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The

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XI. VICTORIA, B.C., APRIL, 1947. No. 2

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BRITISH COLUMBIA STEAMBOAT DAYS, 1870–1883.

I. Fraser and Stikine River Steamboats.

Life was dull in New Westminster in 1869. Trade with the Cariboo mines showed decreasing returns each year, and the high hopes of the Big Bend excitement of 1866 had ended in disillusionment. Governor Seymour and his following of colonial officialdom had migrated to the Island and Government House lay vacant. Population had dwindled to a few hundreds, and grass grew in Columbia Street. Even the *British Columbian* had ceased publication, and arguments waxed furiously whether the colony would revive under union with the new Dominion of Canada or with the United States.

The sawmills recently established on Burrard Inlet had created a new industry, but they were far from prosperous, and Stamp's Mill (later Hastings Mill) was involved in difficulties that ended in bankruptcy.[1] There were rumours of rich new gold strikes in the Omineca region far to the north, but rumours of gold had been too frequent in the past for the citizens of New Westminster to be overly optimistic.

The Fraser River no longer echoed to the shrill toots of rival steamboat captains racing to Yale or Port Douglas. Competition between the sternwheelers had vanished, and so had the happy days of free fares and free meals. Now there were only one or two sailings a week from New Westminster to Yale. During the long winter months from December to March — and the winters were much more severe in those days—the steamboats went to winter quarters in the Coquitlam or Brunette River, and passengers and express came down from Yale by canoe. There was no Yale road. The overgrown Hudson's Bay Company's brigade trail from Langley was the only overland route to Yale

(1) *See* F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet: 1863–1870," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), pp. 3–20, *passim;* and F. W. Howay, "Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet," *ibid.*, I. (1937), pp. 101–142, *passim.*

and the Cariboo. The river was still the great highway of the colony.

Most of the colorful steamboat captains who had enlivened the cut-throat competition of the 'sixties had sought other fields. Captain William Moore and his sons were blazing new trails into the Peace River. Captain Charles Millard was devoting his brassy-voiced talents to the auctioneering business in Victoria. Captain " Gassy Jack " Deighton had migrated to the shores of Burrard Inlet, with his squaw, his yellow dog, and a barrel of whisky, there to lay the foundations of the future city of Vancouver. Timid little Captain Henry Devries, late owner of the *Henrietta,* had sought spiritual solace as a lay brother at Mission St. Mary's, on the banks of the Fraser.[2]

Years of competition betweeen river-boat captains had finally whittled the field down to two contestants — Captain William Irving with the *Onward* and *Reliance* and Captain John R. Fleming with the *Lillooet* and *Hope.*[3] Captain Asbury Insley acted as relief pilot for both. There was not sufficient trade on the river for four steamboats; consequently, in 1866, the two captains agreed to run their steamers in alternate years thereafter and to split the profits. This agreement lasted until 1875, with the Irving boats running in the even years and the Fleming boats in the odd years.

On the Upper Fraser two steamboats operated between Soda Creek and Quesnel, the *Victoria* and *Enterprise,* owned by Gustavus Blin Wright, the road-builder.[4] The season in the north was short, but freight rates were high and the boats were money-makers. The run between Victoria and New Westminster was a monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the sidewheeler *Enterprise* and the screw steamer *Otter* as relief boat.[5] On the New Westminster–Yale run the year 1869 belonged to Captain Fleming's speedy *Lillooet.* His other vessel, the *Hope,* which had

(2) Henry Devries, or " Harry Davis " as he was better known, was a native of Hanover, Germany. He died at St. Mary's Mission, December 30, 1881, " a devoted and exemplary teacher." New Westminster *British Columbian,* January 18, 1882.

(3) *See* Norman Hacking, " Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* X. (1946), pp. 1–41, *passim.*

(4) *Ibid.,* pp. 23, 37.

(5) *Ibid.,* pp. 23, 39.

cost him only $1,000 and had been condemned for several years, lay submerged in the Brunette River.[6] Captain Irving's famous old *Reliance* was also past her prime, and her days were numbered. The *Onward* was at Victoria undergoing refit and a new boiler for the coming season.

Gold still rolled down from the Cariboo mines, although not in the volume of former years. The *Lillooet* brought down a package of treasure every trip from Yale, ranging from $10,000 to $50,000. The two steamboat-owners were prosperous despite the prevailing hard times. Both Fleming and Irving were highly respected public-spirited citizens. Their names headed every subscription list, and they took an active interest in public affairs. Public encomiums of the two captains were frequent in newspapers of the period. Everyone knew them, for everyone travelled on the river-boats.

The arrival of the *Onward* at New Westminster in October, 1869, after her extensive refit, brought a joyous welcome from the recently established *Mainland Guardian:*—

> We welcome the reappearance of this fine steamer at our wharves, as we regard the return of an old friend to our midst. Her bright new face, refreshed with a coat of paint, is like the healthy glow acquired by a short absence in a strange country. . . . In addition to the other improvements, there is a very ingenious application of the steam on syphon-shaped pipes, by which she can be pumped dry both fore and aft, if she ever sprang a leak, without the aid of pumps and in a very few minutes. The cabin fittings are new or renovated, making the vessel a real credit to her much-respected owner and commander, Capt. Irving, who merits all the success he is sure to have. Long may she "walk the waters like a thing of life," bearing happiness and prosperity wherever she goes.[7]

Similar praise was meted out to Joseph Spratt of Victoria, builder of the new boilers: "probably the finest pair of boilers on the Pacific coast . . . equal to any possible amount of pressure likely to be put upon them."

The only other sternwheeler on the river was the little *Union*,[8] once an active competitor, but now relegated to the lowly position of steam-scow, carrying freight from New Westminster

(6) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, February 2, 1870.

(7) *Ibid.*, October 23, 1869.

(8) Norman Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X. (1946), pp. 18, 41.

to the mills and windjammers on Burrard Inlet.[9] Under the command of her owner-skipper, Captain George Odin, she huffed and puffed her way around the Sand Heads in spasmodic fashion.[10] She was succeeded in 1874 by another steam-scow of the same name, which won the derisive nickname of "Sudden Jerk." She was powered by an old threshing-machine engine, which had no reverse. When she blew her whistle, the sudden loss of steam-pressure caused her engines to stop. Another popular method of stopping her was to throw a sack into the machinery. A buoy on the end of a rope was attached to the engine to facilitate recovery should it fall through the bottom.

Fares and freight from New Westminster to Yale were set at a profitable level. The fare up-river was $7, and down-river $5. Freight was carried for $12 a ton.

The decade of the 'seventies brought great changes and new prosperity to the river. The growth of the cattle industry in the Interior created new and profitable freight. Settlement in the fertile Fraser Valley created scores of small landings along the river-bank, with a subsequent boom in way freight. The establishment of the salmon-canning industry brought a new and prosperous business. Climax of the decade was the final decision on the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which brought a boom never equalled before.

The tide began to turn in 1870. On March 30, in one of her first trips of the season, the *Onward* arrived with $80,000 in treasure for the banks and $10,000 for private account. In September she brought $150,000 in gold in one trip, the largest shipment in several years.[11] News from the Omineca was good, and Captain Fleming decided to repair the old *Hope* and run her up the Skeena River, which was believed to be a convenient entry to the new goldfields. Gus. Wright went up in the *Enterprise* to Cottonwood Canyon, and decided he could take his steamer up to Fort George and perhaps as far as Takla Lake, providing an even

(9) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, August 26, 1869, and November 17, 1869.

(10) Early in 1870 it was reported that Captain Odin had brought another English steam-engine to New Westminster which he intended to "place in a small steamer he is about building to run hence to the inlet." *Ibid.*, February 26, 1870.

(11) *Ibid.*, September 17, 1870.

more convenient route to the Omineca country. Captain Irving expanded his interests in August by buying John Kriemler's controlling share in Spratt and Kriemler's iron-works at Victoria. Completion of a new trail from New Westminster to Yale in September, 1870, provided improved communication with the mining country, but travellers still preferred the river route, and even when steamboats were laid up, Barnard's Express and passengers continued to come down by canoe.

The *Hope* was rebuilt at Trahey's yard in Victoria, lengthened by 10 feet, given a new boiler from Spratt's Albion Iron Works, and launched on September 13. She was provided with eighteen staterooms and could carry 150 tons of freight.[12] The Skeena route to the Omineca mines had proved a failure, so Captain Fleming steamed his vessel to New Westminster on November 9, 1870,[13] ready for the coming season on the Fraser. Because of her light draught, the *Hope* could reach Yale when other vessels were deterred by low water.

Reports from the Omineca were so good in 1870 that G. B. Wright went actively ahead with his plans for the coming season. This Vermont Yankee, who had pioneered the opening of the Harrison–Lillooet route to the mines in 1858 and built the road between Lillooet and Soda Creek in 1862, was one of the most progressive men in the colony. Accompanied by eight Indians in a canoe, he embarked up the Fraser from Fort George to Summit Lake and crossed the 7-mile portage to the McLeod Lake and Parsnip River systems. He proposed to build a wagon-road from the Fraser River where his steamboats would connect to McLeod Lake, from whence a trail could be cut to the mines at Germansen Creek.[14]

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(12) Victoria *Colonist*, September 14, 1870. According to the *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880* (photostat copy in Archives of B.C.), John Kriemler was her owner at the time of her rebuilding in 1870, and remained so until August 28, 1875, when she was sold to Nellie Irving.

(13) Victoria *Colonist*, November 10, 1870. It was planned to run weekly sailings to Yale when the season opened in March, 1871. The *Hope* had the misfortune to be snagged while returning from Yale on her first trip, but was refloated and continued on the river until she was hauled off for the season in mid-December. *See* Victoria *Colonist*, March 18, March 29, December 21, 1871.

(14) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, December 17, 1870.

His plans failed to materialize, but, undaunted, he took the *Enterprise* next year with a party of gold-seekers up to Takla Landing on Takla Lake, via the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons, Nechako and Stuart Rivers, Stuart Lake, Tachie River, Trembleur Lake, Middle River, and Takla Lake. It was one of the most impressive feats of river navigation ever accomplished in the inland rivers of British Columbia. Wright started out from Quesnelmouth late in June, 1871.[15] The *Enterprise*, carrying 50 tons of freight and a full passenger list, puffed her way through the numerous canyons and rapids without mishap. By July 6 she had passed through the Fort George Canyon and later in the month negotiated the dangerous White Mud Rapids in the Stuart River.[16] The *Cariboo Sentinel* watched her progress with interest, carrying weekly bulletins from a correspondent on board. His report on the arrival at Stuart river is typical:—

> The natives were considerably astonished when the steamer blew her whistle at the mouth of Stuart's river; they were frightened and scampered away into the woods. The passengers on board enjoy themselves and pass away the time fishing.[17]

Fort St. James was reached on August 6,[18] and shortly afterwards the adventurous voyage ended at Takla Landing.[19] Wright never repeated the experiment; the season was too short and Captain Bill Moore's overland route won the bulk of the trade. The old *Enterprise* remained on Takla lake, never to return to civilization.[20]

In May, 1871, Captain William Irving announced that he was going to leave the colony and offered for sale all his interests, including his two steamers, control of the Albion Iron Works in Victoria, and his New Westminster residence, the finest in the Lower Mainland. He intended to return to his old home in Portland, where he had much property. However, the sale did not

(15) Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, June 24, 1871.

(16) *Ibid.*, July 16, 22, 1871.

(17) *Ibid.*, July 16, 1871.

(18) A. G. Morice, *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, p. 316.

(19) Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, August 12, 1871.

(20) " She was designed to ply between that place [Fort St. James] and Tatla [*sic*] Landing, but once she had gone north she never returned to Stuart Lake, as a direct trail to the diggings had just been cut, which was immediately adopted by the miners." A. G. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

materialize, and Irving remained in the colony.[21] Captain Fleming, who was in poor health, was joined by a partner, Captain Otis Parsons, who took over the operation of the *Hope* and *Lillooet* in 1871. Parsons, an old-timer in the colony, had formerly operated a ferry across the Fraser River at Lillooet to Parsonville, which was named after him. Captain Fleming soon retired to Oakland, California, where he died August 9, 1875.[22]

The old Reliance was broken up in 1871, and the next year Captain Irving carried on alone with the *Onward*. Early in 1872 Joseph Spratt bought out Irving's interest in the Albion Iron Works. The arrival of the *Onward* late in February, 1872, from her winter quarters in the Coquitlam River was greeted with enthusiasm in New Westminster. It meant the long hard winter was nearly over. " For our quiet city, the advent of the up-river steamer is an epoch, and announced the approach of spring, with increased business and lively times."[23] Farther inland, in April, the *Victoria* returned to her regular route from Soda Creek to Quesnel,[24] charging a cent a pound for freight and $5 for passage.

The sudden death of Captain William Irving on August 28, 1872, was a shock to New Westminster.

> When the sad news of the death of this gentleman, became known on Wednesday last, it fell like a pall on the entire community. . . . His name will be held in respect by British Columbians as long as one of the present generation exists.[25]

His river interests were taken over by his 16-year-old son, already known everywhere on the river as " Captain John," a name still revered by the old-timers. Well over 6 feet in height, handsome John Irving was a consummate river skipper, a two-fisted fighter, a great social favourite, a mighty drinker, and the soul of generosity. He overcame all rivals, built up a great business empire, was a member of the Provincial Legislature for many

(21) His two granddaughters still occupy the old family residence in New Westminster.

(22) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, August 25, 1875.

(23) *Ibid.*, February 21, 1872.

(24) Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, April 13, 1872.

(25) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, August 31, 1872.

years, and died in Vancouver in 1936,[26] poor in everything but friends. He was a giant in an era of giants. His mother, Elizabeth Irving, was a woman of exceptional capacity, and for many years she wielded an active financial power in her son's affairs. In an era when women were expected to stick close to the fireside, Mrs. Irving showed herself a business executive of no mean ability. She died in 1917.

Captain Asbury Insley took over command of the *Onward* for the remainder of 1872, while young John acted as pilot, learning the intricacies of " running " the river from a master. Captain Irving was joined in the management of the business by his uncle, John Dickson, of Victoria. Next spring Captain John assumed active command of the *Onward,* and made a special excursion to Yale in June to show off his command to the populace, who greeted him with a salute of cannon.

> Great praise is awarded to Capt. Irving for the able way in which he handled the boat in going up and returning. The settlers on the way, up and down, cheered the steamer as she passed, showing the high esteem they feel for Capt. Irving.[27]

On the First of July he took the *Onward* on a holiday excursion to Hastings Mill. It was a gala occasion, and Captain J. A. Raymur, manager of the mill, was host at a free dinner attended by 500 mill-hands and excursionists.[28] " Sue " Moody, manager of the rival Moodyville Mills, was not to be outdone. As a patriotic American he was host at a similar excursion, sports meet, and banquet at Moodyville on July 4. Those were spacious days.

Late in 1873 came enthusiastic reports of new gold discoveries in the Cassiar region, quite overshadowing the Omineca District. Once again Captain William Moore was in the van, and as a result of his explorations he was given the franchise to build a pack-trail from the head of Stikine navigation at Telegraph Creek to Dease Lake. Captain Irving acted quickly—determined to reap the profits of steamboat navigation on the Stikine. The contract for a new shallow-draught sternwheeler for the river was awarded to Alexander Watson and Lockhart

(26) Captain John Irving died August 10, 1936, Vancouver *Daily Province,* August 11, 1936.

(27) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian,* June 21, 1873.

(28) *Ibid.,* July 2, 1873.

Smith, two Scottish ship-builders. On March 9, 1874, the *Glenora* (Valley of Gold)[29] was launched from Trahey's ways at Victoria, equipped with the engines of the old *Reliance*.[30] She was completed in April, and Captain Irving brought her over to New Westminster to show her off to his friends. Citizens of the Royal City responded by giving an impromptu "Glenora Ball" in the drill-shed, attended by all the youth and beauty of the community.[31] On April 22, with Captain Irving commanding and John Dickson as purser, the *Glenora* sailed for Victoria and the Stikine: "she bore away with her a good many of our familiar faces, the possessors of which are on the way to the new Eldorada."[32]

Captain Parsons also determined to take advantage of the "new Eldorada" and prepared the *Hope* for the Stikine trade, taking Captain Insley along as pilot.

The Stikine river is by all odds the most dangerous stream for river navigation in the province. Only the most expert pilots ever "ran" its turbulent currents and narrow gorges. A contemporary United States Government report describes its perils:—

> The velocity and strength of the current throughout the whole length of the river is its most remarkable feature. Without any falls or impediments the current sweeps down with great uniformity, and when the bed or banks are not suitable for towing or tracking the only way to force a boat up is by means of poles. The velocity of the current was measured at several places and averages four or five miles an hour.[33]

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(29) The ship was christened by Mr. R. Lipsett, *see* Victoria *Colonist*, March 10, 1874.

(30) According to the Victoria *Standard*, March 10, 1874, she was 100 feet in length, 20 feet breadth of beam, and had a draught of 20 inches when loaded. This newspaper account also stated that the machinery of the *Onward* was used, but this must have been an error, for that vessel continued on the Fraser River after the launching of the *Glenora*. The *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880*, gives Nellie Irving as her registered owner. For additional information *see also* E. W. Wright (ed.), *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, Oregon, 1895, pp. 216–7. Hereafter cited as *Lewis & Dryden*.

(31) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, April 22, 1874.

(32) *Ibid.*, April 25, 1872; *see also* Victoria *Standard*, April 22, 1874.

(33) William P. Blake, *Geographical Notes upon Russian America and the Stickeen River*, Washington, 1868, p. 6.

The depth of water is seldom less than 3 feet in the main channel even at low water. High water usually occurs in July.

The journey of the *Glenora* from Victoria to Wrangel was a memorable one. The fragile little steamer fought a howling gale all the way up the coast, with seas washing a foot deep through the main gangways. Passengers held tight to their life-preservers and offered prayers to the skill of the youthful skipper. Little the worse for the experience, the *Glenora* reached Wrangel on May 2, six days and three hours from Victoria. The stormy journey up the coast was merely a foretaste of what was to come in the treacherous uncharted reaches of the Stikine River. Excerpts from the log of the *Glenora* give a glimpse of the problems faced by steamboatmen in the turbulent mountain rivers of British Columbia:—

Sunday, May 3d. Left Fort Wrangle [*sic*] with fifty tons of Freight and a full compliment of passengers; also, having in tow a barge containing twenty tons of freight, including six head of oxen. . . . 9 p.m. tied up at Spelten bar, river, so far, very good.

May 4th. 4 a.m. started. . . . 12:30 p.m. had to leave the barge; 2:30 p.m. tied up to cut wood.

May 5th. 4 a.m. started; 8 a.m. aground on a bar, got lines ashore; 9 a.m. off the bar and tied up to cut wood; 10:30 a.m. started again, at this point the river is divided into four channels, three of which we tried and ran aground each time, and finally, at 11 a.m. tied up and sent a party ahead to explore. . . . 12 m. tried it again and ran on a snag, worked all night with lines and tackle ashore, after unloading freight. Steamer leaking badly.

May 6th. 5 a.m. water in hold gaining rapidly, steam pumps unable to check it, made two new pumps and at 7 a.m. got the best of the water; 8 a.m. got the steamer off and ran her ashore; 11 a.m. water in the hold lowered and leak discovered, found a hole about two feet square in her bottom; 4 p.m. leak repaired and commenced reshipping freight.

May 7th. 9 a.m. started, leaving some of the freight behind; 9.30 a.m. tied up again, finding it necessary at this point to haul two large snags out of the channel . . . at 12:30 p.m. again started; 2:30 tied up to cut wood; 4:15 p.m. off again. . . . 4:55 p.m. reached the H.B. Co.'s post and discharged freight.

May 8th. 7:45. Started back for the barge . . . 10:30 a.m. reached the barge; 10:40 a.m. having taken on board the freight from the barge, we started up the river again leaving the barge behind; 2 p m reached the H.B. Co.'s post and tied up, all well.

May 9th. 9:45 a m left the post and started up the river, taking only the passengers and their freight . . . 10:30 a m ran aground on a bar,

lines ashore again; 12 noon off again and started; 1 p m tied up to cut wood; 2:30 p m off again, weather fine, 9:15 tied up for the night.

May 10th. Daylight, all hands ashore cutting wood; 9 a m off; 10:30 a m stopped to cut wood; 11.30 a m off; 4 p m Glenora riffle. At this point the water is so strong that we worked for thirty minutes with all steam the law allows, and could not gain an inch, and finally were compelled to run a line ahead and work up with the assistance of the capstan, which took us till 6 p m, when we again pushed on; 10 p m, tied up for the night, weather fine, all well, still among snow mountains.

May 11th. Daylight, all hands ashore cutting wood; 11.30 a m started, weather cloudy, river clear of snags but very rapid; 3 p m reached Shakesville and took in wood; 4.30 p m reached the big riffle, ten miles below Buck's bar, and finding it impossible to run the steamer above this point, we made a landing at the foot of the riffle and landed passengers and freight, calling the landing Glenoraville.[34]

Glenora remained the head of navigation for the season, although the next year vessels were able to reach Telegraph Creek, the terminus of Captain Moore's pack-trail. The *Hope* arrived on the river soon after the *Glenora*, and business boomed. Rates were $50 per ton for freight to Shakesville and $20 for passage, with no allowance for baggage, which was carried at the rate of $2.50 per ton. This was augmented at Shakesville by a charge of $1 for passage and $2.50 per 100 pounds to Buck's House, 18 miles higher up.

The argonauts were not pleased by the exorbitant rates or the terrors of the passage. One disgruntled traveller, writing from Wrangel of the route from Shakesville to Buck's House, complained:—

. . . There is no trail or at any rate an awfully difficult one. From Buck's House is the commencement of what Bill Moore pretends to call a trail, and a mile and a half further up is what this celebrity calls the head of Steamboat navigation, a perfect absurdity, as steamers cannot get within nearly twenty miles of it.[35]

Actually Captain Moore, who had pioneered the Stikine in 1862 with the *Flying Dutchman*,[36] was quite correct, and steamers were eventually able to make regular trips to Telegraph Creek. In 1874, however, they seldom got far past Shakesville.

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(34) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 3, 1874.

(35) *Ibid.*, June 6, 1874.

(36) Norman Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X. (1946), pp. 21, 39.

The Cassiar excitement attracted another old-time Fraser River skipper, Captain Charles Millard. He ordered a new steamer to be built at Rock Bay, Victoria, by Captain J. G. Walker, intended for the Stikine route. The little *Gem* of 27 tons register was launched on April 10, 1874.[37] Her completion was so delayed that she was not able to get up to the Stikine in time for the 1874 season but went instead to the Fraser in command of Captain George Odin. At the time of her trial run in September the Victoria *Colonist* reported:—

> She is the most complete little craft the Province has produced. She is a sternwheeler, has two powerful engines and a gem of a boiler by Spratt. The tonnage is 26; bow sharp, and draft so light that she can run in a heavy dew.[38]

Competition on the Stikine River between Captain Irving's *Glenora* and Captain Parsons' *Hope* was of short duration. Monopoly was always a route to easy riches, so, in June, Parsons came to terms with Irving, who "hauled off" the route, making the usual deal to split the profits. Steamboat charges immediately went up to $80 per ton on the *Hope*, and the travellers howled with anger, particularly as the steamer sometimes took as much as eight days on the passage up-river from Wrangel. In a letter dated at Telegraph Creek, July 18, 1874, a correspondent to the Victoria *Standard* moaned:—

> . . . The steamer Hope is making bad time, and charging high prices for freight and passage; freight is $80 per ton, and passage $25, and sleep in one's own blankets, cook for self, pay $1 for inferior grub, and occasionally cut wood, etc., for which not even a man can get "thank you." Captain John Irving's absence is greatly regretted.[39]

During 1873 the *Onward* had the Fraser River trade to herself. With all the familiar river captains bound for the Stikine, Captain Irving recalled loquacious "Gassy Jack" Deighton from Burrard Inlet and persuaded him to return to the Fraser for

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(37) Victoria *Colonist*, April 11, 1874. Her dimensions were given as 71 feet by 13 feet. The entry in the *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880*, dated September 18, 1874, shows her as jointly owned by C. T. Millard (42 shares) and J. A. Clark (22 shares) and states that the engines were the work of the Willamette Iron Works. *See also Lewis & Dryden*, p. 217.

(38) Victoria *Colonist*, September 17, 1874. Millard had other interests in the Cassiar excitement, for he had shipped the first pack-train of twenty-six animals up to the Stikine, early in May, by steamer *Isabel*.

(39) Victoria *Standard*, August 6, 1874.

the season in command of the *Onward*. The *Lillooet* reached the end of her days late in 1874, and Captain Parsons ordered a new vessel to replace her at the yard of Collings and Cook in Victoria. On her last trip down the river, with a cargo of 62 head of cattle, the old *Lillooet* presented a grim sight.

> . . . the poor brutes nearest to the boiler had kicked out the side of the boat in several places in order to obtain a little air, and when the Lillooet arrived at the wharf, heads and legs of dead cattle were protruding from the side of the vessel.[40]

But profits were piling up as monopoly ruled the river, and humanitarianism was not a popular virtue in that day of rugged individualism.

Captain Millard's new steamer *Gem* provided a little competition, but she won trade only when the river was too low for the bigger vessels to run. She was never a favourite with the public, and she passed in and out of the sheriff's hands several times, which was no new experience for her owner. To add to his griefs, she sank at the wharf a couple of times, but he always philosophically pumped out the hull and started out anew. During the season of 1877 she operated on the Stikine,[41] but thereafter returned to the Fraser. The *Gem* made the first trip to Yale in the season of 1880, carrying as part of her freight the printing-press of M. Hagan, the editor of *The Inland Sentinel* that made its first appearance at Emory (Yale), May 29, 1880. Even on that occasion ill luck followed her, for she was holed a few miles before reaching Yale, but safely raised and taken to New Westminster to be " overhauled and got ready for the fishing season."[42] When she was long past her brief hey-day, Morley Roberts, the English novelist, travelled in the *Gem* from Mission to New Westminster and has left this account of his impressions:—

> Next afternoon the " Gem " steamer came down stream. Poor little wretched steamer to be so miscalled: " Coalscuttle " or " Hog-pen " would have made good names for her. The captain and one more made up the crew—two all told. The captain usually steered, and the other man engineered and fired up, and one or other would rush out when making a landing to hitch a rope round a stump; and when wood ran low they would run her ashore near a

(40) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, October 7, 1874.

(41) Victoria *Colonist*, May 16, 1877; November 13, 1877.

(42) Letter to the editor of the *Colonist* signed M. H[agan]., dated at Yale, April 15, 1880; *ibid.*, April 20, 1880.

pile, the noble skipper getting out to throw half a cord on deck. Then they had to take it aft before they could back her off. So we made slow progress, even with the current of the noble river under us, especially as every little while we stopped to take a few squealing pigs on board or some sacks of potatoes.[43]

Steamboatmen prepared for 1875 in a big way, convinced that trade on both the Stikine and the Fraser would assure high profits. Captain William Moore, who had made a new fortune from his pack-train from Telegraph Creek to Dease Lake, decided to return to the river trade and had the *Gertrude* launched at Laurel Point, March 22, 1875.[44] At the time of her launching the following particulars were reported in the newspaper:—

Her dimensions are as follows: Length, 120 feet; beam, 21 feet; depth of hold, 5 feet. She is fitted with ten water-tight compartments. The timber used in her construction consists of natural crooks of yellow cedar obtained near Fort Simpson during the past season. The vessel is to be fitted with two 16 inch cylinders, with 4½ feet stroke; slide valves with link motion. Everything is made in the lightest and most substantial manner possible. Her cranks phlanges, bed plates, and fire front, etc., are constructed of the best wrought iron. The steamer will be furnished with two donkey engines, and with two return tubular boilers, which have been tested to 185 lbs. cold pressure.[45]

When river traffic reopened on the Stikine in May, there were three competing vessels on the run, the *Gertrude, Glenora,* and *Hope.* Fares remained at $25 from Wrangel to Glenora, but freight dropped to $45 per ton.

The new Dominion steamboat laws had been put in force in 1873, requiring steamboats to maintain a maximum of 100 pounds of steam-pressure. It was a hard law to enforce, and captains continued gaily to force the pressure up to 140 pounds, although they usually tinkered with the steam-valve to ease the feelings of nervous passengers. Providence was kind, and there

(43) Morley Roberts, *The Western Avernus,* London, 1887, pp. 174–5. The *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880,* states that the register for this ship was closed March 22, 1902, the vessel having " been broken up on Fraser River some years ago."

(44) Victoria *Colonist,* March 23, 1875. The christening ceremony was performed by Miss Henrietta Moore, and the vessel was named after her younger sister. *See* Victoria *Standard,* March 23, 1870. *See also Lewis & Dryden,* p. 217.

(45) *Ibid.,* March 11, 1875. Her trial run occurred April 18; *ibid.,* April 19, 1875.

were no major explosions for several years. For a time there was doubt as to whether or not the *Hope* could get up river with the 100 pounds steam-pressure limit, whereas the *Gertrude* was reported to be able to steam over "the worst riffles on the Stickeen with a pressure of 80 lbs. on the square inch."[46]

Captain Otis Parsons replaced the old *Lillooet* with the new steamer *Royal City*, launched by Collings and Cook at Victoria March 2, 1875.[47] She was called the "finest specimen of steamboat work yet turned out in the province."

> The Royal City is 128 feet long, has 26 feet beam, and 5 feet depth of hold. The draught of water is very light, only 22 inches. The powerful engines were built at Coffee & Risdon's Ironworks, San Francisco, and are supplied with Cross' patent cutoff, which permits of great economy of steam. The cylinders are 20 inches, stroke 5 feet, which will enable the steamboat to stem the swiftest water on the Fraser with a low pressure of steam. The furniture is very handsome. The ladies *boudoir* and staterooms are beautifully furnished and the staterooms are supplied with spring mattrasses [*sic*] and every other convenience.[48]

The *Royal City* had barely started operation on the Fraser, in command of Captain Asbury Insley, when Captain Parsons sold out all his steamboat interests to Captain John Irving.[49] This included also the *Hope*, which was laid up at Wrangel in August as "unfit for use . . . the machinery taken out, and the hull broken up."[50] Captain Parsons decided to retire to California and booked passage on the ill-fated *Pacific* from Victoria. She sank in collision off Cape Flattery in November, and Captain Parsons, along with his wife and child and his wife's sister, was a victim of the disaster.[51] Among other prominent British Columbians lost was S. P. Moody, manager of the Moodyville Mills on Burrard Inlet. This same year John Dickson, Captain

(46) Victoria *Colonist*, May 26, 1875.

(47) *Ibid.*, March 3, 1875. She was christened by the Hon. Henry Holbrook. *See also Lewis & Dryden*, p. 237.

(48) Victoria *Colonist*, April 11, 1875.

(49) *Ibid.*, June 20, 1875. At this time it was reported: "We learn that Capt. Irving intends, now that he has the trade in his own hands, to reduce the rates of fare." Her first run to New Westminster was made on April 17. *See* Victoria *Standard*, April 17, 1875.

(50) *Report of the Steamboat Inspector for British Columbia to 31st December, 1875*, p. 73, in Canada *Sessional Papers, 1876*.

(51) Victoria *Colonist*, November 9, 1875.

Irving's uncle and partner in business, died at Wrangel on June 2 aboard the *Glenora.*

Competition was strong on the Stikine in 1875 between the *Gertrude* and the *Glenora,* with Captain Moore's new boat acclaimed a " lightning-striker." Moore managed to reach Telegraph Creek, 15 miles above Glenora, but business did not come up to expectations, and the steamers spent much of the summer laid up. Eventually Moore bought the *Glenora* from Irving,[52] thus gaining a monopoly on the Stikine. Then in November he brought the *Gertrude* down to the Fraser, determined to fight Irving's *Royal City.* The usual cut-rate war followed, with fares down to $1 from New Westminster to Yale, and freight at $2 a ton. The going was tough, and the *Gertrude* gave up the struggle after a few weeks.

Determined to get his revenge, Captain Irving ordered a new steamer for the Stikine. This was the *Reliance,* the second of the name, launched from Trahey's yard at Victoria, March 7, 1876.[53] She was built under contract by John F. Steffen, of Portland, with Alexander Watson acting as superintendent. Her boilers were made by the Willamette Iron Works of Portland. Her dimensions were: length, 123 feet; beam, 23 feet; depth of hold, 4½ feet; and she was especially designed for the swift and dangerous Stikine as she had a draught of only 16 inches.[54] Captain Moore soon came to terms and bought off his rival before the *Reliance* ever left for the north, and as a consequence she remained on the Fraser all her days.[55] Monopoly thus won out again. The old *Onward* had worn herself out, so she was dismantled and converted into a barge.

The see-saw battle between Moore and Irving had another exciting inning in 1877. Early in the year Moore brought the

(52) The date of the transfer in the *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880,* is November 28, 1876.

(53) Victoria *Colonist,* March 8, 1876. She was christened by Miss Lizzie Irving. *See also Lewis & Dryden,* pp. 244–5.

(54) Victoria *Colonist,* March 7, 1876.

(55) Her trial runs were made early in April, and she completed her first trip to Yale that same week. *Ibid.,* April 6, 1876. Still later that month she made the trip from New Westminster to Yale and from Yale to Victoria, a distance of 275 miles, in twenty-eight hours, including time lost in stopping for wood and discharging and receiving freight at Yale and Hope. *Ibid.,* April 29, 1876.

Gertrude to the Fraser again in opposition to the *Royal City* and the *Reliance*—and the fun started. But this was only the beginning, for a syndicate of Yale business-men, headed by the well-known firm of Oppenheimer Brothers, hired the *Glenora* from Captain Moore, and she too appeared on the Fraser under the command of Captain George Odin. Speed became the order of the day, and the steamers raced up and down the river, each trying to outdistance the other. Moore proudly advertised that the *Gertrude* was making the 110-mile run up to Yale in ten hours' running-time, with only five hours down-stream. The *Reliance* countered with a record of nine hours up the river.[56] The public enjoyed the races immensely; while steam-pressures mounted and fares declined.

Irving cut the passage rates to 50 cents, with $1 a ton for freight, while the *Glenora* countered with a 25-cent passage and offered to carry freight at 50 cents a ton. The people of Yale were staunch supporters of the *Glenora*. On her first trip up to Yale a general celebration was held.

> In honor of the occasion the Yaleites hoisted all the flags in town, with mottoes of welcome on the buildings, and the loyal little place reminded us of the reception given here to Lord Dufferin—so gay were the decorations—showing the hearty appreciation of the people in anticipation of reduced freight and fare.[57]

New Westminster enjoyed the fun, too. Crowds gathered on the wharves to greet the steamers, and bets were placed on arrival times. Irving's boats provided tough opposition, particularly as he hired the Hyack band to "discourse sweet music at intervals along the route." Apparently the music had charms, for on one trip down the *Reliance* brought 100 passengers, while the *Glenora* had to content herself with only five.[58]

The *Gertrude* meanwhile gave up the struggle and returned to the Stikine, but the *Glenora* was tougher opposition. Her owners decided to run the risk of crossing the stormy Gulf of Georgia and advertised weekly sailings direct from Victoria to

(56) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, April 11, 1877.

(57) *Ibid.*, April 18, 1877.

(58) On another occasion it was reported: "The Fraser River steamer Reliance carries a broom at the masthead as she claims to be considered the fastest sternwheeler afloat. . . ." Victoria *Colonist*, May 1, 1877.

Yale, with passage, including meals and bed, set at 50 cents.[59] It was wonderful fun for the public, but it couldn't last. Captain Irving bought the *Glenora* out, and she "hauled off." For a second time he became the owner of the vessel, and once more he had the river to himself. Even the puttering little *Gem* was not in evidence, for she spent the years 1876 and 1877 on the Stikine.

Having "licked his weight in wildcats," Captain Irving decided to take on a more formidable opponent. During his fight with the *Glenora* he had asked the Hudson's Bay Company to give him through bills of lading from Victoria to Yale, with transhipment of freight at New Westminster from the Hudson's Bay Company's ships to his own. This the company refused to do, and consequently Captain Irving decided to fight. Early in 1878 he purchased the venerable old sidewheeler *Wilson G. Hunt* in San Francisco[60] and brought her north to fight it out on the Victoria–New Westminster run in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company's *Enterprise*. The *Hunt* had operated on the route in the halcyon days of 1858 and 1859, and, although she was old, she could still make 15 knots and her accommodation was as good as any the *Enterprise* could offer.[61]

The *Wilson G. Hunt* made her first trip to New Westminster as an opposition boat on April 22, 1878, and was greeted with loud hosannas by the *Mainland Guardian*:—

This splendid steamer, commanded by Capt. John Irving, arrived at her wharf here on Monday evening. A telegram having informed the public here of about the time of her arrival, a large concourse of people was on the wharf to receive her. The scene was highly exciting; as the noble vessel neared the wharf the band on board playing "Cheer boys, cheer;" the immense crowd gave three hearty cheers, which was duly acknowledged by Capt. Irving. The appearance of the vessel is undoubtedly most imposing. The wheels appear to be much larger than those of the Enterprise, and the new paint and gilding make her look as trim as if she had been just turned

(59) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, May 16, 1877.

(60) Victoria *Colonist*, February 5, 1878. The transfer from her American owners is recorded in the *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880*, under date of April 20, 1878, and the new owner is given as Thomas L. Briggs.

(61) For an account of her previous career *see* Norman Hacking, "'Steamboat 'Round the Bend': American Steamers on the Fraser River in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), pp. 273–4.

out of a mould. . . . On the trip from San Francisco, in the face of a strong northwest wind, she made the distance in 4 days 18 hours; the steamship Panama, on the same trip, was detained 30 hours. She has 12 staterooms, and can dine 100 at one table.[62]

Competition waxed strong throughout the summer, until in October the Hudson's Bay Company bought the steamer *Olympia*, then running on Puget Sound for George S. Wright.[63] This vessel had been built in New York in 1869 and was considered " a handsome and trustworthy vessel "[64] and was far superior to either the *Enterprise* or the *Wilson G. Hunt*. She made her first trip to New Westminster on November 1, 1878.[65] Late in 1879, after fares had dropped to 50 cents, Captain Irving came to terms. In agreeing to withdraw from the Victoria–New Westminster run, he accepted an offer of through bills of lading, which gave Irving's Pioneer Line two thirds of the through freight and the Hudson's Bay Company the other third. The *Olympia* was renamed the *Princess Louise* in 1879,[66] and thus became the first of the familiar *Princess* ships. Subsequently, in 1881, Captain Irving sold the *Wilson G. Hunt* to Joseph Spratt, of Victoria, who placed her on his East Coast Mail Line, between Victoria and Nanaimo.[67] With the organization of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company in 1883 she was sent to the boneyard and broken up in May, 1890.[68]

The lengthy controversy over the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway seemed finally settled in July, 1878, when the McKenzie government decided on the Fraser Canyon route. New Westminster cheered with delight and prepared for the coming boom. Victoria sulked, still hopeful that the Bute Inlet route and a bridge across Seymour Narrows would bring trains

(62) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, April 24, 1878. *See also* Victoria *Colonist*, April 16 and 24, 1878.

(63) *Ibid.*, October 18, 1878. The purchase price mentioned was $75,000 to $90,000.

(64) *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880. See also* Victoria *Colonist*, July 10, 1878.

(65) *Ibid.*, November 2, 1878.

(66) *Ibid.*, March 6, 1879. Her registry was closed June 17, 1879, and transferred to London. *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880.*

(67) Victoria *Colonist*, February 20, 1881.

(68) *Ibid.*, May 8, 1890. She was finally burned in June. *See ibid.*, June 6, 1890.

direct to the Island capital. But it was not to be, and in July, 1878, Captain Irving was awarded a contract to transport 5,000 tons of steel rails to Yale, which had long been rusting at Esquimalt and Nanaimo. It was a bonanza for his steamers, and the rail shipment began a boom in river transport which continued until the completion of the railway. The arrival of the first lot of rails at Yale in the *Royal City* was the occasion for one of those celebrations the little town so enjoyed. There was a salute of twenty-one guns from an anvil battery, flags were hoisted in all directions, and the jollity concluded that night with " a grand display of fireworks."[69]

There was a setback to the general optimism in November, 1878, when the new Macdonald government cancelled all contracts of the McKenzie government, including Irving's rail contract, and the future route of the railway was once again in doubt. After nearly a year Macdonald finally set the stamp of approval on the Fraser route and called for tenders on October 4, 1879, for construction of the section between Emory, near Yale, and Savona. Rails started to move up the river again to Emory Bar, which immediately began to boom as Emory City.

In June, 1879, Irving had extended his interests by purchasing from A. S. Bates the Upper Fraser River steamer *Victoria,* in partnership with Robert McLeese, a Soda Creek merchant. He also joined in partnership with J. A. Mara and W. B. Wilson, Kamloops merchants, in the Thompson River trade. The fortunes of the Pioneer Line were at a high level. In December, 1879, Captain Irving had his first steamboat loss, the sinking of the *Glenora.* The *Reliance* had run aground on Puget Sound Bar, and the *Glenora* was sent up to help refloat her. On the way down, on December 6, the latter also ran into trouble by striking a snag near Farr's ranch. She tore a large hole in her bow and sank immediately. Those aboard were rescued by the *Reliance,* and some of the ship's fittings were salvaged. [70] When the water fell in February, her machinery was removed by the *Gem.*

The expected boom started in earnest in 1880. To prepare for it, Irving had the fine new steamer *William Irving* built by

(69) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian,* July 27, 1878.
(70) *Ibid.,* December 10, 1879.

Alexander Watson on Burrard Inlet. The keel was laid on February 1, and she was ready for launching at Moody & Nelson's mill on March 19. She was the largest and best sternwheeler ever to appear on the Fraser.

She is a model of strength and beauty. Length 170 ft; beam 34 ft; depth of hold 4 ft 6 inches. The engines will be put in at Victoria. The cylinders will be 18 inches and the stroke 6 feet. Her capacity will be 300 tons, and draught of water when loaded, 3 feet 6 inches. She will cross the gulf in the severest weather.[71]

By May 13 she was ready for her trial run, and the following day made her first trip from Victoria to New Westminster. She became the first steamer registered under the new regulations at the recently created port of New Westminster.[72] Upon her arrival at the booming settlement of Emory later in May the *Inland Sentinel* was quite rhapsodic:—

The splendid new steamer, William Irving . . . has been hailed with delight all along the Fraser, and salutes and flags greeted her at different calling places along the river. Capt. John Irving may well feel proud of his new venture; she sits upon the water like a duck, and moves as a thing of life, breasting the swiftest current without hesitency [*sic*]. The boat is finished in the best possible style for pleasure and durability. Upon her first trip she was accompanied by the Royal City Band, discoursing appropriate responses to the honors paid. The "Boys" had a good time, and gratified many persons who were reminded of the charms of music in other days.[73]

Doughty old Captain William Moore arrived back in the Fraser River trade in 1880 with the new steamer *Western Slope,* which he had built for the Stikine River trade the previous year. She had been launched at Victoria on May 8, 1879, was 155 feet in length, 26½ feet beam, and her capacity estimated at 250 tons. Her engines had 20-inch cylinders and 5-foot stroke and were the product of the Willamette Iron Works, Portland.[74] During 1879 she had operated on the Stikine.[75] She had deeper

(71) Victoria *Colonist*, March 19, 1880. She was christened by Mrs. R. Dickinson, wife of the mayor of New Westminster. Her boilers were manufactured by Fulton Iron Works of San Francisco and her engines by the National Iron Works of that city. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1880.

(72) *Ibid.*, May 14, 1880.

(73) Emory City *Inland Sentinel*, May 29, 1880. *See also* Victoria *Colonist*, May 23, 1880.

(74) *Ibid.*, May 9, 1879. She was christened by Miss Minnie Moore.

(75) *Ibid.*, May 27, 1879.

draught than the other river-boats, for Moore hoped to run her in Gulf waters. For most of the year 1880 the *Western Slope* operated under an agreement with Captain Irving, moving steel rails, but Captain Moore was obviously waiting for an opportunity to renew his fight with his old rival.[76] There was plenty of business for all, and the *Reliance* and the *Royal City*, then commanded by Captain Insley, " the most experienced man afloat upon the Fraser," were also kept busy.[77]

In August, 1880, Captain John Irving, assisted by young Frank Odin, took the *Reliance* through the first canyons of the Fraser beyond Yale. The trip served no purpose except to prove Irving's exceptional skill as a river pilot. A long rope was made fast to a rock near the edge of the river, above the east end of the tunnel, and with the combined aid of her engines, capstan, and a crew of deck-hands, the *Reliance* pushed through a gorge scarcely wider than herself, with jagged rocks projecting out of the water on either side. After going up a few miles, the *Reliance* ran the rapids back to Yale.[78]

Opposition to the Irving monopoly appeared in October, 1880, with the arrival of the steamer *Cassiar*, built the previous year at Seattle by W. J. Stephens for the Stikine trade. Smelling the profits to be reaped on the Fraser, he had her transferred to British registry, and she began operations under the command of Captain N. H. Lane, with Louis Odin as pilot.[79]

Once again the public enjoyed the spectacle of a steamboat war. The *William Irving* charged $3 for cabin fare to Yale, and the *Cassiar* $2, with deck passage $1 on both vessels. The *Dominion Pacific Herald* of New Westminster noted:—

The steamboat opposition on the Lower Fraser appears to be waxing hot, and inexpensive travelling between this city and Yale is the consequence. We understand those who choose to take advantage of both steamers (or three or four steamers as sometimes happens) leaving Yale at once can get

(76) Captain Moore was handicapped by financial difficulties; as early as June, 1880, his creditors were meeting and considering the sale of the *Western Slope*. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1880.

(77) Emory City *Inland Sentinel*, May 29, 1880.

(78) *Ibid.*, August 26, 1880. *See also* Victoria *Colonist*, August 29, 1880.

(79) Emory City *Inland Sentinel*, October 7, 1880, gives date of first trip to Yale as October 4. Rumours of the impending transfer appeared in the Victoria *Colonist*, September 28–30, 1880.

down for anything or nothing. Between here and Victoria there is no competition.[80]

The *William Irving* won the cream of the trade, and in one trip in November she carried the largest freight ever taken to Yale—270 tons.

The spring of 1881 dawned with new hopes and aspirations. Railway construction would soon be in full swing, and all were anxious to reap the benefits. The *Reliance* opened the river for trade to Yale on March 5, blasting her way through 2 miles of ice. "Hurrah for the Pioneer Line!" cheered the *Dominion Pacific Herald.* "The Pioneer Line and Capt. Irving forever!"[81] At Yale "flying colors and booming of the cannon manifested the people's joy."[82]

Andrew Onderdonk had the contract for the construction of the line between Emory and Savona, and on March 25 the first of his workmen, 204 white men and 31 Chinese, were landed at New Westminster by the *Princess Louise.* These were the vanguard of multitudes, white and Chinese, that were to flock into the province under the contract. The white men were the scrapings of the San Francisco waterfront, and soon won the nickname of "Onderdonk's Lambs." A few days later the *Dominion Pacific Herald* ruefully announced: "Of Onderdonk's Frisco boys who went up to Yale last week, 12 were in the lock-up the first night and 20 the second."[83]

Competition did not take long to develop, with both the *Western Slope* and the *Cassiar* out to reap big profits at the expense of the Pioneer Line, which was running the *William Irving,* Captain Irving; the *Reliance,* Captain J. D. Tackaberry; and the *Royal City,* Captain Frank Odin. Captain William Moore entered the fray with a vengeance and announced direct sailings twice a week between Victoria and Yale by the *Western Slope.* The *Cassiar* was also offering opposition between New Westminster and Yale under command of Captain W. D. Moore, one of old Captain William's sons.

(80) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald,* October 20, 1880.

(81) *Ibid.,* March 9, 1881. Actually the *Gem* was the first to reach the ice-jam but, since she could not force her way through, returned to New Westminster.

(82) Yale *Inland Sentinel,* March 10, 1881.

(83) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald,* April 2, 1881.

A big event in the history of the province was the arrival of the first locomotive of the Canadian Pacific Railway, christened the "Yale No. 1," which was landed at New Westminster on May 3, 1881. It weighed 30 tons, and it was quite a job to get it stowed on the bow of the *Royal City* for transport to Emory. This was finally accomplished, and she steamed proudly away, the locomotive bell ringing as she passed up the river.[84] It was the *Royal City's* last trip, for soon she was taken over to Victoria and dismantled, her engines being removed for the new *Elizabeth J. Irving,* under construction for the Pioneer Line.[85]

An amusing item in the *Dominion Pacific Herald* entitled "A Dead-Head," gives a glimpse of Captain William Moore's rather high-handed methods:—

> Owing to the number of "dead-beats" recently assaying to come down from Yale on the steamers, Capt. Moore has adopted the precaution of collecting fare from suspicious looking cases before casting off. Last Monday morning, in going the usual rounds, in the performance of this duty, the Captain came across a Chinaman in a sitting posture, with his blanket round him. Upon applying for his fare and receiving no response, the impatient Captain gave "John" a lively "punch," supposing he was asleep, which caused him to tumble over, and, upon examination, he was found to be dead. It appears that the dead Chinaman had been placed on the steamer in that posture during the night by his countrymen, with the idea of getting a free passage to Victoria. Capt. Moore "could not see it" in that light, and the "dead-head" was unceremoniously deposited on the beach at Yale, where he still lay when the *Irving* sailed at 10 o'clock on Monday.[86]

The above account may well have been published in spite by the New Westminster paper, for at this time a hot feud was waging over the relative merits of the Pioneer Line and Moore's People's Line. New Westminster staunchly supported Irving and villified Moore. Victoria just as strongly supported Moore. The *Western Slope* carried freight and passengers direct between Victoria and Yale, and New Westminster felt slighted.[87]

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(84) *Ibid.*, May 11, 1881.

(85) Victoria *Colonist,* May 31, 1881.

(86) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald,* June 1, 1881.

(87) At one time in May, 1881, an effort was made to obtain an injunction restraining the *Western Slope* from crossing the Gulf of Georgia as she was claimed to be unseaworthy. This attempt was defeated. *See* Victoria *Colonist,* May 13, 1881.

With so much competition on the river, safety precautions were seldom observed. On a trip through Sawmill Riffle, near Emory, in June the *Cassiar* had to warp herself through by means of ropes on shore. The passengers, worried by the look of the steam-valve, preferred to walk to Yale. Captain Moore declared that he took the *Western Slope* through the riffle with 89 pounds and 2½ ounces of steam. "Some inclined to the opinion that either the Captain or the steam-gauge lied," tartly commented the *Dominion Pacific Herald.*[88]

Unfortunately for Captain Moore, his sharp practices were soon in the limelight. He had quarrelled with the second engineer of the *Western Slope* and had unceremoniously kicked him off the ship. The engineer responded by laying an information against Moore that he was exceeding the 100-pound limit of steam-pressure. The case was heard in the New Westminster police court and was played up to the hilt. The discharged engineer testified that not one safety-valve on the *Western Slope* was working and that the boiler was burned out. Captain Moore gave standing orders to carry 110 pounds of steam, and that the vessel more frequently carried up to 140 pounds. A fireman testified: "One valve was wedged down so that it could not possibly work; the other stood at 140 lbs, and I never knew it to blow off!" Captain Irving testified that he had noticed a difference of 30 pounds in the ship's two steam-gauges. Captain George Odin testified that the *Western Slope* could not reach Yale with less than 140 pounds. Captain Moore was obviously guilty, and he and his chief engineer were fined $200 each by the magistrate.[89]

The Victoria *Colonist* screamed in anger at the verdict,[90] which it called a persecution and a conspiracy, and promptly raised a public subscription to pay the fines, thus "setting the law at open and utter defiance," as the *Dominion Pacific Herald* put it.[91] There was an echo of the affair a few weeks later when the New Westminster paper, still smarting with righteous anger, commented:—

(88) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald,* June 15, 1881.
(89) *Ibid.,* June 18, 1881.
(90) Victoria *Colonist,* June 24, 1881.
(91) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald,* June 29, 1881.

The steamer *Western Slope* has certainly enjoyed a remarkable run of success during the greater part of this season—coming and going with a degree of regularity that shames some other boats, and sailing through Dominion statutes with as much assurance as she would run over a luckless fisherman's net.[92]

The big event in the late summer of 1881 was the arrival on the Fraser River of Captain Irving's answer to Moore's competition. This was the new *Elizabeth J. Irving*, built to run directly from Victoria to Yale, and the largest sternwheeler yet to appear on the river, for she was 190 feet in length.[93] She was launched June 18 by Mrs. G. A. Walkem,[94] wife of the Premier of the province, and was the marvel of the age, for she was equipped with electric light.[95] On her first trip from Victoria to Yale on September 19 she took up the dismantled hull of the *Royal City*, which had become a coal barge and lighter on the river.[96] She arrived at Yale on her maiden voyage on September 21 at 8 p.m., the searchlight on her pilot-house attracting the admiration of all.

The electric light gave the Yaleites notice of the steamer's approach for an hour or two before her arrival and when she reached her destination at 8:15 o'clock Wednesday evening a large and enthusiastic crowd greeted the steamer and her spirited captain. A salute was fired in honor of the occasion and hearty congratulations were the order of the evening. . . . The electric light does admirable service on the river where both banks are brightly illuminated. In open water, however, it is not of so much service.[97]

She made the return trip to Victoria from New Westminster in less than six hours against a stiff breeze, and all acclaimed her a great success.[98]

But her career was short. On her second trip up the river, September 29, her cargo of hay caught fire and she was soon a mass of flames. The crew and most of the passengers jumped ashore and the ship was cast adrift, and a mile below Hope she burned to the water's edge. She had cost over $50,000 and was

(92) *Ibid.*, August 20, 1881.

(93) Victoria *Colonist*, June 15, 1881.

(94) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1881. Alexander Watson was the designer and builder, and her boiler came from Spratt's Albion Foundry.

(95) For a description of the Brill electric light system *see ibid.*, September 7, 1881.

(96) *Ibid.*, September 20, 1881.

(97) *Ibid.*, September 23, 1881; *see also* Yale *Inland Sentinel*, September 22, 1881.

(98) Victoria *Colonist*, September 23, 1881.

not insured.[99] Skeletons of several Indians were found on the main deck, which led the *Inland Sentinel* to comment: "It may be that for the reason that the lives sacrificed were only poor natives little or no inquiry will be made into the causes of the fire."[100] It was a stiff blow for Captain Irving, but he managed to salvage the machinery and immediately ordered a new steamer, even larger than the *Elizabeth J. Irving*. The charred hull was also subsequently salvaged and was put to use as a barge.

The year 1882 opened with a vengeance as far as competition was concerned. The *Cassiar* had been rebuilt at Victoria,[101] with improved passenger accommodation, and Captain William Moore had another steamer with which to fight the *William Irving*. This was a small light-draught sternwheeler called the *Pacific Slope*. She was launched at Victoria in March, 1882,[102] and was described as "diminutive in size" and having a "scow-like bow."[103] She was designed to act as a consort for the larger *Western Slope*, which Captain Moore had found was too large to run to Yale regularly. On occasions both vessels went up-river as far as Murderer's Bar, then goods and passengers were transhipped to the smaller *Pacific Slope*, which made the trip on to Yale and return, again transferring passengers and freight to the waiting *Western Slope*, which would carry them to Victoria.[104] More frequently the *Pacific Slope*, commanded by his son, Henry Moore, was used to pick up freight and passengers when the larger vessel was detained down-river.

The career of the *Cassiar* was short, for she came to grief on her first trip of the season, commanded by Captain Charles Millard, who was certainly the most unlucky skipper on the river. On her way up to Yale on April 13, laden with rails and two flat cars, she struck the Two Sisters Rock, below Strawberry Island, and sank almost immediately, a total loss.[105] Two months later the hulk floated off the rock and very nearly wrecked the *Pacific*

(99) *Ibid.*, September 30, 1881; *see also* Yale *Inland Sentinel*, September 29, 1881.
(100) *Ibid.*, October 6, 1881.
(101) Victoria *Colonist*, April 23, 1881.
(102) *Ibid.*, March 11, 1882.
(103) *Ibid.*, April 13, 1882.
(104) *Ibid.*, April 5, 1882.
(105) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 15 and 19, 1882.

Slope.[106] The stiff competition was too much for Captain Moore. Before the summer was over, he was bankrupt, which was not a new experience for the doughty old fighter. The *Western Slope* was seized by his creditors,[107] and the *Pacific Slope* was sold to Andrew Onderdonk for use in his railroad building. She was subsequently renamed *Myra.*

Captain Irving meanwhile had replaced the *Elizabeth J. Irving* by a new steamer which was even larger, the *R. P. Rithet,* designed for the through run from Victoria to Yale. Built by Alexander Watson, she was launched at Victoria on April 20 by Mrs. Thomas L. Briggs[108] and was ready for service by mid-June. The *British Columbian* describing her arrival for the first time at New Westminster on June 10 reported:—

> Perfect in lines and model, she is finished and found in every respect in first class style. The carving in the saloons is elaborate and, ornate, while the upholstering, gilding and general finish are simply gorgeous. The state-rooms are spacious and convenient, provided with luxurious spring beds and fittings. In short, in the perfection of her lines, the completeness of her appointments, and the elegance of design and finish, the R. P. Rithet is truly a floating palace. She is provided with the patent hydraulic steering gear, and is brilliantly lighted throughout with electricity, having two powerful head-lights placed in huge reflectors. These lights shone with dazzling brilliancy as the noble steamer came into our harbor on Saturday night, the New Westminster Militia Band, who were on board, playing a lively air. . . . The wharves were literally crowded with people who went down to welcome Capt. Irving and congratulate him upon this his last great triumph in marine architecture.[109]

Back on the river to join in the competition appeared Captain Millard in the *Gem,* "this good-as-new little steamer," and in July the *Gertrude* joined the fray.[110] She had been running on the Stikine for Captain Moore,[111] but he had lost her in his bank-

(106) Victoria *Colonist,* June 18, 1882.

(107) *Ibid.,* December 12, 1882. The creditors also seized his shipyards, two or three town lots, the two-story residence occupied by Captain Moore, and the single-story residence occupied by Captain Meyer, as well as furniture.

(108) *Ibid.,* April 21, 1882.

(109) New Westminster *British Columbian,* June 14, 1882. On this trip she took up 570 Chinese coolies which had been landed from the *Euphrates.* On her first trip up to Yale she did not reach the town.

(110) Victoria *Colonist,* October 10, 1882.

(111) *Ibid.,* June 13, 1878; April 16, 1881.

ruptcy, and she was now owned by Captain J. D. Warren, of Victoria, who put Captain George Odin in command, running as the British Columbia Merchant's Line. Her removal from the Stikine was due to " the failing trade of Cassiar having rendered her presence there no longer profitable."[112]

The most exciting event for river-boatmen in 1882 was the construction of the sternwheeler *Skuzzy*, 14 miles above Yale, for Andrew Onderdonk. It was his intention to take her through Hell's Gate Canyon and run her between Boston Bar and Lytton carrying railway supplies, thus avoiding the tolls on the Cariboo road. It was a stupendous undertaking, for no steamer had ever before attempted to run this awful section of the Fraser. Named after a little stream that empties into the Fraser near Boston Bar, the *Skuzzy* was built by Dalton and was launched on May 4, christened by Mrs. Onderdonk.[113] She drew only 18 inches of water.

Because of delays in her building, the *Skuzzy* was not ready to make the attempted run through Hell's Gate until the river had risen to dangerously high levels. Captain Nathaniel H. Lane, Jr., a renowned steamboatman from the Stikine, was hired to command her, but after a look at the canyon he threw up his hands and took over command of the *Victoria* on the upper river instead.[114] Onderdonk then looked around and hired Captain Asbury Insley, the most experienced captain on the Fraser, to undertake the job. Under his command she started out on May 17 and successfully crossed the first riffle,[115] but Hell's Gate Canyon proved too great an obstacle. Insley used every wile known to an expert steamboatman, but the powerful little vessel was unable to breast the current. After a futile battle Insley admitted defeat and returned down-river, tying up the *Skuzzy* at Spuzzum.[116] Water in the river at that time was the highest known in forty years.

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(112) *Ibid.*, June 17, 1882.

(113) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 14, 1882; Yale *Inland Sentinel*, May 11, 1882.

(114) *Ibid.*, May 11, 1882.

(115) *Ibid.*, May 18, 1882.

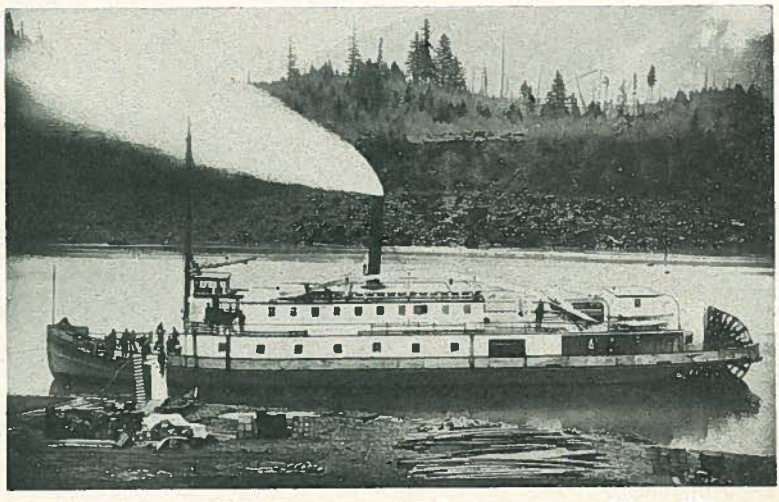
(116) *Ibid.*, May 25, 1882.

There was talk that the steamer would be dismantled and rebuilt at Boston Bar,[117] but Onderdonk was not one to admit defeat. He waited until the river had fallen a little and then hired three expert steamboatmen from the Upper Columbia to make the attempt. These were Captain S. R. Smith, of Lewiston, Idaho; his brother, David Smith; and J. W. Burse, acting as engineer. These three managed to accomplish the "impossible" after two weeks of Herculean effort. They started out from Spuzzum on September 7, and four days later a few miles had been gained through the Black Canyon.[118] In the next ten days several unsuccessful efforts were made to get through, but a sudden rise of the water made it impossible. At length ring-bolts were drilled into the walls of the canyon, 125 Chinamen lined the river and hauled on ropes, and with the combined efforts of the *Skuzzy's* engines, her capstan, and sheer man-power she managed to huff and puff her way up through the boiling current.[119]

The *Skuzzy's* triumph was a feat never equalled in western steamboat history. Even to-day old-timers recall the excitement which pervaded the province as the whole population waited for reports on the little steamer's progress. The *Skuzzy* has long since gone the way of all steamboats, but, for those who care to look, the original ring-bolts, by means of which the vessel pulled herself up the canyon, may still be seen on its walls. Well might the *Inland Sentinel* comment: "We must say that Capt. Smith and his assistants got the Railway Company out of (what for a time looked like) a difficulty."[120]

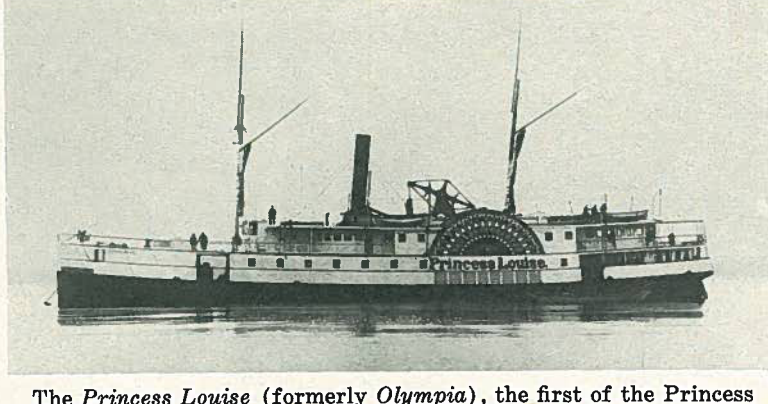
Her first run from Boston Bar to Lytton, a distance of 22 miles, took more than seven hours, but the run down-stream was made in one hour and twenty-seven minutes.[121] She arrived at Boston Bar rather the worse for wear, her sides and bottom badly scraped, and a hole punched in her hull through running on the rocks.[122] After repairs had been made, she started out with her first load of freight on October 27, under command of

(117) *Ibid.*, May 25, 1882.
(118) *Ibid.*, September 14 and 21, 1882.
(119) *Ibid.*, September 28 and October 5, 1882.
(120) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1882.
(121) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1882.
(122) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1882.

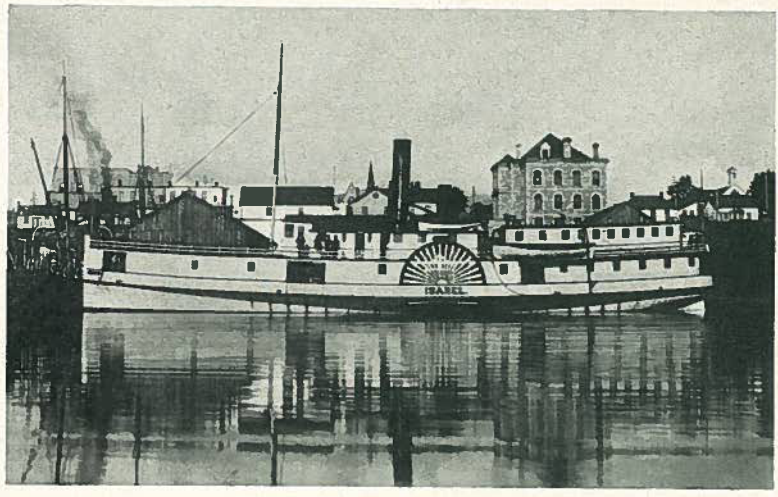


The *Western Slope* tied up at one of the many lower Fraser River points of call.

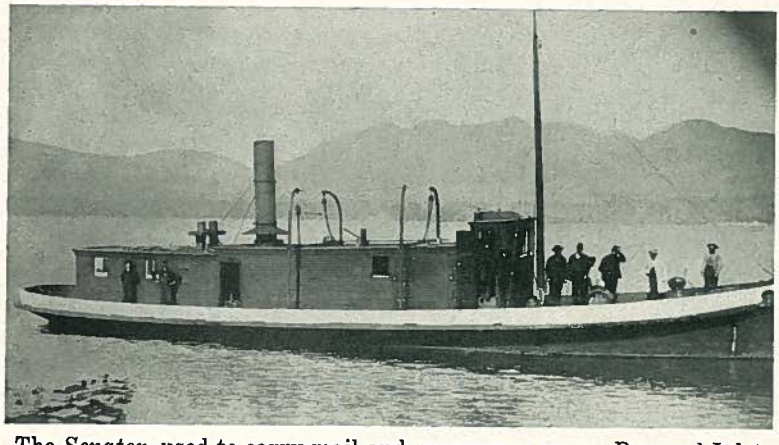
The *R. P. Rithet* at Victoria, B.C.



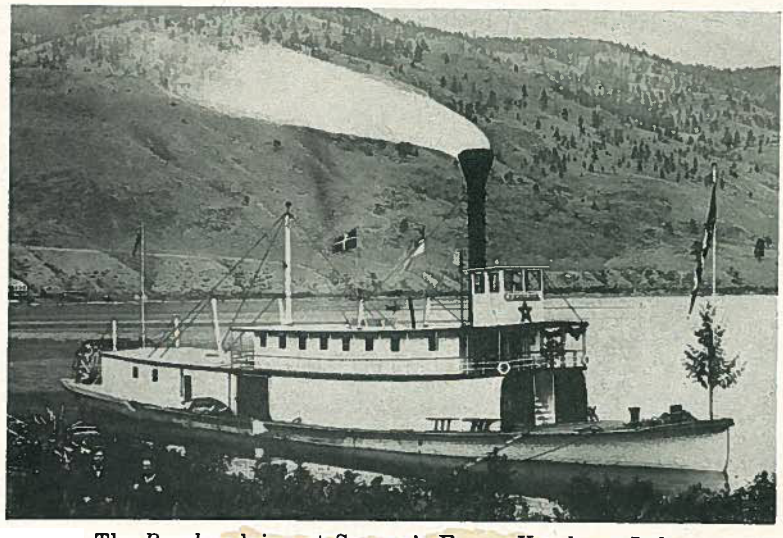
The *Princess Louise* (formerly *Olympia*), the first of the Princess line of ships.



The *Isabel* at Nanaimo, B.C.



The *Senator*, used to carry mail and passengers across Burrard Inlet.



The *Peerless* lying at Savona's Ferry, Kamloops Lake.

Captain J. D. Tackaberry.[123] The Smith brothers, well paid for their triumph, returned to Idaho.

One other sternwheeler appeared on the Fraser in 1882—the little *Adelaide*, built at New Westminster for Captain Christian Meyers and Alexander Ewen, owner of Ewen's cannery. Launched on June 13 at the lower end of the city and christened by Miss Emily Howay,[124] she was 95 feet in length and 18 feet beam and was intended for freight and passenger traffic between New Westminster and the Lower Fraser canneries and settlements.[125] The *British Columbian* gives a colorful picture of the progress of the *Adelaide* up the river one day in August, laden down with Indian cannery-hands:—

> The steamer Adelaide passed up at full speed on Thursday morning, her decks crowded with Indians beating empty oil cans and dancing something very like a war-dance, having in tow two large scows and a flotilla of Indian canoes, and having specimens of the sockeye tribe suspended from the top of poles. It was the "harvest home" of the sockeye run, Mr. Laidlaw's Indians having struck camp, were going up to the Brunette Cannery to be paid off.[126]

With the opening of the year 1883 monopoly had its final triumph in British Columbia waters with the incorporation of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Co. Ltd., a consolidation of the interests of Irving's Pioneer Line, the steamships of the Hudson's Bay Company, Joseph Spratt, and others. One of the chief reasons for the combine was Irving's desire for a new agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company to eliminate competition on the Victoria–New Westminster route. He was running the *R. P. Rithet* as a through boat from Victoria to Yale, but under his freight agreement of 1879 the Hudson's Bay Company collected one-third of the freight revenues.

The company was capitalized at $500,000, in 5,000 shares, with Captain John Irving as general manager. Directors were his brother-in-law, R. P. Rithet, head of the great importing firm of Welch, Rithet and Company, of Victoria; Robert Dunsmuir, the Vancouver Island coal king; and William Charles and Alexander Munro representing the Hudson's Bay Company, which

(123) *Ibid.*, November 2, 1882.
(124) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 14, 1882.
(125) *Ibid.*, June 17, 1882.
(126) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1882.

owned a majority control.[127] Big business had at last invaded a field which had long belonged to rugged individualists. A new era had begun.

Irving bought the *Western Slope* from Moore's creditors for $16,500 in January[128] and also purchased the *Gertrude*, the only remaining opposition on the river. Also in the new fleet were the *Princess Louise, Enterprise,* and *Otter* from the Hudson's Bay Company; the Pioneer Line's steamers *R. P. Rithet, William Irving,*[129] and *Reliance;* and the *Maude*[130] and *Wilson G. Hunt,* which Spratt had operated on the east coast of Vancouver Island. For the next eighteen years, until its purchase by the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company was to " rule the roost " in British Columbia steamboat circles.

II. BURRARD INLET STEAMBOATS.

The establishment of sawmills on Burrard Inlet in the 'sixties brought a measure of civilization to that wilderness, and with civilization came the inevitable steamboats.[131] The first steamer owned on the inlet was the big sidewheel towboat *Isabel,* built at Victoria by James Trahey for Captain Edward Stamp, the promoter of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company, later known as Hastings Mill. At the time of her launching, July 28, 1866, she was described as " a remarkably handsome model and a most serviceable craft for

(127) Victoria *Colonist,* January 17, 1883.

(128) *Ibid.,* January 9, 1883. The *Western Slope* continued to operate until the late 1880's, at which time she was relegated to the Coquitlam River, but again in 1891 she was brought down to Victoria for overhauling. *Ibid.,* January 9, 1891.

(129) The *William Irving* was wrecked near Agassiz, June 30, 1894, while towing the *R. P. Rithet.* At that time it was reported that the original cost had been $70,000, and there was no insurance on the vessel. *Ibid.,* July 4, 1894.

(130) The *Maude* had been launched on San Juan Island on January 4, 1872, for Mr. Joseph Spratt and had been built by Mr. Smith Burr. Her dimensions were: Length, 115.08 feet; breadth, 21.02 feet; and depth 9 feet; she had two engines generating 150 horse-power and was registered at 156.11 tons. *Ibid.,* January 5, 1872; and *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880.*

(131) F. W. Howay, " Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet: 1863–1870," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* I. (1937), *passim.*

any purpose, being in fact, almost too good to be engaged as a tug at the Burrard Inlet mill for which she was designed."[132] For several years the *Isabel* was employed by the mill company towing sailing-ships through the Narrows to and from the company's wharves.[133] The firm went into liquidation in 1870, and the *Isabel* was sold,[134] although she remained on the coast for nearly 30 years longer, finally ending her days as a barge in the employ of Robert Dunsmuir.

With two flourishing mills on either side of the inlet a demand arose for ferry accommodation, particularly between Moodyville, on the north shore, and Brighton, at the end of the road from New Westminster. This was provided at first by a rowboat, but about 1868 the first steam-ferry appeared on the inlet—a little screw steamer called the *Sea Foam*, and operated by Captain James Van Bramer, one of the members of the Moodyville syndicate headed by S. P. Moody. Originally it was intended to use her also as a tug.[135] Her undistinguished career included an explosion of her steam-pipes in November, 1868,[136] and a fire which destroyed her upper works a year later.[137] However, she reappeared in 1870 as "quite a nice comfortable and airy conveyance," according to the *Mainland Guardian*.[138] No doubt she was airy.

Van Bramer augmented the *Sea Foam* about 1873 with another little steam-launch called the *Chinaman*, 37 feet long, and

(132) Victoria *Colonist*, July 30, 1866. She was christened by Mrs. J. G. Shepherd and was named after the wife of the secretary of the mill company. The cost was estimated at $50,000. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1866.

(133) For an interesting adventure in which she became involved *see* F. W. Howay, "The Case of the 'Moneta,'" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 185–90.

(134) According to the *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880*, she was sold February 22, 1869, to William Richardson, of San Francisco, and subsequently, on September 15, 1871, to Peter Dewar Forbes, of Victoria. For a time during 1870 she ran between Victoria and Port Townsend. Victoria *Colonist*, September 8 and 9, 1870.

(135) *Ibid.*, September 16, 1868. She had been brought over from Port Townsend and was originally transferred to Captain George Odin, at a reported purchase price of $600.

(136) F. W. Howay, "Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 111.

(137) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, November 6, 1869.

(138) *Ibid.*, April 13, 1870.

so named because her hull had been brought from China on the deck of a sailing-ship.[139] The *Chinaman* scampered about the inlet for several years and eventually passed into the hands of the Royal City Planing Mills, of New Westminster.

The first steamer built on the inlet was the sidewheel tug *Maggie*, built in 1873 by Jeremiah Rogers, a logging contractor for the Hastings Mill Company. Under the command of Captain William Rogers the *Maggie* became one of the first, if not the first, vessel on the coast to engage in log towing, a trade that now employs many hundred of tugboats.

A year later the sidewheel steamer *Ada* was built on the inlet by Henry Maloney to the order of Captain James Robinson and Christopher Lee, an engineer.[140] For the most of her life the *Ada*, whose registered tonnage was only 56.95, ran between settlements in the Lower Fraser Valley with passengers and produce, although for a short time she operated a passenger service between New Westminster and Nanaimo. In January, 1883, she made her last trip, bringing in tow to Victoria the hull of the new steamer *Robert Dunsmuir*, to which her machinery was transferred.[141] This new sidewheeler had been launched at New Westminster, December 13, 1882, by Mr. Henry Maloney and was owned by Captain William Rogers and A. C. Fraser, of New Westminster.[142] She was destined for the Nanaimo–New Westminster run, " where a considerable business has sprung up of late."

In 1874 Captain Van Bramer had a new ferry-boat built at Victoria by Smith and Watson for the Burrard Inlet service. This was the *Lily*, equipped with the engines from the *Sea Foam*. Another newcomer to the inlet that year was the American-built tugboat *Etta White*, purchased by the Moodyville Mills for towing ships and log-booms. She had been built at Freeport, Wash-

(139) F. W. Howay, " Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I. (1937), p. 111.

(140) Victoria *Colonist*, August 6, 1874.

(141) *Ibid.*, January 19, 1883. Her cylinders were 2½ inches in diameter, with 36-inch stroke. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1883.

(142) *Ibid.*, December 14, 1882; April 1, 1883.

ington, in 1871, and had made her first appearance in British Columbia waters in May of that year.[143]

Less important, but more remarkable, was the sidewheel steam-scow *Union*, better known as the "Sudden Jerk," which was built on Burrard Inlet in 1874 for J. C. Hughes, one of the Moodyville syndicate. In her spasmodic fashion she was used for log towing and general freighting. The *Union* was the lineal descendant of the old Fraser River sternwheeler *Union*, built in 1861, and another steam-scow of the same name whose origins are veiled in mystery.[144] However, the final end of the "Sudden Jerk" by fire in 1878 is an event worthy of recording; in its miniscule way it is an epic of the sea. Her adventurous voyage started on July 30, when she left New Westminster for Moodyville under command of Captain Hugh Stalker, with a cargo of fifty bales of hay. The *Mainland Guardian* describes her end:—

> When she had reached a point about six miles down the North Arm it was discovered that the steering gear was out of order, and, when the cause was looked for, it was discovered that the rope attached to the tiller had been burned off and that the hay was on fire; probably from some sparks having fallen upon it from the smoke-stack. The vessel was then rendered helpless in mid-stream, and the current carrying her round caused the fire to spread. The anchor was let go, and the flames spread with such rapidity that all on board were compelled to take refuge on the anchor chain in the water, from which unpleasant positions they were ultimately rescued by one of the hands, who succeeded in recovering the small boat, the painter of which had been burned. The vessel was completely destroyed.[145]

So passed the "Sudden Jerk" through fire and water to her grave.

Two more steamboats appeared on Burrard Inlet before the end of the decade, both were built for Captain Van Bramer for ferry and towing services in connection with the Moodyville

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(143) *Ibid.*, May 2, 1871. The *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880*, has her entered for British registry under date of July 23, 1875, at which time the owner is given as R. P. Rithet. On September 2, 1875, she was sold to Hugh Nelson, of the Burrard Inlet milling company; she was subsequently extensively overhauled (Victoria *Colonist*, December 31, 1875) and eventually sold to the Moodyville Saw Mill Company on October 20, 1879.

(144) *See* George Green, *History of Burnaby and Vicinity*, Vancouver, 1947, p. 148.

(145) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, August 3, 1878.

mills. These were the screw steamers *Leonora*[146] and *Senator*,[147] constructed on Burrard Inlet in 1876 and 1880 respectively by Henry Maloney. They are of some historical interest, for in 1890, with the tug *Skidegate*, they became the nucleus of the present Union Steamship Company of British Columbia. The present fine coastwise vessels of the Union Company are thus the direct descendants of Van Bramer's little *Sea Foam*.

III. THOMPSON RIVER STEAMBOATS.

A brief note on Thompson River steamboats is necessary to round out the chronicle of river navigation in British Columbia to 1883. The first steamer on the river and Kamloops Lake was the *Marten*, built for the Big Bend gold-rush by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1866.[148] After the decline of the gold fever she was laid up for several years at Kamloops until her purchase in 1875 by F. J. Barnard, the expressman, and J. A. Mara and W. B. Wilson, Kamloops merchants. Barnard had a contract from the Dominion Government to build a telegraph-line up the North Thompson River, and he used the vessel to transport supplies. The contract was delayed by years of procrastination by the McKenzie administration and was finally cancelled in 1878, leaving Barnard with a lawsuit against the Government which dragged on for years. By this time there was a considerable settlement in the Kamloops area, so the *Marten* was employed spasmodically between the settlements under command of J. A. Mara, Asbury Insley, and others. The Earl and Countess of Dufferin made an excursion across Kamloops Lake in the steamer in 1876, a trip which Lady Dufferin described at length in her published journal.[149]

The first steamer to appear on the Thompson after the *Marten* was a peculiar little sidewheeler called the *Kamloops*, launched in 1872 at Savona by John Adams and equipped with the engines

(146) In 1878 the *Leonora* was chartered by the Indian Commissioners when making their survey. Victoria *Colonist*, June 26, 1878.

(147) *Ibid.*, April 18, 1880.

(148) Norman Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X. (1946), pp. 35–6.

(149) Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *My Canadian Journal 1872–'78*, New York, 1891, pp. 302–5.

from the flour-mill that Adams had installed at Soda Creek in 1867. This steamer was primitive, to say the least, and August Menenteau, her captain, who was also engineer and crew, spent most of his time in the engine-room, steering the boat with lines leading up to the pilot-house. It was claimed that she was " quite a success " and could steam 12 knots an hour, having a draught of only 8 inches.[150]

The *Kamloops* was succeeded in 1878 by a little better creation called the *Spallumcheen*, built at Kamloops by Alexander Watson, the Victoria ship-builder. She was owned by Menenteau, in company with J. A. Mara, W. B. Wilson, and F. J. Barnard, under the name of the Kamloops Steam Navigation Company. She was launched July 3, 1878, and christened by Miss Lily Tait, and did not draw over 6 inches, and was consequently " probably the lightest draft steamer on the coast."[151] By this time there was quite a thriving trade to the new settlement of Enderby, in the Spallumcheen Valley at the head of Shuswap Lake, and the little vessel was kept well occupied carrying produce and passengers. Because of her peculiar engine, which came from the Soda Creek flour-mill via the *Kamloops*, she was known affectionately as the " Noisy Peggy."

Competition for the " Noisy Peggy " was the *Lady Dufferin*, a little sidewheeler built for William Fortune at Tranquille by Neil Morrison. She was launched October 15, 1878, and was 90 feet long, 16 feet wide, and had a tonnage estimated at 106.[152] On her first appearance at Kamloops on December 3 " she was welcomed by a salute from the Kamloops anvil battery."[153] The *Lady Dufferin* likewise did a thriving service between the scattered farms and settlements in the valley.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway brought a sudden boom to the Thompson Valley, and to meet the sudden heavy traffic in freight and passengers, J. A. Mara and his partners, who now included Captain John Irving, had the powerful

(150) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, November 9, 1872.

(151) Victoria *Colonist*, July 14, 1878.

(152) In a letter to the editor, dated at Kamloops, October 16, 1878, the date of the launching is given and Miss Wilhelmina Campbell as the sponsor. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1878. Her trial run took place on December 2, between Kamloops and Spallumcheen. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1878.

(153) *Ibid.*, December 22, 1878.

sternwheeler *Peerless* built at Kamloops in 1880 by Alexander Watson. She was 131 feet in length and 25 feet beam, and, drawing 17 or 18 inches, was capable of a speed of 18 knots, and was regarded as "one of the most successful boats of her class yet built in the province."[154] Her engines, built by John Dougal, of Victoria, had 16-inch cylinders and 54-inch stroke, and she was placed under the command of Captain Asbury Insley.[155] It was anticipated that she would be able to navigate the Thompson River as far down as Spences Bridge.[156]

She proved to be a success from the start. She managed to run upon the North Thompson River to Peavine, some 15 miles above the mouth of the Clearwater, in June, 1881,[157] and that same month made the first trip to Harper's Mills, at the mouth of the Bonaparte River, thus extending "inland steamboat navigation some thirty miles farther south, or rather west, than it was ever known or popularly supposed to extend before."[158] Later that same month she became the first steamer ever to make the run between Ashcroft and Spences Bridge, one of the most dangerous stretches of river in the province—a trip which required five days for the return journey through the Black Canyon.[159] Captain John Irving was in command for this special trip, and until his death he carried a gold watch presented to him for his services.

The *Peerless* was followed by several other sternwheelers in the Thompson Valley, but railways and highways have destroyed the days of usefulness of the river-boats, and the *C. R. Lamb*, the last of a notable list, is now laid up as a houseboat at Kamloops.

NORMAN R. HACKING.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(154) *Ibid.*, November 23, 1880.

(155) Yale *Inland Sentinel*, July 7, 1881.

(156) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald*, November 6, 1880.

(157) Yale *Inland Sentinel*, June 30, 1881.

(158) New Westminster *Dominion Pacific Herald*, June 25, 1881. On one occasion in June, 1881, Captain Insley ran her from Harper's Ferry, 20 miles below Kamloops Lake, to Savona in five hours, stemming a 10-mile current without putting out a line. Yale *Inland Sentinel*, July 7, 1881.

(159) The *Peerless* reached Spences Bridge on June 29, 1881. Her progress was recorded in the Victoria *Colonist*, July 1 and 20, 1881, and in the Yale *Inland Sentinel*, June 30, 1881, *et passim.*

APPENDIX.

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

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

[N] Contemporary newspaper records.

[NW] *Port of New Westminster Register of Shipping.*

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

[S] *Reports of the Steamboat Inspector for British Columbia, 1875–1883,* published annually in Canada *Sessional Papers.*

[V] *Port of Victoria Register Book, 1867–1880* (photostat copy in Archives of B.C.).

FRASER AND STIKINE RIVER STEAMERS: 1870–1883.

1. *Adelaide.*

Sternwheeler; launched at New Westminster, June 13, 1882, by Henry Maloney for Christian Meyers and Alexander Ewen.
Dimensions: 95.2′ x 17.3′ x 4.5′ [NW].
Engines: 80 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 96.02 [NW].

2. *Cassiar.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Seattle, 1879, by J. F. T. Mitchell for W. J. Stephens.
Dimensions: 131′ x 26.3′ x 4.8′ [V].
Engines: 16″ x 72″ [L]; 150 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 290.28 [V].

3. *Elizabeth J. Irving.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, June 18, 1881, by Alexander Watson for John Irving.
Dimensions: 167′ x 33.8′ x 8.5′ [NW].
Engines: 86.07 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 692.99 [NW].

4. *Gem.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, April 10, 1874, by J. G. Walker for Charles Millard.
Dimensions: 71′ x 13′ x 2.6′ [V] [R].
Engines: 40 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 27.06 [V] [R].

5. *Gertrude.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, March 22, 1875, by Alexander Watson and Lockhart Smith for William Moore.
Dimensions: 120′ x 21′ x 5′ [V] [N].
Engines: 16″ x 54″; 100 h.p. [N]; 56 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 178.23 [V] [S].

6. *Glenora.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, March 9, 1874, by Alexander Watson and Lockhart Smith for John Irving.
Dimensions: 102.7′ x 20.2′ x 4′ [V] [R].
Engines: 50 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 149.32 [V] [R].

7. *Pacific Slope* (renamed *Myra*).

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, March, 1882, by J. G. Walker for William Moore.
Dimensions: 92′ x 22.7′ x 3.3′ [NW].
Engines: 26.97 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 71.88 [NW].

8. *Princess Louise* (ex *Olympia*).

Sidewheeler; launched at New York, 1869; purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1878.
Dimensions: 180′ x 30′ x 13′ [V].
Engines: 46″ diameter; 350 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 624 [V].

9. *R. P. Rithet.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, April 20, 1882, by Alexander Watson for John Irving.
Dimensions: 177′ x 33.6′ x 8.5′ [NW].
Engines: 90 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 686.16 [NW].

10. *Reliance.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, March 7, 1876, by Alexander Watson for John Irving.
Dimensions: 122′ x 23′ x 4.8′ [V].
Engines: 120 h.p. [V]; 55.2 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 121.06 [V] [S].

11. *Royal City.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, March 2, 1875, by Collings & Cook for Otis Parsons.
Dimensions: 128.1′ x 26′ x 5′ [V].
Engines: 20″ x 60″ [L]; 280 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 322.16 [S].

12. *Skuzzy.*

Sternwheeler; launched 14 miles above Yale, May 4, 1882, by William Dalton for Andrew Onderdonk.
Dimensions: 127′ x 24.2′ x 4.5′ [NW].
Engines: 60 h.p. [NW]; 48 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 254.37 [NW].

13. *Western Slope.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Victoria, May 8, 1879, by Alexander Watson for William Moore.
Dimensions: 156′ x 26.5′ x 8′ [V].
Engines: 20″ x 60″ [L]; 150 h.p. [V]; 86.32 h.p. [W].
Registered tonnage: 725.71 [V] [W].

14. *William Irving.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Burrard Inlet, March 19, 1880, by Alexander Watson for John Irving.
Dimensions: 166.3′ x 34.3′ x 4.5′.
Engines: 18″ x 72″ [N]; 74.4 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 591.04 [NW] [S].

15. *Wilson G. Hunt.*

Sidewheeler; launched at New York, 1849; purchased by John Irving, 1878.
Dimensions: 186′ x 26′ x 8′ [V].
Engines: 36″ diameter; 150 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 350.36 [V].

BURRARD INLET STEAMERS, 1865–1883.

1. *Ada.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Burrard Inlet, August, 1874, by Henry Maloney for James Robinson and Christopher Lee.
Dimensions: 82′ x 19′ x 5.5′ [V] [R].
Engines: 2.5″ x 36″ [N]; 75 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 56.95 [V] [R].

2. *Chinaman.*

Screw-propelled steam-launch; brought from China and operated by James Van Bramer.
Dimensions: 37′ x 7.6′ x 4.6′.
Engines: 4 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 11.25 [S].

3. *Etta White.*

Screw tug; launched at Freeport Mills, Washington, 1871.
Dimensions: 93′ x 19.6′ x 9′ [V].
Engines: 120 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 82.4 [V].

4. *Isabel.*

Sidewheeler; launched at Victoria, July 28, 1866, by James Trahey for Edward Stamp.
Dimensions: 142.4′ x 22.6′ x 9.1′ [V] [R].
Engines: 80 h.p. [V].
Registered tonnage: 146.56 [V]; 300.07 [S].

5. *Leonora.*

Screw tug; launched at Burrard Inlet, 1876, by Henry Maloney for James Van Bramer.
Dimensions: 57′ x 9.2′ x 5.3′ [W].
Engines: 7 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 18.00 [S].

6. *Lily.*

Screw ferry; launched at Victoria, 1874, by Alexander Watson and Lockhart Smith for James Van Bramer.
Dimensions: 43′ x 6.9′ x 3′ [S].
Engines: 2.2 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 4.15 [S].

7. *Maggie.*

Sidewheel tug; launched at Burrard Inlet, 1873, for Jeremiah Rogers.
Dimensions: 72′ x 16′ x 4.5′ [NW].
Registered tonnage: 49.06 [NW].

8. *Robert Dunsmuir.*

Sidewheeler; launched at New Westminster, December 13, 1882, by Henry Maloney for William Rogers and A. C. Fraser.
Dimensions: 113′ x 20′ x 7′ [L] [N]; 105′ x 17.5′ x 6.7′ [NW].
Engines: 2.5″ x 36″ [N]; 65 h.p. [NW].
Registered tonnage: 146 [NW].

9. *Sea Foam.*

Steam screw ferry; operated by James Van Bramer.
Dimensions: None available.

10. *Senator.*

Steam screw ferry; launched at Burrard Inlet, April, 1880, by Henry Maloney for James Van Bramer.
Dimensions: 51.5′ x 12.5′ x 4.5′ [NW].
Registered tonnage: 21.42 [S].

11. *Union.*

Steam scow; launched at Burrard Inlet, 1874, for J. C. Hughes.
Dimensions: 54′ x 13′ x 4′ [NW].
Engines: 4.05 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 25.98 [S].

THOMPSON RIVER STEAMERS, 1866–1883.

1. *Kamloops.*

Sidewheeler; launched at Savona, 1872, for John Adams.
Dimensions: 57′ x 12.5′ x 3′ [NW].
Engines: 4 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 11.79 [S].

2. *Lady Dufferin.*

Sidewheeler; launched at Tranquille, October 16, 1878, by Neil Morrison for William Fortune.
Dimensions: 87.5′ x 16′ x 5.5′ [NW].
Engines: 20 h.p. [NW]; 10.2 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 52.38 [NW].

3. *Marten.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Savona, 1866, by James Trahey for the Hudson's Bay Company.
Dimensions: 125′ x 25′ x 5′ [S].
Engines: 40.25 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 282.51 [S].

4. *Peerless.*

Sternwheeler; launched at Kamloops, November, 1880, by Alexander Watson for Mara, Wilson & Company.
Dimensions: 133′ x 25.5′ x 5′ [NW].
Engines: 16″ x 54″ [N]; 75 h.p. [NW]; 53.04 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 256.03 [NW].

5. *Spallumcheen.*

Sidewheeler; launched at Kamloops, July 3, 1878, by Alexander Watson for the Kamloops Steam Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 83.25′ x 26.3′ x 5′ [N]; 80′ x 17′ x 5′ [NW].
Engines: 4 h.p. [S].
Registered tonnage: 50.54 [NW].

JUDGE BEGBIE IN ACTION: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LAW AND PRESERVATION OF ORDER IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.*

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, it appears, gave no specific instructions to the young barrister and court reporter, Matthew Baillie Begbie, whom he had appointed Judge of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. He did, it is true, make it clear to Begbie that he must, at all costs, preserve order among the American miners, and he informed him that he must assist Governor Douglas in any department of government where he could be of use, but he wisely left it to the men on the spot to shape their policies in the light of local conditions.[1] The new Judge was thus confronted with two great tasks: those of creating a judiciary and making that system supreme. It was an immense undertaking, and one that must be started without delay. Accordingly, he set out for the distant Pacific coast as soon as he received his commission from the Queen on September 2, 1858, arriving in time to participate in the impressive ceremony that marked the transition of the territory from fur kingdom to gold colony.

British Columbia had been created by the Act of August 2, 1858, commonly known as the " British Columbia Act,"[2] but it was not until November 19 of the same year that the new colony was formally ushered into existence. Judge Begbie, without whom the ceremony could not properly take place, arrived in

* The second in a series of four articles dealing with the career of Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie.

(1) Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858, *in* Great Britain, Parliament, *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, Part I. (Cmd. 2476), London, 1859, pp. 61–2. This important series of Blue-books comprises four parts: Part II. (Cmd. 2578), London, 1859; Part III. (Cmd. 2724), London, 1860; and Part IV. (Cmd. 2952), London, 1862. Hereafter referred to as *British Columbia Papers*. For Begbie's instructions on the preservation of order, which appear to have been verbal, *see* Lindley Crease, " Sir Matthew Begbie," Victoria *Colonist*, June 19, 1938.

(2) 21 & 22 Victoria, c. 99, "An Act to provide for the Government of British Columbia," *British Columbia Papers*, Part I., pp. 1–2.

Victoria from San Francisco on Tuesday, November 16, and embarked with Governor Douglas and his suite for the mainland on the following Wednesday. The official party, consisting of the Governor, Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes, officer commanding the naval forces of the Pacific Station, His Honour, Judge David Cameron, Chief Justice of Vancouver Island, and other officials were carried by H.M.S. *Satellite* to Point Roberts. Here they spent the night, and on the following day were conveyed by the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Otter* to the steamship *Beaver*, which awaited them at the mouth of the Fraser River. Both vessels then proceeded to Old Fort Langley, where a detachment of Royal Engineers under the command of Captain Parsons disembarked. The party then continued to New Fort Langley, where the ceremony was to take place on the next day.

Although Friday broke grey and rain fell heavily, the occasion lacked none of the pomp that had characterized the journey of the Governor and his aides from Victoria. There were bluejackets and sappers to form a guard of honour. A salute of eighteen guns boomed one by one from the *Beaver*. In the main building of the fort, naval and military uniforms and the robes of the Judges lent colour and solemnity to the ceremony, symbolizing the fact that the Queen's servants were to bring order and progress to the wilderness.

Governor Douglas, after reading a short address, administered the oaths of allegiance and office to Begbie, and delivered to him the Queen's commission as Judge of British Columbia. Judge Begbie then administered similar oaths to James Douglas, and read aloud his Governor's commission. Taking the commission, Governor Douglas proceeded to read the proclamations upon which the authority and functions of his Government were to be established. First, he read a proclamation revoking the Hudson's Bay Company's licence to exclusive trade with the Indians within the boundaries of the new colony. He then proclaimed three other laws. The first was the Act of August 2, 1858, which created the Colony of British Columbia and made provision for its law and government, and the second was a proclamation validating the Acts of Douglas and his officials before the declaration of this Act. The third stated that English law was in force in the colony as provided for in the Act of August 2, 1858, and

that the Acts of 1803 and 1822,[3] which had placed the western territories under the law and jurisdiction of Upper Canada, should cease to have force in, and be applicable to, the Colony of British Columbia.

On November 21 Governor Douglas left the fort to resume work on the pressing problems with which he had to deal in the two colonies. Another salute of guns marked his departure, an observance fitting the man and the situation, for James Douglas was an autocrat by disposition, and he was to rule the gold colony in the grand manner of the old colonial governors. Following the letter rather than the spirit of the Act of 1858, he appointed Colonel R. C. Moody and Judge Begbie as members of the Executive Council for British Columbia, with which he was to work throughout his tenure of office. This council was created in March, 1859, and was essentially advisory in function. Colonel Moody, in addition to commanding the Royal Engineers, held a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia and acted as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. In this formative period Moody's position was of the first importance. He had charge of the armed force which was to defend the colony should the need arise. In the event of serious disorders among the miners he was to take charge of the situation if it proved too great for the colonial police to control.[4] Under his direction the Engineers made surveys and built roads. As Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Moody had control of the sale of lands. There are no minutes of the meetings of the council, but in the light of Douglas' dislike and disapproval of Moody it is not likely that he carried much weight in the formulation of policy.[5] Judge Begbie, by virtue of his position, acted in an advisory capacity in the matter of legislation. As he served as Attorney-General up to March, 1859, when G. H. Cary was appointed to that position, it is to be presumed that he promul-

(3) 43 George III., c. 138, and 1 & 2 George IV., c. 66.

(4) Instructions to Colonel R. C. Moody, enclosed in Lytton to Douglas, November 1, 1858, *British Columbia Papers*, Part I., pp. 73–6. Lytton went to great pains to explain that there could be nothing more harmful to a community than the confounding of the duties of soldiers with the functions of the police.

(5) W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 298–301.

gated the first laws of the colony.[6] From his correspondence it appears that he frequently discussed legislation with Governor Douglas and the Colonial Secretary, W. A. G. Young, but, unfortunately, seldom committed his views to paper.

Governor Douglas held Judge Begbie in the highest esteem, both as a man and as an able servant of the Crown. It is true that they frequently disagreed in matters of policy, but mutual respect and a similarity in outlook on the broader issues of the time permitted them to work in harmony together.[7] As both men were autocratic by disposition and arbitrary in the conduct of affairs, it is probable that they had little use for representative institutions in the colonies. They made many enemies and must have been drawn together by common sympathy when pilloried in the press, where the Governor endured the slings of Amor de Cosmos and Judge Begbie suffered a hail of arrows from John Robson.[8] Yet James Douglas was too impartial a man to permit private disagreement to colour his opinions in matters of public service, and he was able to commend Begbie on achievements that were obvious to all but the most jaundiced eyes. In his " Confidential Report on Officers," believed to have been written in 1863, he wrote:—

> Able, active, energetic and highly talented, Mr. Begbie is a most valuable public servant. I feel greatly indebted to him for the zealous discharge of his official duties and for many services beyond the strict line of official duty. It would be impossible I think to find a person better qualified for the position he fills and for that of Chief Justice when the appointment is made.[9]

It has been said that these men played their parts on a small stage.[10] This is true, in the sense that the northwest coast was remote and that the problems of the colony were trivial in com-

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(6) The Act of August 2, 1858, and the proclamation of November 19, 1858, declared English law to be in force, but the latter made provision for the proclamation of laws required by local conditions.

(7) Victoria *Colonist*, March 11, 1864.

(8) De Cosmos was editor of the *Daily British Colonist*, published in Victoria. He attacked Douglas for his failure to establish properly representative, responsible government. John Robson edited the *British Columbian*, published on the mainland at New Westminster, in which he flayed Begbie for what he considered tyranny and incompetence.

(9) *MS.*, Archives of B.C., reprinted in Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 351.

parison with those of more populous areas. But if the events of the time are set within the context of continental movements and rivalries, it becomes apparent at once that the policies of the British Government were momentous and that Douglas and, to some extent, Begbie played important parts in the unfolding of our national destiny. Nearly a century has elapsed since the hazardous days of the gold-rush of 1858, and with the passage of time the existence of British Columbia has been taken for granted. The southern boundary is accepted as if it had come into existence by the decree of nature. Yet a moment's reflection will show that the division between British Columbia and the bordering American states is man-made and determined by historic rather than by geographic forces. It is, in short, an arbitrary line of demarcation, determined by treaty in 1846, and held during the critical period of the gold-rush by Governor Douglas and his able lieutenant, Judge Begbie.

The American frontier, thrust forward by growing population pressure, was drawn steadily westward as the continent yielded its treasures of forest, land, and mine. By the middle of the nineteenth century the richest and most accessible part of the continent had been won. There had been little to deflect this movement from its westward course. The area north of the Great Lakes had nothing to compare with the fertile lands of the Middle West. In comparison, the Canadian Shield, the Ontario Peninsula, and the Prairies were far less attractive. Had these lands been richer and more accessible, the American frontiersmen would have poured in and their Government would have secured them by forceful negotiation, as it did in Maine, Oregon, and Alaska.[11] After 1850 the situation changed, and a period critical for the future, if not the existence, of Canada ensued. By this time the frontier had reached the Pacific and the whole of the American West was occupied. At the same time population pressure increased, and its force would ultimately be directed against the 49th parallel, which, in the West, was little more than a line of demarcation between the land the Americans had occupied and that which they had not wanted for the time being. There was thus ample reason why these vacant territories should

(11) E. W. McInnis, *The Unguarded Frontier, a History of Canadian-American Relations*, New York, 1942, p. 6.

become increasingly attractive to landless adventurers who were not insensitive to the demands of manifest destiny.

The Americans had outflanked the frontier of Canadian settlement, which in 1850 had not passed beyond the Great Lakes.[12] At the same time the American mining frontier was moving northward in a sharp thrust towards the western limits of the great fur empire of the Hudson's Bay Company.[13] This vast preserve, extending from the Great Lakes to the shores of the Pacific, had remained vacant while the floods of American settlement were pouring irresistibly to the western coast. In Canada there had never been sufficient population pressure to overcome the barriers of the Hudson's Bay Company's privilege and to push settlement over the wastes of the Canadian Shield in the wake of the fur frontier. Such a movement had to wait many years until steel could span these areas like a giant causeway to the Pacific. In the meantime, for a period of more than twenty years, the fate of the future dominion hung in the balance. The loss of Oregon was an example of the consequences of American expansion into territory to which Great Britain had a legitimate claim but had failed to safeguard with an adequate framework of government and law. The lesson was not forgotten in this instance, and provisions were made to avert the consequences of any further incursions into Her Majesty's possessions.

After long debates in both Houses it was finally decided that a colony should be established on Vancouver Island to form a barrier against further American expansion. As few of the members were willing that the mother country should foot the bill, it was finally agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company was best fitted to undertake the task. At length, after protracted negotiations, an arrangement was made, and on January 13, 1849, the colony was established under terms that were to cost the Government nothing and enable the company, opposed to settlement, yet fearful of American occupation, to make an adjustment to the situation in terms most satisfactory to itself.

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(12) With the possible exception of the Red River Colony, which, by reason of its affiliations with the Hudson's Bay Company, was a population centre only in a restricted sense.

(13) T. A. Rickard, "Indian Participation in the Gold Discoveries," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II.(1938), pp. 3–18, *passim*.

Here, on the southern rim of British territory, was an organized government which, enjoying an authority and prestige that the company had never possessed in Oregon, could extend its authority and establish an administration in any part of the British Pacific possessions where the home Government deemed it necessary.

The precautions taken by the British Government were justified by subsequent events. The influx of Americans which they had forseen with some alarm was soon to come, though the attraction which drew them northward was not land, but gold. This mineral, which was to play so large a part in the next two decades, had been discovered as early as 1833 on the shores of Okanagan Lake by David Douglas, the botanist, but the first discovery to attract miners was made on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1850. After the deposit had been investigated by the Hudson's Bay Company, news soon spread to the goldfields of California. Two ships left Puget Sound and six sailed from San Francisco with adventurers eager for a new bonanza. Although the rush proved to be a fiasco, the event is of special significance, for it put the policy of 1849 to the test and served as a dress rehearsal for the drama of 1858. James Douglas, who had succeeded the unhappy Blanshard just as the excitement was beginning, was able to act with the full authority of an officer of the Crown. He learned what steps to take in such an emergency and the precise attitude of the home authorities on various points of procedure and policy.

The agitation created by this strike had not long subsided before rumours and reports of similar discoveries on the mainland began to circulate. In all probability gold had been found first by Indians, as it had on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and carried to the Hudson's Bay Company officials for purposes of trade.[14] According to Rickard, the company agent at Kamloops had obtained dust from the natives as early as 1852, and there is evidence to show that the metal was brought to other posts in the Interior.[15] It is thus very likely that the discovery at Colville in 1855 did not surprise Douglas greatly, though the richness of the strike led him to write a full report to Labouchere on April

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 9.
(15) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

16, 1856, in which he expressed the belief that similar deposits might be found in other parts of the country.[16] For the time being these discoveries led to no widespread activity, but through 1857 Douglas' dispatches contained frequent references to gold. By the end of the year he believed that another gold-rush was inevitable and wrote to inform the British Government that he anticipated an inrush of miners in the following spring.[17] Though he had no specific instructions to represent the Crown on the mainland, he issued a proclamation and regulations similar to those that he had used on the Queen Charlotte Islands.[18] James Douglas was prepared for any eventuality.

As he had predicted, the rush to the Fraser began in the spring of 1858. Between 25,000 and 30,000 men poured into the territory. The majority of these miners were American citizens, though a considerable sprinkling of other nationalities gave a strong cosmopolitan colouring to the movement. All had one end in view, and that was the rapid acquisition of a fortune. Most of them were law-abiding and from past experience knew that their best interests would be served under a rule of law. There were, however, certain tendencies inherent in the situation that might lead only too easily to the loss of the territory to the United States. First of all, there was the danger of an Indian rising. The natives naturally resented the incursion of large numbers of white men into their ancestral domains. They had come to trust the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, partly from the benefits derived from trade, but chiefly because the company men treated them in accordance with their profound knowledge of the Indian character. The Americans, on the other hand, they hated and mistrusted, for word soon reached the northern tribes of the bloody wars that had followed the American frontier as it moved west and turned north toward the Fraser. There was also danger from lawlessness. Though a distinct minority, the gunmen, gamblers, and rowdies might get the upper hand of the law, as they had in California, and initiate

(16) Douglas to Labouchere, April 16, 1856, *Letterbook*, Archives of B.C.

(17) Douglas to Labouchere, December 29, 1857, *Letterbook*, Archives of B.C.

(18) Proclamation dated December 28, 1857, and "Regulations for the Mines at Fraser and Thompson River Districts," dated December 29, 1857, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

a reign of terror. Either of these possibilities—an Indian rising or a serious outbreak of disorder among the white men—could have only one outcome: the miners would organize themselves and call on their mother country for help; Britain would be powerless to act, and there could be no doubt as to the reaction of the American Government. Whether willing or unwilling to intervene, they would have been compelled by public opinion to sweep aside the flimsy barrier of the International Boundary and extend the border of the republic to the "fifty-four forty" of Polk's election war cry.[19] Had this happened, as it might easily have done, there can be no doubt that the country west of the Great Lakes would have fallen into American hands. How long the older centres, the Canadas and the Maritimes, could have held out would have been a question for manifest destiny alone to decide.

During the spring and summer of 1858 James Douglas shouldered the responsibilities of the gold-rush almost alone. His experience in Oregon had afforded him a close acquaintance with the American frontier. He had at his disposal the machinery created in 1849, and he had already learned how to use it in 1850. It is evident from his dispatches that he considered all eventualities during the winter of 1857. Thus, when the crisis came, he was able to take immediate steps to contain the incursion of Americans within a framework of government and law. His prompt action prevented an Indian war that might easily have led to American intervention. He overawed the lawless element and controlled the autonomous tendencies among the miners with such firmness that there were no appeals to the Government of the United States for help. By the end of the summer Douglas had forestalled, for the time being at least, any possibility of the territory's suffering the fate of Oregon.

With the approach of autumn a large number of miners left the country to spend the winter in the South, giving James Douglas a respite from some of his heavy responsibilities and time to prepare for the administrative tasks that lay before him as governor of the new colony. The creation of the Colony of British Columbia on November 19, 1858, marks a transition from

(19) A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, Toronto [1939], p. 751.

a period of hasty improvisation to one in which a system of government and law was gradually established by the new governor and his officials. This was accomplished largely between 1859 and 1861, a period of some three years in which Judge Begbie made his lasting contribution to the history of the West. By his suppression of violence he assured the continuance of the country under the British flag. At the same time he established the judiciary and undertook many an administrative task for the Governor that lay beyond the limits of his official duties. He won for himself the name of the " Hanging Judge," it is true, but a careful consideration of his work will show that the title had, as he might have said himself, no shadow of foundation.

The first of Judge Begbie's " services beyond the strict line of official duty " was his journey into the Interior from Yale in March, 1859. It is sometimes referred to as his first circuit in British Columbia, and such it was, for he was accompanied by Arthur Thomas Bushby, his clerk and registrar, and Charles Nicol, the high sheriff. The chief purpose of the mission, however, was to estimate the resources and describe the terrain of the hinterland. The Judge was admirably fitted for the undertaking. He was strong, athletic, and suited by nature and training for a scientific reconnaissance of this kind. His diaries contain numerous calculations of latitude and longitude, meteorological records, and descriptions of topographical features. The long report which he submitted enabled Douglas to form a very clear picture of the southern portion of the Fraser Basin. In the Judge's opinion the American population had submitted readily to British authority—a tribute to Douglas' work in the previous summer. He considered the land wealthy both in minerals and agricultural possibilities, but made it clear that the latter could not be realized until a satisfactory system of land tenure had been worked out and a proper system of communications had been established.[20]

(20) Begbie to Douglas, April 25, 1859, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. This report is also to be found in *British Columbia Papers*, Part III., pp. 17–24. It was subsequently published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXI. (1861), pp. 237–48. The precision of Begbie's descriptions and the logic of his conclusions reveal a natural capacity for scientific work.

It was Judge Begbie's scientific interests that brought him into collision with Colonel Moody and his Engineers. We find him performing duties that were definitely those of the Department of Lands and Works, and it seems that this was more than the professional and regimental pride of the Royal Engineers could endure. A letter written to Douglas in March, 1859, shows him making arrangements for a ferry and laying out the town lots at Fort Hope. At the same time he wrote to Moody, requesting him, very courteously, to be good enough to appoint Magistrate Nicol as a surveyor.[21] When the Judge, acting on instructions from Governor Douglas, drew maps and submitted them to the Department of Lands and Works, the Colonel icily requested him to send them to the Colonial Secretary in future, going on to say that Douglas would in turn direct them to his office.[22] Up to that time the Judge had begun his official communications to Moody with the informal and friendly "My dear Colonel" and closed them with "Please remember me to Parsons and the others." Thereafter he wrote with arctic formality. He has left us a glimpse of himself on the road, making observations and recording them with a touch of malicious satisfaction. In a rather personal letter to Young, whom he liked, Begbie wrote:—

> I have a pocket sextant, w[hi]ch answers very well—my observations at Cayoosh and Lytton agreed with the scientific gentlemen within less than a mile.[23]

As it is more than likely that he rallied the officers on the accuracy of their calculations, one can understand the feelings of Lieutenant H. S. Palmer, R.E., one of the "scientific gentlemen," when he wrote to Moody from his camp in the Cariboo:—

> He has no right to be mapping when there are R.E.'s in the country.[24]

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(21) Begbie to Moody, March 17, 1859, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(22) Moody to Begbie, December 31, 1861, *Letterbook*, Archives of B.C.

(23) Begbie to Young, August 26, 1861, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Prior to his appointment as Colonial Secretary, W. A. G. Young had served on the Boundary Commission. In his confidential report to the Colonial Office, Douglas praised Young as highly as he did Begbie. *See* Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

(24) Palmer to Moody, August 17, 1862, Palmer Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Palmer was eager to put the "Arch Enemy," as he called him, out of business, for ten days later he wrote:—

> I trust to be able on my return to sketch for you a really fair map of the Cariboo district, a map that will be of value to miners & others, & thus Messrs. Begbie, Epner & Co. will, I sincerely hope, be "played out."[25]

Judge Begbie performed these services while riding circuit. In the early days it was his custom to spend considerable time in the various centres. As a rule court business consumed only a part of the time at his disposal, the rest of which he devoted to the special tasks that Governor Douglas asked him to perform.[26] He became a familiar figure in the settlements and on the trails of the Interior, talking to all, seeing all, and remembering all. When a shooting affray occurred and there were no constables near by, the miners seized the guilty parties and held them, knowing that Judge Begbie would ride in hot haste to the spot.[27] His presence in the country became a guarantee of law and order, as Lytton had foreseen. He was not unlike the itinerant justices of Henry I.'s and II.'s day, carrying the royal writ to the remote ends of the domain.

In addition to court duties and the special services mentioned above, Judge Begbie was also busy in establishing the civil and criminal judiciary. Prior to his inauguration as governor, Douglas had appointed magistrates, justices of the peace, police officers, and a collector of customs. He had, indeed, actually established a rude court of law at Hope to try William King for the murder of William Eaton.[28] Whether or not this act, generally conceded to be illegal, was validated by the proclamation of November 19 is a fine point of law.[29] His appointments, however, were validated, and it remained for him, with the assistance of Judge Begbie, to round out the work he had started in

(25) Palmer to Moody, August 27, 1862, *ibid.*

(26) He was gradually relieved of these responsibilities as more officials were appointed.

(27) "Speedy Trial of Prisoners Act," April 23, 1860, *British Columbia Ordinances and Proclamations, 1860.* This enabled Begbie to hold court on the spot and without delay for commission. He sometimes conducted such trials in the open.

(28) Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858, *British Columbia Papers*, Part II., p. 4.

(29) Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

the spring and summer of 1858. Douglas had already sent Lytton a plan for a judiciary which had been drawn up by George Pearkes, Crown solicitor of Vancouver Island.[30] Lytton approved the plan, but suggested that it should be submitted to Judge Begbie on his arrival and that he should consider its efficacy in the light of local conditions.[31]

The Pearkes plan made provision for a Supreme Court under a chief justice and two puisne judges. Judge Begbie, however, had been commissioned as a puisne judge with the understanding that he would later be elevated to the chief justiceship, the promotion to be governed not only by the nature of the services rendered but also by the conditions prevailing in the colony.[32] Chiefly for financial reasons and partly because Judge Begbie objected, the authorities never appointed additional puisne judges to the Supreme Court during the colonial period. This meant that there was never, before 1871, a Court of Appeal nearer than London—a fact that caused increasing dissatisfaction as time went on.

In addition to the Supreme Court, there were also the County Courts for petty cases and the Gold Commissioner's Court, the latter being a special innovation arising from local conditions. Magistrates presided in County Court and came to enjoy the title of "Judge," a purely courtesy title and one not to be confused with the rank of a puisne judge. It is thus that Peter O'Reilly and other magistrates are referred to to-day as judges. In a similar manner gold commissioners are given the same title. From the point of view of the importance of the work they did and the scope of their jurisdiction, the latter enjoyed and deserved a great deal of prestige. Some of them served in the capacity of magistrate as well as that of gold commissioner, and this, in its turn, led to an even wider confusion of terms, since either a magistrate or a gold commissioner came to be referred to by all three titles—judge, magistrate, and gold commissioner.

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(30) Douglas to Lytton, October 26, 1858, *British Columbia Papers*, Part II., p. 8.

(31) Lytton to Douglas, December 30, 1858, *ibid.*, p. 74.

(32) Begbie to Seymour, March 11, 1865, and April 11, 1865, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Another detail that sometimes leads to a little confusion is the fact that there was actually only one commissioner, the rest being known technically as assistant commissioners. The commissioner had charge of, and was responsible for, all mining matters. He supervised the assistants in their various districts and had the power, subject to the Governor's consent, to employ or discharge these men. All mining cases were heard in the Gold Commissioner's Court, whence appeal could be made to the Supreme Court.

Ancillary to the gold commissioner and his court was the Mining Board, a body of miners appointed by the local commissioner. Its relation and function was not unlike that of the Grand Jury. The members reported all grievances and needs, providing the raw material out of which mining legislation was finally made. These bodies were established in 1862, ceased to function in 1864 and came to life again in 1866. Their usefulness was seriously limited by the fact that too many parties were involved in the framing of mining laws. The miners, who knew little of the law, submitted their views to lawyers, who knew little about mining. To make matters worse, the miners made their recommendations in the distant Interior, while the Governor, Attorney-General, and the other officials came to their decisions at the Coast. There was no adequate liaison between the two bodies because the gold commissioners were overburdened with work and could not make the long journey from the mines when required to do so.

The machinery for settling miners' disputes had similar flaws, attributable to human frailties that could not be foreseen nor subsequently overcome by remedial legislation. Many of the disputes arose from what is known technically as "unlawful encroachment," or, in the language of the mining camps, "claim-jumping." In such cases there was almost invariably an appeal from the decision of the Gold Commissioner's Court. If the injured party, the plaintiff, lost the case, he naturally sought justice by appeal in the Supreme Court. If the plaintiff won, the defendant was frequently willing to fight the case again in the higher court, because Judge Begbie's decisions and conduct of mining litigation were so unusual that men were willing to take very good odds that the decision against them would either

be modified or reversed. This, of course, resulted in long and ruinous cases that became so numerous that injured parties began to wonder whether or not it would be cheaper to cut their losses from the "jump" by staying out of court. Another evil arising from such cases, but one for which the Judge was not greatly responsible, was the use of injunctions. When a suit was filed, the counsel for plaintiff secured an order from the court forbidding operations of any kind on the disputed ground. This order, or injunction, literally locked up the claim until the end of the case. As Judge Begbie had an immense circuit and an increasing number of cases to hear each year, rich claims were sometimes frozen for an entire season. It was, furthermore, not an uncommon occurrence that, after difficulties in the Supreme Court, a case would be taken into Chancery. This meant another delay, with the injunction still in force.

With the exception of the trouble that occurred at Lillooet over the arrest of the Cranford brothers, the County Courts were comparatively free of strife and confusion.[33] Magistrates Perrier and Whannell were fatuous, and Whannell, indeed, was an out-and-out rogue.[34] They were soon discharged, however, and the rest of the magistracy established a record for industry and efficiency. Thomas Elwyn, who had invested money in a valuable claim, resigned as soon as Governor Douglas made it clear that he could not permit responsible Government servants to have any part in such activities.[35] He had proved himself an able man, and it was to be regretted that the Government did not pay him sufficient to keep him in the service. Most of the magistrates were recruited from the upper middle class in the British Isles and had come to the colony not so much to make a quick fortune as to make a career and a home for themselves in the new world. Judge Begbie, who was both loyal and generous to his colleagues, paid them a well-earned tribute in his illuminating report to Young in January, 1863:—

(33) Wright *vs.* Cranford. This case was heard at Lillooet in the Supreme Court before Judge Begbie, October 15–16, 1862. Magistrate Elliott made serious errors in issuing warrants for the arrest of the Cranfords.

(34) Sir Henry Barkley, Governor of Victoria, Australia, to Douglas, May 31, 1859, with enclosures, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(35) Elwyn to Young, December 9, 1862, Elwyn Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

. . . I think His Excellency & the public have every reason to be satisfied with the services rendered. Those services could not be rendered without a degree of exertion and personal hardships undergone, w[hi]ch perhaps a bare sense of simple duty wo[ul]d not always require, and w[hi]ch, certainly are not elicited by any extraordinary remuneration or immediate reward: and w[hi]ch can therefore only be attributed to an anxious desire in every officer to do his very utmost in his own department, to the sacrifice of his ease and comfort & very often of his health.[36]

There were never more than seven of these local magistrates in the colony, and when it is remembered that most of them served as assistant gold commissioners as well, the truth of Judge Begbie's statement that they were inspired by a high sense of duty becomes very apparent.

The magistrates were supported by a regular police force of fifteen constables under Chief Inspector Chartres Brew, a ludicrously small number in view of the size of the territory and the nature of the population. It was, of course, extremely difficult to obtain suitable men, particularly in the first two or three years of the gold fever. The salaries were pitifully small and could not compete with the lure of the mines. In the report cited above, Judge Begbie made strong representations to Secretary Young to urge the necessity for higher wages. It gives a vivid picture of living conditions in Cariboo at that time. He described the rate of pay as " inexplicably inadequate " and went on to show that a constable's pay of £25 a month scarcely sufficed to keep body and soul together. Up to September, 1862, meals had cost 10 shillings, but after that they had been reduced to 8 shillings. This meant that to eat three meals a day at the first rate would cost £45 a month, and at the second £36 a month. Boarding-houses, those offering the cheapest rates, charged about £24 a month. At the reduced prices the salary thus provided little more than subsistence. As Begbie wrote:—

The pay of a constable is £25 a month—not enough therefore to provide him with two meals a day, without allowing anything for clothes (w[hi]ch I need not remark are extremely expensive and rapidly worn out) tobacco, an occasional stimulant or any of the other extras w[hi]ch a rough mountain life justifies and almost demands.[37]

(36) Begbie to Young, no date but received January 19, 1863, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(37) *Ibid.*

In spite of the poor wage offered for what the Judge called the "most thankless duties involving great personal fatigue, exposure and responsibility," Chief Inspector Brew managed to build up a force of efficient constables. These were drawn from the ranks of a certain class of Englishman who, like the magistrates, had come in quest of a career and a home. Judge Begbie describes them as men:—

> . . . who have hitherto filled superior stations in life: some of them having even held field officers commissions in Her Majesty's Army—and most of them are provided with some small means of their own.[38]

It was well for the constables that they had some means of their own, for Judge Begbie's kind words gained them little more than official appreciation.

On the occasions that called for a larger number of police than were available, special constables were sworn in for a period of days or weeks, as conditions might require. Ned McGowan's posse of roughnecks who carried off the indignant Whannell were special constables—officially. In the Grouse Creek affair the Gold Commissioner enrolled about twenty or thirty volunteers. In Begbie's opinion, specials were rarely as efficient as the regulars because of a lack of knowledge and experience. They were, however, paid nearly twice as much.[39]

One of the greatest difficulties and perhaps one of the greatest dangers of the day was the transportation of dust and nuggets to the coast. In 1861 Governor Douglas, with the assistance of Captain Gossett, established the Gold Escort. This imposing and romantic body was composed of Royal Engineers, fully armed and mounted, under the command of Thomas Elwyn, who later became a magistrate and assistant gold commissioner. Elwyn offered his personal guarantee for the safety of the precious cargo, but when the Government would not give similar assurances of safe delivery, miners began to manifest greater reliance in the private concerns that took up the work.

The Indians gave little trouble after the summer of 1858, when Douglas' prompt action and just measures prevented serious disorder. In most cases individual Indian troubles arose from consumption of liquor and when white men became involved

(38) *Ibid.*
(39) *Ibid.*

with Indian women. As early as 1861 Indian constables were employed with jurisdiction over Indian affairs. These men, when carefully selected, acquitted themselves well, showing great pride in their office, which was designated by a baton. When four Haidas were murdered by a group of Chemainus Indians, native constables from Nanaimo arrested the murderers in the face of the whole Chemainus tribe and conducted them to Nanaimo to stand trial. In 1863, when Indian trouble broke out on the Gulf Islands, native constables were sent to apprehend the wrong-doers, who would, no doubt, have escaped had it not been for the skill and courage of the Indian officers. It seems that the authorities encouraged the natives by giving them small rewards for good service. Judge Begbie, who was generally very well disposed to Indians and inclined to be lenient with them in court, favoured cash rewards. Of one constable he wrote:—

> The native special displayed so much tact & perseverance that I ordered him a special reward of $10—as it is very useful to encourage this description of service.[40]

While the Judge does not seem to have exerted much more than a friendly influence in matters concerning the magistracy and the police of the colony, he played an important part, which has been severely criticized, in the formation of the British Columbia Bar. His acceptance of some lawyers and rejection of others led finally to a storm of protest in the *British Columbian*, and finally to petitions to Governor Douglas and the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Throughout the controversy Begbie never deigned to acknowledge public criticism, and all his letters to the Governor were written with proper judicial detachment. Yet there were personal feelings and prejudices involved, for the issue came to a climax when he refused to admit George A. Walkem, an ambitious lawyer from Upper Canada with whom he had had a violent quarrel in the Cranford case.[41]

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(40) Begbie to H. M. Ball (Acting Colonial Secretary), September 3, 1863, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(41) At Lillooet on October 15, 1862, in Wright *vs.* Cranford. George A. Walkem was born in Ireland, but came to Canada at the age of nine. He was educated in Quebec and qualified to practise in both Upper and Lower Canada. It is generally believed that standards were high in Upper Canada and that Walkem was an able lawyer. When refused admittance by Judge

The British Columbia Act of August 2, 1858, made only general provisions for the judiciary. There were no special enactments as there had been in the case of Vancouver Island in 1849. Governor Douglas and Judge Begbie were thus to some extent free to adopt any line of action that circumstances of a local nature seemed to require. It soon became necessary for the Judge to submit for the Governor's approval some definite provisions for the employment of counsel and attorneys in the courts of the colony. Writing to Douglas on December 15, 1858, he pointed out that absence of counsel made it necessary for him to act as adviser as well as judge, and that such circumstances made him despair of giving satisfaction to the suitors and of maintaining the desirable high character of a British court of law. There were, he went on, persons giving advice *sub rosa*, a situation which he considered harmful, and which could be brought to an end by calling properly licensed practitioners into existence.[42]

The problem was to decide what regulations should be made to obtain immediately the best available talent. There is no doubt that Judge Begbie's preference was for English barristers, but as there were none in the colony at the time, he was compelled to make a temporary arrangement. In the letter mentioned above he wrote:—

> Now here, there being no English barristers or attornies [*sic*], it seems expedient to take the best that can be got. . . .[43]

He accordingly drew up an *Order of Court* on December 27, 1858, which made provision for temporary and permanent rolls. Permanent enrolment was open to barristers, attorneys, and solicitors who were entitled to practise at the Bar in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and to those who should be instructed in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Temporary licence would be granted for a period of six months after the *Order of Court* to those qualified to practise in any part of the British

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Begbie, Walkem rode circuit, giving advice *sub rosa*, as the Judge said, and conducting cases from the public benches. This practice led to an undignified scene in the Lillooet court.

(42) Begbie to Douglas, December 15, 1858, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(43) *Ibid.*

Empire outside the United Kingdom and to barristers qualified to plead in the Supreme Court of the United States.

To the Judge's consternation, barristers could not be found who were qualified to avail themselves of either the temporary or permanent rolls. The provision for temporary enrolment expired on June 30, 1859, and was not renewed. Nearly three years later, on December 13, 1861, he wrote to James Douglas to inform him that apart from the Attorney-General there was only one barrister qualified to practise in the colony. Begbie made it clear that he had no desire to change the existing rule—that only barristers from the British Isles could practise — and expressed the hope that ". . . a sufficient number of duly educated practitioners may arrive from the mother country." He had, no doubt, been prejudiced, or had his prejudices strengthened, by the unqualified practitioners who were now beginning to haunt the courts as he rode circuit. Most of these men were from Upper Canada, where, ironically enough, they had not made a footing in their chosen profession and, like Judge Begbie himself, had come to British Columbia to make a new start. As a rule they did not succeed in disposing him very favourably to candidates from that distant colony unless they were men of marked ability and integrity.

A Canadian who did win the Judge's approval was a Mr. Barnston, an Upper Canadian barrister who had come to British Columbia in 1858. He practised at first on a temporary roll and was later given permanent status. This occurred in June, 1860, when the absence of qualified counsel was beginning to be felt acutely. But even then Judge Begbie made it clear that while there was no power to control him in making this decision, he would not do so without the approval of the Governor.[44]

Although Barnston proved himself to be a man of integrity and tolerable ability, his admittance led to the uproar over George A. Walkem. By the end of 1862 a number of barristers from the British Isles had been admitted and the litigants in the colony were able to obtain counsel. There were also a number of Canadians who wished to be enrolled but were, under the *Order of Court* of December 27, 1858, not eligible. Thus, when, on September 30, 1862, Governor Douglas forwarded Walkem's

(44) Begbie to Douglas, December 13, 1861, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

petition, Judge Begbie was able to state that it was not within his power to comply with the prayer of Mr. Walkem. He pointed out that the temporary roll for those barristers who were not qualified to practise at the English Bar had expired on June 30, 1859, and that the present rules for admission, which had been sanctioned by the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, bound his hands "almost as effectually as if they had been originally issued as instructions for my conduct by Her Majesty in Council." Remembering Barnston, the Judge continued:—

I say "almost" as effectually for in one instance about 18 months ago I certainly infringed them, in the case of Mr. Barnston a gentleman from Canada resident in these Colonies since 1858. But that case was immediately communicated to His Excellency together with a statement of its peculiar circumstances.

There was at that time only one Gentleman practising in the Colony which caused a necessary and most marked inequality in all cases and suits where one side and only one side could obtain any legal opinion or assistance there was positively a greater amount of apparent unfairness than where no professional assistance whatever could be obtained by either side.

I therefore, in view of the public convenience to which alone all regulations on such a subject are to be referred, admitted Mr. Barnston to practise on a temporary roll, immediately announcing to His Excellency the fact of such temporary admission and also Mr. Barnston's application to be fully admitted.

Upon this latter application all action was deferred for some months.

At the end of this time in the absence of all objection and Mr. Barnston having shown at least a tolerable acquaintance with the duties of his profession and there being still only one Barrister resident in the Colony he was enrolled as an ordinary Barrister.

But I felt that even under such circumstances every apology and explanation were imperatively required from me for departing from the rules which I had voluntarily undertaken to observe—a departure which in my opinion nothing but an urgent necessity could excuse.

At the present day however no such urgent necessity appears to exist.

There have been during the present Assizes here no less than six gentlemen in Court every day, and two others have transacted business here during the past week, all entitled to conduct legal proceedings, three of these habitually reside in this Colony and go the circuits.

Litigation is I am happy to say not so rife as to be beyond the Physical capacity of these gentlemen to conduct but rather the contrary.[45]

Such was Judge Begbie's very able explanation why he had enrolled one Canadian barrister and refused to do the same for

(45) Begbie to Young. November 29, 1862, *ibid.*

another. In closing, he made two revealing remarks. He states, as if to underline the fact that admission of Canadians was no longer necessary, that more English barristers were about to set up in practice. Significant of his opinion of Walkem are the last two paragraphs:—

> I make no allusions whatever to the character or moral qualifications of any of the present applicants as I conceive the question to be definitely settled, so far as I am concerned on the above general considerations.
>
> I have only to suggest that strict inquiry should in all cases of course be made as to the antecedents of all Gentlemen admitted to practise, under any rules.

His dislike of Walkem was well known after the Cranford case, and it was also well known that he looked with great disfavour on some of Walkem's convivial habits. Although the latter seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of popularity, as shown by the fact that a petition was signed on his behalf and sent to the Governor on February 14, 1863, there were others who considered him a scoundrel.[46] Moberly, for example, in a private letter to Attorney-General Crease, expressed an opinion with which Judge Begbie might have concurred, but would not have committed to the written word:—

> Do not on *any account* trust or place the slightest confidence in anything Walkem may say or do—he is a contemptible underhand scoundrel. He'll be a curse in the House—This I will explain to you when I get down, I put you on your guard because he pretends to be my very best friend. Avail yourself of this hint quietly but keep it to yourself.[47]

Walkem's cause and that of the Canadian barristers was taken up by John Robson in the *British Columbian*. In a series of outspoken editorials in January and February of 1863 Robson denounced Begbie as a tyrant, an incompetent, and as a man who deliberately excluded Canadian barristers from practice in order that a clique of English lawyers might grow rich at the expense of the public.

In the meantime Governor Douglas forwarded the petition and all the correspondence relative to Walkem's application for admittance to the Bar to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who suggested that it might be as well to admit Mr. Walkem.

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(46) New Westminster *British Columbian*, March 4, 1863.

(47) Moberly to Crease, October 19, 1864, Moberly Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

This letter was forwarded to Judge Begbie on April 30, 1863, accompanied by a dispatch from Governor Douglas requesting him to consider the case of Walkem as being similar to that of Barnston in 1861. Begbie, however, would not give in. In a letter to Douglas written in answer to this request, he refused to admit Walkem on the grounds that it was not within his power to do so. He declared that the Secretary of State lacked a proper understanding of the question and, rather than suggesting that Walkem be admitted, was really asking for more information. As for the petition, the Judge went on, with an oblique thrust at Walkem, nothing was easier in the two colonies than to secure the public sympathy for notorious and convicted criminals. With a more direct thrust he pointed out that special legislation should be passed, an undertaking that was the responsibility of the Government and not of the judiciary, especially since admission of this candidate was not acceptable to the members of the Bench and the Bar.[48]

Douglas, it appears, had made up his mind that Walkem and other Canadian barristers should be admitted, and accordingly requested Judge Begbie to make out an *Order of Court* permitting lawyers from any part of the Queen's possessions to plead at the British Columbia Bar. On June 18, 1863, the Government of British Columbia passed the Legal Professions Act which, as Judge Begbie suggested in his letter of May 11, was the only means of making admission of Canadians and others who were not qualified to plead at the English Bar admissible in British Columbia.[49]

The way was now clear for Judge Begbie to enrol any Canadian barristers who made application and could satisfy him that they were properly qualified. Walkem's petition had been in his hands since early October, 1862.[50] He was qualified to practise in the courts of both Upper and Lower Canada. Begbie, however, still delayed his admission, and did not enrol him till November 20, five months after the passage of the Act. On that

(48) Begbie to Douglas, May 11, 1863, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(49) *British Columbia Proclamations, 1863*, No. 8.

(50) Evidently Walkem reapplied after the passage of the Legal Professions Act, for there is an application dated August 3, 1863, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

very day he received a communication from the Governor, dated October 1, with enclosures from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking what steps had been taken to admit Mr. Walkem. It is open to question whether Begbie admitted Walkem after reading the enclosures from His Grace. There is no official letter of the Judge's in the Provincial Archives answering the Governor. There is, however, an unfinished and unsigned letter in his handwriting that suggests that he was very angry. Perhaps, if he had enrolled Walkem before reading the enclosures from the Colonial Office, he would not have given indications of bad temper. The fragment reads as follows:—

> With reference to your despatch of the 1 Octr. with enclosures from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle requesting information as to the steps taken in the matter of the admission of Mr. Geo. A. Walkem to practise in the Supreme Court of British Columbia I have to inform you that Mr. Geo. A. Walkem was this day admitted to practise and duly enrolled accordingly.
>
> As His Grace the Duke of Newcastle appears to take a personal interest in this matter and as it may possibly relieve the anxieties of[51]

It seems that the Judge changed his mind just as the tide of his sarcasm began to rise, realizing that he could not go as far as his anger prompted him. Some time later, when Walkem was riding circuit as a fully accredited barrister, Judge Begbie sat watching him from the kitchen window of a friend's house at Yale. To his delight the barrister had great difficulty in mounting his horse, and when finally he did so, he pitched headlong into a thorn bush on the other side. Begbie yelled with delight and rushed out to help his fallen colleague.

Wymond Walkem relates in his reminiscences that Judge Begbie had refused to admit his brother from personal pique arising from the Cranford case.[52] Walkem, who was not enrolled at the time, had undertaken to take part in the defence of the Cranford brothers at Lillooet. This he was entitled to do, so long as he did not assume the prerogatives of accredited counsel. When the trial opened, he unwisely took his seat in the special place set aside for barristers. Judge Begbie at once ordered him to sit elsewhere. Walkem objected. As the Judge did not permit

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(51) Draft, Begbie to [Douglas], November 20, 1863, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. The last paragraph of this draft was scored through.

(52) W. W. Walkem, *Stories of Early British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, pp. 25–6.

people to oppose his will in court, he shouted at Walkem and, of course, a noisy scene ensued. There were, however, factors other than personal dislike involved. By admitting Barnston, Judge Begbie showed that he was not blindly prejudiced against Canadian counsel. He preferred, however, to have English barristers practising at the British Columbia Bar. He seems to have considered them better trained and men of the highest integrity. At that time the peculiar conditions prevailing in the goldfields doubly justified his insistence on the highest professional standards. The miners were litigious by inclination, and their occupation lent itself to dispute. They were thus natural prey for dishonest lawyers who, infesting mining communities, would encourage litigation for the fees they could get out of it, some of them going so far as to conspire to bring action on false charges, with a view to sharing the proceeds in the event of winning the case. Technically known as champerty, this practice would have eaten into the prosperity of the community and dragged the courts into the gutter. Fearing this in particular and low standards in general, Judge Begbie, an abstemious and upright man, could not look favourably on a tosspot from Upper Canada or anywhere else. Like those of most people, his judgments were compounded of prejudices, guesses, and a measure of common sense.

The bulk of Judge Begbie's correspondence is concerned with the various problems described above. It is thus the only existing record of his service to British Columbia in laying down the structure of the law. His dispatches do not give a complete account of this important work because so much policy was discussed and determined in consultation with the Governor and his officials. In the same manner the Judge kept in touch with the magistrates, gold commissioners, and police as he rode through the country. He heard their complaints, considered their problems, and carried their suggestions to the Government. In a special sense he was the government on horseback, for he represented both the legislative and executive branches of the administration.

His other great contribution to British Columbia and, indeed, to the Dominion was the part he played in preserving law and order. Unfortunately, his achievements in this regard have

passed into legend, with the result that posterity pictures him as a ruthless man who, by a long series of hangings, cowed the entire mining population into submission to the British flag. Such a portrait is distorted. He sentenced very few men to death and was distinctly paternal in his attitude to the law-abiding majority of the population. There were, however, gunmen and rowdies in the country who might very well have turned the colony upside down had they been permitted to disregard the law. Disorder begets anarchy, and when anarchy prevails, the peaceful citizens seek aid wherever it can be obtained. As the bulk of the miners were American, the necessary aid would have been forthcoming with the inevitable results already described. Such a calamity did not come to pass because Governor Douglas and Judge Begbie succeeded in establishing the law and preserving order. With Douglas to support him and a small armed force at his call, the Judge established a respect for law that won him the praise of his worst enemies.

Judge Begbie had not been in the colony three months before an event occurred which, though trivial in itself, was to put the forces of law and order to a test and reveal the conditions with which the authorities had to deal.[53] Early in January, 1859, news came to Colonel Moody at Derby, and later to Governor Douglas at Victoria, that a very serious outbreak of disorder had taken place at Yale. Without waiting for instructions from the Governor, Moody set out for Yale with Captain Grant and a company of twenty sappers. In the meantime Douglas had received an extraordinary letter from Captain Whannell, the magistrate at Yale, who declared that he had been set upon by a band of armed ruffians under the leadership of the notorious Ned McGowan. These men, he continued, had entered his court during session, seized him along with his jailer and two prisoners, and carried them off to Hill's Bar. In conclusion, he wrote:—

(53) For an illuminating account of the central figure, Ned McGowan, *see* F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, 1926, pp. xiv.–xvi. This volume contains most of the source material dealing with the event and the period. For a general account of the "war" *see* F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States, the North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation*, Toronto, 1942, pp. 161–3.

This town and district are in a state bordering on anarchy; my own and the lives of the citizens are in imminent peril . . . An effective blow must at once be struck on the operations of these outlaws, else I tremble for the welfare of this Colony.[54]

Douglas feared an outbreak of the kind described by Whannell as much as anything that could befall the colony. He remembered McGowan's arrival in Victoria seven months before at the head of a gang of American adventurers, many of whom had taken part in Walker's raid on Nicaragua. McGowan, whom everybody knew to be wanted by the vigilantes of San Francisco, had fired a salvo of guns as his ship entered the harbour. The Governor thus saw, in what he believed to be an insurrection led by this man, a challenge to British authority which, if not answered, might mean the end of the colony.

Governor Douglas at once secured aid from the Boundary Commission and from H.M.S. *Satellite*. This force, consisting of a hundred marines and bluejackets, was dispatched to Langley, whence it was to proceed up-river on orders from Colonel Moody. Lieutenant Mayne, who had been sent in advance by canoe, caught up with Moody at Hope, where he was about to embark with Judge Begbie for Yale. The three arrived on a Saturday, to find no signs of disorder or of an insurrection. On the following day Colonel Moody held divine service in the court-house for a large congregation of miners.

The events that had led to the dispatch of a hundred sailors and marines proved to be nothing more dangerous than a clash between two fatuous magistrates. On Christmas Day, 1858, a Hill's Bar miner had assaulted a negro named Dickson. The miner, a man named Farrel, fled with an accomplice to Hill's Bar. Magistrate Whannell of Yale issued a warrant for their arrest and sent it to Magistrate Perrier of Hill's Bar, requesting him to seize the men and send them to him to stand trial. Perrier, who had heard Farrel's story, refused to do so. Instead, he issued a warrant for the unfortunate negro—whom the zealous Whannell had clapped in jail pending the trial of Farrel—and sent Constable Hickson down to Yale to arrest him. Hickson, it appears, was overbearing, and so enraged the sensitive magistrate of Yale that he imprisoned him for contempt of court.

(54) F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, p. 57.

Perrier was also sensitive about the honour of *his* court and, regarding the arrest of his constable as an act in contempt, sent a posse of men to rescue Hickson and to arrest his brother magistrate, the jailer, and the negro. In charge of the posse was Ned McGowan. Though armed, Whannell was obliged to give in to superior numbers. He was arraigned before Perrier and fined $50 for contempt of court.

While these serio-comic events were taking place, the miners of Yale and Hill's Bar began to hold indignation meetings to champion the cause of their respective magistrates. It is not unreasonable to assume that a violent outbreak might have taken place had it not been for the rapid intervention of the authorities. The Yale miners were the adherents of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee, while those at Hill's Bar had been partisans of the Law and Order faction, really an aggregation of the lawless element. Judge Begbie said of them with truth that the lives of their leaders would not be worth " an hour's purchase in any street in San Francisco."[55] These men naturally regarded the miners of Yale as dangerous enemies and were likely to shoot it out with them at the least provocation. The danger of this latent antagonism became clear when Judge Begbie suspended the Hill's Bar magistrate, Perrier, from the rolls. Shortly after hearing this, McGowan happened to meet Dr. Fifer, a former member of the Vigilance Committee. Words ensued, and McGowan attacked the doctor on the street, a few yards from the place where Moody and Begbie were quartered.

Colonel Moody was alarmed. He at once sent orders to the Royal Engineers to march from Hope to Yale, and to the marines and sailors to proceed from Langley. By the next morning the Engineers had reached Yale. Deeming this show of force sufficient, Moody sent word that only the marines need continue on their way. McGowan, who had never encountered anything like this before, surrendered himself, apologized to Moody, and paid a fine imposed by Judge Begbie. Ned McGowan's War, as the incidents described above have come to be known in the history of British Columbia, thus ended peacefully enough. As a fitting

(55) Begbie to Douglas, February 3, 1859, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Gilbertian finale, Ned and his friends entertained the various officers and officials at a luncheon.

With the passage of time, however, the events just described have become significant for the student of the period. Viewed in retrospect, they afford an answer to many of the basic questions concerning the preservation of law and order. It is clear from the first that Governor Douglas was keenly aware of the larger issues involved, and that he was willing and able to use armed force and to go to any expense to make the Queen's law supreme.[56] The Royal Engineers, who left the colony in 1863, were always at Judge Begbie's back, as it were, during the critical period. After their departure it was a continued source of strength that naval forces could be marched into the Interior in the event of trouble. It is sometimes argued that the nature of the country lent itself as a deterrent to crime. The criminal, it is said, had only one place of egress, and that was through the mouth of the Fraser, where Inspector Brew and his constables kept an eye open for such men.[57] What criminal in the Interior could hope to make his way through the wilderness without succumbing to violence or starvation? This is an attractive theory, but one not borne out by the experience of Judge Begbie, who considered escape easy and that the country lent itself to crime for that reason.[58] Whatever the rôle of geography, it is clear that the chief factor in the maintenance of law, as the affair at Yale shows, was the desire and will for order that animated Governor Douglas and his officials, and the armed power they had at their disposal in the event of trouble too serious for the gallant but pitifully small police force.

The McGowan incident thus forms the basis of an interesting comparison of conditions in British and American territory. Most of the miners in British Columbia were Americans, and nearly all of them came from the goldfields of California. They belonged to the same mining frontier, and so no distinction can be

(56) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 27, 1861. This account contains an excerpt from *Harper's Magazine* for May of the same year stating that Captain Wright of the *Enterprise* charged six or seven thousand dollars for transporting troops to Yale.

(57) Howay, Sage, and Angus, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(58) Begbie to Douglas, November 30, 1861, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

made between the groups north and south of the Border in terms of social and cultural differences. The majority of the men in the American West cherished law and order as much as their compatriots who had pushed north into British Columbia. Yet, in the United States, lawlessness was the common order, and the mining areas were torn with feud and faction. Good and bad elements struggled for control, which for various reasons the State and Federal authorities had failed to maintain.

Similar tendencies emerged briefly at Yale and Hill's Bar. The local authorities, Perrier and Whannell, proved to be insufficient for the offices they held. As in the United States when authority proved weak, a lawless faction began to assert itself, to be opposed by another, which, in the name of law and order, was ready to embroil the community in what amounted to little better than gang warfare. But unlike the authorities in the United States, those in British Columbia were willing and able to suppress Law and Order and Vigilance Committees alike, whether they appeared at Yale and Hill's Bar or anywhere else. Nor could there be found in the American West a body of local magistrates and police so resolute and so devoted to duty as those in British Columbia.[59] As for Judge Begbie, he was the personification of the Queen's authority, the strong arm of a well-constituted government and judiciary which, autocratic as it was, served to keep the colony British when it might easily have become American.

He rode up and down the country, year by year, holding court and attending to government business. It was he with whom the American miners first came in contact. In criminal matters they found him fearless, just, and, on the whole, merciful. While it is true that he failed to establish a record for impartiality and sound judgment in the civil courts, it is not possible to find a word of adverse criticism of his criminal trials. His methods were rough and ready, but they never put the accused at an unfair disadvantage. Wherever he held court, whether it was in the official court-house, in a barn, or astride his horse in the open air, he managed to create the atmosphere of an English court of law. He carried his robes with him and was always clad

(59) W. J. Trimble, *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire*, Madison, 1914, p. 196.

appropriately to the court over which he happened to preside. In murder trials he always endeavoured to have a chaplain in attendance. In the early days desperados sometimes sent him letters threatening his life should he pass sentence on one of their friends. On some occasions he read these communications to the assembled court and invited the sender to proceed with the assassination. It is related that once, while seated on the upper floor of an hotel veranda, he overheard a group of ruffians laying plans to shoot him as he rode out of town. After listening for some time, he went to his room and returned with a pail of dirty water which he emptied over their heads to show his contempt for them.[60]

He had not ridden circuit many times before the news spread through the country that Governor Douglas' Judge had an iron hand. Law-breakers learned to expect a stiff sentence if apprehended. Many of them sustained a shock when he added a flogging to the penalty. Begbie believed that the judicious use of the whip was efficacious in the case of habitual criminals because it deterred some and induced others to leave the country. Shortly after the McGowan incident he expressed his views on the matter to Governor Douglas:—

> He [Mr. Brew] objects very much to flogging. My idea is that if a man insists upon behaving like a brute, after fair warning, & won't quit the Colony; treat him like a brute & flog him.[61]

The spring assizes at Hope and Yale in 1861 saw some sharp sentences for theft. A John Burke appeared on a charge of stealing two pairs of blankets. When found guilty, Judge Begbie sentenced him to nine months with hard labour. Two Chinese, who were found guilty of stealing a pistol, were given two years with hard labour. It is not surprising that prisoners awaiting trial grew apprehensive as the assizes drew near. A number of criminals, after a winter in Lillooet jail at government expense, broke out and fled the country when they heard of his approach

(60) A. E. Beck, "Sir Matthew Begbie, Terror of Lawbreakers of B.C. Fifty Years Ago," Vancouver *Province*, July 5, 1925, magazine section; reprinted in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 131–4.

(61) Begbie to Douglas, March 23, 1859, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

in the spring. They knew they were guilty and they knew what to expect.[62]

Contrary to popular belief, he was more inclined to leniency than severity when on those rare occasions it was his duty to pass sentence on a prisoner for murder. He had a horror of taking human life, and the prospect of condemning a fellow being to death touched his conscience deeply. His habit of having a chaplain in court was not prompted by a love of pomp. He was the kind of man who felt the need of spiritual support in such a situation almost as much as the prisoner. In more than one case he passed sentence of death and subsequently expressed approval of commutation. After sentencing the Indian Quahook, he wrote to the Governor suggesting that he modify the punishment:—

. . . the Indians & the murdered man had been getting drunk together; and . . . in this there was some misunderstanding about a female. I am quite aware that if 2 men engage in a burglary or any other crime, & one kill the other, even by accident, it is murder: but surely, when it is the seducer and the far more guilty party (as to the original crime) who is killed it wo[ul]d not be irrational to modify the punishment of the murderer.[63]

On another occasion, when he had sentenced an Indian to death for murder, Magistrate Ball interceded on his behalf, stating that the prisoner had saved a white man's life some three years before. Governor Douglas granted a reprieve and the prisoner was held in jail at Lytton. Begbie wrote to the Governor asking for commutation on purely humanitarian grounds:—

I am not at all convinced that his execution is necessary, although I am sure that it wo[ul]d have been just, but after so long a reprieve I cannot but think that the sentence ought to be commuted to penal servitude for a term of years. It is scarcely right to keep a poor fellow on the tenterhooks for so long & hang him at last.[64]

Unfortunately his addresses to juries, sometimes uttered in righteous indignation, gave him a reputation for a love of imposing the supreme penalty. In those days the jurors were frequently Americans, many of whom were as lawless as the

(62) Begbie to Young, June 24, 1862, *ibid.*

(63) Begbie to Douglas, April 7, 1860, enclosure, *ibid.*

(64) Begbie to Douglas, April 20, 1861, *ibid.*

accused.[65] To Begbie's indignation they sometimes brought in verdicts of not guilty or manslaughter when the evidence pointed very clearly to premeditated murder. On such occasions he denounced the jury and the accused in the hottest language, sometimes expressing regret that he could not hang the lot of them. When the gunman, Gilchrist, was proved beyond shadow of doubt to be guilty of deliberate murder, his compatriots found a verdict of manslaughter. The Judge is reported by Wymond Walkem to have addressed them thus:—

"Prisoner: it is far from a pleasant duty for me to have to sentence you only to imprisonment for life. . . . Your crime was unmitigated, diabolical murder. You deserve to be hanged! Had the jury performed their duty I might now have the painful satisfaction of condemning you to death, and you, gentlemen of the jury, you are a pack of Dalles horse thieves, and permit me to say, it would give me great pleasure to see you hanged, each and every one of you, for declaring a murderer guilty only of manslaughter."[66]

This case is now famous, and though everybody is agreed that Gilchrist deserved to be hanged and that Judge Begbie was justified in making his blistering address, his remarks have given the lasting impression that he would hang prisoners very gladly and without any consideration of mitigating circumstances, as the jury claimed there were in the case of Gilchrist. Yet the truth is that the Judge was satisfied with their verdict and perhaps glad that he did not have to impose the death sentence. In his account of the trial to Douglas he wrote:—

This wo[ul]d have been of course "death by misadventure" in California—in England, Gilchrist wo[ul]d probably have been hung—in British Columbia it is not perhaps an altogether unsatisfactory result that Gilchrist was convicted of manslaughter & sentenced to penal servitude for life, while his "friends" (who are well known to the police, and to me) have left the Colony and are not, I think, likely to return.[67]

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(65) In the early days there were seldom enough British subjects to constitute a jury. It is believed that the Judge swore in Americans on such occasions without asking too many questions. The practice was legalized by the Jurors Act, 1860, see *British Columbia Ordinances and Proclamations, 1860.*

(66) Walkem, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

(67) Begbie to Young, January, 1863, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Perhaps the secret of his achievement in maintaining order is to be explained by the fact that the criminal's friends left the country. They believed Begbie was a "hanging judge."

There was, indeed, a remarkable absence of crime throughout the colonial period. Year by year Judge Begbie was able to report that the amount of crime in British Columbia was very small in proportion to the population. He modestly gave the credit to the others and never, by any means, made reference to his own part in the achievement. In his first official communication on crime he wrote:—

> There have been but 3 murders committed since I first began to hold courts in British Columbia. They were all committed by Indians: in every case, the Indians were drunk. . . .[68]

Some nineteen months later good order continued to prevail. In a long dispatch which accompanied calendars of the courts held since the previous June, the Judge expressed his satisfaction with the state of affairs and went on to give his reasons for the continued state of good order. As this is the only communication in which he wrote at any great length on the matter, it deserves careful attention:—

> It is a continued subject of thankfulness that the amount of crime still remains very small in comparison with what might have been anticipated from the amount of population, the extent and difficulty of the country over which the population is scattered, the habits naturally induced by the unsettled and exciting life of a miner, and from the impunity which criminals might hope for, looking to the state of communications and the nature of the country generally, the proximity of a long open Frontier accessible by unfrequented passes and the necessarily distant and scanty Police Force.
>
> It is clear however that the inhabitants almost universally, respect, and obey the laws, and voluntarily prefer good order and peaceful industry, to the violence and bloodshed to which other Gold mining regions have been subjected: and with such dispositions the police force scanty and scattered as it is, appears to have been hitherto sufficient not only to restrain from crime those who might otherwise have committed deeds of violence, but in general to bring to justice the few persons who have been actually guilty.
>
> The exceptions where criminals have evaded Justice during the past year, are I think only 3 in number, one accused of murder which from what I have learnt, would probably amount to no more than manslaughter, another for shooting with intent to murder; the third for larceny.

(68) Begbie to Douglas, April 7, 1860, enclosure, *ibid.*

In these three cases, too, the result proves the general apprehension of criminals, that the officers of Justice are not to be trifled with, for there is hardly a doubt but that all these 3 persons quitted the Colony with such speed that pursuit was useless, and the community here are not likely to be troubled with them again. . . .

I am happy to say that the criminal records of the past year do not appear to contain any other particular which calls for especial remark.[69]

Fourteen months later the Judge reported that good order continued to prevail:—

I think that notwithstanding certain occurrences, the security of life & property in the remoter districts of the Colony is not otherwise than satisfactory and will probably contrast favorably with the state of any other country of similar extent in the world.[70]

A more disinterested observer, Cheadle, noted in his journal in the following August: "Order famously kept in Cariboo: . . . only 2 murders this year."[71] Some two months later Cheadle passed the Judge near Clinton and, apparently impressed by his achievements, if not his appearance, jotted down a similar comment: "Passed Judge Begbie on horseback. Everybody praises his just severity as the salvation of Cariboo & terror of rowdies."[72] Even the *British Columbian,* which had been such a bitter opponent of Begbie, wrote with great satisfaction of the good order prevailing in the Kootenay. At the beginning of the rush to that district in the summer of 1864 there were probably a thousand men on Wild Horse Creek. Magistrate O'Reilly had only five constables at his disposal to deal with a threat of disorder, but when word circulated that Judge Begbie was on his way through the mountains with a party of marines, all became quiet as if by magic. John Robson wrote of the prevailing good order: —

On arriving at Kootenay Judge Begbie found an empty jail and a clear docket—not a single case, either civil or criminal, awaiting adjudication. . . . In a colony like this, where the outlawed of surrounding countries is supposed to concentrate, the paucity of crime is something very remarkable.[73]

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(69) Begbie to Douglas, November 30, 1861, *ibid.*

(70) Begbie to Young, no date but received January 19, 1863, *ibid.*

(71) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862–63,* with introduction and notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa, 1931, p. 222.

(72) *Ibid.*, p. 243.

(73) New Westminster *British Columbian,* November 18, 1865.

Unhappily for Judge Begbie this is one of the few occasions on which John Robson was able to write about him without abuse and contempt. The truth is that in the early days, when devotion to duty and an iron hand were required to establish the judiciary and preserve order, his personality and methods suited conditions. But as the Cariboo developed, he was not equal to the tasks imposed on him as a judge in the complicated litigation arising from disputes between mining companies. He had had little experience in England and never came to know the law very well. He had, through his early experiences, become a law unto himself, and he proved unwilling, or unable, to change. He was a success in the Canyon, but he was a failure in the Cariboo.

SYDNEY G. PETTIT.

VICTORIA, B.C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The first general meeting of the Section in the new year was held in the Provincial Library on Monday, January 27, when more than eighty members and friends heard an address by Major-General W. W. Foster, entitled *The New Northwest Passage.* Reference was made to the many attempts to discover and make use of a northwest passage by sea as an introduction to a description of the building of the Alaska Highway, the construction of which became a military necessity after Pearl Harbor. Major-General Foster was the Canadian Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in Northwest Canada and from personal knowledge was able to speak authoritatively on many of the problems faced in the construction of this highway. The lecture was still further enhanced by a sound film prepared by the United States Army depicting the building of the Alaska Highway. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to the speaker by Mr. F. C. Green, former Surveyor-General of British Columbia.

The February meeting of the Section was held on Friday, February 28, in the Provincial Library, with forty-five persons in attendance. Once again it was a privilege to welcome Major David L. McKeand, M.C., F.R.G.S., who had chosen as his subject *Canada's Arctic Islands.* Major McKeand had for many years been the Superintendent of Eastern Arctic as well as Secretary of the Northwest Territories' Council. In the course of his address he dealt with many of the earlier Arctic explorations and in particular with the establishment of Canadian sovereignty over the northern archipelago. Many interesting personal anecdotes added greatly to the enjoyment of the evening. Dr. T. A. Rickard moved the vote of thanks.

The traditional commemoration of Blanshard Day, March 11, took the form of a reception, held at the Little Art Centre, when some eighty members and friends were received by the Chairman, Mrs. Muriel R. Cree. During the evening Mrs. Cree read a short paper outlining the significance of the appointment of Richard Blanshard, which had been prepared some years previously by the late Archer Martin, Chief Justice of British Columbia. Rev. William Hills was the speaker of the evening and selected as his subject *Sunrise without Sunset*—a sketch of the history of history from earliest times.

On Tuesday, April 15, a most interesting lecture was delivered before eighty members of the Section, meeting in the Provincial Library, by Mr. A. M. D. Fairbairn. Over the years Mr. Fairbairn has made several sketching trips to the Queen Charlotte Islands and has, through the medium of water colour, painted dozens of the rapidly disappearing totem-poles on the islands. His address, *Queen Charlotte Islands and the Haida Indians*

in 1946, was, in consequence, extremely interesting, for after a brief historical sketch of the Haida Indians in former days he was able to contrast their present condition. Mr. Fairbairn has rendered a great service to this Province by his paintings of the totemic art of the Haidas—an art which, it is greatly to be regretted, has almost entirely disappeared. In thanking the speaker, Mr. W. E. Ireland took the opportunity to announce that through Mr. Fairbairn's courtesy the Provincial Archives had made photographic reproductions of his paintings to supplement the originals already in its possession.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679–1684. First Part, 1679–1682. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by G. N. Clark. Toronto: The Champlain Society; and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1945. Pp. xlvi., 378.

This volume, numbered VIII. in the Hudson's Bay Record Society series, is the sequel to Volume V. which contained the first Minutes Book of the company, covering the years 1671–1674. In the present volume, covering the years 1679–1682, the minutes of 4 General Courts and 192 Committee meetings are given to the public. These constitute the first part of the company's second Minutes Book, 1679–1684. The appendices include the Report to the Governor and Committee by John Nixon, 1682, the original of which is in the possession of the Royal Society; extracts from the company's Account Books between 1675 and 1680; and a number of biographical notes. As in the earlier volumes of the series, the editorial work has been done by E. E. Rich. Professor G. N. Clark, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, has contributed the introduction.

It is unfortunate that there is a gap of five years and four months separating the minutes printed in Volumes V. and VIII. For this period only the Grand Ledgers and the Grand Journal provide serious continuity; however, Professor Clark has drawn upon these for his very useful introduction. The extracts from the Account Books in Appendix B also help to fill in the details of the story between 1674 and 1679.

To this reviewer the company's Minutes Books and Accounts appear to be of limited, or rather specialized, interest. They do not, for instance, give a complete picture of the company's business operations. Neither do they throw much light on events or life on the Bay. They give us nothing of the problems encountered in the Indian trade. They are, as Professor Clark admits, "much less valuable than the records which, it is hoped, will be published in future volumes of this series, especially the out-letters." The company's Letter Books begin at 1680, and it is from them that we shall obtain the clearest view of its policy and spirit.

Nevertheless there is much useful and interesting material here relating to the stockholders and the conduct of the company's affairs in London. From the introduction we find that several of the shareholders had disposed of their holdings between 1674 and 1679, owing, apparently, to the unpromising prospects of the company's trade. Most of those who purchased stock at this time appear to have been business-men rather than politicians or aristocrats; but, generally speaking, the transfers of stock were too few to admit of any broad inferences or generalizations. It is interesting to note that among the new shareholders whose names appear in the minutes between 1679–1682 was that of Sir Christopher Wren, who

became associated with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1679 and who served as a member of the Committee during the period covered by this volume. On numerous occasions he took the chair in the absence of the Deputy Governor, Sir James Hayes. No dividend was paid during these years. Indeed, no dividend was paid on the company's stock until 1684. The only stockholders who profited from their connection with the company were those who lent it money at 8 per cent. to make it possible for the annual expedition to be fitted out for the Bay.

The minutes also contain much incidental information of economic interest: information relating to the outward cargoes and the standing articles of trade, to the company's fur auctions, to the expenditure on building, fitting, hiring, and docking of ships, and to the cost of marine insurance.

John Nixon's report in Appendix A is of particular value. From it we learn something of the difficulties experienced by the Governor in maintaining discipline among the company's servants, particularly those whose time had expired and who were awaiting transportation back to England. A good part of the report is taken up with Nixon's complaints of drunken orgies of Captain Nehemiah Walker of the *John and Alexander*, who not only drank the Governor's liquor despite the latter's protests, but roundly abused him " after a gross manner." Governor Nixon did, however, find space to submit a number of recommendations to the London Committee for the betterment of the company's trade, not the least of which was the suggestion that Scots might be induced to enter the company's service. Commending to the Committee's favour Mr. John Ker, surgeon of the *Diligence*, Nixon wrote:—

> . . . I would you could get him into youre service, he fit for youre tourne, in divers respects, both for his calling, and pen, and goud government of himselfe. lykewayes he can informe youre honoures how yow may get men out of Scotland, who will both faire harder and serve at cheaper rates, then our London borne childring; they goe to france for small wages and seek their fortounes up and doun the world, and doeth good service when they are, and why may not yow imploy them for youre profit.

Another item of interest in Nixon's report in view of the impending struggle with France, of which, oddly enough, no intimation appears in the minutes, was the Governor's emphasis on the defenceless state of the company's posts on the Bay owing to the concentration of men at Charlton Island, and his request for additional personnel: ". . . at this present, July the 29th wee are heare the number of 60 men at Charleton Island, and but 14 at the three factories to guard them, (viz.) at Chechechewan [Albany] 6, at Muce [Moose] river 5, and at Ruports East river 3."

Of praise for the format, the type, and the index there is little to be added to what has been said on the occasion of the appearance of earlier publications of the Champlain Society. It is enough to say that this volume maintains the high standard set by that society.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada. Edited, with introduction and notes, by James J. Talman. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1946. Pp. lxv., 411.

The United Empire Loyalists have been discussed and written about at such great length that the scarcity of original narratives, which this volume reflects, will come as a surprise to many. Dr. Talman has obviously cast his net wide and skilfully, and presumably he here presents what is virtually a definitive collection. Yet, of the twenty-five "narratives" included in the text proper, many are brief, and some are no more than obituaries of Loyalists culled from various newspapers and periodicals. Moreover, most of the "narratives" that, strictly speaking, deserve the name were written by the children or grandchildren of Loyalists, and not by Loyalists themselves. Indeed, only five of the twenty-five items included are "Loyalist narratives" in the sense that the title of the book brings first to mind. The reason is not far to seek. "Many of the Loyalists," as Dr. Talman reminds us, "could not write; and those who could were too busy to keep diaries. Paper, moveover, was scarce enough to limit the possibility of compiling records."

Much the longest of the five original narratives is that by Colonel Stephen Jarvis, which runs to 118 pages. Unfortunately much of it is taken up with a detailed account of the tribulations and military experiences through which he passed before he finally left the United States; only twenty pages or so are devoted to his move to Fredericton, and subsequently to Upper Canada, where he took an active part in the War of 1812–15. Richard Cartwright's "Journey to Canada" is a vivid eight-page description of his trip from Albany to Montreal, which seems to have been made in the autumn of 1779. The other Loyalist narratives relate to Adam Crysler, Joel Stone, and the Rev. John Stuart. Stuart, it may be noted, was one of the very few professional men who took part in the Loyalist migration. As noted in the editor's introduction, "with rare exceptions, only Loyalists of humble origin found their way to what became Upper Canada"—which is, no doubt, another reason for the scarcity of first-hand documents.

Some of the writings of the descendants of Loyalists go far to make good the deficiencies of the original narratives. In this category the outstanding contributions are both by women. Susan Burnham Greeley's "Sketches of the Past," which she began to write at the age of 92 and completed when she was 95, and Amelia Harris's "Historical Memoranda," which between them occupy seventy pages, give a graphic impression of daily life as the Loyalists and their families lived it during their first difficult years in Canada.

In an appendix, Dr. Talman reprints ten representative petitions and memorials, in order to illustrate the type of material that is to be found in the hundreds of affidavits filed by Loyalists and their heirs in support of claims for land and other compensation. Many of these give a detailed account of the services rendered and hardships and losses suffered by the petitioners, but they are tabulations of information rather than narratives and, as such, have been excluded from the text proper of the volume.

The introduction gives a most useful and well-balanced summary of what is known about the Loyalists. It begins at the beginning by explaining "Who they were and why they were loyal," and after tracing their history Dr. Talman tactfully warns the reader against the temptation (which has proved irresistible to many a Canadian of Loyalist descent) to exaggerate their influence on later Canadian history. He shares the view of Egerton Ryerson that they "ceased to be a distinct and controlling class of the inhabitants" as early as 1815. In his own words: "Writers of Canadian history, indeed, would better serve the cause of accuracy, and would certainly save confusion, if they would avoid the use of the word Loyalist in connection with any period except that of the American revolution."

One minor criticism comes to mind: this reviewer at least would have welcomed more extended biographical notes on the twenty-five persons represented in the table of contents.

W. KAYE LAMB.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Colony to Nation: A History of Canada. By A. R. M. Lower. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946. Pp. xvi., 600. $5.

Professor Lower has recently left Winnipeg, where he was for years professor of history and political science in United College of the University of Manitoba, and has accepted a professorship in the Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont. During his career at United College he spent a year as visiting professor at Dalhousie University, and he has twice taught courses as a visiting professor in the Summer Session of the University of British Columbia. A native of Ontario, Professor Lower graduated from the University of Toronto, served during the First World War with the Royal Navy, then joined the staff of the Public Archives in Ottawa. He obtained his doctor's degree from Harvard. While in Ottawa he became a keen student of French Canada. Few Canadians are better equipped to write the history of their country.

Colony to Nation is a challenging title. It reflects the personality of the author. In many cases an author tends to sink his personality in his subject. Dr. Lower could not do so if he wished. For years he has studied and taught Canadian history. He has very definite opinions and he has the courage of his convictions. During his lifetime he has watched Canada grow from a colony to a nation, and he has drawn his own conclusions. The result is a volume which is stimulating and provocative. It is by no means a dry chronicle of explorers, fishermen, fur-traders, seigneurs, clergy, governors, soldiers, politicians, United Empire Loyalists, Selkirk settlers, prairie farmers, gold-seekers, and lumbermen; it is a close and critical analysis of the achievements of all these groups of people. There is to be found in this volume a certain maturity which was lacking in Canadian historical writing at the beginning of the present century.

The author's point of view is distinctly Canadian. He is frankly nationalistic. Canada is his country, and he is much more interested in Canada

than he is in the larger loyalties overseas. He fully appreciates the importance of the United States, but no one who has carefully perused this volume could charge him with being pro-American. The following excerpts dealing with the United Empire Loyalists are typical of Dr. Lower's Canadianism:—

The common bond which hatred of the successful rebels constituted, negative though it might be, proved sufficient eventually to make all the English-speaking colonies realize that they had a common destiny. In this way, the Loyalists by their stubborn determination to set up new, non-republican communities in the wilderness gave birth indirectly to Confederation and thus to the Canadian nation. Mere sentiment without a strong emotion behind it would not have been enough to resist the terrific draw of the advancing nation to the south. This emotion the Loyalists supplied. Down through the years they and their children have nursed their wrath to keep it warm. The nationalism of the United States is founded on violent repulsion from England, that of Canada originally rested on repulsion from the United States. . . . Canada today, partly owing to the original Loyalist conception, is strongly monarchical in sentiment and as strongly republican in practice. . . . To preserve their *amour-propre*, the Loyalists called an old world into existence to redress the balance of the new. This they endowed with qualities not always corresponding to actuality. They exalted British successes in arms and British "greatness," but they were not overly understanding of the lasting contribution of England to civilization; her devotion to freedom and the great edifice of law, custom and spirit which Englishmen had built to preserve that freedom. It was a partial and one-sided English Tradition that the Loyalists cherished a "drum and trumpet" tradition of mere "Britishism."

From the above quotations it is possible to appreciate both the strength and weakness of Professor Lower's treatment of his subject. The strength lies in his power of analysis. He has brooded long and carefully over his subject-matter. He has drawn his own conclusions and he has stated them fearlessly. His writing is full of stimulating and pithy phrases. Nor is he devoid of a certain pleasant malice as when he writes (p. 427): "Americans built railroads to develop their country, Germans for purposes of war, but Canadians, apparently, just for the fun of building them."

Even those who criticize the book most severely will probably find it extremely hard to lay it down and not to go on reading it to the bitter end. For to them the book will probably be bitter. Dr. Lower is no respecter of vested interests of any sort, and especially of traditional historical interpretations. In fact, his weakness consists largely in this lack of respect for certain traditions. He decries the "colonialism" of English-speaking Canadians, but he tends to laud the French-Canadians for attempting to preserve their "unique institutions." He is much more sympathetic towards the Methodists of Upper Canada and the Baptists of Nova Scotia than he is towards the more autocratic Anglicans. It may be doubted also whether he is really fair to the "Tory colonials" and the "imperialists." But even Dr. Lower's sternest critics will be struck by the sincerity of these words, taken from his concluding paragraphs:—

Canada with its divisions of race presents no common denominator in those profundities which normally unite, in race, language, religion, history and culture. If a common focus is to be found it must come out of the com-

mon homeland itself. If the Canadian people are to find their soul, they must seek for it, not in the English language or the French, but in the little ports of the Atlantic provinces, in the flaming autumn maples of the St. Lawrence Valley, in the portages and lakes of the Canadian Shield, in the sunsets and relentless cold of the prairies, in the foothill, mountain and sea of the west and in the unconquerable vastnesses of the north. From the land, Canada, must come the soul of Canada.

Colony to Nation is a notable book. It must be read: it cannot be ignored.

W. N. SAGE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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