THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1946

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The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. X. VICTORIA, B.C., OCTOBER, 1946. No. 4

CONTENTS.

FROM HAND-SET TYPE TO LINOTYPE.

REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS IN THE PRINTING TRADE.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—The writer's connection with the newspaper field dates back to 1891, and has given him opportunity to gain at first hand a knowledge of the many changes in the mechanical end of newspaper production which have taken place in the last half century. One of the fast diminishing group of printers who went through the days of hand composition, he has since 1905 been a keyboard operator, and thus has experienced both the old and new stages of news production.

From this personal experience, more than from research, is drawn the information which it has been his endeavour to impart. To the many newcomers to newspaper publication in British Columbia, and the younger generation of printers, this effort is dedicated.

The existence of newspapers is now taken so completely for granted that few people ever stop to think of the many operations involved in their production. Even those few rarely think beyond the gathering and editing of the news, which is the work of the editorial department. But there would be no newspapers if type were not set and printing-presses operated, and this mechanical end of the business is too frequently overlooked. Much skill and ingenuity have been spent upon the invention and operation of the type-setting machines and printing-presses found in a modern newspaper office, and the story of their development is more interesting than most people realize.

It is usual to refer to British Columbia as a young country, but it is old enough to have a printing history that extends well back into the period when type-setting by machine was little more than an inventor's dream. The first printing-press known to have entered what is now British Columbia arrived about 1856, and the first newspaper appeared in 1858. In those days, and for several decades thereafter, the first mechanical operation in the production of a paper was the composition by hand of all news matter, and also of all advertising. This meant the assembling of small type by picking up each separate letter from type-cases divided into numerous small compartments. These

letters were placed in a composing "stick," usually 13 ems (slightly over 2 inches) in width, and tightly spaced. Sticks, which were held in the hand, varied from 2 to 2½ inches in depth, gauged largely by the length of the compositor's thumb. When the stick was filled, the type was dumped on a shallow tray or "galley," designed to hold a long column, as is still done to-day, but which rested on a slanting table instead of flat, so that the type rested against one side of the galley.

Though somewhat pleasant work, type-setting by hand was a slow process compared with to-day's mechanized operation, about nine column-inches per hour being a better than average output. As the lines of type were easily spilled, or "pied" as the printer called it, a tapering side-stick was placed along the side of the type-column, and locked by wedge-shaped wooden quoins, a block of metal being placed at the bottom.

Proofs were then taken, read, marked for errors, and any necessary corrections or alterations made—a tedious task if many changes were required.[1] Placing of the type in the page form then followed, and again careful handling was essential. When the columns were filled and "justified" (i.e., made the exact length required by the insertion of thin strips of lead), tapering foot-sticks and side-sticks were called into use, together with wooden quoins. It was here that a now almost forgotten instrument came into play—a shooting-stick. This was a boot-shaped metallic stick with which the quoins were driven in tightly by the aid of a mallet.

Advertising differed greatly from that of to-day, consisting mainly of the name of the dealer and a list of the chief lines carried. Rarely changed, these advertisements at times featured

(1) The writer is reminded of an incident dating back to the early days of the Ladysmith *Leader*, then (winter 1901–02) published by Thomas Graham. J. H. Hawthornthwaite, leader of the Socialist party in the British Columbia Legislature, was just coming into bloom, and his name was not so familiar to printers as it later became. He addressed a meeting in Ladysmith which was fully reported in the handwriting of Mr. Graham, the copy being divided between Jim Stevens and myself. When the proofs were returned it was found that both of us had misspelled "Hawthornthwaite" by omiting the second "th." Much thin- and wide-spacing resulted in the correcting, as it had not then become the practice to letter-space words in reading matter.

oddly unseasonable articles. Several style faces of type were used in one advertisement, and almost invariably lines were punctuated, sometimes with commas, but more generally a main line ended with a period—a style now followed by many sign-writers.

Fifty years ago but little type was on the point system, the smaller faces most in use being known as nonpareil, minion, brevier, bourgeois, long primer, pica, and great primer; these correspond respectively with the 6-, 7-, 8-, 9-, 10-, 12-, and 18-point faces of to-day. Larger sizes were spoken of as two-line, three-line, etc., the equivalent of our 24- and 36-point. Offices were equipped with but few fonts of any series, the tendency being toward variety of size rather than of face.

Practically all composition on daily papers was done on a piece-work basis, the compositor being paid so much per thousand ems (the square of the type in use). This not only encouraged the worker to speed up for monetary reasons, but had a tendency to create competition. Type-setting contests were a feature of the period; and many details about them and other aspects of competition in the trade are given in the interesting volume entitled *Fast Typesetting*, published in New York in 1887 by William C. Barnes, Joseph W. McCann, and Alexander Duguid, all three of whom had established type-setting records. The book describes several contests in which more than 2,000 ems per hour were set on wide measure. An international type-setting match, held on May 10, 1871, with eleven contestants, 27-em measure, gave results ranging from 1,323 ems to 1,822. How keen competition was is shown by the challenge issued in December, 1877, by the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, which threw down the gauntlet to any number of compositors, from one to ten, for $500 to $1,000 a side. Competitions were not confined to the United States, as we are told that a match was held in 1881 in Winnipeg between Thomas C. Levy, of that city, and James McCaw, of the Toronto *Globe*, for a prize of $1,000 and the championship of Canada. In this contest the type was nonpareil (i.e., 6-point), 17⅔ ems to lower-case alphabet; the measure, 30 ems wide; and the time, seven hours; there were no conditions as to spacing, etc. Levy won, having set 13,700 ems against McCaw's 12,240.

Coming nearer home, and to the period 1890–92, there were in Vancouver two outstanding type-setters—George G. Henderson of the *World*, and Alfred W. Finbow of the *News-Advertiser*—who were reputed to be the "swifts" in their respective offices. In 1892 Henderson became part-owner of the Vernon *News*, where he remained until the turn of the century. Mr. Finbow moved to Kamloops in 1893 as a partner in the *Inland Sentinel*, remaining until 1896. He is now living in Hamilton, Ontario.

The writer never heard of competitions between Mr. Henderson and Mr. Finbow, but he was privileged to work alongside them in Vernon and Kamloops respectively. Mr. Finbow had an easy motion, while Mr. Henderson, who was an asthmatic, wheezed slightly each time he reached for a letter, and this was somewhat trying for a work-mate until he became accustomed to it. Mr. Finbow later became a keyboard operator.

Returning to the subject in hand, the next step in the production of the newspaper was in the hands of the pressman, usually a printer of utility accomplishments. But preparations for the following day remained to be made, and these required distribution of type by each compositor until his case was amply filled. This of course was a much more speedy performance than assembling type, as several letters could be handled at one time. It was restful to sit on a stool while distributing type, but when composing the type-setter usually stood, so that he could move about as freely and quickly as possible.

TYPOGRAPH AND LINOTYPE.

In the 1880's and 1890's, and even later, many attempts were made to produce line-casting machines for the printing industry. But of all the machines produced there are but two which have survived as being well adapted to the composition of news matter. Some few others are in use in advertising departments, but the rest have passed into oblivion.

The most outstanding of all is the Linotype, a product of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, of Brooklyn, New York. It was on July 3, 1886, that the first of this company's machines, the inspiration of one Ottmar Mergenthaler, a watchmaker, went into commercial use on the New York *Tribune*. A somewhat

crude device, with but little resemblance to the almost human machine of to-day, this early model had a vertical rather than a reclining magazine, and the matrices were delivered to this for distribution by the first, and only, elevator.

Many improvements have been made throughout the years until the Linotypes of to-day, with their multiple and auxiliary magazines, are capable of meeting all requirements up to most head-letter sizes. These multiple machines are now the most widely used, but there are still some models with single magazines in service, that known as the No. 5 being the most outstanding.

After the successful introduction of the Brooklyn-built Linotype the Canadian Linotype Company was formed, with a factory in Montreal. The product of this company closely resembled the American machines of 1890.

It would seem that credit for installation of the first type-casting machines in British Columbia must be given to the Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, though the Victoria *Times* was a close second. The *News-Advertiser* machines, four in number, made their appearance in the latter part of February, 1893. They were known as the Rogers Typograph, and their place of origin is not known to the writer. Their construction was vastly different to the Linotype, the magazine section consisting of a network of wire racks on which were stored elongated matrices, which were assembled by means of a keyboard. Though a step forward, the Rogers Typograph was not sufficiently successful to survive for long. Mr. Dan Cameron, of the Vancouver *Province*, one of the few remaining operators who used a typograph, says:—

> The Rogers Typograph was built for power or hand operation. If run by hand, it took three turns of the side handle to cast a line. The [melting] pot, situated on the left side, came forward on the first turn, the line was cast on the second revolution and was ejected on the third, as the pot went back into position. The matrices were of varying length and ran down individual wires, the spacebands being round and justifying to various widths. The left hand was used in the throwing back of the top and the distribution of the mats. The Rogers was capable of recasting ten lines a minute.

August of 1893 found four Linotypes of Canadian manufacture in place in the Vancouver *World* office. As we shall see,

these were the second Linotypes to come to British Columbia. The dates of the installations at the *News-Advertiser* and *World* are confirmed by the following entries from *An Outline History of Typographical Union No. 226, Vancouver, B.C., 1887–1938,* by George Bartley, which are based on the minutes of the union:—

> Putting machines in *News-Advertiser* was no longer a secret, as four Rogers machines were at the C.P.R. freight sheds. (February 26.) Union was assured that none but union men would be employed to operate them. Those who claimed to know something about them being used on small papers prophesied their failure (and hoped they were).
>
> On June 20, President D. Jameson, Secretary A. Porter, George Bartley (scale committee), were instructed to wait on proprietors *re* machine scale. On June 22, new machine scale adopted for one year. . . . Agreement signed for one year by J. C. McLagan (*World*) and F. L. Carter-Cotton (*News-Advertiser*). Organizer C. E. Hawkes, Seattle, assisted committee in negotiations.
>
> Four Mergenthalers [i.e., Linotypes] installed in *World* in August.

Conditions in the printing trade the following year (1894) are described by Mr. Bartley, and apparently use of machines was felt:—

> During the year Vancouver suffered from a very keen depression. Real hard times made themselves felt, which were also perturbed by the throes of an acrimonious political controversy of a provincial general election, held in July. Wages in all trades, except printing, were reduced. Work for printers was curtailed by fifty per cent., hand work being replaced by machinery. . . . *World* cut down from six to five columns, eight pages, employing two operators instead of four (Sepember 10).

The introduction of type-setting machines met with anything but favour from the printers of the day, who foresaw nothing but the ruination of their trade. However, when hand-compositors were given an opportunity to learn the operation of the new devices the expected calamity did not materialize to any extent. With the return of better days it was not long until larger papers were produced. Advertising increased, and both the hand-compositor and the machine operator were found to be necessary for handling the work.

After using the Rogers Typographs for some time the *News-Advertiser* replaced them with Linotypes of Canadian make, and two of the first-named machines went to the New Westminster *British Columbian.* What became of the other two of the original four is not known. Of the *Columbian* machines, sub-

sequently replaced by a Linotype, one went to the Kamloops *Standard*, where it remained in use until, for a third time, it was replaced by a Linotype. Mr. Dan Cameron understands that the other was sent to Atlin. So far as the writer knows these changes ended the life of Rogers machines in British Columbia.

THE LINOTYPE IN VICTORIA.

Not being as familiar with doings on Vancouver Island as on the mainland, the writer found himself without definite dates as to the installation of type-setting machines in Victoria. He therefore appealed to an old friend, Mr. F. W. Laing, who, with the aid of Mrs. C. R. McNamee, of the Provincial Library, succeeded in finding the needed data. Search through the files of the Victoria *Times* finally brought to light an editorial in the issue dated May 23, 1893, which read in part as follows:—

> The *Times* of to-day presents to the public a special holiday number, on account of which it may be allowed to indulge in a little self-gratification. As many of our readers know, the *Times* some weeks ago discarded the old system of setting type by hand and employed typecasting machines known as Linotype. Today we devote a portion of our space to the description and illustration of the working of this machine. We may also say that the *Times* is the first paper in all Canada west of Ontario to make use of this great improvement in the printer's art. With one exception, it was the first on the whole Pacific coast to employ the Linotype machines. . . .

The date upon which the *Colonist* commenced to use type-setting machines was not so easily discovered. The only clues which I could give Mr. Laing were that the change might have been made about 1898, and that the hand-set type was worn rather close to the shoulder before it was discarded. With the latter point in mind, Mr. Laing sought the technical assistance of Charles F. Banfield, King's Printer, and together they made a search of the *Colonist* files for clearer type faces. Another clue was received from Mr. Alec Swainson, who located a man who said that machines were introduced on the day the *Colonist* plant was moved to the paper's present premises, on Broad Street. This was found to be March 15, 1898. Commenting on the search of the *Colonist* files Mr. Laing says:—

> By the process of elimination we found that at the end of February, 1898 the type was all hand set but that on March 18 there were two items set by machine, one was the Shipping News and the other a legal advertisement. From that we followed through and found that each day there was a larger

amount of material machine set until March 23, 1898, when the editorials were machine set but there was the bulk of the material hand set. There was nothing in the form of reading matter saying that new buildings were occupied nor that machines had been introduced for typesetting. From that we concluded that the *Colonist* management made the introduction of the machines and the occupancy of the new building subject for no comment.

Under the circumstances then, I think that you will agree with me and Mr. Banfield [that] the *Colonist* commenced the use of machine typesetting first on March 18, 1898, in a small way, depending for most of the work to be done by hand. That leads us to believe that there was only one machine or at best two, and that the operators were being trained slowly on the work.

LATER LINOTYPES.

It was in March, 1898, that the Vancouver *Province* entered the field as a daily, after publication of a weekly in Victoria for four years. For a start it had but one Linotype, operating two shifts, but this was soon found to be inadequate and an increase was made.

Rossland and Nelson, each of which at one time boasted two dailies and a weekly, were fairly early to introduce Canadian-built Linotypes.

The early days of this century found the three Vancouver daily papers—the *News-Advertiser, World,* and *Province*—each with four Canadian Linotypes in its printing-office. The machines, nearly all equipped with but one mould, and that a solid one of single-column measure, were not well adapted to advertising work. The matrices were for the most part single-letter, and the points (commas, periods, and quotes) on a three-to-em body, as in type cases, which perhaps was an improvement on those of to-day, as they were not so subject to bending.

The first Mergenthaler (that is, American-built) Linotype to reach British Columbia was installed by the Vernon *News* in August, 1906; this was a Model 3 single magazine interchangeable. At first it was equipped with but one magazine. Others were later added, but, unlike the Model 5, which was first placed on the market that year, it was a two-man change, the magazine frame lifting with the magazine to the rear.

In the early summer of 1907 the Vancouver *Province* added to its plant a No. 4 American-made machine. This was one of the earlier multiple machines, which had been designed the previous year. Like that of the Vernon *News,* it was delivered

with a couple of parts lacking, because their importation would have given the Canadian Linotype Company grounds upon which to claim infringement of patent. This made it awkward for the operator, for the missing parts included the first elevator jaw duplex rail levers. The slots for these were filled with type metal, and successful transfer of a black-face line was always in doubt, such lines often spilling on the floor. At the *Province* these difficulties were overcome by acquiring the parts by black market methods through United States sources, although this led to litigation. In Vernon, the writer took over operation and care of the *News'* machine on December 1, 1907, and soon entered into correspondence with the American agency, requesting delivery of the missing parts. (I was familiar with the workings of American Linotypes from a sojourn in Washington State in 1906.) Stalling for time, the replies were evasive; like the Chinaman, they " no savvied " what was wanted. Within a few months, however, the Canadian Linotype Company was taken over by the Brooklyn firm, and the Montreal factory closed. No difficulty was then experienced in getting delivery of the required parts.

MONOLINE, MONOTYPE, AND INTERTYPE.

Another make of machine which, being cheaper, was designed to meet the requirements of country offices, was the Monoline. This, like the Rogers Typograph, was equipped with elongated matrices suspended on wire racks; but it was a much smaller and more compact machine. Monolines did duty in the offices of the Nanaimo *Free Press,* Nanaimo *Herald,* Ashcroft *Journal,* Kamloops *Inland Sentinel,* Revelstoke *Mail-Herald,* Vernon *Okanagan,* and perhaps elsewhere. But as time went on they all were replaced by Linotypes.

About 1915 the American Linotype Company placed on the market a " baby " machine, patterned after the regular design, but with a magazine carrying but fifteen letters instead of twenty- or twenty-two letter fonts. These, though serviceable on narrow measure, were not completely satisfactory and gained but a small foothold. British Columbia installations included the Revelstoke *Review,* the Merritt *Herald,* and the Kelowna *Courier.*

Another make of machine was introduced to the trade about 1910, and while successful in its sphere, did not altogether meet newspaper requirements. This is known as a Monotype, and consists of two units—a keyboard and a caster. Its use is largely the casting of type for case use, and the production of leads and slugs. There are three of these in the Province—one at the *News-Herald,* Vancouver, and two at the Victoria *Colonist.*

It was about 1915, at a time when Linotypes were largely replacing other makes of line-casting devices, that a new manufacturing firm sprang up in Brooklyn. This was the Intertype Corporation, and its product from the start was almost identical to the Linotype in principle. Slight alterations served to evade patent infringements.

Unlike most of its predecessors, the Intertype came to stay, and as the years have passed it has undergone many changes and improvements, until it is now an established rival of the Linotype. Two of the later makes of Intertype were installed a few years ago at Chilliwack. Two more found homes in the office of the Penticton *Herald,* following a fire at that plant, and eleven others are in use at different points. Early models of these machines were installed in Vernon and Penticton in 1921, but both have since disappeared.

For advertising display purposes, the needs of the newspapers have been well met by the introduction of the Ludlow line-casting machine. This calls for the use of cases which contain brass matrices, instead of type-metal letters. These are assembled in a holder or stick by hand, and from the matrices are cast the large lines, but on a narrow body, which requires supporting blank spaces underneath.

In the case of a Ludlow line the matrices, after the cast, are at once distributed to the case. The type metal goes to the melting pot to be used over again, as in the case of Linotype and other metal. These machines have long been in use in some of the daily newspaper offices, and one was installed by the Kamloops *Sentinel* in 1928.

While we would seem to have covered a rather varied field of type-casting machines, there is yet another machine which for a short time did duty for the Summerland *Review,* the only one of its kind known to have entered the Province. By name a Uni-

type, this was a type-assembler rather than a type-caster, and used a specially prepared font of type, accommodating only one size. On this machine two operators were required, one manipulating the keyboard, which released the type from an upright magazine on to a carrier which conveyed it to the composing-stick, where the second person justified the already spaced lines. The completed line was then passed to a galley. For distribution, five or six inches of assembled type was placed in a distributer container, from which it was fed one line at a time into a revolving cylinder. Each type had a different combination of nicks on one side, and the cylinder in its revolution paused sufficiently over the entrance to each letter channel of the magazine to permit of the type keyed therefor to drop into place. The Unitype, which cost almost as much as a single-magazine Linotype, is said to have been installed by a foreman who objected to working in a room where there was molten metal. Being too costly to operate, it was replaced by a Model 14 Linotype, and after being stored in the office for a few years was destroyed by fire in 1923.

Earlier in this story Canadian Linotypes were said not to have been altogether adapted to advertising work, due to having but a one-measure mould. (Lines over 13 ems had to be treated as twin slugs.) At the *News-Advertiser* office in Vancouver one Linotype, known as the " ad. machine," was equipped with a universal mould—that is, changeable as to thickness and length of slug. For length of line a series of pins varying in em lengths was used to adjust the left jaw. This so-called " ad. machine " had only one magazine, but three fonts of matrices (7-, 9-, and 11-point). All three were used each night, requiring many runnings in and out of mats. To facilitate this, machinist Pal Proulx, now of the Vancouver *Sun*, made a guide which he attached to the distributer frame, a device which greatly assisted the placing of matrices on the bar. Nevertheless, the procedure followed by the operator who ran this particular machine remained a complicated one. He would start the night's work setting advertising material in 11- or 9-point, as required. Then, about lunch time, he prepared to set up the editorials of the publisher, F. Carter-Cotton, which usually arrived written across part of an official envelope, and running line-for-line with the 9-point type. Finally a change was made to 7-point, for the

latter part of the night was devoted to setting news matter. Such was the nightly routine of the writer in 1907, and one can readily realize what all these changes cost in unproductive time.

That same year the Canadian Linotype Company sought to keep pace with its American rival by bringing out an improved machine designed to simplify magazine changes. This was brought about by use of an overhead carrying track, from which the magazine could be suspended and carried to a rack—a contrivance very similar to that used in a dairy barn for a vastly different purpose. The only one of these machines to reach British Columbia arrived at the *News-Advertiser* office at the close of 1907, and after a short tryout was discarded. What became of it I know not.

So far as newspaper work is concerned to-day, machine-composition is mostly done by Linotype, Intertype, Ludlow, or Monotype, all of which in improved form are well adapted to the work. A tabulation made in March, 1945, showed that there were 190 of these type-setting machines in British Columbia. Of this total 165 were Linotypes, 15 were Intertypes, 7 were Ludlows, and 3 were Monotypes.[2]

In early days heating the metal for any of the line-casting machines, to a working temperature of 525–550 degrees Fahrenheit, was a problem in many of the smaller cities. In the larger ones gas was used as a rule. Coal-oil was given a trial in the early stages, but proved anything but satisfactory. Gasoline was an improvement, and after much experimenting was found to give good results. A storage-tank would be buried at a safe distance from the office and connected by a hollow wire with the machine's burner. Gasoline of the better quality (Queen) could be had by the 10-gallon case, and at 40-lb. pressure a good flame could be maintained. Later came the electrically heated pots, which were adopted as soon as a community had a twenty-four-hour electric power service.

EARLY PRINTING-PRESSES.

Having dealt at considerable length with type-setting, we must pass along to the next stage in newspaper production—that of the printing or presswork.

(2) For this tabulation, *see* appendix.

Most papers in their earliest stages were produced on what was commonly known as a Washington press. This consisted of a stoutly built frame, the upper portion of which carried a platen of sufficient size to accommodate two pages of a paper. This was equipped with a lever handle which, by means of knuckles, furnished the impression squeeze. On the under-side was a track which carried the bed on which rested the type forms, this being moved back and forth by a small crank. The sheet of paper was placed on a frisket which, after the inking of the forms by a second man from the opposite side of the press, was dropped on to the type and run under the platen. A stout pull by the pressman then made the impression. Reversing the motion of the crank, the sheet was removed after lifting the frisket.

Such a press, operated by two men, was capable of turning out 250 copies of one side of a four-page paper per hour, but to attain this result there was not much time for "soldiering." Needless to say, an active man of some weight had a decided advantage over a lighter one in operating the lever. To-day there are but few of these pioneer presses left, but the odd one still does duty as a proof-press.

To trace the numerous presses which have played their part during the growth of cities and newspaper circulations would require much research. Of different designs, they met the requirements of past days, and paved the way to the high-speed cylinder presses of to-day. These modern marvels, printing from large rolls of paper instead of the single sheets of earlier days, call into service another branch of the allied printing trades —that of the stereotyper. These men, by means of papier-mâché mats, reduce the page form of thousands of single lines to one curved metal plate. These plates in turn are clamped to the cylinders on the press, and by the passage of a sheet (or strip) from a roll of paper over these the completed paper results.

In their day such machines as the drum-cylinder Cottrell, the Wharfedale (of English origin), the drum-cylinder Campbell, and an occasional Hoe, all did duty in the span of progress. These were all fed by hand, the Wharfedale differing from the others in that it was an under-shot instead of over-shot feed; that is, the cylinder operated in a different direction. Doubtless a round of the weekly newspaper offices would still disclose many

drum-cylinder presses, as well as an occasional flat-bed Duplex press, producing at one operation an eight-page paper from flat-bed forms such as serve in the case of hand-fed machines.

A few details about the first printing-press used in what is now British Columbia may be of interest. This was a small French hand-press, brought to Victoria by Bishop Demers, of the Roman Catholic Church, about 1856. In design it was similar to the Washington press above described. It differed in size only, the bed and platen being built to accommodate two small newspaper pages. This press seems to have been used but seldom by the Bishop, but when the *British Colonist* (now the Victoria *Daily Colonist*) was founded in December, 1858, the first issues of the paper were printed on the machine.

After serving its purposes in Victoria, this pioneer press also led the way in printing in the Interior of the Province. Its first appearance inland was at Barkerville, during the gold-rush days of 1865. There it was used for a few years to print the historic *Cariboo Sentinel.* After being idle for some time the French press participated in the founding of the *Inland Sentinel* at Emory, near Yale, by Michael Hagan in May, 1880, and later that year publication was transferred to Yale. As Canadian Pacific Railway construction moved eastward, so did the *Sentinel,* which made its first appearance in Kamloops, which has ever since been its home, on July 31, 1884. After serving in Kamloops, the old press was finally relegated to a corner in the *Sentinel* office, where it stood until it was presented by the late Dr. M. S. Wade to St. Ann's Academy, Victoria, where it is a prized historical relic.

The earliest of Southern Interior papers, the *Inland Sentinel* (now the *Kamloops Sentinel*) was the first to have a cylinder press, one known as a Prouty being installed in the Kamloops office in 1890. Like the old French hand-press, it had previously done duty in Victoria. This two-page machine was a most serviceable one, with a 9-inch travelling cylinder, while the bed, with return of the cylinder, dropped by means of knuckles. Its capacity was about 800 sheets per hour—two pages, six columns. In 1898 the *Sentinel* purchased a Cottrell, and early that summer the Prouty moved on to further service in the office of the *Kootenay Mail,* in Revelstoke. There it remained until the closing days

of 1903, when it was succeeded by an old Wharfedale acquired from the Vancouver *News-Advertiser* office, and departed for Lethbridge, Alberta.

In operating this Prouty the *Sentinel* staff had somewhat exceptional power—a Chinaman known as "Jim Jam," a name given him after he had helped himself to the preserves of a lady neighbour of the *Sentinel*. Jim, who between times kept in condition by use of a bucksaw, became so expert on the fly-wheel of the press that he would make a complete run without a stop—in fact, would cuss profusely if a stop were made; he perspired freely but kept going. If he had to be absent, Jim sent two Chinamen as substitutes, but their combined efforts did not equal his. He was finally displaced by a small steam-engine in 1894.

Though Prouty machines were rare, the Vernon *News* had a new four-page machine installed in 1892. This made possible the completion of the eight-page weekly issue with one run, there being four pages patent; that is, furnished ready-printed on one side by a house catering to such work. Here the power was furnished by the combined efforts of the editor and staff of two. Unfortunately this press saw but comparatively short service, as the plant of the *News* was destroyed by fire in 1897.

Many and varied are the presses now in use for commercial printing, but in earlier days practically all such work was done on platen machines. Some of these were commonly referred to as "Gordon" presses, I know not why, but as time went on a 12- by 18-inch machine manufactured by Chandler & Price seemed to be a favourite.

POWER FOR THE PRESS.

Power for operation of printing machinery, whether press or type-casting machine, was one of the many problems with which the printer or publisher had to contend. Almost any printer of the old school can look back on the days when, as a boy, he was called upon to furnish the motive power for a platen press by means of a treadle; the writer's earliest recollections are of a small press, which was easy to run, and of a large one, which required two men to tramp.

Presently steam-engines were installed, but they were not all that could be wished for, since, apart from the extra discomfort

they caused on a hot summer's day, a permit was required to enable one to operate them. As an illustration: In 1902 the writer was a pressman for the *Inland Sentinel*, in Kamloops, and his duties included that of serving as engineer of a 6-horse-power boiler. One day the official boiler inspector came along and caught us without the necessary permit. Some person in the office had to appear before him for examination; Dave Jameson was the foreman, and it was agreed that he should be the victim. Doing nicely in the oral examination, Dave was given the poser: "What would you do if you found steam to be rising on the gauge while water in the glass grew less?" Our foreman was equal to the occasion and promptly replied, "Send for Charlie Wain." Mr. Wain was then superintendent at the city power plant, three blocks away. The permit was issued!

Gasoline engines, introduced in the earlier days of the century, offered a partial solution of the power problem. When one of these was installed it usually served as power for all machines in the office. But for an intricate machine such as a Linotype a steady flow of power was essential; the throwing on and off of presses was a cause of too much variation. Even an individual motor run by water-power was not entirely satisfactory for, while fluctuations in speed were not numerous, they did occur from time to time. To cite an example, the filling of street-sprinkler tanks from a near-by hydrant could cause awkward variations in pressure. All of which will make evident how great a boon to printing-offices was the introduction of twenty-four-hour electric power service, and the use of individual electric motors which could be relied upon to run at a practically constant speed. The hours of service were important, for in many Interior points when electricity was first introduced it was available for only a part of the day—usually from dusk to midnight. In winter power was available relatively early in the afternoon, but in summer the way in which daylight persisted far into the evening made things awkward for the printer.

JOB-PRINTING.

A word should be said about the handling of commercial or job printing. Job-printers of the early days devoted considerable attention to commercial work, such as letter-heads, bill-heads (loose-leaf services were not then in use), etc. Many of the type

faces were of a flowery nature, with scrolled letters. (I have in mind the "Koster" series.) Among job-printers were some with such a decided flair for curved rules that they were known as "rule-twisters." Type of all sizes, as also borders, called for hand setting, and careful handling when the job was completed. As on newspapers, most presswork was done by a utility printer, who in most instances was particular as to impression, and made good use of overlay knife.

To-day the advertising or job hand may be likened to an architect and builder. Taking up the copy of an advertisement or job, he proceeds to lay it out by diagram, with allotments for each department. Then everything is marked as to series and size of type, with the desired width. The copy is then given to the Linotype operator, while the advertising man retains the larger display lines, which will be handled by Ludlow equipment.

Linotype or Intertype machines cast lines of 30-em (5 inches) width, and for wider use these are placed end to end (twin slugs) as required. Where a lesser length than the 30-em measure is used, either a shorter slug may be produced by changing liners, or, as is mostly done, the unused portion is cut off with a small circular saw; some machines are equipped with saws.

Borders and rules of varying designs are also cast to 30 ems, and the advertising or job man has thus at his command a complete ensemble of lines which require but to be assembled or built together into page or lesser form.

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

For over half a century branches of the International Typographical Union have been in operation in all principal centres. With these, printers in small places sometimes maintain affiliations. Throughout, with but few exceptions, relationships between employer and employee have been most friendly.

When, in 1906, the International Union took steps toward enforcement of an eight-hour day, Vancouver (and doubtless Victoria) newspaper printers had for long enjoyed not only an eight-hour day but one of seven and one-half hours. For a considerable time now the five-day week has prevailed at most points. This was an important matter during the depression days of a

few years ago, and is so at the present time, when many veterans are in need of employment.

Mention has been made earlier of printers performing the duties of pressmen. As time went on, and particularly with the introduction of web presses, the work of pressmen became specialized. This in turn brought about the formation of Pressmen's Unions. Likewise the stereotypers came on the scene and became organized. These changes were responsible for still another organization, when all three unions combined in some of their activities as the Allied Printing Trades Council.

With employer and employee working in harmony, newspapers of British Columbia have, where depressions were not too severe, made steady advancement in serving their various communities. It now remains but to carry on and wonder what changes the next half century may bring about.

BURT R. CAMPBELL.

KAMLOOPS, B.C.

APPENDIX.

A list of machines of various makes in offices where newspapers or periodicals are produced was prepared in March, 1945. Possibly a few others were in use in strictly job offices. The list includes:—

LINOTYPES.

Armstrong Advertiser	1	*Powell River Town Crier*	2
Ashcroft Journal	1	*Prince George Citizen*	2
Courtenay Free Press	1	*Prince Rupert Daily News*	2
Comox Argus, Courtenay	1	*Prince Rupert Daily Empire*	2
Surrey Leader, Cloverdale	1	Dibb Printing Company, Prince Rupert	1
Cranbrook Courier	1	*Similkameen Star*, Princeton	1
Creston Review	1	*Cariboo Observer*, Quesnel	1
Cumberland Islander	1	*Revelstoke Review*	1
Cowichan Leader, Duncan	1	*Peace River Block News*, Dawson Creek	1
Enderby Commoner	1	*Rossland Miner*	1
Fernie Free Press	1	*Salmon Arm Observer*	1
Golden Star	1	*Sidney Review*	1
Grand Forks Gazette	1	*Interior News*, Smithers	1
Kamloops Sentinel	2	*Trail Times*	4
Kelowna Courier	2	*Trail Ad-News*	2
Kimberley News	1	*Daily Province*, Vancouver	23
Ladner Optimist	1	*Vancouver Sun*	17
Ladysmith Chronicle	1	*News-Herald*, Vancouver	7
Merritt Herald	1	*Victoria Times*	8
Fraser Valley Record, Mission City	1	*Victoria Colonist*	12
Arrow Lakes News, Nakusp	1	*Vernon News*	2
Nanaimo Free Press	2	*Nechako Chronicle*, Vanderhoof	1
Nelson News	4	*Whitehorse Star*	1
Omineca Herald, New Hazelton	1	*Williams Lake News*	1
British Columbian, New Westminster	4	Broadway Printers, Vancouver	2
Jackson Printing Company, New Westminster	1	Lumberman Printing Company, Vancouver	1
Imperial Printers, New Westminster	1	*Vancouver Sun*, Job-printing Dept.	5
Pacific Canadian Printers, New Westminster	1	Wrigley Printing Company, Vancouver	2
North Shore Press, North Vancouver	2	Boden Press, Vancouver	1
Review, North Vancouver	1	University Press, Vancouver	1
West Vancouver News	1	Spencer & Tucker, Vancouver	3
West Coast Advocate, Port Alberni	2	Mitchell Printing Company, Vancouver	2
Port Haney Gazette	2	Diggon-Hibben Company, Victoria	1
Powell River News	2	Government Printing Bureau, Victoria	5
		Total	165

INTERTYPES.

Abbotsford, Sumas & Matsqui News	1	*Penticton Herald*	2
Chilliwack Progress	2	*Vancouver Sun*	2
Cowichan Leader, Duncan	1	*Victoria Times*	4
Kaslo Kootenaian	1	Boden Press, Vancouver	1
Nanaimo Free Press	1	Total	15

LUDLOWS.

Kamloops Sentinel	1	*Vancouver Sun*	2
Nelson News	1	*Victoria Times*	1
Daily Province, Vancouver	2	Total	7

MONOTYPES.

News-Herald, Vancouver	1
Victoria Colonist	2
Total	3

SUMMARY.

Linotypes	165
Intertypes	15
Ludlows	3
Monotypes	3
Total	190

The *Vancouver Sun*, including its job-printing department, owned 26 machines (22 Linotypes, 2 Intertypes, and 2 Ludlows); the *Vancouver Daily Province* owned 25 (23 Linotypes and 2 Ludlows); the *Victoria Colonist*, 14 (12 Linotypes and 2 Monotypes), and the *Victoria Times*, 13 (8 Linotypes, 4 Intertypes, and 1 Ludlow).

BURRARD OF BURRARD'S CHANNEL.

". . . this channel, which, after Sir Harry Burrard of the navy, I have distinguished by the name of Burrard's Channel . . ."

The brief article on the naming of Burrard Inlet that Sir Gerald Burrard contributed to the April number of this *Quarterly*[1] brought to light an interesting difference of opinion that had existed, unsuspected by historians, for at least forty years.

Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound, published by Edmond S. Meany in 1907, was the first book in which an effort was made to identify the various persons after whom Captain Vancouver had named geographical features. Professor Meany took it for granted that Burrard Inlet had been named in honour of Sir Harry Burrard, the second baronet, who, after his marriage to the heiress of the house of Neale, became Sir Harry Burrard-Neale. All subsequent writers, including Captain John T. Walbran, author of the well-known volume on *British Columbia Coast Names* (Ottawa, 1909), have taken the same view. Now it appears that family tradition has always insisted that the inlet was named after the first baronet, the original Sir Harry Burrard; and it is asserted further that Sir Harry the first took so active and benevolent an interest in Captain Vancouver's career that he deserves to rank in history as the famous explorer's patron.

To make a choice between these two conflicting points of view is not easy. The problem would, indeed, furnish an admirable case-history for investigation by a seminar on the nature and reliability of historical evidence. Neither side appears to be able to prove its case conclusively, and one gathers that even Sir Gerald Burrard himself was of two minds by the time he had completed his investigation. Nevertheless, for reasons which it is hoped the paragraphs that follow make clear, the present writer feels that the weight of the evidence definitely favours the historians.

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(1) Sir Gerald Burrard, "The Naming of Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* X. (1946), pp. 143–9.

As Sir Gerald Burrard points out, the time element is an important aspect of the problem. When Vancouver sailed from England on April 1, 1791, Sir Harry Burrard, the first baronet, was not only still alive, but seemed to be in his usual good health. On April 12, however, he died suddenly, and the title passed to his nephew, who thereby became Sir Harry Burrard the second. The all-important question is: When did Captain Vancouver receive news of the death of Sir Harry Burrard the first?

It is possible, as Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, the Admiralty Librarian, has pointed out, that the news overtook him at the Cape of Good Hope. Vancouver's ships made an extremely slow passage from England, and it was not until August 17—more than four months after the death of Sir Harry—that they finally got away from the Cape, bound for the Pacific Ocean. As this delay was quite unexpected, it is unlikely that anyone addressed letters to Vancouver at the Cape, in the expectation that they would overtake him there; but it is entirely possible that London newspapers, which would doubtless announce Sir Harry's passing, arrived before he sailed. Then as now, the Cape was one of the great cross-roads of the world's commerce. Vancouver himself notes that when he arrived he found "seventeen sail in the bay." At least three of these had come from England, and others must have arrived during the five weeks and more that the *Discovery* and *Chatham* remained in harbour.

Nevertheless, the verdict remains "not proven." Vancouver *may* have heard of Sir Harry Burrard's death at the Cape, but it is entirely possible that he did not. And if he sailed in ignorance of it, he was still unaware that Sir Harry was dead when he explored Burrard Inlet in June, 1792, for no opportunity for him to receive news from England had occurred in the interval.

For this reason it is important to emphasize another aspect of the time element that has hitherto been overlooked; namely, the fact that everything suggests that Captain Vancouver did not actually name Burrard Inlet at the time he visited it. We are apt to forget that Vancouver's original manuscript journal has disappeared, and that all we have available to-day is a printed narrative based on that journal, compiled for the most part four or five years after the occurrence of the events described. True, this narrative was written by Vancouver himself; it was not

farmed out to a hack writer and compiled from logs, diaries, and other documents, as were many works of the kind, including even such celebrated volumes as the *Voyages* of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Captain James Colnett. But the fact remains that Vancouver made innumerable changes and additions to his story as he prepared it for publication, and we know that he inserted many place-names that were not bestowed until long after he had surveyed the islands, capes, inlets, etc., in question.

It so happens that there are no less than seven journals extant, in addition to Vancouver's own printed narrative, that describe the activities of his expedition during the whole or part of the summer of 1792.[2] They vary in character, but with the exception of the journal of Archibald Menzies, the botanist, which was obviously revised at a later date, all of them are authentic contemporary records. At times they were written day by day; but interruptions were frequent, and most of them seem to have been brought up to date at intervals of a week or more, as time permitted. In these journals the use of place-names is relatively infrequent, but when a name does occur, it

(2) Two of the seven have been published. *See* the "New Vancouver Journal," believed to be by Edward Bell, printed in part in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), pp. 129–37, 215–24, 300–308; the original manuscript, entitled *M.S. Journal kept on board the Armed Tender "Chatham" during Captain Vancouver's Voyage in the "Discovery" 1791–4*, is in the Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; there is a complete transcript in the Provincial Archives. *See* also Archibald Menzies, *Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April 8th to October 13th, 1792*, Victoria, 1923 (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir V.). The original manuscript of this journal is in the British Museum; the transcript in the Provincial Archives covers the period from December, 1790, to February 16, 1794. Only the portion of the journal relating to the Northwest Coast of America during 1792 is included in the printed version. The original manuscripts of the three following journals are in the Public Record Office, London (there are transcripts in the Provincial Archives): Thomas Aisley Browne, *Log of Discovery* (January 1, 1791, to March 26, 1795); Zachary Mudge, *Remarks on Board H.M. Sloop Discovery. Geo. Vancouver Esq., Comdr.* (January 4, 1791, to October 1, 1792); Spelman Swaine, *A Log of His Majesty's Sloop Discovery . . .* (September 26, 1792, to July 2, 1795). A photostat of Thomas Manby's journal (February 10, 1791, to January 22, 1793) is in the Howay-Reid collection, in the library of the University of British Columbia; and a microfilm of Peter Puget's journal (January 4, 1791, to February 6, 1794) is in the library of the University of Washington, Seattle.

is usually found in all the accounts relating to the locality in question. In other words, the journals as a group undoubtedly indicate what place-names were bestowed by Vancouver while he actually was engaged in his surveys. Birch Bay and Point Roberts, for example, were certainly named while Vancouver was in their immediate vicinity. Entry after entry in the various journals could be cited to prove the point. On the other hand, although several of the journals either refer to the exploration of Burrard Inlet, or describe it in some detail, *not a single entry in any one of them refers to the inlet by name.* From this it would appear to be legitimate to conclude that it was not named at the time it was explored, in June, 1792.

After his visit to Burrard Inlet Vancouver sailed on to the northward and spent the next two months exploring the narrow waters lying between Vancouver Island and the Mainland, and the fjord-like waterways tributary to them. On August 17 he fell in with the British trading brig *Venus*, from which he learned that various Spanish officials and his own supply ship, the *Dædalus*, were awaiting him in Nootka Sound. Vancouver thereupon decided to conclude his work for the season and proceeded without delay to Nootka, where he dropped anchor in Friendly Cove on August 28.

Here, at last, we know definitely that he received letters from home. The journal ascribed to Edward Bell states that when the *Chatham* arrived " The Master of the Storeship [*Dædalus*], Mr. New, waited on Captn. B[roughton], and brought some Packets of Letters for us from our friends in England."[3] It may be taken for granted that he had similar packets for the *Discovery* and the commander of the expedition. The *Dædalus* carried official dispatches from the Admiralty dated in London as late as August 20,1791, or more than four months after the death of Sir Harry Burrard. From Spanish sources we know that Vancouver also received letters by two British trading vessels.[4] One

(3) " New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V. (1914), p. 223.

(4) *See* the *Viage hecho por los goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802, p. 116. In the well-known printed translation by Cecil Jane (Argonaut Press, 1930), the Spanish *pliegos* is rendered as *letters*. Another translation in the Provincial Archives substitutes *despatches*. The English word *messages* would seem to come closest to the Spanish original.

of these, the *Three Brothers* (variously referred to in documents of the time as the *Tresbes* and the *Three Bs*), was at Nootka when Vancouver himself arrived. She had left London in December, 1791, or eight months after the death of Sir Harry.[5] The other vessel, the *Butterworth*, which had left London in October, 1791, had arrived at Nootka on August 10, but she seems to have sailed on a trading voyage before Vancouver appeared on the 28th. No doubt the letters she carried had been left with Captain New, of the *Dædalus*.[6]

If the relations between Captain Vancouver and the Burrard family were as close and friendly as we have every reason to believe they were, it can surely be taken for granted that a letter from the Burrards was included in the personal mail Vancouver found awaiting him at Nootka.

There remains the question as to precisely when Vancouver bestowed the name Burrard on " Burrard's Channel," as the inlet was originally called.

Everything suggests that this was done at Nootka, for Vancouver enjoyed neither comfort nor leisure in the weeks following his visit to the future Burrard Inlet. Much of the survey-work done therafter proved to be hazardous in the extreme, and physically exhausting. It will be recalled that it was at this time that both his ships got ashore, one after the other. Moreover, Vancouver knew that he would be spending some time at Nootka, and it would be the logical place to complete charts, make the necessary duplicates, prepare fair copies of journals, consider the

(5) Vancouver himself tabulated the names, sailing dates, etc., of the various trading ships that visited Nootka or were known to be on the Coast in 1792. *See* his official *Narrative* of the proceedings at Nootka, printed in the *Report of the Provincial Archives Department . . . for the year . . . 1913*, Victoria, 1914, pp. 28–9.

(6) This exhausts the list of known sources, but by no means all the possible sources, from which Vancouver might have received letters from England. By 1792 Nootka Sound had become the recognized rendezvous for the trading ships that were then visiting the Northwest Coast in considerable numbers. Sooner or later almost every maritime trader visited Nootka, and at times a small fleet lay at anchor there. Thus, on October 11, the day before Vancouver's ships sailed for California, Archibald Menzies noted in his journal the presence of " seven English Vessels, a Spanish Frigate & two American Vessels riding at Anchor in the Cove, besides the two smaller ones that were building on Shore."

question of place-names, and so on. Vancouver's own narrative and the various journals make it clear that this is what actually occurred. When an opportunity offered and Vancouver sent Lieutenant Mudge to England on October 1, he tells us that he sent with him " extracts from the most important parts of my journal, with a copy of our survey of the coast . . ." Three months later, when Lieutenant Broughton was sent to England from Monterey, he was able to take a complete transcript of the journal and a set of charts and drawings recording the results of Vancouver's survey for the whole of the 1792 season.

The probability would thus certainly appear to be that Vancouver placed the name " Burrard's Channel " on his preliminary chart while he was at Nootka Sound, and that before he did so he had received letters from England informing him of the death of Sir Harry Burrard, the first baronet. Indeed, it may well have been the news of Sir Harry's death, which would naturally bring his memories of the family vividly to mind, that prompted him to use the place-name " Burrard " at that particular time.

Mr. Carr Laughton has pointed out that the designation " of the navy " " definitely points to the younger Sir Harry, for his uncle never did hold any appointment which would justify his being so described." Nor is this the only reason for supposing that the second baronet was the person honoured. Sir Harry the younger had entered the Royal Navy in 1778, and he and Vancouver had been shipmates in H.M.S. *Europa*. Sir Gerald Burrard points out that when Vancouver sailed in 1791, young Burrard was only a promising young officer of 25, with his career before him, whereas the elder Sir Harry was a person of importance and influence. But shipmates and friends mean much to a sailor. Moreover, there was only eight years' difference in age between Vancouver and the younger Harry, and at 33 Vancouver would surely have more in common with a naval lieutenant of 25 than with an old gentleman of 84.

It is true that Vancouver never saw Sir Harry Burrard the second while he bore that title, for by the time he arrived back in England in 1795, the second baronet had married and assumed the name Burrard-Neale. Why, it has been asked, was the inlet not named Burrard-Neale, if it was the second baronet that Vancouver wished to honour? The reason is obvious. If, as sug-

gested above, the inlet was named in the autumn of 1792, the second baronet was then correctly referred to as Sir Harry Burrard, for his marriage did not take place until 1794. In the interval the chart bearing the name had been forwarded to the Admiralty, and, once adopted, the place-name would naturally remain unchanged.

In conclusion it should be added that the writer is perfectly aware that the case here presented is based entirely upon circumstantial evidence. But it has this great strength and virtue: it is at variance with no single known *fact* bearing upon the whole complicated and intriguing problem.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

JOHN JEFFREY: BOTANICAL EXPLORER.*

The first botanists to visit the Pacific Northwest came with the maritime expeditions of discovery, usually combining nature study with the duties of medical officer. Although its subsidiary nature and the circumstances under which it was carried on made their botanical work intermittent and sketchy, a good deal was accomplished.

Most successful of them was Archibald Menzies, surgeon with Captain Colnett, 1786–90, and surgeon-naturalist under Captain Vancouver, 1791–95. He had the novel experience of botanizing at Nootka for a month, guarded by a sister-in-law of the famous Chief Maquinna.[1] Among his many discoveries were the salal, the large-leafed maple, and the arbutus named after him (*Arbutus Menziesii* Pursh).[2]

Menzies' discoveries and those of Lewis and Clark to the south created much interest in Britain and were an incentive to the Horticultural Society of London (now the Royal Horticultural Society) to send its botanical collector, David Douglas, on a special mission. He spent several years (1825–27, 1830–33) in the Northwest and California, and sent home a host of plants and seeds. He is remembered in the Douglas fir, Douglas spiræa (hardhack), Douglas phlox, and many other plants. He worked mostly in what is now American territory, with his headquarters at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, his only travels to the north being a journey with the Hudson's Bay express up the Columbia and through Athabaska Pass, and another journey from Fort Okanagan to Fort St. James and return.[3]

To follow up Douglas's work, Sir Joseph Paxton, of Crystal Palace fame, sent out two young gardeners, Robert Wallace and Peter Banks. They came through Athabaska Pass in 1838 but

* The writer is indebted to Mr. J. W. Eastham, plant pathologist, British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Vancouver, B.C., for assistance in preparing this article.

(1) *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792*, ed. by C. F. Newcombe; biographical sketch by J. Forsyth, Victoria, 1923, p. xiii. (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir V.).

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 132–52.

(3) *See* A. G. Harvey, "David Douglas in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV. (1940), pp. 221–43.

were drowned at or near Death Rapids in the upper Columbia River before even starting their work.[4]

So far most of Vancouver Island and what we know as the Lower Mainland had not felt a botanist's footsteps. Into this virgin territory came John Jeffrey, the first botanist to make an extended stay north of the 49th parallel.

Jeffrey, like Menzies and Douglas, was a native of Perthshire, and, like Douglas, met a tragic death. Born at Forneth, parish of Clunie, November 14, 1826, he was the eldest of the four children (two boys and two girls) of John Jeffrey and Helen Ambrose. The family afterwards moved to Fife, and later to Lochore. At the age of 15 young John was a servant at East Blair House, 3 miles from Lochore. In 1849 he was a gardener at the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, where he won attention by his energy and perseverance. He also won a prize for the best collection of dried plants made in the vicinity of Edinburgh.[5]

In May, 1850, Jeffrey was engaged as botanical collector by the Oregon Botanical Association,[6] a recently formed organization of Scottish estate-owners, botanists, and gardeners, interested in more fully exploring the botanical wealth of Northwest America. Prominent members were George Patton (afterwards Lord Glenalmond); John Hutton Balfour, professor of botany at the University of Edinburgh, Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, and Queen's Botanist for Scot-

(4) Violet R. Markham, *Paxton and the Bachelor Duke*, London, 1935, pp. 63–72. Several accounts of this tragedy are available. For John McLoughlin's brief official report to the Hudson's Bay Company *see The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941, p. 293; *see also* Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist*, London, 1859, pp. 333–35; Angus McDonald, "A few Items of the West," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1917), pp. 215–17; C. B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, Seattle, 1932, I., pp. 25–6 (an account by Father Blanchet); J. A. Stevenson, "Disaster in the Dalles," *Beaver*, September, 1942, pp. 19–21. There is a brief reference in H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1884, II., p. 538.

(5) The authority for these statements and for most of the following statements regarding Jeffrey is James Todd Johnstone, "John Jeffrey and the Oregon Expedition," in *Notes from the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh*, XX., No. xcvi. (July, 1939), pp. 1–53.

(6) The official name. *See* Frederick V. Coville, "The Itinerary of John Jeffrey, an Early Botanical Explorer of Western North America," *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington*, XI. (1897), pp. 57–60.

land; and James M'Nab, head gardener at the Garden. Balfour was chairman. Jeffrey was to search the territory covered by Douglas and other unexplored parts of the country. The emphasis was upon seeds, particularly of conifers, the rage for which was then coming to its height; they were to be divided among the subscribers to the Association. He was engaged for three years. Accordingly, he sailed from London in the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Prince of Wales*, Captain David J. Herd, on June 6, 1850, and from Stromness, Orkney Islands, on July 3. On August 12 the vessel came to anchor in Five Fathom Hole off York Factory, Hudson Bay.

Proceeding inland on August 23 with Chief Factor John Lee Lewes, Jeffrey arrived at Norway House, near the northeast end of Lake Winnipeg, on September 18, and next day continued on to Cumberland House, which he reached on October 6. Here he spent the first part of the long northern winter. He busied himself by collecting beetles and birds.

On January 3, 1851, he left with the winter express and snowshoed all the way—1,200 miles—to Jasper House, arriving on March 21. Four dogs dragged his baggage sleigh. He was the guest of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, the route being along the Saskatchewan to Edmonton House, then northwesterly to Fort Assiniboine and the Athabaska River, which was followed to Jasper House.

> I continued to trudge on from post to post, getting a fresh man and fresh dogs at every post that I came to en route. I generally remained at each station for a few days to refresh for another stage. . . . During this journey I slept with no other covering than that found under the friendly pine, for the space of 47 nights, on several occasions the thermometer standing from 30° to 40° below zero. I found no bad effects from exposure, the only thing that happened to me, was that once or twice I got slightly frost bit; that was nothing uncommon amongst us, and little cared for.[7]

Leaving Jasper House with Chief Trader Robert Clouston on April 26, Jeffrey crossed the Rocky Mountains by Athabaska Pass—now with his baggage on his back—and descended the Columbia River to Fort Colvile, arriving about May 12. He botanized in the vicinity and in the Kootenay and Pend d'Oreille districts for a few weeks, working on both sides of the inter-

(7) Letter, John Jeffrey to J. H. Balfour, dated Jasper House, April 7, 1851. Quoted in Johnstone, *John Jeffrey*, p. 9.

national boundary, which had been established just five years previously and was not yet surveyed. Then, accompanying Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson, famous trail-finder of New Caledonia and early British Columbia, he went down the Columbia to the Okanagan River and thence up the Okanagan Valley. Turning up the Similkameen Valley, they came into British territory again early in July.

No journal of Jeffrey's travels has been found, and as the dates on his collections are sometimes conflicting, it is impossible to trace his itinerary closely. He appears to have spent most of July collecting plants in the Similkameen Valley and on the near-by mountains, and along the newly opened Hudson's Bay brigade trail connecting Fort Kamloops and Fort Hope. He came onto this trail at Campement des Femmes (now Tulameen) and went along it to Fort Hope. He tarried at Campement de Chevreuil and collected about Mount Manson for a few days and climbed to its summit, where he got *Penstemon Menziesii* Hook. The Oregon Association had furnished him with instruments for determining altitudes and for taking latitudes and longitudes, and if his observations and records are accurate, he got north beyond the Thompson River. He mentions getting *Erigeron uniflorus* Linn. (fleabane) "on the summit of a mountain 7,000 ft. high, in lat. 50° 23′; east of Fraser River."[8] This would be north of Lytton. He also mentions "Thomson River" as the place of collecting *Oxytropis monticola* A. Gray (loco-weed).[9]

Working westward, probably to Fort Langley, Jeffrey made a brief visit to Vancouver Island late in July and again at the end of August. In September he spent several days collecting in the vicinity of Mount Baker. He ascended the range to the snow-line, and probably was the first person to do so. (The summit was not reached by anyone until seventeen years later.) On a mountain-top near Fort Hope he found *Pinus albicaulis* Engelm. (the twisted, sprawling white-bark pine), seeds of which he sent home. With an Indian guide he went up the Fraser to "the falls" (the early name of the canyon just above Yale),[10] climbed

(8) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 28, probably this was *Oxytropis gracilis* (A. Nels.) K. Schum., according to modern interpretation.

(10) Information from W. G. H. Firth, Chief Geographer of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

the mountains to the east, and gathered *Rhododendron albiflorum* Hook. and *Cladothamnus pyrolæflorus* Bong. (copper-bush) at elevations of 6,000 feet and " about " 8,000 feet.

On these mountain-slopes, " towering its head above all her sisters of the forest,"[11] he found *Abies amabilis* (Dougl.) Forbes, the lovely silver fir which Douglas had discovered and named *Pinus amabilis*, but which botanists took to be a form of some other species or else a mythical fir formed by mixing specimens of two or more species. Nor did the seeds Jeffrey sent home correct the mistake. They, too, were confused with other firs. And so the " lovely fir " continued a myth. Not until 1880 was it recognized as an actuality. In that year some eminent American botanists (Englemann, Sargent, and Parry) who were searching for it on a mountain south of Hope came in sight of a beautiful, unfamiliar fir which they at once recognized as the long-lost *amabilis*—the tree that Jeffrey had found in the same region twenty-nine years before and that Douglas had first discovered on the Columbia earlier still.[12]

Returning towards the sea-coast he spent a few more days around Mount Baker early in October, 1851, and then went to Fort Victoria. Here he spent the winter and spring, save for a brief visit to Fort Rupert at the northerly end of Vancouver Island in the steamship *Beaver*, on which he had embarked on January 17, 1852, and trips to Bellevue Island (now San Juan; then still British; the Hudson's Bay Company having a fishing-station there). He prepared and sent home two boxes of seeds and specimens that he had gleaned during the past season. One of the boxes also contained a sample of gold from the Queen Charlotte Islands, whither crowds of fortune hunters were then being drawn—the first gold-rush to take place in British Pacific territory. On some of his botanical excursions about Fort Victoria he had the company of Chief Trader Anderson's young son, James R. Anderson,[13] who was to become a well-known British Columbia botanist, and who lived until 1930.[14] During the spring

(11) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(12) Carl Hansen, " Pinetum Danicum," *Journal*, Royal Horticultural Society, London, XIV. (1892), pp. 455–57.

(13) Victoria *Daily Colonist*, May 23, 1926.

(14) Author of *Trees and Shrubs; Food, Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1925.

(1852) Jeffrey discovered *Ribes Lobbii* A. Gray (red-flowered gooseberry) and *Tsuga heterophylla* (Raf.) Sarg. (western hemlock), both of which he introduced to Britain.

In late May or early June he left Fort Victoria and crossed over to Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound, where he collected briefly before proceeding on June 18 to Fort Vancouver.[15] Leaving there on June 20 he spent six or seven weeks in the Willamette Valley, sometimes climbing high up in the Cascade Mountains. Continuing southward to the Umpqua Valley he discovered *Lilium Washingtonianum* Kell. on August 14, and sent home seeds. This is the famous Lady Washington lily which, unbeknown to Jeffrey, had so charmed the California Argonauts of '49 that they had named it after their country's first First Lady. This name was latinized in 1863. It is also called Shasta lily.[16]

Another interesting plant—one indigenous to British Columbia—discovered by Jeffrey somewhere in the Oregon country and introduced by him is *Dodecatheon Jeffreyi* L. van Houtte (a peculiar and rare cyclamen-like flower with a rosette of long oval leaves, of the genus commonly called " shooting-star ").

On September 9 and 11 he collected in the Klamath Valley, just across the California border, and by the 27th he had reached Mount Shasta. On the 29th, on mountains between Shasta and Scott Valleys, he discovered *Pinus Balfouriana* Jeffrey[17] (the bright blue-green foxtail pine, which he named). After visiting the Salmon Mountains and the Trinity Mountains he turned back in October, and on the 24th, in Shasta Valley, discovered *Pinus Jeffreyii* Balf. (which closely resembles the western yellow pine). By December 4 he had reached Mount Jefferson, and soon afterwards he got back to Fort Vancouver, where he spent the winter. (The Hudson's Bay Company was still in occupation.)

In the spring he went south again, leaving about April 6, 1853, when he was advanced $500 by the Company. He collected

(15) *See* " The Nisqually Journal," entry for June 18, 1852, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XV. (1924), p. 139.

(16) Charles Francis Saunders, *Western Wild Flowers and Their Stories*, New York, 1933, p. 72.

(17) The name according to Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 41; but American authorities give Murray as the namer. Probably Jeffrey suggested the name and gave the tree's salient distinguishing features, and Murray elaborated the description and published it.

in Umpqua Valley between April 23 and May 3, among his finds being *Whipplea modesta* Torr. (a shrub of the Hydrangea family). He was in the Rogue River valley on May 15, in the Siskiyou Mountains on the 23rd, and at Mount Shasta on June 10. Next day, at Clear Creek, he discovered *Penstemon Jeffreyanus* Hook. On June 18 he was at Scott Mountain. The next six weeks were spent in this region and southwards to the Coast Range. He then went south and east to the Sacramento Valley and the Sierra Nevada Mountains for August and September, working still southward. On October 1, in the Sierras, he discovered *Cupressus Macnabiana* Murr. (the very rare Macnab cypress), and by the 7th he had reached San Francisco—then in the throes of the villain-and-vigilante disturbance which followed the gold-rush. Apparently he remained here and in the vicinity until early in January, 1854, when he sent off his last box of plants and seeds to the Association.

Although it took him three weeks to arrange and pack the season's collections,[18] the quantity of seed in the box was small, and its arrival in Scotland added to the dissatisfaction which had arisen in the Association regarding his work. Disappointment with the results of the expedition had been growing for some time. Several boxes or packages of seeds and specimens which Jeffrey reported from the north that he had sent home from Fort Victoria and Fort Vancouver (some by York Factory; others around Cape Horn) never arrived. One that did arrive—the one from Fort Victoria containing the gold specimen—had been forwarded from San Francisco (probably via Panama) by post, "collect." The postage amounted to £135! Although the post-office authorities were persuaded to waive the charge, the incident must have given Jeffrey's sponsors an unpleasant shock.

Their chief annoyance was his failure to send a promised diary of his travels and to account for his expenses. Nor did he report at all on his work for the season of 1853, his only communication being a bill of exchange on the Association for £200, drawn upon his arrival at San Francisco, which they paid nevertheless. They tried to get in touch with him through their secretary's brother there, William Murray, but he replied that Jeffrey could not be found, even though he had advertised for him in the newspaper,

(18) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Alta California, and that letters for him sent to the British Consulate, as he had requested, were not called for.[19] They therefore decided to discharge him for neglect of duty.[20] They also attached his salary in Balfour's hands and, after payment of costs, recovered £231/15/- of the £267/13/6 that they had paid.

Unaware of his predicament, Jeffrey began another season's work, still farther south. He went via San Diego to the Gila River region.[21] But what he did there or thereafter is not known. He disappeared completely. The last heard from him was a letter in the spring of 1854 to McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., San Francisco, from Fort Yuma, at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, saying he probably would be there until August 1, and directing that his letters be forwarded by Adams & Co.'s express to their San Diego agent, Mr. F. Ames.[22]

What became of him is a mystery. Three varying accounts of a tragic fate have been given: one, that while in New Mexico (which then included Arizona) " he was murdered by a Spanish outcast for his mules and his scanty travelling-appointments ";[23] another, that he was killed when trading with the Indians;[24] while a third suggests that he perished of thirst upon the Colorado desert.[25]

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(19) Murray did not know that the firm of McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., commission merchants of San Francisco, were acquainted with Jeffrey, nor that Allan, Lowe & Co., also commission merchants there, were connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. *Ibid.* Either firm probably could have put him in touch with Jeffrey.

(20) His engagement expired in November, 1853, but it had been proposed to extend it for a year. Johnstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4. Moreover he had letters of credit which had to be formally stopped, although there is no suggestion that he took undue advantage of them. His salary was £80 for the first year, £100 for the second year, and £120 for the third year. This information is provided in a letter to the author from Professor Sir William Wright Smith, Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, dated August 16, 1946.

(21) He is said to have joined an American expedition which left San Francisco in the spring of 1854 for Fort Yuma to explore the Gila and Colorado rivers. Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(22) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(23) Alexander Caulfield Anderson, *The Dominion at the West. A brief description of the province of British Columbia, its climate and resources.* Victoria, 1872, p. 56.

(24) Johnstone, *op cit.*, p. 13.

(25) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

During the last century botanical collectors were sent to all parts of the world, many of them encountering great danger and hardship to obtain rare plants in their secluded homes. "Among these men were heroes, gallant adventurers, some of whom 'have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported'; others who have no memorial save the good inheritance of botany."[26] Not the least of these was John Jeffrey. For over three years he toiled patiently and diligently in the wild semi-civilized territory of the Far West—using primitive makeshifts and accommodations, and encumbered not only with the usual paraphernalia, but also the heavy instruments which the Association had provided for taking astronomical observations—making his way as best he could over rough trails, rushing waters, rugged mountain-sides, and burning sands to spy out the much-wanted botanical treasures. The territory he covered—much of it on foot—was enormous, stretching from cold Rupert's Land to balmy Vancouver Island in the north, thence south to torrid New Mexico. Three times he crossed what is now the State of Oregon.[27] Twice he worked in Northern California. His winters were spent in arranging and packing the season's gleanings for shipment to Edinburgh.

Perhaps his failure to measure up to expectations may be accounted for (at least in part) by hardship, overwork, and illness. The human body has its limitations, and Jeffrey was no exception. It is known that while in San Francisco he was ill "for some weeks."[28] That fact may explain much.

Those who came in contact with Jeffrey were favourably impressed. Chief Factor John Ballenden, of Fort Vancouver, who saw a good deal of him, said he was a very hard-working, energetic, and industrious person, and that he was much thought of by all who had seen him.[29] Anderson and Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Hector also spoke highly of him;[30] while McKinlay, Garrioch & Co., who saw him last (just before he left San Fran-

(26) Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

(27) Until March 2, 1853, Oregon included all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between California and the international boundary.

(28) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60, quoting Murray, who got the information from McKinlay, Garrioch & Co.

(29) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(30) Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

cisco for the south), said he was " a hard working, enthusiastic, very steady, and temperate man."[31]

Jeffrey collected over 400 species of plants and sent home the seeds of many. Besides those already mentioned, one which he introduced in Britain was *Chamæcyparis Lawsoniana* (Murr.) Parl. (the beautiful Lawson cypress, or Port Orford cedar of lumbermen).[32] A list of his plants, with his field-notes, has been published.[33] Most of his specimens are in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden at Edinburgh.

Although the Association was disappointed with his work to the point of losing faith in him entirely, subsequent opinion has been appreciative. Indeed, a one-time secretary of the Association has declared that from " the quantities of novelties which were discovered and introduced through his means " the expedition must be treated " as a great success."[34] Perhaps the Association expected too much of him; he was not another David Douglas—men of *his* outstanding ability and purposeful determination are few—nor did he have the virgin field that Douglas had. Moreover, the loss of at least four of his shipments (and possibly his diary, too) was very unfortunate.

Jeffrey is commemorated not only in botanical names but also in the name of one of our British Columbia streams. On his way from Athabaska Pass down to the Columbia in 1851 he descended the valley of a tributary of Wood River. Seventy years later, at the suggestion of the late Arthur O. Wheeler, of the Alberta-British Columbia Boundary Survey Commission, this stream was named Jeffrey Creek.[35] Another geographical feature which may be mentioned is Mount Jeffrey, on the west side of Saanich Inlet, Vancouver Island. The origin of its name is unknown,[36] but it is quite possible that it was climbed by Jeffrey during his explorations from Fort Victoria and was named after him.

A. G. HARVEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(31) Colville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(32) Alice Eastwood, " Early Botanical Explorers on the Pacific Coast and the Trees they found there," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII. (1939), p. 343.

(33) Johnstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–50.

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 14, quoting Andrew Murray in 1860.

(35) Information from W. G. H. Firth, Chief Geographer of British Columbia.

(36) *Ibid.*

McLOUGHLIN'S STATEMENT OF THE EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE "DRYAD" INCIDENT OF 1834.

The *Statement of Expenses* that follows adds a brief new chapter to the otherwise familiar story of the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast.

It was in 1824–25, during his first visit to this region, that Governor Simpson came to the conclusion that the Hudson's Bay Company could gain control of the fur trade on the Northwest Coast if it displayed sufficient energy and enterprise. At that time the trade was largely in the hands of American ships hailing from New England. Simpson contended, with justice, that the elimination of these itinerant traders, and their ruthless, irresponsible ways, would benefit the Russians as well as the Hudson's Bay Company, since both the latter had long-term interests in the Coast. But the disappearance of the Americans naturally brought the British and Russians into direct contact, one with the other; and it was virtually inevitable that a clash of interests should develop between them.

This clash finally occurred in the early 1830's. For some years Chief Factor John McLoughlin, superintendent in the region for the Hudson's Bay Company, had been busy constructing a chain of trading-posts extending northward from the Columbia River. Fort Langley had been founded in 1827 and Fort Simpson in 1831. In 1833 two intermediate posts—Fort Nisqually and Fort McLoughlin—were added to the chain. More important in the present connection, Peter Skene Ogden had, in the summer of 1833, explored the lower reaches of the Stikine River and had chosen a site for still another trading centre. Both Ogden and the Company were well aware that the mouth of the Stikine lay in Russian territory; but Russian jurisdiction was admittedly limited to a strip of land along the coast, and the British contended that they had been guaranteed free navigation of the river. If the new post were constructed far enough inland, the Company therefore felt that it was acting fully within its rights.

This plan thoroughly alarmed the Russians, for although the projected Hudson's Bay fort might not be in Russian territory, it would undoubtedly flourish at the expense of the Russian American Company. Many of the furs obtained by the latter originated in the interior, and a post far up the Stikine would intercept them and divert them to the Hudson's Bay Company. It is interesting to note that it was the coast Indians who acted as intermediaries in this trade, and they, too, had no desire to be displaced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Russians prepared for the fray by hurriedly building a small fort, the Redoubt St. Dionysius, at the mouth of the Stikine. In front of it they stationed the brig *Chichagoff*, armed with fourteen guns. When Ogden reappeared in the *Dryad*, in June, 1834, bringing with him the men and goods required to found the new post, the Russians declined to permit him to pass. They contended that according to the convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia the ships of one power were not to approach any point occupied by the other without permission. As the *Dryad* would have to pass the Redoubt St. Dionysius to enter the Stikine, she would violate the treaty in so doing. In response, Ogden could only insist that Great Britain had been guaranteed free navigation of the river. For eleven days he argued and negotiated, but as the Russians refused to yield, and seemed quite prepared to use force if necessary to prevent him from entering the river, he had no alternative but to withdraw.

News of this rebuff did not reach McLoughlin until December, when Ogden arrived back at Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin took a most serious view of the matter. In his opinion the Company had suffered a setback that would be most damaging not only to its prestige on the Northwest Coast, but to its finances as well. In support of the latter contention he compiled and forwarded to London the *Statement of Expenses incurred . . . in the attempt to erect an Establishment at Stikine River*, which is here printed for the first time.

It is an astonishing document, and even the persons most interested financially—the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company—found it so at the time. Hitherto, we have only known that according to McLoughlin's calculation the *Dryad* incident had cost the Company a substantial fortune—to be exact,

the sum of £22,150/10/11. The detailed account shows that in arriving at this total he took the view that the incident would render the services of the *Dryad*, her crew of thirty, and more than forty other men, for a period of three years, completely valueless to the Company. Nor did he for a moment think that the total submitted was an exaggerated one. On the contrary, he pointed out that he had limited his statement to items with which he himself was familiar. He was sure that additional expenses had been incurred in England that could rightfully be added to the account.[1]

At a later date the Governor and Committee hinted to McLoughlin that the *Statement of Expenses* seemed to them to be padded heavily with damages and expenses that were largely nominal, and it is clear that Ogden's difficulties did not worry them unduly. Indeed, the whole affair, statement of damages and all, suited their immediate purposes admirably. Ever since 1829 they had been trying to negotiate a trading agreement with the Russian American Company, only to be met with polite evasions. The *Dryad* affair, by raising the issue of national rights, and giving rise to a claim for damages, enabled them to press the matter through diplomatic channels. The Foreign Office was sympathetic, and the ultimate result was the agreement between the two companies that was signed in February, 1839. Through more than three years of patient but persistent negotiation the *Statement of Expenses* served as a useful bargaining point, but no serious attempt was ever made to collect the damages supposed to have been suffered.

The original *Statement* is preserved in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London, and the text is here reproduced by kind permission of the Governor and Committee.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(1) *See* McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, March 14, 1835, in E. E. Rich (*ed.*), *The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825–38*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1941, pp. 134–6. For Peter Skene Ogden's own report on the *Dryad* incident, *see ibid.*, pp. 317–22.

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES incurred by the Hudson's Bay Company in the attempt to erect an Establishment at Stikine River on the North West Coast of America, and for extending the trade in the interior of the Country towards Mount Saint Elias: also loss sustained by being prevented by the Russians from trading on the Coast to the Northward of 54° 40′ Latitude.[2]

In 1833 there were brought from Europe and Canada 38 Voyageurs engaged for a term of 3 years for the purpose of erecting a trading establishment at Stikine River, whose services will be lost to the Company during the term of their engagement vizt.						
Wages of 38 men as pr. List for 1 year	818					
Expenses bringing 38 men from Europe & Canada to the Columbia £25	950					
Salary of 3 Officers employed for the same purpose for 1 year as pr. List	265					
Expenses bringing them to the Columbia	150					
Provisions for the above 41 persons from the date of their arrival at Fort Vancouver 22nd Octr. 1833 to 1st June 1834 —221 days @ 1/6 pr. man	679	11	6			
				A	2,862	11 6
Wages of Captain Kipling & Crew of the Brig *Dryad* (say 4 officers & 26 men) from the 1st October 1833 (the date on which the vessel would have been sent to England if it had not been considered necessary to keep her for the purpose of establishing Stikine), to the 1st June 1834=8 months at the rate of £93.5/8 pr. month as pr. list	746	3	4			
Provisions for the above crew for the same period 243 days @ 2/- pr. man ea. day	729					
Eight months services of the Brig *Dryad*	1,200					
				B	2,675	3 4
Wages of the party brought to the Columbia in 1833 from 1st June 1834 to 1st June 1835, one year vizt.						
38 Voyageurs	818					
3 Officers	265					

(2) Hudson's Bay Archives, A.11/50.

Services of a Chief Trader employed to conduct the party	500					
Provisions for 42 persons for a year @ £27.7.6 ea.	1,149	15				
				C	2,732	15
Wages of Brig *Dryad's* Crew (4 officers & 26 men) from 1st June 1834 to 1st January 1835=7 months @ £93.5/8 pr. month	652	19	8			
Provisions for do. for the same period 214 days @ 2/- pr. man pr. diem	642					
Services of the Brig *Dryad* 7 months	1,050					
				D	2,344	19 8
Wages of the party brought to the Columbia in 1833, from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836, one year vizt.						
38 Voyageurs	818					
3 Officers	265					
Provisions for 41 persons for 1 year £27.7.6 each	1,122	7	6			
				E	2,205	7 6
In 1834 30 Voyageurs and two officers were brought to the Columbia for the purpose of being employed to extend the trade on the North-west Coast towards Mount St. Elias, on 3 @ 5 years engagements, whose services will be lost to the Company for at least 2 Years before they can be employed in any other district vizt.						
Wages of 30 Voyageurs as pr. list from 1st June 1834 to 1st June 1835 1 year	620					
Salary of 2 officers for the same period	150					
Expenses bringing to the Columbia 30 men, £25 ea.	750					
do. do. 2 Officers @ £50 ea.	100					
Provisions for the above 32 persons from the date of their arrival at Fort Vancouver, 16th Octr. 1834, to 1st June 1835=227 days @ 1/6 p. man pr. diem	544	16				
				F	2,164	16

Wages of Party brought in 1834 from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836 1 year vizt.			
2 Officers	£150		
30 Voyageurs	620		
		770	
Provisions for the same period 32 persons @ 1/6 pr. diem		876	
			G 1,646
Wages of 20 men ordered from Canada, to come up 1835 to reinforce the parties intended for the proposed establishment at Stikine, & for extending the Trade towards Mount St. Elias; whose services will be lost to the Company for at least one Year—say from 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836 each £26 5/-		525	
Provisions for a year 20 men @ 1/6 pr. day each man		547 10	
Expenses bringing them to York Factory £20		400	
			H 1,472 10
Interest on Goods provided and ordered from England for the trade of Stikine and extension of trade in that quarter, which will remain on hand for two Years before they can be applied for any other part of the Country vizt.			
Outfit forwarded 1834 from Fort Vancouver for Stikine & dependencies		2,000	
Outfit received at Fort Vancouver 1834, intended for the trade 1835		2,500	
Outfit shipped in England, 1834, intended for the trade 1836		3,000	
Outfit ordered from England to be shipped 1835 intended for the trade 1837, which it is now too late to countermand		4,500	
Two Years Interest at 5 per cent on	£12,000		1,200

Interest to 1st June 1835 @ 5 pr. cent on the following Amounts

18 Months interest on Amount										
			Marked		A	£2862.11.6	214	13	10	
18	„	„	„	„	B	2675. 3.4	200	12	9	
6	„	„	„	„	C	2732.15.0	68	6	5	
6	„	„	„	„	D	2344.19.8	58	12	6	
6	„	„	„	„	F	2164.16.0	54	2	5	
									596	7 11
Loss sustained by being prevented by the Russians from trading on the North west coast to the Northward of 54° 40′ Latitude. See Baron Wrangell's Proclamation & correspondence with P. S. Ogden									2,000	
Expenses incurred Summer 1833 sending the Brig *Llama* with Mr. Ogden & Party of men to examine Stikine River, and select a site for erecting an Establishment									250	
									£22,150	10 11

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

NOTE BY THE RETIRING EDITOR OF THE "QUARTERLY."

This number of the *Quarterly*—the fortieth to appear—completes the magazine's first decade, and furnishes a convenient point at which to end my term of office as Editor. Commencing with the issue of January, 1947, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, who for some time has served as Associate Editor, will be in complete charge.

I regret that the plan to print a ten-year index in this final issue has had to be abandoned. Adequate cumulated indexes add immeasurably to the usefulness of any periodical file, and as soon as printing conditions are less difficult I hope that the project may take form as a separate publication. Meanwhile this mention of the matter gives me an opportunity to make it known that the indexes to all ten of the annual volumes have been prepared by Miss Inez Mitchell, of the Provincial Archives, and to express my appreciation of the care and consistency with which she has carried out this exacting work.

W. KAYE LAMB.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

Through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Harty Morden the annual Field Day of the Victoria Section was held at "Rockvale," Shawnigan Lake, on Saturday afternoon, August 10, with some fifty members in attendance. The occasion marked the diamond anniversary of the completion of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway; for it was on August 13, 1886, at a spot near Cliffside on Shawnigan Lake that Sir John A. Macdonald drove the golden spike with a silver sledge. Mr. J. A. Kennedy, Superintendent of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, was the guest speaker, and in a most interesting paper, interspersed with many amusing reminiscences, traced the history of the railroad. The appreciation of the members was tendered to the speaker by Mr. Justice C. H. O'Halloran. The section was honoured by the presence of Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Vice-President of the University of Oregon and Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, who brought greetings from his society. Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, Chairman of the Section, took occasion to pay a tribute to the memory of the Hon. Gordon Hunter, a former Chief Justice of British Columbia, and late owner of "Rockvale." Tea was served on the lawn overlooking the lake. A vote of thanks to the host and hostess, heartily endorsed by all the members present, brought to a conclusion a most successful Field Day.

The first regular meeting of the fall season was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, September 23, when Dr. T. A. Rickard delivered an address entitled *The Sea Otter in History*. In reality the sea otter placed

Vancouver Island on the map of the world. The publication of the account of Captain James Cook's last voyage advertised to the world the existence of this peltry and its ready market in Canton, China, thus paving the way for the great competitive period of the maritime fur trade. From the published accounts of many of the early traders Dr. Rickard gave many interesting details regarding the sea otter: its appearance, its habitat, and the methods used in hunting it. The development of the sea otter trade was carefully outlined. So extensive had it become by the opening of the nineteenth century that sea otters on this coast had become very nearly extinct. In consequence the trade dwindled to insignificance and, yet, not until 1911 was any concerted effort at conservation undertaken.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The first meeting of the autumn season was held in Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday, October 1, when the large number of members present heard Rev. A. E. Cooke speak on the interesting subject *Ghosts Walk the Pacific Coast.* This colourful account of place-names in the Pacific Northwest indicated the derivation of scores of familiar geographical names, and indicated briefly some of the interesting facts about the persons, events, etc., that have been commemorated locally. As Mr. Cooke pointed out, our place-names fall into well-defined groups, according to their origin. First of all come the so-called Indian names, some of which are authentic, but many of which are badly garbled versions of what some white man thought was the Indian name for a bay, river, cape, or mountain peak. Another group of names trace their origin to the Hudson's Bay Company. A third group consists of Spanish names—now relatively few in number, as the hundreds of geographical features originally named by the Spaniards have mostly been renamed by later navigators. Admirals and other officers of the Royal Navy are well represented, and such names as *Ganges, Vanguard, Defence,* and *Forward* recall some of the ships of the Royal Navy that were stationed for a time on this coast. Every now and then, however, one finds a name that seems to stand by itself, outside any cut-and-dried category. For example, it will doubtless come as a surprise to many to find that Lulu Island was named by Colonel Moody, in 1862, after Lulu Sweet, a young actress belonging to the first theatrical troupe that ever acted in the City of New Westminster. "Her conduct, acting and graceful manners gave great satisfaction," Captain Walbran tells us, "and were appreciated to such an extent by her friends and patrons that the island was named after her."

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In addition to the officers listed in the April issue of this *Quarterly,* the following directors were appointed at the annual meeting of the Okanagan

Historical Society, representing North, Middle, and South Okanagan for three-, two-, and one-year periods respectively:—

	Three-year Term.	*Two-year Term.*	*One-year Term.*
North:	Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops, B.C.	G. C. Tassie, Vernon, B.C.	J. G. Simms, Vernon, B.C.
Middle:	F. M. Buckland, Kelowna, B.C.	Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank, B.C.	Jas. Goldie, Okanagan Centre, B.C.
South:	Rev. Frank Haskins, West Summerland, B.C.	G. Rowland, Penticton, B.C.	Harry D. Barnes, Hedley, B.C.

At a special meeting held on Friday, July 26, in the Royal Anne Hotel, Kelowna, B.C., with Captain J. B. Weeks in the chair, an Editorial Committee comprising Dr. Margaret Ormsby (convener), G. C. Tassie, and S. Fleming was appointed to publish the next *Report*. Mrs. R. B. White, Mrs. D. Gellatly, Dr. F. W. Andrew, and Burt R. Campbell were appointed to act as assistants to the Editorial Committee. A committee was also appointed on Photographic Records: R. W. Neill (convener), R. Carswell, and Frank Hassard.

ORIGINAL LETTER BY CAPTAIN VANCOUVER.

In popular estimation the great parade held on July 1 and the remarkable historical pageant staged in Stanley Park during the next fortnight were doubtless the most striking events in the City of Vancouver's sixtieth anniversary celebration. For students of history, on the other hand, the most notable event was the presentation to the city of one of the most interesting letters ever written by Captain George Vancouver.

Offered for sale some years ago in London, at a time when it was not possible for either the Vancouver City Archives or the Provincial Archives to acquire it, this letter was purchased by Mrs. Marjorie Wade, daughter of the late F. C. Wade, formerly Agent-General for British Columbia in London. Mrs. Wade's purpose was to keep the letter available, in order that it might find a permanent home in this Province. This summer her wish was fulfilled when the historic letter was given to the citizens of Vancouver by Mrs. Jonathan Rogers.

The presentation took place in the Council Chamber in the City Hall on July 9. Mrs. Rogers spoke briefly, outlined the history of the letter, and formally presented it to Mayor Cornett, who in turn placed it in the hands of Major J. S. Matthews, City Archivist, for deposit in the City Archives. Mrs. Rogers had had the letter mounted in an ingenious glass and hardwood case that makes it possible to examine every part of the document closely without actually touching the manuscript.

The letter itself, which is several pages in length, was written at Nootka Sound on October 2, 1794. It deals in part with business matters, but James Sykes, the Navy agent, to whom it is addressed, was a personal friend of Vancouver's, and his son was serving as a midshipman with Vancouver's expedition. The great survey of the Northwest Coast had been completed only a few weeks before the letter was written, and Captain Vancouver

notes that his ships had arrived at Nootka "having truly determined the non existence of any water communication between this and the other side of America within the limits of our investigation beyond all doubt or disputation. . . ."

The letter was seen by George Godwin, Vancouver's biographer, and the complete text is given in the appendix of his *Vancouver: A Life* (London, 1930).

SKETCH OF NOOTKA SOUND IN 1792.

Mr. H. R. MacMillan recently purchased from Maggs Brothers, London, and presented to the Library of the University of British Columbia a striking water-colour sketch entitled *A View of the Spanish Settlement, in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.* The painting measures approximately 33 inches by 10 inches, and is finished in delicate shades of green and grey, with touches of yellow and red. It pictures substantially the same area as that included in the drawing by H. Humphries that was engraved and published in the second volume of the quarto edition of Vancouver's *Voyage*, but the view-point is slightly different. Like the Humphries sketch, it forms a perfect companion-piece to the beautiful pencil drawing in the Provincial Archives, dated 1793, and believed to be the work of a member of the crew of the trading ship *Three Brothers.* In the latter the largest building in the little Spanish village, a substantial two-story structure, appears at the extreme right of the picture; in the new water-colour sketch it appears at the extreme left. Between them, the two thus give a panoramic view of the whole of Friendly Cove.

Various bits of evidence, including the fact that a small vessel is shown under construction on the foreshore, make it reasonably certain that Mr. MacMillan's most interesting gift was painted sometime in the autumn of 1792. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and students of history will be glad to hear that it has found a home in British Columbia.

THE A. J. T. TAYLOR ARCTIC COLLECTION.

Late in June Mrs. A. J. T. Taylor presented to the Library of the University of British Columbia the notable collection of books of travel and other works relating to the Arctic, and, to a lesser extent, the Antarctic, that had been assembled by her late husband. The 500 volumes include many first and other rare editions and a great number of autographed and association copies. Many of the books were purchased by Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who was a close personal friend of Mr. Taylor's, and scores of them bear notes in Stefansson's handwriting pointing out the importance or peculiarities of the various titles.

Perhaps the most interesting single book in the collection is a copy of the 1795 quarto edition of Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort . . . to the Northern Ocean.* This bears the book-plate of Samuel Wegg, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1782–99, and the man under whose authority Hearne made his great journey. It also contains the book-plate and autograph of Townsend W. Thorndike, who assembled a fine

library on the Arctic. Dr. Stefansson purchased the book for Mr. Taylor from the Townsend estate in 1933, and he has added both a note to that effect and a letter in which he describes this particular copy of Hearne as being "nearly the most interesting possible." One can well understand this opinion, for in addition to the book-plates and autographs noted, the volume also boasts a brief note, complete with autograph, in the handwriting of the famous French explorer La Pérouse, that some former owner has laid in on the front fly-leaf.

HOWAY BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOME ADDITIONS.

The *Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Frederic William Howay* published in the January, 1944, issue of this *Quarterly* was evidently very nearly complete, for careful search has produced only six or seven additional items. The original bibliography consisted of 286 entries, and this brief supplement continues the enumeration:—

Articles:—

287. The inception of civilization in the Fraser River Valley. New Westminster *British Columbian* Fraser Valley centennial edition, November 27, 1912: 3–5.

288. Introduction in *Souvenir programme Fort Langley centennial May 2, 1925.* Printed by G. Y. Timms, Langley Prairie, n.d. [1925]. 32 pp.
Introduction, pp. 3, 5.

289. Notes on Union lodge no. 9, New Westminster. *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . of British Columbia* 1937: 168–72.

Reviews:—

290. John T. Walbran, *British Columbia coast names.* New Westminster *Daily News* January 28, 1910: 4, 6.
Reprinted in the Victoria *Colonist* February 13, 1910.

291. James Wickersham, *Old Yukon: tales, trails, and trials. Frontier and midland* 19:287–8 Summer 1939.

292. *The Letters of John McLoughlin, first series, 1825–38. Beaver* outfit 273:55–6 December 1942.

In addition, the following may be noted for purposes of record:—

293. Our fiftieth anniversary, by D. Frank Marshall in *Langley: fifty years of progress* [1873–1923], Langley Fort, August 8, 1923. n.p., n.d. [16 pp.]
The programme of the celebration held on August 8, 1923. Pages not numbered; text and accompanying photographs occupy 7 pages. Carries note: "Data supplied by His Honor Judge F. W. Howay."

In listing Judge Howay's honours and offices, mention of the fact that he had been awarded the Tyrrell Medal by the Royal Society of Canada for outstanding work in Canadian history was inadvertently omitted.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Burt R. Campbell, a veteran of the printing trade in British Columbia, is a member of the staff of the Kamloops *Sentinel*. Keenly interested in things historical, he is President of the Kamloops Museum Association and a Director of the Okanagan Historical Society.

W. Kaye Lamb, retiring Editor of this *Quarterly*, is Librarian of the University of British Columbia. His introduction to the three-volume series of *Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee*, published jointly by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society, is an outstanding contribution to the history of the Pacific Northwest.

A. G. Harvey, barrister and historian, and a long-time member of the Council of the British Columbia Historical Association, has long been interested in the naturalists who visited the Pacific Northwest. Previous articles in this *Quarterly* have dealt with David Douglas and Meredith Gairdner.

D. Geneva Lent is a leader in the handicraft movement in Canada and the author of several books on crafts, as well as a keen student of the history of Western Canada.

Sidney Pettit, M.A., is Assistant Professor of History and Sociology at Victoria College, an affiliate of the University of British Columbia.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of the West. By John Walton Caughey. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946. Pp. xiii., 422. Ill. $5.

This volume is brimfull of interest for anyone concerned with any of Bancroft's histories—which means, in effect, that it is of interest to anyone concerned with the early history of almost any part of the Pacific Coast, from Alaska to Panama.

Bancroft's reputation has been under a cloud for a good many years for reasons made clear in this admirable biography. The unabashed commercialism with which the sale of his histories was pressed, the inferior series of sumptuous "mug books" published after the historical series proper was concluded, and the bickering about the authorship of the histories themselves were, indeed, enough to damage any reputation. Moreover, we are so accustomed to seeing history rewritten at frequent intervals (always, of course, in the light of "new and important" documents) that it seemed safe to assume that a many-volumed work published fifty or sixty years ago could not be anything but obsolete.

But, as Professor Caughey shows by the simple expedient of going methodically through the list and noting the later works that have appeared in each field, the histories are not obsolete. Many of the volumes have been supplemented and in a measure corrected by later publications, but Bancroft's work invariably retains its place as an essential reference. Bernard De Voto, a disinterested observer who encountered Bancroft's *Works* a few years ago when he was writing *The Year of Decision, 1846*, has summed the matter up in a sentence: "I have found that you had better not decide that Bancroft was wrong until you have rigorously tested what you think you know."

We are probably still too close to Bancroft to judge his work with any finality, but one thing is certain: his stature will grow through the years. Professor Caughey goes so far as to suggest that "generations hence he may loom up as the most significant figure that the West has produced." Nor is this suggestion as extravagant as it may seem at first. Stanford, Huntington, and dozens of other prominent figures that come to mind were, after all, familiar types; if they, as individuals, had not appeared, others with like qualities would undoubtedly have taken their places and accomplished their work. But Bancroft's contribution may well have been unique. If he had not settled in California, it is by no means certain that someone else would have grasped, with the same amazing prescience, the extent of the opportunity before him. For Bancroft realized, at a very early date, that the source material for the early history of the whole western segment of the continent could be his for the gathering, and, at great cost in both effort and money, he assembled it with such thoroughness that no one can do any

considerable work in the field without reference to his library or his writings. He was well aware of what he had done, and wrote with obvious satisfaction: "He who shall come after me will scarcely be able to undermine my work by laying another and deeper foundation. He must build upon mine or not at all, for he can not go beyond my authorities for facts. He may add to or alter my work, for I shall not know or be able to tell everything, but he can never make a complete structure of his own."

To-day, more than half a century later, the truth of these words is evident. We know now that Bancroft did not explore Spanish sources as extensively as he might have done, and there is a wealth of material on the fur trade in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company to which he did not have access. Yet in both instances one can only admire the skill and substantial accuracy with which he contrived to block out the main story.

Professor Caughey describes the celebrated "history factory" in great detail. His account substantiates and amplifies Bancroft's own version, which appears in *Literary Industries*, a volume that many people interested in the histories seem not to have discovered. It is clear that the trouble that arose later sprang in great part from Bancroft's failure to give any credit to any of his staff of writers on the title-pages of the various histories. To-day most people will feel that he might well have made some concession, but his own opinion of the matter is clear. He had invested at least $250,000 in his library; he could only hope to make the histories repay this large sum by operating upon strictly business lines, and he felt that to use his own name exclusively would be the best plan from the business point of view. Moreover, it is clear that Bancroft felt very strongly—and quite correctly—that the entire enterprise was peculiarly his own. He had, so to speak, supplied the raw material, the design for the product, the general supervision, and the final inspection. To use a contemporary figure, it was as if a worker in the Ford factory had suddenly demanded that his name be put on the Ford car.

Professor Caughey has made an exhaustive examination of every shred of evidence bearing upon the actual authorship of the individual histories, and the conclusion again emerges that Bancroft himself wrote as much or more of the volumes relating to British Columbia than of any other titles. Half of the *History of British Columbia*, half of the first volume of the *History of the Northwest Coast*, and seven-eighths of the second volume came from his own pen.

Only one aspect of Bancroft's activities is not covered fully: the charge, very frequently made, especially in the Pacific Northwest, that he was light-fingered, and borrowed many papers that he never returned. The point is mentioned several times, and the falseness of the charge assumed; but the matter is left there. The verdict is one with which this reviewer agrees, and it is a pity that Professor Caughey did not make an effort to settle the point once and for all. A careful examination of all the source material in the Bancroft library that was used in any one of the histories should provide ample evidence. The writer has begun, and some day hopes to complete, such an examination of the sources of the *History of British Columbia*. The

result to date has been interesting, and entirely in Bancroft's favour. To cite only one example: a careful check of the evidence has shown that one important narrative, which for years has been represented as being stolen property, was indubitably written specially for Bancroft; much of it, indeed, consists of unrelated paragraphs that do not make sense until one realizes that they are the answers to a series of questions that he submitted. And the most valuable of the papers that Bancroft is alleged to have stolen from this particular family is represented in the Bancroft library only by a transcript; the original is in the Provincial Archives, in Victoria!

W. KAYE LAMB.

"West, Nor'West." A History of Alberta. By J. W. Horan. Edmonton, Northgate Books, 1945. Pp. 184. Ill. $2.

"West, Nor'West" is the rather misleading title of a book of facts which should prove most useful to those wishing a concise manual dealing with statistics regarding the Province of Alberta. It is more a compilation of data, and might have been called "An Alberta Gazette," for it cannot be fairly judged as an ordinary history.

However, such a book should be of inestimable value to those wishing to know more about this sister Province, where so little historical material is available on its own fertile soil. It is to the serious regret of all interested students of Western Canadian history that the Province of Alberta has no authoritative historical society and that Alberta Archives have been so long neglected.

The writer of *"West Nor'West"* brings this clearly to mind in a summation where he states that there was a great lag between the colourful period of explorers and missionaries, dating back to the mid-eighteenth century—to the days of such fascinating names as Pierre La Verendrye, Anthony Hendry, Samuel Hearne, Peter Pond, Roderich and Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, Father De Smet, Father Lacombe, Rev. John MacDougall, Bishop Pinkham, and others. Then history lapsed in Indian wars and sullen hatreds until 1874 or thereabouts, and the strife of the Riel Rebellion.

Alberta is literally full of history—the story of desperadoes, Yankee whisky traders, the wolfers, the bull trains, the Red River carts pursuing the little-known trails between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton. There are all the elements present in the early history of this magnificent Province to thrill the heart of any romance-hungry youngster or movie director. There is folk-lore galore, and the epic of human suffering and laughter as pioneers came in to settle, as the Red Coats brought peace and order and decent government to the plains. There is the establishment of parliament, the opening of roads, the discovery of rich resources. All the glory and tragedy that make Edna Ferber thrill in pioneer romance and development. But it has long been disregarded. Alberta was living history, not writing it. Not sufficient generations had swept by in their struggle with the soil and the mine, the oil-well and the trading-post to sit quietly and contemplate material for history books and novels. But that day is coming.

It is deplorable that a book even of the stamp of "*West, Nor'West,*" which in all honesty cannot be called "literature," should not emanate from an established publisher with connections across Canada, for then its factual matter would reach many more readers who would really like to *know* about Alberta. "*West, Nor'West*" is purely a "local product," but even as such it must not be forgotten that without prejudice "Edmonton is on the map"—not only was its population exaggerated by peaceful penetration during the building of the Alaska Highway, to the extent of some 45,000 extra persons, but it is now the "clearing-house" for the "New North," the entrance to the great continent of Asia. Had it been published by a more expansive publisher, more readers would have found the worth-while "facts" in it, and questioned further. They would have used it as a source-book to lead them to other material, and so Alberta would discover herself and her history.

Still it is a beginning. It is a slight awakening to Alberta's magnificent store of material for the historian and the novelist. Already American writers have come in to delve in its wealth of folk-lore, producing books like Robert E. Gard's *Johnny Chinook*. But there are other matters worth writing about than Alberta's exotic insularities and hill-billy characters. There is real literary food in this Province. And it will be discovered yet by authors of outstanding ability and serious intent, creating for future generations living history and romance.

"*West, Nor'West*" must be regarded as an historic guide-post, rather than a serious literary project. The writer is consciously providing information which was definitely lacking in precise form. He has made a generous and real contribution, for here are facts as you may want them regarding a great piece of Canada. Mr. Horan has had the whole-hearted co-operation of the Alberta Government to lend authenticity to his project. He has prepared his book intelligently, section by section, so it does not overlap.

If you are interested in Western Canadian history and development; if you are proud of Western Canada, and desire an intelligent and authentic picture of Alberta's contribution, resources, background, and prospects for her future as a part of Canada's unprejudiced story, you will find "*West, Nor'West*" a valuable source-book on your shelves of Canadians.

D. GENEVA LENT.

CALGARY, ALTA.

Cariboo Road. By Alan Sullivan. Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Limited [1946]. $3.

British Columbians who enjoyed *Three Came to Ville Marie* will be delighted by the period and locale of Mr. Sullivan's latest historical romance. As the title suggests, *The Cariboo Road* has its setting in the northern goldfields, and the action takes place during the fabulous years 1862 and 1863. The author has made use of authentic source materials to give a picture of life on the creeks and has not hesitated to introduce living characters such as Judge Begbie, Billy Barker, Cariboo Cameron, and Bill Dietz. A chapter

describing the descent of winter on the northern wilderness gives a sharp touch of reality to the background of the story. Mr. Sullivan's account of mining on Williams Creek will make adventurous readers itch to do a bit of sluicing themselves. A hurdy girl, the Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks, Frank Laumeister and his camels, not to mention a gunman and a gambler, all give a pretty good idea of the heterogeneous population of Golden Cariboo.

While the author has set his stage quite effectively, he has failed dismally as a story-teller. Mr. Sullivan does not handle narrative with any skill, many of the situations are improbable, the characters are unreal and their motives obscure. The reader will feel a definite jolt every time the author pulls up to put in a bit of local colour, and when the story is resumed, the unpredictable behaviour of the leading characters will leave him bewildered. Ma Bowers is a confused little body, and it is well to skip her extraordinary attempts to conceal the identity of Michael Trupp from her adopted daughter, Mary, who, by the way, is a very tiresome girl indeed. Marta, the hurdy, whose heart is apparently as large as her bosom, is too big a morsel even for seasoned readers of Dickens to swallow.

Perhaps the only plausible character is the person whom Mr. Sullivan calls Judge Begbie. Mr. Sullivan's Begbie is rather short and he sports a snappy brown beard to match his eyes. Of his conduct in court, the author says: "Proceedings were much to the point; mostly they dealt with disputes over claims that met with a treatment approved by all not directly involved, and rarely was there any appeal, though Begbie, after giving his verdict, always left that open." In the interest of accuracy, though not necessarily of art, it may be noted that Judge Begbie was over 6 feet, his eyes were blue, his hair almost white, and his dark beard streaked with grey. Actually nobody approved of his judgments in mining cases, and in 1866 some five or six hundred miners demanded that he be removed from office. There were, it is true, no appeals from his decisions, but that was because there was no court of appeal nearer than London. It is to be regretted that the author, who has a keen eye for background, did not introduce a violent court scene. By doing so he would have added another touch of authenticity and have rounded out one of the most interesting characters in the history of British Columbia.

SIDNEY PETTIT.

VICTORIA, B.C.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, line 24: For *Ogilvey* read *Ogilvy.*
Page 18, line 15: For *Emery's* read *Emory's.*
Page 86, line 23: For *1946* read *1945.*
Page 88: Delete lines 30 and 31.
Page 92, line 17: For *Balir* read *Bilir.*
Page 94, line 11: For *Carmanah Point* read *Cape Commerell.*
Page 156, lines 12, 13: The phrase should read: " . . . named after Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Fowler Hastings, C.B. . . ."
Facing page 199: In the caption on the upper illustration, for *Buckley* read *Bulkley.*
Page 240, line 21: For *Coast* read *Station.*
Page 244, line 9: For *July* read *June.*

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The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

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