

THE
**BRITISH
COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY**



JANUARY, 1946

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published by the Archives of British Columbia
in cooperation with the
British Columbia Historical Association.

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The *Quarterly* is indexed in Faxon's *Annual Magazine Subject-Index*.

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

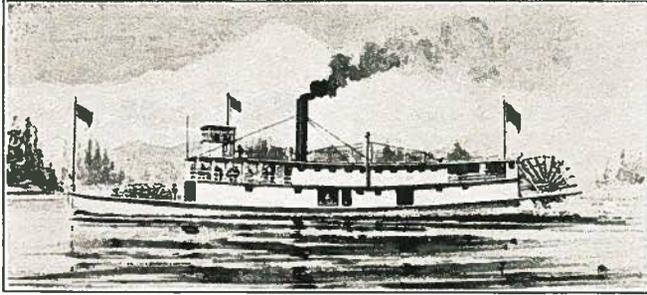
VOL. X.

VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY, 1946.

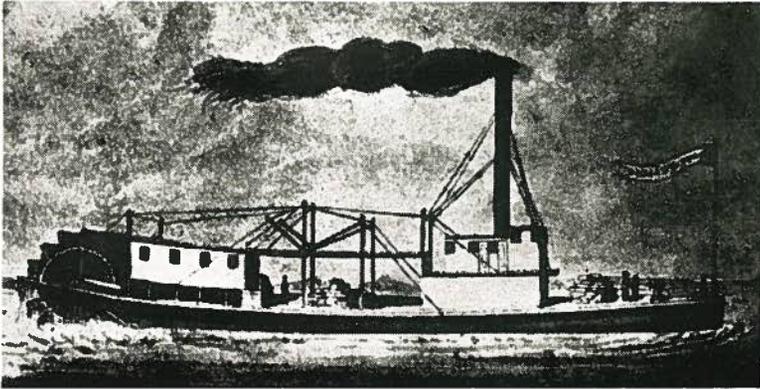
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The *Colonel Moody*, the first steamer registered at New Westminster. Built at Victoria in 1859.



The *Lady of the Lake*, built for service on Anderson Lake by Chapman & Company in 1860.

STEAMBOATING ON THE FRASER IN THE 'SIXTIES.

The prosperity of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in the 'sixties depended largely upon the streams of gold bullion and supplies that flowed to and from the placer mines in the Cariboo. Fraser River steamboats and connecting express lines provided the vital links between the Interior and the trading centres of the Coast.

When freight and passenger rates were high the miners and traders suffered, while the owners of the sternwheelers garnered big profits. Prosperity attracted competition, and inevitably rate-cutting would begin, until sometimes the delighted travellers found themselves carried free, with meals included. The weakest competitors would be forced into bankruptcy, or a "combination" formed, and rates would soar again.

It was an era of "combination, defamation and ruination," and the many steamboat wars of the period present a tangled skein of unbridled competition.

One of the accepted perils of travel was the steamboat explosion. Boilers were often of flimsy construction, inspections were inadequate, and ambitious captains had a lamentable habit of holding down the safety-valve when tempted to race speedier rivals. As a consequence the western rivers of North America had an appalling record of bloody disaster.

British Columbia captains were rugged types, and they maintained a good batting average of explosions. The *Caledonia* was the first to go, in 1859, followed spectacularly by the *Fort Yale* and *Cariboo* in 1861. Then there was a lull for ten years until the *Emily Harris* carried three members of her crew to a sudden demise in 1871.

The disasters were met with philosophy. The casualties were counted—Indians and Chinese not included—the dead were buried (if enough remains could be found), and the incident was written off as an "act of God." Explosions were considered one of the natural perils of navigation. If the timid wayfarer did not like them, he could stay at home.

The intense rivalry that existed on the Fraser River in the 'sixties was fanned by the strident claims of the two competing routes to the mines and by the personalities of the men engaged. The traveller could go to the Cariboo either via Harrison Lake and the chain of connecting lakes to Lillooet, or via the head of navigation at Yale. Those who had invested in the Harrison route spared no words in villifying the opposition and painting in lurid colours the perils of the Fraser Canyon, while Yale merchants answered with shrill counterclaims.

The captains who engaged in the steamboat wars of the period were a colourful lot, for much of the success or failure of a boat depended upon the skill and personality of her skipper. The most enterprising of the rival captains were William Irving, William Moore, Charles Millard, and Tom Wright. Irving, with canny Scottish persistence and a good business head, eventually disposed of his rivals. Moore succumbed to overexpansion; Millard and Wright fell victims to the ruinous rate-cutting. Other competitors, like the Jamieson brothers, and Captain James Frain, ended their careers abruptly and spectacularly in boiler explosions.

In the boom days of 1858 the pioneer steamboats on the Fraser, except the Hudson's Bay Company's screw steamer *Otter*, were American,¹ although they were required by Governor Douglas to fly the British flag as a concession to British customs regulations. From 1859 onwards, British-registered vessels had the trade to themselves, with the exception of the *Eliza Anderson*, which at various times engaged in the Gulf run between Victoria and New Westminster.

The first steamboat to be launched in the two colonies was the sidewheeler *Caledonia*, or *Caledonian*, which was her officially registered name. On September 8, 1858, she slid off the ways at the Songhees Indian village, opposite the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Victoria, in the Inner Harbour. She "took to the water as naturally as a duck, amidst the shouting of the crowd in witness upon the novel scene," wrote a reporter of the event.²

(1) See Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboat 'Round the Bend: American Steamers on the Fraser River in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), pp. 255 *et passim*.

(2) *Victoria Gazette*, September 9, 1858. Dimensions of vessels mentioned in this article will be found in the appendix.

The little vessel was a speculation of a San Francisco firm, Faulkner, Bell & Company, and her building was superintended by Captain James Frain, who was to be her captain most of her life. Her original engine was only 25 horse-power, but this was later replaced by a more powerful one.

Builder and designer of the vessel was James W. Trahey, who had learned his trade in Nova Scotia. He was a master at his craft, and until his sudden death on December 26, 1868,³ nearly all the steamboats built in the two colonies were designed or constructed by him. His original yard was in the Indian reserve, but he soon built a new ways across the harbour at Laurel Point. His temper was a bit choleric, judging by the number of lawsuits and assault cases in which he was involved, but he deserves a measure of fame as one of the founders of the ship-building industry in British Columbia.

The *Caledonia* began her active career on October 26, 1858, carrying freight and passengers between sailing vessels in Esquimalt and Victoria.⁴ With improvement of the old Esquimalt road in 1859, this service was no longer necessary, and new and stronger engines of 70 horse-power were installed in the ship to enable her to cross the Gulf to the Fraser. She made her trial trip with increased power on July 16, 1859,⁵ and started a service to Queenborough, or New Westminster, in opposition to the *Otter*. Plans were made to run her as far up the river as Hope,⁶ but an "act of God" intervened.

While her agent, A. R. Green, was making arrangements at New Westminster, the vessel was already a smouldering hulk. On November 3, 1859,⁷ while outbound from Victoria, not far from the Sand Heads, her "larboard" boiler exploded, killing a fireman, and wounding five others. She drifted about the Gulf for twenty-eight hours, until finally she was blown on the rocks of a small islet, about 8 miles from Orcas Island. The survivors suffered terribly from injuries and exposure, and another fireman succumbed. Word of their plight reached Victoria, and on November 11, the hulk was towed into Esquimalt by

(3) *Victoria Colonist*, December 28, 1868.

(4) Advertisement in *Victoria Gazette*, October 28, 1858.

(5) *Ibid.*, July 16, 1859.

(6) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1859.

(7) *Ibid.*, November 10, 1859.

H.M.S. *Pylades*.⁸ The wreck was towed into Victoria a day or two later by the *Eliza Anderson*, and presented "a most chaotic mass of ruins."⁹ The hull was still sound, however, and the *Caledonia* reappeared in service the following spring.

The first sternwheeler built at Victoria was launched on October 30, 1858, from Trahey's yard at the Indian reserve. She was named the *Governor Douglas*, and the christening was performed by Miss Agnes Douglas. Despite the fact that the event was marred by the ship sticking on the ways, the christening was a gala social occasion, attended by Governor James Douglas, Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes, Captain J. C. Prevost, R.N., and other distinguished guests. The vessel was built of Puget Sound pine, and boasted eight staterooms and eight open berths.¹⁰ She was better constructed than many of the subsequent river boats, but she was not of sufficiently shallow draught to ascend the river above Hope, which detracted from her earning capacity. This fault was offset by her ability to engage in the frequently stormy Gulf run.

Her owners were a Victoria syndicate called the Victoria Steam Navigation Company. The backers were substantial business-men, headed by Alexander Caulfield Anderson, retired Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and first Collector of Customs at Victoria. James N. Thain was secretary, and the directors were W. H. Newton, J. D. B. Ogilvey, Frederick Ginn, and Alexander Sinclair Murray.

Murray provided the practical knowledge. He was a Scottish sea captain who had learned river navigation on the Columbia. He superintended the construction of the vessel and took over command, but with a decline of business in 1860 he sold out his interest to Captain William Irving, a fellow-Scotsman from the Columbia. Captain Murray sailed away for Australia, where he pioneered steamboating on the Murray River.¹¹

William Irving remained to brave good times and bad in the colony, and until his death in 1872 was the best-known of the

(8) *Ibid.*, November 15, 1859.

(9) *Ibid.*, November 17, 1859.

(10) *Ibid.*, November 2, 1858.

(11) For a biographical sketch of Captain Murray, see E. W. Wright (ed.), *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, Oregon, 1895, p. 33. Hereafter cited as *Lewis & Dryden*.

steamboat captains. In an age of cut-throat competition, he was engaged prominently in each of the battles. When hard times came in the late 'sixties, he was the only steamboat owner to survive financial ruin.¹²

The steamboat captains were usually men of substance and probity. Irving became the first President of the New Westminster City Council, and on the day of his funeral, August 29, 1872, business in the Royal City ceased. One of his chief rivals, John R. Fleming, retired to California because of ill-health, but when word reached New Westminster of his death at Oakland on August 19, 1875, all flags on the lower Fraser were flown at half-mast.

William Irving was born at Annan, Dumfriesshire, in 1816, arriving in Oregon in 1849 as master of the barque *Success*, in which he entered the coastal trade. He later operated river steamers on the Columbia before coming to Victoria in 1858. Upon his death he was succeeded in the management of his steamers by his son, Captain John Irving, who quickly made a name for himself as the most redoubtable steamboat man in the business.

Machinery for the *Governor Douglas* arrived at Victoria on December 21, 1858, from San Francisco,¹³ and on January 22, 1859, the steamer made her trial trip to Esquimalt and back.¹⁴ Five days later she cleared for Langley under the command of Captain Murray with passengers and freight.¹⁵

Plans were made by the syndicate for a sister ship, to be named the *Colonel Moody*, in honour of Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., commander of the Royal Engineers in the mainland colony. On this occasion the syndicate called itself the British Columbia Steam Navigation Company.

Throughout 1859 efforts were made in the Vancouver Island House of Assembly to incorporate the Victoria Steam Navigation Company. J. D. Pemberton acted for the syndicate in the House, and introduced a Bill for incorporation on February 8, 1859.

(12) For a biographical sketch of Captain Irving, see E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, IV., pp. 1058-1061, and *Lewis & Dryden*, p. 25.

(13) *Victoria Gazette*, December 23, 1858.

(14) *Ibid.*, January 25, 1859.

(15) *Ibid.*, January 29, 1859.

The Bill went into committee, and had a rough passage, for there was opposition headed by Dr. J. S. Helmcken, and amendments were made to require three-fourths of the shareholders to be British subjects, and none but British or colonial-built steamers to be employed.¹⁶

This proposal did not please the promoters, who included a large percentage of American citizens, and the Bill languished in committee for many months. Eventually the syndicate had their company incorporated in British Columbia, where there was no troublesome House of Assembly. The British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., vesting ownership of the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody*, was incorporated in February, 1860. The American-built steamer *Maria* was also purchased in 1860.

The *Colonel Moody* was launched at James Trahey's new shipyard at Laurel Point, Victoria, on May 14, 1859, at which time, we are told, "a gay party assembled on the steamer, to enjoy the festive occasion," and Colonel Moody made a suitable speech.¹⁷ She made her maiden trip to Queenborough on July 6, 1859,¹⁸ under the command of Captain Smith Jamieson, a former Columbia River navigator, who, like Murray and Irving, was a Scotsman. Henceforth the *Governor Douglas* usually ran from Victoria to New Westminster, connecting with the *Colonel Moody* and *Maria* for up-river points. The *Colonel Moody* was registered at New Westminster, the first vessel to be registered at that port.

In June, 1859, Captain Murray had an angry brush with Wymond Hamley, the Collector of Customs at Queenborough, which provoked much harsh and vigorous language. Cause of the quarrel was a proclamation issued by Governor Douglas on June 15, authorizing collection of a head tax of \$1 from every passenger entering or leaving the colony of British Columbia.

On June 17, as the *Governor Douglas* was leaving Queenborough for Victoria, an attempt was made by Hamley to collect the impost. No previous notice had been given of the tax, so Captain Murray refused to pay, saying he would pay on the next trip.

(16) *Ibid.*, May 5, 1859.

(17) *Ibid.*, May 17, 1859.

(18) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1859.

The vessel returned on June 21, and Captain Murray again refused to pay. He offered a bond, which the Collector refused, ordering a revenue officer with an armed guard of soldiers to board the steamer. The next day Thomas Skinner, a shareholder in the steamer, offered to pay the money under protest, but Hamley refused to accept payment from any one but Captain Murray. The valiant captain then lost his temper, and threatened to sail with the occupying troops and land them at Port Douglas, at the head of Harrison Lake.

The *Governor Douglas* slipped her lines and headed out into the river, while the Collector followed in a small boat, calling on the master to stop, and at his peril to proceed. It must have been a ludicrous situation for Mr. Hamley, for in his official report to the Acting Colonial Secretary, he remarks plaintively, "I am sorry to say that, by Mr. Murray's order, personal violence was offered to Mr. Kirk [the revenue officer] when, in the execution of his duty, he attempted to bring the vessel back to the wharf—and it was only, as I understand, after an intimation of interference from Colonel Moody that the master returned—he sent his purser on shore to pay the fees, and then proceeded on his voyage."

On his return down the river, Murray was bound over to appear before the magistrate on a charge of resisting an officer, but the matter was never pressed. Captain Murray, backed by public opinion, won the battle, for on June 25 the Governor rescinded his previous proclamation and ordered return of all fees collected. The colonial tempest in a tea-pot thus resulted in nothing but discomfiture for Mr. Hamley, who at least was trying to enforce the law.¹⁹

On October 31, 1859, the agents for the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody* addressed a memorial to the Governor requesting exclusive rights to navigation of the Fraser and Harrison rivers. They suggested that freight rates from New Westminster to Hope be set at \$25 per ton from April to November and \$40 for the low-water season. Freight rates to Port Douglas were to be \$25 per ton all the year round, with passenger fares \$10 for the

(19) *Victoria Colonist*, June 20, 27, 1859. For Hamley's account of the episode see W. Wymond Hamley to W. A. G. Young, June 22, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

upward passage and \$7 for the downward. In return for the monopoly the company offered to contribute \$1,000 towards improvement of navigation of Harrison River.²⁰

This was rather a high-handed proposal, for already an opposition steamer was under construction at Victoria. Governor Douglas considered the rates too high, and refused the request.

Sailing of the Fraser River steamer from Victoria was one of the excitements of the day for the little town. There was keen competition between the *Governor Douglas*, *Otter*, *Eliza Anderson*, *Caledonia*, and other steamers; consequently the inhabitants were treated to many inducements to patronize a particular vessel. As publication of the newspapers was somewhat infrequent, it was customary to advertise the sailings by means of Victoria's town crier, a bibulous rascal named John Butts, who for \$2, by means of a bell and his stentorian voice, would announce the date of sailing and latest rates on the New Westminster boat. In pursuit of this ancient profession, Butts was once committed to Victoria gaol for concluding his address to the populace with "God save John Butts," instead of the customary "God save the Queen."²¹

Rates fluctuated with amazing rapidity and disparity on the different routes. During times of intense competition, passengers would sometimes be carried free, while in times of monopoly they were fleeced to the limit. During 1859 the following were some of the rates offered. In April the *Eliza Anderson* was charging \$12 per ton for freight, and \$10 cabin and \$8 deck passage rates, from Victoria to Queenborough and Langley.²² The *Maria* was charging \$30 per ton freight, Langley to Hope, and \$10 passage.²³ Three weeks later Captain Thomas Gladwell of the *Maria* was carrying passengers for "two bits" (25 cents) each.²⁴ On August 30 the *Otter* was charging \$3 per ton freight and \$3 passage money to New Westminster.²⁵ By September 22

(20) The memorial is printed in F. W. Howay (ed.), *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, 1926, pp. 120-121.

(21) D. W. Higgins, *The Passing of a Race*, Toronto, 1905, pp. 116-120 gives a popular account of the career of John Butts.

(22) *Victoria Gazette*, April 26, 1859.

(23) *Ibid.*, May 7, 1859.

(24) *Ibid.*, May 24, 1859.

(25) *Ibid.*, August 30, 1859.

freight was down to 50 cents a ton and passage 50 cents.²⁶ On October 15 the *Eliza Anderson* was the only steamer plying to New Westminster, and freight and passage had jumped to \$6 from Victoria.²⁷ At this time the clearance fee for British vessels sailing from Victoria to the Fraser was \$3, while foreign vessels had to pay a surcharge of \$12 per trip.

In the autumn of 1859 a third steamer was launched at Victoria for the river traffic. This was the sternwheeler *Henrietta*, set afloat October 17 for Captain William Moore, and named after his daughter.²⁸ The vessel was built at Trahey's yard by Peter Holmes, a Danish ship's carpenter.²⁹ She was a small vessel designed to ply at low stages of water on Harrison River, and between Hope and Yale, and she drew only 20 inches of water with 40 tons freight.

Prior to the arrival of her engines she was operated under sail to Port Douglas, with Captain John Deighton as pilot. Known as "Gassy Jack," because of his proclivity for argument, Deighton was a well-known Fraser pilot for many years, but his chief fame rests as the first property-owner in the village of Granville, or "Gastown," on Burrard Inlet, which was later to become the City of Vancouver.

"Gassy Jack" Deighton was born in Hull, Yorkshire, in 1830.³⁰ He followed the sea in his early years and came to British Columbia in 1858. In 1867 he settled on Burrard Inlet, where he built the Deighton Hotel, but he was still attracted to the Fraser during the season, and in 1874 he was captain of John Irving's steamer *Onward*.³¹ He was rough and ready, but possessed a fair education, and was highly regarded as a river pilot. On his death on June 7, 1875, the *Victoria Colonist* described him as an "energetic, useful citizen,"³² and the *Mainland Guardian* of New Westminster lauded him as "the first and

(26) *Ibid.*, September 22, 1859.

(27) *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859.

(28) *Victoria Colonist*, October 19, 1859.

(29) Holmes was later captain of several ships on the coast. He died at Victoria, February 24, 1893, aged 90 years. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1893.

(30) For an account of the career of "Gassy Jack" see *Vancouver News*, September 14 and 15, 1886.

(31) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, April 15, 1874.

(32) *Victoria Colonist*, June 10, 1875.

best pilot on the Fraser."³³ He was not the first, but he was one of the best.

1860.

The *Henrietta* made her trial trip under steam on January 19, 1860. Through passage rates from New Westminster to Hope were quoted at \$7, while freight was \$17 a ton to Port Douglas and \$25 to Hope.³⁴

Since the departure of the American steamer *Umatilla* from the river in 1858, no vessel had been able to reach the head of navigation at Yale. Arrival of the *Henrietta* at that town on February 19, 1860, was the signal for general rejoicing. The Yale correspondent of the *Victoria Colonist* described the gala occasion:—

The steamer *Henrietta* arrived here this afternoon, bringing fifty passengers and 9 tons freight. Her arrival was the signal for a general suspension of business. All was excitement such as I have never before witnessed in Yale. The advent was the final realization of our twenty months' anticipation. Anvils were made to answer the purpose of cannon, and quite a brisk firing was kept up during the afternoon. A large banner was displayed on the river front upon which the words "Welcome *Henrietta*" but echoed the heart-felt sentiment of the entire community. Capt. Moore deserves much credit for his untiring energy and perseverance, for he has established and maintained the position (if adequately supported) that Yale is accessible by steam at this, the worst, season. Ergo—Yale is the head of navigation. In the evening a collation to Capt. Moore and his officers rendered the occasion one that will not soon be forgotten.³⁵

The owner and skipper of the *Henrietta*, Captain "Billy" Moore, was one of the most colourful personalities in British Columbia marine annals. He played a prominent part in every gold excitement from the Queen Charlotte Islands flurry of 1852 to the Nome rush of 1901.

A native of Hanover, he went to sea at the tender age of seven. In 1851 he prospected in California, and the following year came gold-hunting to the Queen Charlottes in the brig *Tepic*. The venture was not a success, and after a spell of adventure in Peru and California, Moore came to the Fraser River in July, 1858. He built a barge, with which he freighted between Hope and Yale, winning the soubriquet of the "Flying Dutchman," and making enough to build the *Henrietta*. The passenger

(33) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 9, 1875.

(34) *Victoria Colonist*, February 18, 1860.

(35) *Ibid.*, February 25, 1860.

rate at that time between Hope and Yale was \$2.50, while the freight rate was 1 cent a pound.³⁶

Captain Moore spent his last days at Victoria, where he died on March 30, 1909, aged 87. He was not an educated man, but he was a man of stubborn character, strong and aggressive, full of ambition and perseverance.³⁷

Competition was keen on the Fraser River during 1860, and three new sternwheelers followed the *Henrietta*: the *Fort Yale*, *Hope*, and *Flying Dutchman*. Three new steamers also were built for the chain of lakes between Port Douglas and Lillooet. These were the *Marzelle* on Lillooet Lake, *Lady of the Lake* on Anderson Lake, and *Champion* on Seton Lake; all of them sternwheelers.

For several years, until completion of the Cariboo road from Yale, a large percentage of the traffic to the Cariboo mines followed the Harrison-Lillooet route. From Port Douglas, 45 miles from the mouth of Harrison River, a trail was cut 29 miles to Lillooet Lake. After crossing this lake, a 22-mile portage brought the traveller to Anderson Lake. A portage of a mile and a half joined Anderson to Seton Lake, and it was then only 4 miles to Lillooet on the Fraser. The entire length of the trail, including the lakes, was about 100 miles to Lillooet. One of the chief difficulties lay in navigation of Harrison River, which in one spot known as the "rapids" was so shallow at low water that steamers had to land their cargoes on the bank and tranship them across the bar.

After completion of the Cariboo trail through the canyons to Lytton and Clinton in 1862, there was great competition between the two routes. The Harrison route gradually declined after 1863 and was abandoned about 1867. Too many transshipments and consequent delays caused its failure.³⁸

(36) *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, June 4, 1864.

(37) The Moore family papers are deposited in the University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington. See C. L. Andrews, "Biographical Sketch of Captain William Moore," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI. (1930), pp. 195-203, 271-280, XXII. (1931), pp. 32-41.

(38) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862-63*, with introduction and notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa, 1931, pp. 238-241. Hereafter cited as *Cheadle's Journal*.

The three lake steamers were rather primitive, but served their purpose fairly well for several years. The *Champion* was completed in June, 1860, for Taylor & Company.³⁹ Her owners claimed that she was "very fast," and could make four trips a day across Seton Lake. She was actually frightfully slow, and was replaced by a faster steamer called the *Seaton* in 1863.

The little *Marzelle* was launched on June 12, 1860, for service on Lillooet Lake, by Goulding & Company.⁴⁰ She ran until 1863, until she was replaced by a fine sternwheeler called the *Prince of Wales*. She was then relegated to service on Little Lillooet or Tenas Lake.

Travellers were critical of the rates charged by the *Marzelle*. On July 18, 1860, a correspondent wrote to the *Colonist*:—

The beautiful little steamer called the "Marzelle" is now running regularly on Lillooet Lake. She is owned by parties, who but for their cupidity, would certainly deserve credit for their enterprise. They think they have the monopoly of the Lake, and demand higher prices for freight than has hitherto been charged by small boats. In fact, their demands are so exorbitant, that parties have again put on small boats; so that under present circumstances the steamer is rather an injury than a benefit to the route.⁴¹

Governor Douglas made a trip up the Harrison route in 1860, and with characteristic thoroughness made a note in his diary on the operations of the *Marzelle*, under date of September 3.

The steamer Marsella [*sic*] which plies on Lillooet Lake is 50 tons burthen, 25 horse power. She is hardly finished yet but is nevertheless a useful boat. The following is a return of her freights from the 24 June to 24 August—2 months: 510,246 lbs or about 8000 lbs a day, or 4 tons which gives at 1 cent a lb 80 dols. as her daily earnings and 1410 tons as the annual transport by this route.⁴²

The Anderson Lake vessel, the *Lady of the Lake*, was also launched in the early summer of 1860 for Chapman & Company.⁴³ She was called a "splendid model," but she was no record breaker for speed. Her engines were so small they were hardly able to make a stand-off in a stiff breeze.

(39) *Victoria Colonist*, June 12, 1860.

(40) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1860.

(41) *Ibid.*, July 24, 1860.

(42) Douglas *Private Papers*, First Series, p. 73, transcript in the Archives of B.C. from the original in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

(43) *Victoria Colonist*, June 12, 1860.

The *Henrietta* did not compete for long in 1860. In July, just at the peak of business, she was bought off the river by the British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, which had hopes of maintaining a monopoly.⁴⁴ This buying-off process was a standard steamboat practice of the day. But Captain Moore was not a man to be squeezed out of a lucrative trade, for he promptly sold the vessel to Charles T. Millard, a Victoria merchant, and began construction of a new steamer, the *Flying Dutchman*. The *Henrietta* reappeared under Millard's banner, so the Navigation Company was worse off than before.

Captain Charles Thomas Millard, with his partner Captain Asbury Insley, were to provide some of the stiffest competition yet seen on the river. Millard, an Englishman, operated the *Henrietta*, *Hope*, and *Caledonia* at cut rates until 1865, when he was forced into bankruptcy. He became an auctioneer at Victoria in 1870, but in 1874 he was steamboating again, with the *Gem* on the Stikine River.⁴⁵ In 1876 he was back on the Fraser, running the *Gem* in opposition to William Moore and John Irving. He subsequently became a provision merchant in New Westminster.

Millard was a strong character, as an event that occurred in 1862 proves. On June 25, 1862, the *Henrietta* was leaving Port Douglas, when a group of about 100 miners forcibly took possession and refused to pay their fares to New Westminster. The captain, Henry Devries, was a timid Dutchman, and allowed himself to be intimidated. Meanwhile, Captain Millard was on his way up Harrison Lake in the *Hope*. When he came alongside the *Henrietta*, Devries explained the situation. Single-handed, Millard collected fares of \$5 each from eighty of the tough miners, and forced the remainder to return to Port Douglas in the *Hope*. Some of the miners complained bitterly of his aggressive conduct, so Captain Millard defended himself in a letter to the *Colonist*.

I am ready to swear neither knives nor pistols were used. . . . When I am afraid to collect the fare from my passengers I will sell out and leave the country.⁴⁶

(44) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

(45) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1874.

(46) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1862.

His action was upheld by a correspondent signing himself "Veritas," who wrote:—

. . . Capt. Millard . . . has won the esteem of every decent person on the river. He has "nippe'd i' the bud" rowdyism in its incipient stages, and taught about 100 men a lesson. . . . It has taught them that they cannot come into a British colony and act as they please—that they must obey the laws, and they will not be allowed to trample upon the rights of citizens . . .⁴⁷

Captain Millard's partner, Captain Asbury Insley, known on the river as "Delaware," was long one of the best-known Fraser navigators.⁴⁸ Originally a deep-water sailor from Delaware, he came to the Fraser River in 1858 and freighted a small barge between Hope and Yale. He was a partner of Millard until 1864, when he sold out and joined forces with Captain William Moore.

After purchase of the *Henrietta*, Charles Millard launched a new sternwheeler called the *Hope*, at Trahey's yard, Laurel Point, on September 22, 1860. The *Colonist* expressed rapturous appreciation of the happy event.

After the launch had been effected, several baskets of Cliquot champagne yielded up their contents, and amid the popping of the corks and cheers of congratulation, the future good "health" of the *Hope* was drank [*sic*] by the multitude.⁴⁹

She was fitted with "spacious cabins and saloons," and cost an estimated \$15,000. The *Hope* proved to be one of the most successful boats built for the river, chiefly because she had sufficient power and shallow draught to reach the head of navigation at Yale at almost any time of the year. She was rebuilt by Captain Fleming in 1870, and ended her days in 1875 on the Stikine River.

Captain Moore's *Flying Dutchman* was launched at Laurel Point on September 26, to the accompaniment of the usual festivities and champagne.⁵⁰ Peter Holmes was the builder and James Trahey performed the christening. Captain Moore expressed his intention to run her to Yale regularly or collapse.

(47) *Ibid.*, July 12, 1862.

(48) For a sketch of the career of Captain Insley see *Lewis & Dryden*, pp. 93-94.

(49) *Victoria Colonist*, September 25, 1860.

(50) *Ibid.*, September 27, 1860.

She drew only 5 inches of water when light, and it was claimed she could sail on a heavy dew. She was fitted up "in a plain but substantial manner," which meant that her accommodation was fairly crude. She made her trial trip on January 21, 1861.

After the *Henrietta* was bought off the Yale run, citizens of that town determined to build a steamer of their own, free of entangling alliances. The Yale Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., was organized. John Kurtz, of Kurtz & Company, general merchants, was chairman; Hugh Nelson (later a Senator and Lieutenant-Governor), of the Dietz & Nelson Express Company, was secretary; and E. H. Sanders, the assistant gold commissioner, was treasurer. Directors were A. C. Elliott, barrister (later Premier of British Columbia); J. C. Beedy, Hugh McRoberts, and William Power.⁵¹ Beedy held the contract to build the trail from Yale to Spuzzum, and McRoberts and Power built the portion from Spuzzum to Boston Bar.

The new company's vessel, designed by James Trahey, was launched from Laing⁵² & Scorgie's shipyard on Major (James) Bay, Victoria, on October 15, 1860.⁵³ She was christened the *Idahoe*, but the name was soon changed to *Fort Yale*.

She was soon running on the Fraser, under command of Captain Smith Jamieson, arriving for the first time at Yale on November 26, 1860, amid great rejoicing. She made the 16-mile run from Hope to Yale in two hours and twenty-five minutes, cutting five minutes from the previous record held by the *Hope*. Her arrival was described in the *Colonist*.

She was received by the inhabitants of that flourishing town [Yale] with every manifestation of rejoicing. Cannons and anvils were fired, and British and American flags hoisted in honor of the event. The Celestials there resident also came in for their share of the fun, and set off innumerable packs of Chinese fire-crackers. In the evening, a dinner was given to the attaches of the boat, and many invited guests, by the inhabitants, at which the "humbler classes," ladies and gentlemen, mustered in full strength. After the dinner, a ball was held, and the dancing continued till an early hour in the morning. On Tuesday, at half-past eight o'clock,

(51) *Ibid.*, May 15, 1860.

(52) Robert Andrew Laing operated a shipyard from 1859 to 1882. Born at St. Andrew's, Scotland, in 1816, he died at Victoria, September 29, 1882. He was a prisoner of the Queen Charlotte Island Indians when the *Susan Sturgis* was captured in 1852. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1882.

(53) *Ibid.*, October 16, 1860.

a.m., the Fort Yale took her departure, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude and made the run to Fort Hope in 54 minutes; left Hope at half past ten o'clock, and reached New Westminster (stopping at Harrison River on the way) at 5 o'clock, and though dark and rainy, made the entire trip in less than seven hours and a half—the quickest trip on record. The people of Fort Yale are highly delighted with their boat, which is a perfect model of beauty and strength.⁵⁴

Unfortunately, the people of Fort Yale were not to maintain their delight for long. On April 14, 1861, the steamer was blown to pieces in a boiler explosion at Union Bar, 2 miles above Hope. Captain Jamieson and four others were killed, while a number of Chinese and several Indians were said to be missing. The ship's purser, F. J. Barnard, survived, to found the B.C. Express Company. Captain William Irving, who was a passenger, also escaped injury. Everything above the deck was razed. Pieces of the boiler were picked up more than half a mile from the disaster. The tragedy was blamed on inferior iron in the boiler.⁵⁵

The death of Captain Jamieson held a personal tragedy, for he was about to marry, on his next trip down to New Westminster, Miss Sue Robinson, the ingénue of a San Francisco theatrical troupe then playing in the Royal City.

Smith Jamieson was one of five brothers who came to the Pacific Coast from Scotland, all of whom died in steamboat disasters within a short period.⁵⁶ In 1854 one of the brothers was blown up in the steamer *Gazelle*, at Canemah, Oregon. Captain Robert Jamieson was killed when the steamer *Portland* went over the falls of the Willamette River in 1857. Smith Jamieson lost his life in the *Fort Yale*, while Archibald and James perished in August, 1861, when the *Cariboo* blew up off Shoal Point, Victoria.

The *Cariboo* was a sidewheeler, launched on November 16, 1860, at the Indian reserve, Victoria.⁵⁷ Captain Archibald Jamieson, her owner and captain, intended to run her from Victoria to Hope direct. Her engines did not arrive from Scot-

(54) *Ibid.*, November 30, 1860.

(55) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 18, 1861.

(56) For an account of the unfortunate Jamieson brothers see "An Ill-fated Family," in D. W. Higgins, *The Mystic Spring*, Toronto, 1904, pp. 171-185.

(57) *Victoria Colonist*, November 16, 1860.

land until the following May, so the vessel made her trial trip from Victoria on July 26, 1861.

Her career was very short. On her second trip out of Victoria, on August 1, 1861, while off Shoal Point, her boiler exploded, killing the captain and five others, including William Allen, chief engineer, who had previously survived the *Caledonia* explosion, and the captain's brother, James Jamieson, second engineer.⁵⁸

Cause of the explosion was never determined, but it was believed to be due to low water in the boiler. The dismantled hull was towed back into harbour, where it was tied up at Laing's shipyard. The hull was sold at auction to Charles Millard for \$800, but no attempt was made to rebuild it until 1866, when Dougal Brothers, of Victoria, who operated a foundry, reconstructed the vessel. She was renamed the *Fly*, but subsequently appeared under the curious composite name of *Cariboo and Fly*. Under this name she had a very chequered career in British Columbia coastal waters until 1895, when she was wrecked near Port Essington.

1861.

The first screw steamer launched in the colonies was the *Emily Harris*, built for Thomas Harris, first mayor of Victoria, who was a butcher, and used her for transporting cattle. She was built by Peter Holmes at Trahey's yard, and launched on January 3, 1861.

Champagne was dispensed freely at her launch, and the *Colonist* reporter waxed eloquent at the little ship's beauty.

The *Emily Harris* is one of the most beautiful craft we have ever beheld. She is modeled after an Indian canoe and sets deep in the water—much like a clipper-ship. She is . . . built with a view to strength, speed and durability, and her timbers are all of live oak.⁵⁹

Her strength and durability did not prevent her blowing to pieces on August 14, 1871, when bound from Nanaimo to Victoria. Captain James Frain and two others were killed.

Steamboat competition on the Fraser River reached a new peak in the spring of 1861. Freight rates were reduced to \$1 a ton from New Westminster to Hope and Douglas. In May

(58) *Ibid.*, August 3, 1861.

(59) *Ibid.*, January 4, 1861.

the *Colonel Moody* was carrying passengers to Yale for 25 cents, while the *Hope* was taking travellers free of charge.⁶⁰ Such cut-throat trade could not continue, and in June it was announced that a combination had been formed.⁶¹

Included in the deal were Captains Irving, Moore, and Milard, with the steamers *Governor Douglas*, *Colonel Moody*, *Maria*, *Flying Dutchman*, *Hope*, and *Henrietta*. Freight rates immediately jumped to \$15 a ton to Port Douglas and \$25 a ton to Yale. Two weeks later freight to Douglas was boosted to \$25 a ton, and Douglas and Lillooet merchants announced they were building a steamer to break the combination.

In July four steamers were running on the river. The *Colonel Moody* operated from New Westminster to Hope, the *Flying Dutchman* and *Henrietta* were on Harrison Lake, while the *Hope* ran from Hope to Emery's Bar. The *Governor Douglas* and *Maria* were laid up.

New competition was not long in arriving. On May 7, 1861, a steamer similar to the *Fort Yale* had been launched at Laing's shipyard to the order of the Yale Steam Navigation Company, christened the *Maggie Lauder*. Her owners went into liquidation, and the hull lay idle for some months. On July 13, 1861, the vessel was launched again, this time as the *Union*.⁶² Her owners were merchants interested in the Douglas-Lillooet route, and the chief shareholders were Gustavus Blin Wright and Uriah Nelson. Wright had the contract to build the toll-road from Lillooet to Soda Creek, while Nelson was a big mule-team operator. He was later partner with Captain Otis Parsons in operating a ferry service across the Fraser at Lillooet.

Master of the *Union* was Captain W. G. Doane, who had been pilot with Captain Tom Wright in the *Enterprise* in 1858. Freight rates were immediately reduced to \$5 a ton to Douglas and Hope and \$10 to Yale.⁶³ Monopoly was defeated once again.

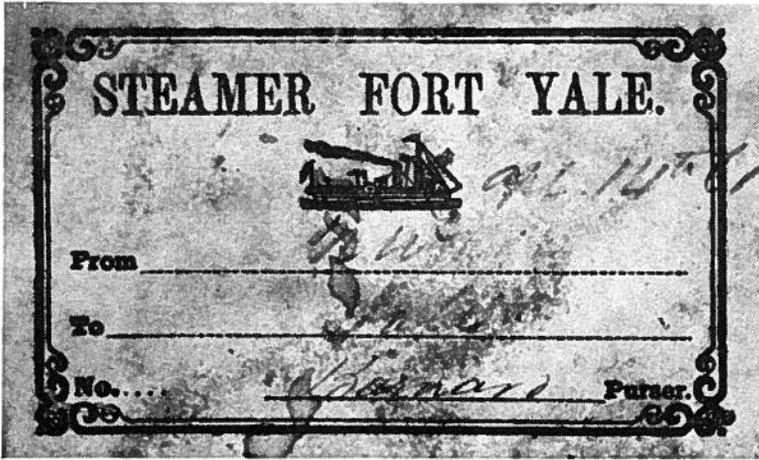
Huge treasures were carried down by the river steamers in the early autumn of 1861. It was customary for bullion to be entrusted to Barnard's Cariboo Express from the northern mines

(60) *Ibid.*, May 21, 1861.

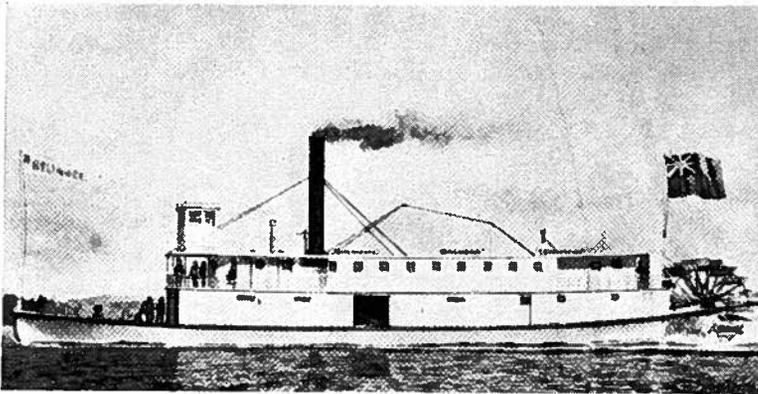
(61) *Ibid.*, June 12, 1861.

(62) *Ibid.*, July 15, 1861.

(63) New Westminster *British Columbian*, August 15, 1861.



Ticket for a passage from New Westminster to Yale in the steamer *Fort Yale* on April 14, 1861—the day she was shattered by a boiler explosion at Union Bar, 2 miles above Hope. Signed by F. J. Barnard, who was serving as Purser of the *Fort Yale*. From the original in the Provincial Archives.



The *Reliance*, one of the most successful steamers ever placed on the Fraser. Built at Victoria for Captain William Irving in 1862. She was equipped with the engines of the ill-fated *Fort Yale*.

to Yale or Lillooet, from which points Dietz & Nelson's British Columbia and Victoria Express would be responsible for safe delivery of the gold at Victoria. Bulk of the treasure was then shipped to the San Francisco mint by Wells, Fargo & Company.

Figures quoted in the *Victoria Colonist*, although perhaps exaggerated, give an indication of the magnitude of the traffic from the mines to Victoria, via New Westminster.

In the period between August 17 and October 31, 1861, the steamers *Otter* and *Caledonia*, which were engaged in the Gulf run, delivered at Victoria, more than \$1,500,000 in gold-dust from the Cariboo mines. On October 30, for instance, the *Caledonia* arrived in Victoria with 120 passengers and \$240,000 in bullion, while the *Otter* topped that mark with \$300,000 on November 12.⁶⁴

1862.

The winter of 1861-62 was a particularly severe one in British Columbia, and navigation on the Fraser was blocked by ice from December to April. As early as December 10 there was a shortage of flour, beef, and potatoes in New Westminster. Communication between Victoria and New Westminster was maintained via Burrard Inlet. The *Emily Harris* engaged regularly in this trade during the cold spell. Passengers were landed at Port Moody and transported to New Westminster by sleigh.

The ice on the lower Fraser was broken by the *Flying Dutchman*, which managed to reach Victoria on March 12 with a badly broken stern-wheel. Citizens of New Westminster subscribed "between \$300 and \$400" to compensate Captain Moore for his loss in opening the river.⁶⁵

By March 17, 1862, the river was open as far as the Harrison, and Victoria began to experience a boom, as long-delayed trade began to move.

The business portion of the city suddenly woke from its winter-long torpor. Wagons and drays were kept constantly on the move between the stores and the wharves, and merchants were busily employed from early until late, selling, packing, and delivering merchandise. The steamers were not able to accommodate half of the goods that were offered.

(64) *Victoria Colonist*, August 17, 1861, *et seq.*

(65) *Ibid.*, March 13, 1862.

There was indeed need for supplies, as the gold colony was close to starvation. At Yale, flour was selling for \$75 a barrel, and Chinese were paying \$5 each for cats and dogs. Captain Irving reported that both the Fraser and Harrison rivers were lower than he had ever seen them. Steamers were compelled to discharge freight at the mouth of Douglas Slough (3 miles short of the town), from whence it cost \$30 a ton to convey it to Port Douglas.⁶⁶

It did not take long for the steamboat war to break out again. When navigation reopened to the Harrison in March, the *Colonel Moody* charged \$10 fare from New Westminster, while the *Hope* countered with a \$5 rate. By April 11 the rate war was on. The *Flying Dutchman* and *Union* were carrying passengers from New Westminster to Douglas at \$1 each, and freight at \$6 per ton. The *Hope* and *Henrietta* were taking passengers at 50 cents, horses and mules free; while the *Colonel Moody* offered meals and passage free.⁶⁷ On May 7 it was possible to purchase a through ticket to Lillooet via the *Flying Dutchman*, *Union*, and the three lake steamers for only \$4.⁶⁸

The *Henrietta* had recently been rebuilt at Laing's yard in Victoria, and lengthened 12 feet. Captain Charles Millard was never one to stint himself, and at the trial trip we are told:—

The delighted company toasted the steamer and her enterprising commander in bumpers of Cliquot, and had a pleasant time generally.⁶⁹

One is tempted to remark, "No doubt!"

Captain Millard had an ambitious plan at this time to take the *Hope* and *Henrietta* through the canyons of the Fraser above Yale, and pioneer a new field. He hoped to run the *Henrietta* from Sailor's Bar, 9 miles above Yale, to Chapman's Bar, 7 miles farther up the river. The *Hope* he intended to send through both the Big and Little Canyons of the Fraser to Boston Bar, from whence he could run her to Lytton.⁷⁰ The scheme did not materialize, and not until 1882 did a steamer navigate the Big Canyon. This was the sternwheeler *Skuzzy*, which ran for two years between Boston Bar and Lytton.

(66) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1862.

(67) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1862.

(68) *Ibid.*, May 7, 1862.

(69) *Ibid.*, March 4, 1862.

(70) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1862.

An important newcomer to the Fraser River trade in 1862 was the Hudson's Bay Company's sidewheeler *Enterprise*, which was purchased to supersede the *Otter* on the Gulf run. She was built in 1861 for the trade between San Francisco and Stockton, but later in that year was brought north to operate on Puget Sound in opposition to the *Eliza Anderson*. She was not successful, and Captain W. A. Mouat purchased her for the Hudson's Bay Company for \$60,000. She had beds for sixty passengers and could accommodate 150 tons of freight. She made her first trip to the Fraser on April 3, 1862, under Captain Mouat. She was a great money-maker for the Hudson's Bay Company until July, 1885, when she collided with the *R. P. Rithet*, and was abandoned in Cadboro Bay.

A new factor appeared in the river competition in the spring of 1862, when the pioneer British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company changed hands. On May 22, 1862, Captain William Irving disposed of his interest to Captain John T. Wright, Jr., brother of Captain Thomas Wright. The *Governor Douglas*, *Colonel Moody*, and *Maria* were sold at a bargain price of \$12,500, paid over in gold and silver coin. The coin filled a cedar bucket to the brim, and in being carried from MacDonald's Bank in Victoria, nearly carried away the bottom of the pail.⁷¹ Wright immediately placed the *Eliza Anderson* on the Gulf run, connecting with his up-river boats, while he placed the steamer *Hermann* on the run from San Francisco to Victoria. In July, 1862, he took the pioneer steamer *Maria* off the river, sending her to the Columbia River.

Another steamer to leave the river was Captain Moore's *Flying Dutchman*, which sailed for the Stikine River on June 10, with sixty passengers, and towing the new barge *J. W. Moore*. This was a wise move on Moore's part, for he escaped the ruinous competition on the Fraser and made a small fortune on the Stikine, where discovery of gold in the sand bars had caused a mild rush. Moore had the river to himself and charged as much as the traffic would bear. An angry correspondent wrote from the Stikine to the *Victoria Colonist*:—

. . . Freight up to the highest spot, about 180 or 190 miles up the river is \$100 per ton; what think you of that? but Capt. Moore thinks he is

(71) *Ibid.*, May 23, 1862.

doin' us a favor. . . . Passage is \$20 per man without grub or anything else, and on every pound of their personal effects 5 cts per lb. is charged.⁷²

There were now only two competitors on the Fraser, for Captain Wright had acquired the *Union*. He and Captain Millard formed a new combination, in which Wright was to stick to the Fraser and Millard to the Harrison. One-third of the profits were to go to Millard and two-thirds to Wright. Freight rates were boosted to \$20 to Douglas and \$25 a ton to Yale.

The first opposition to the new monopoly was provided by the *Caledonia*, which in October started running between New Westminster and Douglas, cutting the fare to \$7. Even this was considered excessive, and many miners came down by canoes, which charged \$3. One canoe with twelve passengers came down in seventeen hours, which was little more than steamer time.⁷³

The *Caledonia* did not compete for long. In November, Captain Millard purchased her for \$8,000, and announced that after installation of a new boiler she would run from Victoria to New Westminster and Port Douglas.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, on October 8, 1862, Captain William Irving had launched the new sternwheeler *Reliance* from the yards of James Trahey, at Victoria. She was equipped with the machinery from the *Fort Yale*.⁷⁵

An interested spectator at the launching was William Irving's son, the late Captain John Irving, then aged eight. Seventy-four years later he recalled to the writer that he imbibed freely of the champagne, which was flowing generously, and had to be carried home by his father's quartermaster, much to the perturbation of his mother. A doctor was called, who quickly diagnosed the cause of the malaise, but never let on to Mrs. Irving the reason for the small boy's fall from grace.

The *Reliance* proved to be the most successful of the steamers on the Fraser during the height of the gold-rush, and made more money than any of the competitors. She was broken up in 1871.

1863.

An event of some note in the spring of 1863 was the completion of the first vessel to navigate the upper Fraser from Soda

(72) *Ibid.*, July 21, 1862.

(73) *Ibid.*, November 10, 1862.

(74) *Ibid.*, November 4, 1862.

(75) *Ibid.*, October 9, 1862.

Creek to Quesnel. She was built for Captain Thomas Wright, in conjunction with G. B. Wright, the road-builder (who was no relation), and was named *Enterprise*, the third of that name, after the pioneer vessel of 1858. James Trahey constructed her at Four Mile Creek, near Fort Alexandria, and her engines and boilers were sent up over the Harrison-Lillooet route. On her first trip up the river she left Alexandria at 4 p.m. on May 9, under command of Thomas Wright, and arrived at Quesnel at 4 p.m. on the 10th. The trip down to Alexandria was made in two hours and forty minutes, and to Soda Creek from Alexandria, one hour and twenty minutes.⁷⁶

The ship proved to be a money-maker, charging \$40 per ton for freight from Soda Creek to Quesnel. Captain W. G. Doane, late of the *Union*, soon succeeded Tom Wright in command, and she ran for many years. In 1871, during the Omineca excitement, G. B. Wright took her through the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons to Fort George, then up the Nechako to the Stuart River, up the Stuart to Stuart Lake, up Tachie River to Trembleur Lake, and then up Middle River and Tatla Lake to Tatla Landing,⁷⁷ a feat never equalled in river navigation in British Columbia.

Dr. Cheadle gives an interesting description in his journal of a trip from Soda Creek to Quesnel in the autumn of 1863. Under the date of October 16, he says:—

Steamer came in about 2 o'clock bringing a host of miners 2 of whom were very drunk & continued to imbibe every 5 minutes; during the time we stayed in the house they must have had 20 drinks. The swearing was something fearful. After we had been on board a short time the Captain, finding out who we were, gave us the use of his cabin, a comfortable little room, & supplied us with cigars & a decanter of cocktail, also books & papers. We were fetched out every few minutes to have a drink with some one, the Captain taking the lead by standing champagne all round. We had some dozen to do before supper; no one the least affected, Milton & I shirking in quantity. The 'Cap' told us the boat was built on the river, all the timbers sawn by hand, the shaft in 5 pieces packed up on mules, cylinders in two, boiler plates brought in same manner. Boat cost \$75,000!

Saturday, October 17th—As we did not leave Soda Creek until 4 & the boat makes very slow progress against the powerful current, we had to anchor for night after doing only some 10 miles. At daybreak went on 4

(76) Thomas Wright to R. C. Moody, May 13, 1863, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(77) *Cariboo Sentinel*, July 16, August 12, 1871.

or 5 miles, & then delayed by the dense fogs which prevail on the river in the early morning at this season. Passed Fort Alexander about 10. . . . Continually called out to have a drink.

Sunday, October 18th—Arrived about 9, at Quesnel mouth, a little collection of about 20 houses on the wooded banks of the Fraser. Quesnel at the north side of the Fort. Large new stores & cards all lying about the street. . . . We made up our pack & set out. Captain Done [Captain W. G. Doane of the *Enterprise*] met us in street half seas over & insisted to treat us to champagne, &c., at every bar in the place. At last escaped & walked to 4-mile house. . . .⁷⁸

On their return to Quesnel in November the tourists once again met the hospitable Captain Doane. Cheadle says, under Wednesday, November 4th:—

Steamer stopped & hauled on to the bank. . . . Called on Captain Done on the Steamer. Cocktails every 5 minutes, & champagne lunch afterwards. Happiest man I ever saw. Steward tells me he takes a cocktail every ten minutes when on board. Very jolly fellow. Had to give a keg of brandy to his men before they could haul the steamer on shore. Gave them a champagne dinner on being paid off today, & we heard them singing away below deck. Came in for many champagne drinks during the day.⁷⁹

Such was the life on the river-boats during the heyday of the Cariboo mining boom. As the *Enterprise* was laid up for the winter, Cheadle and Milton took passage on a rowboat from Quesnel to Soda Creek, for which they paid \$10.

A correspondent writing to the *Victoria Chronicle* in 1864 says:—

The steamer *Enterprise* was laid up on my arrival at Soda Creek for repairs to her shaft, but has now a new one and makes better time than last year. She is very comfortable though small and her "high-toned" Captain, (Doane) and gentlemanly purser (Mr. Hunt) are hard to beat. For the first time after leaving Lillooet, I sat down to a fine dinner with claret and ice, ale, sherry, and champagne in their company. In this respect, as in many others, she is the pioneer of civilization in this part of the country.⁸⁰

Competition on the lower Fraser was very strong again in 1863. Captain Moore returned from the Stikine with the *Flying Dutchman*, and placed the *J. W. Moore*, in which he had installed engines and a screw propellor, on Harrison Lake, under command of Captain Peter Holmes. In May a new combination was formed, with the intention of driving Captain Irving's *Reliance*

(78) *Cheadle's Journal*, pp. 245-247.

(79) *Ibid.*, p. 258.

(80) *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, June 17, 1864.

off the river. The *Hope*, *Union*, and *Henrietta* were laid up, while the *Colonel Moody*, *Governor Douglas*, and *Flying Dutchman* united at cut rates.

Fares dropped to 25 cents, but the *Reliance* still won the bulk of the traffic. At last in November, Captain John T. Wright gave up the struggle. The British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., went into liquidation, and the steamers *Governor Douglas*, *Colonel Moody*, and *Union* were sold to R. D. Dunn, a Victoria merchant, for \$11,200.⁸¹ They were withdrawn from the river and laid up. In May, 1864, the *Governor Douglas* and *Colonel Moody* sailed for Puget Sound,⁸² and soon after they were dismantled and their engines removed at Utsalady sawmill. The *J. W. Moore* also went to Utsalady, where she became a tugboat.

Captain William Moore embarked on a new venture in 1863, in partnership with Captain Asbury Insley, who sold out his interest in Captain Millard's vessels. With the profits he had made on the Stikine, Moore ordered from James Trahey the largest sternwheeler yet built for the Fraser River. This was the *Alexandra*, named in honour of the Princess of Wales. She was launched on July 29, 1863, but the non-arrival of her machinery and financial difficulties between Moore and Trahey delayed her completion for nearly a year.

Meanwhile a new strong competitor arrived on the river—Captain John R. Fleming, former master of the *Eliza Anderson*. He sold out his interest in that vessel to the Wright brothers for \$35,000, and invested the proceeds in a company called the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company, which ordered a new vessel from James Trahey, called the *Lillooet*.

She was launched on September 12,⁸³ and it was announced that she would have the finest boilers and machinery ever imported. She became the fastest ship on the river, and carried a set of stag's antlers on her pilot-house as a symbol of her speed.

Two new vessels were built for the lakes during 1863. The slow little *Champion* on Seton Lake was replaced by a larger ves-

(81) *Victoria Colonist*, November 19, 1863, where the initials are wrongly given; they appear correctly in the record of the transfer in the Port of Victoria Register Book.

(82) For the departure of the *Colonel Moody* see *ibid.*, May 23, 1864.

(83) *Ibid.*, September 14, 1863.

sel called the *Seaton*, while a good-sized sternwheeler, the *Prince of Wales*, was built for Lillooet Lake by Goulding & Company. Both had short careers, for after 1864, the Harrison-Lillooet route rapidly went into decline.

Strong efforts were made to attract travellers to the Harrison route, and columns of advertisements in the Victoria papers lauded the relative merits and demerits of the rival routes. Of the new *Prince of Wales* it was said:—

On the Lillooet Lake Goulding's New and Splendid Steamer Prince of Wales, 100 Tons Burthen, Will Make Two Trips per Day, And is Capable of taking on board The Heaviest Wagons or An Entire Mule Train!⁸⁴

That passengers were not always happy about service on the river-boats is revealed by a facetious "card" which appeared in the *British Columbian* late in 1863.

The undersigned Passengers on the splendid steamboat Flying Dutchman on her last trip down from Harrison River, would tender our hearty thanks to Capt. Bill Moore for the high-toned and elegant manner with which we were treated on the trip. We left Harrison River about 12 o'clock M. on Tuesday. About 1 o'clock on the same day the boat made such rapid progress that we were laid up on a bar to prevent her making "lightning speed" to N. Westminster. On that Bar we rested heavily for the space of twenty-one hours, sleeping lightly in chairs, on board, and in bunks designed for weary miners. Soon after we left the bar our polite and accommodating Captain ran his barge into a snag, which ran into the barge hard enough to "dump" her cargo of horned individuals into the "chuck." After this our Captain, in a spirit of thanksgiving, ordered that no more "grub" should be served on his boat; and we proceeded to New Westminster, where we arrived about 7 P.M., with appetites sufficiently keen to do ample justice to the best dinner ever set at the "Colonial." For all of which we desire to tender to Capt. Moore the renewed assurances of our highest regard and most distinguished consideration. And to the public we would say, travel with Bill Moore when you see either one of us go aboard his boat, and "not till then."⁸⁵

1864.

The year 1864 started the decline in the fortunes of the Cariboo mines, and it was also a bad year for the steamboats, except

(84) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1863.

(85) New Westminster *British Columbian*, December 19, 1863. The card, dated December 11, 1863, was signed by "Absalom Huffstuttle, Archy Soft, Mich. Horton, Jeff. Johnson, David Thomas, Dudley O'Archibald, Fritz of Lillooet and sixteen others."

for Captain Irving's *Reliance*, which was a consistent money-maker, despite the efforts of his rivals to drive him off the river.

The little *Union*, which had been laid up for some months, was purchased in May for \$3,600 by Captain Tom Coffin, late owner of the trading schooner *Nanaimo Packet*.⁸⁶ He announced his intention to take the river-boat on an independent trading voyage to the Northwest Coast, believing that because of her shallow draught the *Union* could trade up narrow inlets and shallow creeks, which could not be reached by schooners or vessels of greater draught.

The *Union's* northern voyage is of some historical interest, for she pioneered navigation on the Skeena River. She left Victoria on June 11, 1864, with four passengers and 20 tons of freight. The passengers and part of the freight were destined to Port McNeill, where there were coal operations.⁸⁷

In the course of her northern trip the *Union* attempted to ascend the Stikine River on August 5, but found the current too strong. However she ascended the Nass River for 30 miles, and the virgin Skeena for 60 miles on August 25. She arrived back at Victoria on September 7, where it was reported that the trading voyage had been unprofitable.⁸⁸ Later in the month she was laying buoys for the Government at the mouth of the Fraser.

An amusing feud between Captain William Irving and John Robson, editor of the *British Columbian*, two of the Royal City's most prominent citizens, created some stir in the colony in the spring of 1864.

The quarrel was evoked by one W. E. Wynn Williams, who started publication of a short-lived scurrilous weekly called the *Scorpion*. For some reason, Williams chose to make personal attacks on Captains Fleming and Irving, the two most highly respected river captains.⁸⁹

Fleming remained quiet, but Irving was furious, and blamed the attacks on Robson, for the *Scorpion* was printed in the press-room of the *British Columbian*. Irving announced that hence-

(86) *Victoria Colonist*, May 16, 1864.

(87) *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, June 12, 1864.

(88) *Ibid.*, September 8, 1864.

(89) The reference to Captain Irving appeared in the fifth and last issue of the *Scorpion*, May 16, 1864.

forth he would not carry the *British Columbian* on his steamer, and would levy a \$50 freight charge for any papers carried. Shortly after, the Dietz & Nelson Express Company accidentally sent a parcel of *British Columbians* to Yale on the *Reliance*. Irving promptly billed the company for \$50. They paid up, so they must have felt sympathetic. John Robson stoutly maintained his innocence of any slander. Presumably Irving's temper cooled down, and the *Scorpion* soon expired.⁹⁰

Competition was keen in the spring of 1864, with the *Flying Dutchman* and *Lillooet* forming a familiar combination to oppose the *Reliance*. The *Lillooet* connected at the mouth of the Harrison with the *Dutchman*, which ran to Douglas, while the *Lillooet* herself ran on to Yale in competition with the *Reliance*. In April Captain Fleming was advertising fares of \$1 to Yale or Port Douglas, with a freight rate of \$5 per ton to Yale.⁹¹ Captain Millard's *Hope* did not compete, for she was laying buoys, while his *Caledonia* carried lumber from New Westminster to Victoria.

The *Reliance* remained the most popular vessel, and Irving proudly reported to the press that in the three months ended May 2 his boat carried 1,539 passengers to Yale from New Westminster. His biggest list had been 124 and his smallest eleven passengers.⁹²

The big event in 1864 was the completion of Captain Moore's *Alexandra*, which had been delayed for nearly a year by financial trouble and a protracted quarrel between Moore and James Trahey, the ship-builder. Even after she was placed in service, the new vessel was in no way as lavishly fitted as her owner intended.

The *Alexandra* was modelled on a Mississippi River boat, with two tall stacks, or "chimneys," as they were called, athwartships. As originally planned she was to have stateroom accommodation for fifty-eight passengers. The after part of her hull was to be fitted as a ladies' cabin, and the centre occupied by the main saloon, which was lined on each side by fifteen staterooms. A large pantry and kitchen adjoined the saloon, while forward

(90) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 1, 1864.

(91) A news item, commenting on the rivalry, gives the fare as \$1. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1864.

(92) *Ibid.*, May 4, 1864.

were the boilers and fire-rooms. A second cabin, in the fore-castle, had a capacity of forty passengers.

On the main deck, the after part was occupied by the engine-room, forward of which was the well-stocked bar, with companion ways to the saloon deck and upper deck. The latter included a promenade, the captain's and purser's cabins, and the pilot-house forward. The pilot-house boasted a steam-gauge, a new feature on Fraser River boats.

The big vessel had four boilers, and three separate stern-wheels, each of which could be run independently. Her engines, of 145 horse-power, were described as being "of the most powerful and elegant description." She had a freight capacity of 400 tons.⁹³

Unfortunately, the *Alexandra* was doomed to failure from the start. She was extravagant to operate and her hull was weak, while she arrived just as the mine traffic began to decline. It was the intention of Moore and Insley to run her direct from Victoria to Yale, connecting with the *Flying Dutchman* at Harrison, but she was too big for the up-river trade, except at high water, and she made only two or three trips.

She made her maiden trip to New Westminster on June 4, and on June 10 she went up to Port Douglas. A week later she made her first trip to Yale. Captain Moore was determined to display his boat's capacity, and on one trip down river he made the run from Yale to New Westminster in only six hours. From Yale to the mouth of the Harrison he averaged "21½ miles an hour."⁹⁴

Speed was not sufficient to make the *Alexandra* pay, however, and on July 12, it was announced that she would start a service to Olympia and Sound ports. In August there was a short-lived gold excitement at Leech River, near Sooke, and Moore, who could never resist a gold-rush, ran the *Alexandra* from Victoria to Sooke for a time.

But creditors were closing in. Captain Moore had already lost the *Flying Dutchman*, and debts were piling up against the *Alexandra*. He made a final attempt to gain a footing in the Fraser River traffic, but the odds were against him. The com-

(93) *Victoria Colonist*, June 4, 1864.

(94) *Ibid.*, July 2, 1864.

petition was terrific. Captain Millard, also in financial trouble, was setting the pace against the field. He ran the *Hope* to Yale, while Captain Devries ran the *Henrietta* to Douglas, with fares set at 25 cents. Also in the running were Captain Deighton with the *Flying Dutchman*, Fleming with the *Lillooet*, and Irving with the *Reliance*. Before the year was out, everybody was "broke" except the indomitable Irving.

Moore was the first to succumb. On September 25 he crossed the Gulf from New Westminster with forty passengers and a barge in tow. He had been warned that sheriff's officers were waiting for him to land, so he decided to make a run for the American side, where he would be temporarily free from his enemies.

Upon his arrival at Esquimalt, he cast off his tow, put his passengers ashore, and hastily sought a haven at Port Angeles. His creditors, temporarily thwarted, chartered the *Flying Dutchman* at New Westminster, and went in pursuit, but failed to effect an arrangement. Moore's indebtedness was said to be \$17,000.⁹⁵

His flight to the American side did him no good, for the crew promptly sued for back wages. The United States marshal seized the vessel, and she was laid up at Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island.

Meanwhile Moore's old rival, Captain Charles Millard, was also dodging his creditors. In July the mortgagees foreclosed on the *Caledonia*, and she was sold at auction for \$2,975.⁹⁶ Next month she was resold to her captain, James Frain, and a speculator named William Culverwell, and for a short time she ran to Sooke during the gold excitement.

Millard ran his other two ships, the *Hope* and *Henrietta*, on a cut-rate basis for several months, but bankruptcy was approaching. In September he sold the *Henrietta* to Captain H. Devries,⁹⁷ and by the end of October the *Hope* was sold by the sheriff.

The *Lillooet*, which was the best ship on the river, had hard luck in 1864. At the opening of the year she suffered damage to the extent of \$2,500, while crossing the Gulf from New Westminster in a storm. After she returned to the river she was

(95) *Ibid.*, September 26, 1864.

(96) *Ibid.*, July 7, 1864.

(97) *Ibid.*, September 22, 1864.

unable to stand the cut-rate war, and on October 1 she was advertised for sale for the benefit of her mortgagee and the creditors of the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company. She was sold in December for \$19,500 to C. W. Wallace, but Captain J. R. Fleming retained command, and subsequently regained ownership.

1865.

The misadventures of the *Alexandra* continued during 1865. For several months the vessel lay at Whidbey Island, with the United States marshal aboard, while Captain Moore camped near-by with his family. It was known that he intended to attempt to steal the boat, so some of the machinery was removed. However, much to the surprise of every one, notably Moore, his former partner, Captain "Delaware" Insley, arrived from Victoria one day, made a deal with the marshal, and sailed the *Alexandra* away. She arrived at Victoria on February 20, where Moore's creditors were licking their chops. It was explained, on behalf of the marshal, that Insley had produced bonds given by lawyers for the creditors, but the *coup d'état* was generally considered a clever bit of piracy.⁹⁸

Captain Moore was not aware of the departure of his \$50,000 boat until she was away. Penniless and chagrined, he gathered together his family and his pigs and returned to the Fraser River. He was adjudged a bankrupt in the Victoria Court on February 22, and the *Alexandra* was sold at auction for \$8,000 on March 28.

She made a few trips to Puget Sound and New Westminster under command of Captain W. G. Doane, the cheerful hard-drinking skipper of the up-river *Enterprise*, and in June, Captain Tom Coffin, late of the *Union*, took command.

The *Alexandra* soon ran into trouble, for on June 19, at 11 p.m., she collided with the Nanaimo mail steamer *Fideliter*, near Clover Point, Victoria. The *Fideliter*, which had twenty-five passengers aboard, was beached, while the *Alexandra* reached port, and was run ashore at Laing's shipyard in James Bay. At the time of the accident the *Alexandra* was carrying seventy-five

(98) *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, February 22, 1865.

passengers, forty-six of whom were Chinese, and a cargo of 600 sheep and stock.⁹⁹

Her damages were actually slight, amounting to only about \$500, but the steamer was laid up pending a lengthy lawsuit with the *Fideliter's* owners. The Courts found the *Alexandra* at fault, and in November damages of \$16,340 were assessed against her.¹⁰⁰

Her owners were unable to pay, so in February, 1866, the vessel was once again seized by the marshal and put on the auction block. T. Pritchard, acting for the Hudson's Bay Company, bought her for the bargain price of \$5,000,¹⁰¹ but she never made any money for any of her owners.

She was refitted and ran intermittently for several years on the New Westminster run. In May, 1867, she was chartered to the Admiralty, and for a brief time was used as a surveying vessel under command of Captain Daniel Pender, R.N.¹⁰²

In September, 1869, it was decided that her usefulness was over, and her machinery was removed. A month later the dismantled hull was towed to Esquimalt and beached on a cove near the Hudson's Bay Company's wharf.¹⁰³ The machinery lay on the dock at Victoria until 1874, when it was purchased for a Columbia River tugboat.

Hard times continued on the Fraser River in 1865, with Captain Irving still getting the cream of the traffic. The *Flying Dutchman*, owned by Captain Insley, called it quits and sailed away for Puget Sound, leaving her creditors behind. She was broken up at Utsalady mills, and her engines installed in the tug *Favorite* in 1869.

Captain Millard appeared briefly on the river in the *Hope* in February, but he was bankrupt, and for several months the *Hope* and *Henrietta* passed in and out of the sheriff's hands with dizzy monotony. On March 18, 1865, it was announced that the two

(99) *Victoria Colonist*, June 20, 1865.

(100) *Ibid.*, November 4, 1865.

(101) *Ibid.*, February 8, 1866, reports sale of the vessel to T. Pritchard—meaning Captain Thomas Pritchard, a retired sea captain. The Port of Victoria Register Book shows that title to the vessel was transferred directly to the Company.

(102) *Ibid.*, May 1, 1867.

(103) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1869.

vessels had been purchased by E. T. Dodge & Company, who maintained an express service to the Cariboo via the Douglas-Lillooet route. The vessels were intended to bolster up the declining trade on this route, in opposition to the Yale traffic. "Our teams start daily from Port Douglas for Cariboo," advertised Dodge & Company.¹⁰⁴

The *Caledonia* also ran into sheriff trouble in 1865. On May 3 she was attached at Victoria by Spratt & Kriemler, of the Albion Iron Works, who had not yet been paid for her new boiler. Her joint owner, William Culverwell, who had been engaged in various precarious speculations, decamped quietly for Portland, leaving a host of mourning creditors behind.¹⁰⁵

This marked the end of the career of the *Caledonia*, the first steamer built in British Columbia. Joseph Spratt dismantled her to get back his boiler, while her engines were installed in the tugboat *Colfax*, launched later in the year at Seabeck, Puget Sound.

The *Union*, commanded by Captain Tom Coffin, was chartered by the Collins Overland Telegraph Company in 1865, and was kept busy supplying provisions and stores to the upper reaches of the Skeena and Stikine rivers, where surveyors and linemen were fighting against time to complete the huge telegraph project.¹⁰⁶

The following year the *Union* was replaced on this service by a new sternwheeler, the *Mumford*, specifically built at Puget Sound. The vessel was fitted up at Victoria, and arrived at New Westminster on July 6, 1866, *en route* to the north, under command of Captain Coffin.

She spent the season on the Stikine and Skeena,¹⁰⁷ but with the completion of the Atlantic cable in August, 1866, the telegraph scheme was abandoned. The *Mumford* spent the next year laid up in the Fraser, and in 1868 she was taken in tow for San Francisco.

Despite the many financial failures of his rivals, Captain William Irving had the courage to build a new river steamer in

(104) New Westminster *British Columbian*, March 18, 1865.

(105) *Victoria Colonist*, May 4, 1865.

(106) *Ibid.*, August 25, 1865.

(107) *Ibid.*, August 16, 1865.

1865. This was the *Onward*, launched at Trahey's yard on June 26. She was staunchly constructed of Burrard Inlet timber, and upon her arrival at New Westminster on her maiden trip citizens warmly welcomed her by firing off the big gun on Pioneer Wharf. She showed her mettle on this trip by beating the *Otter* from Victoria by nearly an hour.¹⁰⁸

The *Onward* boasted twenty-one staterooms, "a cosy ladies' cabin, and a spacious and well-lighted dining saloon." She provided strong competition for the *Lillooet*, and in November, 1865, the fare from New Westminster to Yale was down to 50 cents again.

1866.

The year 1866 showed a big decline in the popularity of the Harrison-Lillooet route to the mines. The financial difficulties of E. T. Dodge & Company mounted, until in September the ever-active sheriff stepped in to seize the assets.

The assets were small, for the *Henrietta*, following the usual custom, had run away to the American side to avoid her debts. However, she had neglected to get clearance papers and was seized by the United States Customs. Eventually she paid a nominal fine and steamed back sheepishly to New Westminster.¹⁰⁹ She was dismantled soon after and her engines went to the new steamer *Chehalis*, built at Tumwater, Washington, in 1867.

The *Hope* went on the auction block and was purchased for \$1,000 by Captain Fleming of the *Lillooet*. This was a real bargain, for the *Hope* was still a fairly good ship, and survived for many years after.

In August, 1866, New Westminster was set agog by a visit from the high officials of the Collins Overland Telegraph Company. The little town was most hospitable, and Captain Fleming took the party on an excursion to Yale. There was plenty to eat and drink, and much praise of Fleming's good-fellowship and generosity. On this trip the *Lillooet* called at Hope, long abandoned as a river port. It was noted that the once-flourishing village had fallen into sad decay, with only three houses occupied.¹¹⁰

(108) New Westminster *British Columbian*, August 8, 1865.

(109) *Victoria Colonist*, September 5, 1866.

(110) *Ibid.*, August 23, 1866.

Hardly had the directors of the company returned to New Westminster than news came of the completion of the Atlantic cable, which meant that their \$3,000,000 investment was wasted.

The Big Bend gold excitement was the chief topic of discussion in the colonies in 1866. It was apparent that the Cariboo mines were declining, so when word came of a new Eldorado on the upper Columbia, plans were made for a big rush.

The colonial authorities offered a subsidy of \$400 a month to any one who would operate a steamer on the Thompson River from Savona's Ferry to the head of Shuswap Lake at Seymour, 45 miles from the Big Bend diggings. Among those who tendered were William Irving, G. B. Wright, William Moore, Charles Millard, and John A. Mara. Moore and Millard had just emerged from bankruptcy, but they were ever ready to take a further risk.

Irving was awarded the contract, but he soon transferred it to the Hudson's Bay Company, which in June, 1865, had sent Captain W. A. Mouat to investigate the possibilities of navigating the Thompson. On his favourable report, decision was made to build a steamer.

In March, 1866, the ubiquitous James Trahey, with a party of shipwrights, left Victoria for Savona's Ferry, and on May 10 the new sternwheel steamer *Marten* was launched, the first steamer on the Thompson River.

The *Marten* arrived at Seymour "City" on May 27, 1866, under the command of Captain Mouat, where the auspicious event was celebrated by the customary gay party. Champagne, in those happy days, was available even in the wild Shuswap country.

Although every effort was made and every nerve strained on the part of the Seymourites to welcome the gallant *Marten* their labors were as a single grain of sand on the shores of Shuswap compared with the handsome manner in which they were acknowledged by her popular commander, if we may judge by the amount of champagne and H[udson's] B[ay] rum freely distributed to all hands not only on board during her trip but to every individual who stood on the beach. . . .

The steamer left Savana's Ferry at 5 p.m. on Saturday arriving at Kamloops at 7.45. She started from there at 6 a.m. and arrived at 6 p.m.

Thus was her arrival described by a correspondent in the *Victoria Colonist*.¹¹¹

The *Marten* continued to run twice a week between Savona and Seymour, charging \$10 fare and \$20 a ton freight. These charges were considered exorbitant, and small sailing barges were liberally patronized. Skipper of one of these was Captain "Bill" Moore, his spirits revived by the prospect of new gold discoveries.

Unfortunately the bubble burst in the late summer of 1866, and the Big Bend diggings were acknowledged to be a failure. The whole season's production amounted to less than \$250,000.

The *Marten* was laid up at Kamloops, where she lay for several years. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company proposed bringing her down the Thompson River to the Fraser, but the plan was abandoned as impracticable. In 1875, with an influx of settlers to the Thompson country, the steamer was purchased by John A. Mara and started operation again, under Captain Asbury Insley, and ran for several years.

The collapse of the Big Bend gold-rush had a disastrous effect upon the economy of the colony. A profound depression set in, population declined, and pessimism grew. Steadily decreasing returns from the Cariboo mines only added to the gloom.

The hard times had their effect on the Fraser River steamboating business. No longer was there eager competition between eight or ten vessels. Now only Captain William Irving, with the *Onward* and *Reliance*, and Captain John R. Fleming, with the *Lilloet* and *Hope*, were left on the river.

HARD TIMES ON THE RIVER.

Cut-throat competition still existed between the two survivors. On November 23, 1867, Captain Irving wrote to the colonial authorities complaining bitterly that the *Hope*, which was carrying passengers from New Westminster to Yale for 50 cents, was unseaworthy, and that the competition was unfair. He declared he had \$50,000 invested in his two steamers, while the *Hope* had cost Fleming a mere \$1,000. Irving admitted that he was losing heavily.¹¹²

(111) *Ibid.*, June 4, 1866.

(112) William Irving to J. W. Trutch, November 23, 1867, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Traffic declined even further in the next two years, and the two competitors decided to run their boats every consecutive season. In 1869, conditions had reached such a sad plight that the *Lillooet* was only making one trip a week between New Westminster and Yale.¹¹³

However, with the discovery of new gold country in the Omineca area, business began to pick up in 1869, and a considerable migration started from the Cariboo to the remote regions north of Fort St. James.

This led to the construction of a new river steamer for the upper Fraser to supplement the *Enterprise*. This was the *Victoria*, built at Quesnel in the summer of 1868 by James Trahey, to the order of Edgar Marvin and G. B. Wright. She was the last steamer built in the colony by the pioneer ship-builder, for he died that winter in Victoria.

The *Victoria* was completed in 1869 and was equipped with the engines and boilers from the Lillooet Lake steamer *Prince of Wales*.¹¹⁴ She ran for many years faithfully on the upper Fraser, and her registry was not closed until 1897.

The decade ended with the colony in the doldrums, and so was the steamboating business. The next decade was to see a revival of traffic on the river, culminating in a new boom created by construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

NORMAN R. HACKING.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(113) *Victoria Colonist*, July 5, 1869.

(114) *Ibid.*, March 1, 1869.

APPENDIX.

FRASER RIVER STEAMERS: 1859-1870.

Dimensions, etc., as given by even the best authorities frequently vary by a few inches (or, in some instances, a few feet). The principal sources upon which the following table is based are indicated as follows:—

[L] *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest.*

[R] *List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada, on the 31st Day of December, 1874.* Ottawa, 1875.

[V] Port of Victoria Register Book (photostat copy in the Provincial Archives).

[W] Note-book of Thomas Westgarth, Steamboat Inspector (containing entries covering the period 1865 to 1874).

1. *Alexandra.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria July 29, 1863, for William Moore.

Dimensions: 167' (keel) x 29'6" x 8'6" [W].

Gross tonnage 500; carrying capacity 200 tons [W].

Engines 21¼" x 72"; 150 h.p. [W].

4 boilers 40" in diameter and 16' long [W].

(Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as the *Alexandria.*)

2. *Caledonia.*

Sidewheeler; launched at Victoria September 8, 1858, for Faulkner, Bell & Company.

Dimensions: 100 x 18.8 x 5.2.

Oscillating engines 20" x 30"; 70 h.p. [W].

(Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as the *New Caledonia.*)

3. *Cariboo* (later *Cariboo and Fly*).

Originally a sidewheeler; later rebuilt as single screw steamer; launched at Victoria November 16, 1860, for Archibald Jamieson.

Dimensions: 130.2 x 22.3 x 6.4 [V] [R].

Gross tonnage 199.85 [V].

Oscillating engines 17" x 36"; 120 h.p. [V].

4. *Champion.*

Sternwheeler; built on Seton Lake in 1860 for Taylor & Company.

Dimensions: 110 x 22 [L].

5. *Colonel Moody.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria May 14, 1859, for the British Columbia Steam Navigation Company.

Dimensions: 144.9 x 26.7 x 4.

Engines 16" x 72" [L].

6. *Emily Harris.*

Single screw; launched at Victoria January 3, 1861, for Harris, Carroll & Company.

Dimensions: 90 x 15 x 5.5.

Engines 12" x 15" [L] 16 h.p.

7. *Enterprise.*

Sidewheeler; built at San Francisco in 1861; purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company and placed on the Fraser River run in 1862.
 Dimensions: 134' x 27'7" x 6'9" [L].
 Walking beam engines 30" x 72"; 75 h.p. [W].
 Paddlewheels 19' in diameter [W].

8. *Enterprise.*

Sternwheeler; built at Four Mile Creek in 1863 for G. B. Wright and Tom Wright.
 Dimensions: 110 x 20 [W].
 Engines 12" x 36"; 60 h.p. [W].
 2 boilers 36" in diameter and 10' long [W].
 Diameter of sternwheel 15'6" [W].

9. *Flying Dutchman.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 26, 1860, for William Moore.
 Dimensions: 92 x 17.5 x 4.3.
 Engines 12" x 36" [L].

10. *Fort Yale.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 15, 1860, for the Yale Steam Navigation Company.
 Dimensions: 110 x 22 x 4 [L].
 Engines 14" x 54" [L].
 Diameter of sternwheel 16' [L].

11. *Governor Douglas.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 30, 1858, for the Victoria Steam Navigation Company.
 Dimensions: 144 x 26 x 4.
 Engines 16" x 72" [L].

12. *Henrietta.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 17, 1859, for William Moore.
 Dimensions: 73 x 14 x 3.5; lengthened 12' late in 1861.
 Engines 8" x 26"; 25 h.p. [W].

13. *Hope.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 22, 1860, for Charles Millard.
 Dimensions: 95 x 18 x 4 [W].
 Lengthened to 105.0 x 17.5 x 4.7 in 1870 [R].
 Gross tonnage after lengthening 166 [R].
 Engines 13" x 42"; 70 h.p. [W].

14. *J. W. Moore.*

Originally a barge; later rebuilt as single screw steamer; built at Victoria in 1862 for William Moore.

Dimensions: No details available.

15. *Lady of the Lake.*

Sternwheeler; built on Anderson Lake in 1860 for Chapman & Company.

Dimensions: 72 x 15 x 4 [W].

Engines 6" x 24"; 14 h.p. [W].

16. *Lillooet.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria September 12, 1863, for the Port Douglas Steam Navigation Company.

Dimensions: 130 x 28 x 5 [W].

Engines 17" x 60"; 115 h.p. [W].

2 boilers 46" in diameter and 16' long [W].

17. *Marten.*

Sternwheeler; built at Savona in 1866 for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Dimensions: 125 x 25 x 5.

18. *Marzelle.*

Sternwheeler; built on Lillooet Lake in 1860 for Goulding & Company.

Dimensions: 60 x 13 x 2.5 [W].

Engines 7" x 22"; 18 h.p. [W].

Boiler 36" in diameter and 12' long [W].

(Wrongly listed in *Lewis & Dryden* as *Marcella*.)

19. *Mumford.*

Sternwheeler; built on Puget Sound in 1866 for the Western Union Extension Telegraph Company.

Dimensions: 110 x 19 x 4.8.

20. *Onward.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria on June 26, 1865, for William Irving.

Dimensions: 120.5 x 24.3 x 7.4 [V] [R].

Gross tonnage 283 [V].

Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W].

21. *Prince of Wales.*

Sternwheeler; built on Lillooet Lake in 1863 for Goulding & Company.

Dimensions: 115 x 20 [W].

Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W].

2 boilers 42" in diameter and 16' long [W].

22. *Reliance.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria October 8, 1862, for William Irving.

Dimensions: 126' x 26' x 4'5" [W].

Engines 16" x 54"; 110 h.p. [W].

23. *Seaton.*

Sidewheeler; built on Seton Lake in 1863 for Taylor & Company.

Dimensions: 100 x 22 x 5 [W].

Engines 12" x 36"; 60 h.p. [W].

Carrying capacity 80 tons [W].

24. *Union.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria May 7, 1861, for Wright, Nelson & Company.

Dimensions: 66 x 17.5 x 3.

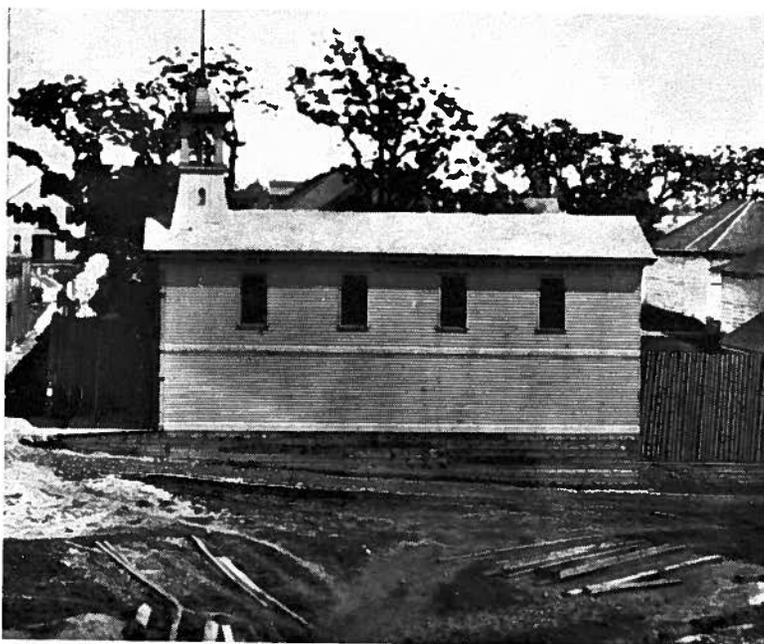
25. *Victoria.*

Sternwheeler; built at Quesnel in 1868 for G. B. Wright.

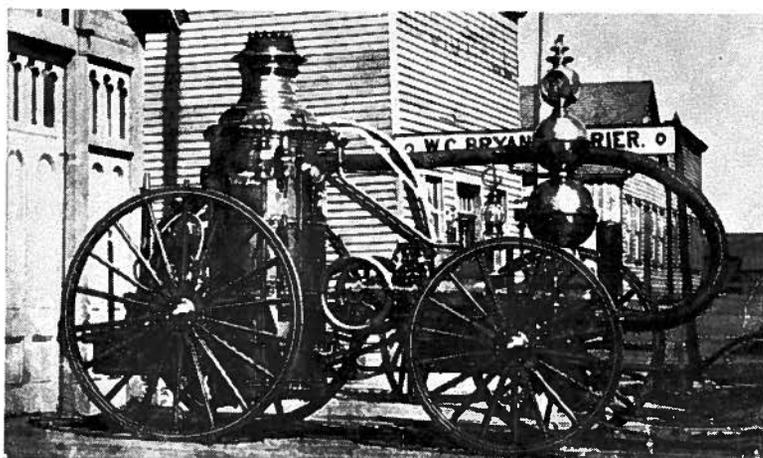
Dimensions: 116 x 23 x 4 [W].

Engines 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W]. (Engines and boilers both from the *Prince of Wales* [W].)

Diameter of sternwheel 17' 8" [W].



The building erected by the Union Hook and Ladder Company during the winter 1859-60. It occupied the north-west corner of the grounds of old Fort Victoria, visible in the picture.



Victoria's first steam fire-engine, purchased in 1868 by the Tiger Engine Co. No. 2.



Officers of the Tiger Engine Co. No. 2, 1864.

Back row, left to right: H. E. Levy, 2nd Assistant; S. L. Kelly, Foreman; S. Duck,
1st Assistant.
Front row, left to right: Chas. Gowen, President; Frank Sylvester, Secretary;
P. S. Hall, Treasurer.

THE FIRE COMPANIES OF OLD VICTORIA.

1.

Fire, the good servant but the terrible master, has a certain fascination for us all. Nothing attracts a crowd more quickly than a fire, and most of us are gripped with a not unpleasant combination of excitement and apprehension when the alarm-bells ring and the sirens wail. Few stories are more colourful than the record of man's efforts to combat fires and make some provision against their ravages; yet it is a story that in great part still remains untold. Remarkably little, for example, has appeared in print about the fire brigades that contribute so much to the security of life in the highly inflammable cities of the Pacific Coast, and those of British Columbia are no exception to the rule.

As one would expect, the first fire brigade hereabouts was in Victoria. The gold-rush of 1858 was no more than a few weeks old when a group of anxious townspeople approached Governor Douglas with the request that something be done to protect the town from destruction by fire. Wooden buildings, shacks, and tents were springing up in considerable numbers, and the danger was very real. Douglas acted promptly, and equipment was ordered through the San Francisco firm of Truett, Jones & Arrington, which had an agency in Victoria.

Some of the original papers relating to the transaction are on file in the Provincial Archives. Two hand-operated pumping engines were secured, one of them new and one second-hand. The latter was purchased on July 14, 1858, from George H. Hossefross, and was described as follows in the indenture:—

One Suction fire Engine recently used by the Monumental Fire Company of the said City of San Francisco, and familiarly known by the name of "Telegraph," complete

Five hundred feet of Hose to suit said Engine

One Hose Cart, heretofore used to serve the aforesaid Engine.¹

The purchase price was \$1,600. The "Telegraph" was a relatively small machine, later described as a third-class Balti-

(1) Indenture between George H. Hossefross and Truett, Jones & Arrington, San Francisco, July 14, 1858. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

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more suction engine;² the cylinder seems to have measured 6 inches, with a stroke of no more than 8 or 9 inches.³ The point cannot be proven, but it seems clear that the "Telegraph" was one of the three engines brought from Baltimore to San Francisco in 1850, when the Monumental Engine Company was first organized, and placed in reserve in 1854, when a much larger engine was secured. Clannish feeling was strong amongst the old volunteer companies, and it is interesting to note that the "Telegraph" had been built by John Rodgers, of Baltimore, a well-known manufacturer of fire-fighting equipment, and that the Monumental Company included a good many old Baltimorean firemen. George Hossefross, who arranged the sale, had been prominent in the Monumental Company since its founding, and had served in 1851-53 as San Francisco's Chief Engineer (as a Fire Chief was then called).⁴

The second engine purchased was a new second-class hand-engine manufactured by Hunneman & Company, of Boston. It had a 6-inch cylinder and a 14-inch stroke; the invoice forwarded to Douglas adds the details: "color carmine, gold stripe." The price, complete with hose-cart, was \$1,750.⁵ No doubt the engine was of the end-stroke type developed by William C. Hunneman, who at one time had been apprenticed to the celebrated Paul Revere.⁶ To complete the order, 1,013 feet 11 inches of hose were secured from H. A. Cobb, an auctioneer, for \$1,647.47.

(2) Report of John C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, Victoria Fire Department, to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(3) *Victoria Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

(4) On the organization of the Monumental Company see Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* . . ., New York, 1855, pp. 621-2. The Monumental Company's bell was used to call together the famous Vigilance Committee. On Hossefross see *ibid.*, pp. 616-8, 621; also Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851*, Berkeley, 1921, p. 199. On the organization of San Francisco fire companies generally see Pauline Jacobson, *City of the Golden 'Fifties*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941, pp. 45-77, 85-109.

(5) Details from invoice dated San Francisco, July 20, 1858. *MS.*, Archives of B.C. In Keenan's report for 1865 (see note 2, *supra*) the diameter of the cylinder is given as 7 inches. Engines were rated as first-, second-, or third-class according to the size and capacity of their pumps.

(6) Kenneth Holcomb Dunshee, *Engine!-Engine! A Story of Fire Protection*, New York, 1939, p. 12. The "more extensive study" that was intended to follow this most interesting brochure seems not yet to have been published.

Small items for labour and insurance brought the total cost of the entire shipment to \$5,020.47.⁷ The invoice was made out to James Douglas personally, but was paid in the first instance by the Hudson's Bay Company. At a later date the equipment was all transferred to the Government of the Colony of Vancouver Island, of which Douglas was Governor.

The engines arrived from San Francisco in the steamer *Oregon* on July 28. The same afternoon they were tested in the courtyard of old Fort Victoria, where water was drawn from a well. The account in the *Victoria Gazette* reads in part as follows:—

The brakes⁸ were manned by individuals volunteering promiscuously from the crowd drawn together to witness the throwing of the first water by a fire engine in our town, among whom we noticed several old San Francisco firemen. The machines are rather small, but sufficiently powerful to throw a full stream of water over any building in the town with ease. . . . The prompt manner in which Gov. Douglas has acted in this matter is worthy of special praise, and will cause our citizens to feel much more secure and safe in their property.⁹

Douglas placed the engines in the keeping of A. F. Pemberton, Commissioner of Police, as nothing had actually been done as yet about organizing a fire brigade. Within a day or two, however, he received a petition signed by "a large number of our principal shop keepers and property holders" asking that a volunteer brigade be formed at once. On July 31, without waiting for a reply, a public meeting was held in the Hudson's Bay Company warehouse, and two resolutions approved:—

Resolved, That this meeting heartily approve of the immediate formation of Volunteer Fire Companies, and that a committee be appointed to receive the names of such citizens as are willing to join the Fire Department of this city, and to organize the separate Companies. . . .

Resolved, That a committee of four be appointed to confer with Mr. Pemberton, Commissioner of Police, as to the intentions of His Excellency Gov. Douglas, relative to the organization of a Fire Department, to select sites for cisterns, and to obtain other information relative to carrying out the views of this meeting.

Later the meeting reconvened and proceeded to settle details. "On motion of Mr. Labatt, the Hunneman Engine Co. was

(7) Details from the invoice, July 20, 1858 (*see note 5, supra*).

(8) The rods or bars by means of which the hand-engines were operated.

(9) *Victoria Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

declared to be Fire Co. No. 1, and the Telegraph Co. No. 2." The membership of each company was to be limited to 100 men.¹⁰

Several meetings of the individual companies followed, in the first days of August. Officers were elected and committees appointed to get on with the work of organization; but at this point the whole movement suddenly languished. In part, the reasons are fairly obvious. By the middle of August the exodus from the Fraser River diggings was under way, and Victoria's first boom was at an end. Real estate ceased to move; building slowed down; population declined, and money was scarce. Added to this was the singular immunity from serious fires enjoyed by Victoria then and later. The fire brigade was required so seldom that it did not seem to be a pressing necessity.

Less apparent, but quite as important, was the discontent arising from Douglas's action in placing the two fire-engines under the jurisdiction of the police, and his evident expectation that the police would continue to oversee whatever fire brigade might be organized. Many of the men who later became most active in Victoria's fire companies had come from San Francisco. In background and experience, and in many instances in nationality, they were thoroughly American. As a consequence they thought in terms of the independent volunteer brigades upon which the great cities of the United States then depended for fire protection. These in many respects resembled brotherhoods; their membership included many prominent citizens, and they were no more anxious to be regulated by others than were the Masons or the Oddfellows. Nor did they welcome the suggestion that they might give place to a paid brigade. One writer thus described the situation in San Francisco in 1855, where, he declared, the fire department was "the right arm" of the city:—

At the ring of the alarm-bell, it is not alone the errand-boy, the counter clerk, or the rowdy corner loafer that start for a scene of temporary excitement. But the merchant-millionaire springs from his cushioned seat; the judge leaves court and cases; the industrious mechanic drops his tools; editors, lawyers and doctors abandon quills, briefs and pills, and with pallid cheek but nervous sinews hurry their engines to the threatened spot. They are playing for a fearful stake. Men must be daring gamblers to foil the enemy they deal with. . . . These are men prouder of their leathern capes than though they were bedecked with the toddery [*sic*] uniform of a

(10) *Ibid.*, July 31, August 3, 1858.

militia general—men who have poured out their means with no stinting hand in the formation of the department. The volunteer system need not be abandoned for a *paid* fire organization. Nothing could replace the loss of an institution so highly valued. . . .”¹¹

Douglas, of course, was not thinking in terms of anything so modern as a paid brigade. Neither London nor New York possessed such a thing until 1865. But the British, nevertheless, tended to accept some measure of control, public or private, much more readily than did the Americans. In England, parish brigades supported by parish rates were not unknown. True, the heart of London still placed its trust in the Fire Engine Establishment, which the larger insurance companies had united to organize and finance for reasons of their own; but to Douglas these companies doubtless seemed a sober and responsible lot compared to the boisterous if energetic independent fire companies of New York.

In Victoria interest revived somewhat in January, 1859, when the Grand Jury turned its attention to the need for protection against fire, and included the following paragraph in its report:—

In relation to the formation of a Fire Department, from interviews had with the Police Magistrate [A. F. Pemberton], who alone is authorized to act in the premises, we have reason to believe that he is fully impressed with its urgency, and that he will carry out the necessary measures—such as the appointment of Fire Wardens and Engineers, the building of Cisterns, the storing of gunpowder, and other requirements—without further delay.¹²

Some action by the authorities followed immediately. On January 15 the *Gazette* reported that Douglas had “conferred the appointment of Chiefs or Captains of the Fire Department upon Messrs. C. S. Simpson and Edward Coker, with power to organize fire companies and make use of the two engines belonging to the H. B. Co.”—meaning, of course, the two hand-engines purchased in San Francisco. As these would be useless if water were not available, contracts were let in April for two cisterns, one described as being on Store Street, and the other

(11) Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 615–6.

(12) *Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859.

on Government Street.¹³ One of these was completed in June, when the chain-gang filled it with 25,000 gallons of water.¹⁴

On the vital matter of a fire brigade, however, little was actually accomplished, for in spite of the appointments made, control remained in the hands of the police. Both the *Gazette* and the more recently founded *British Colonist* discussed the matter from time to time, and by degrees the point at issue came to the surface. C. S. Simpson, one of the Chiefs, left the Colony, and the other, Edward Coker, was so inactive that the *Gazette* forgot his existence. When apologizing for the oversight, it is noteworthy that the paper, which was American owned and made a point of keeping clear of local politics, could not refrain from satirical comment:—

We are assured that this gentleman has used every endeavor to organize companies and provide a suitable house for the engines; but so far his efforts, owing to the apathy—not to say opposition—of our authorities, have been attended by no satisfactory results. Thus, if we have a general conflagration we may be assured that it is “by authority”; and no doubt, after its occurrence, the matter of organizing companies and procuring hook and ladder apparatus will “receive serious consideration.”¹⁵

Three days later matters suddenly came to a head when Victoria's first serious fire swept through a warehouse and did damage estimated at \$13,350. Only by great good fortune was the blaze prevented from spreading throughout the business district. The *Colonist* at once struck out boldly for better fire-protection, and a fire brigade independent of police control. Editorially it accused the authorities of “unwisely rejecting all sensible and practical propositions to secure an efficient fire department.”

To us it seems the height of folly to place an engine in the hands of the Police. Its proper place is in the hands of a volunteer company, having the privilege of choosing its own members. The only veto reserved to the government should be the right to dissolve the Company in case of inefficiency.¹⁶

The *Colonist* undoubtedly expressed responsible public opinion on the question. The warehouse fire was no more than out when

(13) *Victoria Colonist*, August 17, 1859, in which are noted contracts reported the day before to the House of Assembly. These included: March 1, Trial shaft for cistern, \$52; April 9, Cistern on Store Street, \$400; April 4, Cistern on Government Street, \$341.40.

(14) *Ibid.*, June 15, 1859.

(15) *Victoria Gazette*, October 15, 1859.

(16) *Victoria Colonist*, October 19, 1859.

two well-known citizens, J. J. Southgate and C. W. Wallace, Jr., began circulating subscription lists to raise funds to purchase an alarm-bell and apparatus for a hook and ladder company. The preamble to the lists read in part:—

We the undersigned, property-holders, house-holders, and residents of the town of Victoria, alarmed by the late fire, and justly fearing a more extensive conflagration, and judging from the past apathy of the people and authorities, that it is now necessary for us to take immediate action for the preservation of our lives and property, herewith subscribe the sum set opposite our respective names. . . .¹⁷

A total of 142 subscriptions were reported in the *Colonist*, and the sum ultimately pledged totalled \$1,958. There were ten subscriptions of \$50 each, including one from the Hudson's Bay Company. Those donating \$20 each included Dr. W. F. Tolmie, J. W. McKay, and Roderick Finlayson. At least four future Chief Engineers contributed—J. A. McCrea, J. S. Drummond, S. L. Kelly, and John Dickson.¹⁸

A public meeting was held on October 22, at which Amor De Cosmos, editor of the *Colonist*, was asked to take the chair. A committee of eleven was appointed to purchase equipment and draft a constitution for the new fire company. The members included J. J. Southgate, who is best remembered to-day as one of the founders of Free Masonry in British Columbia; A. H. Guild, who founded the first lodge of Oddfellows in the Province; Edward Coker, Douglas's Fire Captain, and J. W. McKay. It is interesting to note that two French-speaking members were added to the committee, but that a move to give similar representation to the negroes, who had responded generously to the appeal for funds, was defeated.¹⁹

By the end of October \$1,300 had been actually collected, and the first orders for equipment sent off to San Francisco.²⁰ Early in November tenders were invited for the construction of a two-storied engine-house and meeting-hall. The building was to measure 20 by 65 feet, and was to be surmounted by a cupola for an alarm-bell. The cost was not to exceed \$1,500.²¹

(17) *Ibid.*, October 19, 1859.

(18) *Ibid.*, October 19, 24, 1859.

(19) *Ibid.*, October 24, 1859.

(20) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1859.

(21) *Ibid.*, November 4, 7, 1859.

Tuesday, November 22, 1859, is a date of some historical interest, for it was at a meeting held that evening that the Union Hook and Ladder Company was formally organized. The officers elected were as follows: Foreman, W. Pickett; 1st Assistant, D. A. Edgar; 2nd Assistant, N. Hicks; Secretary, E. H. Jackson; Treasurer, C. W. Wallace, Jr.; Steward, J. D. Carroll; Standing Committee: R. Stewart, G. S. Gladwin, A. D. McDonald, J. A. McCrea, and W. H. Oliver.²² This roster shows clearly that the intention was to parallel the form of organization used in San Francisco, which in turn was modelled upon that of New York; and it is probable that those at the meeting already envisaged a full-fledged fire department, composed of a number of fire companies, on the San Francisco model.

The Union Company seems to have gone into action for the first time on December 20. "An alarm of fire was given on Tuesday night," the *Colonist* records. "It was merely a stove-pipe a-fire, which was soon extinguished. The Engine under Capt. Coker and the Hook and Ladder under Capt. Pickett were promptly on the ground."²³ The "Hook and Ladder" can have done little upon this occasion except, perhaps, man the brakes for Captain Coker, for as yet it had no equipment of its own. The first item received seems to have been the 600-lb. alarm-bell, the arrival of which was noted in the *Colonist* for December 29. By that time the contract for the engine-house had been awarded to R. Lewis, the foundations were in, and the sides going up.²⁴ The building was at the corner of Bastion and Wharf streets, upon what was then the north-west corner of the grounds of old Fort Victoria. The site had been leased from the Hudson's Bay Company, to which the firemen paid \$1 a year ground-rent.²⁵ The Union Company's hook and ladder apparatus finally arrived on January 6, 1860.²⁶ Some years later this equipment was described briefly, and the total cost of establishing the Company was indicated, in the report of the fire department's Chief Engineer:—

(22) *Ibid.*, November 23, 1859.

(23) *Ibid.*, December 22, 1859.

(24) *Ibid.*, December 27, 1859.

(25) The original lease, dated December 23, 1859, is in the Archives of B.C.

(26) *Victoria Colonist*, January 12, 1860.

First (1st) Class Truck with Ladders Hooks Axes &c &c complete manufactured in Sacramento Cal. by Messrs. Haworth & Ellis in 1854. This Company has incurred a heavy expense in purchasing their present Apparatus, which is [their] private property as is also the House both having cost them \$2,776 50/100. . . .²⁷

From another source we know that the alarm-bell had cost \$389.59, and the hook and ladder apparatus \$700.²⁸

Uniforms were a source of much pride and joy to the old volunteer brigades, and the *Colonist* noted one of the Union Company's first full-dress practices:—

The men appeared in red shirts, black pants, and a leathern belt, on which was inscribed the insignia of the company. The truck was taken to the Union wharf where the men went through the exercise with a correctness worthy of veterans.²⁹

Fire caps arrived soon after this, and were worn when the Company appeared in full uniform at a benefit tendered to them in March by the Colonial Theatre. Governor Douglas and several members of his family attended the performance, the net proceeds of which amounted to about \$300.³⁰

2.

Meanwhile the matter of manning the fire-engines efficiently had been under consideration, and plans were soon afoot for the organization of two volunteer companies to take charge of them. The first of these, known as Deluge Engine Company No. 1, came into being on March 5, 1860.³¹ By March 21 it had enrolled forty members, and a full slate of officers—President, Foreman, Assistant Foremen, Secretary, and Treasurer—were elected that day. The best known of these first office-holders were John Dickson, the 1st Assistant Foreman, and Alfred Waddington, the Treasurer.³² Edward Coker, still officially regarded as Fire

(27) Keenan to Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(28) Balance-sheet of the General Committee of the Fire Department. *Victoria Colonist*, May 3, 1860.

(29) *Ibid.*, February 28, 1860.

(30) *Ibid.*, March 24, 1860.

(31) This was the date embroidered on the Company's banner; see, for example, *ibid.*, May 3, 1860, and May 2, 1861. On the other hand, a letter from J. D. Churchill, the Company's Secretary, to the Colonial Secretary, states that the date of organization was March 15. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(32) *Victoria Colonist*, March 22, 1860.

Captain, handed over the Hunneman engine to the new Company, and a first drill was held on March 27. The brief notice of this event in the *Colonist* is amusing:—

The trial of the Deluge Engine, on Tuesday evening, gave entire satisfaction. The "old box" worked well and performed some tall squirting.³³ On April 9 Douglas was elected a life member of the Company.³⁴ This tactful move was followed by a request, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, that the transfer of the Hunneman engine be regularized and made permanent on suitable terms.³⁵

The second Company, Tiger Engine Company No. 2, was founded on March 23, 1860, though the first officers were not elected until the 26th. John M. Thain was the first Foreman, and Thomas H. McCann the first President. The Tigers took possession of the old "Telegraph" engine on the 29th, and a satisfactory practice was held on April 4.³⁶ A fortnight later the Company had the misfortune to suffer an accident. While running to answer a call that proved to be a false alarm, two of the men tripped, fell beneath the engine, and were painfully hurt. The fact that the alarm proved to be false aroused much indignation, and both the Tigers themselves and the Union Hook and Ladder Company offered rewards for the arrest and conviction of the culprit responsible.³⁷

The first quarters of the Deluge Company were in a rented building on Government Street, between Yates and Johnson streets. The Tiger Company leased premises on Johnson Street, between Government and Broad streets. The two were thus just around the corner from one another, which may have added to the rivalry that was a characteristic of volunteer companies in Victoria, as elsewhere. It is amusing to find that the official records and reports are careful to state which of the companies first poured water on any given fire, and old-timers tell us that if the alarm was false or the blaze a small one, the volunteers were not above turning their hoses on each other. Resorts to fisti-

(33) *Ibid.*, March 29, 1860.

(34) Churchill to Douglas, April 10, 1860. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(35) Churchill to the Colonial Secretary, April 12, 1860. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(36) *Victoria Colonist*, March 24, 29, April 5, 1860.

(37) *Ibid.*, April 19, 1860.

cuffs, however, seem to have been rare, whereas in some cities they were common enough. The following is one of the many stories told of early fire-fighting in New York City:—

In the early days when water was scarce, there occurred many a fight for possession of a hydrant. One night two rival hose companies arriving at a fire, spotted the dim outline of a hydrant in a poorly lighted street at about the same moment. Angry disagreement between the foremen quickly led to blows and both companies soon were struggling in the darkness. The fast and furious fight was terminated when a bystander, scratching a match on the "hydrant" to light his cigar, discovered that the object for which they were contending was only a half-buried cannon used as a hitching post. As the burning building toppled to its doom, the lurid flare of flames briefly lighted up the bruised, battered and sheepish faces of the men.³⁸

Soon after the Tiger Company moved into its engine-house T. H. McCann, the President, purchased a fine flagstaff that had formerly stood in front of the American Hotel, and presented it to the Company. Captain Alexander Murray, of the steamer *Governor Douglas*, at once donated a large flag to grace the new pole.³⁹ Ornament and display were dear to the hearts of the volunteers, and although lack of money prevented the Victoria brigade from acquiring engines bedecked with costly gilding, brasswork, painted panels, and the like, elaborate banners were amongst their treasured possessions, and as the years slipped by various showy items of attire and equipment came the way of the Chief Engineer. Some of these are now to be seen in the Provincial Archives. Most typical is one of the scarlet shirts that were worn by volunteer firemen everywhere. Two leather fire-fighting helmets, one from the Deluge Company and the other from the Tiger Company, are on display, along with belts from the Deluge and Union Hook and Ladder companies. Two silver dress helmets are included in the collection. The origin of one of these is not known; the other bears an inscription stating that it was "Presented to the Chief Engineer Victoria Fire Department by the Guardian Fire & Life Assurance Co. London, England." As noted above, it was not unusual for English insurance companies to take an interest in fire brigades. The presentation of the helmet took place as late as December 31, 1885, when C. J.

(38) Dunshee, *Engine!—Engine!* p. 27.—Quoted by kind permission of the Home Insurance Company.

(39) *Victoria Colonist*, April 28, 1860. A later item states that the height of the staff was 96 feet.

Phillips was Chief Engineer.⁴⁰ It was accompanied by a pair of silver epaulettes—probably those attached to the cream broad-cloth coat, with pearl buttons and scarlet collar-band, now in the Archives museum. Phillips was evidently partial to ornament, for the museum also possesses two silver speaking-trumpets that he had made when he was Assistant Engineer and Chief Engineer respectively. That inscribed “Chief Engineer” dates from 1880, and was thus described by the *Colonist* at that time:—

A few days since the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department received from the establishment of Messrs. Miller & Co., metallic workers, New York, a very handsome parade trumpet manufactured of heavily plated silver. The design of the insignia of office represents in well executed engraved work the various branches of the department apparatus, one portion being allotted to the steam and manual engines and another to the hose carriages and ladder trucks. On either side of the trumpet ladders reach almost to its top, coming in close contact with beautifully worked helmets through which silver cordings with golden tassels pass. The trumpet, of course, is only intended for use on special occasions. . . . And so it should be, for laid down here it cost the Chief Engineer nearly \$75.⁴¹

Why Phillips felt it necessary to order this trumpet is somewhat of a mystery, as the Department already possessed a handsome one donated fifteen years previously. The inscription reads: “Presented by J. S. Keenan late Chief Engineer V.F.D. to the Victoria Fire Department to be held by the Chief Engineer for the time being. 2nd October 1865.” We are told that upon occasion fire trumpets were used for other purposes than shouting directions. With the mouthpiece removed and the end stopped up with a cork, they became flagons of formidable capacity; and in addition they made excellent weapons in a fight!

The printed constitutions of the Deluge and Tiger companies are amongst the rarest of early British Columbia imprints.⁴² The active membership of the Deluge Company was limited to seventy, and that of the Tiger Company to sixty-five. Honorary membership might be conferred upon members who rendered distinguished service, persons whom the companies wished to honour,

(40) *Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892*, Victoria, 1892, p. 1119.

(41) *Victoria Colonist*, December 4, 1880.

(42) In the Provincial Archives are copies of the following: *Constitution and By-laws of Deluge Company, no. 1, Victoria, Vancouver Island, Victoria, 1863*; and *Constitution and By-laws of the Tiger Engine Company no. 2, of Victoria, V.I., Victoria, 1861*.

or (in the case of the Tiger Company) upon persons who contributed a stated sum to the maintenance fund. Life and contributing memberships might likewise be conferred upon those making annual donations. Active members of the Deluge Company paid an initiation fee of \$1 and a monthly fee of \$1 thereafter. Fines and penalties were imposed upon members who neglected their duties, and provision was made for their impeachment and expulsion in extreme cases. Candidates for membership in the Deluge Company were to be "voted for by *ball ballot*—three black balls excluding." The Tiger Company strictly forbade "sectarian religion or party politics at any of its meetings." As these notes suggest, the old volunteer companies were a curious combination of brotherhood, service club, and fire department.

A ceremonial parade was held by the three fire companies on May Day, and the affair was such a success that it became an annual event. The advance notice in the press indicates that the idea originated with the Union Company.

The first parade of the Union Hook and Ladder Company will take place on Tuesday next [May 1, 1860]. The Tiger and Deluge engine companies having been invited, will also turn out, and take part in the parade. The Hook and Ladder Company will dress in their uniform—plain red shirt, black pants, and New York fire caps. The Tigers will appear in red shirts, trimmed with black velvet, black pants, and glazed caps. The Deluge Company in red shirts, with a blue badge, (on which will be inscribed the insignia of the company,) black pants, and glazed caps. The apparatus of the respective companies will be drawn by the members. The procession will march through the principal streets, headed by the excellent brass band from H.M.S. *Topaze*, and the pioneers or axemen, and also a number of boys as torch-bearers. During the afternoon, the firemen will be reviewed by His Excellency the Governor, at his residence across James' Bay. . . .⁴³

Elaborate accounts of the parade appeared in the Victoria newspapers. The description of the Deluge Company's display is typical.

This company mustered 59 men, and were headed by three pioneers, who wore blue shirts, trimmed with black velvet, black pants and blue cloth caps. A beautiful satin banner, on the front side of which was inscribed in gilt letters—"Deluge Engine Co. No. 1."—with a representation of the Deluge in which appears the "Ark," and the last of the human race outside of that "vessel of safety," clinging to hill-tops, rocks, etc., and on the reverse:

(43) *Victoria Colonist*, April 28, 1860.

"Organized March 5th, 1860; We Strive to Save," followed. . . . The engine was tastefully decorated with flags and wreaths. Over the air-vessel, a canopy of flowers was erected, within which was seated a pretty little girl of some six summers, representing the "May Queen." Ten boys, carrying torches and flags, marched with this company. . . .⁴⁴

A few days after the parade Douglas entertained a representative group of the volunteers at luncheon. His intentions were undoubtedly of the best, but the invitation list met with sharp criticism:—

. . . by some singular slight, usually construed in court circles to mean snubbing, only a portion of the original Fire Committee were invited. . . . Then again, there were officers of the companies not invited, whilst high privates were honored by gubernatorial condescension. . . . His Excellency was merely enacting a state pageant in return for the Firemen's display, and should not have made such an invidious discrimination. . . .⁴⁵

This distinctly petty fault-finding may have been indulged in because the vexed question of jurisdiction had once more reared its head. Exact dates and details are lacking, but it is clear that before May 1 the volunteer companies had organized themselves into a full-fledged fire department. Once again the model followed had been San Francisco, where "government of the department was intrusted to a chief engineer and assistants, and a board of delegates, to consist of two representatives from each company, which officers were to be elected by the members [of the various fire companies]."⁴⁶ Victoria's first Chief Engineer was J. A. McCrea, of the Union Hook and Ladder Company; the Assistant Chief was Nathan Koshland, of the Tigers. McCrea and Koshland had marched at the head of the parade on May Day, but their status—and, indeed, that of the fire companies themselves—had not yet been recognized officially. Thus when the firemen were preparing for the parade, the Deluge Company had wished

(44) *Ibid.*, May 3, 1860. The other two companies soon acquired banners to rival that carried so proudly by the Deluge Company. A white and blue silk banner was presented to the Union Hook and Ladder Company by the ladies of Victoria on June 23, 1860; and on May 1, 1861, before the May Day parade, the Tiger Company marched to the residence of Thomas Harris and there received from Miss Agnes Douglas, daughter of the Governor, a handsome banner decorated with the likeness of a large Bengal tiger and the motto: "Our Aim, the Public Good." *See ibid.*, May 2, 1861.

(45) *Ibid.*, May 8, 1860.

(46) Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 616.

to move its apparatus, but Edward Coker had sent word that it was to be left where it was. Highly indignant, the President of the Company wrote to Douglas. No reply having been received, he sought and secured an interview, at which Douglas told him that A. F. Pemberton, the Police Magistrate, was still the official Chief Engineer.⁴⁷ This meant that Coker, in turn, was still the official Superintendent of Fire Engines.⁴⁸

This and much more came to light in June, 1860, when the Bill which eventually became law as "An Act for the Protection of the Members of the Fire Companies of Victoria" was under debate in the House of Assembly. Alfred Waddington, a member of the Deluge Company, brought the question of jurisdiction to the fore, and the Attorney-General ruled that, since the fire-engines were the property of the Colony (to which they had by this time been transferred by the Hudson's Bay Company), Governor Douglas could do what he pleased about them. Distrust of the fire companies was evident throughout; their work was appreciated, but their future caused some uneasiness. Dr. Helmcken seems to have expressed a widely-held opinion when he said: "There is no doubt but these fire companies will end in political societies; but at present they are the most useful organizations in the colony."⁴⁹

The "Fireman's Protection Act," as it was called, finally passed the House in July, and received the Governor's assent on August 28, 1860. Its provisions were as limited as they well could be, since it did nothing except extend the barest minimum of legal protection to the town's fire-fighters. To do this, however, it was necessary to recognize officially the existence of the volunteer companies and to provide for their registration. Once they were registered, a member could no longer be held "liable for damage done by him to the property of any other person, in the extinction, or attempted extinction, of fire, or in the removal of any erection, edifice, or building" that the safety of adjacent property made it "expedient to remove." Uneasiness about the

(47) See report of the debate in the House of Assembly, *Victoria Colonist*, June 26, 1860.

(48) This was the title used by Coker himself when signing a letter printed in the *Colonist*, October 21, 1859. He there states that "the entire [fire-fighting] apparatus has been placed in my charge."

(49) *Ibid.*, June 26, 1860.

future of the volunteers may have been responsible for the fact that the life of the Act was limited to one year.

October 1 was the date chosen for the election of the Chief and Assistant Chief Engineers, and the contest proved to be close and exciting. McCrea sought re-election as Chief, and was opposed by John M. Thain and Edward Coker, both members of the Tiger Company. The real fight was between McCrea, who polled sixty-three votes, and Thain, who polled sixty-one. Coker received only one vote, doubtless because he had been involved in the difficulties over jurisdiction. It was evidently not due to personal unpopularity, for he was elected Foreman of the Tigers ten days later. The old Assistant Chief, Nathan Koshland, also won re-election, but he defeated J. S. Drummond by a single vote.⁵⁰

Evidence that the official status of the Fire Department was improving is found in the fact that the results of this election were referred to Douglas, and formally approved by him.⁵¹ Indeed, only one further serious difference seems to have occurred over the question of official recognition. This arose in the spring of 1861, when McCrea not only had difficulty in securing any part of an appropriation of £150 that the Legislature had passed in 1860 to assist the firemen, but discovered that a goodly portion of it had been paid over to Coker without his knowledge or consent. Only the pleading of his friends kept McCrea from resigning in protest. Coker apparently used the money he received to pay debts outstanding from earlier days.⁵²

By the time the "Fireman's Protection Act" of 1860 was due to expire, the good behaviour of the volunteer companies, together with the strength and popularity of their organization, had finally won for them full legal recognition. The "Fireman's Protection Act, 1861," signed by Douglas on September 10, 1861, included the constitution of the "Fire Department of the Town of Victoria." Some of the clauses read as follows:—

- (2) The Fire Department shall consist of the existing Fire Companies and such other Companies as may be from time to time

(50) J. S. Drummond to R. F. Pickett (Secretary of the Board of Delegates), October, 1860; *MS.*, Archives of B.C. *Victoria Colonist*, October 2, 1860.

(51) *Ibid.*, October 30, 1860.

(52) *Ibid.*, March 23, 1861.

admitted pursuant to the By-Laws for the time being regulating the Department.

- (3) The officers of the Fire Department shall consist of a Chief Engineer, and an Assistant Engineer, a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.
- (4) There shall be a Board of Delegates consisting of three persons from each company; the first Delegates shall be elected within seven days after the passage of this Act; the Delegates shall be afterwards elected annually on some day to be fixed by a By-Law.
- (6) The Board of Delegates shall have the power of passing By-Laws for the regulation of the Fire Department, which, after the approval, in writing, of the Governor for the time being, shall be binding and conclusive on all members of the Fire Department.

The Chief and Assistant Engineers were to be elected by the vote of all the members, subject to the approval of the Governor.

It will be noted that there was nothing new in these provisions; they simply recognized and gave legal status to the organization that was already in existence.

The Department at once set to work to draw up by-laws and regulations. These were of the most detailed description, and included provisions for a Charitable Fund, to be administered by three elected trustees. Constitution, by-laws, rules of order, and regulations were finally adopted by the Board of Delegates on November 6, and approved by Douglas on February 7, 1862.⁵³

3.

Water-supply, finances, and new equipment were the chief worries of the volunteer fire companies once their organization was completed.

For a surprisingly long period after the start of the gold-rush Victoria depended upon wells and wagons for its water-supply. Various projects were talked about, but nothing was actually accomplished until 1863, when the firm of Coe & Martin, which had been prospecting for water in the Spring Ridge area, sank an artesian well that produced a generous flow. The Spring Ridge Water Works Company was incorporated in 1864, its purpose being to pipe this water into the town. The mains were formed of 12-foot logs, bored out to a diameter of about 6 inches, and

(53) See the *Constitution, By-laws, and Rules of Order of the Victoria Fire Department Victoria, Vancouver Island, B.C., Victoria, 1873*; and the report of J. S. Drummond, then Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 30, 1866. *MS., Archives of B.C.*

buried with the bark on. As no hydrants were provided, this pioneer water system, which remained in use for about ten years, was of little or no assistance to the fire brigade. Indeed, it did not even solve the problem of a domestic water-supply, for as late as 1870 water was brought by schooner from Mill Stream and sold at the wharf to consumers.

Under the circumstances the town had to fall back on cisterns for protection against fire. Two of these were placed under contract by the Government in April, 1859, but apparently only the one at the corner of Johnson and Store streets, which was paid for by public subscription, was actually constructed. The other was intended to be in Government Street.⁵⁴ In March, 1860, the *Colonist* suggested that the chain-gang should be put to work "building a few more cisterns," and added: "At present we have but two, and they, we fear, would not be very reliable in case of a fire."⁵⁵ The second cistern here referred to appears to have been in Waddington Alley. A month later the Grand Jury in its report urged "the pressing necessity for the construction of at least four more cisterns." Its members pointed out that the town's "efficient Fire Brigade . . . would be comparatively useless without a plentiful supply of water."⁵⁶ In November a discussion in the *Colonist* revealed that there were by that time "two reservoirs on Waddington Alley, the one of large dimensions behind Mr. Harris' butcher-store, the other a smaller one built by Mr. [J. D.] Carroll, behind the Miner's Restaurant."⁵⁷

Work on a new cistern at the corner of Yates and Government streets commenced in January, 1861.⁵⁸ Two more—"one at the corner of Johnson and Government streets and the other at the foot of Yates Street, near Wharf"—were begun in April, 1862, and completed in June.⁵⁹ A month later the town's cisterns were listed as follows in a report by John Dickson, then Chief Engineer of the Fire Department:—

(54) See note 13, *supra*.

(55) *Victoria Colonist*, March 27, 1860.

(56) *Ibid.*, April 14, 1860.

(57) *Ibid.*, November 1, 1860.

(58) *Ibid.*, January 16, 1861.

(59) *Ibid.*, April 25, June 24, 1862. Cost of the two was "about \$1,400."

<i>Location.</i>	<i>Capacity.</i>
Yates and Wharf	32,000 gallons
Yates and Government	15,000 "
Johnson and Government	32,000 "
Johnson and Store	17,000 "
Langley Street, between Yates and Bastion	20,000 "

The combined capacity of the five cisterns was thus estimated at 116,000 gallons. As neither of the reservoirs in Waddington Alley is included, one must assume that they had fallen into disuse.⁶⁰

Another two cisterns were built in 1863, at a cost of \$677. They were located at Government and Fort streets and Yates and Douglas streets respectively. Each had a capacity of 20,000 gallons, and the Chief Engineer estimated that the seven cisterns then in use could hold a total of 170,000 gallons.⁶¹ An eighth reservoir appears on a later list, dated June 30, 1865. This was a 10,000-gallon tank built by Alfred Waddington in Waddington Alley. Through the years these cisterns required repairs and even rebuilding. Their rated capacities changed from time to time, but the total quantity of water available remained fairly constant.⁶² They and their successors remained in use for many years, and ten were still in active service in 1886.⁶³

The volunteer companies were almost continuously in financial straits of one kind or another. In May, 1861, one of their leaders stated that ordinary running expenses amounted to between \$25 and \$30 per member per annum. This sum the firemen themselves supplied, but new equipment or new buildings were usually beyond their means. Frequent recourse was had to public subscriptions, and the response was usually generous. In the fall of 1860, for example, the Tiger Company collected \$500 in this way to help defray debts incurred when the Company was

(60) John Dickson, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, July 30, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(61) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, January 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(62) The eight cisterns are listed in the report of J. C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, covering the year ended June 30, 1865. Their total capacity is given as 180,000 gallons.

(63) Edward Mallandaine, *The British Columbia Directory . . . 1887*, Victoria, 1887, p. 6.

established.⁶⁴ It was to the Government, however, that the volunteers looked most frequently for assistance, though the response was uncertain and spasmodic. In this respect both 1860 and 1861 were lean years, but in 1862 the Fire Department received no less than £1,000. True, the need was urgent, for the "Telegraph" engine that had been assigned to the Tigers was so worn and old that it might fail at any time, and the Department was dangerously short of hose. The first grants received were £150 for general expenses and £350 for cisterns and hose; both were paid in February, 1862.⁶⁵ In May, a committee of the Board of Delegates, consisting of J. A. McCrea and others, appealed to Douglas for an additional £1,100, of which £500 was intended to buy a new engine for the Tiger Company. In justification of this request they wrote to the Governor:—

We beg to represent to your Excellency, the necessity of immediate action in this matter, as our town is fast filling up with wooden buildings, and we are liable at any moment to a conflagration, that would be beyond the power of the Department, in its present condition to subdue.⁶⁶

In response to this appeal the House of Assembly appropriated £850, but only £500 of this was actually paid over.⁶⁷ This was used for the purchase of a new engine for the Tigers. The order was placed through A. H. Titcomb, of San Francisco, and the machine supplied was a second-class hand-engine manufactured by Button & Blake, of Waterford, N.Y. It was described as having "a 7 inch stroke [and] 10 inch cylinder."⁶⁸ The engine arrived in Victoria in September, 1862,⁶⁹ and proved very satisfactory in service. The Tigers were elated, and the Chief Engineer noted in his report: "Their new apparatus answers every

(64) *Victoria Colonist*, August 31, September 4, 1860.

(65) See Colonial Secretary to John Dickson, February 1, 1862, and to J. A. McCrea, February 15, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(66) McCrea and others to Douglas, May 20, 1862. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(67) For the appropriation see *Victoria Colonist*, July 23, 1862; for the payment, Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, August 7, 1862, and marginal note thereon. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(68) It would seem as if this might be an error for a 7-inch cylinder with a 10-inch stroke. The details are from Keenan's report to the Colonial Secretary, August 31, 1865. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(69) *Victoria Colonist*, September 17, 1862.

expectation, both as regards simplicity and convenience in getting into service and capacity of execution."⁷⁰

The next major requirement proved to be a new engine-house for the Deluge Company. For a time the Company was without quarters of its own, and its engine was moved first to the Tiger house and then to the house of the Union Hook and Ladder Company. Finally, a lot on Yates Street, between Broad and Douglas streets, was leased for a ground-rent of \$15 per annum, and an engine-house erected thereon at a cost of \$1,787.⁷¹ "The front elevation," the *Colonist* reported when it was nearing completion, "is very neat and appropriate, and the belfry which surmounts the building in excellent keeping with the rest of the design. The bell, procured from San Francisco by Mr. J. Drummond, the zealous foreman of the company, is now in position. . . ."⁷² The Deluge Company took possession, with due ceremony and celebration, towards the end of April, 1863. Much of the cost of the building had been met by public subscription.⁷³

Two first-class "jumpers" (as two-wheeled hose-carts were called) were acquired in 1863. These were built locally by Messrs. Bunting & Dodds, Yates Street; the price was \$250 each. The first of the two was ready in September, and was viewed by an admiring reporter from the *Colonist* just before it was delivered to the Tiger Company: "It is a light and elegant little vehicle, combining at the same time great strength, and the taste displayed in the painting and gilding reflects the highest credit upon the manipulator."⁷⁴ The second jumper went to the Deluge Company, and this new equipment enabled both companies to place their old and worn second-class hose-carts in semi-retirement.

New hose was urgently needed by the autumn of 1863. The best hose then available was made of leather, and in the reports of the Chief Engineers the Department's supply was carefully rated according to its condition. Thus in July, 1863, the Department had 500 feet of good quality hose, 300 feet of second quality,

(70) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, report covering the year ended July 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(71) Keenan's 1865 report; see note 68, *supra*.

(72) *Victoria Colonist*, April 1, 1863.

(73) *Ibid.*, April 23, 1863.

(74) *Ibid.*, September 8, 1863.

and 400 feet of third, or 1,200 feet in all.⁷⁵ The amount of good quality available was much too low for safety, and a year later an additional thousand feet (20 lengths of 50 feet each) were ordered through J. H. Titcomb. J. C. Keenan was then Chief Engineer, and he stated his needs with great precision in a letter to the Colonial Secretary. He would accept only Button & Blake hose of the "best quality of Leather, Double Riveted," and he wanted it equipped with 2½-inch butts (couplings), "New York Patent." To avoid mistakes, Keenan went on to list the kinds of "objectionable Hose" that he did *not* want: "Gutta Percha, Web (wrapped in twine) Hemp, Canvass, California Hose, and a variety of single riveted Leather Hose. . . ." Both the Colonial Secretary and Titcomb evidently did their best to oblige him, for the new hose was found to be of excellent quality when it arrived. The cost, however, was higher than expected—\$2.12½ per foot, whereas previous shipments had been secured for \$1.87 per foot.⁷⁶

Other important developments took place during these same years. On July 9, 1862, Douglas gave his assent to "An Act To Establish Fire Limits Within the Town of Victoria." The limits designated—Johnson Street, Broad Street, Fort Street, and the harbour—indicate how small an area the business district covered at that time. (Douglas Street, for example, was still in a suburban area.) Within these limits the construction of large wooden buildings was prohibited; no new wooden structure could be more than one story or 18 feet in height.

In August, 1862, the City of Victoria was incorporated; but as the Fire Department continued to function independently, this made little difference, except that modest grants seem to have been received now and then from the City Council. Of more immediate interest was the establishment of fire wards in December, 1863, a step apparently taken at the suggestion of the *Colonist*, which commented as follows:—

We are glad to observe that the Fire Department have adopted our suggestion as to dividing the city into districts, and indicating the locality of fires by striking the number of the ward on the alarm bells. The city proper has been divided into four wards, formed by the intersection of Gov-

(75) Dickson to the Colonial Secretary, report for the year ended July 31, 1863. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(76) J. C. Keenan to Henry Wakeford, acting Colonial Secretary, July 27, 1864; November 18, 1864. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

ernment and Yates streets . . . After giving the alarm the bells will strike the number of the Ward slowly and distinctly. For fires outside of the city limits the bells will ring continuously.⁷⁷

But the legislation that aroused most interest amongst the firemen was the "Fireman's Protection Act, 1864," to which Governor Kennedy gave his assent on July 7, 1864. In 1862-63 the membership of the volunteer companies had declined sharply. In January, 1863, for example, the Deluge Company had only thirty-two members, the Tiger Company forty, and the Union Hook and Ladder Company thirty-seven, or a total of 109 in all. This was about thirty members less than the strength required for efficiency. The decline was not surprising, for the duties of the firemen could be tiresome, the expense of belonging to the Department was considerable, and the grants received from the Government were distinguished neither by generosity nor regularity. Turning once more to San Francisco for a model, the Victoria firemen asked that they, like their Southern brothers, should be granted exemption from jury duty. John Dickson, Chief Engineer, made the request in a report submitted to the Colonial Secretary in January, 1863; and it is interesting to note that the original report bears a marginal note in Douglas's handwriting expressing approval of the idea. A general election was held in the summer of 1863, and many of the members of the new House pledged themselves to support the measure. In December, however, the House decided that exemption should not apply to coroner's inquests. Indignation amongst the firemen was great, for this service was, perhaps, the most irksome of all.⁷⁸ In spite of the most lively protests, nothing was done; but it may be significant that the new Fireman's Act neither passed the Council nor received the Governor's assent until after Kennedy had succeeded Douglas. In March, 1864, it may be added, the Fire Department presented Douglas with a farewell address, and the three fire companies marched in full-dress parade to the Government buildings, preceded by the firemen's brass band, to attend the ceremony.⁷⁹

(77) *Victoria Colonist*, December 12, 1863.

(78) *Ibid.*, December 11, 1863.

(79) *Ibid.*, March 11, 1864.

One further provision of the Act of 1864 is of interest. It provided that, for the purposes of the Act, all the equipment of the three volunteer companies was to "be deemed . . . the property of the Victoria Fire Department, subject to the order and control of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Victoria." The change cannot have made any great difference in practice, for it was not until the Act was further amended, in 1873, that the Chief Engineer reported to the City instead of to the Government, and the Fire Department's by-laws, and the results of its elections, had to be approved by the City instead of by the Governor.

The most complete account of the Fire Department available is that given in the report of J. C. Keenan, Chief Engineer, covering its operations for the year ended June 30, 1865.⁸⁰ Quarters, personnel, equipment, cisterns, and finances are all dealt with in detail. The Deluge Company, with forty-two members, was housed in its new quarters on Yates Street. Its equipment consisted of the Hunneman engine purchased in 1858 (condition "passable"), the first-class "jumper" acquired in 1863, an old second-class hose-cart, and 750 feet of good quality hose. The Tiger Company, which had sixty members, still occupied a rented engine-house on Johnson Street, in which were housed its Button & Blake hand-engine, its new "jumper," an old hose-cart, and 750 feet of hose. The Union Hook and Ladder Company, with thirty-nine members, occupied the house on Bastion Street completed early in 1860. The location of the building was no longer convenient, and as the Company did not own the site, Keenan was anxious to have the house moved elsewhere—a suggestion finally acted upon in 1870. In addition to its own hook and ladder apparatus, the Union Company was giving house-room to the old "Telegraph" engine, which was described as being in "useless" condition. The hose-supply is not specified, but as the Department as a whole possessed 2,200 feet, presumably the Union Company had 700 feet, condition "middling" to "bad." The total membership of the Department was 141, as compared with 110 in July, 1864; the increase was credited to the new Fireman's Act, and the partial exemption from jury duty that it provided.

(80) The report, the original of which is in the Provincial Archives, is actually dated August 31, 1865.

Seventeen fires had been dealt with in the course of the year. Not one had spread beyond the premises in which it had originated, and the total damage suffered was estimated at no more than \$9,910. The Deluge Company was credited with "first water" on ten occasions, and the Tiger Company upon six. Buckets had proven sufficient at the remaining fire.

The smallness of the fire loss was remarkable, and Keenan seized the occasion to make a lively attack upon the insurance companies for their failure to admit their indebtedness to the Department and act accordingly:—

I beg to call your [the Colonial Secretary's] attention respectfully to the fact that since my last report, there has been but one Insurance Policy paid by the Insurance Companies, and that the Companies who are realising immense profits, do not contribute (but voluntarily) towards maintaining the Fire Department, or assisting the various Fire Companies to meet the expenses attending their organization; on one occasion "The Royal Insurance Company" contributed Three Hundred Dollars (\$300) The Liverpool and London contributed Fifty Dollars (\$50) The London and Lancashire Insurance Company Fifty Dollars (\$50) and The North British American & Mercantile One Hundred & Fifty Dollars (\$150.) other Companies residing among us, and equally wealthy have Not contributed one Dollar, and as I am informed have even declined to do so when requested. That the Fire Department by their exertions and self sacrifice of time, and loss of apparel, have been the means of saving said Companies Thousands of Dollars is an indisputable fact; and I earnestly request that you will call the attention of His Excellency to the same, and to the notice of the Legislative Assembly recommending to the Hon^{ble} Body the necessity of those Companies assisting by special appropriations towards the support of the Fire Department.

Not a great deal came of this appeal, but the names of various insurance companies do appear in the subscription lists circulated some years later.

The Department's estimates for 1865 amounted to \$4,000, but as only \$3,000 was being made available by the Government, it had been necessary to postpone repairs, hold nothing in reserve, and pay the three stewards, who looked after the engine-houses, no more than \$30 a month. Even so, rent and salaries alone amounted to \$1,680 per annum. Keenan felt that support simply must be forthcoming upon a larger scale. For one thing, more equipment was urgently needed. The Deluge Company required a new engine, and the eight cisterns listed did not give sufficient protection to the town. For another, the time had come when

the payment of salaries should begin, as the time and clothing that the officers were required to furnish amounted to more than they could well afford. Keenan suggested that the Chief Engineer should receive \$500, the Assistant \$300, and the Secretary of the Board of Delegates a like amount.

Instead of expansion, however, the Department was fated to experience great financial straits in the near future. The boom based on the great gold discoveries in the Cariboo was already declining. By 1866 times were definitely bad, and the years thereafter were a time of great depression. Instead of the \$3,000 per annum to which it had become accustomed, the Department received nothing whatever from the Government in 1866. An appropriation of \$1,000 was made in 1867, but as the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were by that time united, half the sum was paid to the New Westminster Fire Department. The Victoria Chief pointed out that as there were three companies in Victoria, and but one in New Westminster, a payment of \$250 per company would have been a more equitable arrangement, but all in vain.⁸¹ By August, 1868, the budget had been pared down to \$2,400, and the Department reported that it was "totally without funds."⁸² The lowest ebb was reached in February, 1869, when the Chief Engineer warned the Colonial Secretary that if some relief were not forthcoming "the department will be reluctantly compelled to disband."⁸³ This threat seems to have impressed the authorities, as a grant of \$1,000 was paid over the same month.⁸⁴

In spite of their difficulties, the morale of the firemen remained high. In 1866 they set to work to repair the veteran "Telegraph" engine, to provide against an emergency.⁸⁵ Then in 1867-68 the Tiger Company took to the war-path and raised sufficient money to enable them to purchase a steam fire-engine. Complete

(81) S. L. Kelly, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 15, 1868. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(82) Same to same, August 18, 1868. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(83) J. Kriemler, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, February 3, 1869. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(84) Kriemler to the Colonial Secretary, January 28, 1869; and the Colonial Secretary's reply, February 11, 1869. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(85) J. S. Drummond, Chief Engineer, to the Colonial Secretary, January 30, 1866. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

details are lacking, but we know that the Company themselves contributed \$1,000, and an old note-book in the Provincial Archives lists public subscriptions totalling \$1,471.50, most of which are marked off as having been paid. In view of Keenan's remarks in 1865, it is interesting to find that the Royal Insurance Company is credited with having contributed \$300, the Imperial Fire Insurance Company \$200, the Builders' Insurance Company \$100, and the Phoenix Insurance Company \$50. The Hudson's Bay Company donated \$50, while personal subscriptions included \$50 from the Bishop of Columbia and \$20 from Sir James Douglas.

The engine itself was manufactured by Button & Blake, of Waterford, N.Y., and two hand-written letters from L. Button to Frank Sylvester, then secretary of the Tiger Company, show that the head of the firm took a keen personal interest in the transaction. He believed the machine to be "as good a Steamer as ever was built," and forwarded the most detailed instructions for its care and operation. The engine was shipped from New York in October, and arrived in Victoria in December of 1868. Governor Seymour authorized the customs authorities to admit it duty free, and the Government contributed \$750 towards its cost, which amounted in all to \$4,005.40. Tests showed that it could be ready for action about eight minutes after the fire was lighted. With steam pressure at 120 lb. it could throw two streams of water about 140 feet, while at 80 lb. a single stream was thrown 200 feet.⁸⁶

The engine arrived a few weeks after one of early Victoria's few serious fires. On November 4, 1868, the historic Hotel de France and the adjoining Lyceum Building, which together were insured for \$15,200, were destroyed. A still more notable blaze followed in less than a year, for Christ Church was burned to the ground in October, 1869. Its destruction recalled its remarkable escape in February, 1861, when fire was discovered in the attic

(86) For the tests see *Victoria Colonist*, December 21, 1868. Some details of the cost of the engine may be of interest. The first item on the account was: "Bill of Engine at Factory in New York \$3900.00 in Greenbacks which equals in cash \$2847.00." Freight charges from New York to San Francisco were \$642.55, and from San Francisco to Victoria \$121.20. Collection charges were \$24.40, expenses of fitting up \$60, and "contingent expenses" \$310.25. The Tigers greeted the engine with such exuberance that the celebration cost \$390.62; of this \$150 was for the dinner and \$147.75 for liquor!

one Sunday during the morning service. While fighting this fire under the rafters, A. F. Pemberton, who at the time was still the official Fire Chief, broke through the plaster of the ceiling, and was only saved from crashing to the floor by the happy chance that his arms caught on the joists.⁸⁷

The Deluge Company was not content to lag behind the Tigers for long, and in 1869 they, too, determined to acquire a steam-engine. Owing largely to the influence of Alfred Waddington, who contended that English engines had proven superior to American in tests, and were considerably cheaper into the bargain, it was decided to purchase a Merryweather engine in England. The order was placed through Sproat & Company, and the cost of the engine, including freight, fitting up, and testing, was \$2,658.26. Public subscriptions, benefits, and the like, brought in \$1,420, while the Victoria City Council voted \$250. The balance, amounting to almost \$1,000, was paid out of a loan advanced without interest by Captain Fleming. Details are not available beyond the point when this indebtedness was reported by the Deluge Steam Fire Engine Fund Committee to Governor Musgrave in November, 1870, with an appeal for a grant of \$750 to help clear the debt.⁸⁸

The Deluge Company's engine arrived in April, 1870, and was immediately subjected to public tests.

The whistle was blown at 3 minutes 1 second, 20 lbs of steam were raised in 9½ minutes and water thrown. In 13 minutes 30 seconds there were 60 lbs of steam, and with 100 lbs of steam two powerful streams of water were thrown through inch nozzles many feet—some estimate 40—above the St. Nicholas Hotel staff.⁸⁹

This last detail is amusing, as the paper had recorded a couple of days before that the Tiger engine had thrown water 30 feet above the same flagpole!⁹⁰ "Although not so showy or so highly finished as the Tiger engine," the Deluge machine was "pronounced by competent engineers to be a fine and powerful engine"⁹¹

(87) *Ibid.*, February 19, 1861.

(88) See the letter from the Committee to Musgrave, November 30, 1870. *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(89) *Victoria Colonist*, April 26, 1870.

(90) *Ibid.*, April 24, 1870.

(91) *Ibid.*, April 17, 1870, reporting the first trials of the engine.

To operate their new acquisitions the two companies formed a corps of amateur engineers, who were sufficiently trained to handle the steam-engines safely and efficiently. The original recruits were six in number: Joshua Davies, Emanuel Levy (who contributed a few paragraphs to Edgar Fawcett's *Reminiscences of Old Victoria*), E. A. McQuade, David James, Joseph Buell, and Charles Taylor.⁹²

The arrival of the steam-engines, which much increased the efficiency of the Department, virtually brings to an end the story of the old volunteer companies in Colonial days. Though British Columbia did not become part of Canada officially until July 20, 1871, it was characteristic of the firemen that they should decide to hold a celebration on Dominion Day, July 1. The three companies duly assembled in dress uniforms, were reviewed by the Chief Engineer and his Assistant, and then marched to the residence of Dr. I. W. Powell, "who presented the Chief Engineer—representing the Fire Department—with a handsome Dominion flag."⁹³ Dr. Powell, it may be added, had been surgeon of the Department, to which he gave his professional services free of charge, since August, 1863.⁹⁴

4.

A few remarks relating to somewhat later days will suffice to bring these notes to a close.

Several developments of note occurred in 1873. It was in that year that an amended "Fireman's Act" directed that henceforth the by-laws of the Board of Delegates, and the results of the firemen's elections, required the approval of the City of Victoria, instead of the Governor. The "Victoria Water Works Act" paved the way for the modern water system of the present, and we read of hydrants for fire purposes being tested in 1877, and again in 1880.⁹⁵ Later records show that fifty-three hydrants had been installed by 1886.⁹⁶ It was also in 1873 that the city limits of Victoria were extended—a development that immediately pointed to the necessity of using horses to haul the fire-engines. At that time even the heavy steam fire-pumps were

(92) *Ibid.*, July 27, 1870.

(93) *Ibid.*, July 2, 1871.

(94) *Ibid.*, August 24, 1863.

(95) *Ibid.*, December 29, 1877; March 24, 1880.

(96) Mallandaine, *British Columbia Directory*, 1887, p. 6.

still being pulled to fires by hand, with the inevitable result that the firemen frequently arrived at a blaze in an exhausted state.⁹⁷ Finally, it was in 1873 that the old "Telegraph" hand-engine, a veteran of San Francisco in the days of the Vigilance Committee and of the gold-rush in Victoria, was sold to Captain Raymur and taken to Burrard Inlet to protect the Hastings mill.⁹⁸

The question of salaries became pressing in the seventies, and the recommendations made by J. C. Keenan in his 1865 report were at last carried into effect. Modest allowances were provided for the Chief and Assistant Engineers and the Secretary of the Board of Delegates. Otherwise things continued much as before. Thus in 1877 an inventory of the Department's equipment shows that the only items that had been added were a bucket truck carrying thirteen buckets, an extension ladder, and a Babcock fire-extinguisher.⁹⁹ In 1882 the Department had four paid officers, who received the following amounts per annum: Chief Engineer, \$700; Assistant Chief, \$300; Secretary, Board of Delegates, \$300; Steward, \$900. Engine-houses and equipment were valued in all at \$35,000.¹⁰⁰

The old spirit of rivalry and love of display continued to the end of the volunteer days. Thus in 1874 the Tiger Company acquired a monster new alarm-bell that weighed no less than 1,500 lb. It was brought from England and cost, duty paid, about \$750. Another \$250 was spent on the tower required to accommodate it.¹⁰¹ In 1879, when discussions about a paid department were taking place between the Department and the Council, the old spirit of independence appeared, and the Department made it clear that it was not prepared to consider any arrangements that involved the transfer of any of its equipment to the City.¹⁰² As late as 1881 the biennial election for Chief Engineer resulted in a hard-fought battle, and a lawsuit over the eligibility of certain

(97) See the interesting comment in the *Victoria Colonist*, August 9, 1873.

(98) *Ibid.*, October 25, 1873.

(99) Report of J. Wriglesworth, Chief Engineer; printed in *ibid.*, September 13, 1877.

(100) R. T. Williams, *British Columbia Directory, 1882*, Victoria, 1882, p. 89.

(101) *Victoria Colonist*, August 6, December 18, 1874.

(102) *Ibid.*, May 28, 1879.

of the Union Hook and Ladder Company's voters preceded the contest.¹⁰³

The inevitable happened, and the volunteers gave way to a paid fire department, as from January 1, 1886. In this first year there were twenty-six paid employees: the Chief Engineer and his Assistant, whose salaries continued to be \$700 and \$300 per annum respectively; three foremen, who received \$16.25 per month; three engineers, who were paid \$60 per month; and eighteen firemen (twelve hosemen and six hook and ladder men), who received \$14 per month. Salaries thus amounted in all to somewhat less than \$7,000 per annum, while the total expenditure of the Fire Department for the year was \$14,759.20.¹⁰⁴

F. W. LAING,
VICTORIA, B.C.

W. KAYE LAMB,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

(103) *Ibid.*, October 4, 1881.

(104) Mallandaine, *British Columbia Directory*, 1887, p. 6.

APPENDIX.

(a.) MEMBERSHIP OF THE VICTORIA FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Date.	Deluge Company.	Tiger Company.	Union Hook and Ladder Company.	Total.
1860—May Day.....	59	59	48	166
1862—July.....	42	39	40	121
1863—January.....	32	40	37	109
July.....	43	37	31	111
1864—July.....	39	33	38	110
1865—July.....	42	60	39	141
1866—January.....	35	40	38	113
1867—July.....	30	51	32	114
1868—January.....	42	59	40	141
August.....	46	56	41	143
1869—February.....	40	55	41	136

The figures for May Day, 1860, are taken from the account of the parade in the *Victoria Colonist*. All other figures are from the reports of the Chief Engineers, on file in the Provincial Archives. In September, 1877, membership in the Department was 195, which appears to be the record figure. In 1882 the total was 133, and in 1884, shortly before the volunteer companies gave way to a paid brigade, membership totalled 131.

(b.) ENGINEERS OF THE VICTORIA FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The firemen's elections were held annually, early in October, from 1860 until 1873, and biennially thereafter. The successful candidates in Colonial days were as follows:—

<i>Chief Engineer.</i>	<i>Assistant Engineer.</i>
1860 James A. McCrea	Nathan Koshland.
1861 John Dickson	John Malowanski.
1862 John Dickson	John Malowanski.
1863 John C. Keenan	J. S. Abbott.
1864 John C. Keenan	Henry Pickett.
1865 James S. Drummond	Thomas J. Burnes.
1866 John C. Keenan	Thomas J. Burnes.
1867 Samuel L. Kelly	John Kriemler.
1868 John Kriemler	John Vogel.
1869 John Kriemler	John Vogel.
1870 Simeon Duck	Frank G. Richards, Sr.

Later Chief Engineers were: Frank G. Richards, Sr. (1871); William Lohse (1872; re-elected 1873); Joseph Wriglesworth (1875); Frank Saunders (1877); C. J. Phillips (1879; re-elected 1883, 1885); August Borde (1881).

The early Chief Engineers were for the most part vigorous and interesting personalities, and one wishes that we knew more about some of them. James A. McCrea was an auctioneer and commission agent; his advertisements will catch the eye of any one using the early files of the *Colonist*. He was much interested in sport. McCrea seems to have been an American by birth. His successor, John Dickson, was one by adoption. He claimed American citizenship in 1862, but we know that he was born in Dungannon, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1827. Like several of the early Chiefs, he was a tinsmith and hardware dealer. In later years he became purser and part owner of the Stikine River steamer *Glenora*, and he died in Wrangel, Alaska, in June, 1875. John C. Keenan, another American, held office for three terms, and was referred to by the *Colonist* as being "the city's favorite fireman." He was proprietor of the Fashion Hotel, which, according to Edgar Fawcett's *Reminiscences of Old Victoria* was "a first-class gambling house and dancing hall. High play was the order, and many a Cariboo miner in the winter months threw away his easily-got gold by the hundreds here." Keenan died in Victoria about June 1, 1869. Like Dickson, James S. Drummond was a hardware dealer, and so was Samuel L. Kelly, who was listed in one of the early directories as a "tinsmith and coppersmith." Kelly was still living in 1910. John Kriemler was a native of Switzerland who was in Victoria as early as 1862. He was the partner of Joseph Spratt in the foundry and machine-shop that grew into the Albion Iron Works. Later he went to Germany, where he died in June, 1889. Simeon Duck was born in St. Catherines, Ontario, in 1834, and came to British Columbia in 1859. After a brief try at gold-mining he settled in Victoria and founded a wagon and carriage factory. He is reputed to have built the first wagon made in Victoria, and supplied most of the vehicles used on the Cariboo Road in its most colourful days. He was elected to the Legislature in 1872, and served briefly as Minister of Finance in 1885-6.

Two other early names deserve notice. Thomas J. Burnes, elected Assistant Chief in 1865 and 1866, was Acting Chief Engineer for a time in 1867. He arrived in Victoria in May, 1858, and after a long career as a hotel-keeper entered the Customs service. Edward Coker, the Chief appointed by Governor Douglas before the volunteer companies were fully organized and officially recognized, described himself in 1867 as a "ship and steamboat smith," and advertised his readiness to manufacture boilers, iron doors, and fireproof vaults.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, on Friday, January 18. More than sixty members were present. The reports presented showed once again that the Association had had an active and interesting year. Paid-up membership at the end of 1945 was 497; of these, 186 belonged to the Victoria Section, 179 to the Vancouver Section, and 132 were members-at-large. The Association was in a strong position financially, and the balance carried forward into the new year was \$244.65. In presenting her report the Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden, expressed her thanks to Mrs. Garnet Fay, of the staff of the Provincial Archives, who had been of the greatest assistance to her throughout the year.

Points touched upon in the Secretary's report included the revision of the constitution and the proposed celebration, in June next, of the centenary of the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute. Various amendments to the constitution, relating chiefly to the election of the Council and the date of the annual meeting, had been submitted to the membership in November and unanimously approved. (The amended constitution is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.) Plans for the celebration of the Oregon boundary centenary had not yet been carried very far, but it was expected that the main details would be settled in the near future. The Association had approached the Postmaster-General with the request that a special stamp be issued to mark the occasion, and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada had under consideration the erection of a cairn at or near the Peace Arch, at Blaine. A delegate from the Association would attend the annual meeting of the Washington State Historical Society, to be held in Tacoma early in February, when plans for joint action by the two societies would be worked out.

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb reported to the meeting in his capacity as editor of the *Quarterly*, the paid circulation of which had reached 524, as compared with 483 in 1944. The increase had been somewhat greater than expected, and three of the four issues for 1945 were already out of print. In the nine years of its existence the *Quarterly* had had eighty-eight contributors, and there was reason to believe that at least half a dozen new writers would be represented in the tenth volume. Dr. Lamb stated that, owing to the pressure of other duties, it was his intention to ask to be relieved of the editorship at the end of 1946.

Major F. V. Longstaff submitted the report of the Marine Committee, which outlined some of the questions that had been dealt with during the year, and reviewed recent naval happenings in this region.

Miss Helen R. Boutilier then delivered her presidential address, which, in view of the fact that the City of Vancouver will celebrate its sixtieth

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anniversary in 1946, she had decided should chronicle the amusing story of *Vancouver's Earliest Days*. The period dealt with extended from 1859, when coal deposits were first prospected on Burrard Inlet, to the arrival of the first transcontinental train in Vancouver in May, 1887. The story was told with humour and imagination, and was much enjoyed by those present. The text of the address will be printed in the April number of this *Quarterly*, which is being planned as a Vancouver anniversary issue.

Mr. Willard E. Ireland submitted the report of the scrutineers. The new Council met at the Union Club immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, when the following officers were elected for 1946:—

Hon. G. M. Weir	- - - - -	Honorary President.
Miss Madge Wolfenden	- - - - -	President.
Mr. E. G. Baynes	- - - - -	1st Vice-President.
Major H. C. Holmes	- - - - -	2nd Vice-President.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland	- - - - -	Honorary Secretary.
Mrs. M. R. Cree	- - - - -	Honorary Treasurer.

Members of the Council:—

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Mr. Louis LeBourdais.	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.	Miss Alma Russell.

Dr. W. N. Sage.

Councillors ex officio:—

Major H. C. Holmes, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Mr. G. B. White, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Editor, <i>Quarterly</i> .

The Council completed arrangements for an essay contest to be held as part of the celebration of the Oregon boundary centenary. Three prizes of \$25, \$15, and \$10 respectively will be offered, and students in attendance at the University of British Columbia, Victoria College, and Royal Roads will be invited to submit essays on suitable topics. The committee in charge consists of Mr. W. E. Ireland, Miss Alma Russell, and Mr. H. D. Dee.

The Council also appointed a new Historic Monuments Committee, the intention being that all inquiries as to monuments and requests for the erection of markers should be referred to it for report. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom was named convener, with power to add.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Canada's Eastern Arctic was the subject of an address by Major D. L. McKeand, M.C., before the Section at a meeting held in the Provincial Library on Thursday, November 22. Major McKeand had just recently retired as Secretary of the North West Territories' Council and as Superintendent of Eastern Arctic for the Federal Department of Mines and Resources, and was, consequently, able to draw upon his extensive personal knowledge of Canada's Northland. In a rapid survey key-points in the history of the Canadian Arctic from the time of the ill-fated Franklin expedition in 1845 to the war-time activities of the Permanent Joint Board

on Defence for Canada and the United States were outlined. The tremendous strides in the realm of transportation and communication during the past one hundred years were graphically illustrated. The advent of the aeroplane and radio is gradually transforming the lonely lives of the 150 white men, women, and children and 6,300 Eskimos inhabiting the Eastern Arctic, to say nothing of the effect of the historic trip of the *St. Roch* through the Northwest Passage in 1944. Particular mention was made of such important places as Frobisher Bay, Southampton Island, Fort Chemo, and Fort Ross, from which post the speaker in 1937 made the first radio telephone broadcast from the Far North. Interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the daily lives of the inhabitants of the territory were interjected, and made more realistic Stefánsson's concept of "the friendly Arctic." High tribute was paid to the Eskimo population of the region. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to the speaker by Archdeacon H. C. Collison.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on the evening of Monday, December 17, with the vice-chairman, Mr. E. W. McMullen, presiding, when some fifty members were present. The unfortunate illness of the chairman, Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, prevented the reading of a presidential address, and in its stead two beautiful and interesting technicolor films were shown through the courtesy of the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau.

Reports were submitted by Mrs. M. R. Cree, Honorary Secretary, and Mr. John Goldie, Honorary Treasurer. Miss Alma Russell presented a report from the Necrology Committee noting the passing of no less than eighty-nine old-timers, residents of the Province for sixty years or more. Mr. E. G. Rowebottom reported on the Historic Sites Committee, whose principal effort had been the placing of the plaque on the bastion at Nanaimo in memory of Joseph William McKay.

Captain Ernest Haskett-Smith submitted the report of the scrutineers. The inaugural meeting of the new Council was held in the Provincial Archives on Thursday, December 27, when the executive for 1946 was elected.

Chairman - - - -	Major H. Cuthbert Holmes.
Vice-chairman - - -	Mr. J. A. Heritage.
Honorary Secretary - - -	Mrs. M. R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer - - -	Mr. R. H. Hiscocks.

Members of the Council:—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Miss Muriel Galt.
Mr. John Goldie.	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Major Harold Nation.	Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Mr. E. G. Rowebottom.	Miss A. M. Russell.
Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson.	Miss M. Wolfenden.

Mr. W. E. Ireland (ex officio).

VANCOUVER SECTION.

Sixty members attended the meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Monday, October 29, when Mr. George Green spoke on *The Early History of Burnaby*. After referring briefly to the geology of the region and its chief geographical features, Mr. Green told of the coming of the Royal Engineers and the establishment of the famous camp at Sapperton, in 1859. Robert Burnaby, after whom the municipality was named, had arrived from England with letters of recommendation from Lytton, and his first connection with the region came when Colonel Moody made him his private secretary for a time. It was while Burnaby was serving in this capacity that Burnaby Lake was named. Its existence had been well known previously but no name had been bestowed upon it, and one can well imagine how it came to be called after the man who was virtually head of the Colonel's office staff at the camp. Passing on to the history of settlement, Mr. Green stated that William Holmes was the first settler, and it was fitting that his property should have been designated Lot 1, Block 1, by the land surveyors. He settled near the Brunette River, and it was generally thought that Mrs. Holmes had named the river. However, an old map drawn before she arrived to join her husband shows the Brunette River, name and all, so it must have been so designated by Holmes himself. The original log cabin erected on the property remained standing until the early 90's, when it was used as a hospital during a smallpox epidemic, and afterwards burned as a precautionary measure. A fine old ash tree planted on the property by Colonel Moody in 1861 is still flourishing. Mr. Green devoted considerable attention to the interesting story of the original interurban line between New Westminster and Vancouver, now the Central Park line of the British Columbia Electric Railway. The route chosen was one of four considered. Chief credit for the project should, in Mr. Green's opinion, go to J. H. Webster and H. V. Edmonds, of New Westminster, rather than to Oppenheimer and others in Vancouver. Some Burnaby place-names, the amusing story of Burnaby's first schools, and details of the actual organization of the municipality were other topics discussed by the speaker. An unofficial council, elected by a show of hands in October, 1892, arranged preliminaries and cleared the way for the first regularly constituted municipal council, which took over in 1893. Judge Forin, who had acted as legal adviser to many of the well-known pioneers mentioned, thanked Mr. Green and contributed reminiscences of his own relating to the interurban line and the incorporation of the municipality.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Monday, November 26, when some fifty members were in attendance. The speaker was Rev. A. M. Sanford, who described *Rossland as I Knew It*. Mr. Sanford first sketched the early history of the city from the time when Ross Thompson secured a Crown grant to its site in 1894, until his own arrival there on June 1, 1901. He remarked, in passing, upon the number of men who had been active there and had later become prominent elsewhere. Judge Forin, for instance, had been a lawyer in Rossland before his appointment to the Bench in 1896; William McQueen, City Clerk of

Rossland, later served the City of Vancouver in a similar capacity for many years; J. S. Clute, one of Rossland's early mayors, was later Magistrate Clute, of New Westminster; while Chief of Police Bradshaw, after serving as Police Chief in New Westminster for many years, was now living in Vancouver, having attained the ripe old age of 91. Mr. Sanford's own first days in Rossland were none too comfortable, for he arrived at a time when there was serious labour trouble brewing in the mines. A strike followed in July, 1901, and the importation of 600 strike-breakers made tension run dangerously high. Fortunately the men were wisely and skillfully led by Mr. Frank Woodside, and the days passed with a minimum of disturbance and violence. In the end a new manager arrived to take over the mine, and happier relations with labour followed. Other highlights recalled by Mr. Sanford were the memorial service for President McKinley, held in September, 1901, at the request of the many Americans in the community, and the fire of August, 1902, which it was feared for a time would wipe out the whole city. Then came the civic elections, late in 1902, in which Mr. Sanford took an active part. The town was practically wide open, and he and many others felt compelled to make some attempt to better conditions. However, the motives that bred reformers varied; they were, in the speaker's own words, "a motley lot," and included small gamblers who thought the big gamblers were getting an undue share of the business, several brewers, and a bartender or two. Nevertheless, to the general surprise they carried the day, and in a measure the town was cleaned up. Dullness was certainly not a characteristic of Mr. Sanford's two years in Rossland, at the conclusion of which he was transferred to Nanaimo.

The election of officers resulted in the return of the following slate for 1946:—

Honorary President - - - - -	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
President - - - - -	Mr. G. B. White.
Vice-President - - - - -	Rev. W. Stott.
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Miss Bessie Lamb.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. L. S. Grant.

Members of the Council:—

Mr. E. M. Cotton.	Mrs. James Curr.	Mr. J. R. V. Dunlop.
Mr. J. W. Eastham.	Mr. George Green.	Mr. A. G. Harvey.
Mr. R. A. Hood.	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Dr. W. N. Sage.		Mr. Thomas Stephen.

The first meeting in the New Year was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Thursday, January 17. The speaker was one of Vancouver's best-known journalists, Mr. Roy Brown, who, after serving for more than thirty-five years on the staff of the *Vancouver Daily Province*, became Editorial Director of the *Vancouver Sun*. The history of our Province, Mr. Brown noted, fell roughly into three periods: the old Colonial days, a picturesque time of pioneering, gold-rushes, and stage-coaches; the horse and buggy era, known also as the gay nineties, though they were not so gay for British Columbia, in view of the economic distress through which she passed before the start of the Klondike excitement; and, finally, the "era

of the two World Wars." It was with the second of these three periods that Mr. Brown was chiefly concerned, and he first sketched the political scene, in which Laurier was a dazzling and dominating figure. Campaign days were still colourful, and the speaker recalled many interesting and amusing incidents of the time. Turning next to the newspaper world, he described the period largely in terms of the leading personalities of the time. He did so because he felt that it was these personalities that made our newspaper history. The *Province*, for example, in earlier days "coincided with and was the life of Walter Nichol." J. C. McLagan and J. M. O'Brien of the *World*, and Dr. Reynolds, of Ashcroft, who attempted to found a morning paper in the city years ago, were other personalities dealt with.

The vote of thanks to the speaker was moved by Mr. D. A. McGregor, who added amusing incidents of his experiences with Mr. McLagan, and seconded by Mr. Noel Robinson.

The Honorary Secretary was requested to send a letter of regret and wishes for a speedy recovery to Judge J. A. Forin, who was injured in an automobile accident on January 6.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

NAME.

The name of the Society is The British Columbia Historical Association.

OBJECTS.

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

MEMBERSHIP AND FEES.

1. The membership shall consist of two classes, namely, Ordinary members and Honorary members.
2. Ordinary members shall pay a fee of \$2 annually in advance; the fiscal year shall commence on the first day of January.
3. Honorary members shall be persons specially distinguished for their attainments in history and historical research, or otherwise deemed worthy of the honour, who shall be duly elected as Honorary members of the Association by the Council.
4. Fees shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Council, and upon the organization of a local section the Council shall make an appropriation of 50 cents per member in good standing annually towards its expenses; the remainder of the fees being devoted to the general purposes and publication fund of the Association.
5. The name of any Ordinary member that has failed to pay the fees for two consecutive years shall be struck from the roll and notice thereof shall

be mailed to such member, addressed to the place stated in the membership roll. Such member may be reinstated on payment of the fees due from him.

ORGANIZATION.

1. The headquarters of the Association shall be at Victoria, in the Provincial Archives; and the affairs of the Association shall be administered by a Council elected annually by ballot.

2. If five or more members desire to form a section of the Association in any centre within the Province, the Council may, upon receipt of a petition duly signed by five or more members, authorize the formation of a section; and such section shall have an annually elected executive, composed of such officers and others as the section may decide, which shall have full control over its programme and local business.

3. Such sections shall have such powers not exceeding the powers of the Society as the Society may from time to time confer.

4. The Victoria section shall rank as the senior section of the Association.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Association shall be a Patron, an Honorary President, a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall consist of ten elected members. In addition, the Immediate Past President, the Presiding Officer of each section, the Provincial Archivist, and the Editor of the British Columbia Historical Quarterly shall also be members of the Council *ex officio*.

2. A ballot-paper shall be sent by the Secretary to each member in good standing at least two weeks before the annual meeting. Each such ballot-paper shall contain fifteen or more names, including names proposed by the Council, as well as the names of any that may have been nominated by three members in good standing at least three weeks prior to the annual meeting; and to be valid the ballot must be received by the Secretary before the time of closing the poll at the annual meeting.

4. As soon as convenient after the election the Council shall meet, and from amongst its members shall select the officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

5. Should an office for any reason become vacant, or should any elected member of the Council die or resign before the expiration of his term, the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term shall be filled by vote of the Council.

MEETINGS.

1. The annual meeting shall be held in the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, or elsewhere at the discretion of the Council, on the third Friday of January in each year. Further meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council.

2. Fifteen members present shall constitute a quorum at any general meeting and five shall constitute a quorum at a meeting of the Council.

3. The annual meeting of any section must precede the annual meeting of the Provincial organization by at least thirty days.

4. The officers and Council of the Association now holding office are hereby constituted the officers and Council until the annual meeting of the Association hereinbefore provided to be held on the second Friday of October this year (1936), and all business and purposes of the Association shall be carried on as if constituted under the provisions of these by-laws.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1. (a.) The Association may become a member of, affiliate with, and co-operate with any other society or association, whether incorporated or not, whose objects are in whole or in part similar to its own.

(b.) Any incorporated or unincorporated society or association in sympathy with the objects of this Association may become affiliated with this Association upon the payment of an annual fee of \$2, and shall be entitled to two representatives at general meetings of the Association.

2. (a.) The by-laws of the Association shall not be altered, added to, or amended except by an extraordinary resolution of the Association passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of such members entitled to vote as shall exercise their franchise, notification specifying the intention to propose the resolution having been given by lodging with the Secretary a copy of the resolution showing the proposed alterations, additions, or amendments. This notification must be signed by a proposer and a seconder, who must be members in good standing.

(b.) Not later than two weeks before the annual meetings of the sections the Secretary shall mail a copy of the proposed resolution, alterations, additions, or amendments to each Ordinary member in good standing addressed to the member at the address given on the roll. If, in the opinion of the Council, it is desirable to submit any duly proposed and seconded resolution, alterations, additions, or amendments at an earlier date than two weeks before the annual meetings of the sections, the Council may instruct the Secretary to mail a copy to each Ordinary member in good standing at such time as the Council may direct.

(c.) Members of sections shall vote upon proposed alterations, additions, or amendments at a section meeting. The result of such voting shall be recorded and forwarded to the Secretary within seven days of the date of voting. This record shall show the number of members who voted "aye" and the number of members who voted "nay." Members-at-large shall vote by mail; and to be valid the ballot must be received by the Secretary within three weeks of the time of its dispatch by the Secretary.

3. Any officer or member whose fees shall have been fully paid, desiring to withdraw from the Association shall tender his resignation to the Secretary, and the Council shall have power to deal with the same.

4. Any officer of the Association or any member that in the opinion of the Council shall be no longer worthy of holding office in or being a member of the Association may be expelled by a majority vote of the Council passed at a meeting of the Council. Notice of expulsion shall be mailed to the

officer or member expelled and addressed to his address as given on the roll. The officer or member expelled may at the next ordinary meeting of the Association appeal against such expulsion. The question of such expulsion shall then be put from the Chair and decided by a majority vote of the members present, and such decision shall be final.

5. The Association shall exercise no borrowing-powers.

6. The accounts of the Association shall be annually audited by auditors appointed by the Council.

7. An official seal shall be provided by the Council, which shall have the power from time to time to change the same and substitute a new seal in lieu thereof. The seal shall be used in manner to be provided by the Council.

8. The books, papers, records, official seal, and other property of the Association shall be in the custody of the Secretary and shall be open to inspection by the members upon demand at any reasonable time.

9. Roberts' Rules of Order shall, so far as applicable, apply to all meetings of the Association.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Following the death of Mr. Leonard Norris, who founded the Society in 1925 and was its mainstay until he died, the President, Captain J. B. Weeks, called the officers and directors together in Kelowna on July 23, 1945, to consider the publication of the *Eleventh Report* and the future of the Society. In addition to the President, those present were: Dr. F. W. Andrew, Summerland; Dr. B. F. Boyce, Kelowna; Mr. J. G. Simms, Mr. H. R. Denison, and Mr. James Goldie, of Vernon; Mrs. David Gellatly, Westbank; and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, who was asked to act as Secretary.

Arrangements were made with the bank, and with Mr. L. N. Leathley, of the Kelowna Printing Company, for financing and printing the *Report*.

The following officers were elected for 1945-46:—

President	- - - -	Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton.
1st Vice-President	- -	Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank.
2nd Vice-President	- -	Mr. A. E. Sage, Armstrong.
Treasurer	- - - -	Mr. H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Secretary	- - - -	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Auditor	- - - -	Mr. A. E. Berry, Vernon.
Librarian	- - - -	Mr. J. G. Simms, Vernon.
Editor	- - - -	Mr. G. C. Tassie.
Assistant Editor	- - - -	Miss Elsie Foote.

On the motion of Mr. Denison, seconded by Captain Weeks, it was agreed to affiliate with the British Columbia Historical Association. Mrs. Gellatly and Dr. Andrew were named a committee to draft by-laws for presentation at the next annual meeting, which is scheduled to be held in the Royal Anne Hotel, Kelowna, on May 2, 1946. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, Secretary.]

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association was held in the museum on Friday, January 11, with the President, Burt R. Campbell, in the chair. Last year's officers and executive were re-elected with the exception of Mrs. Isaac Oakley, Vice-President, who resigned owing to ill-health. The officers for 1946 are as follows:—

President	- - - - -	Burt R. Campbell.
Vice-President	- - - - -	J. J. Morse.
Secretary-Treasurer	- - - - -	Miss Melva Dwyer.
Chairman, nature and science committee		T. S. Keyes.
Chairman, Indian lore committee	- -	Angus MacDonald.
Chairman, literature committee	- -	W. H. Gurney.

All departments were able to report considerable progress; many interesting and valuable additions had been made to the permanent collection. It was hoped that special financial assistance would be obtained from the city council which might enable the project for copying of old photographs and acquisition of additional ones to be carried out. The great need for a fire-proof structure to house the important historical exhibits was stressed throughout the meeting. While the museum has been open to the public only for a short period weekly, nevertheless, the attendance has been encouraging and with better facilities a great service could be rendered the community.

JAMES BUIE LEIGHTON: 1851-1946.

The last of the grand old pioneers of the Golden Cariboo died on December 2, 1945, at the age of 94 years. James Buie Leighton, who for many years had made his home at Savona, was born on November 8, 1851, and arrived in Victoria on September 14, 1863. There he attended South Park School for a time, and he delighted to recall that while he was doing so he made the acquaintance of one of the famous camels that had been brought to the Northwest in the hope that they would prove their worth as freighting animals on the Cariboo Road. One of them, apparently because of lameness, was left in Victoria, and the school children frequently teased it and chased it around Beacon Hill Park. Mr. Leighton was to see the camels again in June, 1865, near the 144-Mile House, when he was on his way to Barkerville; and upon another occasion, as late as 1883, he saw three of the survivors of the herd at Grand Prairie.

He left school in 1864, and the following year, as noted above, paid his first visit to the Cariboo and its metropolis, Barkerville. When the Collins Overland Telegraph line was constructed through the Cariboo in 1866, he decided to study telegraphy. In 1868 he helped build the branch line that carried the telegraph from Quesnel into Barkerville. In September of the same year the great Barkerville fire occurred, and Mr. Leighton left the town the following month. For the next few years he was employed here and there along the telegraph line, which, after the collapse of the Collins Overland scheme, was taken over first by the Government of British Columbia and then by the Dominion Government. His last post was at Clinton,

in 1872. It was in Clinton, too, that he was married in 1882 to Elizabeth Jane Uren, who had become postmistress and telegraph operator at Savona the year before. By that time Mr. Leighton had a contract for the carriage of the mails in the Savona region, and this he held until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885.

Mr. Leighton's phenomenally active and accurate memory made him a living storehouse of the lore of the old days in the Cariboo, and fortunately he has both written many articles himself and been questioned fairly systematically by interested students of history. It was his pride to recall that in spite of the thousand and one temptations that came in the way of a youngster in the Cariboo in the 'sixties, he came through it all "without a scratch and [with] no booze and no tobacco." This is not to say that he was averse to either a good time or a little excitement. His two favourite recreations were horse-racing and poker. He told the writer that only once or twice in his life had he left a poker game, and that was for a horse race!

One of the most vivid and interesting personalities in the whole history of British Columbia, and the last man who knew the Cariboo of eighty years ago, and saw Barkerville before the fire, is gone. [W. K. L.]

HISTORICAL COMMITTEE, B.C. DIVISION, CANADIAN WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS ASSOCIATION.

At its annual convention in 1944 the B.C. Division of the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association appointed an Historical Committee, composed of Mr. A. W. Lundell, of Revelstoke, Chairman; Mr. Hugh Savage, of Duncan; and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton. Mr. Lundell presented his first report to the convention held in the Hotel Vancouver on November 2, 1945, and outlined the work of the Committee under four heads: collecting, biographical, Association, and general.

The first objective was to prepare a chart showing the place and date of origin of all Provincial papers. In this work the Committee had been greatly assisted by the Provincial Archives, which had provided data from the *Union List of Newspapers*. In the preparation and collection of biographical notices Mr. Lundell said that "the proverbial modesty of the newspaper fraternity presented a formidable barrier," but, nevertheless, progress had been made. To compile the history of the Association proved easy in comparison, for records were available that contained details and photographs of preceding conventions. One paragraph of this section of the report is worth quoting for purposes of record:—

"It may be of interest to recall that the Association is entering upon the 30th year of its existence. Composed originally of weekly and daily newspapers it was formed on August 17, 1916, 'pursuant to notice sent out by John Nelson, *Vancouver World*,' in the Administration Hall of the Vancouver Exhibition Association, Hastings Park. Present at the meeting were: James Hill, *British Columbian*, New Westminster; J. W. Hamilton, *Industrial Progress*, Vancouver; J. P. Markey, *Fruit and Farm*, Vancouver; H. A. Stein, *Sun*, Vancouver; F. E. Simpson, *Standard Sentinel*, Kamloops; H. W. Power, *Kootenaiian*, Kaslo; W. C. Morris, *Garden Magazine*, Vancou-

ver; Robert Dunn, *Times*, Victoria; J. L. Tait, *Colonist*, Victoria; A. Lineham, *News-Advertiser*, Vancouver; R. R. Hindmarch, *Daily Herald*, Nanaimo; George E. Norris, *Free Press*, Nanaimo; F. J. Burd, *Province*, Vancouver; Robb Sutherland, *Daily News*, Nelson; George M. Murray, *Standard*, Vancouver; John Nelson, *World*, Vancouver; and S. M. Reed, *Sun*, Vancouver."

The Association was first known as the British Columbia Division of the Canadian Press Association.

Speaking on the fourth topic—"things in general"—Mr. Lundell said: "I would like to commend the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* for publishing two excellent articles in the July issue of interest to the newspaper fraternity: 'From *Tickler* to *Telegram*,' and 'Pioneer Days in Pulp and Paper.'" Generous tribute was paid to Dr. Lamb and to the Provincial Archives for assistance given. [J. C. GOODFELLOW.]

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Norman R. Hacking, recently released from the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve, has rejoined the staff of the *Vancouver Daily Province*. Long interested in the maritime history of the Pacific Northwest, Mr. Hacking has been a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*. The present article, like many of its predecessors, is an expansion of a chapter from his graduating essay at the University of British Columbia on *The Early Marine History of British Columbia*.

F. W. Laing, for many years Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, Victoria, has long been a diligent researcher in the Archives of British Columbia. Two phases of the agricultural history of the Province—early flour-mills and the early cattle industry—have already appeared as articles in the *Quarterly*.

Rev. J. C. Goodfellow is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and an active member of its Council for 1946.

Anne M. Smith is Reference Librarian at the Library of the University of British Columbia.

VICTORIA, B.C.:

Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1946.



BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

PATRON.

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

OFFICERS, 1946.

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MADGE WOLFENDEN	- - - - -	<i>President.</i>
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(Victoria Section).

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(Editor, *Quarterly*).

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(Vancouver Section).

OBJECTS.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

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