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The  
**BRITISH COLUMBIA  
 HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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

VOL. VIII.

VICTORIA, B.C., APRIL, 1944.

No. 2

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## WILLIAM WALLACE GIBSON: A CANADIAN PIONEER OF THE AIR.\*

This story begins some fifty years ago. If we could go back to the early nineties and visit a certain farm on the Canadian prairies, we would sooner or later see a young lad indulging in the ancient art of kite-flying. The boy would lie for hours on the prairie grass as he held the taut string, watching and wondering. Often kept home from school to herd his father's cattle, his main hobby at such times was flying kites. He became very adept at making them, and learned to keep them aloft when hardly a breath of wind was blowing. On windless days he would gallop his pony for miles over the open prairie in order to create a breeze, and tow his kite behind, just to see it fly. It was then that the thought came to him that if his pony could supply the energy to keep a kite aloft, why could not some way be devised of applying the power directly to the kite itself?

The young lad was William Wallace Gibson, who had been born in Ayrshire, Scotland, and had come to Canada with his parents when they decided to cut the old home ties, cross the ocean, and settle on the prairies. Amongst other things, he learned quickly that a kite with a backward sweep on either side of its centre stick would fly much more steadily than one with a flat surface. So for a number of years the boy experimented, making innumerable kites and thinking deeply as to why they flew.

The years slipped by and young Gibson grew to manhood. He moved to the village of Balgonie, 15 miles east of Regina, where he bought a general store. Balgonie was then a tiny hamlet in

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\* EDITOR'S NOTE.—In October, 1939, Mr. Frank H. Ellis contributed to the *Quarterly* an article entitled "Pioneer Flying in British Columbia, 1910-1914" (III., pp. 227-61). This included some account of the experiments conducted by William Wallace Gibson, but the information then available was very incomplete. Moreover, there seemed to be little hope of filling in the picture, as Mr. Ellis had been informed, on what appeared to be good authority, that Mr. Gibson had died some years before. Happily this was not so. Mr. Gibson is still very much alive, and the present article is based largely upon data and photographs that he himself has kindly placed at Mr. Ellis's disposal.—W.K.L.

*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII., No. 2.

the district of Assiniboia, a part of the Northwest Territories. It was not until September, 1905, that the area became Saskatchewan and a Province of the Dominion.

When the Wright brothers made their first flight in December, 1903, William Gibson read of it in the newspapers. It was then that he made up his mind to start experimenting with a man-sized craft of his own design. His first preliminary models, made during the winter of 1903-04, were simply of paper. They were based entirely upon ideas gleaned from his kite-flying days, for it was not until three years later that he first saw a picture of an airplane.

The wing-tips of his models were given a sharp upward angle, similar to those of his early kites, as he had learned that this gave them greater stability in flight. The front wing was adjustable, so that the degree of lift could be regulated, in order to control the model in flight. In his search for the motive power required to fly his models Gibson displayed great ingenuity. He used the spring end of a window-blind roller, cutting it off three-quarters of an inch beyond the spring; and into the wooden end he drilled a hole, inserting a length of bamboo to form the rest of the "fuselage." The wooden part of the roller around the spring was lightened by whittling it down to a thickness of less than one-sixteenth of an inch. The metal part which protruded was also filed down to reduce weight, and a suitable screw was soldered to the end of it. To this in turn was attached a pusher propeller, carved from Spanish mahogany. The propeller was at the rear and rotated between two rudders. For launching the model a chute was fashioned, made from a 9-foot board, 10 inches in width. Along the centre of the chute was a guide. Skids were fitted to the model that kept it clear of the chute. They were used also for landing purposes. The surface of the chute was varnished and highly polished; it was built on four legs, the two in front being 3 feet in height, the rear ones but 12 inches. This, then, was the starting device.

In addition to the store at Balgonie, Gibson by this time owned a hardware store at Craven and another branch at Cupar. As a respected citizen of those communities, he realized that if the residents in general, and his banker in particular, came to hear of his experiments they might well think that he was some-



what unbalanced mentally. As gossip travelled in Balgonie with the speed of a prairie fire, Gibson deemed it in his best interests to keep his experiments to himself.

At dawn on a Sunday in the middle of June, 1904, Gibson made the initial test of his first powered model. His store was in the building owned by a Billy Hyde. Up on the flat-topped roof Gibson set up his launching device. Then, having wound up the spring of the model, he placed it on the chute and released it. It took the air half way up the chute, and sped swiftly across the street. There it struck a box car standing on a siding, damaging one wing. But Gibson had satisfied himself, beyond all doubt, that his model could fly.

Many other models of a similar type were constructed at Balgonie, and flown with varying success from the roof of the store, always during the early hours, just before dawn. Gibson kept his secret well, but one or two people saw the models in flight.

Dr. Kaulbfleisch, who is thought still to be a resident of Balgonie, returned home very early one morning, after attending a patient in the country, and came into the village unnoticed by the inventor. When the store opened later in the day he called in and said: "Billy, that was a funny looking bird you were trying to catch on your roof this morning. I never saw a bird like that in my life. It flew right over my buggy, and lit on the grass over by the station."

Jimmy Hicks, who was an early riser and lived close by, was another. One day he was heard telling a neighbour that he had seen a funny looking bird fly off Bill Hyde's building, and that he thought maybe it had a nest up there.

Gibson was so well pleased with his experiments that he decided to design and build a man-carrying craft. For the sake of privacy, the work was to be done on his farm, some 4 miles south of the village. The first step was to build a 4-cylinder, 4-cycle air-cooled engine of his own design; but when it was partly constructed the railroad boom struck the vicinity. Gibson was influenced into contracting to build a 20-mile stretch of right-of-way for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, then being pushed through 100 miles north of Balgonie. Later he took another contract for a further 22 miles, west to the Touchwood Hills. Instead of returning a profit, these two contracts cost him

\$40,000—the first financial loss he had ever experienced. He was 27 at the time, and, in his own words: “When I had the banks cleaned up, or rather they had cleaned me, I had no stores, nor farm, so with what capital I had left, I decided to go west, and start anew.”

Gibson arrived in Victoria, British Columbia, in the fall of 1906, taking along what personal effects he had retained, together with the partly-completed engine, to which he pinned his hopes and plans to fly.

In the spring of 1907 he met a miner named Locky Grant, who, like most prospectors, was broke. However, he did have a good prospect at Elk River, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and Locky offered it to Gibson for \$500. The day Locky sailed for Clayoquot in the steamer *Tees*, Gibson decided to look the claim over. Having been brought up on the prairies he knew nothing about boats, and less about the ocean. But being an adventurous soul, he scraped together \$300 in cash, bought a 17-foot launch, provisioned it, and set off northward. He had looked at his course on a map and, as he himself recalls, it “looked so calm and peaceful” that he expected no difficulties; but the journey is a story unto itself. He was eight days getting to his destination, and he lost 25 lb. on the way. The Pacific off the west coast of Vancouver Island is noted for its violence on occasion, and apparently it duly resented a landlubber’s intrusion.

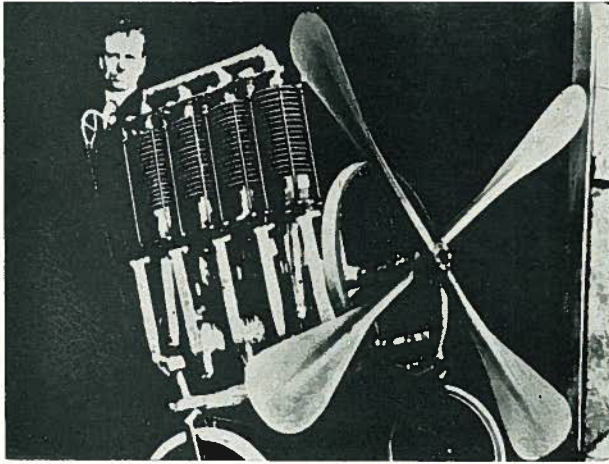
He met Locky and was shown the mine. It was the first hole in a rock he had ever seen. Some of the decomposed quartz was picked out into a pan, and washed in a near-by creek. It showed a string of gold, 3 inches long. That was enough for Gibson; he made a deal forthwith. He gave Locky his launch, a camera, his field glasses, a rifle, and \$100 to boot. The two men shook hands, and the mine had a new owner.

Gibson returned to Victoria, procured a small stamp-mill and a water-wheel to run it, and hurried back on the *Tees*. Locky stayed and worked with him at the mine until he brought out a gold brick worth \$1,200. This Gibson believes may have been the first of its kind from a quartz deposit on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It enabled him to sell the property for \$10,000, and with this cash in hand he immediately set about making plans to resume construction of his first man-carrying airplane.



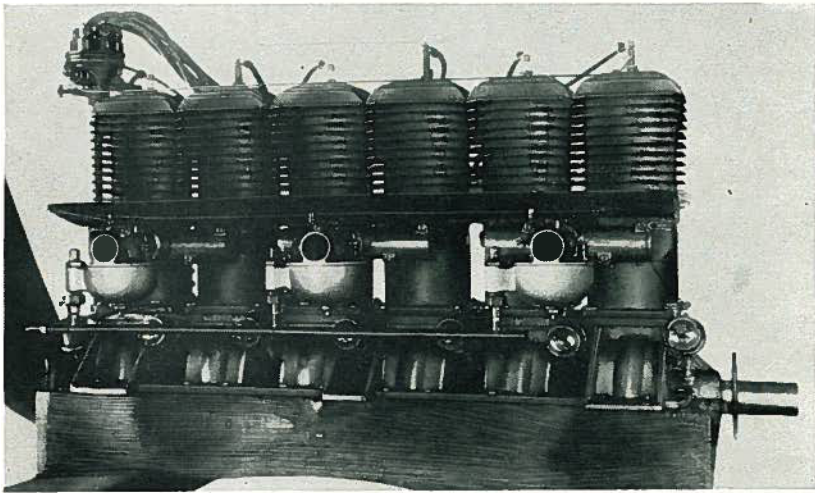
William Wallace Gibson.





*Courtesy Canadian Aviation.*

Gibson's first engine. Construction commenced at Balgonie and was completed in Victoria. This engine was never fitted in an aircraft.



Gibson's second engine, completed in Victoria in 1910—the first of its type fabricated in Canada. Mr. Gibson recently presented this engine to the National Research Council, and it will be placed in the aeronautical collection of the National Museum of Canada, in Ottawa.

The work began in 1908. It was a heart-breaking struggle. Gibson frankly admits that had he not learned the blacksmithing trade as a boy he could never have accomplished the things he did, for he had to make every one of the parts himself, by hand. Nor were financial difficulties absent. He had formed a partnership with another man, whom I am allowed to name only as Dave. This, he thought, assured him that sufficient working capital would be forthcoming; but his partner got into difficulties, and actually contributed only \$500.<sup>1</sup>

It was then usual to keep to one's self the knowledge that a "flying-machine" was being constructed, but the news got around Victoria that Gibson was building an airplane.<sup>2</sup> He was working eighteen hours out of every twenty-four, week after week, and people who knew him openly ridiculed him. Many, on passing him on a down-town street, would hold out their arms and start flapping them. Even the parson came to him and tried to dissuade him from going on with his work.

Victoria at that time was about the last place on earth in which to expect to find the materials required to build an airplane. Nor was there any one to whom Gibson could go for advice. Aviation publications were not available there, and he had to start from scratch, gaining information from experiments as he progressed. Delays were innumerable, and his capital diminished at a frightening rate. Numerous tests were conducted with large models, usually from the hill-top in Beacon Hill Park.

The 4-cylinder engine to which he had pinned his hopes was found to be of little use when completed. The 6-inch stroke was far too long. This, coupled with its light construction, caused it, in Gibson's words, "to jump around like a chicken with its head chopped off," so he set to work to design and build a better engine.

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(1) In his narrative poem, *The Bird Men*, to which reference will be made later, Gibson states that Dave was to have contributed \$5,000. He was a baker by trade, and made a wager with a baker friend in Vancouver that Gibson's airplane would fly across the Strait of Georgia before Christmas, 1910. He lost the bet, which was for \$1,000.

(2) An interview with Gibson was printed in the *Victoria Colonist* for July 7, 1909. Excerpts from it are printed in Frank H. Ellis, "Pioneer Flying in British Columbia," in this *Quarterly*, III. (1939), p. 232.

Having decided to construct a 6-cylinder, air-cooled motor, he went to Hutchinson Brothers, in Victoria, to learn what the cost would be. The engineer in charge, Dan Hutchinson, looked the drawings over and expressed the opinion that the design would probably be a complete failure, as an air-cooled engine would be sure to overheat, and that six cylinders would not work as a two-cycle engine. However, Gibson insisted that that was what he wanted, and the firm undertook to build the motor—the first aircraft engine of the type ever fabricated in Canada.

The crank-shaft was made by Gill Brothers, of New York, and the crank-case was cast in Seattle. Assembly of the engine was completed in March, 1910. The cylinders had a bore of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the stroke was  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Ignition was by battery, coil, and distributor. Oil was mixed with gasoline for lubrication. Self-feeding pressure grease-cups were fitted for the crank-shaft and connecting-rod bearings.

Great originality was shown by Gibson, both in the design of this engine and in the method adopted to operate the air-screws. Two were fitted, one at the front of the engine and one at the rear. Both were two-bladed and 6 feet in length. The front one, which had a 6-foot pitch, was attached directly to the end of the crank-shaft, but the one at the rear was geared to the shaft, revolved at twice the speed of the front one, and had only a 4-foot pitch. Gibson's object in fitting and designing the air-screws in this manner was to overcome torque, which remains a bugbear to aircraft designers, even to-day. In tackling the problem he showed skill and forethought, and it is almost certain that he was the first engine designer to incorporate this idea in a full-sized aircraft, where two air-screws revolved one directly behind the other. A number of the world's most modern aircraft have this same principle incorporated in their design to-day.

When tested, the engine fulfilled the inventor's greatest expectations. It ran as smoothly as an electric motor, and developed between 40 and 60 horse-power. Complete it weighed only 210 lb.

The aircraft itself, which its builder designated the "Gibson Twin-plane," had many unique features incorporated in its design. It had two wings, one behind the other, each measuring 20 feet from tip to tip, and 8 feet in width at its widest point.

They had a framework of spruce, and were covered with blue waterproof silk material, obtained from Jeune Brothers, tent manufacturers, of Victoria. Steel sockets were fitted to the framework of the wings at the point of contact with the "fuselage" of the machine, and clamps, applied at these points, enabled the wings as a whole to be moved backwards and forwards to obtain a correct balance, or, as it would be expressed to-day, to establish a correct centre of gravity. The design of the wings, which Gibson originated, gave great stability. A basically similar design, in use in some aircraft to-day, is known as the "gull wing" type. Numerous ribs were fitted between the wing-spars to keep the covering rigid, and a large main spar, 14 inches in width, and of proportional thickness, extended from wing-tip to wing-tip. This spar was carefully streamlined, a matter to which few designers of that day paid much attention.

To enable the wing-covering to be kept taut at all times, a particularly necessary requirement in the damp climate of the British Columbia coastal area, Gibson designed another ingenious device. Each rib was encased in a pocket of material, which was itself sewn to the covering of the wing, with an opening at the centre, and every rib had a metal tube at its centre, fitted with turnbuckles which could be adjusted so as to tighten up or slacken off the wing covering at will.

Two streamlined metal fuel-tanks, each with a capacity of 10 gallons, were fitted, one on either side of the engine, and well above it, so as to give gravity feed to the carburettor. These tanks were fitted with baffle-plates to prevent the fuel from surging, exactly as the tanks in modern aircraft are to-day.

It is also well worth noting that wherever Gibson used wooden cross-members, they were carefully designed to give added lift to the machine in flight. They were cambered, and wooden strips, which Gibson termed "webs," were glued to their under-sides to help preserve their proper shape.

The undercarriage, then termed the "running-gear," was fashioned from metal tubing, attached to the main frame-bearers. Bicycle wheels were suitably attached to axles at their lower ends. There were four of these wheels, one at either end of each frame bearer; and although well braced with piano wire, they were undoubtedly the weak spot of the machine.

The fuselage consisted of two frame-beams, 8 feet apart, each approximately 35 feet in length. They were of Douglas fir, and on each were twenty-five cast aluminium "collars," fitted with four steel arms. Through holes in the outside ends of these arms ran a wire that stretched from end to end of the beam. Strong turnbuckles kept each structure rigid.

The engine, wings, running-gear, etc., were all suitably attached to these frame-beams to complete the craft. The front elevator, 8 by 4 feet, was of laminated cedar and was controlled by a lever in the hands of the pilot. The two rudders, also of laminated cedar, were operated by a shoulder yoke. There were no ailerons.<sup>3</sup>

At last the momentous day arrived when the machine was in readiness for testing. It was dismantled at the workshop in Victoria, and moved as secretly as possible, by horse and wagon, to a large grassy meadow on the farm of Mr. Dean, near Mount Tolmie, several miles north of the city. (Fittingly enough, the meadow in question is now part of the Lansdowne Airport.) There Gibson and his two helpers erected the craft, and on the early morning of September 8, 1910, a successful short flight was made; but unfortunately, in landing, the running-gear was damaged, necessitating repairs.<sup>4</sup>

Once again, on September 24, everything was in readiness for a further test, and at 4 o'clock in the morning the machine was wheeled from the shed and the engine set in motion.

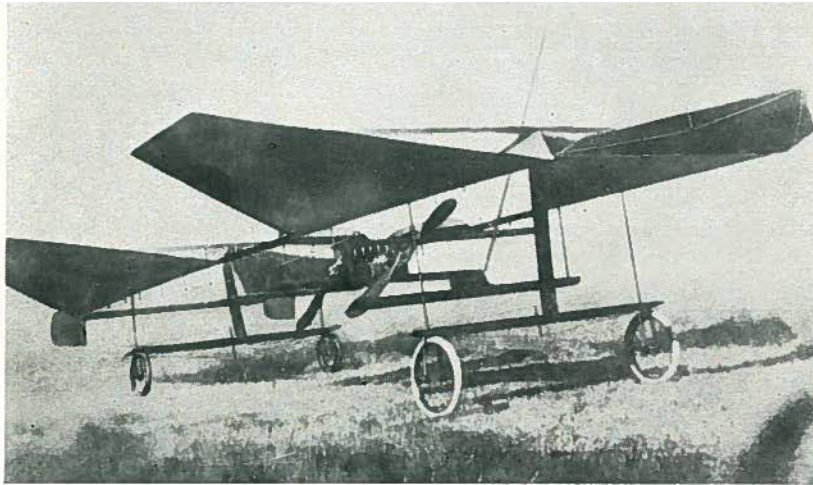
Gibson took his seat, and after the motor had been warmed up he signalled to his helpers to let go. A light cross-breeze was blowing towards the craft, and aided by this and by a slight incline down the field, the twin-plane lifted quickly into the air, after a run of only 50 feet. As it picked up speed and soared away from the ground it began to drift sideways. Not being familiar with the operation of the controls, Gibson made an unfortunate error. He leaned to the wrong side in an effort to overcome the drift with the rudders, and this caused the machine to swing farther around and head directly for a fine stand of

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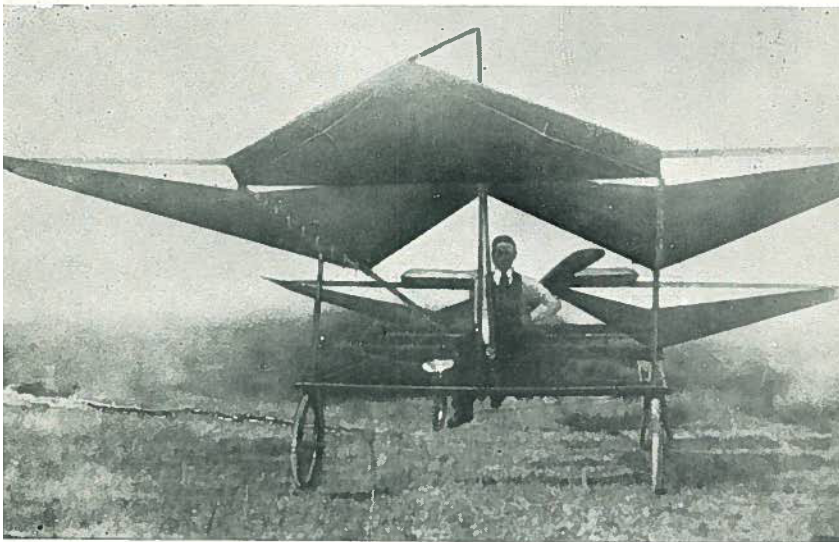
(3) A few additional details will be found in the newspaper reports quoted in Ellis, "Pioneer Flying," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III. (1939), pp. 233-34.

(4) See *Victoria Colonist*, September 10, 1910.





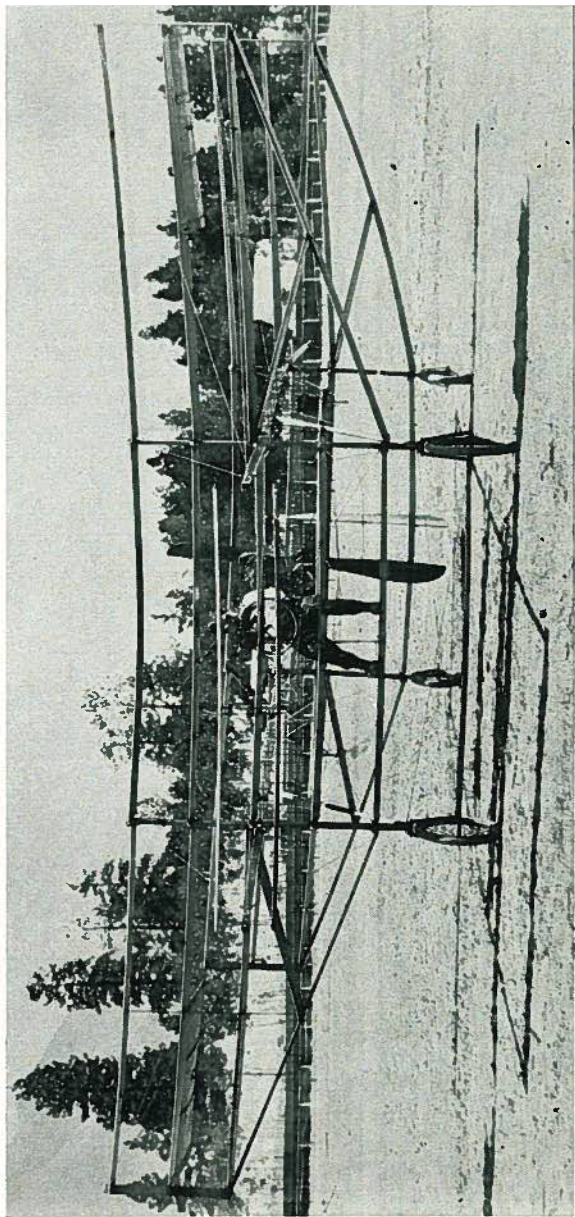
The Gibson twin-plane, built in Victoria and flown on the site of the Lansdowne Airport in September, 1910.



*Courtesy Canadian Aviation.*

Another view of the twin-plane. The design of the wings gave the machine great stability, a quality conspicuously lacking in many early aircraft.





The Gibson multi-plane, built in Victoria in 1910-11, and flown successfully near Calgary in the summer of 1911.

oak trees, well down the field. Gibson immediately shut off the motor, and made a landing, after a flight estimated at some 200 feet. The momentum of the machine carried it with considerable force into a particularly sturdy oak, which it struck at a speed of about 25 miles an hour. Gibson was hurled clear, sustaining only minor injuries and a severe shaking up, but the machine itself was badly smashed.<sup>5</sup> As winter was coming on, further experiments were abandoned for that year.

It should not be overlooked that, in those days, a flight of even a hundred feet, with a machine of entirely new design, was an accomplishment of the first magnitude. The initial hop made by Wilbur Wright on his first powered flight at Kitty Hawk was only 120 feet, and the first hop in England, made by A. V. Roe in June, 1908, was less than 100 feet. The original flight of the Canadian Aerial Experiment Association, in which Casey F. W. Baldwin flew the "Redwing" at Lake Keuka, N.Y., in March, 1908, was 319 feet. Santos Dumont flew less than 200 feet in 1906, when he accomplished the first flight officially credited to an airplane in Europe. When compared with these and similar early flying endeavours by other airmen who later became famous, the initial flights of William Wallace Gibson take their rightful place as outstanding pioneer efforts, which should be fittingly recorded and remembered for all time. It is greatly to be regretted that Canadians passed over these events so lightly, and that no effort was made to have Gibson's accomplishments officially recorded at the time.

In the fall of 1910 Gibson obtained a copy of *Artificial and Natural Flight*, by Sir Hiram Maxim.<sup>6</sup> This was the first authoritative work on the subject that he had ever read. Sir Hiram was a firm believer in the possibilities of using wings with a narrow chord, rather than of great width, and he claimed that such designs could lift more per square foot of wing surface than wider ones. The book included many cuts and drawings illustrating the different wing structures with which he had experimented.

Influenced by Maxim's work, Gibson decided to redesign completely the wings of his machine, and he chose the shape which

(5) *Victoria Colonist*, September 25, 1910. This account is quoted in Ellis, "Pioneer Flying," p. 235.

(6) London and New York, 1908; second edition, 1909.

Sir Hiram claimed gave the most efficient lift. By the spring of 1911 the new craft, now named the "Gibson Multi-plane," had taken shape. The original silk-covered wings had been replaced with a number of narrow ones, made entirely of thin spruce, properly cambered, and beautifully finished.

At this point financial difficulties threatened once again. The last of the \$10,000 was fast disappearing, and the inventor had a wife and three children to support. Like most inventors, however, Gibson had unlimited faith in his ideas, so he sold his home in Victoria, situated at the corner of Simcoe and Clarence streets, and continued to devote all his energies to the rebuilt machine.

The "Multi-plane" had the same frame-beams that had been used in the "Twin-plane," and the same running-gear, but the latter had been strengthened and made more rigid. Gibson had learned, too, that it was very necessary to have some sort of lateral control, and ailerons were made and fitted to the machine, the hinges being of leather. The ailerons, or wing flaps, were of spruce, and were operated by turning a wheel to right or left. The same wheel was fitted with a sliding groove on a keyed shaft, and pushing it forward or drawing it backward operated the elevators. Of these there were two, one at the rear and the other at the front of the machine. Like the ailerons they were of spruce. The single rudder, made of laminated cedar, was operated by ropes controlled by the pilot's feet.

In the multi-plane Gibson did away with the front air-screw, and used a single new 8-foot pusher propellor, with a 6-foot pitch, which he later found to be far more efficient than the two previously fitted.

Gibson confesses that in view of his experience at Dean Farm he "was anxious to get away from the oak trees," and Thomas Paterson, then Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, granted him permission to carry on further experiments on his farm at Ladner. Gibson spent over six weeks there in April and May, 1911, testing and adjusting his machine, but weather conditions were extremely bad, and it rained almost continuously. He managed to get the plane in perfect balance, but the soggy ground and the small area, coupled with the downpours, prevented any

actual flights, although numerous attempts were made.<sup>7</sup> The wet weather was beginning to affect many of the glued parts of the craft, so Gibson decided to conduct his experiments elsewhere.

He went first to Kamloops, and there set his machine up in readiness for further tests; but difficulties with a crooked promoter, who tried to inveigle Gibson into contracting to make a flight, decided him to leave Kamloops before making any experiments. Gibson was an inventor, not an exhibition flyer, so he packed up and went on to Calgary. During the summer of 1911 exhaustive tests were conducted at a farm on the outskirts of that city, and numerous adjustments made, some of which were necessitated by the change to an altitude of over 3,000 feet. Amongst other things the engine was fitted with three carburetors instead of one, a change which markedly increased its efficiency. When all was ready success was fully achieved and a number of satisfactory flights made.

By this time Mrs. Gibson had become alarmed at the risks her husband was taking, and during a visit to Eastern Canada she made him promise not to attempt flights himself during her absence. Gibson thereupon obtained the assistance of a friend, Alex. Japp, a native of Forest, Ontario. Japp served as helper and "test pilot," and proved himself fully worthy of the trust.

Bad luck finally caught up with Gibson and his plane. On August 12, 1911, Japp took the machine off the ground for a test, and through unfortunate circumstances, smashed up in making a landing. The accident was reported in the press as follows:—

When attempting to make a landing from a height of over 100 feet in the air during a flight the airman working with Gibson to make tests, the latter being the inventor of the multiplane, crashed down into a swampy coulee near this city [Calgary], and narrowly escaped death.

Aviator Japp had flown about a mile and miscalculated the ground on which he proposed to descend and when within 50 feet of the ground noticed the turf was honeycombed with hundreds of badger holes. He attempted to ascend and elevated the machine, but was too late. His engine stopped and refused to start again. The wheels struck the uneven surface of the ground, and were torn off, and the machine literally torn to pieces.

For six weeks back, Gibson and Japp have been experimenting with their machine at a ranch a few miles from this city, making short flights with great success.

(7) See *Victoria Colonist*, May 2, June 2, 1911; *Vancouver Province*, June 1, 1911; also a letter from A. D. Paterson, of Ladner, who witnessed the trials, to Frank H. Ellis, dated June 1, 1939.

Gibson intends rebuilding his damaged machine with pressed steel planes and intends going to Toronto, where they have factories for that sort of work. . . .<sup>8</sup>

The machine was in reality badly wrecked, and the season was getting late. Most important of all, the inventor's funds were again running low. It was then that he decided to abandon his experiments with aircraft, and to get back to making money, instead of spending it.

Had Gibson been able to continue his work he might well have become one of Canada's outstanding aircraft designers, but on the other hand, as he himself has remarked, he "might just as easily have gone to an early grave." In recent letters he expressed regret that he did not continue with his original "twin-plane," as its basic design was sound and, if it had been developed further, far-reaching success might perhaps have been achieved.

From the time he started his experiments at Balgonie, to the date of the final smash at Calgary, \$20,000 had been expended, to say nothing of many many months of hard toil. But, like most pioneers, Gibson has no regrets. At present he is the owner of a flourishing business in California, turning out gold-mining machinery, all of which is constructed to his own designs.

In 1942 Gibson published privately a narrative poem entitled *The Bird Men*, which comprises a humorously written but accurate account of his early endeavours and experiences in the realm of aviation. The opening lines are a reminder to those who, in the early years of the century, were confident that man could never fly:—

When we rejoice and gaze with pride  
 On metal wings that safely glide  
 And proudly laud each record flight  
 That span wide ocean's over night  
 Or in life's brief relentless race  
 We wing our way from place to place  
 And measure miles at greater speed  
 Than fairy tales of flight we read  
 Yet printed proof on record show  
 And proof penned not so long ago  
 Reveal men swore by day and night  
 Man could never conquer flight.

---

(8) Calgary *Herald*, August 12, 1911.

The concluding lines are also worth quoting, because they contain a plea to those who live in the present not to forget the past:—

You generations, yet here to come  
And sweep the sky with scarce a hum  
When in life's race you play your part  
On birds of grace bedecked with art  
Borne by power and strange you'll ride  
On wings that span a full mile wide

. . . . .  
Remember once that pleasure sought  
Was by your forebears dearly bought  
Just bear in mind that doubtful day  
When bird men nobly paved the way.

Although he believes his days of flying experiments are over, Gibson's interest in aviation is still as keen as it was half a century ago, when, as a small boy, he rode his pony at the gallop over the prairie, looking in rapture at the high-flying kite he was towing behind and dreaming of the time when he might become the pilot of a full-sized man-carrying aircraft. Unfortunately that dream was never completely realized, for, as we have seen, with success almost within his grasp this Canadian pioneer of the air was forced to abandon his experiments, although he had proved beyond all doubt that he was on the brink of definite achievement.

FRANK H. ELLIS.

WEST VANCOUVER, B.C.





Hand steering-wheels of H.M.C.S. *Rainbow*. The officer is Gunner E. Haines, R.C.N. (now Lieutenant-Commander E. Haines, M.B.E.).

From a photograph taken by Major F. V. Longstaff in the spring of 1914.

## THE EIGHT "RAINBOWS."\*

In the article on *The Career of H.M.C.S. "Rainbow"* which he contributed last year to this *Quarterly*, Dr. Gilbert N. Tucker noted that on the *Rainbow's* hand steering-wheels were inscribed the names and dates of actions in which earlier *Rainbows* had taken part: "Spanish Armada 1588—Cadiz 1596—Brest 1599—Lowestoft 1665—North Foreland 1666—Lagos Bay 1759—Frigate *Hancock* 1777—Frigate *Hebe* 1782." It seems worth while to pursue this interesting topic a little further, and present a few notes on the eight *Rainbows* that, over a period of almost four centuries, have served in the Royal Navy.

As the inscription on the steering-wheels indicate, the name *Rainbow* goes back to the time of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Francis Drake. In those days ship-names were chosen to express ideas and to inspire the people to great deeds. It was Queen Elizabeth's way to give her ships "telling" names. It has been said that the choice of energetic names for the ships of the Royal Navy was one of the means employed by the heroic Elizabeth to infuse something of her own dauntless spirit into the hearts of her subjects, and to show Europe at large how little she dreaded the mightiest armaments of her enemies. As a rule, in the case of her bigger ships, the Queen chose names that, in addition, carried an underlying meaning, or bore direct allusion to some national event of the hour. Contemporary names include *Revenge*, *Repulse* (originally *Dieu Repulse*), *Defiance*, *Warspite*, *Swiftsure* (originally *Swift-Suer*, or *Swift-Pursuer*), and *Dreadnought*.

The first *Rainbow*, a galleon of 480 tons, 54 guns, was built at Deptford in 1586. She formed part of the fleet under Drake in 1587, when he "singd the King of Spain's beard" at Cadiz. In the Armada fight the following year she bore a distinguished part. The *Rainbow* also took part in the expedition against Cadiz in 1596. She was rebuilt in 1608, emerging as a 40-gun ship of 650 tons. In the Algiers expedition of 1621 she carried

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\* Compiled from William G. Gates, *Ships of the British Navy*, Portsmouth, 1905; and Cecil King, *H.M.S. His Majesty's Ships and their Forbears*, London, 1940.

the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Button, and in the Cadiz expedition of 1625 (her third foray against that port), the flag of Lord Cromwell. She also took part in the expedition to La Rochelle, in 1627.

In the battle with the Dutch fleet in August, 1652, the original *Rainbow* served as flagship of Sir George Ayscue. She was also in the battle off the Kentish Knock, September 28. In the great fight off Portland on February 18, 1653, she bore the flag of Vice-Admiral James Peacock. Her losses on the latter occasion were fifteen killed and thirty-one wounded. She took part in the action off the coast of Essex on June 3, and shared in the decisive defeat of the Dutch on July 31, 1653. In both these engagements she carried the flag of Rear-Admiral William Goodsonn.

The *Rainbow* next fought in the battle off Lowestoft in 1665. In 1666 she took part in the three days' fight off the North Foreland, and in the famous St. James's Day fight off the Galloper Sand, her casualties in the latter being eighteen killed and forty wounded. In the third Dutch war she fought at Solebay, in 1672, and in the three drawn battles of the following year. She had then been in active service for eighty-seven years, and was sold in 1680.

The second *Rainbow*, a ship of 32 guns, was captured, possibly from the French, in 1697, and was also sold, in 1698.

The third *Rainbow*, of 40 guns, was built in 1747 and was present at the fight of Lagos Bay in 1759. On September 4, 1782, she captured the French 40-gun frigate *Hebe*, off the Isle of Bas (Batz). She was sold out of the service in 1802.

On January 2, 1809, the French corvette *Iris* was captured off Texel by H.M.S. *Aimable*, and added to the Royal Navy as the *Rainbow*. On February 13, 1810, this *Rainbow* made a daring attack on the French 50-gun ship *Nereide*. She continued the fight until she was dismasted and then the *Nereide* made off. This fourth *Rainbow* was sold out of the service in 1815.

The next *Rainbow*, a 28-gun frigate, was launched in 1823. She continued in service until 1838 when she, too, was sold.

The sixth *Rainbow*—and the first driven by steam—was a screw gunboat of 235 tons, 60 horse-power, mounting two guns, built in 1856 for the Russian war in the Baltic. She served as

tender to the *Ajax* at Kingston in 1863, to the *Wivern* at Hull in 1870; was laid up at Chatham in 1873, and eventually sold out of service in 1888.

This brings us to the seventh ship of the name, the *Rainbow* that was eventually acquired by the Royal Canadian Navy.

So-called "Navy scares," caused by fear of foreign attack, or uneasiness about the strength of the Royal Navy, or both, exercised an important influence on construction programmes in the last half of the nineteenth century. One of these scares, developing in 1888, resulted in the "Naval Defence Act" of 1889. This Act provided for the addition of no less than seventy ships to the Navy, of which ten were to be battleships and thirty-eight were to be cruisers. Of the cruisers, twenty-one were vessels of the *Apollo* class. This class in turn was designed in two groups, the later vessels being slightly larger than the earlier ones. It was to this improved *Apollo* class that the *Rainbow* belonged. For purposes of record it may be interesting to list her nine sister-ships: *Aeolus*, *Brilliant*, *Indefatigable*, *Intrepid*, *Iphigenia*, *Retribution*, *Pique*, *Sirius*, and *Spartan*.

The *Rainbow* and her sisters were designed by Sir William White. She was a second-class cruiser with a length of 360 feet and a displacement of 3,600 tons. She had twin screws, driven by reciprocating engines designed to develop 9,000 horse-power and to drive her at a speed of  $19\frac{3}{4}$  knots. Her main armament consisted of two 6-inch and six 4.7-inch guns. Her crew numbered 273. She was built by Palmer's Shipbuilding Company, at Jarrow, and launched on March 25, 1891. Her total cost was £184,086.

The *Rainbow* was completed in time to participate in the naval manœuvres of 1893, and she again took part in the manœuvres in 1894. She became a Devonport ship, and on May 5, 1895, was commissioned for the China Station by Captain William C. C. Forsyth. In May, 1898, she had returned home to Devonport. Her next commission was on December 17, 1901, to the Cruiser Squadron, by Captain Thomas Y. Grant. In 1904 she was again back at Devonport.

The *Rainbow* belonged to a type of "protected" cruiser about which there was much controversy. The term designated a cruiser which, though lacking in side armour, had a horizontal

armoured deck with sloping sides in the vicinity of the water-line. Coal was usually carried on these sides in small compartments, and the combination of deck, coal, and subdivision was intended to protect the vessel's vitals. Whether or not it would do so in action was hotly debated, and in addition there were many who contended that the *Apollos* were too small and too slow to be of much service if war broke out.

Some of the most slashing criticisms of Sir William White's cruiser designs had come from Admiral Sir John Fisher (later Lord Fisher of Kilverstone). On Trafalgar Day, 1904, Fisher became First Sea Lord of the Admiralty. One of his first actions was to strike off the effective list no less than 154 ships. Ten of the *Apollo* class cruisers were included, amongst them being the *Rainbow*. True, they were not to be scrapped immediately, but they were listed as "Ships of comparatively small fighting value," which would retain their armaments for the present, and it was obvious that their days were numbered. From 1906 until 1909 the *Rainbow* was on the sale list. In July, 1910, she is shown in the *Navy List* as refitting at Portsmouth, preparatory for sale to the Canadian Government. The officers appointed to her were shown on the books of H.M.S. *Victory*.

From that point her story has been told by Dr. Tucker.

The latest *Rainbow* to join the Royal Navy was a craft of a very different type—a submarine, launched at Chatham Dockyard in May, 1930. Her displacement was 1,475 on the surface and 2,015 tons submerged. Her sister-ships were the *Regent*, *Regulus*, and *Rover*. Unfortunately this *Rainbow* was posted as missing in November, 1940, and no further word of her has been released officially.

When the war is over perhaps we shall hear something of her gallant story.

F. V. LONGSTAFF.

VICTORIA, B.C.

## MY FATHER, JOSEPH DESPARD PEMBERTON: 1821-93.\*

Joseph was evidently a favourite name in the Pemberton family, for my father was the fourth consecutive generation to bear it. His grandfather, the Rt. Hon. Joseph Pemberton, was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1806, and lived in Clontarf Crescent, then a fashionable residential quarter of the city. His Lordship was blessed with a very numerous family, having no less than eighteen sons and three daughters. The sons included Joseph (my father's father), Augustus Frederick, who came to this country in 1855 and had a notable career as magistrate and judge of the County Court of Victoria, and the Rev. Arthur Pemberton, whose daughter became the wife of the late Hon. Clement Cornwall, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

My father, Joseph Despard Pemberton, was born in Dublin on July 23, 1821. He had one brother, George, of the 94th Regiment, Madras Infantry, and one sister, Susan Frances, who, as we shall see, joined him in the Colony of Vancouver Island.

Joseph was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, which he entered October 13, 1837. He studied engineering under Sir John McNeill, and showed great promise in his chosen profession. He was afterwards pupil to G. E. (later Sir George) Hemans, principal engineer of the Midland Railway of Ireland. Young Pemberton's ability was quickly recognized, and after being assistant engineer of the Great Southern & Western Railway for a time he served successively as chief engineer of the Dublin & Drogheda Railway, the Exeter & Crediton Railway, and part of the East Lancashire Railway.

It will be noticed that the later appointments had taken him to England. In 1850 he entered the competition for the design of the vast building to be erected in London to house the International Exhibition of 1851. As every one knows, the winning entry was submitted by Sir Joseph Paxton, architect of the Crystal Palace; but Pemberton was awarded Prince Albert's

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\* The revised text of a paper read before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association on June 14, 1938.

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bronze medal for his design. He was an excellent draftsman, as is shown by the sketches, maps, and plans from his pen that are to be found in the Provincial Archives and elsewhere.

By this time he had turned from practical railroading to teaching, and had been appointed Professor of Surveying, Civil Engineering, and Mathematics in the Royal Agricultural College, which had been founded a few years before at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. This post he held for the last two years he remained in England. Instruction apparently did not appeal to him, for we know that he was soon looking for an opportunity to resume professional practice. One project he had in mind was the construction of a railway across the Isthmus of Suez. The following letter speaks for itself:—

November 13, 1850.

To His Excellency *Ker Eddin Pasha*  
 Director General of the Egyptian Transit Administration,  
 Cairo.

May it please your Excellency.

I have the honor to address to you the following views on the subject of traffic across the Isthmus.

The introduction of railways into this country has been found to increase passenger and goods traffic forty per cent on an average, but much more in those places where competing lines do not exist. They increase the revenue, raise the value of land and form a protection to the country. A good opportunity now offers for executing such a railway from Alexandria to Suez, or a part of the way at first. As an Engineer of much experience in Railway matters I would undertake to raise in England the necessary funds, provided your Government guarantee a sufficient share of profits and protection to an English Company. Iron has generally included one tenth of the cost of Railways here, but in your country where few stations, embankments, cuttings, culverts, bridges are required, iron would form one third at least of the cost, perhaps one half; this material never was so cheap as it now is, affording you therefore an excellent opportunity of making the railway.

I propose a *single track*, with proper sidings for passing and guarantee it cheaper than any line in Europe. Such a course would not prevent the foundation of a Canal, if afterwards thought advisable, nor interrupt present traffic. Let your Government pay mere travelling expenses (perhaps the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Packet Company would grant free passage) and I would readily go over and examine the ground, and afford further suggestions, as to how the undertaking might be successfully and speedily carried into execution, but in the event of my accepting any engage-

ment different from the offer I now file, shall consider myself exempt from the above offer.

I have the honor to be  
Your Excellency's obedient servant,  
J. D. Pemberton C.E.  
Professor of Engineering.

Royal Agricultural College,  
Cirencester, Gloucestershire

Evidently this offer was not accepted; but it is interesting, for it was made over eight years before work started on the Suez Canal.

Instead of going to Egypt, Pemberton chose to go to what was then a far distant and undeveloped land. The Hudson's Bay Company had recently undertaken the colonization of Vancouver Island, and required for the colony some one who could make surveys, prepare maps, take charge of land transfers, and supervise the construction of public works. My father was selected for the position, and signed a contract with the Company on February 15, 1851. Under its terms he undertook to serve as Colonial Surveyor and Engineer for a period of three years, to date from his arrival in Vancouver Island. In addition to his salary he was to receive his passage-money both outward and homeward; and if he gave satisfaction the Company might award him a premium of £500 when the agreement expired.

His instructions, dated at Hudson's Bay House, February 15, 1851, read in part as follows:—

It is the opinion of the Governor and Committee that the first objects of survey should be the district round and westward of Fort Victoria. . . .

In making your surveys you will keep in view that they will form the materials or ground work out of which an accurate map of the Island is afterwards to be constructed . . . and as the main object for which these surveys are undertaken is the Colonization of the Island, you will be careful to note the external features and geological formation of the several localities which you examine, mentioning the nature and qualities of the soil and subsoil, the different kinds of timber and other vegetable productions, and in short all such particulars as it may be useful for settlers to be informed of.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) Archibald Barclay (Secretary to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company) to J. D. Pemberton, February 15, 1851. Original in Provincial Archives.

How well these instructions were carried out is to be seen in Pemberton's reports to Governor Douglas after his various expeditions.

My father was instructed to proceed to Vancouver Island by way of Chagres, San Francisco, and Fort Vancouver. Presumably he sailed in the regular packet of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which left Southampton on February 17, only two days after his appointment. The ocean journey was comfortable enough, but crossing the Isthmus of Panama in pre-railway days was a trying and even perilous ordeal. Years later my father had this to say of the journey:—

Who that crossed it then can forget the heat and filth of Chagres, the packs of curs and flocks of buzzards, the struggle in bungaloes and with boatmen up the river, the scenes of riot and debauchery at the villages, jungle fever, and the bones that marked the mule tracks through the plains of Panama, and stamped the short but fatal route of fifty miles, as the Golgotha of the West?<sup>2</sup>

This description sprang from personal experience, for during the transit Pemberton himself contracted malaria, and was forced to pause in his travels until he recovered health and strength.

A register of his letters shows that on April 25, 1851, he was in San Francisco. A month later, on May 30, 1851, he was at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. The earliest letter written from Fort Victoria was dated June 25. This was probably the date of his arrival, as old records show that his salary commenced from that day. It is interesting to note that the cost of the journey from England was £172/3/-, or considerably more than a passage by Pullman and luxury liner cost almost a century later.<sup>3</sup>

The only surveying done on Vancouver Island before my father arrived was the work of Captain W. Colquhoun Grant, who is known to history as the Island's first independent settler. Grant's intentions were of the best, but his qualifications were slender, he was much preoccupied with his own affairs, and the only helpers he could secure were completely inexperienced. As a result he had been able to give Douglas nothing but a few

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(2) J. Despard Pemberton, *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1860, p. 86.

(3) *Papers relating to Vancouver's Island*, London, 1852, p. 3.

rough sketches of lands in the immediate vicinity of Fort Victoria.<sup>4</sup>

Accurate maps and surveys were sorely needed, both locally and in London, and Pemberton set out to make good the deficiency. He was fortunate in having a qualified surveyor to assist him. This was B. W. Pearse, who worked with him for many years and remained his close friend for life.

The progress of my father's work may be traced in the frequent reports that Chief Factor James Douglas forwarded to the Hudson's Bay Company on the affairs of the Colony of Vancouver Island. He seems to have first made a preliminary survey of the coast of the island from Victoria eastward, and then northward along the Saanich Peninsula. He next surveyed and mapped the "fur trade reserve"—in other words, the property in and around the present city of Victoria that the Company proposed to retain for its own purposes. This work was completed by November 1851.<sup>5</sup> In December, Douglas received word that the Hudson's Bay Company was willing that town-sites should be laid out beside Fort Victoria and on Esquimalt Harbour. Pemberton immediately set to work, and Douglas reported on January 16, 1852, that he was forwarding by the *Norman Morison* "a Tin Canister . . . containing a plan of the Town of Victoria . . ."<sup>6</sup> Pemberton next surveyed what is now Saanich, and made a venturesome journey to the Cowichan country, which was then virtually unknown territory and infested with none too friendly Indians. In March, Douglas was able to forward another tin canister full of maps to London. His comment on one of these is interesting:—

The Map of the Sanitch Inlet, and entrance of Cowetchin River, though in great part a mere eye sketch and therefore not absolutely correct, gives a good idea of both places and particularly of the extraordinary direction of the Sanitch Inlet which extends to within five miles of Esquimalt nearly insulating [*sic*] the south east angle of Vancouver's Island.<sup>7</sup>

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(4) On Grant's work as surveyor, *see* his letter to Douglas, September 10, 1850 (original in Provincial Archives), and Governor Blanshard's dispatch to Grey dated April 28, 1851.

(5) Douglas to Barclay, November 24, 1851.

(6) *Ibid.*, January 16, 1852.

(7) *Ibid.*, March 18, 1852.

Attention was next directed to Esquimalt, and a tracing of the country round the harbour was ready to go to London in May, 1852.<sup>8</sup> Pemberton then turned to Sooke and Metchosin, and completed a survey that extended as far as Sooke Harbour. In August, Douglas journeyed to Wentuhuysen Inlet, as Nanaimo Harbour was then called, to examine the coal-beds there. He took Pemberton with him, and when it was decided to develop the mines, sent him back to survey the region. The work was carried out with all dispatch, and early in October Douglas forwarded to London "Mr. Pemberton's Chart of Wentuhuysen Inlet, and the neighbouring coast," which he described as being "the fruits of a very careful survey, embracing the greater part of the Coal District, together with an elaborate and interesting report, on the physical character of the District . . ."<sup>9</sup> On this chart my father ventured to replace the name Wentuhuysen Inlet with the Indian name, Nanaimo, and this was soon adopted for the town as well.

There is no need to continue this chronicle of his activities. What has been said is sufficient to show how extraordinary was his activity, and the ability with which he served his adopted country.

Pemberton's contract with the Hudson's Bay Company was due to expire in June, 1854, and in February, in anticipation of this, Douglas strongly recommended that his services be retained. The Governor wrote in part:—

He has given perfect satisfaction during his residence here, and I may observe that the Comp<sup>y</sup> have made a fortunate selection, and I think it will be difficult to find a person so well adapted for the situation he now so creditably fills, or who will discharge its duties with equal zeal and untiring energy.<sup>10</sup>

The Governor and Committee shared this view, and in July Archibald Barclay, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, so informed Pemberton:—

I am directed by the Governor and Committee . . . with reference to your engagement with the Company . . . to inform you they are so much satisfied with the zeal and talent which you have shewn during the time

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(8) *Ibid.*, May 27, 1852.

(9) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1852.

(10) *Ibid.*, February 11, 1854.

you have been connected with the Company, that they will be happy to retain your services: . . .<sup>11</sup>

The letter went on to say that Pemberton might make a trip to London for purposes of consultation, and as a result he spent the summer and early autumn of 1855 in England. One result of this sojourn was the publication of a map of the southeast portion of Vancouver Island, based on my father's surveys.<sup>12</sup> It was printed by the celebrated English cartographer, John Arrowsmith, and remains to-day an historic document of the first importance. In preparation for this map Pemberton had made a trigonometrical survey of the Island from Sooke to Nanaimo in 1853-55. The work was one of great difficulty and hardship, and attended at all times by considerable danger. The stations were often tree-tops, from which the angles were taken, sometimes with a sextant only. The difficulties of transport and the natural obstacles of bush, timber, and rocks all combined to make this a formidable undertaking. His undaunted energy and single eye to duty enabled him to bring it to a successful issue. In 1857 the same coast-line was surveyed by Captain G. H. (afterwards Admiral Sir George) Richards, and a comparison of his work with my father's showed very close agreement, the difference being only 50 feet in 200 miles.

By July of 1855 the Governor and Committee had decided the terms of the new contract they proposed to offer to Pemberton. They resolved, first, to grant him a "premium" (in other words a bonus) of £500, because of the highly satisfactory way in which he had carried out his previous agreement with the Company. Secondly, they proposed to continue his services for another three years at a salary of £400 per annum, dating, as before, from the time of his arrival in Vancouver Island. The sum of £230 was granted him in addition, to cover his travelling expenses to and from England. Doubtless at his own request, Pemberton was to receive a living allowance of £100 per annum instead of free board and lodging at Fort Victoria, as theretofore.

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(11) Barclay to Pemberton, July 28, 1854. Original in Provincial Archives.

(12) "The South Eastern Districts of Vancouver Island, From a Trigonometrical Survey made by Order of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company. by J. D. Pemberton Engr. & Survr. to the Company. London Published 2<sup>d</sup> Octr. 1855 by John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square."



Pemberton accepted these terms and signed his new agreement on October 8, 1855.<sup>13</sup> He must have left for home immediately, as he was back at Fort Victoria by the middle of December.

On many occasions my father's occupation might better have been described as that of an explorer rather than, or in addition to, that of a surveyor. Thus in October, 1856, he was instructed by Governor Douglas to explore the country between Quallchum (Qualicum) and the Alberni Canal. Crossing the Island by way of Horne Lake (which had been discovered some months before by Adam Horne, storekeeper at Nanaimo for the Hudson's Bay Company), he explored both the Canal and Barkley Sound.<sup>14</sup> The following September he crossed the Island a second time. Accompanied by Lieutenant T. S. Gooch, of H.M.S. *Satellite*, and a party of seven, he left Cowichan Harbour on September 4, and reached Nitinat, on the West Coast, on the 19th.<sup>15</sup> Each man carried a 60-lb. pack, in addition to arms and ammunition, through the dense forest and undergrowth. Ammunition and food both gave out, and when they arrived at their destination, weak and exhausted, they were received by the Chief of the fierce Nitinat Indians, who had just gained a victory over his enemies. The bloody heads of the vanquished, mounted on poles, with long hair waving in the wind, was not an encouraging sight for exhausted men. Pemberton stepped boldly forward, and in the name of the Great White Queen demanded food and canoes to convey him and his party back to Victoria. Receipts were given in the form of leaves torn from his note-book, and these were later duly honoured by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Pemberton had ample opportunity to apply his training and experience as a civil engineer. He not only surveyed roads, but supervised their construction. In addition, he designed and built bridges and a considerable variety of public buildings, including the first schoolhouse in Victoria, and the original Victoria District Church. The gold-rush to the Fraser River temporarily extended these activities and responsibilities to the Mainland, for when Douglas decided to build a town at Derby,

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(13) An official copy of this agreement in the Provincial Archives.

(14) For a brief report on this expedition, dated December 15, 1856, see Pemberton, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, pp. 147-8.

(15) For a brief report on this expedition, dated November 12, 1857, see *ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

on the site of Old Fort Langley, it was to Pemberton that he turned for the expert assistance needed in surveying the town-site. Pemberton himself summarized thus the extent of the work:—

Here 3000 building lots were laid out, of which 342 were sold in two days, for £13,000., on which a deposit of ten per cent. was paid. A court-house, jail, parsonage, and church were built, and 400 or 500 people were about to commence operations, when another capital was announced.<sup>16</sup>

It was in 1858 that my father, like James Douglas, severed his connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. His contract expired on December 16, and as the Company was surrendering the Colony of Vancouver Island to the British Government within a few months, it had no further need for his services. Douglas, however, was happy to retain him on behalf of the Colony, and after serving for a time as Colonial Surveyor, he was appointed Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island in July, 1860, a post he held until October, 1864. His new duties were many and varied. He laid out the roads in Sooke and Saanich. In 1859 he was one of a committee of six (the other members being two officers of the Royal Navy and three ship-captains) who selected the sites for the lighthouses on Race Rocks and on Fisgard Island, Esquimalt Harbour.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently he supervised the construction of (though he did not actually design) both lighthouses, which were completed and in operation by December, 1860. Later he was a member of a committee of seven appointed to consider the question of the improvement of Victoria Harbour. The other members included Captain G. H. Richards, R.N., and Captain W. A. Mouat, of the Hudson's Bay Company. The committee's report is dated February 28, 1862. Careful drawings were made of the harbour and suggested improvements. When the House of Assembly voted money for dredging the spit, Pemberton went to England to purchase machinery for a dredge and tug. There he found that the diving suit had replaced the diving bell, and in order to be able to instruct the workers in the use of the former he took diving lessons in the Victoria Dock, London.

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(16) *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.

(17) See John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 179, 412.

For a time my father served the old Crown Colony in a political as well as in a professional capacity. He was a Member of the original House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, elected in 1856 and dissolved in 1859. Looking over the minutes of the House, it is evident that there was frequently an element of comedy in its proceedings. Adjournments for lack of a quorum or for lack of business were not infrequent, yet the Assembly sat almost continuously. One motion passed provided that any Member being fifteen minutes late after the hour of meeting should be fined the sum of \$20. Upon another occasion petition was brought forward written in French, but was rejected because the House declined to receive petitions written in a foreign language.

Pemberton, while serving as Surveyor-General, became a Member of the Executive Council of Vancouver Island in September, 1863, and of the Legislative Council in April, 1864. He resigned all his appointments in October, 1864, following his marriage, as his duties as Surveyor-General took him from home very frequently.

After the Union of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1866, he returned briefly to the political scene. On January 14, 1867, he was appointed member of the Legislative Council, representing Victoria District, for the session 1867, and he served again in 1868.

In conclusion, a few more personal notes may be permitted.

It would be interesting to know just when my father decided to settle permanently in Vancouver Island. We do know that his first glimpse of the Gonzales estate—a gentle slope, with a glorious view of the Olympics; a lake-covered bottom, with an Indian stalking deer—decided him to make it his future home. The first portion of the property was purchased in 1855. The improvements then in existence were described some years later in a memorandum by Dr. W. F. Tolmie:—

These consisted of a log dwelling house 30x20 [feet], a barn, some small outhouses, a calf park, and a log park, wherein to lasso cattle, besides about five acres of enclosed tilled land.<sup>18</sup>

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(18) W. F. Tolmie to Thomas Fraser, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, November 13, 1861. Transcript in the Provincial Archives.

In 1856 Pemberton was joined by his sister, Susan Frances Pemberton, who came out in the same vessel as Miss Emmeline Tod (afterwards Mrs. Newton and later still Mrs. Mohun). Miss Pemberton lived in the fort for a time, and then moved to the Gonzales estate, where, with true Irish hospitality, she and her brother welcomed all and sundry. Dances were given in the old log-house, the rooms being lighted by candles with potatoes serving as sconces, and in every available corner would be a shake-down for those coming from a distance. At other times a picnic would be decided upon, the farm-horses commandeered, a hearty meal prepared, and a day of merriment spent in one of the beautiful glades or seaside spots surrounding Victoria, at which archery was the favourite pastime. Private theatricals and concerts made the winter evenings pass pleasantly. Good plays were produced, amongst them *The Rivals*, in which my father took the part of Sir Lucius O'Trigger.

After twelve years in Victoria, Miss Pemberton returned to Europe in 1868. She had been for some years Lady Principal of Angela College, and the following testimonial evidences the esteem in which she was held in the little city of those days:—

Dear Madam:

We cannot allow the occasion of your resigning the position of Lady Principal of Angela College to pass without expressing our very sincere regret that in consequence of failing health the most valuable and important of our local institutions is about to be deprived of a headship that has been so watchfully and efficiently exercised.

The present condition of the Ladies College in point of numbers is an evident and satisfactory proof, not only that the educational privileges of that establishment are of a character to evoke the grateful support of the parents in this Colony, but also, of the high esteem in which you have been deservedly held and the perfect confidence that has been felt with the healthy tone imparted by our superintendent.

Accept our grateful thanks for the able and conscientious manner in which you have fulfilled your many and serious responsibilities, our repeated expressions of sincere regret for the cause which has led to your resignation and our earnest prayer that Almighty God who has hitherto strengthened you in the past may still have you in his holy keeping and bless you with that degree of health and spiritual blessing as may best enable you to fulfill

those duties which He in His wise Providence may call upon you to undertake.

We remain Dear Madam,

Yours faithfully,

J. Needham <i>Chief Justice</i>	}	Standing
Edward Cridge, Dean of Christ Church		Committee of
Charles Woods, Archdeacon of Columbia		the Diocese of
Archdeacon Reece		British Columbia
Percival Jennis, Rector of St. John's		and Board of
E. Graham Alston, Registrar General V.I.		Management of
Rodk Finlayson, Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Co.		Angela College.

An even more touching testimonial was that from the pupils themselves — a charming picture surrounded by native wild flowers painted by Miss Needham, the daughter of Judge Needham, and bearing their names and expressions of regret.

Unfortunately the wishes expressed by the Board of Management of Angela College as to Miss Pemberton's return to health were not to be realized. She died at St. Germain, near Paris, on April 13, 1870.

My father made several trips to England, and while in London in 1860 he completed arrangements for the publication of the well-known volume entitled *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia*.<sup>19</sup> This was intended to serve as a handbook of information for "intending emigrants, merchants, or capitalists," and its primary purpose was to supply correct information, instead of leaving inquirers at the mercy of rumour, and the numerous uninformed writers who had rushed hastily into print to profit by the popular interest in this country that resulted from the gold-rush. The book may perhaps best be described as the earliest account of conditions of the time in book form that remains of importance to the student of to-day. It includes a frank account of the crudities and shortcomings of the country, as well as its attractions and great promise for the future. Certain of the chapters express views that were remarkably farsighted, the most striking being that in which Pemberton anticipated the "All-Red-Route" of later days. In the dedicatory letter to Dr. John Rae, the Arctic explorer, he

(19) Published in London by Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts (now Longmans, Green & Company), in 1860; pp. ix., 171. The dedicatory letter is dated London, August 20, 1860.

expressed the hope that the book might direct both Rae's attention and that of the Old Country to "an enterprise of great national importance,—that of connecting England, via the Canadas, Red River Colony, Saskatchewan [*sic*], British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, with Australia, by one unbroken chain of commercial and postal communication."<sup>20</sup> The scheme doubtless seemed a wild venture of fancy at the time, but, as we know, the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed only a quarter of a century later, and steamship connections with the Orient and Australia soon followed.

The late Lindley Crease made this interesting comment upon Pemberton's volume:

We are fortunate in having a book of his own writing, for unconsciously the spirit of a writer will appear between the lines of his own work. This book indicates what one so often found among the early pioneers, a literary taste and delicacy which is not as familiar in the present day, and which perhaps those who did not know those outstanding figures would be surprised to find in them in these wild and rugged surroundings. Take the preface to Mr. Pemberton's book *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, published in 1860—it is a literary gem. In this book we find how his mind grasps the vision of the future. He sees the position which this part of the Continent will take in an Empire which was then in course of formation, and for the preservation and building up of which we are in our day likewise responsible.

My father was again in London in 1864, this time for his wedding. His bride was Teresa Jane, daughter of Harriet Mary (née Despard)<sup>21</sup> and Bernard Grautoff. She was born in England, but the family came from Lubeck, in Germany. She was a great-granddaughter of Justinus Andreas Ritze, of Baireuth, who served the Princess Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth, as Grand Chamberlain.<sup>22</sup>

(20) Pemberton, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, p. vi.

(21) Mr. and Mrs. Pemberton were not related, though by a strange coincidence the name Despard was common to both families.

(22) For a further account of Mrs. Pemberton see N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island 1843-1866*, Victoria, 1928, pp. 284-88. Six children were born of this marriage, namely: Frederick Bernard, Joseph Despard, jr. (who died in 1916), William P. D., Ada G. (Mrs. H. R. Beaven), Sophia Theresa (widow of the late Canon Beanlands, for twenty-five years rector of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria; now Mrs. Deane-Drummond, of London, England), and Harriet Susan (Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson).



My father and mother travelled from England in company with His Excellency Arthur Edward Kennedy, newly appointed Governor of Vancouver Island, and Mrs. Kennedy. They arrived in Victoria on Good Friday, March 25, 1864. At that time Pemberton was still Surveyor-General of the Colony, but, as already noted, he resigned his appointments in October to devote his time to his own affairs and the Gonzales estate.

He was a good judge of horses, a bold and judicious rider, and did much to improve the breed of horses in the Colony. He imported a well-known Clydesdale, "Glengarry," as well as Percherons. He was also interested in Shorthorn cattle.

His love of horses was inherited by his son Joseph, who, like his father, trained and rode his own hunters in steeplechases at the spring and autumn meets at Colwood, when all the "sports" of Victoria drove gaily out with the colours of their favourite riders floating in the breeze. The presence of the Lieutenant-Governor and party and many military and naval officers gave zest to the proceedings. The course was a long one and the riders passed out of sight for awhile, which gave rise to intense excitement as to which candidate would emerge in the lead, after which followed the prize-giving, and the inevitable picnic tea, for which Victoria is still noted. These were, of course, of later date, but I mention them to show that the spirit of early Victoria was still present in the succeeding generation.

In 1885 my father built a large new home at Gonzales, at a cost of \$10,000—a considerable sum in those days. It was occupied by the family until my mother's death in 1916. The staunch old house is still standing, and now serves as the residence building of Norfolk House School.

In 1887 the firm of Pemberton & Son was founded by my father and his son Frederick. It is interesting to find that the partners are described in old directories as surveyors, civil engineers, real estate, and financial agents, indicating that the activities of the firm were intended to cover a wide and varied field.

Joseph Despard Pemberton died suddenly on November 11, 1893. His funeral was attended by the Executive Council in a body, as well as the Mayor of Victoria, the Board of Aldermen, and all the professional and business men of the city. His public spirit found expression after his death in a bequest whereby

Pemberton Gymnasium was erected and presented to the city. Another of his benefactions was the operating theatre of the Royal Jubilee Hospital, to which land had been given at an earlier date.

My father is commemorated by a variety of place-names. These include Pemberton Point and Despard Cove, on Broughton Island. Both names were bestowed about 1864 by his friend Captain Pender, of the Royal Navy. The town of Pemberton, Pemberton Meadows, and Pemberton Portage recall his memory in another district of the Province, in which he made some of the first surveys. Finally, in the city of Victoria, Pemberton Road and Mountjoy and Despard avenues run through or bound property that was originally part of the Gonzales estate.<sup>23</sup>

I cannot do better than close with this tribute of his friend, assistant, and successor, the late B. W. Pearse:—

During all the years I have known him, I never recollect his being depressed. He was always cheery, bright, and sanguine. He was affectionate without ostentation, [and] of a most amiable nature. To me he was a faithful mentor, and during forty-two years our friendship was never strained or disturbed by a word or thought of difference. Respect for ourselves and mutual respect for each other, perhaps, gives the explanation of this.

HARRIET SUSAN SAMPSON.

VICTORIA, B.C.

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(23) J. D. Pemberton's father lived in Mountjoy Square, Dublin. Years later the name Mountjoy was adopted by F. B. Pemberton for his residence on Foul Bay Road. When the adjoining property was subdivided the name was perpetuated in Mountjoy Avenue.

## THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, 1835:

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE NORTHWARD  
FROM THE COLUMBIA RIVER TO FORT SIMPSON  
AND RETURN IN THE BRIG *LAMA*, JANUARY-  
OCTOBER, 1835.

The original manuscripts of fifteen journals by John Work are preserved in the Provincial Archives, in Victoria. The earliest of the series commences in July, 1823, when, as a young clerk, Work left York Factory for the Pacific Coast; the last ends in October, 1835, when he had completed his first trading expedition to Fort Simpson. Most of the earlier journals have appeared in print in one version or another, usually in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* or the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, since they are concerned primarily with the area now comprising the states of Washington and Oregon. Two of the later journals, which chronicle Work's expedition to the Sacramento valley in 1832-33, are now being edited by Mrs. Alice Bay Maloney in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.<sup>1</sup>

The narrative which follows is drawn from the last two journals of the series. The text, which has been transcribed directly from the manuscripts in Work's own handwriting, now appears in print for the first time. In its way the story here presented is unique, for, unlike Work's other journals, and the celebrated Snake River journals of Peter Skene Ogden, it deals with an expedition that was primarily maritime. Circumstances had compelled the Hudson's Bay Company to take to the sea. For a time the overland fur-traders and the maritime traders had interfered relatively little with one another. The former were interested chiefly in beaver-skins and other land furs. The traders afloat sought the sea-otter to the virtual exclusion of everything else. But the great days of the old-style maritime fur trade had passed by 1825. The sea-otter had been hunted almost to extermination, and the vessels that persisted in the

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(1) For a checklist of the Work journals and a tabulation of the printed versions see *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), pp. 269-70.

*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII., No. 2.

trade—almost all of which were American—turned to beaver-skins as an alternative source of revenue. The trader by sea having thus invaded the preserves of the trader on land, the latter had perforce to retaliate by taking to the sea. The contest lasted from about 1825 until 1840, and rivalry was still intense when John Work made his trading cruise in the brig *Lama* in 1835. His journal gives a first-hand account of the cut-throat competition between the American traders and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the liquor traffic amongst the Indians in which it resulted. In addition, it gives a vivid impression of the daily life of a fur-trader of the time. In particular it shows the dangers which the traders faced on the Northwest Coast from the savage Haida Indians, and the phlegmatic and prosaic fashion in which these dangers were met and overcome.

The rôle of the Russians in the struggle between the American trading vessels and the Hudson's Bay Company deserves a word of explanation. The Russians were themselves fur-traders, and as such competed for furs on the northern reaches of the Northwest Coast. Actually, however, their competition was felt much more by the Hudson's Bay Company than by the Americans, for the trading relations between the Russians and the latter were very close. Russian America was remote from Russian sources of supplies, and large quantities of goods were therefore secured from the United States. Most of these were delivered by the identical trading vessels which, after unloading at Sitka, sailed south and competed for furs with the ships and posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were thus in effect subsidized by their freighting activities and traffic in supplies, and this enabled them to pay the high prices for furs that added so greatly to Work's difficulties. This state of affairs continued only until 1839, when it was brought to an end by an agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company. Thereafter the companies ceased to compete for furs, and the Hudson's Bay Company undertook to furnish the supplies required in Russian America. This deprived the American vessels of their trading advantages, and they soon disappeared from the Northwest Coast.

The first few pages of Work's journal<sup>2</sup> deal with little else but wind and weather, and it has therefore seemed unnecessary to include them in the text as printed. The narrative itself is in great measure self-explanatory, but a few notes upon the state of affairs existing at the time the story opens may be welcome.

Work's superior officer, Chief Factor John McLoughlin, general superintendent for the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, planned to build a whole chain of trading-posts, stretching from the Columbia River northward to Russian America. The scheme included a post on the Stikine River, and in the fall of 1833 Peter Skene Ogden<sup>3</sup> ascended the river to a point beyond the Russian ten-league territorial limit (the mouth of the Stikine being in Russian waters) and took possession of a site upon which it was proposed to erect a post the next year. The expedition to build this post left the Columbia, under Ogden's command, in the brig *Dryad*<sup>4</sup> in the spring of 1834. During the winter, however, the Russians, realizing that the proposed Hudson's Bay post would tap the hinterland which was the primary source of the furs traded on the Coast, had hastily erected a fort of their own at the mouth of the Stikine. When Ogden appeared they refused to permit his expedition to proceed up-stream. He protested vigorously but to no effect, and in the end was forced to return to the Columbia with nothing accomplished.<sup>5</sup>

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(2) *Journal 14*, according to the classification of the Provincial Archives, covering the period December 11, 1834-June 30, 1835. It is continued in *Journal 15*, the last of the series, which commences July 1, 1835, and ends on October 27, 1835.

(3) Peter Skene Ogden, one of the great figures of the fur trade, was a former Nor'Wester who had been admitted to the Hudson's Bay Company as Chief Trader in 1824. He first gained prominence as leader of the celebrated trading and trapping expeditions to the Snake River country. In 1830 he was placed in charge of the coastal trade, and in 1834 was appointed Chief Factor.

(4) The *Dryad* was a brig of about 200 tons. At first under charter to the Company, she was purchased by them in 1829. She remained on the Pacific Coast until 1835, when she carried the returns to London, where she was sold in 1836.

(5) See E. E. Rich (ed.) *The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38*, Toronto and London, 1942, pp. ciii.-cvi. for a general account of the affair, and pp. 317-22 for Ogden's report; also D. C. Davidson, "The

John Work left Fort Vancouver in the brig *Lama*<sup>6</sup> on December 11, 1834, a few days before Ogden's return. As news of Ogden's failure had not yet been received, the *Lama* carried men and supplies intended for the new post on the Stikine, as well as for the other establishments on the Northwest Coast. On the 15th Work reached Fort George (Astoria), at the mouth of the Columbia, and there he found the *Dryad*, newly arrived from the north. He had missed Ogden, who had hurried off to Fort Vancouver to report; but he heard the story of the expedition from Captain Kipling, of the *Dryad*. He learned, too, that Kipling's former command, the schooner *Vancouver*,<sup>7</sup> had been driven ashore and wrecked on Point Rose, Queen Charlotte Islands, the previous March.

Realizing that McLoughlin would wish to revise his instructions in the light of these events, Work left the *Lama* at Fort George and himself returned to Fort Vancouver, where he arrived on December 17. On the 20th he received new instructions,<sup>8</sup> and the next day once more left Fort Vancouver. He

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Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829-1867," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 39-46.

(6) The *Lama*, of 145 tons, was purchased by Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson at Honolulu for £1,250 in 1832, to replace the schooner *Vancouver*, which had been badly damaged at the entrance to the Portland Canal in 1831.

(7) The 60-ton schooner *Vancouver* was the second vessel built on the Columbia River. She does not seem to have been ready for service before 1828. Too small for successful service on the Coast, she was damaged in 1831, as already noted, and wrecked on Point Rose on March 3, 1834. Work refers several times in his journal to the loss of the *Vancouver*; see, for example, the entry for February 23, 1835.

(8) These instructions read as follows:—

Fort Vancouver 20th Decr. 1834

John Work Esqr  
&c

Dear Sir

You will proceed in the *Lama* to the North West Coast and assume the charge of that Department.—It is impossible for me to give you any particular instructions nor is it necessary with one so well acquainted as you are with the Indian trade—except that it will be necessary for you to leave the Coast to come here with the vessel about the 1st September and on her way here she must touch at Nisqually and Fort Langley to bring the returns of those places. I think that Fort McLoughlin could be kept up with a gentleman an assistant and twelve men or at the utmost 15



joined the *Lama* at Fort George on Christmas Eve. Nine days were required to unload and reload the *Lama*, and it was not until Friday, January 2, 1835, that the little brig dropped down to Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the river, and there anchored to await a favourable opportunity to cross the dreaded Columbia bar. The vessel was under the command of Captain W. H. McNeill,<sup>9</sup> and he and Work landed and ascended the Cape, from which the bar could be clearly seen. The prospect was promising, but by the next morning the weather was too rough to venture out. This proved to be the beginning of a long and wearisome detention that lasted no less than twenty days. The experience was not unusual, and it will be recalled that a similar delay suffered by Sir George Simpson in 1841 was one of the factors in causing the removal of the Company's headquarters in the region from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria.<sup>10</sup> At last on Thursday, January 22, the *Lama* reached the open sea. Work's account of her cruise from the eve of this happy event is printed in full in the pages that follow.

Since a somewhat detailed biography of Work appeared recently in this *Quarterly*,<sup>11</sup> it is unnecessary to give any extensive account of his career here. Suffice it to say that Work was born in Ireland about 1792; entered the service of the Hudson's

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men and Fort Simpson on the same scale. You will therefore bring all the surplus men with you.

Wishing you a safe and Successful Voyage

I am Dear Sir

Yours truly

(Sigd)

John McLoughlin

C.F.

Recd. 20th Decr. 34

J.W.

(Quoted from Work's inward letter-book, in the F. W. Howay Collection, The University of British Columbia.)

(9.) Captain William Henry McNeill came to the Pacific Coast in 1831 as master of the American brig *Lama*. He sold the vessel to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1832, and, although an American citizen, remained in command, becoming a servant of the Company. He became a Chief Trader in 1840 and a Chief Factor in 1856. He retired in 1863. See John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 391-3.

(10) See W. Kaye Lamb, "The Founding of Fort Victoria," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), p. 81.

(11) See Henry Drummond Dee, "An Irishman in the Fur Trade: The Life and Journals of John Work," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII. (1943), pp. 229-70.

Bay Company in 1814; was transferred to the Columbia District in 1823, and appointed a Chief Trader in 1830. He was thus 42 years of age when his expedition northward to Fort Simpson began. He died in Victoria in 1861, at the age of 69.

Certain liberties have been taken with the original text of the journals when transcribing them for printing. Names of all ships have been italicized. Uniformity has been introduced in the spelling of well-known names. Variations in Work's date entries have been eliminated and a standard form adopted. For ease in reading, many small changes have been made in punctuation. Apart from these superficial changes, however, spelling, abbreviations, and phraseology have been left untouched so as to preserve the full flavour of Work's original and somewhat Pepysian style.

Special thanks are extended to Mr. Isaac Burpee, of Portland, Oregon, who has most generously supplied many details relating to Work's family. The untiring assistance of Miss Madge Wolfenden, Acting Provincial Archivist, is greatly appreciated. To Mrs. Garnet Fay, of the staff of the Provincial Archives, sincere thanks are due for her unflagging efforts to decipher the crabbed writing and faded words of the century-old Work journals.

HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

## THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, 1835.

[At Anchor, mouth of the Columbia River.]

*Tuesday, January 20.* Stormy, Wind Southerly, with rain. It blew so hard towards evening that the vessel dragged her anchor, so that another anchor had to be put out, and the yards taken down to prevent her from going ashore. The sea ran very high. The Mate<sup>1</sup> was ashore on the Cape<sup>2</sup> in the forenoon examining the bar & reports that it was breaking very high all across. It will take some days to lower it so that we can venture out, even should the wind be favourable.

*Wednesday, January 21.* Blew hard the forepart of the night. Wind light and variable during the day, fine weather with light showers. The bar is not so rough as was expected after such a heavy gale as blew yesterday. The yards were all got up, and the sails dried a little, of which they were in much need. They are becoming all mildewed and rotting, indeed both them and the ropes cannot be otherwise, continually wet, and scarcely a chance of getting them dried a little. Voyaging in the winter here is ruinous to the sails and rigging of vessels.

[Voyage from the Columbia River to Fort McLoughlin.]

*Thursday, January 22.* Rather stormy in the morning. Wind E., yet the wind being favourable we crossed the bar, which was pretty rough but did not break. We were about an hour of crossing it. When we were 12 miles from the cape at noon the wind shifted round to the Southward and we went on with a fine breeze at 6 to 7 knots all the afternoon.<sup>3</sup>

*Friday, January 23.* Showry weather. The wind continued favourable untill the afternoon when it changed round to the westward and began to blow a gale and rise a heavy swell. From Noon yesterday until noon today, we ran 160 Miles.

*Saturday, January 24.* Stormy from the Westward with a heavy sea which caused the vessel to pitch very much and rendered myself & several others sea sick. The heavy sea & [word indecipherable] wind prevented us from making much way we made only 111 Miles from Noon yesterday till noon today.

*Sunday, January 25.* Continued stormy part of the night. This gale has lasted 36 hours. Towards morning the weather became moderate, and during the day the wind was light and baffling & squally—and variable. In the morning we passed Scots Island.<sup>4</sup> Only 69 miles were made these last 24 hours.

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(1) James Allan Scarborough was employed in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast from 1830 to 1850. He served as first mate of the steamer *Beaver*, and was later in command of the *Cadboro* and the *Mary Dare*. See *H.B.S.*, IV., pp. 355-6.

(2) Cape Disappointment, at the north side of the entrance to the Columbia River.

(3) The *Lama* was now sailing northward, bound for Fort McLoughlin, on Milbanke Sound. Her course would take her past Cape Flattery and up the west coast of Vancouver Island.

(4) The Scott Island group, off the northern extremity of Vancouver Island.

*Monday, January 26.* During the night and through the day the weather was squally, wind changeable. We came in sight of Cape Swaine<sup>5</sup> and proceeded up with a light wind towards it and were within 3 or 4 miles in the evening. These last 24 hours made 72 Miles.

*Tuesday, January 27.* Fine weather in the night and during the day. Wind light and variable. Continued under way off and on during the night, and working up but with little progress all day in the evening we were only abreast of Cape Swaine, all day we made only [blank in MS.] Miles. Four Indian canoes came out of the Sound<sup>6</sup> and paid us a visit. The Indians in one of them said they were going to the fort<sup>7</sup> and I sent a note by them to Mr. Manson<sup>8</sup> apprising him that we were here.

*Wednesday, January 28.* Fine weather during the night with little wind, a good breeze during the [word omitted in MS.] from N.E. which was nearly a head. Kept under way in the night and continued beating up the sound till afternoon when the weather became thick and squally with snow when we had to put about and run down the sound till within a mile of Cape Swaine where we anchored a short distance from the shore. Stony bottom. We are little farther advanced now than we were in the morning. From here we are only 17 or 18 miles from the fort. During the day we have made only [blank in MS.] Miles.

*Thursday, January 29.* Heavy rain in the night and all day. The wind blowing pretty fresh, got under way in the morning and anchored in the afternoon in Actives Cove<sup>9</sup> about 6 Miles from the fort. This day we made about 11 Miles. There are a number of Indians encamped on the opposite side of the Sound. Some of them visited us in the evening. Dr. Tolmie<sup>10</sup> in a canoe accompanied by two men and some Indians came aboard in the forenoon. He left the fort yesterday and was in sight of us when the snow

(5) At the southern entrance to Milbanke Sound.

(6) The name "Milbanke Sound" applied in 1835 not merely to the area as defined to-day, but also to the then unnamed ramifications that extended far inland. In modern parlance the *Lama* proceeded from Milbanke Sound into Seaforth Channel, finally turning south into Lama Passage, which separates Campbell and Denny islands.

(7) Fort McLoughlin, built in 1833 on McLoughlin Bay, a small harbour on the east coast of Campbell Island.

(8) Donald Manson entered the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817. He became a clerk in the Columbia District and was with James McMillan when the latter founded Fort Langley in 1827. In 1829, Manson went to Fort Vancouver, and thence to Fort Simpson on the Nass River. He was in charge of Fort McLoughlin in 1834-39. He became Chief Trader in 1837 and never rose above that rank.

(9) Now Kynumpt Harbour, at the extreme north of Campbell Island. See Report of Geographic Board of Canada, 1924, pp. 14, 152.

(10) Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, who married Work's eldest daughter Jane, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as physician and surgeon in 1832. He was first stationed at Nisqually, and left for Fort McLoughlin in 1833. See S. F. Tolmie, "My Father: William Fraser Tolmie. 1812-1886," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 227-240. The arrival of the *Lama* is reported as follows in Dr. Tolmie's diary, under date Sunday, February 1, 1835: "On Wednesday, Indians brought intelligence of the approach of the *Llama* & soon after Qunnachanoot appeared & brought a letter dated off Cape Swaine from Captain McNeil & another from Mr. Work who was on board." (Original and transcript in Provincial Archives.)

storm obliged us to put about and the weather being so thick that he could not follow us he had to put ashore and passed a miserable night in the rain without any covering. Mr. Manson and the people at the fort are all well.

*Friday, January 30.* Heavy rain, with little wind all day. The vessel not being able to move, I left her in a boat accompanied by Dr. Tolmie and arrived at the Ft. McLoughlin a little past noon. The men returned to the vessel with the boat immediately. I find Mr. Manson and the people all well. The Indians are becoming quiet and more peaceably disposed.

*Saturday, January 31.* Overcast showry weather. We hear from the Natives that the vessel has come up to the Narrows a little below the fort.

*Sunday, February 1.* Fine mild fair weather, but no wind. A Number of Indians about the place. Mr. Manson went down to the vessel and brought up Capt. McNeill to dinner.

The fort is now nearly finished<sup>11</sup> and in excellent order. The men are now busy clearing ground for gardens, and a tedious laborious job it is. The stumps are very thick and difficult to root out. The soil is a black peat moss and apparently not of a good quality but perhaps draining and tillage may improve it. The ground is clear, or the wood all felled for 100 yards round the fort so that it is not easy for the Indians to approach should they be again hostilely disposed. The men are now principally fed on dry salmon of which an abundance is easily obtained at a very cheap rate from the Natives but very little venison or fresh fish can be procured from the Indians. The most of their time has been occupied for the last three Months conjuring, so that they have exerted themselves but little hunting and even those who did go had not much success. Owing to the mildness of the season the deer keep up in the mountains and come but little down to the waterside and the Indians are too lazy to go far into the woods after them. The trade since the *Dryad* left in the beginning of Nov. amounts to [*blank in MS.*] Beaver & otters which is more than in the corresponding time last year. But the Tariff keeps still at a blanket per large beaver skin which is very high, but the Indians will rather keep their beaver in expectation of American vessels coming, than sell them lower.

*Monday, February 2.* Fine weather. The vessel had a little breeze of wind and came up to the fort in the forenoon, and commenced unloading the cargo. Great numbers of Indians were about the place. They brought some fresh provisions, part of which was given to the sailors.

*Tuesday, February 3.* Overcast but fine weather. The remainder of the cargo was landed, and afterwards some ballast taken in. Several Indians about the place

*Wednesday, February 4.* Overcast, Mild weather. The vessel took in the rest of her ballast. Stated the mens accounts to them, and proposed to them to reengage but not one of them would agree or consent to remain. The only reason they assign is that they wish to go home & that they have been long enough here.<sup>12</sup>

(11) Dr. Tolmie, whose diary was consulted to see if its author gave any picture of the fort at this time, makes only a casual mention of its construction.

(12) Work was to find this same reluctance to re-engage on the part of the people at Fort McLoughlin, when he returned southward in the fall. No definite reason for it has been found, beyond a reference to the fact that they did not like the way in which salmon, their chief food, was cured. The fort was always pictured as an extremely damp and dreary spot.

*Thursday, February 5.* Fine mild summer like weather. Some things more to be arranged on board, deterred us from sailing, but everything is now ready to move tomorrow.

[*Voyage from Fort McLoughlin to Fort Simpson.*]

*Friday, February 6.* Remarkably fine mild weather, very little wind. Got under weigh at 10 A.M. but wind being ahead and so light we got only about two miles below the fort where Mr. Manson has the men busily employed clearing ground for a garden. And a tedious laborious job it is, the ground is full of stumps and roots many of them so large that it is very difficult and great labour to get them out. The soil is very wet and composed of black peat moss on a bed of rocks, and appears not well adapted for yielding good crops without much labour and a mixture of clayey gravel or manure which is difficult to be obtained. From the wetness of the soil draining will also be required. Still with labour in some time it may be made sufficiently productive to yield enough of potatoes & other garden vegetables for the maintenance of the people at the fort.

In a small stream about 100 yards from the fort, tho' not much larger than a mill stream, abundance of salmon are caught in the fall, but they are then of an indifferent quality. But had they a seine or even common fishing nets great numbers might be caught out in the bay at a much earlier season when they are of an excellent quality. [*Gap in manuscript as if Work had intended a further entry.*] We had to anchor some distance from the Indian village<sup>13</sup> on the island.

*Saturday, February 7.* Weather the same as yesterday. Wind light and variable. Got under weigh in the morning but the wind was so light that we were only abreast of Cape Swaine in the evening,<sup>14</sup> beating the most of the way down the Sound. Some Indians came off to us with a small deer some wild fowl and fish.

*Sunday, February 8.* Overcast gloomy weather. Wind N.E. Kept under way all night. In the course of the night the wind freshened up a little and continued a nice breeze all day which carried us along at 4 to 6 miles an hour. We lay along in sight of the land and in the evening were off Banks island<sup>15</sup> N. end. From point Day<sup>16</sup> which we left at 10. O'clock last night till noon today we made [*blank in MS.*] miles.

*Monday, February 9.* Fell calm last night and continued calm all day. During the day & night we have not made 3 miles. We are off Bonilla island.<sup>17</sup> Fine mild cloudy weather.

*Tuesday, February 10.* Fine weather. A little breeze sprang up in the night but was light and baffling occasionally during the day. We continued

(13) Probably refers to Bella Bella Island, a small island north and west of Fort McLoughlin, on which the Bella Bella Indians had a summer village.

(14) The *Lama* was now leaving Milbanke Sound, and was about to turn northward, bound for Fort Simpson.

(15) A large island in Hecate Strait, between Caamaño Sound on the south and Browning Entrance on the north. The *Lama* logged about 120 miles that day.

(16) The south end of Price Island, at the north-west entrance to Milbanke Sound.

(17) A small island off the north-west coast of Banks Island.



beating after passing inside of Isle de Zayas<sup>18</sup> and anchored at the Ft. Simpson at 1 O'clock in the morning, when I went ashore with Dr. Kenedy,<sup>19</sup> who had come off to us in a canoe. I found Mr. Birnie<sup>20</sup> who had been ailing some days, unwell. Some of the people have also been unwell, the others are all well. The sick are only ailing with casual sickness. It is a liver complaint, that troubles Mr. Birnie.

*Wednesday, February 11.* Fine mild weather. The people employed landing part of the cargo. There are a great many Indians about the place, principally Chymysians or Pearl harbour Indians.<sup>21</sup> They are now assembled to proceed up Nass Straits, to the little fish fishery.<sup>22</sup> At present they are pretty quiet, but some time ago they manifested symptoms of being troublesome and made use of threats and it is probable they will not be thoroughly quiet until they be chastised and be made feel the strength and power of the Whites. Beaver and some small furs have been traded since Mr. Ogden left at the rate of 1 beaver large per blanket & a little tobacco, a good many of these were got for liquor. At this rate, high as it is, the natives appear not very keen to trade, no doubt in expectation of the arrival of the American vessels, when they anticipate realising high prices. A considerable quantity of provisions has been procured since Mr. Ogden's departure, a good deal of Venison was salted in the fall, and a good deal procured fresh during the winter besides fish. All traded at a moderate rate.

The fort<sup>23</sup> is not yet finished. The dwelling house is not yet up. A general store, Indian shop two dwelling houses for the gentlemen, a range of houses for the men, a forge, kitchen, and the block houses, are up and occupied; but some of them only temporarily roofed with bark. The area inside the fort is still unfinished. The timber for about a gunshot round the fort

(18) The *Lama* sailed through Caamaño Pass, between Zayas Island and Dundas Island, just south of the present international boundary-line in Dixon Entrance. Zayas Island was named after Jacinto Caamaño's second pilot, Don Juan Zayas. See Wagner, *Cartography*, II., p. 422.

(19) John Frederick Kennedy, like Dr. Tolmie, had been educated as a physician and surgeon and had joined the Company in the dual capacity of doctor and clerk. From Fort Vancouver he had been transferred in 1831-32 to the Nass. Kennedy's service in the Company was spent mostly at and in charge of Fort Simpson. He was appointed a Chief Trader in 1847, and in 1856 retired to Victoria, where he died in 1859.

(20) James Birnie entered the employ of the North West Company in 1818 and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He kept the Spokane Journal in the season of 1822-23, and was stationed at Fort Simpson in 1834-37.

(21) These are the Tsimpsean Indians from the present peninsula of that name. Pearl Harbour is a bay just south of the site of Fort Simpson and is also on the Tsimpsean Peninsula.

(22) The Indians were assembled to proceed to Fishery Bay, about 14 miles from the mouth of the Nass River, to catch oolachans or candle-fish. The oolachan, not as big as a herring, but rich in oil, was used for its grease, which the Indians ate, or burned, when dried, for light and heat. See H. A. Collison, "The Oolachan Fishery," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 25-31.

(23) It will be recalled that the fort had been removed from its old site on the Nass to this new position in the summer of the previous year, 1834. The original fort had been established on the Nass River by Peter Skene Ogden and Captain Æmilius Simpson in the summer of 1831. This first site was found to be difficult of access to the sailing vessels of the time, hence change of its location.

has been felled, but the most of it still lays on the ground, and will require much labour and time to clear it of [*sic*] particularly the roots which are many of them very large. The gallery<sup>24</sup> is also up but no railing round it nor a head piece on the stockades. Two boats were directed to be built, one of them is finished and the other under way.

*Thursday, February 12.* Still fine weather. The remainder of the cargo was landed. Also [*blank in MS.*] bushels of potatoes and some garden seeds were put on shore. In pursuance of instructions some ground is being cleared for a garden, and a most tedious, laborious, and difficult job it will be, the ground is so thickly wooded and so full of stumps, fallen timber and roots, and though it is on the declivity of a rising ground it is so wet that it will require a good deal of draining. The soil on the surface is composed of black peat and moss with decayed roots wood and other vegetable substance and does not appear well adapted for tillage, but may answer this purpose well when mixed with the under strata which is composed of sandy gravel and some shells. But stirring this up and mixing it will require much time and labour. The situation has also a Northern aspect, which is not in its favour. Mr. Birnie is apprehensive that the propensity of the Indians to theft may lead to quarrels but as the guns command the situation, I think the Natives may be deterred from stealing. The Indians traded a few beaver, and some venison and fish, which enabled some fresh provisions to be supplied the *Lama's* crew.

*Friday, February 13.* Fine weather forenoon some light rain afterwards. The *Lama's* people employed taking in balast, repairing boarding netting<sup>25</sup> &c. Had an outfit selected<sup>26</sup> and got ready to put on board the *Lama*. The Indians still numerous about the place tho' some canoes went off yesterday & today.

*Saturday, February 14.* Very heavy rain all day. It has been mostly heavy rain all winter. The people of the vessel employed as yesterday. Mr. Birnie is much worse today, than some time past, he is confined to bed.

*Sunday, February 15.* Very heavy rain all day. The Natives stirring about very little.

*Monday, February 16.* Showry weather. The people of the vessel employed as on Saturday.

*Tuesday, February 17.* Very heavy rain and some sleet, in the night and all day. The people on board taking in water and other jobs, but the weather was so bad that very little could be done. The Men at the fort, also making but slow progress owing to the excessive bad weather. They are now employed, part preparing some timber that is wanted for the dwelling house, and part clearing ground for a garden. This is a tedious job. Two sawyers are also employed sawing boards to roof the dwelling

(24) The gallery was a platform built on the inside of the stockade about halfway up, so that the defenders of the fort could repel any attacks by gun fire over the top of the logs which formed this stockade. Diagrams of old Fort Victoria show that such galleries were placed on alternate corners to the bastions.

(25) A stout netting was placed around the bulwarks of the ship to guard against any attempt on the part of Indians to surprise and massacre the crew and plunder the ship.

(26) Such an outfit would include guns, ammunition, blankets, rum, molasses, rice, and the like, which were used in trade with the Indians.

house. Having no files to keep their saw in proper order, they make but slow progress. They cut about 10 planks 1 foot wide & 12 feet long, per day.

*Wednesday, February 18.* Slight frost in the morning, fine weather during the day. All the goods for a trading cruise were put on board the vessel, the boarding nets were also spread.

Mr. Birnie who has been ailing some days is getting a little better, but still part of the day confined to bed.

The Indians brought in some deer & traded a few beaver. They seem not much inclined to part with their beaver anticipating the arrival of Americans when they expect to get a higher price. Our Tariff is now a blanket per large beaver and other dry goods in proportion, besides a little Tobacco, and extravagant as this Tariff is, and notwithstanding our anxiety to lower it, it is deemed not prudent to do so at present, as it is of importance to draw as many of the furs as possible out of the hands of the Indians so that few may remain to fall into the hands of our opponents, and thereby discourage them. Should we lower the Tariff now, the Indians would keep up their furs, till the arrival of Opponents, when we would be obliged either to make no returns, or give a higher price than that now paid, and then probably get but a small share of the trade. Under these circumstances it is deemed advisable to continue for the present trading at the present scale, at least till we see whether an opposition will come or not.

*Thursday, February 19.* Frost in the morning snow showers part of the day. The people on board. Took in some more water, stowed the boats upon deck and got every thing ready for sea. The Indians brought 7 or 8 deer, and some halibut, 3 very fine ones. Fresh provisions are obtained in abundance, [*blank in MS.*] deer have been traded since [*blank in MS.*] October last.

[*Trading cruise from Fort Simpson to Kaigani.*]

*Friday, February 20.* Frost in the morning. Overcast but fair weather during the day. At 10 O'clock in the morning, sailed from Ft. Simpson. The wind was favourable, but light till we got out opposite Nass Straits<sup>27</sup> when we had a strong breeze. Towards evening it became calm but still favourable. In the evening we were getting near Cape Murray.<sup>28</sup>

Mr. Birnie was a little better and it is expected he will soon be well. A young man Son of Elgigh, the Ft. Simpson Chief, accompanies us to deliver a message from his father to the Kygarny Indians<sup>29</sup> relative to making peace between the two tribes, which have had a misunderstanding for some time. Though we don't wish to appear to have any desire to this effect, but we would be desirous that it would take place as it might be of advantage, for were they at peace these would also frequent the fort and some trade might be obtained from them.

*Saturday, February 21.* Frost in the night and cold weather during the day. Had to lay to part of the night as we were close in with the land.

(27) Entrance to Portland Inlet.

(28) Point Nunez, on Bean Island near Cape Chacon, on the north side of Dixon Entrance. Jacinto Caamaño placed it farther west in the position of the present Point Marsh. See H. R. Wagner and W. A. Newcombe (eds.), "The Journal of Jacinto Caamaño," in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), p. 265, n. 33.

(29) These are the Kaigani Indians, a branch of the Haidas.

By 10 A.M. got into Kygaryn<sup>30</sup> and anchored in the second harbour with a village a piece below & another a piece above us. Several Indians shortly came off to us, and during the afternoon examined our goods and had a good deal of conversation about our prices which dont seem to please them. Many of these people have been on different Otter hunting [expeditions] to California and came round by the Sandwich islands and are well acquainted with traffic,<sup>31</sup> and expect the high prices which they have obtained from the Americans and from our people lately.

*Sunday, February 22.* Weather as yesterday. A considerable number of Indians on board and about the vessel all day. They have got a few beaver and some Sea Otters among them, but will not accept our prices. We were induced to offer a blanket 1 gall: Ind: Rum<sup>32</sup> & a head Tobacco per beaver but at this rate only 5 beaver and 1 Otter were traded. They ask 10 blankets with rum, Molasses, & Rice a gallon each. These terms We consider too high. Even at these prices the Indians seem not very anxious to trade as they are in expectation of American vessels arriving very soon. We consider it not advisable to urge them, in hopes that by a little delay they may become easier dealt with. They are very difficult to bargain with. 5 deer, some halibut and a few potatoes were traded from them.

*Monday, February 23.* Sharp frost in the night, clear cold weather [to]day. The boat with a party was sent ashore to cut firewood, and get timber for Sweeps.<sup>33</sup> Several of the Natives visited us and examined all our goods, and had a good deal of talk about our prices which the[y] seem not inclined to accept of but stand out for the extravagant prices of these years past which their expectation of Americans arriving induces them to hope they will be able to obtain. Indeed they appear not at all anxious to trade, as they say they have abundance of goods of every kind, and ridicule our paltry assortment, and not without some reason for though we have a good stock of some of the principal articles yet we are very short or entirely without a great many goods of minor description. The quality of our goods particularly blankets and other woolens are also complained of<sup>34</sup> and said to be far inferior to those that Capt. Allan<sup>35</sup> had, and also to those which they get from the Russians. With much reluctance we offered them

(30) Kaigani Harbour, on the southern end of Dall Island, Alaska. Named by the Russian governor Etolin in 1833. Admiralty charts in the Archives at Victoria show the Indian villages. The area was much frequented by the maritime traders of the last century.

(31) The maritime sea-otter trade in the early 19th century was carried on off the coast of California by vessels which usually had their winter headquarters in Honolulu. Their practice was to sail from the Sandwich Islands (now the Hawaiian Islands) in the spring, proceeding to Kaigani, where they gathered a crew of native hunters. They then set sail for the hunting grounds off California, and returned late in the autumn to Honolulu. See Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941.

(32) "Indian rum" was rum diluted by water.

(33) Crude oars, which could be used aboard the *Lama* to supplement the efforts of her boats in towing her out of the harbour against a head wind.

(34) Some complaint about quality must have been sent to Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, since he mentions it in his report of November 15, 1836, to the Governor and Committee in London. See *H.B.S.*, IV., p. 162.

(35) Captain Allan, of the American brig *Europa*.

a gallon of Ind: Rum per beaver higher than is given at the fort but they will not accept of it, for they say that even should the Americans not come, they can obtain more from the Russians. They were also offered 7 blankets or 5 blankets and a gun, with the usual present of rum, Molasses, rice &c, which we consider high, for a Sea Otter, but they will not take it. These are all California Otters and they say they refused 10 blankets each for them at Woahoo.<sup>36</sup> They brought some inferior bears and some other small indifferent skins but we would not purchase them. They traded only 14 beaver and 1 small land Otter & 3 Black Bears.—They are a complete set of hunters, and reckoned the most difficult Indians on the coast to deal with.

Among the other Indians who visited us, was a half breed named George Whitmore dressed in a fashionable velvet caped surtout white shirt flashy waistcoat, beaver hat, fine trousers white stockings and pumps. This individual handed us a letter from Capt. Duncan<sup>37</sup> to Capt. McNeill dated at this place 27th Feby. last, when he was going to depart a few days before he lost the vessel,<sup>38</sup> he complains that he could not trade but a very few skins, notwithstanding the high prices he offered. Whitworth [*sic*] has also two certificates, one of his good conduct when on the Otter hunting parties, the other stating that a chief here had stopped one of Pickens's boats<sup>39</sup> and Crew on shore and that it was only by the interference of the other Indians they were got off. From this man we also learn, that Capt. Pickens on hearing of the loss of the *Vancouver* from the Indians, very laudably proceeded to the place to render every assistance in his power accompanied by Whitmore & other Indians. But on arrival at the place nobody was to be seen and the vessel was broke up. From what these people learned from the Indians, it was most unfortunate that they abandoned the vessel so soon as they did, for the next tide she floated off to her anchor & might easily have been saved. It also appears that a great deal of the danger they apprehended from the Indians was imaginary for the Natives themselves affirm that only 8 were on the ground, and that in order to intimidate the Crew, they kindled a great number of fires in the night to make it be believed that their numbers were greater than they really were. Since the wreck the Indians who obtained the property have enriched themselves buying slaves &c. It is a pity there were not means of compelling them to give back the property or something in lieu of it and at the same time of punishing them effectually for what they have been guilty of. But were we to go there we would not be able to do any thing by force, and until we [can] do so it is deemed better to say nothing on the subject,

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(36) Common spelling used by the fur-traders on the coast for Oahu, the most important of the Hawaiian Islands, on which Honolulu is situated.

(37) Captain Alexander Duncan rose from the position of seaman to that of master in the marine department of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was the captain of the schooner *Vancouver* when she was wrecked on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1834. Exonerated from all blame, he was placed in command of the *Cadboro*. After commanding other vessels for the Hudson's Bay Company, he retired in 1848.

(38) The schooner *Vancouver*, wrecked on March 3, 1834.

(39) Probably Captain Benjamin Pickens, who was a frequent visitor to the Coast. He was engaged primarily in the sea-otter trade. He visited the Coast in the brig *Convoy* in 1831, and again in 1832 in the brig *Crusader*, but no reference has been found to a visit in 1834.



further than that it will not be dropped. Should the Steam boat<sup>40</sup> come, they might probably be punished effectually.

*Tuesday, February 24.* Frost in the night cloudy cold weather during the day. A number of Indians again visited us during the day, and had another examination of the goods, but seem not inclined to trade as they think the prices are too low, and insist upon having more, which on our part we will not agree to give. It is even with reluctance we offer the price above stated for though it is only a gallon of mixed liquor higher than the fort tariff it may induce the Natives there to insist upon getting the same. But it is said that these are the most difficult Indians on the coast to deal with, and that the others will be easier induced. Besides as this is always the first part [port] the opposition makes on reaching the Coast it is of importance to secure the Skins before they arrive. Notwithstanding this we will not give a higher price than that offered, And it appears doubtful whether it will be accepted. No trade today.

*Wednesday, February 25.* About 5 or 6 Inches of snow fell in the night. Overcast cold weather during the day. The Natives visited us again, and again used their utmost endeavours to get a higher price for their furs, but without effect, they again state that they can obtain more from the American vessels which may be expected soon, and that even should the Americans not come they can obtain more from the Russians, which it is understood is the case. In the evening they traded 4 Sea Otters 5 Beaver & 2 land Otters.

*Thursday, February 26.* Overcast rather mild weather. The Natives were off again to day and traded 21 Sea Otters 5 Beaver & 4 Land Otters at the prices offered. I almost regret getting their furs, as none of our goods are in demand with them but blankets which I am apprehensive we will fall short of. Cotton, Strouds, Capots<sup>41</sup> and several other articles, they will not accept unless a quantity beyond reason be given.

*Friday, February 27.* Overcast cold weather. Frost in the night. Several more of the Natives were off on board today and traded [blank in MS.] Sea Otters [blank in MS.] Beavers & [blank in MS.] Land Otters, at the usual prices except Some of the smaller Sea Otters which were got cheaper, but still except what is given in presents nothing but prime goods go. The Indians expect other vessels which will give them a higher price and in consequence appear not at all Anxious to sell their furs.

*Saturday, February 28.* Weather as yesterday. Some more of the Indians came off today and traded 6 Sea Otters & 1 Land Otter. It appears they [have] not got many beaver or land Otter, but from all accounts they have a good many Sea Otter yet, but seem not inclined to dispose of them notwithstanding the high price given them. For a large Otter they get to the amount of about 4£ which I look upon as very high.

*Sunday, March 1.* Very bad weather. Snow sleet & rain all day. An Indian called Musket paid us a visit. He states that last summer he was

(40) So early a reference to the steamer *Beaver* is interesting, since she was only ordered in 1834 and did not arrive on the Coast until 1836. See W. Kaye Lamb, "The Advent of the Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II. (1938), pp. 163-179.

(41) *Strouds* were bolts of different coloured blanket cloth which was traded to the Indians. *Capots* were hooded cloaks made of similar material.



at Chilkath<sup>42</sup> at the head of Clarences Straits on a trading excursion, that a Russian vessel was there trading with the Natives who were amply supplied with arms both Muskets & blunderbusses, and Ammunition, and rum, that they give the Indians a blanket but nothing else for a beaver, some Ammunition & other Articles in proportion. From this man it also appears that the Indians at Stikeen are laying a plan to cut off the Russian establishment there,<sup>43</sup> and that both men and women even providing themselves with knives daggers and other arms for the purpose. Cutting off the establishment they consider will not be a difficult task. It seems the Russians have not a very strong force there and that they have no stockades but merely houses. The Natives' plan is to by various pretexts to assemble in force and when they get to close quarters to close with the whites and overpower them by numbers. They dont seem to apprehend the vengeance of the Russians hereafter. The cause of the Indians' discontent is their not getting such high prices for their furs as usual or as they would wish. The Natives have also been frequently enquiring whether we dont mean to take some measures against the Indians who plundered the wrecked *Vancouver*, and enforce a restitution of the property or value for it. To this they have been returned evasive answers. From their conversation it appears that from the transactions at Stikeen last summer and the affair of the *Vancouver* being overlooked we are much lessened in their estimation and our power looked upon with very little respect. In order to remove this impression it would be highly desirable to take notice of the *Vancouver* affair, even should but little profit derive from it. But as we are situated at present, notwithstanding we have a crew of 20 Able hands, except a very favourable opportunity, indeed, would offer, we would be able to make no impression on those plunderers, as we could not approach their village without much risk and exposure and even then they could fly into the woods and evade us. Besides the goods are long since all dispersed, and even should a favourable chance offer we could gain but little. We might recover the guns and chains but even that would be doubtful without paying for them. It is therefore probably the best plan to not notice the affair for the present, but wait for the arrival of the steamboat,<sup>44</sup> which with another vessel in company might perhaps do the thing effectually and be able to compel the Indians to make restitution of the property or value for it if they had any, but this tribe the Massets<sup>45</sup> though powerful in numbers are very poor in furs of any kind. 2 Sea Otters were traded today.

*Monday, March 2.* Rained the most of the day, wind from the S.E., and though there is not much wind here, it probably blows hard outside as [*sic*] there is a considerable swell where we lie. But very few of the Natives visited us today. The men employed getting in wood and water. And as we have little or nothing more to expect from the Indians in the way of trade it is unnecessary to remain longer here and we will be off tomorrow or next day, weather permitting. Some of the Indians have not been to visit us yet and even those who have been here have yet some furs,

(42) This may refer to the Chilkat area at the head of Lynn Canal. No such place has been located on Clarence Straits.

(43) Redoubt St. Dionysius, the fort built to keep the Hudson's Bay Company out of the Stikine area in 1834. See introduction.

(44) The steamer *Beaver*.

(45) A branch of the Haida Indians from Masset, near Rose Spit, on Graham Island, in the Queen Charlotte group.

but are not inclined to dispose of them at our prices. Those whom we have not seen are no doubt disposed the same way or they would have been here, as they have had sufficient time to have had intelligence of our being here. We will therefore return to the fort & thence to Nass, where the Indians are about this time beginning to assemble to fish small fish and make oil.<sup>46</sup> We obtain a sufficiency of fish, principally halibut for the use of the people; a few potatoes have also been obtained.

*Tuesday, March 3.* Rained the most of the day, thick weather and blowing fresh into the harbour. No attempt could be made to move today. Very few of the Natives came aboard, they are mostly all gone off to their villages.

*Wednesday, March 4.* Blowing squally weather in the night. Mild in the morning, cloudy weather & blowing occasionally afterwards. The wind S. E. blowing right into the harbour, so that we could not get out. Some of the Natives came off and traded 4 Sea Otters & 4 beaver. They had some more Sea Otters & beaver but would not accept the price offered and took them away again. A deer and some halibut were also traded.

I regret being delayed by this unfavorable wind, as I am anxious to get to Nass lest some opponents might come on, and yet we have still plenty of time to be there before the Indians are assembled.

*Thursday, March 5.* Stormy from the S. E. in the night. Moderate forepart of the day with heavy rain and hail showers, which continued during the day but in the afternoon the wind shifted to the S.W. when it blew fresh with squalls. We are in hopes if the wind continues favorable that the weather will admit of our getting out tomorrow. On account of the unfavorable weather but few of the Natives visited us today. One Sea Otter was traded from the Chief.

*Friday, March 6.* Stormy with rain & hail in the night. In the morning it was moderate, when we expected to get out & the boats were taken aboard, but the wind shifted round and continued to blow fresh with squalls right into the harbour all day with rain and hail and towards evening was very stormy. No chance of getting out. Several of the Natives visited us but traded only one beaver. They had some more beaver and Sea Otters but would not accept our price. On being told that they would not get so much when we returned again, they said that rather than take less they would cut up their skins and make blankets of them. This however I look upon as only a bravo, yet I think there is a great likelihood that when our tariff shall be reduced that even should there be no opposition little trade will be obtained for at least a year, as the Indians are well supplied with goods of every kind and that they will hold out in expectation of the arrival of other traders. And even when the tariff shall have been reduced, it will have to be raised again should opponents cast up or we will lose all the trade; and undoubtedly a part of it even should we then lower our prices. The prices we now pay I consider extravagantly high, and yet high as they are the Indians would not accept of them, were they not anxious to get an additional supply of goods to go off to trade to the Northward.<sup>47</sup>

(46) A further reference to the oolachan fishery. See footnote 22 above.

(47) A reference to the extensive slave trade that was carried on between the Indian tribes and to the fact that the coastal tribes acted as middlemen in the fur trade between the Indians of the interior and the white maritime traders.

*Saturday, March 7.* Rain and hail during the day. The wind still unfavorable, till towards evening when it shifted to the S.W. but it was then considered too late to go out.

Several of the Natives came off & traded 2 Sea Otters. A few potatoes were also bought from them for seed at the Fort.

*Sunday, March 8.* Showry weather. Very little wind and that little right in to the harbour in the morning. In the afternoon the wind shifted round to the S.W. Yet the Capt. was deterred from starting by some Indians who were aboard to sell a couple of Sea Otters. The weather, tho' the wind was fair appeared unfavourable and squally.

*Monday, March 9.* Blew fresh from the S.E. with squally showery weather during the night. Rain forenoon, little wind from the S.E. during the day. In the afternoon the weather cleared up, the wind being still unfavourable, so that we are detained here still, which I regret as I am anxious to get off, there being little chance of getting any thing more here at present, for though the Indians have still some skins yet they will not accept of our prices extravagantly high as they are, and indeed at this high price I am little anxious to get any more of the Sea Otters, in hopes that should no opposition cast up they might be obtained at a lower rate. Yet one is in doubt how to act, for should an opposition appear the furs will doubtless cost a good deal higher. I regret to see so many of our blankets (which are the only articles in demand) go as we may fall short of them, and it would be much more advantageous to dispose of them for beaver than Sea Otters, particularly of the quality of those we get here.

Several Indians came off today and traded 1 Sea Otter, also 2 deer and some fish which is a seasonable supply as what we had were out.

*Tuesday, March 10.* Thick fog in the morning with very little wind, but afterwards it sprung up a fresh breeze from E to S.E. which towards evening increased to a stiff gale. Got under weigh about 9 O'clock and swept and towed out of the harbour and continued beating against the wind and now in the evening have not got up with Cape Murray tho' the distance is only about [blank in MS.] Miles.<sup>48</sup> The fog cleared off towards noon. The weather has now a threatening appearance. Should a strong S. Easter come on it is expected we can run back to Kygarny or get into Tongass harbour.<sup>49</sup>

Several of the Indians came alongside as we were coming off in the morning and traded two Sea Otters and some Halibut.

*Wednesday, March 11.* The gale increased during the night that towards morning the vessel was obliged to be hove too. The wind still increased with a very heavy sea and the weather so thick accompanied with rain so that nothing could be seen, the vessel pitching heavily and shipping a good deal of water. About noon we were drawn in upon the land as was supposed

(48) 25-30 miles.

(49) There are two harbours by this name mentioned in Marcus Baker, *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska*, 1906, pp. 614, 632. One is on Annette Island, just behind Point Percy, which forms the south-east entrance to Clarence Strait. The other is on Tongass Island, 3 or 4 miles east of Cape Fox.

about point Percy<sup>50</sup> but the weather was so thick that no one could tell exactly where. Our situation now was for some time very critical as we were drawn on by a violent wind and surrounded by rocks & breakers on a lee shore where no safe place could be discovered to run into and anchor. As a last effort more sail was put on the vessel notwithstanding the violence of the wind, and by God's Mercy she worked out clear of the land, and we escaped the imminent danger in which we were. The gale continued unabated till late in the evening when it moderated a little and the wind shifted a little more to the southward, but the sea still running very high and the vessel pitching heavily. This is of little consequence as we have sea room but there are dangerous rocks in our way. We are still plying to Windward. The Captain and several of the people are sea sick.

*Thursday, March 12.* The gale continued, but more moderate the greater part of the night; towards morning it had moderated a good deal, and the sea fallen proportionably, the wind also changed round to from S to S.W. At day light we were approaching Isle de Zaya,<sup>51</sup> and by 2 P.M. had anchored at Ft. Simpson the wind having died away so much that there was barely enough to take us in. It was my intention to have put into Tongass harbour, but understanding that the Indians about this season are generally off on their way to Nass, and that the only likely plan to find them would be Clemencitty<sup>52</sup> which is not over 8 or 10 Miles from this place, where they will most likely call in passing, we did not put in there either as it is difficult to get out of again. Although we expected all the Ft. Simpson Indians would have been off to Nass before now, a considerable number of them are here still. Mr. Birnie has got nearly well.

[To be continued.]

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(50) The south-eastern entrance to Clarence Strait. The mention of this Point seems to confirm the first-mentioned place in the above note as the one meant by Work.

(51) Zayas Island, as previously identified.

(52) Clemencitty or Clement's City is identified as Tlehonsiti (also called Tlehopcity), on Tongass Island, just east of Cape Fox, a place which the Tongass Indians were wont to visit on their way to the Nass. See *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska*, p. 632. The diary of Dr. W. F. Tolmie, entry for August 1, 1834, made while at Fort Simpson, contains this reference to the place: "From the window of the garret Close to my bed there is a fine prospect of the bay & across the Straits to Clemencitty Harbor." See also *British Columbia Pilot*, 1888, p. 439, which speaks of it as one of the south-eastern approaches to Tongass from Chatham Sound.

# ROYAL COMMISSIONS AND COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY UNDER THE "PUBLIC IN- QUIRIES ACT" IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

## A CHECKLIST.

### INTRODUCTION.

For some time the writer has felt the need for an adequate guide to the Royal Commissions which have been held in British Columbia since Confederation, as the only one which she has seen is the incomplete bibliography contained in Arthur Harrison Cole's *A Finding-List of Royal Commission Reports in the British Dominions* (Harvard University Press, 1939).

For the purpose of this checklist, the popularly-used term "Royal Commission" is taken to mean a Commission issued by the representative of the Crown—in the case of British Columbia, the Lieutenant-Governor—on the advice of his Ministers or by an Act of the Legislature, to a person or persons to investigate and report on certain matters. Such a Commission is signed by the Lieutenant-Governor under the Great Seal of the Province and issued under the authority of the "Public Inquiries Act."<sup>1</sup> The term "Royal" may, or may not, occur in the Commission. Nowadays, a Royal Commission is entirely distinct from an inquiry which a Minister may direct to be taken under the "Departmental Inquiries Act," although the Commissioner in that case is also appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Previous to the passing of the "Departmental Inquiries Act" in 1927, all Commissions in British Columbia must, perforce, be considered as "Royal Commissions" since they follow the procedure adopted by the above definition.<sup>2</sup>

The usual procedure after the Commission is issued is for the Commissioner to advertise in the *British Columbia Gazette* the time and place of taking evidence of witnesses; to hold ses-

(1) First passed 1872; amended 1873; revised 1897, amended 1935.

(2) In the following list, however, no cognizance has been taken of Commissions appointed under Acts other than the "Public Inquiries Act," however designated.

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sions, and, after digesting the evidence presented, to issue a report to the Lieutenant-Governor. From then on the procedure has varied. Usually, the report is presented to the Legislature, which may then decide to include it in the *Sessional Papers* for that year. Many reports are to be found in these volumes. However, this procedure has not always been followed. For instance, we find three cases, in the period 1872-1900, in which the report of a Commission was first printed in the *British Columbia Gazette*: Texada Island (1874), the Kootenay Royal Commission (1878), and the Nakusp and Slocan Railway inquiry (1894), which are to be found in the *Gazette*, October 17, 1874, pp. 243-44; November 16, 1878, p. 306; and May 17, 1894, p. 43, respectively.

The report of the Kootenay Royal Commission was brought down to the Legislature by means of a request for a Return, and appears in the *Sessional Papers* of 1880, two years after the report was submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, while that of the Nakusp and Slocan Railway does not appear in the *Sessional Papers* at all, although certain correspondence in connection with the subject does. This report is found, however, in a pamphlet printed by the "Colonist Steam Presses" in 1894, and is so listed in the following bibliography. In the period 1900-1920, of some sixty-nine Commissions, only twenty-two are to be found in the *Sessional Papers*; many reports are missing altogether, at the time of writing, while others are in the vaults of the Provincial Secretary's Office in Victoria. The latter usually consist of original reports, evidence, and exhibits.

Although the correct procedure is that a copy of a report be placed in the hands of the Provincial Secretary for safe-keeping, in earlier years this was not followed consistently, which accounts, to some extent, for the gaps in the files. It is, however, possible that in the future more of these reports may be discovered in the vaults of some other department of the Government.

For the purpose of this checklist, where a copy of the report is not available the title of the Commission follows as closely as possible the wording of the Order in Council appointing the Commissioners.



It is interesting to note that the greater number of Commissioners appointed were either Judges or members of the legal profession, except in the case of such Commissions as the Small-pox inquiry (1893), and that on Milk-supply (1913), when practical and technical knowledge was essential.

The subjects of the inquiries are many and varied and the study of them throws interesting light on the development of the Province. They range from the investigation of a complaint into the conduct of an individual Civil Servant, or the management of a Government department or institution, to far-reaching inquiries affecting future legislation. A few contain information which perhaps does not come within the scope of the Commission, but which shows the interest of the Commissioner in his subject. Such a one is that on the Porcupine District (1901). Although he was sent to the district to settle certain mining disputes, a task which he completed, the Commissioner took the opportunity to write a short history of the district, make observations on the flora, fauna, and population, and also included in his report a bibliography of books and pamphlets.

The modern tendency is for a Royal Commission to be a fact-finding body to determine a policy with a view to subsequent legislation, rather than an investigation into something which has already happened. Of course, such inquiries are held, as for example, the John L. Barge inquiry (1929), but more often Commissions of to-day are comprehensive surveys of their subject, such as the Workmen's Compensation Commission (1942), leaving investigations of a more personal character to the "Departmental Inquiries Act."

Reports of inquiries should be carefully preserved, as old reports throw a good deal of light on events of to-day. For instance, statistics on forestry matters, previous to the formation of the Forest Branch in 1912, are difficult to obtain except in the *Final Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry, 1909-1910*; consequently this report is constantly being consulted by those interested. The 1913 report on the *Sect of Doukhobors* throws a good deal of light on the present behaviour of these people, and so on. In spite of this, many of the reports have been forgotten or are comparatively little known.

Indeed, the chief purpose of this bibliography is to make it possible to ascertain easily and quickly what matters have already been investigated and where the reports of the various inquiries are to be found.

MARJORIE C. HOLMES.

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ROYAL COMMISSIONS AND COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY UNDER THE "PUBLIC INQUIRIES ACT" IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

A CHECKLIST.

PART I.: 1872-1900.

1872

1. [*Report of a Committee of the Executive Council . . . on the subject of a report from Alexander Rocke Robertson, Robert Ker, and Francis James Roscoe, Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report upon a deficiency appearing in the accounts of Warner Reeve Spalding—Manager of the Savings Bank Nanaimo.*]

2 pp.

MS. Form A attached to Order in Council #41, 1872, on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioners: Alexander Rocke Robertson, Robert Ker, and Francis James Roscoe.

Appointed June 29, 1872; report dated July 2, 1872.

Spalding was short in his accounts by \$276.68. The commission investigated, and he was ordered to make good the amount forthwith.

1874

2. *Papers relating to the appointment and proceedings of the Royal Commission for instituting enquiries into the acquisition of Texada Island.* Presented to the Legislative Assembly by command of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor. Victoria: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, government printer, at the Government Printing Office, James' Bay, 1874.

Cover-title, 66 pp.

Also in *Journals of the Legislative Assembly . . . Session 1875*, Appendix, Sessional Papers, pp. 181-246; and in *British Columbia Gazette*, October 17, 1874, pp. 243-244 (report only).

Commissioners: Chief Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie, Mr. Justice Henry Pering Pellew Crease, and Mr. Justice John Hamilton Gray; all of the Supreme Court of British Columbia. Charles F. Pooley, Secretary.

Appointed March 13, 1874; report dated October 8, 1874.

The commission investigated charges made by John Robson "That prominent members of the late [De Cosmos] and present [Walkem] Government were in a ring to acquire possession of *Texada Island*, in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the public; . . ." Large deposits of iron ore had been found on the island. Suspicion was directed chiefly against Amor De Cosmos, and George A. Walkem, Premier and Attorney-General. Those giving evidence or submitting

statements included Sir John A. Macdonald, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, and Sewell Prescott Moody. The commission found that there was "no sufficient ground" to substantiate the charges.

### 1878

#### 3. *Proceedings of the Kootenay Royal Commission.*

15 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1880*, pp. 141-156; also in *British Columbia Gazette*, November 16, 1878, p. 306 (report only). The report was printed in its entirety in the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, November 17, 1878, p. 2.

Commissioners: Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, Mr. Justice Henry Pering Pellew Crease, and Mr. Justice John Hamilton Gray; all of the Supreme Court of British Columbia. G. Richard Layton, Secretary.

Appointed April 8, 1878; report dated November 14, 1878.

Charges had been made that a former Attorney-General, A. C. Elliott, had made offers through a store-keeper at Wild Horse Creek to bribe Charles Gallagher, M.P.P.<sup>1</sup> for Kootenay, not to run in the forthcoming election. Robert Leslie Galbraith, M.P.P.<sup>1</sup> for Kootenay, also made the same charges. Witnesses in the inquiry were A. C. Elliott, James Trimble, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and Forbes Vernon, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. The commissioners found the accused "not guilty."

Reference should also be made to the *Correspondence regarding the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the statements made by members for Kootenay 1878*, *Sessional Papers . . . 1878*, p. 611; *Further correspondence . . . in ibid.*, p. 685; and *Return . . . of correspondence that has not already been printed . . . in Sessional Papers . . . 1879*, p. 351.

### 1884

#### 4. *British Columbia. Metlakatlah inquiry, 1884. Report of the Commissioners, together with the evidence.* Victoria: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, government printer, at the Government Printing Office, James' Bay, 1885.

Cover-title, pp. 6, lxxxii.

Also in *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1885*. pp. 131-136, i.-lxxxii. The original MS. evidence is on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioners: Alexander Edmund Batson Davie, Attorney-General, Henry Maynard Ball, and Andrew Charles Elliott. S. Fletcher, Secretary.

Appointed October 28, 1884; report dated December 9, 1884.

The commission investigated reports of disturbances and breaches of the peace at the Indian settlement of Metlakatlah, and was empowered

(1) As "M.P.P." is used in the report of the commission, it is also used here, instead of the correct abbreviation, "M.L.A."

to "inquire into the causes and sources of such disturbances and disquietudes in Our said Province, so far as the same refer to the good Government of Our said Province, or reflect upon the conduct of any part of the public business thereof."

The disturbances at Metlakatlah were caused mainly by the disputes between the missionary, William Duncan, and the Church Missionary Society, and the claim of the Indians that their title to the land be recognized. The settlement of Metlakatlah had been founded by William Duncan, a lay missionary connected with the Church Missionary Society, in 1862, and under his guidance had become a model village. Later, disputes arose between Duncan and Bishop Ridley, of Caledonia, regarding uniformity in ritual and practice, which culminated in the missionary's dismissal in 1881. He then proposed to move the mission to Alaska. The unrest among the Indians which the unfortunate disputes caused resulted in the destruction of the store and the Kitkatlah church, and other disorders.

Much of the evidence was furnished by the two missionaries, William Duncan and William Henry Collison, and Bishop William Ridley, of Caledonia, in Metlakatlah, and by P. J. O'Reilly, Indian land commissioner, in Victoria. The commissioners found that the disturbances were due to four main causes: the claims of the Indians to have their title to all the land recognized; the withdrawal of William Duncan from the Church Missionary Society; the fact that the two acres at Metlakatlah, known as Mission Point were not part of the Tsimpsean Indian Reserve, and that Bishop Ridley, as temporary agent of the Church Missionary Society, was in occupation thereof; and the conduct of the Indian council at Metlakatlah.

#### 1885

5. *Report of Commission of enquiry concerning the genuineness of an alleged transfer, dated the 23rd day of June, 1884, from certain Indians to one J. M. M. Spinks.*

22 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1886.* pp. 217-239.

Commissioner: Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, of the Supreme Court.

Appointed March 20, 1885; report dated May 1, 1885.

This was an inquiry into the ownership of certain lands on Coal Harbour, and was the outcome of an act passed by the Legislature "to authorize the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry concerning the genuineness of an alleged transfer . . . from certain Indians to one J. M. M. Spinks, after reciting that during the investigation by a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly of claims to lands in the vicinity of Coal Harbour, a document had been produced purporting to be a transfer of the alleged rights of two Indians to certain lands and improvements at False Creek to one J. M. M. Spinks . . . And that the genuineness of such document had been impugned . . ." The principal witness was J. M. M. Spinks, a store-keeper, and a new-comer to British Columbia; others were Samuel Greer, and Patrick McTiernan, Indian agent. The document was held to be a forgery.

This commission is popularly known as the "Greer case," and is so referred to in the *Sessional Papers*.

6. *Return to an Order of the House for copies of the Report of the Commissioner appointed to investigate the claims of Dry Dock creditors, and the amounts paid to each; also the names of those whose claims were rejected, and the reason assigned for such rejection.*

4 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1886*. pp. 445-448.

Commissioner: Edwin Johnson, barrister of Victoria.

Appointed April 21, 1885; reports dated April 27 and June 30, 1885.

The commissioner dealt with the claims for wages against F. B. McNamee & Co., contractors for the Esquimalt Graving Dock. Certain claims were admitted by the Commissioner and recommended to be paid; a few were rejected as being without the scope of the inquiry. Claims amounting to \$5,542.79 were admitted.

#### 1888

7. *British Columbia. Papers relating to the commission appointed to enquire into the condition of the Indians of the North-West Coast.* Victoria: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, government printer, at the Government Printing Office, James' Bay.

Cover-title, 59 pp.

Also in *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1888*. pp. 415-462L.

Commissioners: Clement F. Cornwall, former Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, for the Dominion Government, and Joseph Prhys Planta, for the Provincial Government.

Appointed September 30, 1887; report dated November 30, 1887.

This was a joint commission of the Dominion and Provincial governments, appointed to meet the Indians of the Nass River and those of Fort Simpson, for the purpose of hearing the expression of their wishes and any complaints. The commissioners were warned by the Hon. A. E. B. Davie, Attorney-General, "not to give undertakings or make promises, and in particular you will be careful to discountenance, should it arise, any claim of Indian title to Provincial lands." Many subjects were discussed by the Indians, including their title to lands, fishing reserves, and the operation of the Indian Act. The commissioners commented on the state of the Indian village of Metlakatlah since the departure of William Duncan and certain Indians of his following, to a new settlement in Alaska. The report throws light on the occupations and customs of the Indians, and makes recommendations regarding disputes among the Indians themselves.

#### 1889

8. *Report . . . of commissioners appointed to examine, classify and revise and consolidate the statute law of British Columbia.*

2 reports. MS. original reports on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.



Commissioners: Edwin Johnson and Charles Wilson, barristers of Victoria.

Appointed July 29, 1886; reports dated January, 1889, and March 2, 1889.

The commissioners reported that they had revised the statutes and submitted a draft volume.

9. *Report. Victoria gaol investigation.*

1 p.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1890.* p. 463.

Original report is on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Mr. Justice M. W. Tyrwhitt Drake, of the Supreme Court.

Appointed October 29, 1889; report dated November 19, 1889.

The commissioner investigated charges concerning the operation of the Victoria city gaol, in respect to drunkenness and improper discipline on the part of the warders, and also of the serving of improper food. Two charges were sustained, but the food charge was dismissed as "frivolous."

1890

10. [*Special commission composed of undermentioned to be appointed for the purpose of revising and consolidating the mining laws of the province.*]

No report found.

Commissioners: George Cowan, of Barkerville, William Wilson, of Victoria, Gustavus B. Wright, of Hot Springs, James M. Kellie, of Illecillewaet.

Appointed November 28, 1890.

It is presumed that the commissioners presented a report to the proper authorities, as the mining laws of the province were revised and consolidated at the Session of 1891.

1892

11. *Report. Commission of enquiry into the conduct of the Police Magistrate of Victoria.* Victoria, B.C.: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Cover-title, pp. 7, xcvi.

Also in *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1892.* pp. 265-272, i.-xcvi.

Commissioner: Mr. Justice Henry Pering Pellew Crease, of the Supreme Court.

Appointed November 4, 1891; report dated January 28, 1892.

Mr. Justice H. P. P. Crease investigated charges made by August May, of Seattle, regarding the conduct of the police magistrate of Victoria, Arthur Louis Belyea, of the firm of Belyea and Gregory.

The case involved a complaint by the father, August May, of a 15-year-old girl who had left her home in Seattle, and who was being "harboured in the house of one Fried, of Victoria, a barber," and the conduct of the case by the police magistrate of Victoria, A. L. Belyea, to whom the complaint had been made. The commissioner found that in the matter of the conduct of the magistrate there had been no appearance of criminality, but there had been an error of judgment in more respects than one.

12. *Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire into the conduct of the affairs of the Municipal Council of Victoria.* Victoria, B.C.: Printed by Richard Wolfenden, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Cover-title, pp. 31, cxli.

Also in *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1892.* pp. 481-512, i.-cxli.  
Commissioners: Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie and Mr. Justice M. W. Tyrwhitt Drake, both of the Supreme Court.  
Appointed October 17, 1891; report dated February 25, 1892.

Charges had been made against the municipal council of Victoria of mismanagement of the city's affairs in regard to financial arrangements and expenditures. The municipal council admitted most of the charges except in some matters of detail. The commission found that the charges were substantiated.

13. *Report of the Commissioner appointed to enquire into certain charges against Isaac H. Hallett, Esq., a Stipendiary Magistrate for the County of Westminister.*

13 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1892.* pp. 691-703.  
Commissioner: Mr. Justice Henry Pering Pellew Crease, of the Supreme Court.  
Appointed November 4, 1891; report dated March 14, 1892.

The commissioner investigated charges against Isaac Hoyt Hallett, stipendiary magistrate of New Westminister, that he had received fees not warranted by law. These charges were held to be fully substantiated. Mr. Justice Crease, however, drew attention to the anomaly of the law providing for a stipendiary magistrate without stipend, and the fact that the magistrate in question was "peculiarly ill-adapted to fill a responsible position which he never sought."

### 1893

14. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the late epidemic outbreak of Small-pox in the Province of British Columbia, under Order-in-Council, dated the 6th October, 1892.*

12 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1893.* pp. 507-518.  
Commissioners: Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, of the Supreme Court, and Emil A. Praeger, M.D., of Nanaimo.  
Appointed October 6, 1892; report dated February 20, 1893.

The commission was charged with the inquiry as to the "channel and means through which the said epidemic of small-pox was introduced into the Province, referring to the outbreak which occurred in the beginning of July last, which led to the Order in Council of 11th July 1892," and also "the spread and dissemination of the said epidemic in the Province." After examining many witnesses, the commission advised that more care should be taken in quarantine matters affecting both quarantine in regard to ships and in regard to cases already developed on shore.

## 1894

15. *Royal commission and full information regarding the Nakusp and Slocan Railway.* Victoria, B.C.: "The Colonist" Steam Presses, 1894.

Cover-title, 16 pp.

The original typewritten report, evidence, and exhibits are on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria. Also in *British Columbia Gazette*, May 17, 1894, p. 430 (report only).

Commissioners: Chief Justice Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, of the Supreme Court, and George W. Burbidge, Judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada.

Appointed April 20, 1894; report dated May 15, 1894.

Accusations were made, but no witnesses appeared before the commission in support of the accusations, despite the fact that due notice of the inquiry had been given in the newspapers and the *British Columbia Gazette*. The charges made against the Premier [Theodore Davie] of corruption, and "of working for the Company" were found to be untrue.

Reference should also be made to *Papers relating to the Nakusp and Slocan Railway*, in *Sessional Papers . . . 1893*, pp. 1109-1115; *Additional papers relating to the Nakusp and Slocan Railway*, in *Sessional Papers . . . 1894*, pp. 1117-1128; and *Return . . . additional information with reference to the construction of the Nakusp and Slocan Railway*, in *ibid.*, pp. 1197-1207.

16. *Report of Royal Commission on charges preferred against Captain N. Fitzstubbbs.*

2 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1894-95*. pp. 497-8. The original MS. report is on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Mr. Justice Henry Pering Pellew Crease, of the Supreme Court.

Appointed September 4, 1894; report dated September 29, 1894.

Charges were made by the foreman on the Government trail between Nakusp and Slocan, against Capt. Fitzstubbbs, Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works, involving a dispute in regard to the work. The commissioner found that while there was irregularity in the manner of charging the account in question, "that the work it represented was honestly done and paid for on Government account and for Government

work. There was consequently no culpability on the officer impugned, from which, in my opinion, he should be exonerated."

17. *Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly requesting His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to cause to be laid before the House all the papers in connection with the late enquiry into the management of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, together with the letter of instructions to the Commissioners appointed to make the enquiry.*

71 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1894-95*. pp. 503-574. The original typewritten report and enclosures are on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioners: Edward Hasell and Charles Frederick Newcombe, doctors of medicine of the city of Victoria.

Appointed October 23, 1894; report dated November 27, 1894.

The commission was charged with the inquiry into the "sanitary and professional treatment of inmates, the sanitary arrangements, number and duties of the officers and employees of the Asylum and their conduct, the cost of maintenance, and, generally, all matters concerning the management of the Asylum, or relating to the welfare of the inmates or the public interests." The report showed a condition of welfare and cleanliness in the Asylum, but uncovered a long list of cruelties and abuses in the treatment of the patients. The result of this investigation was that two male attendants were at once discharged, and Dr. Bentley, the superintendent, was relieved from office.

Reference should also be made to *Correspondence, Re Royal Commission [on] Lunatic Asylum in Sessional Papers . . . 1894-95*, pp. 659-662.

#### 1895

18. *Commission under the Public Inquiries Act appointing His Honour Judge Harrison to enquire into certain charges against Mr. J. P. Planta, police magistrate of the city of Nanaimo and into his general conduct as a police magistrate.*

20 pp.

The original typewritten report is on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Eli Harrison, Judge of the County Court of Nanaimo.

Appointed December 15, 1894; report dated February 26, 1895.

It was charged that Planta entered into an agreement with the city of Nanaimo to waive salary, and in lieu, to accept such costs as might be collected in cases tried by him, or otherwise as the agreement might prescribe. Planta denied this agreement, which was illegal under the "Municipal Act." He was found guilty on a total of twenty-one charges.

19. [*Commission . . . by an order of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in Council . . . that an enquiry be made into the conduct of the public business by the Council of the City of Victoria in relation to the institution there established under the name of the "Old Men's Home," and generally into the management by the Council or its employees of said institution.*]

No report found.

Commissioners: Theodore Davie, Attorney-General; John Braden, James McGregor, Thomas Kitchen, and Donald Graham, Members of the Provincial Legislature.

Appointed December 1, 1894.

This commission was issued under the authority of the "Municipal Act," 1892, section 313, which provided that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council might at any time cause an inquiry to be made into or concerning the good government of any Municipality, and for the purposes of such an inquiry the provisions of the "Public Inquiries Act" should apply.

#### 1896

20. [*Commission appointing Rt. Rev. John Nicholas Lemmens, Roman Catholic Bishop of Vancouver, to enquire into and ascertain the market to be obtained in the Republic of Guatemala for the kinds and qualities of lumber and fish produced and exported from British Columbia and into the state of trade for those articles generally . . .*]

No report found.

Commissioner: Rt. Rev. John Nicholas Lemmens, Roman Catholic Bishop of Vancouver.

Appointed September 28, 1896.

#### 1898

21. [*In the matter of the "Public Inquiries Act" . . . Commission to enquire into certain matters relating to agricultural interests in the province of British Columbia.*]

Commissioners: T. A. Sharpe, Superintendent of Agricultural Station at Agassiz, Gaylord H. Hadwen, of Duncan, and R. E. Gosnell, of Victoria.

Appointed June 18, 1898; commission annulled October 13, 1898.

22. *Commission . . . in the matter of the "Public Inquiries Act" and of an investigation under the said act as to the truth of certain allegations of mal-administration in the Department of Lands and Works.*

2 pp.

Original typewritten report and evidence on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Mr. Justice George A. Walkem, of the Supreme Court.

Appointed May 13, 1898; report dated July 23, 1898.

Inquiry was made into certain allegations by T. L. Grahame, editor of the *Victoria Daily Times*, in an editorial in the paper in which he stated that the Lands and Works Department was not properly managed, and that money had passed into the hands of the Surveyor-General from persons who had business with the Department. The commissioner found that the charges were not substantiated.

23. *Commission appointed under the "Public Inquiries Act" to hold an inquiry into matters affecting the Provincial Gaol, Kamloops.*

4 pp.

Original typewritten report and evidence on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Albert Edward Beck, of Vancouver.

Appointed September 10, 1898; report dated September 29, 1898.

Charges of neglect of duty were made against a gaoler, who in return made charges of laxity on the part of the warden. Those charges preferred against the gaoler were found to be partly substantiated, but not those against the warden. The commissioner made certain recommendations for the conduct of the gaol.

24. *Commission appointed under the "Public Inquiries Act" to hold an enquiry for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of matter alleged in a letter from Mrs. Harry Thompson . . . regarding the conduct of Warden Armstrong or Guard Calbick of the Provincial Gaol at New Westminster.*

5 pp.

Original typewritten report, evidence, and exhibits are on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Eli Harrison the Younger, Judge of the County Court of Nanaimo. W. H. Bullock-Webster, Secretary.

Appointed January 15, 1898; report dated March 2, 1898.

It was found that the letter on which charges were based was written by a prisoner. Certain charges against the guard regarding appropriation of prisoners' money were substantiated.

25. *Return to an Order of the House for a Return of all papers, correspondence, evidence, and finding of the Judge, in connection with the Royal Commission of Inquiry appointed under the "Public Inquiries Act," September 15th, 1898.*

4 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1899.* pp. 1351-1354.



Original report, evidence, and exhibits are on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Chief Justice Angus John McColl, of the Supreme Court. Harvey Combe, Secretary.

Appointed September 15, 1898; report dated November 22, 1898.

This commission was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the payment of two sums of \$30,000.00 and \$3,414.87 under contracts entered into with Frederick Adams and Richard Drake for the performance of certain work in connection with the construction of the new Parliament Buildings, and also into circumstances connected with the submission to arbitration (dated June 29, 1898) of differences between the Government and Messrs. Baker, McGregor and Jeeves, arising out of the contract with Frederick Adams. The situation was complicated owing to the fact that the contractor died before completing his contract. The commission was fact-finding as all claims were settled.

#### 1899

26. *Record of proceedings under the "Public Inquiries Act" to investigate certain charges made against A. R. Green by James J. Currie, respecting the conduct of the said A. R. Green while in the employment of the Inspector of Dykes.*

44 pp.

Original MS. report and evidence on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: W. Myers Gray, barrister, of New Westminster.

Appointed September 11, 1899; report dated September 20, 1899.

Currie, employed on the dyke at Pitt Meadows, charged Green with drunkenness, neglect, incompetency, waste of government funds, and falsifying returns to hide carelessness and mistakes. Certain evidence was brought out to support the charges, especially that of drunkenness, but most of the evidence was conflicting. The commissioner reported the evidence, but arrived at no specific conclusion.

27. *Commission of enquiry "into the management of the Fire and Water departments of the Corporation of the City of New Westminster more especially with reference to the fire which occurred on the night of the 10th and the morning of the 11th of September 1898."*

15 pp.

Original typewritten report on file in the Provincial Secretary's Office, Victoria.

Commissioner: Eli Harrison the Younger, Judge of the County Court of Nanaimo.

Appointed October 26, 1898; report dated January 31, 1899.

The commissioner investigated the condition of the waterworks and reservoir, and the water supply to the city of New Westminster. He found that the reservoir was not kept completely filled, and that lack of

funds, efforts to economize, and the "desire not to lessen the supply of water to the consumer induced the council to experiment with the water works system, contrary to the advice of the construction engineer, without finding out from some compitant [*sic*] source whether he was right or not." As a consequence the city found itself without adequate fire protection.

28. *Return under sub-section (2) of section 10 of the "Public Inquiries Act."*

2 pp.

In *Sessional Papers . . . Session 1900*. pp. 495-496.

Commissioner: Mr. Justice Paulus Aemilius Irving, of the Supreme Court. Oscar C. Bass, Secretary.

Appointed June 7, 1899; report dated December 30, 1899.

This commission was appointed under the provisions of the "Bennett-Atlin Commission Act, 1899," to deal with certain "disputes and difficulties with regard to matters arising under 'Mineral Act' and 'Placer Mining Act,' in connection with the Lake Bennett and Lake Atlin Mining Divisions." These difficulties were over-lapping and conflicting boundaries, claim-jumping, and the like. The commissioner had full power to act, and his report showed that he exercised this authority and settled the disputes.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on the evening of Friday, January 14. The reports presented showed that in spite of the war, and its insistent demands on time and attention, the society had had a remarkably successful year. Paid-up membership at the end of 1943 was 425, as compared with 410 at the end of 1942. The only disappointment was the continued inactivity of the Section in New Westminster, where there were at the moment no more than four members.

For his presidential address Mr. B. A. McKelvie had chosen the subject *The Founding of Nanaimo*. The topic proved to be of unusual interest, and material was so abundant that Mr. McKelvie confined his attention almost exclusively to the events of the first year of Nanaimo's existence—1852. An expanded version of his paper will be printed in the July number of the *Quarterly*.

Previous to his address, Mr. McKelvie reported that tentative plans were being made for an international celebration in 1946 in honour of the centenary of the boundary settlement of 1846, and the century of good-neighbourliness that followed it. The Washington State Historical Society and the Oregon Historical Society had expressed interest in the plan, and, if world conditions permit, there is reason to hope that the anniversary will be suitably observed.

The result of the election for the Council was announced, and at the conclusion of the general meeting the new Council met to choose the officers for the coming year. The executive for 1944 is composed as follows:—

Honorary President -	-	-	-	Hon. H. G. T. Perry.
President -	-	-	-	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Past President -	-	-	-	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
1st Vice-President -	-	-	-	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
2nd Vice-President -	-	-	-	Mrs. Curtis Sampson.
Honorary Secretary -	-	-	-	Major H. T. Nation.
Honorary Treasurer -	-	-	-	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

#### Members of the Council—

Mr. E. G. Baynes. Miss Helen Boutilier. Mrs. M. R. Cree.

Mr. F. C. Green. Dr. W. Kaye Lamb. Dr. Robie L. Reid.

Dr. T. A. Rickard. Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson.

Dr. W. N. Sage.

### VICTORIA SECTION.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Monday, January 10. The Chairman, the Hon. Mr. Justice H. B. Robertson, presided. The report of the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Cree, dealt at length with the celebration of the centenary of Victoria, in which the Section had taken a very active part, and stressed the increased

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interest in historical matters to which the events of the year had given rise. Miss Alma Russell, Convener of the Necrology Committee, reported that no less than 160 persons who had lived fifty or more years in Victoria had died in 1943. Of this number fifty-two had been born in the city. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Convener of the Historic Landmarks Committee, reported on the plaques that had been erected during the year. He hoped that further sites might be marked in the near future, in co-operation with the Government Travel Bureau.

Mr. Justice Robertson delivered his presidential address on *The Early Legal History of Vancouver Island and British Columbia*. Official administration of the law commenced with the arrival of Governor Blanshard in the spring of 1850. Blanshard administered it himself, and so, for a time, did his successor, Governor Douglas. It soon became evident, however, that this rather rough and ready handling of legal affairs could not continue, for important cases were being dealt with by men with no training in the law whatsoever. When a sudden crisis developed, Douglas coped with it by establishing a Supreme Court and appointing his brother-in-law, David Cameron, Judge. Strictly speaking, Douglas had no authority to do this, and his action gave rise to much criticism, particularly as Cameron had no more legal training than the local Justices whose inexperience had led to difficulties. But the need was urgent, and reference to London would have meant a delay of many months. In the end the Colonial Office endorsed Douglas's action. As for Cameron, he proved to be both honest and capable, and his administration gave general satisfaction. An emergency of a different sort faced Douglas in 1858, when the discovery of gold led to a sudden influx of population and the establishment of the Crown Colony of British Columbia on the Mainland. Here the pioneer of legal administration was Judge Begbie, who arrived from England in the last days of the year. Mr. Justice Robertson dealt with his career and character at some length, stressing his mental strength and steadfastness, and his great tenacity of purpose. The stormy days of the gold-rush were vividly described by the speaker, who recalled the crowded court-rooms and fevered atmosphere in which justice was dispensed. It required a strong and determined Judge to handle the situation, and British Columbia was fortunate in possessing in Begbie a man with precisely those qualities.

The election for the Council had taken place by mail, and the result was announced at the annual meeting. The new Council met on Friday, January 21, and elected the officers for 1944. The new executive is as follows:—

Chairman - - - -	Hon. Mr. Justice Robertson.
Vice-Chairman - - -	Mr. F. C. Green.
Honorary Secretary - - -	Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Members of the Council—

Mrs. Curtis Sampson.	Miss M. Galt.	Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Dr. J. A. Pearce.	Miss Alma Russell.	Major H. C. Holmes.
Major H. T. Nation.	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.	
Mr. George H. Gowan.		

The Section met on Saturday, March 11, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harty Morden, Belleville Street, to celebrate Blanshard Day. More than eighty members and friends attended, and enjoyed the varied and interesting programme. Miss Madge Wolfenden read a paper on Richard Blanshard, prepared by Mr. Willard Ireland, Provincial Archivist, which threw much light on the career of the unhappy pioneer Governor, and placed his achievements and shortcomings in clearer perspective. The paper was preceded by a group of piano solos, played by Mrs. Harty Morden, and followed by old-fashioned songs, sung by Miss Eva Hart. Mr. Hugh Wetherby then showed a beautiful coloured film of Vancouver Island and the Mainland, after which Mrs. Ross Palmer, who had come specially from Comox for the occasion, showed the films (also in colour) taken in March, 1943, during the motor tour of the city of Victoria arranged by the Section as part of the centenary celebration. Still another film included glimpses of many well-known Vancouver Island pioneers.

#### VANCOUVER SECTION.

*Early Vancouver Newspapers* was the title of the most interesting address delivered before the Section by Miss Bessie Lamb at the meeting held in the Grosvenor Hotel on February 1. Miss Lamb noted that the first paper printed on the shores of Burrard Inlet was the short-lived *Tickler*, published in Moodyville; but the first paper to appear in what is now the city of Vancouver was the *Vancouver Weekly Herald and North Pacific News*, the first issue of which was dated January 15, 1886. The editor and publisher was William Brown. Competition soon appeared, and two other newspapers commenced publication within a few months. These were the *Advertiser*, of which W. B. Macdougall was editor and manager, and the *News*, published by James H. Ross. The great fire of June, 1886, destroyed all three printing-offices. Although the papers survived, the financial losses caused by the fire, and the depression that followed it, ultimately proved fatal. The *Herald* ceased publication, and the *Advertiser* and *News* might well have followed had not a new and larger figure appeared on the scene in the person of Mr. F. L. Carter Cotton. Although not himself a newspaper-man, he possessed both capital and ability. Early in 1887 he purchased both the *News* and the *Advertiser* and launched the *Daily News-Advertiser*, to use the name that was soon after adopted and under which the paper became a power in the Province. Cotton remained its publisher for twenty-three years. A morning paper, it held the field against all comers for a generation. In 1888, however, the *World* was founded as an evening daily. It proved a successful venture, and continued an independent existence until 1924, when it was amalgamated with the *Evening Sun*. Miss Lamb's address was based upon research carried out in preparation for the writing of a thesis on the development of Vancouver's newspapers, and it is hoped that some chapters from her thesis may later be printed in the *Quarterly*.

The Section met again on February 29, when the speaker of the evening was Dr. M. Y. Williams, Head of the Department of Geology in the Uni-

versity of British Columbia. His subject was *The Historic Development of our Northland*. Commencing with the early explorations of Alexander Mackenzie on the Peace River in 1792, Dr. Williams outlined the fascinating story of the region during the century and a half that separated Mackenzie's travels and the construction of the Alaska Highway. Rocky Mountain House, built at the mouth of the South Pine River and visited by David Thompson in 1804, was probably the earliest post established in what is now British Columbia. Fort McLeod was founded by Simon Fraser in 1805. The same year Hudson's Hope was built on the south bank of the Peace River, opposite the location of the present settlement of the name. Fort St. James followed in 1806 and Fort George in 1807. Some years later, in 1824, Samuel Black pushed up the Finlay River. Two years later Fort Halkett was established. From this post John McLeod went up the Dease River to Dease Lake. In 1836 a major figure appears on the scene—Robert Campbell, who in 1836 left "Fort de Liard" and wintered at Fort Halkett. The next spring he went on to Dease Lake, and from there crossed to the upper Stikine. Campbell established a fort on Dease Lake, but this was abandoned in 1839. In 1840 Campbell was off on another great journey. That year he ascended the Liard River to Frances Lake, and crossed to the headwaters of the Pelly River. Two years later he built a fort at Pelly Banks. Leaving this post in June, 1843, Campbell descended the MacMillan River to the junction with the Lewes, and at this junction Fort Selkirk was built in 1848. In 1851 Campbell travelled from Fort Selkirk to Fort "Yucon," which had been built three years before. His return journey was made by way of the Porcupine, Peel, and Mackenzie Rivers. A gold excitement following discoveries on the Liard and Dease Rivers in the seventies introduced a new age. Dawson and other celebrated pioneers of the Geological Surveys appeared on the scene in the eighties, and the Klondike rush was the great event of the nineties. All these developments and many others were described by Dr. Williams, down to and including the Pacific Great Eastern Survey of Resources (1929-30), and such ultra-modern events as the establishment of the Yukon-Southern air-line in 1937 and the Alaska Highway and airfields of 1942-43. The lecture was illustrated with kodachrome slides, prepared from photographs taken by Dr. Williams himself.

A third meeting of the Section was held on Wednesday, March 22, when Mr. Gerald E. Wellburn, of Duncan, gave an illustrated lecture on *The Postal System of the Colony of British Columbia*. Mr. Wellburn is recognized as an authority in this field, and both his address and the remarkable slides with which it was illustrated were greatly enjoyed by the large number of members who attended. The speaker ranged somewhat beyond the announced scope of his lecture, and was able, with the aid of exhibits from his own collection of stamps and covers, to describe and illustrate virtually the whole course of postal development in this region. Letters and covers shown included many dating back to the days of the fur trade. Some of these had travelled between different posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, while others had journeyed to and from England by way of Cape Horn. In many instances the letters were written by or addressed to well-known



pioneers, and the text as well as the covers is of great interest. Coming down to the period of the gold-rush, Mr. Wellburn exhibited many letters that had been carried by Wells Fargo and other express companies. In order to reach Victoria some of these had passed through the hands of the British Post Office, the United States Post Office, and several private companies. Lastly, Mr. Wellburn dealt with the various stamps issued for use in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. One of these had been surcharged so often and so variously that the speaker hazarded the opinion that no other stamp had ever been sold for so many different values.

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Frank H. Ellis, author of *Duration Flying Models* (London, 1936), is one of six living Canadian aviators who flew before the first World War. In October, 1920, he was a member of the crew of the first aeroplane to fly into Northern Canada. He is widely recognized as an authority on the early history of flying in this country.

Major F. V. Longstaff, author of *Esquimalt Naval Base* (Victoria, 1942) and many articles in periodicals, has long been a student of naval history. He is a Member of the Society for Nautical Research.

Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson, who contributes a sketch of the life of her father, the late Joseph Despard Pemberton, is one of Victoria's best-known native daughters. She is prominent in I.O.D.E. and other activities, and is a Past President of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

Henry Drummond Dee, M.A., is Vice-Principal of Victoria High School. Readers of the *Quarterly* will recall the biography of John Work that he contributed to the issue for October, 1943.

Marjorie C. Holmes is Assistant Librarian of the Provincial Library, Victoria. Her long experience in Legislative Reference work has given her a unique knowledge of the Royal Commissions and Commissions of Inquiry about which she writes in this number of the *Quarterly*.

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1944.



# BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

## PATRON.

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

## OFFICERS, 1944.

HON. H. G. T. PERRY	- - - -	<i>Honorary President.</i>
B. A. MCKELVIE	- - - -	<i>President.</i>
J. C. GOODFELLOW	- - - -	<i>Past President.</i>
A. G. HARVEY	- - - -	<i>1st Vice-President.</i>
Mrs. CURTIS SAMPSON	- - - -	<i>2nd Vice-President.</i>
MADGE WOLFENDEN	- - - -	<i>Honorary Treasurer.</i>
H. T. NATION	- - - -	<i>Honorary Secretary.</i>

## MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Mrs. M. R. CREE.	HELEN R. BOULIER.	F. C. GREEN.	ROBIE L. REID.
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WILLARD E. IRELAND		W. KAYE LAMB	
(Provincial Archivist.)		(Editor, <i>Quarterly</i> ).	
A. G. HARVEY		H. B. ROBERTSON	
(Vancouver Section).		(Victoria Section.)	

## OBJECTS.

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

## MEMBERSHIP.

Ordinary members pay a fee of \$2 annually in advance. The fiscal year commences on the first day of January. All members in good standing receive the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* without further charge.

Correspondence and fees may be addressed to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.