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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. IX. VICTORIA, B.C., OCTOBER, 1945. No. 4

CONTENTS.

JASON ALLARD: FUR-TRADER, PRINCE, AND GENTLEMAN.*

Jason Ovid Allard was born at Fort Langley, September 8, 1848, and died in New Westminster, December 16, 1931. His life encompassed the sweep of British Columbia history from the rude fur-trading days, when there was no form of government in the British west, to times and conditions with which we are familiar. His personal contacts went back to more primitive times, when explorers were invading the wilderness and settlement had not commenced. He heard of the coming of Simon Fraser from natives who were present when that noted man visited the lower reaches of the river that bears his name; and he learned from a former Indian slave the details of the blowing-up of John Jacob Astor's unlucky vessel, the *Tonquin*.

The meagre outline of his life that I am privileged to give—too measured and circumscribed by the space at my disposal—I obtained from Jason Allard himself. Over a period of years I made notes from his dictation, and it is from his personal narration that I have prepared this inadequate summary.

Jason Ovid Allard was a remarkable man; kindly, courteous, and efficient. He possessed a keen intellect and a retentive memory. His mind was cultivated by careful reading of good literature. His understanding of human nature was broad, while his appreciation of humour was quick and discriminating.

On one occasion I questioned him as to the number of persons constituting a party with which he had wintered in the Rocky Mountains fifty years before. He replied that he would let me know the next day. When we met again he looked worried. In reply to my question as to his health he said: "Physically, I am feeling fine, but I am afraid that my memory is going. I know that there were twenty-two of us in that party, but for the life of me I can only remember the names and initials of twenty-one; there was an Indian there and I forget his name."

* The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Vancouver on January 12, 1945.

Another incident, illustrative of his humour, occurs to my mind. We were travelling together and stopped at a most expensive hotel for the night. In the morning we went to breakfast in the grill-room. I noticed Jason studying the menu with a puzzled expression. "What's the matter, Jason?" I asked, "Can't you find anything you like?"

"Oh, it's not that, for there is an excellent assortment of dishes," he answered, and then putting the menu down he went on: "You know, for nearly eighty years I have been wondering why my father named me Jason; at last I have come to the place of the Golden Fleece."

Jason Allard was a half-breed, and he was a credit to both his French-Canadian and Indian ancestry.

His father, Ovid Allard, was born in Quebec and was brought up by his uncle at Point Levis. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1834, and for several years was employed in what is now the Northern States. He was one of the party that established Boise, Idaho. He was transferred to Fort Langley in 1839. In 1848 he completed the building of Fort Yale, and the following year constructed Fort Hope. These were brigade posts on the new overland route to the Northern Interior made necessary by the settlement of the International Boundary dispute. Later Ovid Allard went to Nanaimo, where he remained until 1858, when he returned to Yale in an endeavour to keep the Indians in check when the gold-rush to the Fraser started. Eventually, in 1864, he returned as officer in charge to Fort Langley, where he died in August, 1874.

Jason's mother was the sister of the great tyee of the Cowichan confederacy, Chief T'shoshia. This federation included all the tribes bordering the Gulf of Georgia and up the Fraser River as far as Yale. Jason, through the matrilineal law that governed native inheritance, was his successor as King of the Cowichans.

I had evidence of this princely status of my friend. We got off the train together at Duncan. Across the street were four young Indians. They crossed over and approached us. One of them, speaking in English, addressed Jason and asked: "Are you Chason?" "Yes," he replied. Immediately off came the Indians' hats, and they bowed. "You are our king," the spokes-

man said in the native tongue, which Jason translated to me. All the time we were there Indians bothered Jason to come and take up his abode with them, promising to build him a magnificent home if he would.

In explaining how it came that he was born at Fort Langley, instead of Fort Hope where his father was officer in charge, Jason said:—

One day, shortly before I came on the scene, my little sister drank some poison and died. My parents were heart-broken, but hid their grief before the natives, for if the Indians had suspected for an instant that the family was mortal the consequences might have been disastrous.

That night, with the tears streaming down his face—for he was very devoted to his children—my father took up the boards of the floor of the house and dug a grave, and into this the rude little coffin of cedar planks was lowered by the flickering light of a tallow dip. Kneeling down, the two mourners muttered the prayers the father had learned as a boy in far-off Canada, and had taught to his native princess; and then, with sorrowing hearts and tender care, they filled in the little grave.

It was this sad event that took my mother to Langley, where I was born two months later. She was placed in a canoe with a trusted man from the fort that very night and started down the river. You see, it was feared that the Indians might ask for the little girl.

Mrs. Allard did not return to Fort Hope. The year after Jason's birth his father was transferred to Langley for the second time.

In speaking of his early recollections, Jason told me:—

When I was old enough to run about, the old Indians told me stories of my mother's people, and of events that had happened long before. Young as I was, I can still recall some of those tales. Many of the Indian stories are of historic value; for instance, I heard from those who were present how, forty-five years before, Simon Fraser had come down the river and stopped with the Quantlans who had a village opposite to the site of the penitentiary at New Westminster; how plans were made to kill him because he had kicked several young men who had pilfered a rope and an axe from his stores; and how Chief Wattle-kainum potlatched all his wealth to buy the white man's life and so prevented the attack from being made.

Then, too, I remember an old bow-legged Indian who carried water for the fort. He had been a slave on the West Coast and had been liberated by the Company. He had witnessed the blowing up of the *Tonquin*.

In describing life at Fort Langley in his boyhood days, Jason told of the ever-present danger of treachery, and of how the notorious Chief Tzouhalem, the bad man of the Cowichans who had led the attack on Fort Victoria in 1844, had attempted to

kill James Murray Yale, officer in charge at Fort Langley. He had lain in wait outside the fort to shoot the officer when he emerged. Ovid Allard learned of Tzouhalem's purpose, and leaving the fort by another gate he crept up behind him and seized his gun and took it away from him. Then he booted the chief down the bank and into his canoe and sent him away.

" There were gay times at Fort Langley, too, especially when the annual fur brigade would sweep down the river with the furs from New Caledonia," Jason recalled. " Or when the Company's ships would arrive with supplies. Then there would be high celebration; bagpipes and fiddles would be brought out, and reels and square dances—and the inevitable dram—would be the order of the day. The voyageurs would dance and fight all night and have a mighty good time of it. At the Big House, as the officers' quarters were known, there would be feasting and merriment galore. Dangers and privations were forgotten when there was occasion for a celebration."

He recalled many noted characters in the Hudson's Bay service who came to Fort Langley, mentioning such individuals as Chief Factor James Douglas, Donald Manson, and A. C. Anderson, who would never stay at the Big House, but would pitch his tent outside of the fort. He mentioned others who had played important parts, complaining that they had escaped the notice of historians. Such, he said, was Etienne Pepin, the blacksmith, who had turned the first sod for agricultural purposes in the lower Fraser Valley. This was in 1827, when the first Fort Langley was built. Pepin continued to reside in the vicinity, as a farmer, until his death in 1874. Another colourful and useful man was William Emptage, a former sailor, who lost his left arm by a premature explosion in the first gold-rush to Queen Charlotte Islands.

James Murray Yale, the officer in charge of Fort Langley, was a courageous, peppery little man, as Jason remembered him. He was small in stature and very conscious of it. Governor Douglas, who towered above six feet, knew of Yale's dislike to stand near him, emphasizing the difference in height between them. Douglas was amused at Yale's efforts to avoid such a comparison and always contrived to get as close to the little man as possible.

When Ovid Allard was moved to Fort Langley in 1849 he found it most difficult to work with Yale. They had many differences of opinion, which finally ended in a row, which was made more bitter when Allard killed a vicious dog belonging to Yale. The dispute was over a cargo of cranberries. Captain Webster, of the *Honolulu Packet*, came to the river in 1852 to gather a shipment of the berries, that grew in great profusion on Lulu Island and the low lands bordering the Pitt River. He applied to Allard for barrels. There was a cooperage at the fort. Allard referred the request to Mr. Yale who, he said, gave permission, and the captain was given the barrels. When Douglas heard of it he was angry and upbraided Yale for encouraging trade on the Fraser. Yale blamed Allard.

Allard bundled his family into a canoe and went to Fort Victoria to tender his resignation personally to Douglas. The Governor realized the value of Allard, and got him to reconsider his intention of leaving the Company's service, promising him that he would not again have to serve with Murray Yale. In March, 1854, he was sent to the new coal mines at Nanaimo as superintendent of Indian labour, where he remained for the next four years. It was here that Jason received his first schooling. He had many memories of Nanaimo in those early days. One incident he recalled with delight. It concerned the second jury trial in what is now British Columbia. (The first was also at Nanaimo, when a jury was empanelled to try the murderers of Peter Brown, in 1853; the trial that Jason remembered was several years later.) A French-Canadian miner in a drunken brawl kicked another man, who died. Captain Stewart, officer in charge, who held a commission as a Justice of the Peace, knew that there must be an inquest and a trial. He was rather hazy in matters of law, so he decided to combine the two. There were no lawyers, so the French-Canadian asked Ovid Allard to act for him. Allard had been raised as a boy in a notary's office and was the nearest approach to a lawyer available.

When the jury was sworn in Allard raised an objection. "What's the matter with the jury? They're all sober," exploded Captain Stewart.

"Yes, yes," answered Allard, "but I base my objection on the Magna Charta."

"What's that got to do with it?" demanded the magistrate.

"Well, you see, the Magna Charta says a man can only be put on trial before his peers or equals. There is not a French-Canadian on the jury, and we will not admit that these Scotsmen and Englishmen are our peers."

Captain Stewart considered for a moment and then said that he thought there was something in the argument, so the jury was dismissed and another was chosen with half of them French-Canadians.

There was a disagreement. By this time Stewart was fed up with the whole proceedings, so he bound the accused over to keep the peace—and that was the last of the case.

In February, 1858, when the first gold-seekers, heralding the stampede, came from Puget Sound communities to the Fraser, Douglas went personally to Nanaimo to ask Ovid Allard to return to Fort Yale. The vicinity of that place, known as the "Couteau Country," was the objective of the prospectors. Douglas feared a clash between the miners and the Indians and knew that Allard exercised great influence over the natives there. Allard stipulated that he was not to be under orders from Yale, but would report directly to Victoria.

Allard left his family at Fort Langley for several months, and Jason saw the first wave of California miners as they made their way up the Fraser. He was old enough to remember them. Men of all descriptions, nearly all bearded, the majority wearing red shirts, and all armed, they were a picturesque horde. They came in sailboats, rowboats, canoes, and even rafts, and swarmed up the bank to the fort in search of supplies and information. They tented and camped in brush shelters about the stockaded post.

He recalled how, in June, the steamer *Surprise* arrived off Langley, laden with miners, and how Captains Lubbock and Huntington came ashore in search of a pilot who could take them to Fort Hope. Yale endeavoured to dissuade them from the attempt, but when he found that they were determined he loaned them an Indian named Speelset, who knew the river well, while August Willing, a clerk, went along as interpreter. The journey was successfully completed.

"I remember," said Jason, "that Speelset came back all dressed out in nautical style, wearing a broadcloth suit and high boots. He changed his name with his dress, for thereafter he was known as 'Captain John.' Instead of being paid one or two blankets for his services the grateful captain of the *Surprise* had paid him at regular pilotage rates, giving him $160 in gold."

The journey to Yale was made by the Allard family in one of the bateaux of the Company. It was on this trip, at Hill's Bar, that Jason first saw gold washed. He had previously had the idea that it was found already minted in the river gravel. He upset a pan of black sand belonging to a young Indian miner, and it was only by giving the youth a gaudy scarf he was wearing that he was mollified.

Yale was already crowded when the family arrived, and daily the population grew. Soon the river all the way from below Hope to the canyons above Yale was alive with men washing every bar, their tents showing up against the dark of the forest background. Often a miner near Hope would start a long wail, "O-o-oh J-o-o-e-e-e!" and others would instantly take it up, the plaintive call being carried right up to Yale, 15 miles away, in the matter of minutes.

Soon the miners were pushing their way into the rocky canyons that extend to the Forks (Lytton). There was an old Indian trail, little improved from the time when Simon Fraser used it. Jason went over it with his father, and was soon acting as guide and interpreter for the miners.

"I had a small bag full of gold coins that I earned this way," he laughed. "One day my father saw me playing with the money. He wanted to know where I got it. I told him the miners had given it to me, but he didn't believe me. Just then a miner accompanied by an Indian came along and asked if I was the boy who could interpret. I answered that I was and translated for them, while my father looked on. When we were finished, the miner handed me a five-dollar gold piece and went off. 'That's how I get my money,' I told my father, and he was satisfied."

Young Jason became a great favourite with the miners. There were many college youths among them. "They taught me a great deal," he said. "Some of them had brought their books

with them, and when they found that they could not carry them farther, they gave them to me. Those college men also taught me to box and wrestle, arts that were useful to me later," he said.

" One of the college men was named Francis Kelly. He had just been admitted as a lawyer in [the] United States. He was asked by Colonel R. C. Moody, of the Royal Engineers, why he was wasting his talents in the wilderness of this country. He replied that he was broke and could not afford to open a law practice. Moody loaned him £100 and he immediately left for San Francisco. Whether or not the Colonel ever got his money back, I don't know, as Kelly was later killed in the Civil War."

Jason acted as guide and interpreter for Sergeant McColl and Corporal Turner, of the Royal Engineers, when they went up the river over the trail beyond Fort Yale. He knew all the officers of the corps, for they stayed with his father when visiting Yale. When Lieutenant R. C. Mayne and Paymaster Brown made their exploration into the Interior they wanted to take Jason along, but his father would not let him go.

He recalled the short war between the Indian braves and miners in the canyons of the Fraser, and blamed the white men for causing it. The miners demanded guns at the Hudson's Bay post. These Ovid Allard refused to let them have, and they became threatening. He held them at bay with a pistol. Finally he agreed to loan them the weapons if responsible men would guarantee their return. This was done, and the guns were brought back a few days later.

He also recalled the visit of Lady Franklin in 1861. She was in search of news about her husband, the Arctic explorer, who was lost. She was conducted up the river, and while she was absent Jason constructed a big banner bearing the name " Lady Franklin's Pass," which was hung at the entrance to the mountain cleft where the Fraser breaks through the barrier range. It is still known by that name to pioneers.

Another recollection of those days was of Quitz-ka-nums, the Indian prophet. This Indian aroused a great spiritual revival among the natives along the Fraser. His teachings were a mixture of Christian doctrines, Indian mythology, and common sense. He had a strange parchment which he said he had found

in a cairn on top of a mountain back of Katz Landing. Jason noted down a number of the prophet's sayings:—

" Indolence is the cause of a great many evils."

" Do not be called a thief."

" In accepting gifts from neighbours exchange the gift with profit."

" Be kind to the aged and those beneath you."

" The Indian prophet was one of the finest Indians I ever met," Jason stated. " I will say of him that he was an intelligent man among his people. He was also a weather prophet. He had four wives. He and his wives would bend down their heads to thank Nature for the food they were about to consume. The parchment he had with Jewish (?) writing or hieroglyphics was picked up by him on the mountain back of Katz Landing near Hope.

" When Father Fouquet, O.M.I., pioneer missionary, came on the scene he asked to see the parchment. He spat on it and cast it into the fire and told the men he was an imposter. Insulted by Father Fouquet and loss of his favourite wife, who eloped with a white man, was more than he could bear. He wasted away in distress, refused to eat and died."

With the discovery of gold in Cariboo and the building of the Cariboo Road, Yale lost much of its importance. There had been four clerks in the Hudson's Bay store there during the rush to the Lower Fraser. Headquarters in Victoria questioned their being continued. Allard replied that all four could be moved, and that he and his son would carry on. So Jason started to work.

The boy overheard Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie offering the position of Indian interpreter to his father. He went privately to the Judge and offered to do the work for half the amount. " What! " exclaimed Begbie, " would you run opposition to your father? " Jason said that he would. The Judge thought him too young, but, liking his spirit, secured him the post as interpreter in the Police Court, where his fees often amounted to as much as those of his father in the higher Court.

He recalled many of the stirring events of the gold-rush days that are so well known, such as Ned McGowan's war, and the

shooting of Rice by Foster, which he witnessed—but space will not permit an elaboration of these incidents.

In the spring of 1866 Ovid Allard had to visit Victoria. Jason was left in charge. One morning a Cariboo miner came to the store with a large order. He wanted it packed by 2 o'clock. There were some articles required that were not in stock, but Jason promised him that they would be secured and packed on time.

While he was serving the miner he noticed a stranger watching him. As soon as the customer went away the lad asked the stranger to step outside as he was going to close the store.

"Why?" he was asked.

"Oh, I've got to go out and buy some of the things that man wants."

"But why not send him to do his own buying?" demanded the man.

"Well, sir," Jason replied, "you see, if I do that the next time he comes to Yale he may go elsewhere for all his purchases."

The required articles were obtained and the order was properly packed on time.

The stranger was still at Yale when Ovid Allard returned. He introduced himself as Dugald MacTavish, the inspecting Chief Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was loud in his praise of the manner in which Jason had handled matters while his father was absent, but was astonished when he learned that he was not regularly articled. He insisted that the boy should be taken into the Company's service, and to this Ovid agreed, especially when Jason was to be given seniority dating from the time that he had first started working. But Jason did not relish the idea. He wanted to become a free trader.

The Company sent the lad to Victoria to learn book-keeping. Apart from his attendance at classes at Nanaimo this three months was the only schooling that he had—but due to his own efforts he could be classed as a fairly well-educated man.

At the conclusion of his course he was sent as a recruit to Fort Shepherd, at the junction of the Pend d'Oreille with the Columbia River. This post, with those at Wild Horse Creek and Keremeos, came under the superintendence of Chief Factor Angus MacDonald at Fort Colvile, in Washington Territory,

where the Hudson's Bay Company still retained a number of their trading establishments.

Joseph Hardisty was in charge of Fort Shepherd. He had come from the post at Honolulu and knew so little about the fur trade that he was ignorant of how to bale furs. Jason constructed a fur-press and so won Hardisty's favour.

Shortly after my arrival at Fort Shepherd [Jason recounted] I was sent to Fort Colvile to work on the books. It was part of my job to look after the accountancy at both places. I shall never forget my arrival there. Old Angus MacDonald was a wonderful man. He stood well over six feet, with tremendous shoulders, and had a great black beard, that gave to him his Indian name of " O'pee-chun." He would only keep champion athletes about his headquarters. A recruit from the Coast would have to fight, wrestle, or run against a man of MacDonald's selection, and the loser was banished to the Flat Heads, Spokane, or some outlying post.

As soon as I arrived the Laird of Colvile looked me over from beneath his bushy eyebrows. " Can ye run? " he burred.

" A little."

" Can ye wrestle? "

" A little, sir."

" Can ye fight-t-t? "

" A little, sir."

" How little? " Old Angus boomed. " We'll see."

He selected a young fellow and we had to run around the fort. I won. Then he picked out another retainer to wrestle me. It was here that the tricks the miners taught me at Yale were useful, for I managed to trip him up and pin him down. The old lad was delighted. He stood rubbing his hands in glee. Then I had to fight. His wife and daughters were there and tried to beg off for me. " He is so little," one of them said. That made me mad, and I determined to win if it killed me. The man I had to fight was much bigger, but he had no science, and I managed to keep away from his swinging fists and punish him pretty badly and finally he quit—and I was prime favourite with Old Angus.

There were dangerous times at Fort Shepherd. Hardisty was away on one occasion and Jason was left in charge. One day he looked up from his ledger and saw an Indian named Kee-as-tem chasing Fred Lenfesty, a clerk, across the yard.

I made a grab for my revolver [Jason said in telling of the incident], but I missed it; and then, as I sprang for the door, I tried to reach an ebony ruler, but failed, so I plunged out into the yard empty-handed. I raced after the pair as hard as I could and caught up with the Indian when he was only about a yard behind Fred. He turned and made a thrust at me, but I was expecting it and was too quick for him. I dodged to one side and catching his wrist, I wrenched the knife from his grip, threw it on the

ground and broke the blade by stepping on it. Then I booted the Indian out of the gate.

That night, as I was walking across the yard about dusk, I felt something fly past me, grazing my coat. I looked down and as I did so, an arrow struck the inside of my coat which I had opened. I instantly knew that it was Kee-as-tem who wanted revenge for the kicking I had given him. I ran for my rifle but when I returned he was nowhere to be found.

It was a year before I heard of that Indian again. Then one day his squaw came to me and said he was sick with a big lump on his abdomen. She wanted me to look in the big medicine book and do something for him. I refused at first, but when she came back and said he was sorry that he had tried to kill me, I agreed. It was my chance! I made a mustard plaster about a yard square. Putting my revolver in my belt I went with her to where he was camped.

I covered his stomach with the plaster and told him he must keep it there until the sun was in a certain position, about three hours away. Then I left him. Half an hour later the squaw came and asked if the plaster could be taken off, as it was beginning to burn him. I refused. She came again and once more I refused, but when she came the third time I consented to accompany her to her bellowing spouse, for you could hear him for a quarter of a mile. I removed the plaster and when I saw his blistered hide, I knew that I had my revenge.

I doctored another Indian, an Iroquois from the East, who threatened me while he was drunk. He wanted rum and I gave him some—with the addition of a generous helping of croton oil. After that he was a strict prohibitionist until he met his death some time later by drowning.

In 1867 Jason was moved to Wild Horse Creek, where he had charge of the Company's store. He was there about a year and then went back to Fort Shepherd. On the way he had what he described as one of the most trying experiences of his life. He had $6,000 in his saddle-bags. Going up Mount Shepherd, nearly 50 miles from the fort of that name, he got off to rest his horse. The animal took fright at a bear and started to run. Jason went after it—and ran behind the horse for the greater part of the way to the fort before he caught it.

In some notes he left on Wild Horse Creek, Jason wrote:—

Jack Fisher and his partners got to the bank of the creek (where afterwards the H.B. Co. built their new trading post in 1867) and they saw a big white horse and it was perfectly wild. They named the creek Wild Horse. This was in the year 1865. The party camped on the creek, afterwards going up the creek to prospect. Jack Fisher made the discovery and it was good.

They had to go back to Montana for supplies, it being the nearest point settled, and they turned back at once. They were in such a hurry that

people began to suspect and the news spread and there was a rush on. Hundreds rushed into the Kootenays.

Those who got there first made good. The creek is right in the mountains. It was, I believe, a lovely place while it lasted. A great many made piles of money, and in those days in the winter time, the miners made for the cities for a good time; spent all their money and returned as paupers.

Bob Dore, Jim McGinlay, Ed. Casey, Fred Leifholdt, Big Mike Brenan, Pat Moran, Wm. Corbett, and Hy. Rogers were among a host of pioneers. Jack Fisher and his old pal Joe Herring reappeared at Fisherville in 1868; still prospecting and their fortunes gone.

Wild Horse Creek was soon worked out by the white miners, and most of them left for the Omineca mines. The Chinese came in and took the white man's abandoned claims and worked several years after the whites left. They cleaned up big money. They drove tunnels under the old tailings and struck it rich.

Jason's account of another episode of the Fort Shepherd days is interesting. He had returned from a trip to Wild Horse Creek to find Hardisty in a state of great excitement, for it seemed certain that a Company brigade, and $80,000 worth of merchandise, would shortly be seized by the American Customs.

In bringing in supplies through the United States it was necessary to enter properly and take a Customs Guard through United States territory. This the man in charge of the brigade had neglected to do, and it was learned that the Customs officers at the Little Dalles were waiting to seize the whole train of 80 horses. "Jason," exclaimed Mr. Hardisty, "you will get £100 if you can save the train from seizure." "Which side of the river are the Customs men waiting on?" I asked. "On the other side, on the trail." "That's good." I called together a number of Indians, and got two white men—woodchoppers who had been wintering there. They were inveterate gamblers. Together we started for the Little Dalles. I sent the gamblers across first after providing them with some money, then I left my horse and the Indians on the other side and went over too. I started chumming with the men in the combined trading store, stopping place, and saloon, and pretty soon a card game was started. The gamblers commenced losing the money I had given them, and every now and then I would call the players to have another drink.

After a while I said I was going to my room, having hired one there. I slipped out of the window and ran down to the river and signalled to one of my Indians, who came over. I at once mounted my horse and rode to meet the brigade. While we had been entertaining the Customs men and others, the Indians had secured every boat and canoe and raft on the river and had taken them across the stream. I met the brigade a short distance away, and the men whipped up their horses and we went past the Little Dalles as fast as it was possible for the animals to make it with their loads. The Customs men rushed out and down to the river, but they could only

stand there and shake their fists. It was a close shave alright, and I never got the reward either.

It was in 1869 that Jason left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Chief Factor Roderick Finlayson was at Fort Colvile inspecting the books, and upbraided Jason for his familiarity with the young American army officers. The youth lost his temper and resigned. Finlayson and MacDonald tried to persuade him to reconsider his decision, but he refused. He did not know that it had already been planned to move him to Keremeos for a brief stay to relieve the officer there, and then to put him in charge of Fort Kamloops.

He became a free trader for a few months at Colvile, but soon sold out and returned to Fort Langley. His fur-trading days were over.

When British Columbia joined Confederation he obtained work as an axe-man with the first surveying party sent out for the transcontinental railway, the " U " party, under John Trutch, brother of Sir Joseph Trutch, the first Lieutenant-Governor of this Province. It was in August of 1871 that he started with the survey party. The following year he was with " T " party under Mohun, and later went across the mountains to work from Tête Jaune Cache to the Athabasca under Walter Moberly, under whom " S " and " T " parties operated. He started as an axe-man with Moberly and ended as a topographer.

It was while he was with the " T " party that Jason came across the skeletal remains of the " headless Indian," first found by Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle. He was doing his washing at the river when he saw a piece of fishing-line, and then other articles, and finally the headless skeleton. He and companions started a search and found the missing skull about 75 yards away. They interred the remains and erected a tombstone recounting their discovery on June 5, 1872.

In summarizing his work with the surveys, Jason said that the summer of 1873 was spent in the Fort George area, and the next year in the Kamloops and Fraser River districts. Then he went out with the party seeking a route from Kitimat to Fort Fraser. " Altogether," he said, " I was engaged in survey work for nearly seven years, returning to Fort Langley in 1878 determined to settle down."

He married and took up farming. He continued on his place until after the outbreak of the last war, to which several of his sons went, one making the supreme sacrifice and another being wounded. His wife died, and, unable to carry on, he moved to New Westminster.

At the time of his death Jason was collaborating with me in writing his biography for publication in book form. His last letter to me was in the form of a "Narrator's Preface" for the intended work. I can do no better in concluding this paper than by quoting it:—

When a man has lived in a country as long as I have resided in what is now British Columbia, and has witnessed its development from a wild wilderness to a settled community doing trade with the World; when he has seen the birth of government in a savage land and has lived to see his fellow citizens chosen as advisers to a World Court, then there should be something of interest in his recollection of mighty men and epochal events that should be recorded. Such, in brief, is a digest of the arguments of my friends, and they have persuaded me to set down some of my experiences in the British Columbia country West of the Rockies.

My kloshe tillicum (friend) who collaborates with me in producing this modest volume, often jocularly calls me, "Jason the Fleece Hunter," and as such I am offering to the public my story—in the hope that it may prove interesting to some and to others may indicate something of the romance that has featured the settlement of my native land.

My father was one of those mighty men of the Hudson's Bay Company, who pioneered the pathways through the forest and laid firmly the foundations of the future Dominion. My mother was an Indian princess—sister of the great King T'shoshia who commanded the allegiance of the Cowichan confederacy of a dozen tribes who could man a thousand canoes with ten thousand warriors, and I, her son, through matrilineal law that directs native inheritance, am the rightful ruler of the remnants of that aboriginal kingdom . . . and I live in a second floor back apartment in a New Westminster apartment house.

I was born in a stockaded fur trading post before there was any semblance of authority other than that proclaimed by the Honorable the Hudson's Bay Company; when the savage warfare of hostile tribes raged along the Coast and to the very portals of the isolated stockades of the fur trade . . . and today my life is daily endangered by careless motorists, licensed by a provincial government. My first trip across the Gulf of Georgia was made in an Indian dugout and required four days to accomplish, and now the trip is made, as a matter of course, in forty minutes in an airplane. And then there are people who believe that Romance is dead!

And if such things have taken place within the limits of memory of a single individual, what wonders does the future hold for my native land?

VICTORIA, B.C. B. A. MCKELVIE.

JAMES STEPHEN ON GRANTING VANCOUVER ISLAND TO THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1846–1848.

James Stephen,[1] the powerful Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1836–47, was a determined opponent of efforts by private companies to secure control over large areas of colonial lands. In 1832 he reported adversely on the request of the South Australian Land Company for the grant of territory "larger in extent than Spain and Portugal." The fact that the plans of the Company harmonized with the policies employed in colonizing North America carried no weight with him. "Counties palatine," he wrote, "were erected in favour of Individuals with a disregard of the public interest of which it were difficult to find an equally strong example."[2] These early mistakes might be excused on the ground of lack of experience in founding overseas colonies, but this extenuating circumstance existed no longer. In January, 1837, he suggested that the activities of the New Zealand Company should be limited to a certain part or parts of the islands, and that other companies or private individuals should be allowed to found settlements.[3] In harmony with his attitude on these occasions Stephen was severely critical of the Hudson's Bay Company's project for securing control of the British territory in North America north and west of Rupert's Land, and he delayed for nearly two years the grant of Vancouver Island to that Company.

(1) James Stephen (1789–1859), counsel to the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade; Assistant Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1834–36; Under-Secretary, 1836–47; K.C.B. and Privy Councillor, 1847; Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, 1849–59. *See* Caroline Emelia Stephen, *The Right Honourable Sir James Stephen*, Gloucester, 1906, and Paul Knaplund, "Mr. Oversecretary Stephen," in *The Journal of Modern History*, I. (1929), pp. 40–66.

(2) Report of July 14, 1832, on draft of charter for the South Australian Land Company, Public Record Office MSS., C.O., South Australia, 13:1.

(3) Draft by Stephen dated January 3, 1837, of letter Lord Glenelg to Lord Durham. *Ibid.*, C.O., New Zealand, 209:3.

Shortly after the treaty of June 15, 1846,[4] had settled the Anglo-American boundary dispute over the Oregon country, the Hudson's Bay Company formulated plans for entrenching itself in the area allotted to Britain. It was believed that unless British settlements were established in this region Americans would move in and seize control, like they had done in Texas. On the ground that such an eventuality must be forestalled, Sir J. H. Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company,[5] on September 7, 1846, wrote a letter to Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary,[6] inquiring about the Government's intentions concerning granting of land and colonization in British Oregon. Attention was called to the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment on Vancouver Island, which was in the process of being enlarged, and to the fact that the Company by a grant from the Crown of May 13, 1838, had for a period of twenty-one years secured the monopoly of trading with the natives west of the Rocky Mountains.[7] This was the opening gun in the Hudson's Bay Company's campaign for control of British Oregon.

On September 12, 1846, James Stephen reported as follows on the topics mentioned in Sir John Pelly's letter:—

> It is scarcely possible to determine what are the limits of the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. But I suppose it to be quite clear that Van Couver's Island and our part of the Oregon Territory are not within those limits. The Company have no proprietary or other rights there, save only the right which they derive under the License of the year 1838 for 21 years

(4) For the text of this treaty *see British and Foreign State Papers, XXXIV.*, pp. 14–15.

(5) Sir John Henry Pelly (1777–1852), created baronet in 1840. For a sketch of his career *see* E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin*, second series, Toronto and London, 1943, pp. 399–401.

(6) Henry George, 3rd Earl Grey (1802–94), Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1846–52.

(7) For original MS. of this letter *see* C.O., Vancouver Island, 305:1. It was printed, together with selections from correspondence dealing with the transfer of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, in *Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter cited as P.P.), August 10, 1848, 619. Pelly brought the letter in person to Lord Grey who on the same day, September 7, 1846, asked Stephen to report on this question. The complete correspondence with drafts, letters, minutes, and memoranda are found in C.O., 305:1. All quotations from original sources given in this paper are from this volume unless otherwise indicated. For a brief discussion of the transfer of Vancouver Island *see* W. P. Morrell, *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 444–446.

to trade exclusively with the Indians and to carry on the Fur Trade. But that License expressly reserves to the Crown the right of founding Colonies and of establishing any form of Civil Gov.ment within the Territory comprized in the License. Consequently the Company have no right, in strictness of Law, so far as I can perceive, to any land in Van Couver's Island or elsewhere, westward of the Rocky Mountains, and there may be serious difficulty in assenting to the application they now make. It wd., I think be hardly consistent with the terms of their Charter. It wd. be very unusual to grant Lands to any Company or indeed to any one else in the vague and comprehensive manner here suggested and without any previous inquiry. Probably also the United States' Gov'ment wd. object to such an act. The Company at the date of the Treaty of Washington [Oregon Boundary Treaty, 1846] had no Proprietary or other rights in the Oregon Territory save only under the License of 1838 which License must expire in 1859. Now the Treaty which gave to British subjects the right of navigating the Columbia in order to trade with the Company, and which declared the navigation of the River free to the Company must, I presume, be understood as having been made with the full knowledge of the fact that the Company's rights westward of the Rocky Mountains will expire in 1859. Now to give to that Company a new interest and title in Lands in those regions wd. be said to be an attempt to prolong beyond 1859 the right of navigation. Whether this objection wd. be well-founded I do not undertake to say. All I wd. suggest is that caution should be used in laying any ground for it.[8]

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Benjamin Hawes,[9] agreed with James Stephen that the Hudson's Bay Company had no rights under the charter to territory west of the Rocky Mountains, but he thought that the Company might hold land, which Stephen apparently doubted. Hawes did not believe that the Oregon Treaty precluded granting Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company. He was anxious to preserve for British subjects the right to navigate the Columbia River, and observed that the Canadian right to navigate the Mississippi had been lost by a geographical blunder. The British Government must be careful lest the rights on the Columbia should be lost through a diplomatic omission.

The opinion of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, was recorded in a minute dated September 16, 1846. He wrote:—

This is a very difficult and important question. Looking to the encroaching spirit of the U. S. I think it is of importance to strengthen the B[riti]sh

(8) Original MS., C.O., 305:1.

(9) Afterwards Sir Benjamin (1797–1862), Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1846–51. Hawes's memorandum is undated, but it was obviously written after Stephen's report of September 12 and before Grey's minute (*see* below) of September 16.

hold upon the territory now assigned to us by treaty by encouraging the settlement upon it by B[riti]sh subjects; and I am also of opin[io]n that such settlement cd. only be advantageously effected under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Co. wh. I am therefore disposed to encourage — But certainly great care must be taken in adopting any measures with this view to avoid any irregularity or informality — Instead of writing a letter throwing a doubt on the right of the Co. to lands they now occupy, the best course I think wd. be for Mr. Hawes and Mr. Stephen together to have an interview with Sir J. Pelly in order to ascertain clearly from him what rights the Co. claims — what they now wish to have done — and what measure may now safely and properly be adopted with a view to establishing more B[riti]sh settlers in this territory.

Lord Grey suggested that a letter should be written pointing out that Grey was leaving London, and that Pelly should consult Hawes and Stephen. On September 21, 1846, Hawes wrote such a letter, and a conference between Hawes, Stephen, and Sir John Pelly took place at the Colonial Office two days later. Memoranda by Stephen and Hawes recording what took place at this interview are dated September 24, 1846.

Stephen's memorandum is a lengthy document summarizing answers by Pelly to questions asked. From these Stephen drew the following conclusions:—

1st That the Hudson's Bay Company was unable to define the extent of the territory granted to it by the charter of 1670 except that this territory included all lands drained by rivers falling into Hudson Bay.[10]

2nd That the Company claimed no rights west of the Rocky Mountains save the general powers of trading with Indians and from the license to carry on trade in the Oregon country which would expire in 1859.

3rd That it was doubtful if the Company had any right in "British Oregon" except those under Act of Parliament by which the license was granted and under the license itself "so that, after the year 1859, the Company wd. have no rights at all in any British Territory West of the Rocky Mountains,

(10) For the text of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s charter *see Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671–1674*, ed. by E. E. Rich, Toronto, 1942, pp. 121–148.

save only such rights, if any, as may be now, or hereafter, conferred upon them."

" 4th That the Hudson's Bay Company have certainly no right to the soil in the British Territory West of the Rocky Mountains, or to any part, however inconsiderable, of that soil.

" 5th That it is very doubtful whether, consistently with their Charter, the Company could accept the grant of any such Lands.

" 6th That, therefore, it wd. be better that whatever may may be granted, shd. be so granted, not to the Company, but to a subordinate Association [the Puget Sound Agricultural Association] which some Members of the Company have formed in their personal and independent characters, and to wh. Association really belong all the Possessions of the Company in American Oregon.

" 7th That the real object and wish of the Company is not to have any grant of Land either to themselves or to the Association but merely, to have an assurance that if Vancouver's Island shall hereafter, be brought within, and under, any Colonial Gov.ment; and if the Company or the Association shall then appear to possess the requisite Legal competency to acquire and hold lands within the limits of any such Gov.ment, then a grant shall be made to them of the Lands they have already occupied: and, further, that they shall not, in the interval, be disturbed in the occupation of them.

" 8th To this is to be added that the Company have no maps or other means of showing what the Lands which they have so occupied are, nor what the exact extent of them may be, though it is supposed to exceed 1,000 acres.

" 9th Sir John Pelly had no definite plan for Colonizing the Country but expressed his readiness to concur with any other persons who might be interesting themselves on the subject in devising such a plan."

James Stephen remarked further: "From these statements it may, I think, be concluded that the right answer to the present application from the Company is that their first step must be to specify, with greater distinctness, what is the particular Territory to which their application refers, and to state whether they are of opinion that the Hudson's Bay Company are legally capable of becoming owners of those or any other Lands in H. M's Dominions West of the Rocky Mountains. This last inquiry will lead to a statement regarding the Association of which Body we have, as yet, no knowledge, save only as far as it is derived from Sir John Pelly's conversation."

Hawes wrote to Lord Grey, September 24, 1846, that Stephen's statement contained an exact account of what took place in the interview with Pelly. As additional information Hawes mentioned that Pelly had compared the climate of Vancouver Island with that of England; that corn and wool had been exported from the Hudson's Bay Company's settlement on the island to the establishments on the Willamette River; that the Company had supplied its farms with agricultural implements and was willing to send more; and that the island had harbours suitable for naval stations. This might be important for Britain in case the United States acquired San Francisco.[11] Upon receiving this letter, Grey wrote on September 25: "These facts are of considerable importance and will make it necessary soon to consider what is to be done as to colonizing this territory—in the meantime the answ. suggested by Stephen shd. be sent."

On October 3, 1846, Hawes wrote to Pelly, in behalf of Lord Grey, inquiring how much territory the Company desired to secure, and asking for a detailed description of this territory, and whether the Hudson's Bay Company could hold land west of the Rocky Mountains.[12]

In reply Sir John Pelly on October 24, 1846, stated that the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company did not preclude the holding of land west of the Rockies; new areas might simply be added to Rupert's Land. He considered it important that Vancouver Island should be colonized by Britain, and its natives

(11) San Francisco and California were included in the large area ceded by Mexico to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848.

(12) Printed in P.P., *op cit.*, pp. 3–4.

Christianized; and he expressed the belief that these ends could be best achieved by placing the island under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. Enclosed with this letter was a report by Chief Factor Douglas[13] of July 12, 1842, with description of the territory desired by the Company.[14]

This letter with enclosures was referred to Stephen, who after a careful examination of it presented a lengthy report, dated November 25, 1846. In this report Stephen called attention to discrepancies between claims made by Pelly in the letter of October 24 and what he stated at the interview of September 23. On the earlier date Pelly had explained that by creating the Puget Sound Agricultural Company the Hudson's Bay Company had overcome legal obstacles to holding land west of the Rockies, while now he asserted that the legal competence of the Hudson's Bay Company was undoubted. Then he said that the Company did not want a grant of land but only assurance that it should be allowed to keep what it controlled, while now he renewed the application for an additional land grant.

Stephen observed: "My inference is that he has no steady opinion on the subject." In discussing the request of the Hudson's Bay Company, Stephen wrote:—

I shd. dissuade a grant for the following reasons:—1st, Sir John Pelly is even yet unable to describe the Lands to be granted with any degree of precision. 2nly, To grant Lands is impliedly to promise to the Grantees protection in the enjoyment of them. 3ly, To accept such a grant wd., I believe, be to infringe the spirit, if not the letter, of the Company's Charter. 4ly, To make such a Grant wd. be to give needless umbrage to the Americans, who wd. say that it was done in order to impart to their late Treaty with us in a wider sense and a more enduring effect than properly belongs to it, or than was contemplated by the contracting parties. And, 5ly, Every useful end could, I think, be answered by a simpler method.

I would give the Company an assurance that they shd. not be dispossessed of any Lands on which they have already entered, or on which they may yet enter, within some definite time, provided, that, within Ten years from the date of their first occupation of such Lands, they shd. make and

(13) James (later Sir James) Douglas (1803–77), Governor of Vancouver Island, 1851–63, and of British Columbia, 1858–64. *See* Walter H. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930.

(14) This letter was received at the Colonial Office on October 28. Frederic Rogers observed that it made no mention of the method by which the Hudson's Bay Company hoped to hold this land. Hawes suggested, October 30, that the letter should be referred to Stephen, and Grey agreed.

shd. be able to prove the having made, an expenditure on them in Buildings, or other permanent works, equal to £10 per acre; and provided that the Lands so occupied, and improved, shd. be surrendered up, if requisite, as the site of any Works required, for the Public defences or other Public interest of any future Colony within the limits of which they might fall.

Furthermore, Stephen complained that Pelly's letter did not advance the discussion of colonization beyond " what has already been written."

Hawes agreed with Stephen[15] that Pelly had in his letter put " a larger construction " upon the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company than he did in the interview. " What passed upon that occasion," wrote Hawes, " Mr. Stephen, in my opinion most accurately recorded." On the other hand, Hawes felt that the terms proposed by Stephen were discouraging where they should be encouraging, because it was important to have settlements established on Vancouver Island, which had a good harbour, and whose climate and soil favoured agriculture. Hawes said further: " Without the agency of the H. Bay Co. I despair of any speedy colonization mov[emen]t in that quarter, except at the Expense of the Treasury." He believed that to require an expenditure of £10 per acre within 10 years with surrender without compensation would prevent all enterprise, and he suggested instead that the grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company should be made on conditions similar to those stipulated in the case of the Auckland Islands, where the Government had agreed to pay for improvements on land required for public purposes. " It must not be forgotten," observed Hawes, " that we are now dealing with a Company of both standing and capital—and sound policy."

Lord Grey agreed with Hawes[16] in considering it very desirable to encourage the Company in colonizing Vancouver Island. " I shd. have no objctn (reserving a power to the Crown of resuming possession in payment of the value of improvements) to granting a long lease provided Mr. Stephen thinks there is not the same legal objctn to a lease as to a grant."

Stephen concurred[17] in the advisability of encouraging the Company to establish settlements, but he saw no real distinction

(15) Minute by Benjamin Hawes, dated November 25, 1846.

(16) Grey's remarks are dated November 26.

(17) On November 27.

between grant in perpetuity and a long-term lease. He would, however, advise a grant in perpetuity if the law officers of the Crown considered this legal under the charter and if the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, said that there was " no objection to it as far as respects our relations to the United States." But Stephen adhered to his conviction that the grant, whether in perpetuity or for a term of years, should include the reservation concerning resumption without compensation.

Grey then instructed Stephen[18] to draft a letter to Pelly. This had been accomplished by December 3, 1846. In his draft Stephen stated that the Government would be happy to consider specific measures proposed by the Hudson's Bay Company or by private individuals for colonization in British Oregon. Land might be granted to the Company provided (1) it could get an opinion from the law officers that this would be consistent with its charter; (2) the Foreign Secretary saw no objection to such a grant from the standpoint of relations with the United States; (3) that the Company accepted the condition that the land it secured would automatically revert to the Crown if within a ten-year period £10 per acre had not been expended on buildings and other permanent improvements; and (4) if the Company agreed " to the stipulation that land should be surrendered to the Crown without compensation if needed for the public defence " or " otherwise for the Public benefit, of any future Colony within the limits of which such Lands may fall."

Hawes and Grey considered these terms too onerous.[19] The former repeated his advice that the precedent set in the case of the Auckland Islands should apply to Vancouver Island, and the latter saw no need for mentioning the United States. He would confer privately with Lord Palmerston concerning this point. On December 7, Grey reported that Palmerston had " no objctn to allow the Co. to colonize Vancouver island but on the contrary considers it desirable that we shd. as soon as possible do acts of ownership there."

Stephen then prepared another letter[20] in which Grey was to express readiness to make grants of land to the Hudson's Bay

(18) November 29.

(19) The observations are dated December 5, 1846.

(20) The draft is dated December 10; it was approved by Hawes the same day and by Grey the day following. The official letter, dated December

Company if land-holding were not inconsistent with its charter. Land within this grant needed for defence or public works might be taken over by the Government upon paying the cost of actual improvements made upon it by the Company.

Shortly after the receipt of Grey's letter, Sir John Pelly transmitted to the Colonial Office the opinion of the law officers that under its charter the Hudson's Bay Company had the power to hold land in British territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Hawes then informed Pelly that the Government was ready to consider a proposition from the Company relative to grant of land in the Oregon territory.[21] On March 5, 1847, Pelly's draft of an agreement assigning to the Hudson's Bay Company all British territory north and west of Rupert's Land was drawn up.[22] Three days after this document reached the Colonial Office Stephen wrote the following memorandum, addressed to Hawes:—

It seems to me that this calls for much more explanation than is here given. The Hudson's Bay Co. propose that the *whole* of the Oregon Territory shd. be granted to them as Lords and Owners of it, exactly in the manner in wh. the ancient proprietary Gov.ments were constituted on the North American Continent in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Without a word of preliminary discussion (so far as I know) they have sent the dft of a Charter to accomplish this object. My own belief is that to execute such a scheme now wd. be impracticable, unconstitutional, and illegal; and that even if it were otherwise, it wd. be indispensable to ascertain 1st That the H. B. Company are capable of such a grant—a point wh. the recent opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown does not ascertain. Secondly, That they have resources and capital available for the Colonization and Settlement, of this Territory—a subject on wh. they say nothing. Thirdly—That they have some well-considered plans of proceeding, wh. is here taken for granted. Fourthly, That it wd. be possible to maintain a Proprietary Lordship with powers independent of the Crown and Parliament, in the immediate vicinity of the Great Nation now peopling the North American Continent—a circumstance wh: totally changes the present state of such a questn. from the state of corresponding questions in the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuart

14, 1846, is printed in P.P., *op. cit.*, p. 8, but this version contains no reference to the conditions upon which land might be taken over by the Crown.

(21) The opinion of the law officers was dated January 19, 1847; it was transmitted to the Colonial Office on January 22; and Hawes wrote to Pelly on February 2. The letters, but not the opinion of the law officers, are printed in P.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

family. Fifthly, That there is any good reason why if we are to have a Colony at all at Oregon, we shd. not also have the Electoral and other Franchises prevailing in every other part of the North American Continent. Sixthly, That there is any good reason why the Crown shd. abdicate to this, or to any other Company the prerogative, privilege and duty, of Colonization if Colonization be desirable. Seventhly, That it is politic to establish in the 19th Century a new Proprietary Govmt. in defiance of the proofs wh: all History furnishes of the impossibility of maintaining such a Govmt. any longer than the inhabitants are too few and too feeble to shake it off. Long before the American War the Colonists had thrown off every vestige of those Institutions; and had universally established the Representative form; buying up the rights of the Lord proprietors at a heavy expense of money; or trampling upon them at a still heavier expense of Justice. For the reasons, wh: I thus rapidly suggest, it seems to me that this scheme is a very unmeaning one, and merits no encouragement.

Sir John Pelly had clearly overshot the mark and Hawes wrote: "I quite agree with Mr. Stephen that it is quite impossible to make this grant with or without an explanation." This was, also, the opinion of Lord Grey who informed Pelly that the Company must submit a more moderate plan.[23]

No official reply was made to the Hudson's Bay Company's proposal of March 5, 1847. The negotiations concerning Vancouver Island were in abeyance until early in 1848, when J. E. Fitzgerald presented a proposal to form a company for working coal deposits and establish a colony on Vancouver Island.[24]

(23) On Hawes's minute, dated March 10, is found the following marginal note: "I have seen Sir J. Pelly who will communicate with Mr. Hawes and submit some less extensive demand. G[rey] 25/3 [1847]"

(24) For a biographical sketch of James Edward Fitzgerald *see* G. H. Scholefield (*ed.*), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Wellington, 1940, I., pp. 256–8. Beginning in June, 1847, Fitzgerald wrote numerous letters to the Colonial Office advocating colonization of Vancouver Island by a joint-stock company. For selections from this correspondence *see* P.P., *op. cit.*, and "Report of the Provincial Archives Department of the Province of British Columbia, 1913" in *Sessional Papers*, 1914, pp. V 55–V 68.

It appears that Fitzgerald at first thought it would be possible to work with the Hudson's Bay Company. In a letter to Hawes of June 9, 1847, he expressed the opinion that the Company would not oppose his project (original MS., C.O., 305:1), and in February, 1848, he had an interview with Pelly and supplied the latter with a prospectus of a company organized "for the Purpose of Working the Coal, and Establishing a Colony in Vancouver's Island." No agreement was reached. From then on Pelly sought to obtain the island for the Hudson's Bay Company, and Fitzgerald became the bitter opponent of this project. During the latter part of 1848 and in

Lord Grey then let Pelly know that the Government was anxious for the colonization of the island and would consider propositions from the Hudson's Bay Company more limited in scope than those of March 5, 1847. Stephen was no longer permanent Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office,[25] but was consulted by his successor, Herman Merivale,[26] concerning the terms of grant outlined by Sir John Pelly in a draft of April 15, 1848.

On June 21, 1848, Merivale reported to Hawes that Stephen had suggested that nothing should be granted to the Hudson's Bay Company except land in Vancouver Island. "The reason is," Merivale wrote, "that the power of the Crown in these days to make a grant like Charles 2nd's and to transfer to the Company the right of governing British subjects is to say the least

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1849 he wrote numerous letters to W. E. Gladstone (original MSS., the Gladstone Papers) accusing the Company of being oppressive, monopolistic, and hostile to colonization. This material formed the basis for Gladstone's attacks on the Company in the House of Commons. *See Hansard*, 3d series, CI. pp. 268–89, 315; CIII., pp. 1355–9, 1361–2. Fitzgerald also inspired attacks upon the Company by J. R. Godley in leading articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, 1848 and 1849. Another opponent of the Company was Lieutenant Adam D. Dundas, R.N., who for two years had been stationed "within limits of Fort Vancouver." Since his brother was a Member of the House of Commons this testimony could not be disregarded. Among the supporters of Pelly's proposal was Charles Enderby, who with his brother had been given the right to establish whaling stations on the Auckland Islands, and who contemplated making Vancouver Island their headquarters for whale-hunting in the North Pacific. Of greater weight, however, was the aid which Pelly secured from the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Elgin. In a letter to Grey of June 6, 1848, Elgin wrote that he had instituted inquiries concerning the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, and received favourable reports on its activities. Moreover, he cautioned that to throw open the trade of British Oregon might have dangerous consequences.

Another famous person who took an interest in Vancouver Island was Samuel Cunard, the great shipping magnate. On January 3, 1848, he called the attention of the Admiralty to the coal deposits of the island, and suggested that they should be reserved for the use of the Crown. He warned that unless something was done soon the mines might fall into the hands of Americans.

(25) He retired in October, 1847, and was made a Privy Councillor. For the next few years he was the guiding spirit of the revived Privy Council Committee on Trade and Foreign Plantations.

(26) Herman Merivale (1806–74), Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office, 1847–59.

very questionable. I should therefore suggest (if the Company accept these terms) that a simple Commission and Instructions should be issued as nearly contemporaneous with the grant as may be to any governor whom the Company may choose to appoint with the Crown's sanction empowering him to govern and make laws with the advice of an assembly of inhabitants. This Sir J. Stephen considers perfectly legal. But this governor must be responsible not to the Company but to the Secretary of State. Nothing short of an Act of Parlt. can make this otherwise."

Hawes agreed with Merivale that the government of Vancouver Island under the Company should be placed in the hands of a governor and an assembly but he did not see why the Company's governor should be responsible to the Colonial Office.[27]

Grey wrote on June 24, 1848, that since the governor " wd. be restrained by an Assbly represent. the inhabitants I can see no danger in allowg. the Compy. to select him. . . ." With the main points in dispute settled the road was cleared for an official presentation of the Hudson's Bay Company's terms for securing control of Vancouver Island. These were submitted to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, of which Sir James Stephen was a member. Amendments to the grant contained in the report of this committee bear the imprint of the ex-Under-Secretary. Reluctant to hand such a rich prize as Vancouver Island over to the Hudson's Bay Company, he, till the end, insisted upon hedging restrictions which would safeguard public interests.

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(27) At this time Benjamin Hawes showed little enthusiasm for transferring Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, which he did not think would do much to promote colonization. *See* undated memorandum written some time between June 21 and June 24, 1848. Original MS., C.O., 305:1. Grey, on the other hand, favoured this transfer and hostile critics called attention to the fact that a leading member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Edward Ellice the elder (1781–1863), had been married to an aunt of Lord Grey and that Lady Elgin was Lord Grey's niece.

EARLY TRAILS OF BURRARD PENINSULA.*

The accompanying map showing the evolution of communications on Burrard Peninsula was compiled from a number of sources, including the *Map of New Westminster*, by Woods and Turner, 1882 (in the Provincial Archives), and a *Map of Burrard Inlet*, by Albert J. Hill (in the Vancouver City Archives).

A British Admiralty chart of 1860[1] shows a trail from the Royal Engineers' Camp (New Westminster), extending northward to Burrard Inlet. This very early route antedated the North Road, but was soon superseded by it and fell quickly into disuse. The original military trail, later called the False Creek Road,[2] was extended as far as False Creek, although it was surveyed to the " outer anchorage," near the present Jericho Beach. A Royal Engineers' map of 1861[3] shows the proposed extension as completed, but it is very doubtful if the actual construction was carried out.

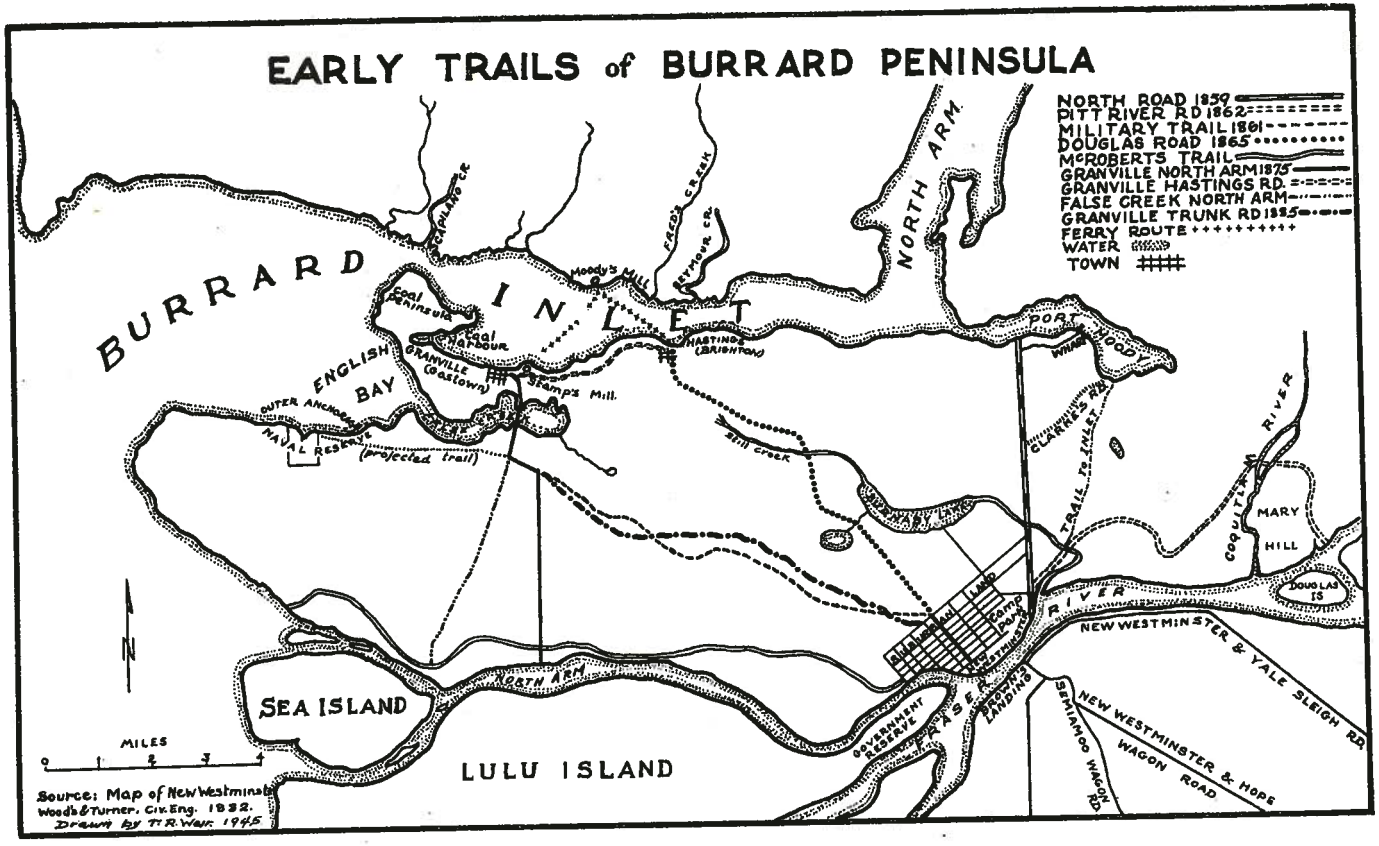
Hill's *Map of Burrard Inlet* shows a road proceeding from the North Road in an easterly direction, following the trend of the Inlet to the " wharf." Presumably this road was built to facilitate the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, commenced in 1882. Lots were cleared on the site of Port Moody in 1883, and in December of that year Clarke's Road was built from the North Road to the Inlet. Shortly after this a stage began operating twice daily between Port Moody and New West-

* EDITOR'S NOTE.—The sketch-map that accompanied the article entitled *Some Early Roads and Trails in New Westminster District*, by W. N. Draper, which appeared in the January issue of this *Quarterly*, has been found to be in many details either incomplete or inaccurate. Mr. T. R. Weir kindly undertook to prepare the thorough revision that is here presented. It remains to add that Mr. Draper was in no way responsible for the deficiencies of the map that appeared with his article.

(1) No. 1922.

(2) *See*, for example, George A. Keefer's map, *New Westminster District*, 1880.

(3) *British Columbia. New Westminster to Lillooet from a General Map in Preparation by the Royal Engineers.* Copy in Provincial Archives. The legend states that this map was made under the direction of Captain Parsons at New Westminster in August, 1861, by order of Colonel Moody.


EARLY TRAILS of BURRARD PENINSULA
NORTH ROAD 1859
PITT RIVER RD 1862
MILITARY TRAIL 1861
DOUGLAS ROAD 1865
McROBERTS TRAIL
GRANVILLE NORTH ARM 1875
GRANVILLE HASTINGS RD.
FALSE CREEK NORTH ARM
GRANVILLE TRUNK RD 1885
FERRY ROUTE
WATER
TOWN
BURRARD INLET
NORTH ARM
Moody's Mills
Eagle Creek
Seymour Cr.
Capilano R.
Coal Peninsula
Naval Harbour
HASTINGS (BRIGHTON)
PORT MOODY
WHITE HOUSE
GRANVILLE (Gastown)
Stamp's Mill
OUTER ENGLISH BAY
NAVAL RESERVE
(projected trail)
Still Creek
CLARKE'S RD.
TRAIL TO INLET
COQUITLAM RIVER
MARY HILL
DOUGLAS IS.
FRASER RIVER
NEW WESTMINSTER & YALE SLEIGH RD.
NEW WESTMINSTER & HOPE WAGON ROAD
SEMIAMOO WAGON RD.
SEA ISLAND
LULU ISLAND
GOVERNMENT RESERVE
MILES
0 1 2 3 4
N
Source: Map of New Westminster Wood & Turner. Civ. Eng. 1932.
Drawn by T.R. Weir 1945

minster. The same route is followed to-day, with the result that the North Road beyond the junction with Clarke's Road has become overgrown through disuse.

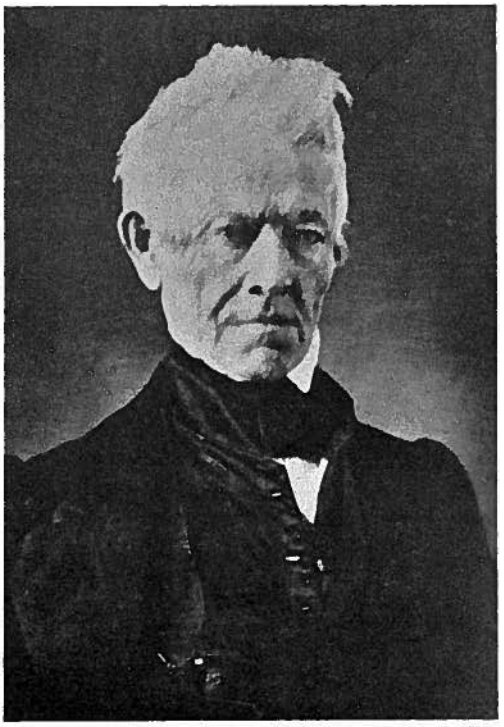
The people of New Westminster journeyed over the Douglas Road to Brighton (subsequently Hastings), where swimming in the waters of the Inlet was a favourite pastime. History is repeating itself, in that the same spot to-day is the site of a supervised swimming-pool maintained by the City of Vancouver.

Many of the original boundaries and place-names have been changed in recent years. Near Moody's Mill sprang up the settlement of Moodyville, which became a part of the incorporated City of North Vancouver. Coal Peninsula, so called because coal measures were known to underlie the area, became Stanley Park. Maps of the seventies and eighties commonly show Burrard Inlet as extending from the First Narrows to Port Moody, although earlier Admiralty charts, as well as those of the present day, correctly define it as extending from a line between Point Atkinson and Point Grey eastward to the extremity of the Inlet. English Bay is a much smaller body of water, formed by the jutting of Stanley Park peninsula into Burrard Inlet. The North Arm of the Fraser River appears on an early naval chart as North Fork,[4] which name might well have been retained, since the present one is easily confused with an arm of Burrard Inlet.

THOMAS R. WEIR.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(4) Admiralty Chart No. 1922, dated 1860.



David Stuart.

From a copy of a daguerreotype furnished by
Mrs. Charles Lester Marlatt, Washington, D.C.

DAVID STUART: OKANAGAN PATHFINDER —FOUNDER OF KAMLOOPS.

To reach Kamloops from the region to the south one travels up the far-famed Okanagan Valley and crosses over to the Thompson River. It is a pleasant journey through open country, past khaki bare or lightly timbered hills, shimmering blue lakes, extensive orchards and farms, and through prosperous towns—a district which justifiably is proud of its sunshine, scenery, and wealth.

It is a route that relates far into the past. One of the oldest regularly used travel routes in British Columbia, it is 134 years since the first white men, a party of four brave souls, travelled it from end to end. Not gold-miners, stock-ranchers, fruit-growers, nor health-seekers, were they, but fur-hunters. While engaged far to the south they had heard of an abundance of pelts in the region beyond. They came to investigate.

Kamloops' fur-trading days are long since gone,[1] but it is to fur that the Okanagan Valley owes its discovery, and the Interior city its origin. Fur put Kamloops on the map, and gave it the double distinction of being the first permanent white settlement in Southern British Columbia, and the only place in the Province founded under American auspices. Fort McLeod (founded in 1805) and Fort St. James (1806) are far to the north. Fort Langley dates from 1827. Kamloops was founded by a Scottish partner of a New York fur company in 1812.

Like many of his contemporaries in the Far West, the subject of our sketch was a Highland Scotsman. Born at Balquhidder, Perthshire, on December 22, 1765,[2] and named David, he

(1) *See* F. Henry Johnson, "Fur-trading Days at Kamloops," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 171–85.

(2) According to his gravestone. Philip Ashton Rollins, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail. Robert Stuart's Narratives of his overland trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812–13.* New York and London, 1935, p. 18, also mentions another date (December 19, 1766), but on investigation this turns out to be the date of christening, as recorded at the General Registry Office, Edinburgh. Information given the writer by Mrs. Charles Lester Marlatt, of Washington, D.C., a great-granddaughter of David Stuart's nephew, Robert Stuart.

was of the Royal Stuart (or Stewart; originally Steward) family,[3] founded by Walter Fitz Alan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, whose son (grandson of Robert Bruce) became King of Scotland as Robert II. in 1371. His great-grandfather was the famous Alexander Stuart, who successfully crossed swords with the notorious freebooter, Rob Roy.[4] Two other members of the clan were prominent in the early affairs of the Northwest: John Stuart (1779–1847), a cousin of David's, who accompanied Simon Fraser on his memorable descent of the river bearing his name, and Robert Stuart (1785–1848), David's nephew, the discoverer of the Oregon Trail.[5]

David was the younger son of James McTavish McAlester Stuart[6] (Seumas na Coille, "James in the Wood"), farmer, of Tigh-na-coil, Cuilt, Balquhidder,[7] who had served as a private in the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment ("Black Watch")[8] and retired with the rank of Captain.[9] Nothing is known of his early life, but we may assume that he was educated at the parish school (the family was Presbyterian, the established church[10]), and helped on his father's farm. In 1796 the father died,[11] and before the end of the century David had emigrated to America, where he engaged in fur-trading in Nova Scotia[12] and Lower Canada,[13] and in fishing in Labrador.[14] It was at his suggestion that nephew Robert came from Scotland in 1807 and joined the North West Company, with which uncle David was then engaged.[15] Thenceforth the lives of the two men were much in

(3) The family tradition, according to David Stuart, was that they descended from the earliest or main branch of the Stuarts. Mrs. Marlatt.

(4) Mrs. Marlatt.

(5) *See* Rollins, *op. cit.*

(6) Mrs. Marlatt.

(7) Rollins, pp. xxxv.–vi.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) Mrs. Marlatt.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Rollins, p. xxxvi.

(12) *Daily Advertiser*, Detroit, October 19, 1853.

(13) Rollins, p. xxxvii.

(14) Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Ideal Library edition, Chicago, 1894, pp. 49, 52; Charles C. Trowbridge, "Sketch of the life of Hon. Robert Stuart," *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, III. (1879–80), p. 53.

(15) Rollins, p. xxxvii.

common, more as if they were father and son (David was twenty years the elder) than uncle and nephew. Wherever they went their breeding and ability made them stand out among their associates, by whom they were regarded as "very uncommon men."[16] They did not forget their ancestry, and even in republican America used the Royal Stuart coat-of-arms with its crest of a demi-lion rampant surmounted by the motto, *Nobilis ira est leonis* (Noble is the anger of the lion), contracted by usage to *Nobilis ira.*[17]

In 1810 both men were induced to join John Jacob Astor in his great venture, the Pacific Fur Company. The New York merchant badly wanted men of experience, and to such he made attractive proposals of partnerships without financial obligation, he furnishing the capital and assuming all the risk. Accordingly he offered David Stuart four shares out of a total of one hundred, and Robert a clerkship with prospect of a partnership. They accepted, and on September 6, 1810, with several others they embarked at New York on the long journey via Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands to the mouth of the Columbia River.[18]

It was a perilous voyage. The vessel (the ill-fated *Tonquin* of the Nootka disaster) sprang a leak three times and got on fire twice. Tempestuous gales tore the sails into rags and ripped loose the rigging, while mountainous waves broke over the ship and washed the deck cargo overboard. Raging even more bitterly was the human element on board. Throughout the journey there existed between choleric Captain Thorn and the fur-traders a continual feud which broke out spasmodically over various incidents and was marked by reciprocal threats to blow the other's brains out. On two of these occasions, when pistols were seized ready for use, it fell to David Stuart to play the rôle of peacemaker. Well qualified by age (45), good sense, and a kindly but firm and fearless disposition ("a good old soul,"

(16) Trowbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

(17) Mrs. Marlatt.

(18) Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, London, 1849; Lakeside Classics edition, Chicago, 1923, pp. 9–11, 16.

Alexander Ross calls him[19]), he intervened at the right moment and bloodshed, perhaps mutiny, was averted.[20]

At the Falkland Islands, where they stopped for water, the Captain, taking offence at a harmless practical joke, sailed away, callously leaving Stuart and eight others to their fate on the inhospitable shore. However, he was forced to turn back by Robert Stuart's threat to shoot him. Ross, who was one of those marooned, has left us a vivid account of the incident.[21]

Towards the end of March, 1811, the *Tonquin* scraped across the treacherous bar at the mouth of the Columbia, where Thorn's cruel and despotic conduct climaxed in the loss of eight of his own men, who had been ordered into small boats to find a channel. Finally, on April 12, the fur-trading party, consisting of thirty-three men (including eleven Sandwich Islanders), all under the leadership of Duncan McDougall, one of the partners, landed at the mouth of the river and, handicapped by sickness, hunger, and the necessity of working " with an axe in one hand and a gun in the other " to guard against prowling savages who succeeded in killing three of their number, founded Astoria, the first American settlement on the Pacific Coast.[22] The difficulties were aggravated by Astor's choice of McDougall. " All things considered," says Hubert Howe Bancroft, the well-known historian, " David Stuart, with his mild determination and humane fearlessness, would have made the best manager."[23]

But Astoria was not to be an only post. No sooner had foundations been laid and trade begun than consideration was given to the setting-up of posts in the Interior, as contemplated by Astor. Haste was necessary owing to the advance of rival traders. So, on July 22, David Stuart and eight men, including Alexander Ross, started up the river. They travelled in two clumsy Chinook canoes (equipped with sails and oars), laden

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(20) For Ross's account of the voyage *see ibid.*, pp. 16–68.

(21) *Ibid.*, pp. 26–9.

(22) Save as otherwise noted the authority for these and the following statements regarding David Stuart's experiences in the Pacific Northwest is Alexander Ross, *op. cit.* Small discrepancies in dates, etc., unimportant for the present purpose, occur in narratives by other writers.

(23) Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, II., p. 215.

with about 1,500 lb. of freight (including leaf tobacco, cotton cloth, and trinkets, for trade with the Indians), as they were to winter away. For mutual protection and safety they travelled some distance in company with David Thompson, of the North West Company, who with nine men was returning from his reconnoitre down the Columbia. They might have fared badly had they been alone, for, according to Thompson, " Mr. David Stuart and his Men were in a manner unarmed, and the Natives who were all well armed viewed them with a kind of contempt."[24]

Anxious for relief from the harassing and dangerous situation at Astoria, they went on to meet more hardships. Poorly equipped for the journey, and inexperienced with dugout canoes, they were ill-suited for overcoming the strong rapid current which bore down on them relentlessly. Sometimes their progress was only a mile an hour. At other times they were swamped and nearly drowned. There were long portages across which the canoes had to be dragged and goods carried, while hordes of covetous Indians—armed and painted, making them objects of terror—crowded round, threatening and pilfering. In some places the banks of the river were literally lined with them. Nights were spent on guard against marauders or in smoking with approachable chiefs, while all around their men, women and children danced, sang, and smoked. On occasions when attack seemed imminent, the chiefs were induced to come into Stuart's camp and spend the night smoking—a bit of strategy which, though successful, meant sitting up all night.

Described as " one of those intrepid souls who are born without fear,"[25] the Scotsman combined with his fearlessness a dignity and a winsomeness which overcame the aborigines. " His eye saw everything at a glance," says Ross, " and his mild and insinuating manners won their affections." As a result he succeeded in getting his party through without loss of life or serious injury.

As they proceeded inland the natives became less troublesome. They helped with the portaging, being paid ten metal buttons for each piece carried. The chiefs were given toys or

(24) J. B. Tyrrell (*ed.*), *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784–1812*, Toronto, 1916, p. 511.

(25) Trowbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

other presents. One of them was highly pleased with a suit of Stuart's clothes.

Farther still they became quite friendly, and by the time the "Oakinacken"[26] River was reached they begged the whites to settle among them, pledging themselves "to be always our friends, to kill us plenty of beavers, to furnish us at all times with provisions, and to ensure our protection and safety." While the general aspect of the place was barren and dreary, the valley through which the stream meandered presented a pleasing landscape. Moreover, in the afternoon the western sky showed a brilliant comet which the natives said was put there by the Great Mother of Life as a good omen of the party's arrival.

Accepting the invitation, Stuart unloaded his canoes on September 1, after the irksome voyage of some 600 miles,[27] and began erecting out of driftwood a small dwelling which was to be Fort Okanagan, the first and principal inland post of the Pacific Fur Company. Then, sending four of the men back to Astoria and leaving Ross to finish the building, Stuart with the other three men (two of whom were French-Canadians, Ovide de Montigny and Boulard) set out to explore the region to the north, where the Indians said the river passed through three lakes, one very large. The route (at least that used by subsequent fur-traders) was up the east side of the Okanagan River to the head of Osoyoos Lake; then, crossing to the west side and leaving the river, it

climbed the open country above Oliver, through Meyer's Flat, White Lake and Marron Valley and crossed Sheep Creek at its junction with Shingle Creek. Following up Shingle Creek for some miles the trail crossed a height of land and dropped down into Trout Creek above Prairie Valley, and from there continued to Three Lakes, the head of Garnet Valley, and down the mountain side to the shore of Okanagan Lake at Deep Creek, a few miles south of Peachland. From there it followed the present motor road to the Kelowna ferry. From the ferry it ran along the lake shore to the head of

(26) Now spelt *Okanagan* in Canada, *Okanogan* in the United States, this name has the distinction of having had no less than forty-five different spellings. *See* L. Norris, "Some Place Names," in *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1935, pp. 133–6; T. W. Symons, *Report on Upper Columbia River*, Washington, D.C., 1882, p. 130. As to its meaning there are various opinions. *See* Norris, *op. cit.*

(27) The actual distance is 539 miles. Symons, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–3. However, the course taken by a canoe in avoiding the current and making frequent landings would be much longer.

Okanagan Lake and then in a westerly direction to Grand Prairie and Kamloops, much as the Government road does today.[28]

Stuart left Okanagan on September 16, intending to be back in about a month (presumably they travelled on horseback), but he was away much longer, as his own account of the journey shows:—

After leaving this place, we bent our course up the Oakinacken, due north, for upwards of 250 miles, till we reached its source; then crossing a height of land fell upon Thompson's River, or rather the south branch of Frazer's River, after travelling for some time amongst a powerful nation called the She Whaps. The snow fell while we were here in the mountains and precluded our immediate return; and after waiting for fine weather the snow got so deep that we considered it hopeless to attempt getting back, and therefore passed our time with the She Whaps and other tribes in that quarter. The Indians were numerous and well-disposed, and the country throughout abounds in beavers and all other kinds of fur; and I have made arrangements to establish a trading post there the ensuing winter. On the twenty-sixth of February [1812] we began our homeward journey, and spent just twenty-five days on our way back. The distance may be about 350 miles.[29]

This was the first party of whites to travel the Okanagan Valley or to visit the site of Kamloops.[30]

Leaving Okanagan on April 30, 1812, with 2,500 beaver skins —the winter's trade there and at Cumcloups—Stuart arrived at Astoria on May 11 or 12.[31] The results of his journey were so satisfactory and his report so favourable that at a meeting of the partners it was resolved " that Mr. David Stuart proceed to his post at Oakinacken, explore the country northward, and establish another post between that and New Caledonia."[32]

Accordingly he left Astoria on June 29, with other parties bound for the Interior, including that of Robert Stuart, then on his way to lay down the cross-continent route which, with some

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(28) F. M. Buckland, " The Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail," *Sixth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 1936, p. 14.

(29) Quoted in Ross, pp. 163–4. Instead of a month, Stuart was absent no less than 188 days, or over six months. The present highway mileage from Brewster, Washington (near old Fort Okanogan), to Kamloops is 275 miles. Stuart's route by trail would be longer.

(30) Although the Thompson River is named after David Thompson he never saw it. The name was given by Simon Fraser in honour of his friend.

(31) *See* Rollins, p. lxxx.

(32) Ross, p. 209. New Caledonia was the name given to what is now the Central Interior of British Columbia.

deviations, became in later decades the Oregon Trail.[33] There were more narrow escapes from the natives, in the course of which David Stuart's fearlessness was again demonstrated. This incident is related:—

> . . . when Uncle David and Robert were ascending the river to establish an outpost, they were warned that a body of hostile Indians had assembled just above the Dalles to intercept them. They encamped below the Dalles and extinguished their fires, expecting a rencounter next morning. Uncle David was the last watch of the night. His time would expire at day break. At that time Robert discovered that Uncle David was not in camp. It was still dark. They tracked him cautiously to the Indian camp, where they found the warriors all asleep in a circle with their feet toward the central fire, and Uncle David sitting quietly in their midst, smoking his pipe, waiting for his enemies to awake. When they did so, he apologized for coming without leave, and very soon they were warm friends.[34]

Another version is as follows:—

> . . . he [David Stuart] awoke during the night, and impelled by curiosity, visited a camp of hostile Indians, whom the party had struggled all day to escape. Finding them all asleep in a circle around the fire, he seated himself in the center near the fire helped himself to a pipe, and when the Indians awoke was found quietly regaling himself with a whiff of hostile tobacco. So astonished were the warriors at this display of coolness that they shook him by the hand, made him a present of the pipe, and sent him in safety back to his comrades, among whom was his nephew, Robert, who by this time had become alarmed for his safety and ready to cover him with rebukes for his rashness. His reply was, " there is no fear of an Indian if you have no fear for him."[35]

Arriving at Okanagan on August 12, he left on the 25th with his men, a larger party than the previous year, and merchandise, and again proceeded north to winter among the friendly Shuswaps. Reaching the confluence of the Thompson and the North Thompson, he set up a trading-post at the Indian village on the east bank of the latter, near its junction with the main stream.[36]

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(33) *See* Rollins, p. lxvii.

(34) Trowbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

(35) *Daily Advertiser*, Detroit, October 19, 1853.

(36) The site chosen by Stuart is included in the present Indian Reserve, opposite the City of Kamloops. *See* Mark S. Wade, *The Thompson Country*, Kamloops, 1907, pp. 47, 57, 92. Aged Indians say the post was situated just south of the cemetery near the present Indian village. (Information given to the writer by Burt R. Campbell, of Kamloops.) The post was moved across to the west side of the North Thompson in the 1840's, and again moved to the south side of the Thompson in 1863. *See* Wade, pp. 90, 92, 109.

This was the beginning of Kamloops. Variously known as Cumcloups (meaning "the meeting of the waters")[37], the She Whaps,[38] Thompson's River Post, the Forks,[39] Fort Thompson, or Fort Kamloops, it has become the City of Kamloops of to-day.

Stuart again found trade good. "I sent out parties in all directions," he says, "north as far as Frasers River, and for two hundred miles up the south [north?] branch. The accounts from all quarters were most satisfactory. The country is everywhere rich in furs, and the natives very peaceable."[40] As many as 2,000 would congregate at Cumcloups for trade. Soon after his arrival the North West Company, anxious for a share of the business, established an opposition post nearby with Joseph Larocque in charge. However, the field was large enough for both parties, and though rivals, they followed a fair and straightforward course of trade and got along well together, profiting as much as, if not more than, if they had been enemies.

Next summer he took his furs down to Astoria and returned in the fall with more trade-goods. It was during this year (1813) that the negotiations for the sale of the Astor enterprise to the North West Company took place. Stuart was one of the partners who were averse to selling out, but on its being urged by the others that since Great Britain and the United States were now at war a British warship might enter the river at any moment and confiscate everything, he reluctantly concurred in the transaction.[41] On the way back to his post he stopped a band of several hundred warlike Indians from advancing on his party by boldly marking a line on the sand, as much as to say: This

(37) Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 47, quoting John Tod, who took charge of the post at Kamloops in 1841. Rev. John Goodfellow, of Princeton, B.C., says that it has been suggested to him that the name may be a contraction of *campement des loups*, meaning "camp where wolves abound," or "camp of the wolves." However, as this presupposes a French-Canadian origin, and conflicts not only with Wade but also with Ross (*op cit.*, p. 215: ". . . a place called by the Indians Cumcloups"), it seems unacceptable.

(38) The name used by Ross when referring to the Shuswap Indians. *See* Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

(39) Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 47, quoting John Tod.

(40) Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

(41) Eight years later, upon the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the old Astor posts became the property of the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company.

far and no farther. He did not stay at Cumcloups through the winter, owing to the transfer of the Pacific Fur Company's posts and assets to the North West Company. Unwilling to re-engage with his old employers, he made his sixth and last journey through the Okanagan Valley and got to Astoria (by this time renamed Fort George) on January 7, 1814. Oddly enough, his cousin, John Stuart, was one of the Northwesters sent to take over the Astor posts in the Interior, and he had come from Fort St. James via Cumcloups and the Okanagan Valley during the summer.[42] Leaving Fort George on April 4, with several others, David made the great transcontinental journey via Athabasca Pass and River, the Saskatchewan River, Lakes Winnipeg, Superior, and Huron, and the Ottawa River—the first regularly travelled route across North America—and reached Montreal on September 1, 1814.[43] So ended David Stuart's experiences in the Pacific Northwest.

But he had not finished with the fur trade. Joining the American Fur Company, another Astor enterprise, he went in 1817 to Mackinac, where his nephew Robert was the company's agent.[44] The trade was then in its hey day and the headquarters of the Americans engaged in it was Mackinac. There the Stuarts settled down. Making his home with Robert, who had married and was bringing up a family, David was a respected member of the frontier community and an active supporter of the Presbyterian mission.[45]

In 1834 both David and Robert Stuart left the fur trade and moved to Detroit, where Robert engaged in business and politics (he was in turn State Treasurer and Federal Indian Agent), until his death in 1848.[46]

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(42) *See* Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, New York, 1903, pp. 188, 191–2, 198–9.

(43) For a detailed account of the journey *see* Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, New York, 1854, pp. 263–357. Franchère accompanied Stuart across the continent.

(44) He was later manager. *See* Martin Heydenburk, "Incidents in the Life of Robert Stuart," *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, III. (1879–80), p. 58.

(45) *See* Jackson Kemper, "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIV. (1898), pp. 406, 409–10.

(46) Rollins, pp. xliv.–v.

Robert's high regard for his uncle is expressed as follows in a letter to his daughter:—

> Show love and reverence to my beloved Uncle, above all; for remember that he has been to me as a parent; to him, under God, I owe everything, and I trust you will aid me in cancelling the debt; at least gratefully showing him our due sense of it, for more we cannot do, and less I trust we would not do.[47]

Called "our worthy and venerable friend and brother" by the clergyman officiating at Robert's funeral,[48] David, now 83, continued as a member of the family, by whom he was affectionately known as "Old Uncle David."[49] No doubt he followed with interest the career of his grand-nephew, Robert's eldest son, who was named after him,[50] and who became one of Michigan's most brilliant lawyers and served as a member of Congress.[51] His relations with Mrs. Stuart were always most pleasant. He was very respectful—even formal—towards her, and addressed her as "Ma'am." She was continually kind and attentive to him, notwithstanding that with the infirmity of old age he became quite a responsibility. He is frequently mentioned in her letters and those of her children, the picture being

> that of an old man, fiercely loyal, stamping out of the room when anyone suggests that Mrs. Stuart should go off on a short holiday—setting his room on fire twice through carelessness—losing his treasured watch—generous as a child with money, and needing constant unobtrusive watchfulness and care.[52]

He survived his nephew by five years. Then, having reached a ripe old age, general debility took him off. He died at the family home on Jefferson Avenue and was buried in Elmwood Cemetery, where the grave marker bears this simple inscription:—

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(47) Text supplied by Mrs. Marlatt.

(48) Rev. George Duffield, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Detroit, "Extracts from a Funeral Discourse on the death of Robert Stuart, Esq." *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, III. (1879–80), p. 61.

(49) Mrs. Marlatt.

(50) Mrs. Marlatt.

(51) Robert B. Ross, *The Early Bench and Bar of Detroit from 1805 to the end of 1850*, 1907, p. 189.

(52) Information and quotation from Mrs. Marlatt.

DAVID STUART
BORN
IN BALQUHIDDER
SCOTLAND
DEC. 22, 1765
DIED
OCT. 18, 1853.[53]

The following tribute is from the newspaper account of his death:—

The deceased was a man of the highest moral qualities, and of great force of character and of physical nerve. It was a common remark of his comrades, who at that early day accompanied him to the wild and solitary region

> " Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
> Save its own dashing,"

there to find a home, a habitation and a business in tracts familiar only to the beast and the savage, that Stuart never knew fear. Many anecdotes have passed from mouth to mouth around the camp fires of the trappers and hunters upon the western frontier, of the hair-breadth 'scapes and desperate rencontres between the deceased and the wild men and wild beasts of that region. . . .

Mr. Stuart possessed in a great degree the higher order of moral attributes, and was an attractive ornament and a blessing at the fireside of his relatives, after the active duties of life had been efficiently and boldly performed. He was peaceful, loving, charitable, kind-hearted and true, ending a well-spent life in the earnest and well-grounded hope of waking in a better and purer sphere of existence. There are few like him, and their numbers are daily growing fewer.

> " Time runs his ceaseless course, the men of yore
> Who danced our infancy upon their knee,
> And told our wondering boyhood legends store
> Of their strange ventures, happ'd by land or sea,
> How are they blotted from the things that be."[54]

A. G. HARVEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(53) *Daily Advertiser*, Detroit, October 19, 1853; inscription from the records of Elmwood Cemetery, Detroit.

(54) *Daily Advertiser*, October 19, 1853.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

NEW ARCHIVES PUBLICATIONS.

The Provincial Archives announces the publication of a new addition to its well-known *Memoirs* series—No. X., being *The Journal of John Work, 1835*, edited with an introduction and notes by Henry Drummond Dee. The *Journal*, which first appeared serially in this *Quarterly*, is here presented in a collected and revised version, with a number of new illustrations. The attractive format conforms to that of the earlier titles in the series. Two editions are available, one of which, bound in buckram, is priced at $2.50, while those bound in heavy paper sell for $1.50. The total issue is limited to 400 copies, and the type has been distributed.

Publication of the *Memoirs* was interrupted by the depression, and this is the first new title to appear in fourteen years. It is hoped that further additions may be made to the series fairly frequently in future. Some of these will be revised editions of material first printed in the *Quarterly*, while others will be original publications.

"Steamboat 'Round the Bend": American Steamers on the Fraser River in 1858, an article by Norman Hacking that appeared in the *Quarterly* for October, 1944, aroused such widespread interest that the demand for copies quickly exceeded the supply. The article has therefore been reprinted, and is now available in pamphlet form, with cover. The price is $1. A second article by Mr. Hacking, dealing with another colourful aspect of early steamboating on the Fraser, will appear in an early issue.

ENGINE 374 RETURNS TO VANCOUVER.

Canadian Pacific locomotive No. 374, which hauled the first regular transcontinental passenger train into Vancouver on May 23, 1887, returned to the Pacific Coast in August, and on the 22nd of the month was formally presented to the Vancouver Parks Board, who will provide her with a permanent home in Pioneer Park.

The famous old engine was built in the Canadian Pacific Railway's Delorimier Avenue Shops, Montreal, where she was completed in May, 1886. After her moment of glory a year later she was operated for some years in British Columbia, but eventually found her way back to Eastern Canada. Refitted from time to time, and in many respects modernized, she continued in active service for the amazing period of fifty-seven years. She was finally retired in September, 1943, and consigned to the boneyard. Though her number had been changed several times—first to 92, then to 245, and finally to 158—some one fortunately discovered her identity, and plans were soon afoot for her preservation. In the Angus Shops she was refurbished and restored as nearly as possible to her original appearance. Her old smoke-stack and old-style oil headlight were replaced, mudguards were once again fitted to her driving wheels, and her cab was rebuilt in the style of

1887. She was then hauled across the continent for the presentation ceremony in Vancouver.

For this occasion her decorations duplicated as nearly as possible those with which she had been adorned upon her first arrival in 1887. The fir branches, shields, banners, and inscriptions were all in place, and the photograph of Queen Victoria in the headlight was a copy of the original in the Vancouver City Archives. The original Vancouver station building now stands at Heatley Avenue, and the old engine's final run was from that point to the present Canadian Pacific depot. The coaches behind her were filled with some seventy pioneers, most of whom were in costume, and many of whom had witnessed the arrival of the engine fifty-eight years before. During the presentation ceremonies Mayor J. W. Cornett delivered the same speech of welcome that was given by Mayor Malcolm MacLean in 1887, and C. A. Cotterell, Assistant General Manager of Canadian Pacific Western Lines, replied with the speech given by Harry Abbott, who in 1887 was General Superintendent of the Pacific Division.

In addition to the reports in the Vancouver newspapers, two excellent illustrated articles describing the occasion in detail appeared in the Canadian Pacific *Staff Bulletin* for September (p. 27) and October (pp. 8–9).

MEMORIAL PLAQUE TO J. W. McKAY.

On Sunday, September 16, a handsome bronze plaque honouring the memory of Joseph William McKay, founder of the city, was unveiled in Nanaimo by his daughter, Miss Agnes Mackay. The plaque is set into the wall of the historic bastion, and a large crowd assembled around the old building to witness the ceremony.

The speakers included Mr. Victor Harrison, ex-Mayor of Nanaimo; Mr. George Bertram, Chief Factor of the Native Sons, Post No. 3; Mr. George F. Wilson, Secretary of Post No. 3; Major H. C. Holmes, Chairman of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association; and Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry. Mr. B. A. McKelvie was to have delivered the principal address, describing McKay's life and achievements, but most unfortunately illness prevented him from doing so. Dr. W. Kaye Lamb was the substitute speaker, and outlined McKay's remarkable career on the Pacific Coast. He arrived hereabouts in 1844, at the age of 15, when the fur-traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were the only white men residing in what is now British Columbia, yet he lived to serve for seventeen years as an officer of the Department of Indian Affairs of the Dominion Government. Moreover, he was only 23 when James Douglas entrusted him with the difficult task of founding the settlement that was to become Nanaimo, and preparing the way for the development of the coal-measures in the vicinity.

At the conclusion of his remarks Dr. Lamb, acting on behalf of Mr. McKelvie, announced that the high peak between Ladysmith and Victoria that has been known as Buffalo Observation Point will henceforth be called Mount J. W. McKay.

Four daughters of Joseph William McKay were present: Miss Agnes Mackay, who unveiled the plaque; the Misses Gertrude and Aline Mackay; and Mrs. L. M. Spalding, of South Pender Island. It is interesting to note that the correct spelling of the family name is *Mackay*, but as the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to simplify matters, insisted that all its employees with the same name should spell it the same way, J. W. McKay was compelled to use the spelling *McKay* as long as he remained in the Company's service.

Also present were Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson and Mrs. H. R. Beaven, of Victoria, daughters of the late J. D. Pemberton, who named Nanaimo and made the first surveys there, and Mrs. W. Fitzherbert Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas, under whose general supervision the development of Nanaimo took place.

The plaque was provided by the Department of Trade and Industry, which has been able to mark a considerable number of historic sites in recent years, while the unveiling ceremony was arranged jointly by the Native Sons of British Columbia, Post No. 3, and the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the Council of the Association was held in the Hotel Grosvenor, Vancouver, on the evening of Tuesday, October 2. The President, Miss Helen Boutilier, presided. The chief business of the evening was to consider preliminary plans for the celebration in June, 1946, of the centenary of the Oregon boundary settlement. This anniversary is a matter of national, and not merely local, interest, for until settlement was achieved British occupation of what is now British Columbia was by no means secure, and it was the title to the region given to Great Britain by the treaty that made possible a Dominion stretching from sea to sea.

Many possibilities and suggestions were reviewed, and a committee was appointed to co-operate with a similar committee about to be named by the Washington State Historical Society. It is hoped that definite plans may take shape in the near future, and that the celebration may be both on a considerable scale and international in scope.

Several amendments to the constitution, designed primarily to clarify various points, were discussed, and it was decided to submit these to the membership at the earliest possible moment.

The Treasurer's report showed that the Association was in a better financial position than ever before. Membership was increasing, and paid subscriptions to the *Quarterly* had passed the 500 mark.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The Section's annual midsummer garden tea was held on Saturday, August 18, in the beautiful grounds of Molton Combe, the home of Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson. There was a large attendance, and all present enjoyed the occasion. Major H. C. Holmes, Chairman of the Section, welcomed the members and friends, and presided during the programme. This consisted

of a group of songs sung by Mrs. T. H. Johns and Miss Eva Hart, followed by a number of dances by the pupils of Miss Wynne Shaw. Mrs. Cecil Warn acted as accompanist. Tea was served at small tables scattered throughout the grounds.

Some thirty-five members of the Section journeyed to Nanaimo on Sunday, September 16, to be present at the unveiling of the plaque erected in honour of the memory of Joseph William McKay. The ceremony was under the joint auspices of the Section and the Native Sons of British Columbia, Post No. 3.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in the Provincial Library on Monday, October 15, when the Section was addressed by Mr. Arthur P. Dawe. His address was entitled *Steel of Confederation*, and dealt largely with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Perhaps the most interesting part of the address was that devoted to a perennial question in Canadian history—exactly why the route of the railway, which apparently had been settled definitely, and was to cross the Rockies by way of the Yellowhead Pass, was suddenly shifted far to the south. Mr. Dawe believes that the explanation lies in the fact that Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona) was a power in both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that he contrived to have the change made in order to delay the breakup of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur-trading areas.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The Section met in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, September 25, when the speaker was Major J. S. Matthews, Vancouver City Archivist. The subject announced was *Linking the Atlantic to the Pacific—Locomotive 374*, but by way of introduction Major Matthews first gave a most interesting description of the Vancouver City Archives and the nature of the work done by his department. He stressed in particular the help he endeavoured to give to the many young people who visited him or wrote to him in search of historical information, and outlined as well the service given to newspapermen and feature-story writers. As any one who reads the magazine supplements of the Vancouver papers at all carefully must be aware, much of the material incorporated in them has been found in, or with the assistance of, the City Archives.

Locomotive 374, her first arrival in Vancouver on May 23, 1887, and her final return to the city on August 22, 1945, furnished starting-points for an interesting commentary on the building of the railway, the emergence of Vancouver, and the recent ceremonies at which the old engine was presented to the city. In conclusion, Major Matthews repeated the address he had delivered to the old-timers at the banquet held in their honour after the presentation ceremony.

Mr. George Green is to address the Section on October 29, when his subject will be *The Early History of Burnaby*.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Bruce A. McKelvie, journalist and historian, is the author of *Pelts and Powder, The Black Canyon, Early History of the Province of British Columbia,* and other books. Students of the history of this region long ago learned to watch for the articles that he contributes frequently to the Vancouver and Victoria newspapers.

Paul A. Knaplund, Ph.D. (Wisconsin), is Chairman of the Department of History in the University of Wisconsin. He is an authority on British Colonial history, and his books include a recent volume entitled *The British Empire, 1815–1939.* Readers of Dr. Knaplund's article in this issue will find an interesting earlier study entitled " Sir James Stephen and British North American Problems, 1840–1847," in the March, 1924, issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* (V., pp. 22–41).

Thomas R. Weir, M.A. (Syracuse) recently completed a comprehensive geographical and historical study of the City of New Westminster. He is a member of the Department of Geology and Geography in the University of British Columbia.

A. G. Harvey, barrister and historian, will be remembered as the author of three interesting articles in this *Quarterly—The Mystery of Mount Robson, David Douglas in British Columbia,* and *Meredith Gairdner: Doctor of Medicine.* He is particularly interested in the naturalists who visited this region in early days, and has thrown much new light on their lives and activities.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura. John Work's California Expedition 1832–1833 for the Hudson's Bay Company. Edited by Alice Bay Maloney from the original manuscript journal in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. With a foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton. . . . San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945. Pp. xxii., 112. Ill., map. $4.

In this volume Mrs. Maloney has published two of the sixteen journals of John Work, sometime Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was stationed on the Pacific slope during much of his long and interesting career. All of his journals, with the exception of one in the Howay Collection at the University of British Columbia, have now been published in one form or another. Most of them appear in the British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, or California Historical Society *Quarterlies*, but not in book form. Consequently readers should be grateful to the editor and to the California Historical Society for reprinting these journals from Volume XXII., Nos. 2, 3, and 4; and Volume XXIII., Nos. 1 and 2, of the *California Historical Society Quarterly* as a separate volume.

The great value of all of the journals of John Work is that they furnish posterity with a minute account of the fur trade as it was practised one hundred years ago. These two journals constitute a record of the last of the big old-style trapping expeditions in which the Hudson's Bay Company placed the emphasis on the dispatching of companies into the field fully equipped for a year with supplies, horses, ammunition, traps, and the like; the motley crew being accompanied by their women and children. These ventures were now to be superseded by trading expeditions.

The journals supply us with the details surrounding the management of the business, with the current prices paid for furs, and indicate how many were collected. They relate the fact and not the fiction of dealings with, and the customs of, savage and treacherous tribes. They tell of stony trails, of thirsty days, of shortages of food, and of mosquito-ridden camps. They tell, among other things, of a leader, not one of the great men of the fur trade, but a hardy, conscientious, industrious individual who, in spite of extreme privation, won profits for his Company. As suggested by Mr. Bolton in the foreword, the story " has a continental as well as a local bearing."

The two journals which have been edited by Mrs. Maloney are no exception to the rule. They describe Work's departure from Fort Vancouver, up the Columbia River to Walla Walla or Fort Nez Perces, and thence southward overland to the Sacramento River. On the Sacramento and in the San Francisco Bay area the company spent the winter, returning to Fort Vancouver by way of the Shasta, Rogue, Umpqua, and Willamette rivers.

One cannot help but admire the efforts of Mrs. Maloney in her personal exploration of much of the trail followed by John Work in his California

expedition, nor can one but admire, and not without a touch of envy, the sumptuous format of her volume (even though explanatory notes are all placed at the end of the book). Unfortunately, the admiration and envy pale somewhat on closer inspection.

The text of the journals as here given is fairly accurate. However, it is fortunate that Mrs. Maloney saw fit to send copies of the instalments of the journals, as they appeared in the *California Historical Quarterly*, to the Provincial Archives where they received extensive revision, since a comparison of these instalments with the volume reveals many a correction. It seems a pity that these corrections were not made prior to the original appearance of the text, especially as the book is represented as being a reprint of the instalments. A few differences remain still between the journals as printed and the original. Some of these stem from the difficulties in reading Work's handwriting, and are therefore entirely justifiable, but others are definite inaccuracies.

Two courses were open to the editor in dealing with the punctuation of the journals. One was to keep to that of Work's originals; the other was to modernize the punctuation so that the long and often involved sentences would be easier to read. Mrs. Maloney seems to have followed neither procedure. Moreover, there is deviation from standard practice in indicating omitted, duplicated, and misspelled words.

A number of typographical errors have been noted. On page viii "Word" should read "Work." On page xxi the usual spelling was "Colvile" not "Colville." On the next page "Reilly" should read "O'Reilly." In note 16, page 85, the reference should be to page 534. In the following note, on the same page, the name "Graham" should contain a final "e" and "Charles W. Wallace" should be amended to "Charles W. Wallace, Jr."

Errors in interpretation and fact are scattered through the text. The misspelling of such a prominent explorer's name as that of Alexander Mackenzie (p. xiii) tends to lessen the reader's confidence in Mrs. Maloney's work. Exigencies of space appear to have led the editor into unfortunate and misleading statements. An example or two will suffice. Thus on page xiii we read: ". . . He served the Hudson's Bay Company in many capacities: from his enrollment in 1814 as a writer he advanced through the ranks of steward, clerk, trader, and factor, and finally served as a member of the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island." In the reviewer's opinion this would seem to give the impression that Work's position as a member of the Legislative Council was a post in the Hudson's Bay Company, which is not the case. On page xv, Mrs. Maloney indicates that, in 1821, Work was at Red River (itself a questionable point, and no verification is given) and that, on July 18, 1823, he started for the Columbia District. Here again the impression created is that he left Red River directly for the Columbia, while in actuality he set out from York Factory. The same feeling is created on page xx, when the events surrounding Work's return to Fort Vancouver after the Bonaventura expedition are recounted. No mention is made of his expedition in 1834 to the Umpqua

River. Moreover, the implication given the reader is that subsequent to the Bonaventura expedition, 1832–33, he spent three years on the Columbia before proceeding to Fort Simpson. Actually, in December, 1834, after the Umpqua expedition in the summer of the same year, Work embarked in the *Lama* for Fort Simpson, which was to be his headquarters until 1849.

The list of sick people is referred to as having been found among some uncatalogued papers in the Archives of British Columbia. Actually this list constituted pages 12–16 in the Fort Simpson, *Correspondence Outward, September 6, 1841–October 11, 1844.* It was not verified how they had been placed there. On page xxi the date given for Work's purchase of land near Victoria is 1850. If one may judge the date by the deed as listed in Registry Book No. 1 in the Department of Lands of British Columbia at Victoria, the date should be August 1, 1852. In the *Register of Baptisms, Forts Vancouver and Victoria,* the date of the birth of Work's youngest daughter, Josette, is given as September 15, 1854, and not 1843, as given in note 17, page 85. Work was buried, not in the churchyard of Christ Church Cathedral, but in what is now called Pioneer Square, adjacent to the present cathedral. Mrs. Maloney represents that Victoria has both a Work and a Wark Street. To-day Work Street exists no longer. For years it has been swallowed up in what is now Bay Street, near Point Ellice Bridge, on the north side of Rock Bay.

One regrets these inaccuracies in an otherwise vivid and extensive effort.

HENRY DRUMMOND DEE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company: A Pen Portrait of a Man of Action. By Arthur S. Morton. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1944. Ill. Pp. xii., 310. $4.50.

"To write the life of George Simpson," Dr. Morton notes in his preface, "is no easy task. There can have been few men who identified themselves with their office and its duties more than he." Even letters marked "private" or "confidential" are rarely about personal matters; "these also are business, almost nothing but business." As a result, though so prominent and familiar a figure, Simpson has remained to a considerable extent a man of mystery, hidden from view by the very bulk of the documents that chronicle his activities. And not even Dr. Morton's prodigious patience and application have been sufficient to make him emerge. No one has spent more time studying the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, and no other scholar has enjoyed an equal opportunity to examine the Company's archives; yet this volume, which deserves to rank as the first real biography of Simpson to appear in print, is rightly presented as being only a preliminary sketch for the final full-scale "life" that will some day be written.

Indeed, it would not be unfair to describe the volume as being essentially an appendix to Dr. Morton's monumental *History of the Canadian West to 1870–71.* His research for that work brought to light many points about Simpson that could find no place in a general history, and this biography simply gathers them together and presents them in a most interesting and

readable form. At the same time the genesis of the book is probably responsible for certain of its deficiencies. One is conscious of important episodes in Simpson's life that are not even mentioned, while the accounts of others are neither well-rounded nor complete. One senses, too, a tendency to avoid material that is not entirely to Simpson's credit. All characters are composed of light and shade, and Simpson's positive achievements were so great that a sympathetic biographer need not fear the result of subjecting his career to a frank examination.

On the other hand, two points are dealt with at some length and to great advantage. It is too often assumed that, so far as the fur trade was concerned, Simpson was something in the nature of a supreme being, whereas in actual fact he worked within limits and in accordance with policies that were determined in surprising detail in London. In the second place, Dr. Morton rightly emphasizes Simpson's adaptability. The far-flung trading system that he perfected in the "golden age" of the fur trade never became a sacred thing that he was unwilling to modify when changing conditions made this desirable. On the contrary, he was ever on the watch to see that the Company changed with the times. Thus in our own region he encouraged farming, fishing, lumbering, and mining as well as fur-trading, and if circumstances had permitted he was prepared to experiment with whaling.

We come nearest to Simpson personally in the account of his marriage, and in the revealing chapter entitled "Governor Simpson, the Servant of the Servants of the Company." Through the years he became a combination of father-confessor and financial adviser to scores of the Company's officers, and the sympathetic and meticulous attention he gave to their affairs is greatly to his credit. It is said that no man ever lost a penny through any investment made by Sir George on his behalf.

In spite of these intimate glimpses of Simpson one feels that in many ways he has eluded his biographer—possibly, as suggested above, because at the time the mass of material relating to him was being examined, the author was interested primarily in the general history of the Company. One wonders if a different approach, even if applied to a much more limited range of material, might not produce a more satisfactory result. Would not a careful and imaginative examination of six or eight of the crises of one kind or another in which Simpson was involved reveal the man in all important aspects? For example, his experiences in the Athabasca Department in 1820–21, and his differences with John McLoughlin (both of which, incidentally, are now adequately documented in print), are contrasting episodes from which much can be learned.

There are a number of slips in dates that should be corrected in future printings. Captain Æmilius Simpson died in 1831, not 1832 (p. 7); the date 1820 on p. 133 should be 1825; James McMillan examined the lower Fraser River in 1824 and not in 1826, as implied by a phrase on p. 148; Fort Nisqually was founded in 1833, not 1831 (p. 152).

It is a pity that the superb photograph of Simpson, found recently in Montreal and published in the *Beaver*, did not come to light early enough to

be used as the frontispiece of this volume. No one would have been more thrilled by its discovery than Dr. Morton.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Alaska. By Stuart Ramsay Tompkins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. Pp. xiv., 350. $3.

This book has an attractive paper cover, for on it is an outline map of Alaska, implying that there will be more maps inside, as proves to be the case. Many books are incomplete because they lack the maps needed to an understanding of the text. The sub-title of this book: "Promyshlennik and Sourdough," might provoke an interesting discussion as to what extent the rough and irresponsible freebooters that sought for furs in Alaska are to be likened to the sturdy prospectors that made their flap-jacks, or pancakes, without the aid of yeast.

The book runs to 350 pages and in those pages gives a great deal of trustworthy historic information. I venture to express my regret that it is not published in larger print. It is worthy of such dignity. For the sake of the young and the old alike, books should be printed in 12-point type, to preserve the sight of the youngsters and to ease the reading of the oldsters.

The mental acquaintance of the author had been made previously by the reviewer, as he had read appreciatively Mr. Tompkins' earlier paper on "Drawing the Alaskan Boundary," reprinted from *The Canadian Historical Review* a few months ago. It will be noted that *Alaskan* is used, and not *Alaska*. The adjectival use of the noun is a common illiteracy, such as is entirely foreign to Mr. Tompkins.

The reviewer happens to know Alaska fairly well, having written a book on that Territory, so he is in a position to appreciate the excellence of Mr. Tompkins' treatment of the subject. It is careful and precise, and therefore scholarly. The author knows how to use his medium of expression, the English language. As an example of his attractive style I quote from the first chapter, which is mainly geographic:—

"The northern summer, with its long hours of amber sunlight and its night a brief interlude of twilight between sunset and sunrise; the all too short autumn, then the swift onset of winter, with its almost overpowering cold; the winter landscape lonely, yet with a sparkling beauty all its own; the sublime loveliness of the northern lights of early winter; the gladness of the advent of spring; the mad rush of waters that heralds the break-up of the winter ice and the approach once more of summer—everything tempts the cheechako to hyperbole and even the sourdough to the grudging admission that the 'country gets you.'"

It is noteworthy that in this paragraph the author uses no long words, and those of Latin origin are few. It is good literary English. One criticism may be permitted. It is unwise to use words from a foreign language unless the meaning is indicated in the immediate context. The author uses many Russian words to give local colour, and some of them are present appropriately, whereas others are not. The word *yassak*, or *iasak*, might

well be replaced by *tribute*. *Promyshlennik* and its plural *promyshlenniki* are employed too frequently. Why say *Russian promyshlenniki?* The latter must necessarily be the former. You read of a *voyevode* at Yakutsk and of an *ostrog* in Kamchatka without being told that one means a commander and the other an outpost.

In his detailed description of the Russian advance into Alaska and down the Pacific coast, the author refers frequently to the political conditions at St. Petersburg and the vagaries of the Russian court in the days of that female voluptuary Catherine the Second. This is necessary for an understanding of the spasmodic and ineffective support given to the fur-trading company.

The author's account of the Nootka controversy is well done. What a world-wide fame at that time, and later in history, accrued to that little cove on the west coast of Vancouver Island! His references to the Spanish voyages and to Captain Cook's surveys are likewise made skilfully. This book is a valuable addition to the history of our northwest Pacific coast.

T. A. RICKARD.

North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. By J. Bartlet Brebner. New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1945. Pp. xxii., 385. $5.

Professor J. Bartlet Brebner, of Columbia University, is well fitted to be the author of *North Atlantic Triangle*. A graduate of Toronto, Oxford, and Columbia he has himself been trained in each of the countries which provide a side of the triangle. This volume is a fitting conclusion to the well-known series on "The Relations of Canada and the United States," prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. The general editor of the series, who is also the Director of the Division of Economics and History, Professor James T. Shotwell, is a Toronto graduate who has been for many years a professor at Columbia.

This great series owes its existence to a discussion opened years ago in Ottawa by Professor Brebner on the theme of whether or not the pattern of Canadian development had or had not conformed to American. Professor Shotwell, taking up the problem, decided to launch an investigation conducted by experts in both countries. As a result, a preliminary discussion was held at the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1933, and "by 1934 a large group of scholars and experts was at work on various elements of the political, economic, and social connection" of the two countries. Professor Brebner's original paper presented at Ottawa in 1931 was expanded to become an outline history of Canadian-American interaction "for use as a manual." To date twenty-five volumes have been issued and the series is now concluded by *North Atlantic Triangle*.

The volume is original both in design and in treatment. The author states that his original aim was "to get at, and set forth, the interplay between the United States and Canada—the Siamese Twins of North

America who cannot separate and live." By "interplay," Professor Brebner did not mean "merely the manifestations in what are normally called international relations, but the various kind of things which the people of the two countries did in common, or in complementary fashion, or in competition." For nearly two centuries there was little or no attention paid to the international boundary in so far as it affected the movement of population. Settlement practically ignored it. Nova Scotians went to New England. New Englanders and New Yorkers moved into Upper Canada. Upper Canadians crossed over to the Middle Western States. Californians came to British Columbia. Men and women from the prairie states helped settle Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The fur-traders, the lumbermen, and the miners crossed the boundary almost at will. But the two nations did not coalesce either politically or economically. What they did was to co-operate "in creating the unique North American standard and pattern of living." Above all "they invented and have operated for one hundred and fifty years an increasingly comprehensive and effective international machinery for the liquidation of some inescapable consequences of their interlocked destinies."

But Professor Brebner had not gone far into his researches when he came across another factor which could not be ignored—namely, Great Britain. It is true that Canada and the United States are both "Children of a Common Mother" but, historically, they stand in different relationships to that mother. The United States became a nation as a result of rebellion, and all American (i.e., United States) history is separated by the red thread of the American Revolution. Canada reached maturity by a process of evolution within the British Empire. As a result American and Canadian "responses to the mother country were usually sharply contrasted" and "their understandings of each other were habitually warped." The French-Canadians were another complicating factor. "Although estranged from their own mother country by her course after 1760 and thrown back upon the Vatican for their principal outside reinforcement," as Professor Brebner wisely remarks, they "could not be expected to develop an emotional attachment to their conquerors, whether thought of as Britons or as North Americans."

In comparison with the United States and Great Britain, Canada, except for her vast area, has always been a pygmy between two giants. None the less she bulks large in the North Atlantic Triangle. For that reason the author has devoted more space to Canada than could be justified by a purely proportional representation.

This general statement of aims is necessary for a proper understanding of the treatment of the theme. In sixteen chapters the author sketches "The Pattern of the Continent" and deals with the development of North America, north of New Spain, since 1492. His canvas is wide and his brush-strokes bold. Most of the facts he gives are well known, but his interpretation is his own. Gradually, at times painfully, the North Atlantic Triangle takes form. In spite of isolationist tendencies the United States is forced into two World Wars. Canada, too, finds herself involved.

Even the period of "North American Withdrawal," 1918–32, merely shows that isolationism is impossible. The North Atlantic Triangle, as Professor Shotwell states in his foreword, "is based upon the strongest of all forces for international peace—the will to have it." But down to the end of the nineteenth century the threat of war was never completely absent. Canada was often a pawn in the Anglo-American diplomatic game. But Canada steadily was becoming stronger and was at last to be recognized by both the United States and Great Britain as a full-fledged partner.

This is a notable book. It will repay close reading and study. It is a suitable conclusion to a unique series.

WALTER N. SAGE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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