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QUARTERLY



JANUARY, 1944



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The
**BRITISH COLUMBIA
 HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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

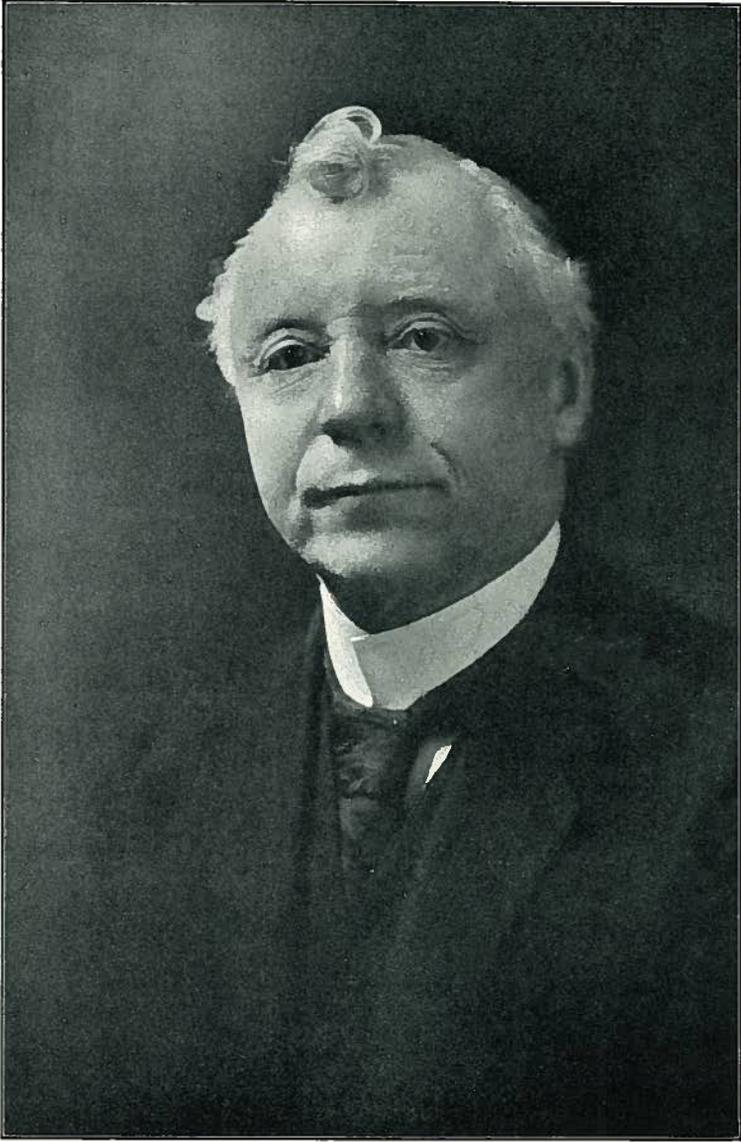
VOL. VIII.

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No. 1

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
<i>Frederic William Howay (1867-1943):</i>	
<i>Scholar and Friend.</i>	
By Henry R. Wagner.....	1
<i>An Appreciation.</i>	
By W. Stewart Wallace.....	3
<i>Historian of British Columbia.</i>	
By W. N. Sage.....	4
<i>An Intimate Portrait.</i>	
By Noel Robinson.....	6
<i>William Sturgis: The Northwest Fur Trade.</i>	
Edited, with an introduction and notes, by F. W. Howay.....	11
<i>A Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Frederic William Howay.</i>	
Compiled, with a biographical introduction, by W. Kaye Lamb.....	27
<i>John Nugent: The Impertinent Envoy.</i>	
By Robie L. Reid.....	53
NOTES AND COMMENTS.	
<i>Some Archives Accessions in 1943.</i>	
By Madge Wolfenden.....	77
British Columbia Historical Association.....	82
Victoria Cavalcade.....	84
Contributors to this Issue.....	85
THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF:	
<i>Tenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society.</i>	
By W. Kaye Lamb.....	87
<i>VanMale: Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries.</i>	
By Eleanor B. Mercer.....	88
<i>Kemble: The Panama Route, 1848-1869.</i>	
By W. Kaye Lamb.....	89



Judge F. W. Howay.
From a photograph taken in 1923.

FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY (1867-1943): SCHOLAR AND FRIEND.

A distinguished scholar, a genial companion, and a dear friend has passed on, leaving us to mourn his untimely departure. Nearly fifteen years have gone by since on a visit to Victoria I crossed to the mainland to call on His Honour F. W. Howay, familiarly known to his friends as Judge Howay, at his home in New Westminster. I was engaged at the time in investigating the voyages of the Spaniards to the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1790 and the next few years, and, knowing that the Judge was interested in the history of Vancouver Island, I wished to compare a few notes with him. We talked for two hours while my wife sat alone in the car. That was the beginning of our friendship, cultivated by continual correspondence and occasional meetings. In the summers up to 1938 my wife and I visited British Columbia every year, and after that the Judge came to California nearly as often. He always had some project brewing, as he had a multitude of interests. As a sample of this I quote a few sentences from his last letter to me, dated June 19: "As to what I am doing—well, I am keeping busy. I had to prepare an address to the members of the board [the Historic Sites and Monuments Board] on my taking office [as Chairman], and another for the dedication, at a public gathering, of three tablets to the explorers of the Canadian Arctic, and another on assuming the Presidency of the Champlain Society. Then I have also prepared, with an Introduction and Notes, that sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade which appeared in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for 1846. This was enough to keep a lazy chap like myself extremely busy." It may have been true that there was a lazy streak in him, but he kept pegging away persistently and I never saw any laziness about him. He did not drive himself, but did what he loved to do.

He had no patience with superficial scholarship, nor the products of it which occasionally drew his attention. He thought no man should publish anything on a subject which he had not probed to the bottom. This was his ideal of scholarship, and he carried its banner high to the very end. His editing of the

Voyages of the "Columbia," published in 1941 by the Massachusetts Historical Society, will stand as a monument to the fulfilment of his ideals.

One of the Judge's pet schemes was to arrange a meeting between me and Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, his long-time friend. Somehow something always came up to interfere, latterly Mr. Elliott's illness. He was greatly moved by Elliott's death last May. In his last letter to me, in speaking of him, he said: "I shall miss him much. He was a fine man, God rest his soul." So I say of the Judge. He was a fine, lovable man. God rest his soul.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA.

AN APPRECIATION.

I am grateful for the opportunity of paying my tribute, such as it is, to the memory of my old friend Judge Howay.

It is now over thirty years since I first made Judge Howay's acquaintance, and though in that period I have seen him only occasionally, when he made his annual trips to the East, I had come to regard him as a friend whose friendship was as tried and true as steel.

When in the dim ages before the last war I became assistant to Professor Wrong and Mr. Langton, on the editorial staff of the old *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, I was given to understand that if I wanted a sound review of a book on British Columbia and the Pacific Coast, I should send the book to a County Court Judge in New Westminster, named Howay. From that day to this, in my frequent applications to Judge Howay for help of one sort and another, he never failed me. Not only was his knowledge inexhaustible, but his good will and helpfulness were inexhaustible too. I had for him not only a great respect, but a great affection, based on a long association unbroken by a single disagreement. It was to me a source of great pleasure that the Royal Society of Canada crowned his labours two years ago with election to the Presidency of the Society; and it was also a matter of congratulation with me that the following year Judge Howay allowed me to nominate him as President of the Champlain Society. We on the Council of the Champlain Society will greatly miss the wise counsel and great knowledge which he placed at the Council's disposal.

*So he passed over, and all the Trumpets
sounded for him on the other side.*

W. STEWART WALLACE.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

HISTORIAN OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Although our loss is so recent and so real, it is nonetheless already possible to begin to appreciate the position which Judge Howay occupies in the history of historical writing in British Columbia. He was one of the last great pioneers of our Province. He lived through the first seventy-five years of Canadian federation, and spent nearly all that time within the confines of British Columbia. Although he was born in Ontario, practically his whole life was connected with our Province, and most of it with the City of New Westminster.

In his boyhood the Judge learned much of the early history of British Columbia by listening to the stories of the Royal Engineers and the men of Cariboo. His father-in-law, William H. Ladner, had come in with the gold-seekers and had later taken up land at Ladner's Landing, now Ladner, B.C. The Judge knew the old Cariboo Road intimately. He witnessed the coming of the railway, and remembered well the "battle of the terminals." It was he who later sketched the political battle between "Mainland" and "Island," and it must be confessed that his sympathies lay with the Mainland. Nonetheless he knew the early history of Vancouver Island thoroughly. He had read and digested not only the printed voyages of Cook, Meares, Portlock, Dixon, and Vancouver, but he had sought out and discovered manuscripts of the early voyages, previously unknown.

Sometime about 1908 he began to write about British Columbia history, and he kept up his researches until his death. Learned in the law and accustomed to rendering legal decisions, he scrutinized his sources with the greatest care. In 1926 Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, of Harvard, playfully remarked in his address at the unveiling of the monument at Astoria: "I have learned that when Judge Howay says a thing ain't so, well, *it ain't so.*"

When the Judge began to write the history of this Province much had already been accomplished, but the fringe of the subject had hardly been touched. H. H. Bancroft had produced his *History of British Columbia* in 1887, and Alexander Begg, C.C., had published his well-known compilation on the same subject in 1894. Reverend A. G. Morice had published his *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* in 1904. R. E.

Gosnell had already founded the Provincial Archives and had produced his valuable series of *Year Books of British Columbia*, commencing in 1897. There were other minor works dealing with the history of the region, and, in addition, a series of travel books, some of them dating back to the 1860's. But it was Judge Howay who, with his friend and collaborator, E. O. S. Scholefield, really took up the serious writing of British Columbia history. *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*, which appeared in 1914 under the joint authorship of Scholefield and Howay, was, and is, the most complete work in the field. In 1928 the Judge published his *British Columbia, the Making of a Province*. These volumes marked a real advance in the history of British Columbia.

It was, however, as the gatherer, interpreter, and narrator of the story of the maritime fur trade from 1785 to 1830 that Judge Howay reigned supreme. The extent and thoroughness of his labours may best be judged by the series of papers presented to Section II. of the Royal Society of Canada during the early 1930's. In these papers he lists and discusses all the trading-ships to the Northwest Coast which he had been able to trace. His researches were widespread and took him to Hawaii and to Massachusetts. His work in this field is unrivalled and will stand the test of time.

Judge Howay was also important for the stimulus and encouragement he gave to others interested in the history of British Columbia. His reputation was international, but he was always ready to assist and criticize the work of younger historians. As Western Canadian member, and later as Chairman, of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada he "made history," not only by presiding at many dedicatory ceremonies, but by the scrupulous care he bestowed upon the research necessary for the obtaining of the facts regarding the historic events commemorated by each monument.

His was a busy life and he lived it to the full. He has left this Province and Canada the richer because he loved our history, spoke eloquently about it, preserved its records, wrote its story, and was, without doubt, the outstanding historian of British Columbia.

W. N. SAGE.

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

AN INTIMATE PORTRAIT.

In paying tribute to the memory of my old friend Judge Howay I do so with the feeling that anything I may write will fall short of what I should like to write, for he occupied a unique niche in my esteem and affection for a period of about thirty years.

Widely known though he was in Canada, and particularly British Columbia, as jurist, historian, and lecturer, there will be many, even among the readers of this *Quarterly*, who did not know him intimately. It is for these, particularly, that I would endeavour to paint a little pen-picture of one who was not only an outstanding Canadian, but a very lovable and intensely interesting and versatile man.

It is as I knew him during the innumerable afternoons and evenings I have spent with him in the delightful study of his home in New Westminster that I shall always remember him best. Many walls of his home were hidden with shelves of books from floor to ceiling, but it was in this sanctum, the windows of which afforded a spacious view of the great Fraser River far below, where he was surrounded by the pick of his priceless collection of British Columbiana, as well as his more intimately prized volumes of prose and poetry, that he always seemed most at home. There, and in his summer home up the North Arm of Burrard Inlet, where he was an equally happy host, and where I was able to appreciate his talent in backwoods lore—yes, and as a cook and very practical skipper of his motor-launch.

In that room, less than two weeks before he died—and after he had suffered the stroke the effects of which were to prove fatal—he played me two games of chess upon the old chess-board that showed signs of its immersion when, upon one occasion, his launch shipped a sea which poured into the cabin while he was playing a game. That afternoon we “boxed the compass” in conversation for the last time upon those literary matters that were so dear to him. His mentality was unimpaired, but we were both aware that he had, in all human probability, received an intimation of the approaching end. It was characteristic of him that this knowledge made no difference to the zest with which he engaged in those games—both of which

he won—or in the discussion that followed. He may be said to have died, as he would have wished, almost with his boots on.

He was at that time preparing a programme for the New Westminster Fellowship of Arts, of which he had been the moving spirit for a quarter of a century, and the interests of which, together with those of the Vancouver Dickens Fellowship, of which he was life Honorary President as well as a Vice-President of the parent Fellowship in England, were very close to his heart. This winter the subject of study of the Fellowship of Arts is the Scandinavian countries, their peoples and history, and the Judge had saturated himself in the lore of the Vikings and the prose and poetry of their descendants.

He had an almost phenomenal memory for prose and verse, and this was never more apparent than upon that afternoon, when he quoted to me from memory stanza after stanza of ballad poetry dealing with early Viking history and feats of arms. In the midst of one of these quotations he was reminded of Napoleon's connection with Scandinavia (Bernadotte). He had a whole shelf of his library devoted to Napoleon, and a picture of the Little Corporal stood upon his mantelshelf. Apropos of this digression he recited a rolling Napoleonic ballad.

Judge Howay, as his friends well knew, and as befitted an historian, had a passion for accuracy. There was hardly one among his historical books dealing with British Columbia and Northwest America that was not profusely annotated. His mind was so well stored, too, with general historical data that, no matter what knotty problem came up for discussion, he would get up from his chair, remove his pipe from between his lips, with the remark: "I think we can find something on that," and, walking to his shelves, would take down a book, turn the pages, and with: "Yes, here it is," read an extract bearing upon the point at issue.

Though a man of less than medium height, Judge Howay was possessed of a cast of countenance, a dignity, and a mode of expression that, in some indefinable way, seemed to add to his stature and impressiveness upon occasion. At other times his fresh complexion, the snow-white curl upon his head, his keen, sometimes quizzical eyes, and the pipe between his teeth, would give him quite a Dickensian air. I can see him now at

the annual Twelfth Night revels of the Fellowship of Arts (which are always in the costume of the period being studied), made up as Mr. Pickwick, or dancing Sir Roger de Coverley, his ermine robe flying, his crown awry, when he had impersonated King Henry the Eighth.

In my mind's eye I can see him, too, very vividly, in tall silk hat and frock coat year after year among the worthies of New Westminster at the historic crowning of the May Queen of the Royal City, a ceremony that has taken place for seventy years. For years he wrote the addresses to be spoken by the May Queen and the May Queen-elect—right down to the last year of his life, when he happened to be away in Eastern Canada, and delegated that pleasurable duty to me.

He was so saturated in the literature and lore of England, from Chaucer, through the Elizabethan era, the prolific age of Anne and onwards; so familiar with the atmosphere of the countryside there, its castles, cathedrals, abbeys, and manor-houses, that it was sometimes difficult to realize that, though he had travelled widely upon the American continent and in Hawaii, he had never visited the Old Country. His intimate acquaintance, through reading, with all the places Dickens has made familiar to his readers and peopled with his characters was encyclopædic, and he was heard at his best in those little cameo-like talks, so full of acute judgment and wit, which he delivered annually to the members of the Vancouver Dickens Fellowship.

Many years ago, as a youth, I found myself reporting a case in court at Worcester, on the Oxford Circuit, when Sir Henry Fielding Dickens, notable son of Charles Dickens, was either counsel for the prosecution or the defence. If I remember correctly he, too, was a comparatively small man, and his mode of expression and witticisms were recalled to me many years later by similar characteristics in Judge Howay.

By way of contrast with the foregoing, I recall an incident that took place four years ago, when I heard the Judge deliver one of the most eloquent impromptu addresses I ever heard from his lips. He and I had motored 80 miles from Red Deer to the pioneer fur-trading and lumbering settlement of Rocky Mountain House, where are situated the remains of the fort erected

by David Thompson nearly 140 years ago, the site being marked by a commemorative cairn. As an explorer, and on account of his fine personal qualities and rectitude, the Judge ranked Thompson very high.

Upon this occasion a dinner was given by the mayor and aldermen of Rocky Mountain House in Judge Howay's honour, and it was preceded by a cocktail party at the mayor's home. At that party the Judge was greatly attracted by a small statuette of a Kentucky colonel. The mayor pressed him to accept it as a memento of his visit, but the Judge demurred. Thereupon His Worship whipped off the head of the "colonel" and took from the interior a bottle of whisky, with the remark: "Well, Judge, if you won't accept the gentleman as a whole you shall certainly sample part of him." But Judge Howay was a teetotaler!

His love of the sea and ships, and his knowledge of the latter, their construction, and their rigging in the days of sail, was particularly intimate for a landsman. I like to remember how he revelled in recalling the days of Drake and the Spanish Main, and the voyages and explorations of Captains Cook and Vancouver. In connection with the two latter, much valuable material was published from his pen as a result of his researches. For many years he visited Boston annually to dig into the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society for data regarding the early fur-trading on the North American coast.

This is a reminder that he was as well known in historical circles of the Northwest on the other side of the border as he was in Canada, and that he was the recipient of several honours from historical bodies there. In a recent issue of this *Quarterly* he paid tribute to the memory of a distinguished historian on the American side of the line, Mr. T. C. Elliott, one of his oldest and closest friends, whose work he admired greatly.

Let me carry the reader back half a century or more in the life of Judge Howay. I have before me as I write a paragraph, yellow with age, which was found among his newspaper cuttings. It is from the columns of the *British Columbian* of New Westminster of about 1890 and was written when the Judge, as a very young man, was about to enter upon his professional career in the Royal City. It is worth printing in full:—

Mr. F. W. Howay, a graduate of Dalhousie Law School, who has recently returned home after making a very creditable record in his examinations, has opened a law office in McKenzie St. No. 17, near to Mr. Whiteside's office, and intends to practise his profession in the city, upon which, in common with Ruskin and Dockrill, he has reflected an appreciable honor in his college career. Mr. Howay is only a boy in appearance, but he has shown that there is the right sort of material there. He is on the first round of the legal ladder but hopes to climb to fame through perseverance. And he will probably do it.

How right the author of that paragraph proved to be in his forecast.

In closing this tribute may I add that I have never known a man who possessed in quite so marked a degree the judicial capacity combined with so strong a vein of sentiment—his emotions were very near the surface, especially in later years—pronounced sense of humour, and genius for friendship as Judge Howay. To quote his favourite author, Charles Dickens—it will be easy to keep his memory green.

NOEL ROBINSON.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

WILLIAM STURGIS: THE NORTHWEST FUR TRADE.

The appended summary of a lecture by William Sturgis, a prominent merchant of Boston, Mass., appeared in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* in 1846 (Vol. XIV., pp. 532-38). Although it contains many errors (probably of the reporter, Elliot C. Cowdin) it has been so frequently cited and referred to in studies of the maritime fur-trade that it has been considered advisable to republish it, especially as sets of *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* are not easily accessible, except in large libraries. Parts of the article were reproduced in Old South Leaflet No. 219, under the editorial supervision of Dr. S. E. Morison, with the title *The Northwest Fur Trade*.

The Hon. William Sturgis was born at Barnstable, Mass., on February 25, 1782, the son of a ship-master. At fourteen years of age he began life as a clerk in the counting-house of his kinsman, Russell Sturgis. Eighteen months later he entered the employ of J. & T. H. Perkins, merchants and large ship-owners, who were prominent in the trade from Boston to the Northwest Coast and China. In his leisure hours young Sturgis gave much attention to the study of navigation. On the death of his father, in 1797, he decided, as was natural for a Cape Cod boy, to follow the sea, and in 1798 shipped as a green foremast hand in the *Eliza*, a small vessel of 159 35/95 tons. At Kaigahnee, in southern Alaska, the *Eliza* encountered the *Ulysses*, and by reason of a mutiny that had occurred on the latter ship, young Sturgis was transformed from a foremast hand on the *Eliza* into the first mate of the *Ulysses*. The two ships met again in China, and Sturgis returned to his ship as third mate, occupying that post on the homeward voyage, which ended in the spring of 1800. The owners of the *Ulysses*, J. & T. Lamb, were so taken with the lad's ability that they at once engaged him as mate of their ship *Caroline*, and in her he sailed late in 1800 on his second voyage to the Northwest Coast and China. The master, Captain Charles Derby, was so ill with tuberculosis, that in the second year of the voyage he resigned the command to his mate, and, leaving the ship at Honolulu, died there in

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII., No. 1.

1802. Thus young Sturgis, at the early age of 19, with less than four years' sea experience, became master of a fine ship of 150 tons, with the entire management of her trade on the coast and in China. He proved worthy of the trust and brought the *Caroline* with her valuable cargo safe to Boston Harbour, 115 days from Canton. His next voyage was in command of the same ship, the *Caroline*. Leaving Boston in July, 1803, and calling at the Hawaiian Islands, he reached the Northwest Coast in January, 1804. There he traded (amongst other things) the ermine skins of which he speaks in his lecture, at the gainful rate of five ermine for one sea-otter skin;* in his trading goods, though he does not mention the fact, were twenty barrels of New England rum, say 650 gallons. In justification of this comparatively small amount it may be explained that the use of intoxicating liquor as a trade medium was comparatively recent, and that later the Boston ships became notorious for the great quantities of liquor they carried. On this voyage the *Caroline* collected 2,500 sea-otter skins, covering the whole space from the Columbia River (where she was in May, 1804) to Kaigahnee, where she completed her trading, and sailed homeward by the Hawaiian Islands and China. The net proceeds of this voyage were \$73,034.32. Sturgis now took the command of Theodore Lyman's ship *Atahualpa*, of 209 tons. Leaving Boston on October 23, 1806, he traded on the Northwest Coast in 1807, and returning by Hawaii and China was back in Boston in June, 1808. This ended his contact with the natives of the Northwest Coast. He sailed again in command of the *Atahualpa* in April, 1809, but direct for China. His vessel carried \$300,000 in specie for the purchase of the return cargo. In the neighbourhood of Macao the *Atahualpa* was attacked by sixteen ladrone junks (Chinese pirates). Sturgis had only a few cannon for defence

* It has been stated that Sturgis's owners, J. & T. Lamb, were not favourable to the scheme of carrying out furs to trade for furs and that in consequence Sturgis undertook the venture on his own account. This seems very doubtful, for in the first place it is unlikely that the captain would be allowed to trade for himself—a thing forbidden to the crew at all times; in the second place, Sturgis makes no such claim in his lecture; and thirdly, in the list of the *Caroline's* trade cargo on the voyage of 1803-6, is included "3 boxes Ermine Skins." The cargo is stated to have been supplied by many different firms, including J. & T. H. Perkins, R. B. Forbes, and J. & T. Lamb, and totalled \$43,325.12.

of his vessel, and at one time the pirates were so close that they succeeded in throwing combustibles aboard; but Sturgis and his crew extinguished the flames, drove the pirates off, and reached the shelter of the guns of the Portuguese fort. On her passage up the river, in company with four other American ships, the *Atahualpa* was again attacked, but finally arrived at Canton in safety. This voyage, like its predecessor, was productive of great profit to the ship's owner.

After twelve years at sea, Sturgis retired with a considerable fortune, for those days, and formed the partnership of Bryant & Sturgis, engaged as merchants and ship-owners in foreign trade, that lasted for half a century. He was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1814, and from that time until 1845 was almost continuously a member of either the House or the Senate. Naturally he took a great interest in the dispute between Great Britain and the United States regarding the division of Old Oregon. He pooh-poohed the Jingo cry of "Fifty-four-forty or fight" and, urging that each party had some claims to a part of the territory, suggested a line of demarcation which would have definitely settled the boundary and saved the San Juan trouble. The line proposed by Sturgis was:—

A continuation of the parallel of forty-nine degrees across the Rocky Mountains to tide-water, say to the middle of the Gulf of Georgia; thence by the northernmost navigable passage (not north of forty-nine degrees) to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and down the middle of these straits to the Pacific Ocean; the navigation of the Gulf of Georgia and the Straits of Juan de Fuca to be for ever free to both parties; all the islands and other territory lying south and east of this line to belong to the United States, and all north and west to Great Britain.

His pamphlet urging this line was widely circulated both in the United States and in England, and probably had much to do with the ultimate acceptance of the Treaty of Washington, in 1846. How unfortunate that his wording was not accepted as well as his principle!

The Hon. William Sturgis died in October, 1863. When one considers his life: a clerk at fourteen; a green foremast hand at sixteen; first mate at seventeen; master of a ship and its management at nineteen; prominent merchant at twenty-eight; member of the state legislature at thirty-two; thirty years in

House and Senate; one can only recall the words of Napoleon, " 'Impossible' c'est le mot d'un fou."

F. W. HOWAY.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

[532]

THE NORTHWEST FUR TRADE.*

We are indebted to Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq., the president of the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, for the somewhat extended sketch of the Hon. William Sturgis's valuable lecture upon the "Northwest Fur Trade," delivered before that association, on Wednesday evening, January 21st, 1846. The report was prepared by Mr. Cowdin, with much care, from the original manuscript, and can, therefore, be relied upon for its entire accuracy. Mr. Sturgis, the author of the lecture, [533] is well known as one of the most eminent merchants of Boston; and his reputation in that city, for practical intelligence and sterling good sense, stands very high.

In commencing, the lecturer observed that, at this present moment, when the public attention is anxiously directed to the partition, or other disposition, of a large portion of the northwestern part of our continent, as a question seriously affecting both our domestic and foreign relations,¹ anything respecting that country, or its native population, assumes a more than ordinary interest.

Mr. Sturgis said that, in early life, he made several successful voyages,² to what was then deemed a remote and unexplored region, and passed a number of years among a people, at that time, just becoming known to the civilized world. His first visit to Nootka Sound was made in the last century, about twenty years after it was discovered by Captain Cook.

Though not one of the first, he was amongst those who early engaged in the *Northwest trade*, so called, and continued to carry it on, either personally or otherwise, until it ceased to be valuable.³ He thus witnessed the growth, maximum, decrease, and, finally, its abandonment by Americans. These early visits afforded him an opportunity, too, of observing changes in the habits and manners of the Indians, effected by intercourse with a more civilized race; and, he regretted to add, brought to his knowledge the injustice, violence, and bloodshed, which has marked the progress of this intercourse.⁴

* *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XIV. (1846), pp. 532-38. The pagination of the original is indicated in square brackets.

(1) The Oregon question, which was a burning one in 1845 and 1846.

(2) Four voyages: 1799 in *Eliza*; 1801-2 and 1803-6 in *Caroline*; 1807 in *Atahualpa*.

(3) Bryant & Sturgis, between 1818 and 1825, owned or operated the following vessels in the trade to the Northwest Coast: *Volunteer*, *Cordelia*, *Ann*, *Griffon*, *Becket*, *Lascar*, *Mentor*, *Rob Roy*, and *Llama*.

(4) Sturgis was a sturdy champion of the Indians, claiming that their so-called "unprovoked attacks" upon the trading vessels resulted from the inhuman conduct of the traders themselves.

Mr. Sturgis did not expect others would feel the same interest in the reminiscences that he felt, but he thought they might engage the attention of his hearers, and perhaps awaken a sympathy for the remnant of a race fast disappearing from the earth—victims of injustice, cruelty, and oppression—and of a policy that seems to recognize *power* as the sole standard of *right*.

The hour, this evening, the lecturer proposed to devote principally to *the fur trade*, and some matters connected with it; and, in the next lecture, he should speak of the habits, peculiarities, language, and some features in the general character of the Indians. But that branch of the subject most deeply interesting to them, occurrences upon the coast within his own knowledge, of treatment which the Indians had received from the white men, must be postponed to some future occasion.

The Northwest trade, as far as we are concerned, has ceased to be of importance in a commercial view; but a branch of commerce, (said Mr. Sturgis,) in which a number of American vessels, and many seamen and others were constantly and profitably employed, for more than forty years⁵—which brought wealth to those engaged in it, and was probably as beneficial to the country as any commercial use of an equal amount of capital has ever been—cannot be without interest as matter of unwritten history, and may, perhaps, illustrate some principles of commerce deserving our notice and consideration.

This trade, in which our citizens largely participated, and at one period nearly monopolized, was principally limited to the sea-coast between the mouth of the Columbia river, in latitude 46°, and Cook's Inlet, in latitude 60°, to the numerous islands bordering this whole extent of coast, and the sounds, bays, and inlets, within these limits. Trade was always carried on along-side, or on board the ship, usually anchored near the shore, the Indians coming off in their canoes.⁶ It was seldom safe to admit many of the natives into the ship at the same time, and a departure from this prudent course, has, in numerous instances, been followed by the most disastrous and tragical results.

The vessels usually employed were from one hundred to two hundred and fifty tons burthen, each. The time occupied for a voyage by vessels that remained upon the coast only a single season, was from twenty-two months to two years, but they generally remained out two seasons, and were absent from home nearly three years. The principal object of the voyages was to procure the skins of the sea-otter, which were obtained from the natives by barter, carried to Canton, and there exchanged for the productions of the Celestial Empire, to be brought

(5) The Americans were in the trade from 1787 until at least 1836, though it ceased for all practical purposes by about 1825. Thereafter the trading vessels sought land furs, for the sea-otter had been practically exterminated.

(6) At first the trade was always from the canoes alongside; but later the Indians were allowed on board when trading.

home or taken to Europe, thus completing what may be called a *trading voyage*.⁷

[534] Beaver and common otter skins, and other small furs, were occasionally procured in considerable quantities, but in the early period of the trade, they were deemed unimportant, and little attention was given to collecting them. The sea-otter skins have ever been held in high estimation by the Chinese and Russians, as an ornamental fur; but its great scarcity and consequent cost, limits the wear to the wealthy and higher classes only. A full grown prime skin, which has been stretched before drying, is about five feet long,⁸ and twenty-four to thirty inches wide, covered with very fine fur, about three-fourths of an inch in length, having a rich jet black, glossy surface, and exhibiting a silver color when blown open. Those are esteemed the finest skins which have some white hairs interspersed and scattered over the whole surface, and a perfectly white head. Mr. Sturgis said that it would now give him more pleasure to look at a splendid sea-otter skin, than to examine half the pictures that are stuck up for exhibition, and puffed up by pretended connoisseurs. In fact, excepting a beautiful woman and a lovely infant, he regarded them as among the most attractive natural objects that can be placed before him.

The sea-otter has been found only in the North Pacific. The earliest efforts on record to collect furs in that region, were made by Russians from Kamschatka,⁹ who, in the early part of the last century, visited, for this purpose, the Kurile and other islands that lie near the northern coasts of Asia. After the expedition of Behring & Co., in 1741, these excursions were slowly extended to other groups between the two continents, and when Cook, in 1778, explored these northern regions, he met with Russian adventurers upon several of the islands in proximity with the American shore. It was, however, the publication of Cook's northern voyages in 1785,¹⁰ that gave the great impulse to the Northwest fur trade, and drew adventurers from several nations to that quarter.

The published journal of Captain King, who succeeded to the command of one of the ships after the death of Captains Cook and Clark,¹¹ and his remarks, setting forth the favorable prospects for this trade, doubtless roused the spirit of adventure. Between the time of the publication referred to, in 1785,¹² and the close of 1787, expeditions

(7) The trade with the Indians was a means to an end—to secure a medium of exchange for Chinese goods.

(8) Jewitt (Brown ed., p. 121) says a prime skin was one that would reach from a man's chin to his feet. For the most recent description of the sea-otter see Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade*, Berkeley, 1941, p. 4.

(9) Bering and Chirikov.

(10) Cook's *Third Voyage* was published in 1784. It is in three volumes; the first two are by Captain Cook—the third, by Captain King, is not a journal, but a narrative.

(11) Captain Charles Clerke.

(12) 1784. James Hanna, the first maritime fur-trader, sailed from Macao, April 15, 1785.

were fitted out from Canton, Macao, Calcutta and Bombay, in the East, London and Ostend in Europe, and from Boston in the United States. In 1787, the first American expedition was fitted out, and sailed from Boston. It consisted of the ship *Columbia*, of two hundred and twenty, and the sloop *Washington*, of ninety tons burthen—the former commanded by John Kenrick, the latter by Robert Gray.¹³

Mr. Sturgis deemed it scarcely possible, in the present age, when the departure or return of ships engaged in distant voyages is an every-day occurrence, to appreciate the magnitude of this undertaking, or the obstacles and difficulties that had to be surmounted in carrying it out.¹⁴

He said, were he required to select any particular event in the commercial history of our country, to establish our reputation for bold enterprise and persevering energy, in commercial pursuits, he should point to this expedition of the *Columbia* and *Washington*. Many of the obstacles and dangers were clearly pointed out, showing that it was then viewed as an extraordinary undertaking. A medal was struck upon the occasion, and some impressions taken out in the vessels for distribution. The lecturer briefly described it, and exhibited to the audience a fac simile of one preserved in the Department of State at Washington. On one side of this medal was engraved "Columbia and Washington: commanded by J. Kenrick," with a representation of the two vessels; on the reverse was the following inscription: "Fitted at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean, by J. Burrell, C. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard, 1787."¹⁵

Captain Kenrick, who was entrusted with the command of the expedition, was a bold, energetic, experienced seaman. His management justified the confidence reposed in him, but he was fated never to return.¹⁶

The project of engaging in the fur trade of the North Pacific, from this country, was first brought forward by the celebrated American traveller, Ledyard.¹⁷ In his erratic wanderings, he entered on board the ship *Resolution*, as corporal of marines, with Captain Cook, upon his last voyage. After his return, he made repeated attempts to get

(13) The *Columbia* was of 212 8/95 tons. *Kendrick* not *Kenrick*.

(14) The expedition failed financially not so much on account of the unknown and inherent difficulties as by reason of the incapacity or worse of its commander, Captain John Kendrick.

(15) One of these medals in silver is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A photograph of it is to be found in F. W. Howay, *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* Boston, 1941, p. 162. Again, *Kenrick* should be *Kendrick*; *Burrell* should be *Barrell*; and *C. Brown* should be *S. Brown*.

(16) Kendrick does not by any means measure up to this laudation; and his owners found that their confidence was misplaced. In plain English he stole the *Washington*, one of the vessels entrusted to his care.

(17) Ledyard was only a dreamer of impracticable dreams. The impetus that set the maritime fur-trade in motion came from the reading of Captain Cook's *Third Voyage*.

an outfit for a voyage to the Northwest Coast. In 1784, [535] three years previous to Kenrick's expedition, he induced Robert Morris to engage in the undertaking. But for some cause, now unknown, the enterprise was abandoned, as were similar ones in France and England. The unfortunate Ledyard seemed doomed to disappointment in whatever he undertook. The life of this remarkable man shows that respectable talents, united with great energy and perseverance of character, may be comparatively valueless to the possessor, and useless to the world, from the want of a well-balanced mind, which, unfortunately, was the fatal deficiency in Ledyard.

Nearly all the early and distinguished navigators, who discovered and explored the northern regions of the Pacific, met the fate that too often awaits the pioneers in bold and hazardous undertakings, and found a premature death, by violence or disaster, or disease brought on by incessant toil and exposure.¹⁸

Behring, a Danish navigator in the service of Russia, who commanded the expedition just mentioned, was wrecked in 1741, upon an island that bears his name, and perished miserably in the course of the winter. He was the first navigator known to have passed through the strait that separates Asia from America; and Cook, who was the next to sail through it, in a commendable spirit of justice, gave to this strait the name of the unfortunate Behring. The fate of Cook is well known. He was killed by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, of which group he was the discoverer.

Mr. Sturgis said he had stood upon the spot where Cook fell, in Karakakooa Bay, and conversed with the natives who were present at the time of the massacre. They uniformly expressed regret and sorrow for his death, but insisted that it was caused by his own imprudence.

The lecturer next gave an interesting account of the loss of two French vessels fitted out in 1785,¹⁹ on a voyage of discovery and exploration, which, after visiting the northwest coast of America, departed from Sydney, in New South Wales, early in 1788, and nothing more was heard from them until 1826, when a wreck and some articles were found at the island of Malicolo, in the South Pacific, that left no doubt but the unfortunate Frenchmen perished there.²⁰

(18) Bering died of scurvy on Bering Isle, in 1741; Captain Cook was killed at Kealekekua Bay, Hawaii, by the natives in February, 1779; Captain Charles Clerke died of tuberculosis in Bering Sea in 1779; Captain John Kendrick was accidentally killed at Honolulu on December 12, 1795; Solomon, his second son, was killed by the Haidas when they captured the *Resolution*, tender of the *Jefferson*, in 1793; Captain Simon Metcalfe and his son, Robert, were murdered by the Haidas when they captured the *Eleanora*, in 1794, and his eldest son, Thomas H. Metcalfe, was killed by the Hawaiians at Kawaihae, Hawaii, when they captured the *Fair American*.

(19) *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, under the command of La Pérouse.

(20) In September, 1827, Captain P. Dillon found on the island of Vanikoro, now Mallicolo, iron, copper, and silver relics of La Pérouse's vessels, and heard from the natives the story of their wrecks.

Vancouver, an able British navigator, was sent out by his government in 1790, to receive Nootka Sound from the Spaniards, and explore the whole western coast of North America. The chart prepared by him is the most accurate of any at the present day. With a constitution shattered by devotion to his arduous duties, he returned to England in 1794, and sunk into an early grave.²¹

Mr. Sturgis said he had already remarked that Kenrick was fated never to return. After remaining with both vessels two seasons on the northwest coast, he sent the Columbia home, in charge of Captain Gray, and remained himself in the sloop Washington.²² He continued in her several years, trading on the coast and at the Sandwich Islands.²³

In 1792, while lying in the harbor of Honolulu, at one of these islands, and receiving, upon his birthday, a complimentary salute from the captain of an English trading vessel anchored near, he was instantly killed by a shot carelessly left in one of the guns fired on the occasion.²⁴

Captain Gray reached home in the Columbia, in the summer of 1790,²⁵ and thus completed the first circumnavigation of the globe under the American flag. He was immediately fitted out for a second voyage in the same ship, and it was during this voyage that he discovered, entered, and gave the name to the Columbia river, a circumstance now relied upon as one of the strongest grounds to maintain our claim to the Oregon Territory. He died abroad some years ago.

Mr. Sturgis here observed that it would bring some of the events of which he had spoken quite near our own time, to mention that in the street in which we are, (Federal-street,) the name of "Gray" may be seen upon the door of a house nearly opposite Milton Place,²⁶

(21) Vancouver was sent out to, amongst other duties, receive the restoration of the lands on the Northwest Coast of which Spain had dispossessed Meares and his associates. Vancouver returned to England in September, 1795, and died May 18, 1798, aged 40.

(22) The slippery conduct of Kendrick after 1790 accounts for his non-return to Boston. The fates had no hand in it. For light on this matter see *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* pp. 470, 485, 490, 494f. On the first voyage, 1787-90, Kendrick spent only one season on the coast; the *Columbia* and *Washington* arrived at the end of the season of 1788 and Kendrick left the coast at the end of the season of 1789.

(23) Sturgis might have added: "treating the *Washington* as his own property and steadily going further into debt."

(24) This paragraph is quite wrong. Kendrick was accidentally killed on December 12, 1795, as stated; but it was not his birthday; the occasion of the salute was the victory which had been won by the army of Oahu over the invaders from Kauai.

(25) August 8, 1790.

(26) 83 Federal Street, Boston, where lived Mrs. Martha Gray, the widow of Captain Robert Gray. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI. (1930), p. 11. The date and place of Captain Gray's death are uncertain. E. G. Porter says he died in 1806 at Charleston, S.C. (*New England Magazine*, June, 1892, p. 488); Mrs. Martha Gray, in her petition of January 17, 1846, states that she "was left a widow nearly forty years ago"; and the Committee of the House reporting thereon find that Captain Gray "died in the summer of 1806." Intensive search has not revealed any more definite information.

which house is now occupied by the widow and daughters of Captain Gray, the discoverer of the Columbia river, and the first circumnavigator who bore the flag of our country in triumph round the world.

The voyage of the Columbia was not profitable to her owners, in a pecuniary view, but it opened the way for other adventures, which were commenced on her return. In 1791, there were seven vessels from the United States in the North Pacific, in pursuit of furs.²⁷ For various reasons, the American traders so far gain-[536]ed the ascendancy, that at the close of the last century, with the exception of the Russian establishments on the northern part of the coast, the whole trade was in our hands, and so remained until the close of the war with Great Britain, in 1815. This trade was confined almost exclusively to Boston. It was attempted, unsuccessfully, from Philadelphia and New York, and from Providence and Bristol, in Rhode Island. Even the intelligent and enterprising merchants of Salem, failed of success;²⁸ some of them, however, were interested in several of the most successful northwestern voyages carried on from Boston. So many of the vessels engaged in this trade belonged here, the Indians had the impression that Boston was our whole country. Had any one spoken to them of *American* ships, or *American* people, he would not have been understood. We were only known as *Boston* ships, and *Boston* people.^{28a}

In 1801, the trade was most extensively, though not most profitably prosecuted; that year, there were 15 vessels on the coast,²⁹ and in 1802 more than 15,000 sea-otter skins were collected, and carried to Canton. But the competition was so great, that few of the voyages were then profitable, and some were ruinous. Subsequently, the war with Great Britain interrupted the trade for a time; but after the peace in 1815, it was resumed, and flourished for some years. The difficulties and uncertainty in procuring furs became so serious, that in 1829 the business north of California was abandoned.³⁰

Besides the 15,000 skins collected by American traders in 1802, probably the Russians obtained 10,000 the same year within their hunting limits, making an aggregate of 25,000 in one season. Mr.

(27) *Columbia, Eleanora, Grace, Hancock, Hope, and Washington*. Perhaps Sturgis included the *Adventure*, which was built in the winter of 1791-92.

(28) It is scarcely correct to say that the Salem merchants "failed of success" in the maritime fur trade; they did not enter it. The *New Hazard* in 1811-12 was the solitary exception.

(28a) In the Chinook jargon anything American is called "Boston."

(29) *Atahualpa, Betsy, Catherine, Caroline, Charlotte, Despatch, Enterprize, Globe, Guatimozin, Hazard, Lavinia, Litteler, Lucy, Mary, Manchester, Polly, and Three Sisters*.

(30) After about 1825 the American vessels sought land furs—the sea-otter had been practically exterminated. But when these vessels entered the land trade they met the energetic opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company, and quickly disappeared.

Sturgis said he had personally collected 6000 in a single voyage,³¹ and he once purchased 560 of prime quality in half a day. At the present time, the whole amount collected annually within the same limits does not exceed 200, and those of very ordinary quality.

The commercial value of the sea-otter skin, like other commodities, has varied with the changes in the relation of supply and demand.

The narrative of Cook's voyage shows the value of a prime skin to have been, at the time of that voyage, \$120. In 1802, when the largest collection was made, the average price of large and small skins, at Canton, was only about \$20 each. At the present time, those of first quality would sell readily at \$150. Some seventy or eighty ordinary California skins, brought home a few months ago, were sold here at nearly \$60 each, to send to the north of Europe.³²

Mr. Sturgis said the trade on the coast was altogether a barter trade. It consisted in part of blankets, coarse cloths, great-coats, fire-arms and ammunition, rice, molasses, and biscuit, coarse cottons, cutlery, and hard-ware, a great variety of trinkets, &c.; in fact, everything that one can imagine.³³ Copper has long been known, and highly prized by the Indians. The lecturer observed that he had seen pieces of virgin copper among the different tribes, that weighed 50 or 60 pounds each. It was put to no use, but still was considered very valuable, and a person having a few pieces was deemed a wealthy man.³⁴

The natives had no currency.³⁵ But the skin of the ermine, found in limited numbers upon the northern part of the continent, was held in such universal estimation, and of such uniform value, among many tribes, that it in a measure supplied the place of currency. The skin

(31) This is probably an error of the reporter. Sturgis's best voyage—that of the *Caroline*, in 1803–4, when he made the successful venture with the ermine skins—produced 2,500 sea-otter skins. The reference is to the voyage of the *Pearl*, Captain John Suter, in 1808–9; in two seasons on the coast that ship obtained 6,000 sea-otter skins, the high-water mark.

(32) In 1792 John Hoskins wrote: "The very best Skins at retail will not fetch more than thirty dollars and at wholesale from six to twenty-five dollars." In 1795 Kendrick's 1,063 skins and 640 tails only brought \$16,756—about \$15 each: *The Voyages of the "Columbia,"* pp. 480, 488. The Californian sea-otter skins were usually obtained by poaching or by surreptitious trade (see Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade*).

(33) Sturgis has omitted rum from his list of trading goods. When the *Boston* was captured in 1803, she had twenty puncheons of rum, about 2,000 gallons, on board for trade, besides a miscellaneous assortment of other intoxicating liquors. See on this and the trade generally, F. W. Howay, "The Introduction of Intoxicating Liquor amongst the Indians of the Northwest Coast, in this *Quarterly*, VI. (1942), pp. 157–69.

(34) The native copper came from Copper River, Alaska; it was made into knives, swords, whistles, and rattles, and sometimes beaten out into a sheet to form an ornamental breast-plate highly esteemed as a symbol of wealth and distinction. A representation of one of these "coppers" is given in George M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, Montreal, 1880, p. 135.

(35) Amongst the Haidas, Nootkans, and Chinooks at any rate, the dentalium shell served as a sort of currency.

of this little slender animal is from eight to twelve inches in length, perfectly white, except the tip of the tail, which is jet black.

Urged by some Indian friends, in 1802, Mr. Sturgis obtained and sent home a fine specimen, with a request that a quantity should be ordered at the annual Leipsic fair, where he supposed they might be obtained. About 5,000 were procured, which he took out with him on the next voyage, and arrived at Kigarnee, one of the principal trading places on the coast, early in 1804. Having previously encouraged the Indians to expect them, the first question was, if he had "clicks," (the Indian name for the ermine skin) for sale, and being answered in the affirmative, great earnestness was manifested to obtain them, and it was on that occasion that he purchased 560 prime sea-otter skins, at that time worth \$50 apiece at Canton, in a single forenoon, giving for each five ermine skins, that cost less than thirty cents each in Boston. He succeeded in disposing of all his ermines [537] at the same rate, before others carried them out—but in less than two years from that time, one hundred of them would not bring a sea-otter skin.

Among a portion of the Indians, the management of trade is entrusted to the women. The reason given by the men was, that women could talk with the white men *better* than they could, and were willing to talk *more*.³⁶

When the natives had a number of skins for sale, it was usual to fix a price for those of the first quality as a standard, which required a great deal of haggling. In addition to the staple articles of blankets, or cloth, or muskets, &c., that constituted this price, several smaller articles were given as presents, nominally, but in reality formed part of the price. Of these small articles, different individuals would require a different assortment: a system of equivalents was accordingly established. For instance, an iron pot and an axe were held to be of equal value—so of a knife and a file, a pocket looking-glass and a pair of scissors.

Mr. Sturgis next alluded to the various efforts made by the Indians to obtain a more valuable article than the established equivalent. To avoid trouble, which would certainly follow if he yielded in a single instance, he said he had found it necessary to waste hours in a contest with a woman about articles of no greater value than a skein of thread or a sewing-needle. From various causes, the northwest trade was liable to great fluctuations. The laws of supply and demand were frequently disregarded, and prices consequently often unsettled. He had seen prime sea-otter skins obtained for articles that did not cost fifty cents at home, and had seen given for them articles that cost here nearly twice as much as the skins would sell for in China.

To secure success with any branch of business, it must be undertaken with intelligence, and steadily prosecuted. Men of sanguine temperaments are often led by reports of great profits made by others,

(36) Amongst the Haidas the women had the management of the trade with the vessels.

to engage in a business of which they are ignorant, or have not adequate means to carry it on, and thus involve themselves in loss or ruin. These truths Mr. Sturgis deemed strikingly illustrated by the northwest trade.

While most of those who have rushed into this trade without knowledge, experience, or sufficient capital to carry it on, have been subjected to such serious losses, they were compelled to abandon it; to all who pursued it systematically and perseveringly, for a series of years, it proved highly lucrative. Among those who were the most successful in this trade, were the late firm of J. & T. H. Perkins, J. & Thos. Lamb, Edward Dorr & Sons, Boardman & Pope, Geo. W. Lyman, Wm. H. Boardman, the late Theodore Lyman, and several others, each of whom acquired a very ample fortune.

These fortunes were not acquired, as individual wealth not unfrequently is, at the expense of our own community, by a tax upon the whole body of consumers, in the form of enhanced prices, often from adventitious causes. They were obtained abroad by giving to the Indians articles which they valued more than their furs, and then selling those furs to the Chinese for such prices as they are willing to pay; thus adding to the wealth of the country, at the expense of foreigners, all that was acquired by individuals beyond the usual return for the use of capital, and suitable compensation for the services of those employed. This excess was sometimes very large. Mr. Sturgis said that more than once he had known a capital of \$40,000, employed in a northwest voyage, yield a return exceeding \$150,000. In one instance, an outfit not exceeding \$50,000, gave a gross return of \$284,000. The individual who conducted the voyage is now a prominent merchant of Boston.³⁷

In conclusion, the lecturer gave a brief account of the two great fur companies. In 1785 an association of merchants was formed in Siberia for the purpose of collecting furs in the North Pacific. In 1799 they were chartered under the name of the "Russian American Company," with the exclusive privilege of procuring furs within the Russian limits, (54° 40') for a period of twenty years, which has since been extended.³⁸

The furs collected are sent across Siberia to Kiatska, the great mart for peltries in the northern part of China, or to St. Petersburg. For a number of years the company obtained a large portion of their supplies from American vessels, giving in return seal-skins and other furs, and latterly, bills on St. Petersburg.

(37) Probably the reference is to the voyage of the *Pearl*, in 1808-9. The value of ship, outfit, and cargo was about \$40,000, and the return cargo sold at auction in 1810 for \$261,343.18, gross.

(38) The United American Company, which was a fusion of the Shelekof-Golikof Company and the Muilnikof Company, was founded in 1798, and in 1799 obtained a charter as the Russian American Company. See Clarence L. Andrews, *The Story of Alaska*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, p. 69.

[538] The treatment of the agents and servants of the company, to the Indians, has been of the most atrocious and revolting character.

The British Hudson Bay Company was chartered by Charles II., in 1669,³⁹ with the grant of the exclusive use and control of a very extensive though not well-defined country, north and west of Canada. This uncertainty as to limits, led to the formation of an association of merchants in Canada in 1787, called the "Northwest Company," for carrying on the fur trade without the supposed boundaries of the Hudson Bay Company.

Those in the service of these concerns soon came in collision. Disputes and personal violence followed. At length, in June, 1816, a pitched battle was fought near a settlement that had been made by Lork Selkirk, upon the Red river, under a grant from the Hudson Bay Company, between the settlers and a party in the service of the Northwest Company, in which Governor Semple and seventeen of his men were killed. This roused the attention of the British government, and in 1821, the two companies were united, or rather, the Northwest Company was merged into the Hudson Bay Company. Previous to this, however, the Northwest Company had, in 1806, established trading posts beyond the Rocky Mountains.⁴⁰ During the last war with Great Britain, they got possession of Mr. Astor's settlement at the mouth of the Columbia, and extended their posts on several branches of that river. These establishments being united, it infused new life, and their operations have since been conducted with increased vigor. They have now, practically, a monopoly of the fur trade, from 42° to 54°40', on the western sea-board, and from 49° to the Northern Ocean, upon the rest of the American continent.

With the exception of the British East India Company, the Hudson Bay Company is the most extensive and powerful association of individuals for private emolument, now in existence, and their influence has hitherto prevented an adjustment of the Oregon question. Mr. Sturgis said he did not speak from mere conjecture, when he affirmed that it would have been settled months ago, upon the line suggested by him in a previous lecture before this association, and to the satisfaction of the people of both countries, but for the selfish interference of this company. Should disastrous consequences follow the delay in settling this question, it will add another to the numerous evils that have already resulted from great commercial monopolies.

The whole business of collecting furs upon our western continent, without the acknowledged limits of the United States, is now

(39) The Hudson's Bay charter is dated May 2, 1670. The North West Company, a combination of persons already in the fur trade, is usually said to have been formed in 1783. It traded within and without the chartered limits of the Hudson's Bay Company, utterly oblivious of the "uncertainty" thereof.

(40) Fort McLeod was founded in 1805; three other posts were constructed in 1806-7.

monopolized by two great corporations, the Russian and British Fur Companies.

After the peace in 1815, the British Northwest Company—partly in consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company—were compelled to seek the aid of American merchants and American vessels, in carrying on an important branch of their business. For a number of years, all the supplies for British establishments, west of the Rocky Mountains, were brought from London to Boston, and carried hence to the mouth of the Columbia in American ships, and all their collections of furs sent to Canton, consigned to an American house, and the proceeds shipped to England or the United States, in the same vessels; a fact which speaks loudly in favor of the freedom of our institutions and the enterprise of our merchants. Our respected fellow citizens, Messrs. Perkins & Co., furnished the ships, and transacted the business.⁴¹

We may state, on the authority of Mr. Cowdin, that the lecture was listened to with unbroken attention and merited approbation, by a numerous and highly intelligent audience. Very many of the most prominent merchants and distinguished citizens of Boston were in attendance, among whom was the venerable Thomas H. Perkins. As a matter of "unwritten history," the lecture is indeed very valuable—inasmuch as it imparts a knowledge of the commercial enterprises of by-gone days, interesting in a high degree, and not accessible in any other form. In fact, it was just what a lecture should be—the result of large experience and practical wisdom, set forth in a clear, methodical, and comprehensive manner.

[539] It is to be regretted that more of our prominent merchants are not brought forward in this capacity, for it is from them that the younger branches of the mercantile community derive their best lessons of the duties and responsibilities of commercial life.

(41) Under this arrangement (see *Correspondence of Foreign Office and Hudson's Bay Company . . . Confidential . . . Ottawa, 1899*, pp. 10–11), the North West Company sent furs to Canton in the following ships of J. & T. H. Perkins: *Alexander*, 1817; *Levant*, 1818; *Nautilus*, 1819; *Levant*, 1820; *Alexander*, 1821; *Houqua*, 1822. See F. W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Section II., 1933, pp. 133, 141; *ibid.*, 1934, pp. 18, 22, 36.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTED WRITINGS OF FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY.

INTRODUCTION.

Frederic William Howay was born near London, Ontario, on November 25, 1867, the son of William and Jane (Rogers) Howay. The family moved to British Columbia while he was yet a small child. William Howay preceded his wife and children, leaving Ontario about May, 1869, and travelling to the Pacific Coast by way of the Isthmus of Panama. "My mother," Judge Howay noted years later, "with my two elder sisters and myself remained in Ontario for about a year and a half after my father left. Then we came out by way of the Union Pacific to San Francisco, &c., reaching Clinton B.C. late in the fall of 1870. We remained at Clinton until September 1874, when we all removed to New Westminster."¹

In New Westminster Frederic attended the public and high schools. Then in July, 1884, he travelled to Victoria, where he wrote the Provincial teachers' examinations. He passed easily, but, being under age, could be granted only a temporary teaching permit. A year later he was one of two candidates to write and pass the examinations for a permanent first-class teacher's certificate. Quite as important as the certificate was the fact that he made the acquaintance of the other candidate, Robie L. Reid (now Dr. Robie L. Reid, K.C., F.R.S.C.), a Nova Scotian, whose friendship he was to enjoy for nearly sixty years.

Meanwhile in December, 1884, young Howay had been appointed teacher of the newly-opened school at Canoe Pass, near Ladner. He remained there until October, 1886, when he moved to the Boundary Bay school. He would probably have continued to teach indefinitely had it not been for his friendship with Robie Reid. In 1887 Mr. Reid was preparing to leave for Halifax, where he intended to study law at Dalhousie University, and he urged Howay to accompany him. The financial difficul-

(1) From a memorandum in Judge Howay's handwriting, dated April 25, 1911. Several words abbreviated in the original have been expanded for printing.

ties in the way seemed insuperable at first, but the assistance of a well-to-do uncle resolved them in the end. Howay left his school in June, 1887, and the friends entered Dalhousie together in the autumn as members of the Law School class of 1890. It is interesting to note that this class included two future premiers of British Columbia—Richard (later Sir Richard) McBride and W. J. Bowser.

As soon as he arrived in Halifax, Howay began corresponding with the New Westminister papers. His news-letters, written about twice a month, at first appeared alternatively in the *British Columbian* and the *Mainland Guardian*. Later they seem to have been published in the *Guardian* only. The law, politics, temperance, and the doings of persons known locally in British Columbia were the subjects chiefly dealt with. So far as is known, this was his first appearance in print.² Later he occasionally contributed articles and letters to newspapers in Halifax and Kentville.

At the commencement of his second year, in the fall of 1888, Howay was appointed a member of the Board of Editors of the *Dalhousie Gazette*, the magazine published ten or a dozen times each session by the student body of the university. He was again a member of the Board during the session of 1889–90, his last at Dalhousie. The notes, editorials, etc., that he contributed to the *Gazette* were anonymous,³ but their authorship is indicated in his own bound file of the magazine. His most important contribution was a paper in two instalments entitled *The Humorous Side of Law* that appeared in the issues of November 28, 1889 (pp. 38–40), and March 20, 1890 (pp. 121–124).

Howay did very well in his studies, and graduated from Dalhousie with the degree of LL.B. in the spring of 1890. While at the university he had been reading law with Barclay Webster (later Judge Webster), of Kentville, and in the fall of 1890 he passed the examinations and was called to the Nova Scotia Bar. He left for New Westminister in November, and on the 9th of May the following year was admitted to the British Columbia Bar.

(2) Clippings of most of the letters are preserved in a scrap-book in Judge Howay's library. The first of the series, clipped from the *Columbian*, is dated October 8, 1887.

(3) One or two are signed "H."

He first hung out his shingle in a little office on McKenzie Street. Later he entered into partnership with W. J. Whiteside, but this lasted only about two years. By that time Robie Reid, who had been practising in Fairhaven (now Bellingham, Wash.), had returned to New Westminster, and in 1893 the friends joined forces in the firm of Howay & Reid. This partnership continued for thirteen years, and was not dissolved until 1906.

F. W. Howay was the first paid secretary of the New Westminster School Board. He was appointed October 9, 1891, and continued in office until 1902. In 1906 he served a term as Alderman. In December of the same year the Provincial Legislature was dissolved, and Howay received the Liberal nomination in New Westminster riding. In the ensuing election, held on February 2, 1907, he was defeated by the narrow margin of 128 votes.

On October 14, 1907, upon the retirement of His Honour Judge Bole, he was appointed Judge of the County Court of New Westminster.

Judge Howay became interested in the history of British Columbia at an early age, but his more serious study of the subject began in the later nineties. The modest nucleus from which his superb historical library grew was acquired at that time. The earliest known historical paper from his pen was printed in 1902, in the second and last issue of an ill-fated little magazine, *The British Pacific*, published in Cumberland, B.C. This paper, however, might well be described as a fugitive item, for six years passed before a successor appeared. It was the celebration in New Westminster in 1908 of the centenary of Simon Fraser's descent of the Fraser River, and of the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the Royal Engineers, that finally brought Judge Howay before the public as a speaker and writer on historical subjects. Within a few years he was becoming known as an authority, and in 1914, in collaboration with the late E. O. S. Scholefield, he published the two-volume work that is still the standard history of British Columbia. The progress of his career from that point can best be followed by reference to the checklist of his printed writings that follows.

Few historical scholars whose work has been primarily regional in scope have received as wide and spontaneous recogni-

tion as Judge Howay. One of the first honours conferred upon him was the Presidency of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, to which he was elected in 1910. After serving six terms (1910-15) as President, he was elected Honorary President in 1916, a position he continued to hold until his death. On June 1, 1917, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Six years later, in May, 1923, he was elected President of Section II. of the Royal Society, for the year 1923-24. In 1920 he was appointed Western representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. On October 27, 1922, he was elected an Honorary Member of the Oregon Historical Society. The same month he was elected President of the newly-organized British Columbia Historical Association, a post he continued to hold until 1926. In 1923 he became a member of the Council of the Champlain Society. On December 8, 1927, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The following year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. On June 16, 1930, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. In May, 1931, he was elected President of the Canadian Historical Association for the year 1931-32. On April 20, 1932, he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society. On February 25, 1933, he was elected an Honorary Member of the Hawaiian Historical Society. Three months later, on May 11, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Judge Howay by the University of British Columbia. On November 15 of the same year he was named a Corresponding Member by the Institut Historique & Héraldique de France. A year later, on November 1, 1934, the Institut awarded him its silver medal. On November 15, 1934, an honorary membership was conferred upon him by the Société Académique d'Histoire Internationale, of Paris.

Judge Howay's career reached a fitting climax in 1941-42. In May, 1941, he was elected President of the Royal Society of Canada, while in 1942 he was elected President of the Champlain Society, and Chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

Notification of his election as a Fellow of the American Geographical Society was received a week or two after his death.

Judge Howay's interests were by no means confined to the field of history. He was for a generation the moving spirit in the New Westminster Fellowship of Arts, for which he served no less than twenty-two terms as President. His amazing knowledge of the life and works of Charles Dickens was recognized in September, 1932, when he was elected Honorary President for life by the Vancouver branch of the Dickens Fellowship. In 1939 he was elected a Vice-President by the parent Fellowship in Great Britain. For twenty-seven years—from 1915 until 1942—he served as a member of the Senate of the University of British Columbia. In 1921 and again in 1922 he was a School Trustee in New Westminster. He was appointed to the New Westminster Public Library Board and chosen as its first Chairman on February 4, 1928. He served as Chairman until June, 1931, and was still a member of the Board at the time of his death. On November 19, 1934, the Native Sons of British Columbia, Post No. 4, presented to Judge Howay their Good Citizenship Medal, and an illuminated address. He was one of the recipients of the King's Silver Jubilee Medal in May, 1935.

It is easy to forget that, despite these manifold activities, Judge Howay devoted the most meticulous attention to his judicial duties. The esteem in which he was held in legal circles was fittingly expressed on October 31, 1932, when he was presented with an illuminated address by the members of the New Westminster Bar upon the completion of his twenty-fifth year on the bench. He continued to serve for another five years, and finally retired on November 30, 1937, a few days after his seventieth birthday.

After his retirement Judge Howay devoted himself to his literary and historical pursuits with undiminished energy, and the closing years of his life were amongst the most fruitful of his whole career. He died in New Westminster, after a brief illness, on October 4, 1943, in his seventy-sixth year.

A few months before his death, in response to much persuasion, Judge Howay compiled a list of his principal writings. This list, although it consisted of less than a hundred items, and was therefore far from complete, proved of great assistance in the compilation of the bibliography that follows. Judge Howay had included none of his book reviews, but so many of these con-

tain comments and corrections of the first importance to students that every known review from his pen has been listed.

Every effort has been made to make the checklist complete, but it is nonetheless certain that this ideal has not been attained. Readers noticing errors or omissions are asked to draw them to the attention of the writer, in order that they may be noted in a supplement at a later date.

W. KAYE LAMB.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTED WRITINGS OF FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY.

ABBREVIATIONS.

BCHQ	<i>British Columbia historical quarterly.</i>
CHR	<i>Canadian historical review.</i>
HHS	<i>Hawaiian historical society.</i>
OHQ	<i>Oregon historical quarterly.</i>
PNQ	<i>Pacific northwest quarterly.</i>
RHP	<i>Review of historical publications relating to Canada.</i>
WHQ	<i>Washington historical quarterly.</i>

1902

1. The rebellion at Hill's bar. An episode of the Fraser river gold excitement. *British Pacific* 1:47-51 July 1902.

1908

2. The search for the Fraser by sea and land. Art, historical and scientific association of Vancouver. *Historical papers* session 1907-8: 15-24.
An address delivered before the association on March 9, 1908.
3. *May-day souvenir*. *New Westminster, B.C. 1870-1908*. 15 pp.
Bears legend: "With the compliments of His Honour Judge Howay."
Introductory note dated May 1, 1908.
In great part reprinted in *New Westminster Daily news* special May-day number, May 1, 1908: 2-3.
4. Life and adventures of Simon Fraser. *New Westminster Daily news* Fraser centennial number, September 30, 1908: 9-11.

1909

5. [The story of the Royal engineers.] *New Westminster Daily Columbian*, April 14, 1909: 1, 8.
Verbatim report of an address delivered in New Westminster on April 13, 1909.

1910

6. *The work of the Royal engineers in British Columbia 1858 to 1868*. Victoria, King's Printer, 1910. 17 pp.
An address delivered before the Art, historical and scientific association of Vancouver on February 9, 1909.

Reviews:—

7. W. D. Lyman, *The Columbia river*. *RHP* 14:113-5 1910.
8. J. T. Walbran, *British Columbia coast names*. *RHP* 14:115-8 1910.
9. J. T. Bealby, *Fruit ranching in British Columbia*. *RHP* 14:121-2 1910.

All unsigned. Authorship shown by correspondence files of the *RHP*.

1911

10. Early navigation of the straits of Fuca. *OHQ* 12:1-32 March 1911.

Paper read before the Oregon historical society December 17, 1910.

Reviews:—

11. E. S. Meany, *History of the state of Washington*. *RHP* 15:116-8 1911.
12. S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer days of Oregon history*. *RHP* 15:118-9 1911.
- *13. Joseph Shafer (ed.), Documents relative to Warre and Vavasour's military reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6. *RHP* 15:119-20 1911.
- *14. T. C. Elliott, Peter Skene Ogden. *RHP* 15:120-1 1911.
15. A. G. Morice, *History of the Catholic church in western Canada*. *RHP* 15:192-4 1911.
- *16. J. T. Lee, A bibliography of Carver's *Travels*. *RHP* 15:208-9 1911.

All unsigned. Authorship noted in Judge Howay's copy of the *RHP*.

1912

17. British Columbia, a historical sketch. *Fruit magazine* 5:291-3 September 1912.
18. History of British Columbia (supplement). In I. Gammell, *Elementary history of Canada*. Toronto, Educational Book Co. [1912?], pp. 297-319.

Unsigned. Authorship ascertained from Judge Howay's correspondence files.

Review:—

19. W. I. Marshall, *The acquisition of Oregon*. *RHP* 16:101-4 1912.

The first signed review contributed by Judge Howay to the *RHP*. Only the longer reviews in the *RHP* were ever signed, and it is known that Judge Howay contributed many shorter comments that appeared anonymously. For example, his correspondence shows that in the 1912 volume, in addition to the signed review here noted, he contributed the shorter notices printed on pp. 96-9 and 105-7.

1913

Reviews:—

20. E. V. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic history of Oregon*. *RHP* 17:119-21 1913.
- *21. Journals of John Work, November and December, 1824. Journal of William Fraser Tolmie. *RHP* 17:121-2 1913.
- *22. L. M. Scott, John Fiske's change of attitude on the Whitman legend. J. C. Strong, The Whitman controversy. *RHP* 17:123-4 1913.
- *23. F. V. Holman, A brief history of the Oregon provisional government. R. C. Clark, How British and American subjects unite in a common government for Oregon territory in 1844. *RHP* 17:124-6 1913.

* In addition to reviewing books, Judge Howay made it his practice, for a dozen years or more, to comment upon articles and papers printed in American publications that were of special interest to students of Western Canadian history. Reviews of this nature are indicated by an asterisk.

1914

24. *British Columbia from the earliest times to the present*. 2 vols. Vancouver, S. J. Clarke publishing company, 1914. Pp. xlvi., 688; xiv., 727.
- Written in collaboration with E. O. S. Scholefield. Mr. Scholefield's name appears on the title-page of vol. 1 only; Judge Howay's on the title-page of vol. 2 only, but it is known that Judge Howay contributed part of vol. 1 as well as the whole of vol. 2. Two biographical volumes (pp. 1161, 1208) were added to the set by the publishers.
25. [The Pacific province.] Political history, 1871-1913. In *Canada and its provinces*. Toronto, Publishers' association of Canada, 1914, 21:177-237.
26. Preface to Frances E. Herring, *The gold miners*. London, Francis Griffiths, 1914, pp. 9-12.

Reviews:—

27. Katharine Coman, *Economic beginnings of the far west*. *RHP* 18:35-8 1914.
28. J. B. Thornhill, *British Columbia in the making*. *RHP* 18:131-3 1914.
- *29. O. B. Sperlin, The exploration of the upper Columbia. *RHP* 18:134-5 1914.

1915

30. Some remarks upon the new Vancouver journal. *WHQ* 6:83-9 April 1915.
31. The fur trade as a factor in the development of the Northwest coast. British Columbia school trustees association. *Proceedings*, 1915:74-81.
- An address delivered to the association at Chilliwack on September 15, 1915. This was a slightly revised version of the address delivered by Judge Howay before the Panama-Pacific historical congress, San Francisco, July 21, 1915. See item 41, below.

Reviews:—

32. E. O. S. Scholefield, *Report of the Provincial archives department of British Columbia*. *RHP* 19:144-6 1915.
33. C. F. Newcombe, *The first circumnavigation of Vancouver island*. *RHP* 19:148-50 1915.
- *34. The journal of John Work, from June 21, 1825, to June 12, 1826. The journal of David Thompson, from July 3 to August 13, 1811. *RHP* 19:153-6 1915.
35. R. M. McElroy, *The winning of the far west*. *RHP* 19:157-9 1915.
36. W. J. Trimble, *The mining advance into the inland empire*. *RHP* 19:161-4 1915.

* See item 13, footnote.

1916

Reviews:—

37. Agnes Laut, *Pioneers of the Pacific coast*. RHP 20:127-9 1916.
 38. *Journal kept by David Douglas during his travels in North America, 1823-27*. RHP 20:132-4 1916.
 *39. The Journal of John Work, July 5 to September 15, 1826. Journal of occurrences at Nisqually house, 1833-1834. RHP 20:134-6 1916.
 40. Katharine Judson, *Early days in old Oregon*. WHQ 7:324-6 October 1916.

1917

41. The fur trade in northwestern development. In *The Pacific ocean in history: papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific historical congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley and Palo Alto, California July 19-23, 1915*. New York, Macmillan, 1917, pp. 276-86.

The address was delivered in San Francisco on July 21, 1915. See item 31, above.

42. The story of the straits of San Juan de Fuca. Art, historical and scientific association of Vancouver. *Journal*, 1917:32-52.
 An address delivered to the association in January, 1911.
 43. The Spanish settlement at Nootka. WHQ 8:163-71 July 1917.
 44. Angus McDonald: A few items of the west. WHQ 8:188-229 July 1917.

Edited by Judge Howay in collaboration with William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers.

Reviews:—

45. J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's Narrative*. RHP 21:120-3 1917.
 46. Katharine Judson, *Early days in old Oregon*. RHP 21:125-6 1917.
 *47. Journal of occurrences at Nisqually House, 1834-35. RHP 21:129-31 1917.
 48. Agnes Laut, *The Cariboo trail*. RHP 21:132-5 1917.
 49. W. H. Collison, *In the wake of the war canoe*. RHP 21:135-7 1917.

1918

50. The dog's hair blankets of the coast Salish. WHQ 9:83-92 April 1918.

1919

51. The overland journey of the argonauts of 1862. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser 3, 13, sec. 2:37-55 1919.

Reviews:—

52. H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton, *The Pacific ocean in history*. RHP 22:115-7 1919.

* See item 13, footnote.

53. Joseph Shafer, *A history of the Pacific northwest*. *RHP* 22:117-8 1919.
54. W. H. Munro, *Tales of an old sea port*. *RHP* 22:119-21 1919.
- *55. T. C. Elliott, David Thompson's journeys in the Spokane country. *RHP* 22:121-3 1919.
56. J. W. Bashford, *The Oregon missions*. *RHP* 22:126-8 1919.
- *57. Howard Palmer, Early explorations in British Columbia for the Canadian Pacific railway. *RHP* 22:131-2 1919.

1920

58. The attitude of Governor Seymour towards confederation. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser 3, 14, sec. 2:31-49 1920.
59. The voyage of the *Hope*: 1790-1792. *WHQ* 11:3-28 January 1920.

Reviews:—

- *60. Katharine Judson, The British side of the restoration of Fort Astoria. *CHR* 1:215-7 June 1920.
61. *House of Assembly correspondence book, August 12th, 1856, to July 6th, 1859*. *CHR* 1:217-8 June 1920.
- *62. F. G. Young, Spain and England's quarrel over the Oregon country. H. I. Priestley, The log of the *Princesa*, by Estevan Martinez. *CHR* 1:405-6 December 1920.
- *63. T. C. Elliott, David Thompson's journeys in Idaho. *CHR* 1:411-2 December 1920.
- *64. W. S. Lewis and J. A. Meyers (eds.), Journal of a trip from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver and return in 1828, by John Work. *CHR* 1:412 December 1920.
- *65. Victor Farrar (ed.), The Nisqually journal. *CHR* 1:413 December 1920.

1921

66. Governor Musgrave and confederation. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser 3, 15, sec. 2:15-31 1921.
67. Two memorable landmarks of British Columbia. Historic landmarks association of Canada. *Annual report* 1921:28-30.
68. Fort Langley, historic H.B.C. post in British Columbia. *Beaver* 2:2-6 November 1921.
69. Authorship of the anonymous account of Captain Cook's last voyage. *WHQ* 12:51-8 January 1921.
70. Captains Gray and Kendrick: the Barrell letters. *WHQ* 12:243-71 October 1921.

* See item 13, footnote.

71. [Historical memorandum on the story of the settlement of the boundary line between British and American territory west of the Lake of the Woods.] *WHQ* 12:285-7 October 1921.

This memorandum was prepared by Judge Howay (representing Canada), approved by Prof. E. S. Meany (representing the United States), and deposited in a receptacle in the Peace portal near Blaine, Wash., during the dedication ceremonies on September 6, 1921.

72. John Boit's log of the *Columbia*—1790-1793. *OHQ* 22:265-351 December 1921.

Edited by Judge Howay in collaboration with T. C. Elliott.

Reviews:—

- *73. John Boit, Log of the *Columbia*, 1790-1792. John Boit, A new log of the *Columbia*. *CHR* 2:281-4 September 1921.
- *74. J. E. Rees, Oregon—its meaning, origin, and application. W. H. Galvani, The early explorations and the origin of the name of the Oregon country. T. C. Elliott, The strange case of Jonathan Carver and the name Oregon. T. C. Elliott, The origin of the name Oregon. *CHR* 2:377-8 December 1921.
- *75. S. E. Morison, Boston traders in Hawaiian islands, 1789-1823. *CHR* 2:378-9 December 1921.
76. C. W. Smith, *Pacific northwest Americana: a checklist of books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Pacific northwest*. *CHR* 2:379-82 December 1921.
77. International boundary commission, Joint report upon the survey and demarcation of the boundary between the United States and Canada . . . through Georgia, Haro, and Juan de Fuca straits to the Pacific ocean. *CHR* 2:382-3 December 1921.

1922

78. The *raison d'être* of Forts Yale and Hope. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser 3, 16, sec. 2:49-64 1922.
79. The loss of the *Tonquin*. *WHQ* 13:83-92 April 1922.
80. John Kendrick and his sons. *OHQ* 23:277-302 December 1922.

Reviews:—

81. S. E. Morison, *Maritime history of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*. *CHR* 3:285-6 September 1922.
- *82. Andrew Fish, The last phase of the Oregon boundary question. *CHR* 3:286-8 September 1922.
83. Alfred Carmichael, *Indian legends of Vancouver island*. *CHR* 3:377 December 1922.

1923

84. The earliest pages of the history of British Columbia. British Columbia historical association. *First annual report and proceedings* 1923:16-22.

Presidential address delivered October 12, 1923.

* See item 13, footnote.

85. Letters relating to the second voyage of the *Columbia*. *OHQ* 24:132-52 June 1923.
- Reviews:—*
86. C. H. Carey, *History of Oregon*. *CHR* 4:65-7 March 1923.
87. C. L. Andrews, *The story of Sitka*. *CHR* 4:177 June 1923.
88. C. F. Newcombe (ed.), *Menzies' journal of Vancouver's voyage, April to October 1792*. *CHR* 4:270-2 September 1923.
89. W. S. Lewis and N. Murakami (eds.), *Ronald MacDonald*. *CHR* 4:349-50 December 1923.
- *90. J. N. Wallace, Early fur trading posts in Alberta. *CHR* 4:350-1 December 1923.

1924

91. The early literature of the northwest coast. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser 3, 18, sec. 2:1-31 1924.
- Presidential address to Section II., May 1924. See item 94, below.
92. [Nootka sound.] British Columbia historical association. *Second annual report and proceedings* 1924:22-25.
- Address delivered at Nootka sound on August 13, 1924, upon the occasion of the unveiling of the tablet erected by the Historic sites and monuments board of Canada.
93. The Royal engineers in British Columbia. Corporation of British Columbia land surveyors. *Report of the proceedings of the nineteenth annual general meeting* 1924:18-24.
- An address delivered before the annual meeting on January 8, 1924.
94. The literature of the early American and English voyages to the northwest coast. Pacific northwest library association. *Proceedings* 1924:104-22.
- An address delivered before the association on August 27, 1924.
- A reprint of item 91, omitting the sections on the literature of the Spanish and French voyages.

Review:—

95. W. S. Lewis and P. C. Phillips (eds.), *The journal of John Work*. *CHR* 5:66-8 March 1924.

1925

96. A narrative of events in the life of John Bartlett of Boston, Massachusetts, in the years 1790-1793, during voyages to Canton and the northwest coast of North America. In *The sea, the ship and the sailor*. Salem, Mass., Marine research society, 1925, pp. 287-343.

Notes (pp. 338-43) by Judge Howay.

* See item 13, footnote.

97. Sir Alexander Mackenzie. British Columbia historical association. *Third annual report and proceedings*, 1925:16-9.
Address delivered at Prince George, June 13, 1925, upon the occasion of the unveiling of monument erected by the Historic sites and monuments board of Canada.
98. [The strait of Juan de Fuca.] British Columbia historical association. *Third annual report and proceedings*, 1925:22-8.
Presidential address delivered November 20, 1925.
99. The Royal engineers in British Columbia. Association of professional engineers of the province of British Columbia. *Minutes of the sixth annual general meeting* 1925:[11-16].
An address delivered before the association on December 5, 1925.
100. Some additional notes upon Captain Colnett and the *Princess Royal*. *OHQ* 26:12-22 March 1925.
101. Captain Simon Metcalfe and the brig *Eleanora*. *WHQ* 16:114-21 April 1925.
See item 115, below.
102. Introduction and notes in R. P. Bishop, *Mackenzie's rock*. Ottawa, Department of the interior, n.d. [1925]. (Historic site series no. 6.) 31 pp.
Introduction pp. 5-9.
103. Indian attacks upon maritime traders of the north-west coast, 1785-1805. *CHR* 6:287-309 December 1925.
Reviews:—
104. W. W. Woollen, *The inside passage to Alaska, 1792-1920*. *CHR* 6:81-4 March 1925.
105. V. L. Denton, *The far west coast*. *CHR* 6:84-5 March 1925.
106. G. H. Anderson, *Vancouver and his great voyage*. *CHR* 6:85-6 March 1925.
107. E. I. McCormac, *James K. Polk: a political biography*. *CHR* 6:256-7 September 1925.
108. *The sea, the ship, and the sailor*. Edward Fanning, *Voyages and discoveries in the south seas, 1792-1832*. *CHR* 6:258-9 September 1925.
109. H. B. Restarick, *Hawaii, 1778-1920, from the view-point of a bishop*. *CHR* 6:259 September 1925.
110. C. N. Cochrane, *David Thompson*. *WHQ* 16:62-3 January 1925.
111. C. N. Cochrane, *David Thompson*. *OHQ* 26:52-3 March 1925.

1926

112. *The early history of the Fraser river mines*. Victoria, King's Printer, 1926. (Archives of British Columbia, memoir no. VI.) Pp. xvii, 126.

113. Discovery of the north west coast. Canadian historical association. *Report of the annual meeting* 1926:88-94.
114. An early account of the loss of the *Boston* in 1803. *WHQ* 17:280-88 October 1926.
115. Captain Simon Metcalfe and the brig *Eleanora*. *HHS Thirty-fourth annual report* 1925:33-9 1926.

For a revised version (written later, though printed earlier) see item 101, above.

Reviews:—

116. H. Glynn-Ward, *The glamour of British Columbia*. *CHR* 7:259-60 September 1926.
117. B. A. McKelvie, *Early history of the province of British Columbia*. *CHR* 7:352-3 December 1926.
118. Agnes Laut, *The blazed trail of the old frontier*. *CHR* 7:353-4 December 1926.
119. R. L. Reid, *The assay office and proposed mint at New Westminster*. *CHR* 7:354-5 December 1926.

1927

120. British Columbia's entry into confederation. Canadian historical association. *Report of the annual meeting* 1927:67-73.
121. Early followers of Captain Gray. *WHQ* 18:11-20 January 1927.

Reviews:—

122. J. W. Robertson, *The harbor of St. Francis*. *CHR* 8:66-7 March 1927.
123. George Gilbert, *The death of Captain Cook*. *CHR* 8:70 March 1927.
124. W. B. Cameron, *The war trail of Big Bear*. *CHR* 8:75-6 March 1927.
125. N. L. Ward, *Oriental missions in British Columbia*. *CHR* 8:82 March 1927.
126. Charles Moser, *Reminiscences of the west coast of Vancouver island*. *CHR* 8:168-9 June 1927.
127. J. N. Wallace, *The passes of the Rocky mountains along the Alberta boundary*. *CHR* 8:341-2 December 1927.
128. Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley, 1827-1927*. *CHR* 8:342-3 December 1927.
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JOHN NUGENT: THE IMPERTINENT ENVOY.*

“Meddling with what is beyond one’s province; intrusive, presumptuous; insolent or saucy in speech or behaviour”—such is the meaning of the word “impertinent,” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. So aptly does this describe the attitude and activities of John Nugent, Special Agent of the United States Government to Vancouver Island and British Columbia, that the compilers might well have had him in mind when writing the definition.

Nugent’s mission arose out of the gold-rush of 1858. Nothing in Canadian history quite parallels the condition in which British Columbia found itself in the course of that memorable year, and the background of Nugent’s visit was therefore as unusual as his conception of the proper conduct of a special envoy.

Vancouver Island had for some years been organized as a Crown Colony, complete with governor, council, legislature, and judiciary; but all of these were connected in one way or another with the Hudson’s Bay Company. It could scarcely be otherwise, for the island itself had been handed over to the Company, James Douglas was both Governor of the Colony and Chief Factor of the Company, and practically all the residents, whether in the capital, Victoria, or in the little coal-mining town of Nanaimo, were employees of the Company. As for the mainland, the outside world knew little about it except that it had become British territory under the terms of the boundary settlement of 1846. On maps of the day it was named—if it was named at all—“New Caledonia.” In it there was not even the shadow of a government. The Hudson’s Bay Company enjoyed the exclusive right to trade with the Indians within its boundaries, and no other trade existed within the area. The only settlements were the Company’s trading-posts, and even these were few and far between. This state of affairs had continued for so

* I am greatly indebted to Mr. Willard E. Ireland for his kindness in placing at my disposal extensive notes based upon documents in the Archives of the Department of State, Washington, D.C., and upon the files of British and American newspapers.

long that the very officers of the Company had come to believe that *all* trade, whether or not it concerned the Indians, was exclusively theirs.

Suddenly word came to the world that gold had been discovered on the mainland, in the bars of the Fraser River. The first adventurers to come in search of it were mostly from near-by Washington Territory and Oregon, but they were few in number compared with those who came from farther south. Miners in California were particularly attracted, for the rich goldfields in that State were becoming exhausted and they were looking for new deposits elsewhere. The vanguard of the California miners left San Francisco, 450 strong, in the steamer *Commodore*, on April 20, 1858. By the middle of August some twenty-five to thirty thousand persons had followed them. Many of these had to remain for a time in Victoria, until the flood-waters of the Fraser subsided. With few exceptions the newcomers were orderly and law-abiding; those who were not were dealt with promptly by the officials of the little Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. The good behaviour of the majority has been attributed to the Californians; but it must always be remembered that many of the latter had come originally from the British Isles, or from British colonies in America, Australia, or elsewhere. They had been brought up to recognize the meaning of the words, "The King's Peace," or, as it was in 1858, "The Queen's Peace."

On Vancouver Island, where an organized government existed, the task of maintaining law and order thus proved relatively simple. The great problem was how to preserve it on the mainland. With the coming of the gold-seekers it became apparent that steps must be taken, and taken without delay, to administer this hitherto derelict land and police it in the interests both of the miners themselves and the British Crown. Equally obvious was the fact that this could not be done without money; yet how was revenue to be raised in an unorganized territory?

The task of wrestling with these problems fell to the lot of James Douglas. As Governor of Vancouver Island he was the only representative of the Crown within several thousand miles of the Fraser River, and he felt duty bound to do his utmost to safeguard British interests. True, his jurisdiction as Governor

did not extend to the mainland; but his position as Chief Factor gave him control of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts and activities there.¹ By judicious exaggeration of his authority both as Governor and Chief Factor, Douglas hoped to gain the upper hand and retain control until such time as news of the gold-rush could reach London and the British Government could take suitable steps in the matter. This the Government did with all dispatch; but owing to the slowness of communication and other causes the measure establishing the new Colony of British Columbia, on the mainland, did not receive the Royal Assent until August 2, and the Colony was not actually proclaimed at Fort Langley until November 19, 1858. For the better part of six months Douglas was thus left largely to his own devices. He had the backing of the Hudson's Bay Company and its employees, and could count upon the support of the few ships of the Royal Navy that were stationed at Esquimalt. Boldly exceeding his powers, he appointed Justices of the Peace, Revenue Officers, Gold Commissioners, and Commissioners of Crown Lands for the mainland. To raise money he compelled would-be miners to purchase licences, and required every vessel entering the Fraser to secure a "sufferance," for which a fee was charged. In many instances, either for convenience or from necessity, he made use of the Hudson's Bay Company to collect these levies. Inevitably, many of the miners jumped to the conclusion that the Company was pocketing the fees. The records make it quite clear, however, that at no time did Douglas personally or the Company benefit financially. On July 1, 1858, for example, Douglas reported to the Colonial Secretary that a total of 2,525 miners' licences had been issued to date, and added:—

. . . We have thereby collected the sum of 12,625 dollars on account of the territorial Revenue, which I hold subject to your instructions.²

In other important respects, however, Douglas did overstep the mark, due to his belief that *all* trade on the mainland, and not merely trade with the Indians, had been handed over to

(1) Douglas may have had in mind the fact that the Company had been granted its charter by the Crown, and that recognition of its authority would therefore constitute, to some degree, recognition of the authority of the Crown itself.

(2) *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia. Part I.*, London, 1859, p. 19. (Douglas to Stanley, July 1, 1858.)

the Hudson's Bay Company by the Crown. Acting upon that assumption, he attempted at first to limit imports to goods controlled by the Company; to make vessels purchase a licence from the Company in addition to the official sufferance before mentioned; and to compel miners to pay head-money to the Company. These measures were disallowed by the Colonial Secretary as soon as he heard of them; and even before word of his action had been received, Douglas had found that the regulations were impracticable and had cancelled or greatly modified them. In their place he had substituted an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. upon all foreign goods destined for the mainland. The proceeds, he informed the Colonial Secretary, went not to the Hudson's Bay Company, but were "to be exclusively applied to the service of Her Majesty's Government, and to meet the expenses of governing Fraser's River."³

Douglas's comment upon the action of the Colonial Secretary in repudiating his policy deserves quotation in part:—

I observe . . . from your Despatch [of July 16, 1858], that the rights of trade made over to the Hudson's Bay Company are limited to the trade with the Indian tribes.

We have always hitherto given a more extended application to those rights, believing, from the circumstance of the country being inhabited by Indians alone, and from its not being open for settlement to white men, that the intention of Parliament in granting the licence was to make over the whole trade of the country to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁴

No doubt many will be suspicious of Douglas's motives; the writer, for one, believes that he acted in good faith. But whether he did or not, the clamour to which his policy had given rise spread far and wide. The majority of the miners came from the United States, and most of them had been forced to pay a levy of some kind which they suspected had found its way into the coffers of the Hudson's Bay Company. No amount of explanation (and Douglas was not adept at explaining matters to the populace) could change their opinion that they had been mulcted of their money for the Company's benefit. Nor did the new *ad valorem* duty meet with greater favour. In November, 1858, a correspondent whose name we do not know warned Doug-

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 35. (Douglas to Lytton, September 9, 1858.)

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 36. (Douglas to Lytton, September 30, 1858.)

las that elaborate briefs against the duty were being prepared amongst the miners on the Fraser:—

They contain a list of the names of the principal payers of this tax, together with the total amount collected up to the 1st November, states [*sic*] that a subordinate official proclaimed the 10 per cent to be a crown duty but that they (the petitioners) are well informed to the contrary. That it is collected by and for the Hudson's Bay Company and in proof of this it is asserted that it is collected at the Company's office, and not at the Custom House.⁵

On the margin of this letter Douglas noted that the duty "was, when first levied, received by the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, but simply for the reason that there was no other person, whom I chose to trust with the money." This was perfectly true; but the facts, even if they could have been widely publicized, would have made little impression in view of the temper of the time. Douglas's attempt to monopolize trade on behalf of the Company, though quickly abandoned, had made too deep and unfavourable an impression. Months after they had been cancelled his regulations were being reprinted and discussed in the American press.

On the whole, however, the more responsible newspapers in both Washington Territory and California took a surprisingly lenient view of the situation. Thus in June, 1858, the *Steilacoom Puget Sound Herald* advised the miners to take a conciliatory attitude until the doubts about the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company could be cleared up, and went so far as to remark that the Company could not be blamed for defending its rights, if such they were.⁶ The *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* took much the same attitude.⁷ The *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* stated that it was not prepared to say whether or not Douglas was exceeding his powers; the question was one between the British Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, and would be settled in due course. It was confident that any exactions found to have been wrongfully imposed would be made good. Taking a longer-term view, the *Bulletin* continued:—

American individuals going abroad should carefully respect the authority that exists *de facto* wherever they may happen to sojourn. . . . Let us

(5) Douglas to Lytton, January 5, 1859, enclosure No. 1. Copy in Public Record Office transcripts, Provincial Archives.

(6) *Puget Sound Herald*, June 18, 1858.

(7) See the issue of July 2, 1858.

rather submit to the temporary annoyance of Governor Douglas' restrictive policy, than awaken prejudices against ourselves which may permanently injure us, by attempts to evade or resist it.⁸

The *Bulletin's* faith that the British Government would put things right was shared by the *Alta California*. While convinced that the "exactions" were illegal and unauthorized, it counselled obedience, and was confident that the authorities in London would act when they were in possession of the facts.⁹

A much more extreme view of the situation was taken in official circles. As early as May 18, 1858, Governor Isaac Stevens, of the Territory of Washington, protested hotly to the United States Government against the "impositions" that Douglas was trying to enforce against American citizens bound for the Fraser River mines. He challenged Douglas's authority in the matter, pointing out (quite correctly) that, so far as he knew, Douglas had no jurisdiction "over the country in question, called New Caledonia, save that derived from his position as Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company."¹⁰ Stevens pressed his point in letter after letter, and on July 21 forwarded to Washington a twenty-nine-page dispatch intended

to exhibit . . . the enormity and absolute illegality of the impositions placed upon the citizens of the United States by the British authorities assuming to exercise jurisdiction over the whole Territory in which the late gold discoveries have been made, and to ask the interposition of the Government on behalf of our citizens seeking to enter that Territory.¹¹

Stevens's conception of the facts of the matter was as exaggerated as his feelings, for he went on to estimate that the revenue that Douglas would derive from miners' licences would amount to \$2,400,000 a year, and that the Hudson's Bay Company would receive \$14,000,000 per annum from its exclusive trade in supplies. These "exactions," he insisted, "had been imposed without any legal authority which should be respected by the citizens or government of the United States."¹² Ten days later he

(8) *Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, June 3, 1858.

(9) *Alta California*, San Francisco, July 7, 1858.

(10) Stevens to Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, May 18, 1858. In *Miscellaneous Letters to the Department of State*; Archives, Department of State, Washington.

(11) Stevens to Cass, July 21, 1858. *Ibid.*

(12) See Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, Boston, 1900, I., pp. 281-82.

returned again to the charge, and urged that the United States Government should

interpose with the British authorities for the removal of the restrictions above referred to. And I further request that this government demand the repayment of all sums collected by the Governor of Vancouver Island for licenses to dig gold, and that it make reclamation for the value of all cargoes and vessels confiscated.¹³

A plea of a different sort came from Governor Weller, of California, who not only questioned Douglas's authority, but was fearful that his policy would lead to serious trouble. In June, 1858, he wrote to President Buchanan:—

As there is no Government in that Territory, other than that established by the Hudson's Bay Company, I fear very much that the extraordinary powers assumed by Governor Douglas will involve us in difficulties. The citizens of California who are now emigrating to that Territory have lost none of their hatred of tyrannic rule which characterized their ancestors, and it is therefore probable, his exactions will meet with determined resistance.¹⁴

As a result of these and other urgings, the United States Government decided to send a Special Agent to the Fraser River mines to investigate the state of affairs there, and to report to the President. The man selected for this important mission was John Nugent, of San Francisco, an Irish-born journalist who had been personally known to President Buchanan years before, when the one had been Secretary of State during the Polk administration and the other the Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald*. Nugent had subsequently gone to California, where he had been Clerk of the first State Legislature and later publisher and editor of the highly successful *San Francisco Herald*. He was a supporter of the first Vigilance Committee in 1851 and joined the special police in 1852. Some years later, however, he began to associate with the celebrated Ned McGowan. Completely misjudging public opinion, he opposed the revival of the Vigilance Committee in 1856, following the murder of James King of William. This caused the business-men of San Francisco to withdraw their advertising from the *Herald*, which entered upon a decline from which it never recovered.

(13) *Pioneer and Democrat*, Olympia, September 24, 1858.

(14) Governor M. B. Weller to President Buchanan, June 6, 1858. In *Miscellaneous Letters to the Department of State*; Archives, Department of State, Washington.

Nugent had a singular ability to acquire both friends and enemies, a trait that was commented upon in an article published some time after his death:—

Impatient of opposition and imperious in controversy, he was led into personal difficulties which three times brought him on the "field of honor"—with John Cotter, who seriously wounded him in the left thigh, with Edward Gilbert, who retracted the offensive article on the field, and with Thomas Hayes, who shot him in the upper right arm . . . And yet he was the most genial of friends, the truest and firmest in his friendships. As a foe he was exasperating, but also was he on some occasions magnanimous, as the afterward warm friendship between himself and Tom Hayes demonstrated.¹⁵

The historian Bancroft speaks of Nugent in the following terms:—

Seldom have I met a man toward whom my sympathy went out as toward Mr. Nugent. Small, of light complexion and delicate features, soft and slow of speech, modest and sensitive, yet lion-hearted and intellectually great within, he deserved a better fate. This one great mistake [the stand taken by the *Herald* in 1856] hovered like a spectre over all his after-life.¹⁶

Neither writer mentions the lively dislike of all things British that made Nugent a curious choice for the office of Special Agent; but doubtless President Buchanan knew of the financial difficulties in which the decline of the *Herald* had involved him, and gave him the post for friendship's sake.

The appointment was promptly condemned by the *New York Times*, which on August 2, 1858, printed this pen picture of the "Ambassador to Frazer's River":—

If it had been President Buchanan's design to create an imbroglio at the New Caledonia gold-diggings, his choice of Nugent, the late editor of the *San Francisco Herald*, might be pronounced not only unexceptionable but singularly judicious. A man better calculated to stir up broils could not be found or one who could command, in a measure more diminutive, the respect of the California miners.

A month later, when Nugent was in San Francisco awaiting the departure of the steamer *Northerner*, which was to carry him to Victoria, Thomas Rowlandson, a British resident of the city, felt

(15) *Daily Bee*, Sacramento, December 24, 1884. I am indebted for this quotation to Miss Mabel R. Gillis, State Librarian, California State Library, Sacramento.

(16) Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, San Francisco, 1887, II., p. 224.

compelled, "on public grounds," to write privately to the Colonial Secretary regarding the appointment:—

The "On Dit" here is that it was simply a place carved out for a clamorous expectant of official patronage. . . . To sum up his character concisely I may state that he is an Irishman with an inveterate and rabid hatred of England & will doubtless stir up difficulties if he can, unless he thinks his present interests will be greatly injured by such conduct.

Whilst I do not anticipate any serious disturbance from the appointment, I considered it an act of duty to apprise the Colonial office as to the sort of Agent sent out by the United States, so that his conduct might be carefully watched. . . .¹⁷

The instructions given by the United States Government to the Special Agent¹⁸ were reasonable and fair. They asked for a description of the mines, the means of working them, the restrictions imposed by the authorities, the supply of provisions, and any other features of interest. Certain specific matters were to be investigated, including the laws and regulations to which the miners were subject, the duties levied on supplies, and the licences required. The American Government was specially anxious to know if any distinction was made between British subjects and foreigners with respect to entrance into the country and to rights and privileges after arrival there. It was also anxious to know the approximate number of British subjects and American citizens in New Caledonia.

Nugent landed in Victoria on September 20, 1858. Five days later he embodied his first impressions in a letter to the Hon. Lewis Cass, the American Secretary of State. He reported that the local officials were conciliatory, and that he hoped that he would be able to secure the removal of the restrictions about

(17) Rowlandson to Lytton, September 6, 1858. Original in Public Record Office, London. Transcript in the possession of the writer. Nugent was known to Alfred Waddington, who had this to say of him in *The Fraser Mines Vindicated*, published in November, 1858: "For the benefit of the old residents and English population unacquainted with Mr. Nugent . . . I will explain that he was editor of the San Francisco Herald; that he is a British born subject, and has been running down his country for years on every occasion . . ." Having referred to the 1856 episode, Waddington continued: "His name since then has been a reprobation to most Californians, and the government in Washington could hardly have made a more unsuitable choice for all parties."

(18) Nugent's instructions will be found in the appendix to this article.

which there had been so many complaints. There was, in his opinion, no longer any danger of a collision between the Americans and the people and authorities of Vancouver Island. He was pessimistic about the mines, which were far below expectations. "Hundreds consequently leave by every steamer for San Francisco. It is quite safe to predict that the great majority of the miners will have left before the first of November."¹⁹

After spending a few days in Victoria, Nugent went to the mainland and visited the mines on the Fraser River. On this trip he did some good work. He searched for all Americans who were in difficulties, gathered up over a hundred derelicts, and made arrangements for them to return to California. He found a number of Americans with grievances to air. Some complained of having been ill-treated by Hudson's Bay Company employees; others were dissatisfied with decisions of Government officials. On the whole, considering the conditions existing at the time, these complaints were very few.

After his return from the mines Nugent remained for a time in Victoria. Several matters were discussed by him with Governor Douglas, both verbally and by correspondence. One concerned criminal trials in the Courts. Nugent pointed out that there was only one lawyer, George Pearkes, who was entitled to plead in the Vancouver Island Courts. As Pearkes was legal adviser to the Governor, and had the duty of prosecuting in criminal cases, the accused were of necessity left without legal counsel. There were a number of Americans awaiting trial at the time, and Nugent therefore asked Douglas to allow attorneys from the United States, several of whom were in the city, to act as defence counsel in these cases. Douglas was inclined to give the desired permission, but, being uncertain of his powers in the matter, referred the question to Pearkes, who advised him that he had no authority to permit foreigners to practise in the Courts. Pearkes added that Judge Begbie, who had been appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia and was then on his way out from England, would have the right to do so, but that a decision on the point would have to await his arrival. Later in his report Nugent inveighed bitterly against

(19) Nugent to Cass, September 25, 1858. In Territorial Papers, Washington and Oregon, Vol. I.; Archives, Department of State, Washington.

Douglas for having acted on the advice of his legal adviser. The passage reads in part:—

Afterwards I was informed by a note from his excellency that the application could not be granted, as the rules of the court forbade anybody practicing before it who was not a subject of the British crown. I regret to be obliged to characterize this as a mere subterfuge; that it was such will appear from the fact that the gentleman who then held the office of crown solicitor [Pearkes] had been a member of the San Francisco bar for two years.²⁰

Nugent was correct in stating that Pearkes was a member of the California Bar; but he neglected to add that he was a member of the English Bar as well. It seems incredible that he did not know this, and the implication is that the ambiguity of his statement was deliberate.

Actually, American citizens seem to have had no reason to complain of their treatment in the Courts, in spite of the conditions Nugent denounced. American attorneys were permitted to visit and advise the accused, though they could not actually appear at the trial; and in view of the fact that they had no counsel, Pearkes did not exercise his right to address the jury after the evidence was taken.

That Douglas's reason for refusing Nugent's request was not a "mere subterfuge" soon became apparent. Judge Begbie assumed office two days after Nugent left Victoria, and one of his first acts was to make the order that the Special Agent had demanded. Ironically enough, not a single American attorney ever took advantage of it.

Nugent's next activity was to attempt to give Douglas a lesson in etiquette. He received a letter signed not by the Governor himself, but by his secretary—a circumstance that Nugent regarded as a direct affront and insult both to himself and to the Government he represented. When the offence was repeated, he added a postscript to his reply:—

The last two notes received from your excellency were signed by your secretary, I presume, through inadvertence. I beg to call your attention to this mistake, in order to prevent its recurrence.²¹

(20) *Message of the President of the United States, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, the report of the special agent of the United States, recently sent to Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, Washington, 1859, p. 16. (35th Congress, 2nd session, Ex. Doc. No. 29, Senate. Cited hereafter as Nugent, Report.)*

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

If this thrust angered Douglas, he did not show it. He replied in the usual way, in a letter signed by his secretary, which explained his conduct as follows:—

His excellency desires me to inform you that the two last letters which he had the honor to address to you by his private secretary, alluded to in the postscript to your letter, were not signed by the secretary by inadvertence, as you presume; that the usual medium of official communications is the colonial secretary, and in the absence of that functionary, the governor's private secretary was deputed to sign the letters referred to in behalf of his excellency; a course which was not adopted from any disrespect to you, but in conformity with diplomatic usage, and in which sense his excellency begs you will accept these and any further official communications which he may have the honor of making to you in that manner.²²

This explanation Nugent flatly refused to accept, and three days later he addressed to the Governor as insolent a missive as he could manufacture:—

Hotel de France, Victoria,
Vancouver's Island, Nov. 12, 1858.

Sir:

In my note of third of the present month, I had the honor to call your attention to what I conceived to be a mistake made by your secretary in signing your two communications of the 8th and 13th ultimo, respectively, with his own name. In a verbal conversation had with your excellency on the day on which you last note was dated, I intimated that I could not receive communications on matters connected with my agency through the medium of your private secretary, that gentleman being to me officially unknown. Since then, I have received another note dated November 9, 1858, doubtless dictated by your excellency, but signed in the same way as the two preceding.

Not having been made aware by my government of any circumstance giving your excellency the prerogative of corresponding with me at second hand, and only through a third party, I regret to inform you that I cannot take notice of the contents of your communication of the 9th instant; and further, that all written correspondence must cease between us with this note. I am urged to this step by a sense of duty alone; and although I would be undoubtedly justified by the rules of that diplomatic etiquette to which you appeal, in returning your last communication, I refrain from so doing, because it is my desire to attribute your excellency's course to a want of conversancy with such matters, rather than to uncivil intention; and because, in obedience to the spirit of my instructions, I am anxious to maintain, to the end, the amicable relations that have hitherto subsisted between your excellency and myself.

(22) *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

Lest my official duties should not afford me leisure to call for the purpose of paying my respects to your excellency previous to my departure, I avail myself of this occasion to bid you farewell.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

John Nugent,

Special Agent of the United States.²³

His Excellency Governor Douglas.

Nugent did not leave Victoria for a week after this letter was written, and he might have found time to pay a last call on the Governor. But perhaps it was as well that he did not. The "official duties" that took up his time in the last days of his sojourn included the composition of a farewell address "To the Citizens of the United States in Vancouver's Island and British Columbia," which appeared in the *Victoria Gazette* for November 16, 1858. The complete text of this address is printed in the appendix to this article, but one or two passages must be quoted here.

After some pertinent remarks on the duties of American citizens in foreign countries, Nugent turned his attention to the local administration. Having admitted that "it was scarcely to be expected that a well-regulated Government could be at once built up, out of the chaotic elements suddenly thrown together in such confusion," he went on to pay his respects to Douglas, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Courts, in these words:—

Much was to be pardoned to the inexperience of an Executive hitherto dealing for the most part with savages, and, possibly unprepared by previous training for the more refined exigencies imposed by governmental relations with a white population:—much of the cause of complaints that have arisen was to some extent excusable, because due to the unlicensed rudeness of the subordinate officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Colonial Government, who, by reason of their long isolation from civilized society and their habitual intercourse with Indians, had unlearned most of the finer traits of humanity, and were scarcely accountable for a grossness of conduct that had become to them a second nature:—and, lastly, much was to be excused in the ignorance and want of tone of courts organized out of such crude and unfit materials as those, the only ones that were at hand on the sudden influx of the strangers. In some instances, no doubt, these courts have fallen short of even the limited expectations justified by the peculiar circumstances of their construction, and the strange constituents of which they were composed.

(23) *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

In a later paragraph he expressed the hope that the British Government would provide remedies for these evils and abuses without unnecessary delay, and advised American citizens, if oppressed or wronged, to apply to the local Courts for redress. It is to be hoped they will obtain justice [Nugent continued]: but should those tribunals, unfortunately, be too impotent, too ignorant, or too corrupt to administer the law with impartiality and firmness, our citizens may reckon with certainty upon the prompt and efficient interference of their own Government in their behalf.

This was followed by a reference to the strong stand the United States had taken when dealing with an upstart government in Nicaragua, the inference being that similar action could be expected in British Columbia under circumstances that Nugent chose to regard as parallel.

It is noteworthy that although the *Victoria Gazette* was owned and edited by American citizens from San Francisco, Nugent's address appeared as a paid advertisement, and strong exception to its contents was taken by the *Gazette* in an editorial:—

We need hardly say that we dissent from the conclusions of the document, and disapprove its tone. . . .

The allusion to the acquired or natural unfitness of the authorities of British Columbia and this Colony [Vancouver Island], for the positions they occupy, is as glaring an exhibition of bad taste as diplomatic records contain; and the quotation from Gen. Cass's letter of instructions, in the case of an ephemeral, irresponsible Spanish-American government, as indicative of the manner in which the relations of the United States with Great Britain would be carried out, is not only sophistical but insulting to the latter power. It is also noteworthy that the early training of the statesman whose language is thus misused, was amid such associations as the Special Agent declares to have unfitted the authorities of British Columbia and Vancouver Island for the administration of civilized government—the Hon. Lewis Cass having long had the management of Indian affairs in the then Northwestern portion of the American Union. . . .²⁴

Some months later the *Gazette* returned to the subject, and made this interesting comment:—

That the officers of Her Majesty's Government in British Columbia have fallen into grave errors at times, we have no disposition to dispute; but that generally they are gentlemen in every sense of the word, and at least the peers of their official villifier [*sic*], no just man who has had any intercourse with them will question. If evidence were needed to establish the

(24) *Victoria Gazette*, November 16, 1858 (the same issue in which Nugent's address was printed).

fact, it might be found in the dignified forbearance and stinging contempt with which they passed over the gravely fantastic antics of the Special Agent, in his attempts to "promote subordination."²⁵

Victoria's other newspaper, the *British Colonist*, though edited by Amor de Cosmos, and bitterly opposed to the Douglas regime, had this to say concerning Nugent's statement:—

Had a similar address been issued by the British Consul at San Francisco, though warranted through the corruption of officials, and the abuse of British subjects, he would probably have been insulted or shot before night, and the California press would have blazed with indignation. . . . If officially authorized to speak in behalf of his countrymen, we believe Mr. Nugent should have communicated the abuses—which Americans in common with Englishmen have suffered—to the authorities, and if redress was not given, then quietly to his government. That he told some truths, in our opinion does not justify him as an official agent.²⁶

Possibly to the surprise of Amor de Cosmos, some of the San Francisco papers were highly indignant at the publication of Nugent's address. The *Evening Bulletin* considered that he had "gratuitously offered gross insults to the local government," and referred to the "ungenerous, undignified, illiberal and malicious sentiment expressed in Mr. Nugent's address."²⁷ When copies of the document reached London, *The Times* quoted from it at length, and made this stinging comment:—

This language is insolent and offensive without being innocuous. . . . But nothing can be more disgraceful in any one who pretends to rank as an educated man than to scatter mischief in a society such as this, and to teach a population to despise the legal authority of the officers of the Government upon whose territory they dwell. Such a man as this is a public nuisance. Happily we believe his evil desires will not be gratified. . . . There is no reason to believe that the American settlers will follow Mr. Nugent's evil counsels. But this is no fault of Mr. Nugent's. He has done all in his power to throw the colony into confusion and to bring disgrace upon the service to which he was attached."²⁸

One further comment from nearer home is worth quoting because it refers to the vexed question of the Courts. It comes from the *Puget Sound Herald*, of Steilacoom, and is concerned chiefly with Chief Justice Cameron, of Vancouver Island, the only Judge in the whole region at the time of Nugent's visit:—

(25) *Ibid.*, April 19, 1859. This comment was prompted by the publication of Nugent's report.

(26) *British Colonist*, January 22, 1859.

(27) *Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, November 23, 1858.

(28) *The Times*, London, January 19, 1859.

We have formed a very favourable opinion of his [Judge Cameron's] ability, integrity, and purity. There seems to be a manifest desire on the part of the Judge to dispense Justice not only with rigidness and exactness, but with despatch. The manner in which Justice is meted out to parties litigant and all of the transactions of the tribunal are apparently very much at variance with the wholesale denunciations heaped upon the authorities of the colony by Mr. Special Commissioner John Nugent. We make these remarks on the principle of giving "honour to whom honour is due."²⁹

Nugent left Victoria on November 17, 1858, two days before the Colony of British Columbia was proclaimed at Fort Langley. He proceeded to Washington, where he submitted his report to President Buchanan on January 8, 1859. On the 29th Buchanan transmitted it to the Senate, which two days later referred it to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was ordered to be printed on February 17, and duly appeared, as a thirty-page Senate document, later in the spring.

The report need not be considered in any detail. In it Nugent quotes certain passages from the address printed in the *Victoria Gazette*; as the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* justly observed at the time, the report "is conceived in the same spirit . . . and is in a great measure an elaborate special pleading to support the obnoxious opinions expressed in that document."³⁰ One or two new topics are introduced. The Hudson's Bay Company is suspected of having furnished the Indians of Washington and Oregon with arms and ammunition for use against the white population of those territories; the San Juan question is dealt with briefly. More interesting is a reference to the prospects of annexation. In Nugent's opinion Vancouver Island and British Columbia

really offered no inducement sufficient to render them worthy of even a temporary struggle. It is true that, in all probability, both will eventually cease to be under European control. Their ultimate accession to the American possessions on the Pacific coast is scarcely problematical—but in the mean time their intrinsic value either of locality, soil, climate, or productions, does not warrant any effort on the part of the American government or the American people towards their immediate acquisition.³¹

"Manifest destiny" was a popular doctrine in the United States in 1858, and the passage may mean no more than that

(29) *Puget Sound Herald*, February 11, 1859.

(30) *Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, April 1, 1859.

(31) Nugent, *Report*, p. 17.

Nugent was an adherent of that school of thought. Some contend, however, that he had been sent deliberately to spy out the land, with annexation in view; that the reference to Nicaragua in his address was not accidental, but came to his mind naturally because he was considering the possibility of a filibustering expedition in British Columbia. One scrap of contemporary evidence supports this point of view. The anonymous correspondent who warned Douglas that briefs were being prepared against the *ad valorem* duty on imports warned him also that Nugent's fundamental purpose was subversive. He contended that the Special Agent

counted upon at least a hundred thousand Americans being subject to his control,—that the British Government would be but nominal, and that though tacitly acknowledging the right of the English Government to make laws, yet the united strength and voice of the Americans would control and influence such laws, and gradually assimilate them to their own views and interests.³²

The Fraser River mines having proven to be much less rich and extensive than was at first thought, and the wealth of the Cariboo not having yet been discovered, the assumption is that Nugent did not think the venture worth while, and so stated in his report.

One of the remarkable features of the entire episode is the absence of any outward sign of displeasure from Governor Douglas. Neither Nugent nor his mission was so much as mentioned in any of his official dispatches to the Colonial Office until after the Special Agent had left the country. Finally, in January, 1859, Douglas forwarded to London a copy of the letter which has just been quoted in part. His covering dispatch read as follows:—

Executive No. 64

Victoria Vancouver's Island
5th January 1859

Sir

I beg to enclose for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of an important communication worthy of confidence though the writer's name is for obvious reasons withheld.

(32) Douglas to Lytton, January 5, 1859, enclosure No. 1. Copy in Public Record Office transcripts, Provincial Archives.

The communication refers to Mr. Nugent late Special Agent for the United States at this place and points out the particular designs which the writer discovered he had in view.

I forward this document rather as an illustration of the ideas floating in the mind of the simple American, who talks with confidence of the realization of such visions than with the view of creating alarm.

Mr. Nugent would no doubt have protected to the best of his ability the interests of his country and countrymen in British Columbia, and he might have succeeded in exercising a pernicious influence over the latter and have excited a spirit of dissatisfaction with the established regulations of the country, but I conceive that nothing more serious could have occurred, as there are resources at our disposal sufficient to meet any emergency that may arise, and I feel satisfied that as long as we hold with a firm hand and superior force the avenues to British Columbia, no other power can wrest it from our grasp.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient
humble servant

JAMES DOUGLAS
Governor British Columbia

The Right Honble. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton Bart.
Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State
For the Colonial Department.

This dispatch would seem to indicate that Douglas was inclined to believe the charges against Nugent. Just where the truth lies it is difficult, at this late date, to determine with much certainty.

Douglas took one further step in the matter. Feeling that the treatment accorded to American citizens in British Columbia compared very favourably with that which had been meted out to British subjects in California, he prepared a memorandum on the subject and forwarded it to Lord Napier, the British ambassador in Washington. Towards the end of January, 1859, when opportunity offered, Napier submitted this memorandum to General Cass, the American Secretary of State. A dispatch from Napier to Lord Malmesbury, the British Foreign Secretary, describes the interview in these words:—

I took occasion in my conversation with General Cass this morning to advert to the conduct of Mr. Nugent who was lately employed by the Government of the United States as Agent on the Pacific Frontier. I stated that I did not ask what the nature of his Reports had been; they were probably more or less conformable to the strictures formerly published by

Governor Stevens and to the sense of Mr. Nugent's own manifesto and correspondence at Vancouver's Island, but I thought myself justified in placing unofficially in the possession of the department of State a memorandum on the State legislation of California respecting the rights of foreign miners, as the particulars contained in that document might be useful in correcting or completing information emanating from sources unfriendly to Governor Douglas.

General Cass did not seem to regard the document with much favor, but he accepted it and is now in possession of proofs that the regulations prescribed in British Columbia are more liberal than those in force in the neighbouring territory of the United States.

The memorandum compiled by Governor Douglas is enclosed herewith.

I must do General Cass the justice to say that he expressed himself in complimentary terms respecting the character and conduct of Governor Douglas.³³

After his excursion into power politics, very little more was heard of John Nugent. In 1869 an attempt was made to resuscitate the San Francisco *Herald*, but within a few months the paper failed.³⁴ In 1878 he contributed "Scraps of Early History," in six instalments, to the *Argonaut*,³⁵ but these contain little autobiographical information. He died at San Leandro, Alameda County, California, on March 29, 1880. Referring next day to his career the Sacramento *Daily Record-Union* remarked:—

Mr. Nugent had some very exalted ideas in regard to the external trappings of journalism, but he lived to learn that no matter how fine the furniture of a printing office, if it is not well supplied with practical sense it cannot be made to succeed.

The same principle applies to the exercise of ambassadorial functions.

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(33) Napier to Malmesbury, January 21, 1859; enclosure in Lytton to Douglas, February 21, 1859.

(34) The original San Francisco *Herald* was published from June 1, 1850, to July 14, 1863. The revived journal first appeared on January 19, 1869; the last issue was dated October 6, 1869.

(35) These appear in the issues dated February 23, March 9, 16, 23, and 30, and April 13, 1878.

APPENDIX.

1. INSTRUCTIONS OF THE HON. LEWIS CASS
TO JOHN NUGENT.³⁶

Department of State,
Washington, Aug. 2, 1858.

John Nugent, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

Sir:

You are hereby appointed a special agent of the U. S. and will proceed without unnecessary delay to the vicinity of Frazer River on the North Pacific Ocean, where it is understood that valuable discoveries of gold have recently been made, which are likely to exert an important influence upon emigration and commerce.

The President desires to be accurately informed with respect both to the locality and extent of these discoveries, the mode in which they are improved, the restrictions, if any, under which their work is pursued, the quality of the gold discovered, the means of access to the gold-region, the supply and kind of provisions, from what places and at what prices furnished, and generally all information on the subject, of a reliable character, which you may be able to give. It is impossible to mention in detail every point to which your attention is likely to be directed. Much must be left to your own judgment in this respect, upon which, I am glad to say, the President relies with confidence.

A few questions, however, may be suggested as of much importance. These refer in part to the laws and regulations which you may find in force within the British Possessions with reference to the occupation and working of the mines, and the importation of supplies for the miners. Is there any duty upon provisions imported, and if so, how much? Is any license required to enable the miners to enter and work in the gold region? If there is, by what authority is it issued, and what charge is made for it? Is there any, and what, distinction made, within the British Possessions, between British subjects and foreigners, in respect either to their entrance into the country or their rights and privileges afterwards? What is the number of British subjects there, and of American citizens? How many of each class are engaged in mining? Are their relations friendly, or is there any ill-feeling between them?

The position and number of the Indians in the neighborhood of the gold region are also important subjects of inquiry. To what extent are they hostile to the miners? What injuries have they committed? Are their hostilities extending? What military or naval force have the British authorities in the vicinity of the river? What voluntary arrangements, if any, have been made by the miners for their own protection? Any facts

(36) In Records of the Department of State, Domestic Letters, July 1, 1858-January 18, 1859. Printed from a photostat of the original official record copy, supplied to the Provincial Archives by the National Archives of the United States.

with which you may be able to furnish the Dep't on this subject will be highly acceptable.

In connection with your inquiries as to the extent of the gold country in the United States, it is desirable that you should inform yourself, as well as you can, with respect to the course of overland emigration to that region. Have any and what trails been opened from our own country to the British Possessions? Are there any traveled routes from Minnesota and Washington Territories? Can you hear of any new settlements formed, within our possessions, in the neighborhood of the gold-region, which are likely to become important? I will thank you to make your inquiries on these points as full as possible. You can readily understand their bearing upon the great interests of our North Western territories.

With these instructions you will receive copies of several communications on the subject of the Frazer River discoveries, and the authority and conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company, which you may find of interest. You will find, also, a copy of a note of Lord Malmesbury, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Dallas,³⁷ dated June 17, 1858, which refers to the probable policy of Great Britain in the region of the gold discoveries. Since the date of this note, a communication has been published by the British Minister for the Colonies, Sir Edward Lytton, to Gov. Douglass of the Hudson's Bay Company, which still further explains what the policy may be expected to be. These communications taken in connection with a recent debate on the same subject in the British Parliament, and with repeated conversation which I have had concerning it with the British Minister at Washington, Lord Napier, lead to the confident hope, that the proceedings of the British Government and its officer with reference to the gold discoveries within its N[orth]. A[merican]. possessions will be characterised by a liberal spirit, and will be of such nature as will prevent any reasonable cause of complaint on the part of our citizens. If any abuses have already occurred, it is probable that due remedies will be found for them, and any existing hardship will be removed, it is hoped, by the prompt action of the British authorities.

At all events, the unremitting attention of this government will be given to accomplish these results, and ensure to our citizens in that quarter the most fair and liberal treatment. Of this you may give them the most full assurances. But you will take care to remind them also, that they have duties as well as rights, and that while they expect the latter to be maintained, they must not hesitate to discharge the former. So long as they reside in a foreign country, they must remember that they are subject to its laws and to all the lawful regulations of its authorities. Whenever these regulations are onerous and oppressive, their own Government, you will renewedly assure them, will not fail to take the necessary steps to procure their modification or repeal. In order to ascertain whether such instances of hardship exist is one of the objects of your agency.

You will, of course, call upon Governor Douglass, and you may explain to him the purposes of your journey. A letter of introduction to that gen-

(37) Alexander Grant Dallas, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

tleman will be furnished you by Lord Napier, and it is hoped that your intercourse with him may be of the most free and friendly character. It is an object of the first importance to preserve the peace among the excited population who will occupy the region of gold, and it is hoped that Governor Douglass will endeavor to secure this object by every means in his power. I do not doubt that your visit may tend to accomplish the same good purpose.

Enclosed you will find an extract from a communication to this Dept. of A. Campbell, Esq., U. S. Commissioner, &c., &c.,³⁸ by which you will see that in order to prevent as far as possible any dispute with respect to the boundary between the American and British possessions on the Pacific, he proposes to cut a line through the forest to the Cascade range of mountains. This suggestion of Mr. Campbell has been approved by the Department.

Your compensation, at the rate of \$8 per day, will commence from the date of these instructions and will continue until you return to your home in California. Your traveling expenses will also be paid. For these, as far as possible, you will furnish vouchers. You will report as early and as often as you can, to the Department. No definite time can be assigned for the continuance of your agency, but it is expected that you will be able to make your final report in time to be communicated to Congress at the opening of the next session.

I am, Sir, &c.,
Lewis Cass.

2. NUGENT'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, NOVEMBER 13, 1858.³⁹

*To the Citizens of the United States in Vancouver's Island
and British Columbia.*

Having received from citizens of the United States, mining and trading on Fraser's River and in its vicinity, a number of letters complaining of acts of injustice and oppression at the hands of the Colonial authorities,—and being on the eve of my departure to lay my report before the Government at Washington, I take this public method of apprizing American citizens sojourning in Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, of the views of our Government in regard to their rights and standing in these Colonies.

I need scarcely say that the Government of the United States expects of its own citizens abroad, a decent conformity with local regulations, obedience to the laws of the countries they visit, and a proper show of respect for the authorities by whom those laws are administered. This is exacted of strangers visiting the different States of the Union, who are amenable to punishment for a violation of the laws of those States, or of the United

(38) Archibald Campbell, United States boundary commissioner, who, after failing to come to an agreement with the British commissioners regarding the boundary through the San Juan archipelago, was at this time engaged in determining the line between Point Roberts and the Cascades.

(39) Here reprinted from the *Victoria Gazette*, November 16, 1858. The address also appears in Nugent, *Report*, pp. 11-13.

States, as are American citizens for infraction of the laws of such foreign countries as they may enter in pursuit of pleasure, or of business. Such of our citizens, therefore, as have taken up their temporary residence in British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, are subject, like all other residents, to the laws of the Colonies and of Great Britain, and are liable, like all others, to the penalties meted out by those laws to persons properly convicted of their violation.

I am aware that an elaborate attempt to impress these facts upon my fellow citizens in these Colonies, would be superfluous. Their sobriety of deportment, their decent observance of all the proprieties of life, in the midst of privations and annoyances of no common degree, and their obedience to the law under very trying provocations to its infringement,—although they may not have gained for them such liberal treatment as was due to that forbearance and good conduct,—have, nevertheless, commanded the respect of the strangers among whom they are cast, and cannot fail to be subjects of pride and gratulation to their own Government.

Considering the circumstances attending the recent settlement of these Colonies, it was scarcely to be expected that a well-regulated Government could be at once built up, out of the chaotic elements suddenly thrown together in such confusion. Much was to be pardoned to the inexperience of an Executive hitherto dealing for the most part with savages, and, possibly unprepared by previous training for the more refined exigencies imposed by governmental relations with a white population:—much of the cause of complaints that have arisen was to some extent excusable, because due to the unlicensed rudeness of the subordinate officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Colonial Government, who, by reason of their long isolation from civilized society and their habitual intercourse with Indians, had unlearned most of the finer traits of humanity, and were scarcely accountable for a grossness of conduct that had become to them a second nature:—and, lastly, much was to be excused in the ignorance and want of tone of courts organized out of such crude and unfit materials as those, the only ones that were at hand on the sudden influx of the strangers. In some instances, no doubt, these courts have fallen short of even the limited expectations justified by the peculiar circumstances of their construction, and the strange constituents of which they were composed. But it is not to be doubted that the British Government will, without unnecessary delay, provide remedies for the evils and abuses arising from this condition of things—evils and abuses affecting not alone the prosperity of its own subjects, but the rights of citizens of a foreign and a friendly power.

The forbearance, in the meantime, of the citizens of the United States: their quiet observance of the laws, under any aggressions on their rights of which they may have to complain, will not alone have its reward in the consciousness of having done credit to their country—a country whose institutions are based upon that all-pervading love of order, and that spirit of obedience to the law which distinguishes its citizens,—but it will, moreover, entitle them to the active intervention of their own government for the redress of their grievances, and for the protection of their rights. That

the Government of the United States, upon proper cause being shown—after recourse shall have been had in vain to the tribunals, against acts of oppression or injustice—will so intervene for the redress and protection of its citizens in British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, I am authorized and instructed to give them the most emphatic assurance. If wrong be done them, let them appeal to the courts. It is to be hoped they will obtain justice: but should those tribunals, unfortunately, be too impotent, too ignorant, or too corrupt to administer the law with impartiality and firmness, our citizens may reckon with certainty upon the prompt and efficient interference of their own Government in their behalf. The best guaranty I can furnish them of the certainty of such interposition, will be found in the subjoined declaration by the Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State of the United States, in a recent dispatch to our Minister in Nicaragua, enunciating clearly and vigorously the views of our Government in respect to the rights of our citizens visiting foreign countries:

“The United States believe it to be their duty—and they mean to execute it—to watch over the persons and property of their citizens visiting foreign countries, and to intervene for their protection when such action is justified by existing circumstances and by the law of nations. Wherever their citizens may go through the habitable globe, when they encounter injustice they may appeal to the Government of their country, and the appeal will be examined into, with a view to such action on their behalf as it may be proper to take. It is impossible to define in advance and with precision those cases in which the national power may be exerted for their relief, or to what extent relief shall be afforded. Circumstances as they arise must prescribe the rule of action. In countries where well-defined and established laws are in operation, and where their administration is committed to able and independent judges, cases will rarely occur where such intervention will be necessary. But these elements of confidence and security are not everywhere found; and where that is unfortunately the case, the United States are called upon to be more vigilant in watching over their citizens, and to interpose efficiently for their protection, when they are subjected to tortuous proceedings by the direct action of the Government, or by its indisposition or inability to discharge its duties.”

It is unnecessary for me to make any further or more pointed application of this declaration to the circumstances of American citizens in these Colonies. Their own intelligence and prudence will enable them so to guard their conduct that they shall never forfeit that provident and fatherly care and protection which it promises, and which the Government of the United States has both the ability and the will to exercise over all its children, in whatever part of the world they may be.

JOHN NUGENT,
Special Agent of the United States.

Victoria, Vancouver's Island
November 13th, 1858.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SOME ARCHIVES ACCESSIONS IN 1943.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Since the last list of new accessions was printed in the October, 1942, issue of the *Quarterly* a number of important files of departmental records have been transferred to the Archives. The extensive collection of Judges' trial note-books acquired in the last few years was again amplified by the transfer of sixty-two note-books from the Vancouver Court-house. These were kept by Chief Justice Gordon Hunter, Chief Justice Auley Macaulay Morrison, and Judges Gregory, Ellis, Grant, Schultz, Ruggles, Bole, and Cane. They were secured through the kindness of the Hon. R. L. Maitland, K.C., Attorney-General of British Columbia, and Mr. J. F. Mather, District Registrar in Vancouver.

From the Department of Mines the Archives received twenty-nine Record and Letter Books of the Cassiar Mining District, covering the years 1874-1906. They throw new light on mining operations at Glenora, Telegraph Creek, and Laketon, particularly during the gold-rush of 1874 and ensuing years. For this valuable addition to the collection of mining records the Archives is indebted to Dr. J. F. Walker, Provincial Mineralogist and Deputy Minister of Mines.

A third transfer included a quantity of outward correspondence from the Premier's office, covering dates up to and including 1901. These papers are of special interest, for relatively few of the records relating to the early Premiers of the Province seem to have survived, possibly because the incumbents regarded their correspondence as a personal affair, and removed the files when they resigned office. This transfer was effected through the kind offices of the Hon. John Hart, Premier of British Columbia.

From Mr. Hart the Archives also received a photostat copy of Colonel C. S. Bulkley's letter-book for 1865-67, which had been presented to him by Brigadier-General J. A. O'Connor, U.S.A., and the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Canadian Minister of Pensions and National Health. Colonel Bulkley was, in 1865, engineer in charge of the construction of the celebrated Collins Overland Telegraph line, which was intended to link the telegraph systems of the United States and Russia by means of a wire extending through British Columbia, Alaska, and Siberia. The original letter-book is in the Public Library of Portland, Oregon, and portions of it were of much interest to the engineers in charge of the building of the Alaska Highway, construction of which was supervised by General O'Connor.

Shortly after acquiring the Bulkley papers, the Archives became the happy possessor of a collection of original letters and diaries of Edmund Conway, one of Colonel Bulkley's engineers in British Columbia in 1865-67. The documents were the gift of Edmund Conway's daughter, Miss E. M. Conway, of Montreal, and form a most interesting companion-piece to the Bulkley letter-book.

Two further accessions, though not in manuscript form, may most fittingly be mentioned at this point. From Mr. Isaac Burpee, of Portland, Oregon, the Archives received an original page from the issue of *Harper's Weekly*, dated August 12, 1865, containing an article on the Collins Overland Telegraph and reproducing two interesting contemporary sketches of New Westminster. By a curious coincidence, Dr. James J. Talman, of the University of Western Ontario, presented a photostat of one side of the same page at almost the same time.

The outstanding event of the year was the receipt, through the kindness of Lieut.-Colonel F. R. S. Balfour, of Stobo, Scotland, of a number of original letters and documents relating to Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist with Captain Vancouver's expedition in 1791-95. Among these is Menzies' farewell letter, addressed jointly to his brother James and to his mother, written in H.M.S. *Discovery* at Falmouth on March 31, 1791, and Sir Joseph Banks' instructions to Menzies for his guidance in carrying out his mission during the expedition. Other documents are Menzies' diploma from the University of Aberdeen, which granted him his M.D. degree in 1799; diplomas from the Edinburgh and Leipzig Natural History and Research societies; and the probate of his will, to which is attached an extract from the will itself. In addition, there are six sixteenth century documents in Latin, pertaining to the Menzies estates in Scotland.

With the documents came two beautiful miniatures of Archibald Menzies and his wife, Janet, a gold watch, and a seal. The latter accompanied the naturalist on his expedition to North-west America.

The Archives is greatly indebted to Colonel Balfour for this magnificent gift, and to Mr. W. A. McAdam, Agent-General for British Columbia in London, by whose kindly and interested co-operation special arrangements were made to safeguard the relics while they were in transit from London to Victoria.

From the University of Washington Library the department received a number of typewritten translations of French, Spanish, and Russian narratives of expeditions to the North Pacific Coast. These were particularly welcome, as the narratives are, for the most part, new to the Archives collection. The translations were made by W.P.A. workers employed by the University of Washington Library during the depression.

To Mrs. William Henderson, of Victoria, the Archives is indebted for a series of diaries kept by her late husband during the years 1916-19. William Henderson was a civil engineer employed by the Public Works Department of Canada, and participated in the building of the famous Astrophysical Observatory on Little Saanich Mountain. Mrs. Henderson's gift included a number of photographs taken while the Observatory was under construction.

Mr. John T. Gawthrop, of the Post-war Rehabilitation Council, was kind enough to write and present a short memorandum describing the Mining Training Project of 1935-39, of which he was one of the directors. This project, which was designed by the Provincial Government to help relieve unemployment during the depression and to train young men in placer-

mining, will in time attain historic value. Mr. Gawthrop very kindly loaned his photograph album to the Archives, in order that a selection of pictures illustrating the Training Project might be copied and filed with the memorandum.

An unusual document was received from Dr. Robie L. Reid, who presented the original of the sworn statement of Captain John R. Fleming concerning the negro slave-boy Charles, whose arrival at Victoria in Captain Fleming's ship, the *Eliza Anderson*, caused such excitement in 1860. It will be recalled that Dr. Reid told the story of the boy and his release in the October, 1942, number of this *Quarterly*.

An item of much interest to students of the life and achievements of John Work was the acquisition, through the kindness of Mr. Isaac Burpee, of a copy of the fur-trader's will, hitherto unavailable to the general public.

MUSEUM EXHIBITS.

An unusually large number of beautiful and rare exhibits have been received during the past year, including the Menzies miniatures and relics to which reference has already been made. Another outstanding item was a collection of mementoes of the late Dr. J. S. Plaskett, for many years Director of the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory, and one of the most active members of the British Columbia Historical Association. Amongst these are the insignia of the Order of the British Empire, received by Dr. Plaskett when he was made a Companion of the Order in 1935, and the interesting letter to Dr. Plaskett from the Hon. R. B. Bennett, then Prime Minister of Canada, in which he asked Dr. Plaskett's permission to recommend him for the Order. Other items in the collection, which was presented by Mrs. Plaskett, include replicas of the Henry Draper and Rumford gold medals awarded to Dr. Plaskett, and an ambrotype of the Doctor as a child.

Mrs. David Doig presented a small portable organ which had been used in Dawson during the Klondike gold-rush by her late husband, who was manager of the Bank of British North America in the Yukon Territory, and who was well known in both banking and musical circles in Victoria.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Oscar Bass, several barristers' wigs were presented to the Archives. These were once the property of P. A. Irving, H. D. Helmcken, and E. V. Bodwell.

Mrs. John Hart was kind enough to present some pieces from a dinner set once used by Hudson's Bay Company families at Fort Victoria. They are decorated with the Company's coat of arms and are a most welcome addition to the Fort Victoria relics.

The Misses Lovell presented a beautiful set of gold scales, complete with weights, once used by their father, the late J. B. Lovell, at Glenora during the Cassiar rush, and later. They also presented some quaint Victorian wax and seaweed framed posies.

From Dr. Robie L. Reid, of Vancouver, came a small crucible once used in the minting of gold coins at the historic mint in New Westminster. Shortly after its arrival the Archives was able to acquire two similar crucibles of larger size that were also originally in the New Westminster mint.

Mr. James Ogden Grahame presented his original contract with the Hudson's Bay Company, dated 1866, as well as his junior Chief Trader's and Chief Trader's commissions, which are dated 1877 and 1879 respectively. Documents of this description are now becoming rare, and their old-fashioned wording and faultless penmanship make them of unusual interest and value.

A staff such as those formerly presented to Indian chiefs by colonial governors, and a small totem-pole carved by the Indian Charlie James, of Alert Bay, were received through the kindness of His Honour W. C. Woodward, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

From Mr. A. N. Mouat came two illuminated addresses, one of which was presented to him on the occasion of his retirement from the Edmonton City Council and the other at the time of his retirement from the British Columbia Provincial Civil Service. A third illuminated address, presented to the late Joseph Randle by his co-workers at the Nanaimo mines when he retired in 1904, was given to the department by Mrs. Randle.

Another interesting memento was a horseshoe made of copper from the pioneer steamer *Beaver*; this came from the estate of the late J. E. Jeffcott. Numerous other exhibits, including bank books, indentures, marriage certificates, etc., were gratefully received from Mr. A. C. Pitts, Mrs. W. A. Harper, and Mr. B. A. McKelvie.

PICTURE COLLECTION.

Mention has already been made of the Menzies miniatures, and of the very interesting pictures received with the Plaskett collection, the Henderson diaries, and Mr. Gawthrop's memorandum on the Mining Training Project. Of the many other items received, perhaps the outstanding accession was a splendid framed copy of *The Caning in Conduit Street*, a cartoon depicting the episode of the contretemps between Captain George Vancouver and Thomas Pitt, 2d Baron Camelford, in 1795. This was presented by Mr. Isaac Burpee.

Old group photographs are frequently both useful and popular exhibits, and a number of interesting examples were received during the year. Mr. J. C. Bridgman presented a framed group of British Columbia senators and parliamentary representatives at Ottawa in 1871; Mr. C. G. White gave a photograph of a group of pioneer civil servants standing on the steps of one of the old "Birdcages"; from Miss Becker came an interesting framed group of masters and boys taken outside the old Collegiate School on Church Hill in the middle eighties; Mr. A. N. Mouat presented a photograph of the last meeting of the commissioned officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, held in Winnipeg in 1887; and from Mrs. Joseph Randle came a photograph of prize-winners taken after a rifle match at Clover Point, her late husband and Captain James Harvey being included in the group.

A further gift from Mr. Mouat included portraits of Sir Harry and Lady Smith, after whom the city of Ladysmith, Vancouver Island, is named.

Four beautiful old albums were received, three of which came through the kindness of Senator G. H. Barnard. These all contain photographs of pioneer residents of Victoria. The fourth album was presented by Mr. Robert Mist, of Honolulu, and is devoted chiefly to photographs collected at

Esquimalt by Mr. Mist's father, Captain Henry Wentworth Mist, R.N., who was in command of H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk* on this station from 1868 to 1872. In addition to the photographs the album contains a number of small water-colour sketches.

The largest collection of photographs taken by any one person was received from the estate of the late C. C. Pemberton, through the kindness of his sister, Miss Evaline Pemberton. The photographs are mostly views of old Victoria homes, and were taken with great care by Mr. Pemberton himself. They are accompanied by detailed explanatory notes, giving the history of the houses and much information regarding the different families that occupied them.

Several albums were loaned to the Archives during the year in order that certain pictures might be copied for the department's collection. Among them was a valuable album kindly made available by Colonel G. H. Ogilvie that illustrates the story of "C" battery and the beginnings of Work Point barracks during the years 1887-93. Equally interesting was the album loaned by Mr. A. C. Pitts, most of which was devoted to views of H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* and the historic submarines *CC1* and *CC2*, as well as to groups of officers of the R.N.C.V.R. who served in the Great War of 1914-18. In addition to loaning his album, Mr. Pitts presented several excellent photographs of pioneer business establishments on Yates Street in the seventies, and a striking likeness of his father, the late S. J. Pitts, a prominent merchant in former times.

The Archives is indebted to Commissioner T. W. S. Parsons, of the British Columbia Provincial Police, for a set of photographs of the Alaska Highway; to the estate of the late J. E. Jeffcott for a dozen valuable marine photographs and a portrait of Mr. Jeffcott himself; to Mrs. George Phillips for more Esquimalt photographs; to Mr. E. T. Kenney for photographs of freighting along the route of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway between the Rockies and Prince Rupert; and to Mr. Herbert Kent for a number of photographs of theatrical groups, ranging from the late nineties to the period of the first Great War. Mr. Kent was kind enough to identify most of the persons in these groups.

The collection of lantern-slides was enriched by the gift of nearly 100 slides from Mrs. A. W. McCurdy. Some of these are views of Victoria taken about forty years ago, whilst others depict native flowers and plants. An added attraction is that many of the slides are in colour.

Mention should also be made of a beautifully drawn map prepared by Rev. R. J. McGuinness, S.J., of Banff, tracing the journeys of Father De Smet through British Columbia in the years 1845-46. Father McGuinness has a remarkable knowledge of De Smet and his work, and has personally followed his footsteps over long stretches of his travels.

Other maps received included tracings and blue-prints of the telegraph trails in the seventies and eighties, presented by Mr. O. Leigh Spencer, of the Vancouver *Daily Province*.

PRINTED BOOKS.

The most interesting accession of the year was the second volume of the *Edmonton Bulletin*, the first newspaper published in the little town destined later to become the capital of the Province of Alberta. The volume consists of twenty-seven numbers, published between October 29, 1881, and April 29, 1882. It was presented by Mrs. W. A. Harper, whose father, the late T. A. Dunlop, was one of the founders of the *Bulletin*.

To Major F. V. Longstaff the Archives is again indebted for the gift of various pamphlets. Master R. W. Parsons presented a copy of Plutarch's *Lives* autographed by Amor De Cosmos. Last, but by no means least, from Mr. H. D. R. Stewart, of Calgary, came a copy of a rare early imprint—Sparshott's *Military Manual of Infantry Drill*, which was printed in New Westminster in 1861.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of December 10. Mr. F. C. Green, the Vice-President, was in the chair. The programme was in charge of the Native Sons of British Columbia, Post No. 1, and was designed to honour the memory of the late C. C. Pemberton, who was one of the most active and interested members of both the Native Sons and the British Columbia Historical Association. The speaker of the evening was Mr. L. W. Westendale, who first spoke on Mr. Pemberton's life and then quoted at length from a paper by Mr. Pemberton, part of which was devoted to a history of the Native Sons.

Chartres Cecil Pemberton was born in Victoria on May 18, 1864. His father, the Hon. Augustus F. Pemberton, was successively Commissioner of Police, Magistrate, and County Court Judge. His mother was a sister of Chartres Brew, an officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary who was sent out by the British Government in 1858 to organize a police force on the mainland of British Columbia. Young Chartres was educated in the public schools of Victoria, in the grammar school of the Reformed Episcopal Church, and by a private tutor. Later he was articled to the firm of Drake & Jackson, and was called to the Bar in July, 1889. After practising law in Victoria for a decade, he went to the Yukon in 1899, and while there served as postmaster at Lake Bennett. Returning to Victoria in 1900, he was soon appointed Law Clerk to the Legislature, a post he held for many years. About the same time he entered the real-estate business, in which he was engaged until shortly before his death. Mr. Pemberton served overseas with the Forestry Corps during the first Great War. His death occurred in Victoria on January 26, 1943, in his seventy-ninth year.

His interests were legion, but he will probably be longest remembered as an historian and a botanist. He was recognized as an arboriculturist of outstanding ability, and a few years ago circumstances enabled him to indulge

his interest in both history and trees simultaneously. After much effort he succeeded in transplanting a small arbutus tree, a species first described by Archibald Menzies, the naturalist who accompanied Captain Vancouver. When opportunity offered the little tree was shipped to England by sea, and there planted beside Vancouver's grave in Petersham churchyard. According to latest reports it is flourishing in its new surroundings; and in the years to come it will form, as Mr. Pemberton hoped and intended it should, a living link between the coast of British Columbia and the explorer who first charted its intricacies.

In recalling the early history of the Native Sons of British Columbia, of which Mr. Pemberton was a charter member, Mr. Westendale related a curious experience that befell Lieutenant H. Bole during the Great War. When charging up Vimy Ridge he suddenly heard the distress call of the Native Sons. Searching about, he discovered a wounded Victorian who, in his delirium, had voiced the call he had learned at his initiation on the Pacific Coast. It saved his life, for Lieutenant Bole was able to have the wounded man taken back of the lines to a dressing-station.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The Section met in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of October 26; the President, Mr. A. G. Harvey, presided. The speaker was Dr. Sylvia Thrupp, of the Department of History, the University of British Columbia, whose subject was *The Historian—a Detective*. Dr. Thrupp first pointed out that the mission of the historian must not be taken too lightly, for, amongst other things, it was the historian who in great part shaped the "collective memory" of the community. A thorough search for every scrap of available source material was therefore a matter of some importance; and this aspect of the subject led naturally to an interesting discussion of the similarities and contrasts between the historian's search for material and the detective's quest for evidence. Just as a detective sometimes feels instinctively that clues are lurking near if he could only see them, so the historian at times feels convinced that more material on his subject is hidden away somewhere, despite all appearances to the contrary. Dr. Thrupp quoted instance after instance in which some student, urged on by curiosity and enthusiasm, continued his search in the face of apparently conclusive evidence that the documents sought after had been destroyed. The usual story is that the papers were destroyed in a fire. "In the course of centuries," Dr. Thrupp remarked, "almost every mansion and public building has suffered at least one serious fire, and this provides a ready explanation for the disappearance of documents, and a most welcome excuse to lazy or ignorant custodians who do not wish to be put to the trouble of finding out whether or not, in actual fact, the papers wanted are still in existence." In one instance a student succeeded in bringing to light a most valuable file of documents that every one had taken for granted had been burned almost 400 years before. Likely hiding-places include cellars, garrets, and out-houses, in which old papers are frequently piled and quickly forgotten. In such places rats and mice usually have found them before the historian, but

fortunately neither their appetites nor their curiosity is apt to extend far beyond the edges of the outer layers of papers.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on the evening of Thursday, November 18. More than eighty members and friends attended. The speaker was the Hon. E. C. Carson, Minister of Mines; his subject was *The Early History of Lillooet*. Mr. Carson's family pioneered in the Lillooet district many years ago, and his personal knowledge of the area and his familiarity with its every physical feature enabled him to describe the travels and activities of the early explorers, fur-traders, miners, and settlers in a most interesting and enlightening manner. He spoke first of Simon Fraser, who travelled down the Fraser River, past the present site of Lillooet, in 1808, and then briefly sketched the work of the traders sent into the district first by the North West Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company. Finally, in 1858-59, came the gold-miners, whose arrival brought the town of Lillooet into existence. Transportation was the key problem of the time, and Mr. Carson pointed out the great emphasis rightly placed upon it by Governor Douglas, and the ingenuity and success with which he overcame the difficulties in the way of the construction of much-needed roads and bridges. Amongst other episodes Mr. Carson told the amusing and heartening story of the famous volunteer corps that opened the road-and-water route from Port Douglas, at the head of Harrison Lake, to the Fraser River at Lillooet. During the discussion that followed the address some one remarked that Mr. Carson had ended his story about the time his own family arrived in the Lillooet district, and the hope was expressed that he would consent to return at a later date and tell the second instalment of its history.

The election of officers for the year 1944 was held, and resulted in the re-election of most of the executive, and the addition of several new members to the Council. Officers for 1944 are as follows:—

Honorary President	- - - -	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
President	- - - -	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Vice-President	- - - -	Miss Helen Boutilier.
Honorary Secretary	- - - -	Miss Audrey Reid.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - -	Mr. G. B. White.

Members of the Council—

Mr. E. G. Baynes.	Mr. E. M. Cotton.
Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.	Mr. F. H. Johnson.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Mr. A. De B. McPhillips.	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Dr. W. N. Sage.	Dr. Sylvia Thrupp.
Mr. K. A. Waites.	

The thanks of the Section were expressed to Miss Lillian Cope, who had kindly acted as Secretary during the latter part of 1943.

VICTORIA CAVALCADE.

An elaborate play-pageant entitled *Victoria Cavalcade*, designed as part of the celebration of the centenary of the city, was presented at the Royal

Victoria Theatre on December 17 and 18, 1943. The play was written by Mr. A. M. D. Fairbairn and produced by the Victoria Little Theatre and Dramatic School. The main portion of the drama consisted of three one-act plays, which were preceded by several introductory scenes and followed by an epilogue. The whole pageant was linked together by a commentary spoken by the author.

The first scene represented Vancouver Island before the coming of the white man. This was followed by a scene depicting the choice of the site of Fort Victoria by James Douglas. Next came the erection of the fort, and, concluding the preliminary scenes, a representation of the arrival of Richard Blanshard, first Governor of Vancouver Island, in 1850.

Of the three plays the first, *His Excellency Requests the Pleasure*, told the amusing story of a reception held by Governor Blanshard in the first Government House. (This play, it will be recalled, was presented with great success some years ago at a Blanshard Day celebration held in the ball-room of the present Government House.) The second play was entitled *Grand Ball in the Fort*, and depicted the Christmas Eve party given by Governor Douglas in old Fort Victoria in 1854. Lastly came *Cargo of Crinolines*, an episode built around the arrival of one of the famous "bride ships" in 1862. The epilogue—*Sovereignty, May 30, 1939*—concerned the visit to Victoria of Their Majesties the King and Queen, and introduced the ghost of Governor Blanshard, which surveyed the spectacle with interest and satisfaction.

Excellent scenery and colourful costumes, many of them authentic relics of the period represented, contributed to the success of the pageant.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Six of Judge Howay's friends have united to pay him tribute in this memorial issue of the *Quarterly*.

Henry R. Wagner, A.B., LL.B. (Yale), D.Litt. (Pomona), of San Marino, California, shared to the full Judge Howay's interest in early voyages to the Northwest Coast. But whereas the Judge was most concerned with the maritime fur trade, Dr. Wagner gave first place to exploration and cartography. Each became the acknowledged authority in his particular field, and owing to the division of their interests the work of one complemented that of the other. Of Dr. Wagner's many publications the best known are probably *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, and his monumental two-volume work, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America To the Year 1800*.

W. Stewart Wallace, B.A. (Toronto), M.A. (Oxford), is Librarian of the University of Toronto. He was virtually the founder and was for ten years editor of the *Canadian Historical Review*. He was formerly the Secretary and is now President of the Champlain Society, for which he edited McLean's *Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* and a volume of *Documents Relating to the North West Company*. In 1926 he published a *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, and in 1935-37 acted as general editor of the *Encyclopedia of Canada*.

Walter N. Sage, M.A. (Oxford), Ph.D. (Toronto), is Head of the Department of History in the University of British Columbia. He has published many papers and articles relating to the history of the Province, and is the author of the standard life of Douglas, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*. In 1942 he published, in collaboration with Judge Howay and Professor H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States*, a volume in the "Relations of Canada and the United States" series.

Noel Robinson is well known throughout the West as a writer and journalist. Students of British Columbia history will recall that it was he who secured from the late Walter Moberley his amazing story, *Blazing the Trail through the Rockies*, which appeared first in the old *News-Advertiser*, and was later rewritten and issued in book form. Mr. Robinson and Judge Howay had a host of literary interests in common, and he is therefore peculiarly well qualified to write of the Judge from that point of view.

It is fitting that an article by Robie L. Reid, LL.D. (British Columbia), should appear in this issue. Dr. Reid and Judge Howay first met in 1885, and thus were friends for nearly sixty years. Both developed a keen interest in the history of British Columbia, and, in addition to a volume entitled *The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint at New Westminster*, Dr. Reid has contributed many papers to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada and to various historical periodicals.

W. Kaye Lamb, M.A. (British Columbia), Ph.D. (London), formerly Provincial Librarian and Archivist, is now Librarian of the University of British Columbia.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Tenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society of Vernon, British Columbia. [Vernon, B.C., 1943.] Pp. xiv., 132. \$1.

The besetting sin of most regional historical societies is an undue pre-occupation with matters of purely local concern. This *Tenth Report* indicates that no such charge can be levelled against the Okanagan Historical Society. More than half the report is devoted to topics of interest to all Canadians, and the import of some of the articles is wider still. Typical of this part of the report is the first paper, *A Plea for the French Language*, in which Miss Marjorie M. Jenkins presents a point of view that all English-speaking Canadians would do well to ponder. For Miss Jenkins regards Canada's bi-lingual heritage as a blessing, not a curse. She points out some of the cultural and practical advantages that would come to us if we recognized this fact and acted accordingly; and she points out further that the sooner we admit to ourselves that *both* languages are here to stay the better, "because there is not the slightest probability that either one will ever be abandoned." This paper is followed by a brief note on the Statute of Westminster, a discussion of the necessity for a Canadian flag, and some remarks upon Canada's foreign relations.

Mr. Leonard Norris contributes several papers, including an interesting thirty-page essay on *Some Aspects of the Carnarvon Terms*. After sketching in the characters of the three principal persons involved—Lord Carnarvon, Prime Minister Mackenzie, and Premier Walkem—Mr. Norris first shows how unorthodox and extraordinary the episode was in many respects, and then proceeds to search for motives. In his opinion the key lies in the arbitration award which in 1871 gave the San Juan archipelago to the United States. In military terms the effect of this award was to isolate Victoria from the rest of Vancouver Island, and cut off Burrard Inlet from the sea. A railway between Esquimalt and Nanaimo—which in 1874 was not in the least necessary for any peace-time purpose—would to some extent rectify the situation; and Mr. Norris contends that it was the desire of the British Government to see this strategic line constructed that accounted for Lord Carnarvon's strange excursion into Canada's domestic affairs.

Mr. Burt R. Campbell tells the story of the *Inland Sentinel*, now the *Kamloops Sentinel*, the oldest newspaper in the Interior of British Columbia. Founded originally at Emory Bar in 1880, the *Sentinel* first migrated to Yale, and then in 1884 moved on to Kamloops, where it has been published for almost sixty years. Mr. L. A. Hayman writes a history of the Kelowna-Westbank ferry, which he himself operated for many years. Mr. G. C. Tassie explains the origin of a number of well-known place-names. An up-to-the-minute note is struck by the sketch and photograph of Alexis Smith, the young Penticton-born screen star, who is rapidly climbing to the top of the tree in Hollywood.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII., No. 1.

In addition to more than a dozen articles, the *Tenth Report* contains a number of reviews and comments on topics raised in various books and articles. The publications noticed include *British Columbia and the United States*, by F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, and several articles that have appeared in this *Quarterly*.

The new *Report* is well printed and presented, and the Okanagan Historical Society is to be congratulated upon the appearance of so substantial a publication under present conditions. That the Society continues to enjoy widespread support is shown by the membership list, which includes more than 400 names. Copies of the *Tenth Report* may be obtained from the Society's Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Leonard Norris (address: P.O. Box 897, Vernon, B.C.), who is once again chiefly responsible for the new addition to the *Report* series.

W. KAYE LAMB.

Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries: A Survey of Facilities for Study and Research. By John VanMale. Seattle: Pacific Northwest Library Association, 1943. Pp. xv., 404. \$4.

Readers of an historical publication may wonder why this book, which deals with library problems, should be reviewed here. But the sub-title indicates that historians, who are dependent on books and on librarians, will here find help in their research.

Resources of Pacific Northwest Libraries grew out of the activities of the Committee on Bibliography of the Pacific Northwest Library Association, and its establishment of the Pacific Northwest Bibliographic Centre in Seattle. Before an actual centralized library service for this region could be put into effect, a knowledge of the materials available was necessary; and this book is the report of such a survey. The individual libraries (and the list is surprisingly long, for a region so young and so scattered) surveyed their own collections, and Dr. VanMale, after visiting each institution, evaluated and compiled the returns. The result is a comprehensive over-all picture of scholarly materials in the Pacific Northwest.

The book is conveniently arranged so that the research worker can turn immediately to the subject-field in which he is interested. History is treated in the chapter on "Social Sciences." Dr. VanMale reports that, despite their brief life-span and the lack of large endowment funds, many local libraries have assembled remarkably good collections. In Pacific Northwest history they "have managed to acquire and preserve practically the entire printed record of the region" in newspapers and books. Current ephemeral printed matter, however, is not stressed in our institutions, a fact which future historians will greatly regret. A systematic scheme for specialization in the preservation of church, business, labour, and other reports is most necessary in this area.

The survey shows that the larger Pacific Northwest history collections at the Provincial Library, the Universities of Washington and Oregon, and at the historical societies of Montana and Oregon, differ greatly in scope.

Some stress manuscripts and atlases of early explorations; others later periods and different districts.

In his "Program for the Future" Dr. VanMale points out that local libraries have tended to buy books with a brief life expectancy rather than those which will "become a part of the cultural wealth of the institution, city, state, and region in which they are held." After the war, if the expected economic expansion of the Pacific Northwest occurs, our collections will prove inadequate to meet the increased demands for research materials. Few local libraries will have sufficient funds to build up suitable new collections, and we must undertake some sort of regional planning for library, as well as for natural resources. Important preliminary steps toward this end have already been taken with the establishment of a Union Catalogue at the Pacific Northwest Bibliographic Centre—a catalogue which lists the complete holdings of the principal libraries of the region. The author suggests that librarians search out, through organized community groups, the people's library needs, both present and future. They should plan to meet these needs by each agreeing to concentrate on certain fields, to refer certain reference questions to specialized libraries, and to facilitate if possible the existing system of inter-library loans.

Historians will, therefore, find much help and many new suggestions in this book. But readers must bear in mind the foreword's caution that "titles credited to one library may be held in other libraries even though not so recorded." It is all too easy to get the impression that certain titles are held only by the specific library mentioned. Perhaps the listing of representative titles need not have been so detailed—it would be sufficient for the reader (and the librarian) to know what is in the region, and how he may obtain it through his local library.

Type and format are pleasing, and every reader will appreciate the ease of reference which is afforded by the exhaustive index.

ELEANOR B. MERCER.

The Panama Route 1848-1869. By John Haskell Kemble. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. Pp. xii, 316. \$3. (University of California Publications in History, vol. 29.)

For twenty eventful years—from the discovery of gold in California until the completion of the first transcontinental railway—the Panama route was "the best way of travel and communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States." Doubtless because it was superseded so completely by the railway, its importance has been overlooked by historians, and this is the first volume in which trade and travel via the isthmus have been described in detail. Nor is it a small-scale story. Between 1848 and 1869 no less than 110 steamers were employed at one time or another on the Atlantic or the Pacific; over 800,000 passengers travelled over the route, and the vessels transported over \$750,000,000 in treasure.

The story opens quietly, in the years before the gold-rush, when the Panama route was attracting attention in the United States chiefly because

it afforded the best means of establishing regular communication with the newly-acquired Oregon territory. Eventually the United States Mail Steamship Company undertook to provide a steamer service between New York and the isthmus, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was organized to operate a line from Panama to California and Oregon. Both companies received liberal subsidies in the form of mail contracts. Just as they were about to commence operations on the modest scale circumstances seemed to justify, news of the gold discovery in California gave rise to a tremendous demand for transportation. The mail companies, and in particular the Pacific Mail Company, did their best to handle the enormous traffic, but inevitably rival lines were attracted to the scene. A period of frenzied competition followed. The figure that loomed largest in the opposition ranks was Cornelius Vanderbilt, and the most interesting episode was his determined effort to defeat the Pacific Mail and its Atlantic counterpart by developing a new and shorter trans-isthmian route through Nicaragua. For a few months in 1853 the volume of traffic actually swung in Vanderbilt's favour, but the completion of the Panama Railroad, early in 1855, won the battle for the Panama lines. Vanderbilt, however, who was nothing if not astute, was by that time receiving a bonus of \$40,000 a month simply for keeping out of the isthmian trade. Later he returned to the fray, and when peace of a sort was made in 1860, he emerged as an important shareholder in the Pacific Mail.

Having devoted four chapters to a chronological account of these events, Dr. Kemble next treats at length several topics the details of which would have impeded the general narrative. These include the characteristics of the steamers employed on both oceans; the nature of the journey, from the passenger's point of view, together with some interesting and revealing descriptions of its joys and sorrows; the transit across the isthmus, and the construction of the railroad. Appendix I., which follows, is virtually a supplement to this part of the book. Consisting of forty compactly-printed pages, it describes in detail 108 of the steamers employed on the Atlantic or the Pacific, and tabulates many particulars of their careers. The amount and completeness of the information given is amazing, and this appendix will at once take rank as a standard reference in its field.

The story of the Panama route is, of course, closely related to British Columbia as well as to California. It was for years the best route to the one as well as to the other. With the discovery of gold in British Columbia in 1858 many of the steamers hitherto used in the San Francisco-Panama service were employed on the northern run to Victoria and Puget Sound. The list of steamers above referred to therefore includes such familiar names as *Brother Jonathan*, *Northerner*, *Oregon*, *Orizaba*, and *Sierra Nevada*, as well as the *Pacific*, of unhappy memory. As an illustration of the unexpected and interesting facts hidden away in the appendix, it may be mentioned that one entry discloses that the United States survey ship *Active*, after which Active Pass was named, was originally the steamer *Gold Hunter*. Built in New York, she was brought around the Horn to run on the Sacramento River. After serving as a survey ship she was sold and

placed in the coastal trade. She ended her days in 1870, when she crashed ashore near Cape Mendocino, while *en route* from San Francisco to Victoria.

Any doubt that this may not be a definitive study will be quickly dispelled by a glance through the fourteen-page bibliography. The search for material has been exceptionally widespread and thorough, and except for an occasional detail nothing in the volume is drawn from other than a primary or contemporary source.

The maps and illustrations, sixteen in number, are well chosen and well reproduced. Readers will be interested to note that the view of the steamer *Dakota* in Victoria harbour is from a photograph in the Provincial Archives. The book is attractively printed and there is a good index. Unfortunately the University of California Press has insisted upon keeping the pages of the text free from footnotes, and any one interested in the references must therefore follow the tedious practice of hunting them up in the back pages.

W. KAYE LAMB.

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

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His Honour W. C. WOODWARD, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

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

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