather.
- Th. 7 John Smith dropped work. Steamer "Water Lilly"<sup>29</sup> visited Port with a batch of Yankees on a pleasure excursion.
- Fr. 8 Court postponed owing to the Pic Nic.
- Sa. 9 Six Sheep killed and divided.
- S. 10 Mrs. Clark died.
- Mo. 11 Mrs. Clark opened. J. Whyte removed to a new house. John Hall removed with his house here.
- Batch of Defaulters fined. J. Stewart whole D. J. Tait whole D. J. Wilson  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.
- Tu. 12 Saw Mill Shed went in fire little damage done.
- We. 13 Mrs. Clark buried.
- Th. 14 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually.
- Fr. 15 Refreshing rain.
- Sa. 16 John Instant removed to J. Whyte's house. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. Wilson  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.
- Mo. 18 Clay Mill erected.
- We. 20 Bob Brown, and Harry Dame started to work.
- Th. 21 Screw S. "Otter" arrived from Nisqually with cattle.
- Sa. 23 Six Sheep killed and divided. Yankee Scow arrived.
- Mo. 25 James Smith and the late James Geal's widow married.
- Tu. 26 Census of the Island taken.<sup>30</sup> Refreshing Showers.
- We. 27 Showers.
- Th. 28 S. S. "Otter" sailed Frasers River.
- Fr. 29 Mrs. Veitch gave birth to a male child.

## JULY.

- Tu. 3 One Lamb killed. Engine going night and day scarcity of flour.
- We. 4 James Wilson removed to a new house.
- Th. 5 Licence for selling Grog granted 120£ per annum. Justice vanished, larceny.
- Fr. 6 One Bullock killed. Refreshing Showers. S. S. "Otter" arrived from Fr's. River.
- Sa. 7 Fresh meat served out.

(29) This 49-foot sidewheel steamer was intended to replace the wrecked *Major Tompkins* on the Puget Sound mail run, but proved too small and frail. She was built in San Francisco and brought north on the deck of a ship.

(30) For this census see this *Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 51-58.

1855—*Continued.*

## JULY

- Mo. 9 Schooner "Agnes" fitted up.  
 Tu. 10 Remarkable warm weather.  
 We. 11 John Instant whole D. James Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Th. 12 Duncan Lidgate whole D. John Russell whole D. The Author whole D.  
 Fr. 13 Mr. Parson opened his Public house with a grand spree.  
 S. 15 Mrs. Greenwood gave birth to a male child.  
 We. 18 Mr. McKenzie bought the Schooner "Black Duck."  
 Th. 19 H.M<sup>s</sup> Steam Frigate "Brisk" 16 guns arrived from Petropaulovski and Sitka.  
 Fr. 20 Brig "Recovery" arrived from Sandwich Islands. George Greenwood engaged with Mr. McKenzie to sail the "Blackduck."  
 Sa. 21 Four Sheep killed and divided. James Tait dropped work.  
 S. 22 One Sheep killed.  
 Mo. 23 James Tait  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. D. Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Tu. 24 H.M<sup>s</sup> S. "Dido" 18 guns arrived from Petropaulovski and Sitka.  
 We. 25 Mrs. Yates gave birth to a female child.  
 Th. 26 One Lamb killed.  
 Fr. 27 One Sheep killed.  
 Sa. 28 Mr. Clark's School Examination held on a Royal scale.  
 Mo. 30 James Tait removed to Victoria. George Greenwood removed to Farm. Commenced to harvest. American Steam Frigate "Active" arrived in Port.

## AUGUST.

- We. 1 Chief Engineer of H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "Brisk" died.  
 Fr. 3 American Steam Frigate "Active" sailed.  
 Sa. 4 Five Sheep killed and divided. Well sunk 27 feet deep. Quarters Pay due.  
 S. 5 One Marine belonging to the "Brisk" drowned in Esquimalt Harbour.  
 Mo. 6 H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "Dido" sailed for San Francisco. The "Black Duck" Launched.  
 Tu. 7 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco. John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. James Liddle  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. H. M<sup>s</sup> S. S. Frigate "Brisk" sailed San Francisco.  
 Th. 9 Bob Brown dropped work.  
 Fr. 10 Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Sa. 11 One Sheep killed. Foggy mornings. The "Black Duck" named "Jessie."  
 S. 12 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Tu. 14 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands. Batteaux "Agnes" arrived.

1855—*Continued.*

## AUGUST

- We. 15 One Sheep killed. Batteaux "Agnes" sailed Fraser's River.  
 Mrs Anderson gave birth to a female child.
- Th. 16 Mr Clark's juvenile Pic Nic celebrated on Esquimalt Bay.
- Fr. 17 One Bullock killed.
- Sa. 18 Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Barr breaking the peace.
- Mo. 20 Great Batch off to the gold-digging.
- Tu. 21 H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "Trincomalee" 26 guns arrived at Soack.
- We. 22 Extraordinary warm.
- Fr. 24 One Bullock killed.
- Sa. 25 H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "Trincomalee" arrived in Esquimalt Bay. Duncan  
 Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- S. 26 S. S. "Otter" arrived from San Francisco.
- Mo. 27 H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "Monarch" 84 guns arrived from San Francisco.
- Tu. 28 Showers.
- We. 29 One Bullock killed "Monarch."
- Th. 30 Two do's do. do. Batteaux "Agness" arrived  
 with salmon.
- Fr. 31 Do. do. do.

## SEPTEMBER.

- Sa. 1 Four Bullocks killed for H.M.S. "Monarch."
- S. 2 Heavy showers.
- Mo. 3 Five Bullocks killed for H.M.S. "Monarch" & Cargo of sheep.
- Tu. 4 Six do do do. S. S. "Otter"  
 sailed Nisqually.
- We. 5 William Veitch and George Greenwood's children baptized by  
 the Chaplain of the "Monarch."
- Th. 6 H.M.S. "Monarch" sailed San Francisco. Bob Brown  
 started to work.
- Fr. 7 One Bullock killed.
- Mo. 10 James Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.
- Tu. 11 S. S. "Otter" arrived. Schooner "Jessie" arrived. One  
 Bullock killed "Trincomalee." J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. J. In-  
 stant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. John Hall dropped work.
- Th. 13 Batteaux "Agnes" arrived. One Bullock killed "Trincoma-  
 lee." Will Stephens engaged with Mr. McKenzie.
- Fr. 14 One Bullock killed "Trincomalee." Showers.
- Sa. 15 O. do do & Two Sheep do. S. S. "Otter" sailed  
 Nisqually. Showers.
- Mo. 17 John Hall removed to Victoria. Mrs. Simpson gave birth to  
 a male child.
- We. 19 John Hall removed to J. Hall's house. Showers. One Sheep  
 killed.
- Th. 20 One Sheep killed.
- Fr. 21 Two Bullocks killed. S. S. "Otter" arrived.



1855—*Continued.*

## SEPTEMBER

- Sa. 22 John Vine engaged with Mr. McKenzie.  
 S. 23 Heavy showers Thunder and lightning.  
 Mo. 24 Three Sheep and one Bullock killed. Showers. Schooner  
       "Jessie" sailed.  
 Tu. 25 Great Ball held at the Naval Hospitals.<sup>31</sup>  
 We. 26 Grand Theatrical opera celebrated at the Hospitals. Showers.  
 Fr. 28 Five Sheep killed. Dozen sent on board the "Trincomalee."  
 Sa. 29 H.M.S. "President" 50 guns arrived.  
 S. 30 H.M.S. "Trincomalee" sailed San Francisco.

## OCTOBER.

- Mo. 1 One Bullock killed "President." Showers.  
 Tu. 2 do. do. do. do. Schooner "Jessie" arrived.  
 We. 3 Do. do. do. do.  
 Th. 4 Do. do. do. do. Harvest completed.  
 Fr. 5 One Bullock to be killed every day for the "President" a  
       sheep now and then.  
 Sa. 6 Four Sheep killed and divided. J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. D. Lidgate  
        $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Mo. 8 Bob Brown dropped work.  
 We. 10 Showers.  
 Th. 11 James Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Will Veitch  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
       The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Fr. 12 George Greenwood and Andrew Hume fighting. Showers.  
 Sa. 13 Horse-races celebrated on Beacon-Hill. Fresh Beef served  
       out.  
 S. 14 William Stephens  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 Tu. 16 John Instant whole D. Duncan Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
 We. 17 Schooner "Jessie" sailed.  
 Th. 18 Brig "Recovery" arrived from the Sandwich Islands.  
 Fr. 19 Showers.  
 Sa. 20 Heavy rain. Fresh Beef served out. Schooner "Jessie"  
       arrived with potatoes.  
 S. 21 John Vine  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. William Stephens  $\frac{1}{2}$  D.  
 We. 24 High wind with heavy rain.  
 Th. 25 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Theatrical Play and Ball held on  
       board H. M<sup>s</sup> S. "President."  
 Sa. 27 Fresh Beef served out. Showers.  
 S. 28 S. S. "Otter" arrived from Fort Simpson. 7 Children bap-  
       tized on board the "President."  
 Mo. 29 H.M<sup>s</sup> S. "President" sailed San Francisco. D. Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$   
       D. Frosty.

(31) A naval hospital, consisting of three buildings, was erected at Esquimalt in 1855. See "Correspondence relating to the establishment of a naval base at Esquimalt," in this *Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 277-96.

1855—*Continued.*

## OCTOBER

- Tu. 30 Schooner "Jessie" arrived with potatoes.  
 We. 31 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Soack.

## NOVEMBER.

- Th. 1 Mr Longford's<sup>32</sup> men completed their five years engagement.  
     Frosty.  
 Fr. 2 One Bullock killed.  
 Sa. 3 Fresh meat served out. Schooner "Jessie" arrived.  
 S. 4 American Steamer "Water Lilly" arrived in Port.  
 Mo. 5 Quarters Pay due. Showers.  
 Tu. 6 Schooner "Jessie" sailed Nanaimo with sheep.  
 We. 7 High wind and rain.  
 Th. 8 John Russel  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. The Author  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. One Bullock killed.  
 Fr. 9 High wind.  
 Sa. 10 J. Wilson  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. W. Veitch  $\frac{1}{2}$  D. The Author whole D.  
     Brick kiln burnt off.  
 Mo. 12 Harry Dane dropped work.  
 Tu. 13 Schooner "Jessie" arrived from Nanaimo with coals.  
 Th. 15 John Instant whole D.  
 Fr. 16 S. S. "Otter" and Brig "Recovery" arrived from Fraser's  
     River.  
 Sa. 17 Fresh Mutton served out.  
 S. 18 Heavy rain. Rev<sup>d</sup> E. Cridge performed divine service at  
     Craigflower.  
 Tu. 20 S. S. "Otter" sailed Nisqually. Frosty.  
 Fr. 23 One Bullock killed.  
 Sa. 24 Brig "Recovery" sailed Sandwich Islands.  
 Mo. 26 Heavy rain.  
 Tu. 27 S. S. "Otter" arrived Nisqually.  
 We. 28 High wind and heavy rain.  
 Th. 29 Heavy rain. Tremendous roll of thunder six o'clock evening.

## DECEMBER.

- S. 2 John Instant  $\frac{3}{4}$  D. Thom Bate's wife died.  
 Mo. 3 Mrs Abernethy gave birth to a still-born male child.  
 Tu. 4 Meeting held to form a Christmas ball. Rain.  
 We. 5 Highwind.  
 Th. 6 Steam Boat "Beaver" arrived from her trading expedition.  
 Fr. 7 One Bullock killed.  
 Sa. 8 Schooner "Alice" driven back by stress of weather.<sup>33</sup>  
 S. 9 Very wet day.

(32) *Langford* is meant.

(33) This little iron schooner of 45 tons, owned by Captain James Cooper, was the first vessel registered at Victoria. She was brought out from England in sections.

1855—*Continued.*

## DECEMBER

- Tu. 11 S. B. "Beaver" sailed Bellvue. Showers.  
We. 12 Showers.  
Th. 13 Showers.  
S. 16 Showers. John Vine  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
Mo. 17 Barque "Princess Royal" arrived from England.  
Th. 20 Showers.  
Fr. 21 Frost and Snow. Six Sheep killed.  
Sa. 22 S. S. "Otter" sailed San Francisco. D. Lidgate  $\frac{3}{4}$  D.  
Severe Frost.  
S. 23 Frosty.  
Mo. 24 Frost and snow.  
Tu. 25 Christmas Ball celebrated with great glee. Most severe frost.  
We. 26 High wind with keen frost.  
Th. 27 Very Frosty.  
Fr. 28 Frosty.  
S. 30 Still very Frosty.  
Mo. 31 Showers of snow.

(The concluding instalment of the diary will appear in  
an early issue of the *Quarterly*.)

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

#### VICTORIA SECTION.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday, June 8. The Vice-Chairman, Mr. F. C. Green, presided. The speaker of the evening was Mr. Gerald E. Wellburn, well-known stamp collector and past president of the Vancouver Island Philatelic Society, who spoke on *The History of Victoria from a Stamp Collector's Viewpoint*. Mr. Wellburn is an authority on the postal history of the Province, and the knowledge and enthusiasm with which he dealt with his topic made his address of absorbing interest. The stamps issued in colonial days are now difficult to obtain, and the speaker hazarded the opinion that not more than half a dozen collectors in the world possess complete sets. Fortunately, one of these sets is in the Provincial Archives. Mr. Wellburn stressed the close connection that naturally exists between the development of transportation and the history of stamps and letter-carrying systems of various kinds, and he briefly traced these developments from the time when a letter destined for Victoria travelled by sailing ship via Cape Horn, a distance of 12,500 miles, to the present time, when a Trans-Canada Airways plane can carry a letter from New York to Victoria in a single day. The address was illustrated with views of interesting and valuable letters, stamps, and covers, the originals of many of which are in Mr. Wellburn's personal collection.

A group of documents relating to the Naval Canteen and the Royal Naval Club at Esquimalt, received recently from the Naval authorities, was exhibited at the meeting and handed over to the Provincial Archives, to be added to the extensive files of Naval records already in the manuscript collection.

#### VANCOUVER SECTION.

The Section met in the Hotel Grosvenor on the evening of Tuesday, April 20. The President, Mr. A. G. Harvey, was in the chair. Mr. George Green, of Burnaby, spoke on *The Original Fort Langley*. Mr. Green has spent much time exploring both the old records relating to Fort Langley and the actual site upon which the original buildings of the post were erected in 1827. He dealt first with the reasons which prompted the Hudson's Bay Company to build a post on the Fraser River at so early a date, and described the operations carried on there, which included salmon-fishing and farming, as well as the usual trading of furs. He next explained why the Company decided to abandon the original site, and erected a new fort, somewhat higher up the Fraser, in 1839-40. Finally, Mr. Green described at length the interesting developments which took place at the old site in later years. When the gold-rush occurred in 1858, this site was hastily selected as a suitable location for the capital of the new colony that was coming into being on the Mainland. The city-to-be was named Derby, and

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construction of a church and a number of Government buildings was started without delay. At this point Captain Grant, commanding officer of the advance party of the detachment of Royal Engineers sent out to British Columbia, arrived and condemned the site on military grounds. Colonel Moody is generally credited with this decision, and the none-too-happy relations between Moody and Governor Douglas have been ascribed to the rejection of the site Douglas had chosen; but Mr. Green quoted from a letter written by Captain Grant before Moody's arrival that throws new and interesting light on the whole question. The address was illustrated by a number of maps and charts prepared by the speaker, which made it easy to follow every detail of the story. Those attending the meeting included two pioneers who, as children, had travelled from England with the Royal Engineers in the *Thames City*: Mr. John Henry Scales, of Vancouver, aged 88, and Mr. Hugh Murray, of South Westminster, who is 87. Both contributed reminiscences in the course of the discussion that followed the address, as did Mr. Otway Wilkie, another well-known pioneer of the Langley region.

#### GRADUATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The final meeting of what has been an interesting and successful year was held on Wednesday, May 19, at the home of Mr. John Gibbard, 1756 Fifty-seventh Avenue West, Vancouver. The speaker was Dr. J. A. Crumb, of the Department of Economics, The University of British Columbia, who spoke on *Some Financial Problems of the Peace*.

The annual election of officers was held, and the executive for the season 1943-44 is composed as follows:—

Honorary President	-	-	-	-	Dr. W. N. Sage.
President	-	-	-	-	Miss Lois Nicholson.
Past President	-	-	-	-	Miss Rose Whelan.
Vice-President	-	-	-	-	Miss Helen Manning.
Corresponding Secretary	-	-	-	-	Miss Daisy McNeill.
Recording Secretary	-	-	-	-	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Treasurer	-	-	-	-	Mr. John Gibbard.

The book prize awarded annually by the Society to the member of the graduating class of the University coming first in History was this year won by Miss Joan Rosemary Barnett.

#### MEMORIAL TO CHARLES ROSS.

The centenary of the City of Victoria has aroused interest in the career of Chief Trader Charles Ross, who was placed in charge of building operations when the original fort buildings were under construction, and who managed the post during the first year of its existence. Ross died on June 27, 1844, and so little notice has been taken of him that he has been well described as Victoria's "forgotten man." Thanks in great part to the efforts of Mr. B. A. McKelvie, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, Ross is now receiving belated recognition, and a monument to his memory was unveiled on Sunday, June 27, 1943, the ninety-ninth anniversary of his death.

The handsome stone is of Nelson Island granite and stands in the old Quadra Street cemetery, now known as Pioneer Square, in which Ross lies buried. The stone was erected by the city, the cost being defrayed out of the grant made by the Provincial Government in March. Alderman D. D. McTavish, Chairman of the Civic Centenary Celebration Committee, presided at the unveiling. Mr. B. A. McKelvie delivered the principal address, and recalled the highlights of Ross's career. He spoke, too, of the many noted pioneers who rest in the old cemetery, including Chief Factor John Work; Captain Charles Dodd, who commanded the historic steamer *Beaver*; David Cameron, the first Chief Justice of Vancouver Island; and Dr. J. S. Helmcken, son-in-law of James Douglas. The actual unveiling was performed by Mr. Francis Ross, grandson of Charles Ross, while the latter's great-great-grandchildren looked on. Invocation was pronounced by Rev. J. W. L. McLean, of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and Piper Donald McLean played a lament in honour of Ross, who was born in Scotland.

The inscription on the monument reads as follows:—

In Memory of  
CHARLES ROSS  
Chief Trader Hudson's Bay Company  
who arrived with his wife & family  
June 1, 1843 to take charge of  
FORT VICTORIA  
Died June 27, 1844  
Erected by  
The Citizens of British Columbia  
June 1943

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Gilbert Norman Tucker is Official Historian of the Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa.

Madge Wolfenden is Acting Provincial Archivist of British Columbia.

Sister Mary Annunciata is Sister Superior of St. Ann's Convent, New Westminster.



## THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

*Lord of Alaska.* By Hector Chevigny. New York: Viking Press, 1942. Pp. 320. \$3.

This book tells the story of Alexander Baranov, concerning whom most of us have known little more than that he was Governor of Russian Alaska and lived at Sitka in the misty past. The author reveals the man, a man to admire as much for his courage as for his sagacity, "a man of action with a strong stubborn streak, an independent spirit, high honesty, and genuine pride in legitimate achievement." Such is the author's pronouncement after tracing his career through its many vicissitudes. His life was a long series of adventures, replete with hardship and misfortune; he had to face battle and murder, shipwreck and mutiny; he was buffeted by the forces of nature and the weaknesses of man, to survive them all and obtain recognition at last from his myopic government at far-away St. Petersburg.

In reading the biography of such an intrepid man, one realizes the numerous extraordinary escapes from death. Many famous men seem to have had their lives preserved for a special purpose, surviving all sorts of mischances. That is true of the greatest Englishman now living—Winston Churchill.

The first Russians to invade and exploit Alaska were the *promyshleniki*, or frontiersmen, daring and reckless, of Cossack origin; they had heard rumours of a region rich in peltry across the sea from eastern Siberia. Vitus Bering, a Danish sailor, led the way in 1741, and established contact between Okhotsk and the Aleutian Islands, which owed their name to the foxes, whose fur was sought before the sea-otter was discovered along the coast of the mainland. Gregor Shelekhov, a trader, started a post on Kodiak Island in 1783. Seven years later he engaged Baranov, then 43 years of age, born near the Finnish border. He is described as flaxen haired, comparatively slight of body, but hard and wiry. He was a small trader, and uneducated. The factor at Kodiak was not trustworthy, so Shelekhov sent Baranov, with a small ship-load, to replace him. The voyage was one of 1,800 miles. Thus Alexander Baranov began a career that was to absorb the remaining thirty years of his life. In that time he did a great work for the Russians and won undying fame.

Among the might-have-beens of history is the opportunity the Russians had to gain a larger part of the Pacific coast region, including British Columbia and the northern half of California. Nicolai Rezanov and Alexander Baranov alike saw the opportunity and did their best to interest the Tzar's government in the grandiose enterprise, but the Russians of that day had too many troubles at home and were little concerned with colonial expansion. Our author gives information on the subject both in this book and in his earlier volume, *Lost Empire*, which tells the story of Rezanov.

The biography is fortified by a background of careful research. The author gives a bibliography, indicating the use of many Russian volumes

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and documents, but this book would be more scholarly and better appreciated by historians if he had given page references.

The author uses Russian words freely, frequently without stating their meaning. To the reviewer, who has lived in Russia, these give local colour, but to the average reader they will be mental hurdles hard to clear. The book, nevertheless, is decidedly interesting, despite an evident lack of the requisite literary skill.

Mr. Hector Chevigny is of French-Canadian stock, but much of his life has been spent in the United States. He resides now in California. That explains his use of many American vulgarisms, which in a serious and valuable book are equivalent to illiteracies. For example, "much [instead of many] data," "he set his men to readying [making ready] his residence," "they joined in helping set [to set] everything afire," "such necessities [necessaries] as powder and shot." It is curious how men, and women, will undertake to write books before they have learned the proper use of the language they employ for the purpose. If another edition is issued, as is likely, for the book is worthy of it, we may hope that these blemishes will be removed. As it is, *Lord of Alaska* is a welcome and valuable contribution to the history of the Northwest.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

*San Juan Archipelago: Study of the Joint Occupation of San Juan Island.*

By Hunter Miller. Printed at the Wyndham Press, Bellows Falls, Vermont, 1943. Pp. 203. Map.

This monograph is an advance text of the notes on the joint occupation of San Juan Island that Dr. Miller has prepared for inclusion in volume 8 of the monumental series entitled *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, which he is editing for the Department of State. As publication of that volume has been postponed owing to the war, this preliminary version has been issued in a limited edition in order that it may be available immediately to those interested in the subject. It may be added that the volume is devoted entirely to the specific aspect of the San Juan question indicated in the title. The actual boundary dispute is only mentioned incidentally, as it will be dealt with in a companion study to be printed in a later volume of the *Treaties* series.

The Hudson's Bay Company had long had its eye on San Juan Island, and when it became clear that the Oregon boundary would soon be determined the Company took steps to record its claim, both on its own behalf and on that of the Crown. Agents of the Company took possession of the island "in the month of July 1845, and a notice to that effect engraven on a wooden Tablet, was erected on an eminence near the South east point of the Island . . ." This tablet was still in existence in 1855, when Governor Douglas reported on the matter to the Colonial Office. Much had occurred in the intervening decade, for both the British and American authorities nearest the scene assumed that the boundary treaty of 1846 had awarded the island to their respective countries. The Hudson's Bay Company estab-

lished a fishing-station on San Juan in 1850, and followed this with a large sheep-farm in December, 1853. A few months later the Legislature of the newly-formed Washington Territory countered these moves by including the whole archipelago within the boundaries of Whatcom County.

Governor Douglas took a great personal interest in the San Juan dispute, and in response to his appeals to London the British Government, in the person of Lord Grey, officially authorized him, in September, 1854, "to continue to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions"; but at the same time it is abundantly clear that the Government did not intend Douglas to press the British claim aggressively. In effect he was authorized to continue in possession until such time as the sovereignty of the archipelago should be determined. In Washington a similar view prevailed. In July, 1855, Secretary of State Marcy, writing to the Governor of Washington Territory, stressed the fact that "the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts, on the disputed ground, which are calculated to provoke any conflict . . ."

In 1856 a definite step was taken toward a settlement. Boundary commissioners were appointed by both Governments. The following year, however, the commissioners found themselves unable to agree and negotiations reached a deadlock. This was still unbroken two years later, when a crisis was precipitated by the celebrated affair of the pig. The pig in question was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and it was done to death by one Cutler, an American settler, whose garden it had been molesting. From this simple incident there soon arose claims and counter-claims, threats and counter-threats, and, finally, military action by Brigadier-General Harney, commander of the American troops in Oregon. Harney, an ardent nationalist, who regarded San Juan Island as being unquestionably a part of the United States, visited the island on July 9, 1859, three weeks after the demise of the pig. Nine days later he ordered troops to the island, and on the 27th a force duly landed.

Douglas, whose ardour for the British cause was fully equal to Harney's for the American claim, was outraged by this action, and at once arranged to have a naval force sent to San Juan from Esquimalt. In Douglas's view the honour of the British Government was involved, and it was his wish not only that a counter-landing should be made on San Juan, but that the matter should be fought out there and then if the Americans chose to resist. With Douglas in this mood on the one side and Harney on the other, neither of them prepared to yield an inch, the situation had, in fact, all the makings of an international incident that might well have ended in a resounding clash of arms.

Fortunately, the commander of the British ships, Captain Hornby, was an officer of intelligence and experience. He recognized that the crisis was no more than a clash between local authorities who had no power to settle the fundamental point at issue—the sovereignty of the archipelago—and he was determined to avoid violence if possible. As for the honour of Great Britain, the strength of the force at Hornby's command made it evident that he could land if he chose, even in the face of American opposition, and,

that being the case, he saw no disgrace in refraining from doing so. He therefore ignored Douglas's instructions to land on the island—an act which Douglas never forgave nor forgot. Fortunately, the matter was soon taken out of Douglas's hands by the arrival of Admiral Baynes, who fully agreed with Hornby's point of view. Indeed, so imperative did he consider it that a clash should be avoided that he gave Hornby a "positive order" that he was "not, on any account whatever, [to] take the initiative in commencing hostilities . . ."

As soon as word of these events reached London and Washington prompt steps were taken to clear the matter up. The British Government endorsed the action of Hornby and Baynes, while the American Government hastened to send General Winfield Scott to the scene as a special envoy, charged with the task of restoring peace and quiet. Scott proposed a joint military occupation of San Juan Island. Douglas at first demurred, but an agreement was finally arrived at. The British detachment landed on March 21, 1860. Contrary to expectation, the San Juan dispute dragged on for another dozen years, and the last of the British troops were not withdrawn until November, 1872.

Dr. Miller tells the whole story in the fullest detail, and every point is carefully documented. The narrative does not make easy reading, but that is not to be expected in an exhaustive work of reference. The thoroughness and judgment with which every possible source of information has been ransacked and turned to expert account is most striking; and it is interesting to note that Dr. Miller found the Provincial Archives "rich in relevant material." The book is fair to both sides, and will at once take its place as the definitive study of the subject. From the local point of view, the most interesting point is that, for once, Douglas does not appear in a very favourable light. It is clear that he permitted his feelings to sway his judgment, and if it had not been for Captain Hornby's intervention he might well have precipitated a war between Great Britain and the United States. Moreover, Dr. Miller shows that he misled the Colonial Office when reporting upon the character and extent of British settlement on San Juan. It does not seem to have occurred to him that his dispatches to the Colonial Secretary and to the Hudson's Bay Company might be placed side by side.

The mass of material bearing upon the joint occupation is astonishing. It is an example of the amount and variety of information that can be secured about many aspects of the history of the Pacific Northwest if one has the opportunity and the intelligence to search it out.

W. KAYE LAMB.

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

#### SHORTER NOTICES.

A 32-page illustrated booklet has been issued by the Sir James and Lady Douglas Chapter of the I.O.D.E. in honour of the centenary of Victoria. A foreword, contributed by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, indicates that the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association and the British

Columbia Travel Bureau were also concerned in its publication. The booklet is evidently intended primarily for the tourist, and this no doubt accounts for the emphasis placed (in the pictures especially) on the city's present, rather than upon its past. Some early street scenes and views of early buildings are included, along with portraits of Captain Vancouver, Governor Blanshard, Sir James Douglas, Lady Douglas, and Victoria's first Mayor, Thomas Harris. There are forty-five illustrations in all. The text is interesting, but there is no connected narrative of the history of the city. It is a pity that no title was placed on the cover; only the dates "1843 1943" appear, on either side of an early view of Government Street. The price of the booklet is 25 cents.

*Tales of the Kootenays*, by Fred J. Smyth, first published in 1938, has been issued in a second edition, dated 1942. The book was reviewed in the *Quarterly* for January, 1941. The new edition is issued from the office of the *Cranbrook Courier*. The price is \$2.

### A THIRD CHECKLIST OF CROWN COLONY IMPRINTS.

Being a supplement to the checklists printed in the *Quarterly* in October, 1937, pp. 263-71, and April, 1940, pp. 139-141.

54. *Addresses presented to His Excellency A. E. Kennedy, C.B., on assuming the government of Vancouver Island.*

30p.O.

No imprint.

Printed cover.

The addresses of welcome, 17 in number, are dated March and April, 1864.

55. *By-laws of the District Grand Lodge, of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons, of British Columbia. E.R.* Adopted August 20th, 5868. Confirmed December 10th, 5868. And approved by the Most Worshipful the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master of England, April 6th, 5869. Victoria, B.C. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1869. 15p.D.

56. Hyack Engine Company, No. 1, New Westminster.

*Constitution, bye-laws and rules of order of the Hyack Engine Company No. 1, New Westminster, B.C.* New Westminster. Printed at the Office of the "British Columbian," 1864.

14[1]p.sq.T.

Printed cover.

The constitution of one of the early volunteer fire companies.

57. *Minutes of a preliminary meeting of the Delegates elected by the various Districts of British Columbia convened at Yale, pursuant to the . . . Yale convention.* New Westminster, British Columbian Print, 1868 [?].

12p.O.

No title-page.

The Yale convention took place on September 14, 1868.

58. New Westminster Home Guards.

*Rules and regulations of the New Westminster Home Guards . . .*  
New Westminster. Printed at the Government Printing Office, 1866.

1 p.1.8p.T.

Printed cover.

The Home Guards was a volunteer regiment organized in June, 1866, as a result of the popular desire to strengthen the defences against a possible invasion by Fenians from across the border.

59. Patterson, William D.

*Map of the Cariboo and Omineca Gold Fields and the routes thereto*, compiled from reliable authorities by Wm. D. Patterson, C.E., lithographed by F. W. Green, C.E. . . . Victoria, printed at the Standard Office, 1870.

cover-title, T.

In addition to the map which measures 15¾ x 20½ inches there is a folded leaf "Distance tables and miscellaneous information."

60. Patterson, William D.

*Map of the Cariboo and Omineca Gold Fields and the routes thereto*, compiled from reliable authorities by Wm. D. Patterson, C.E., lithographed by F. W. Green, C.E. . . . Victoria, printed at the Standard Office, 1871.

cover-title, T.

Identical with item 59, except for date of publication.

61. *Proceedings of the Provincial Grand Lodge of British Columbia A.F. & A.M., R.S. at its second annual communication held at the City of Victoria, May 1, A.L. 5869.* Ordered by the R.W. the Prov. Grand Master, that these proceedings be read in each Lodge immediately after the receipt thereof. Victoria, J.E.M'Millan, 1869.  
30p.O.

At head of title: From the Office of the Provincial Grand Secretary.

62. Skewton, Lady Lavinia [*pseud.*].

*The "Occasional Paper"*; one letter from the Honorable Lady Lavinia Skewton, London, to the Lord Bishop of Colombia [*sic*]; 2d ed. Victoria, V.I. Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.

7[1]p.S.

Printed cover.

A satirical item, obviously inspired by the famous "Occasional Papers" written by George Hills, first Bishop of British Columbia, to the Columbia Mission, soon after his arrival in the colony.

63. Somerville, Thomas.

*Oration delivered at the inauguration of the new Masonic Hall, on Government Street, Victoria, Vancouver Island, on Monday, 25th June A.L., 5866 . . .* [Victoria] Colonist and Chronicle Print [1866?].

9[1]p.O.

Printed cover.

Thomas Somerville was "chaplain to Vancouver Lodge," A.F. & A.M.



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