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The
**BRITISH COLUMBIA
 HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN FRASER VALLEY.*

There are few regions more bountifully endowed by nature than that known as the Lower Fraser Valley. In general terms, it stretches from the mouth of the river eastward to a natural constriction, where lies the town of Hope. This valley is approximately 90 miles in length and varies in width from 10 miles to 25 miles. On the north side of the river the mountains hem in the valley closely; on the south they extend only as far west as Sumas Prairie. Here is an area of about 750,000 acres, most of which is richly fertile and suitable for mixed farming. The terrain consists of two different types—the highlands and the lowlands. The former, which comprise lands up to 500 feet in elevation, are glacial in origin, somewhat irregular in topography, and were originally clothed with a magnificent forest of conifers and deciduous softwoods. The lowlands are alluvial in origin, the rich product of countless ages in the history of the mighty Fraser River. The climate of the valley is as equitable as can be found in the temperate zones, seldom going above 90° in the summer or below zero in the winter. The rainfall averages about 40 inches a year at the mouth of the river, Steveston, and increases to about 60 inches at Hope.

Despite these physical advantages, it is not to be supposed that nature was so beneficent as not to test thoroughly the mettle of those rugged pioneers who laid the foundations of new settlements about eighty-five years ago. The most valuable agricultural land, nowhere much above high-water level, was subject to annual flooding during the freshet season. During the years of greatest floodings, in 1894 and 1936, farmers suffered serious losses. Continuous and costly efforts have had to be made to confine the river by dykes. Even at the present time it is not possible to say that all danger of flooding has been entirely over-

* The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Victoria, on January 16, 1948.

come.¹ The higher lands, less richly fertile, required herculean and costly efforts to clear of forest-growth. And all settlers faced, during the summer-time, a common enemy—the pestiferous mosquitoes. They were the result of the annual flooding of the lowlands, and, to say the very least, a nuisance which tried the souls even of the stoutest. However, with the elimination of the problem of flooding came the gradual mitigation of the minor problem of the mosquito.

That portion of the valley lying east of New Westminster is the area to be considered in this article.² Here, as in the whole valley, there has been a noteworthy and steady development. This has mainly taken place since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885. For this reason, and because the earlier history of the valley is better known, the progress that has taken place in the last sixty years will be emphasized. A brief glance at the early history is necessary, however, in order to give continuity to the story of progress.

Prior to the coming of the white man in 1808 the Fraser Valley was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians belonging to the Cowichan group of the Salish linguistic stock. The most powerful of these tribes was the Kwantlen, whose chief village was situated where the city of New Westminster now stands. Their territory lay between the North Arm of the river and Nicomen Island, their neighbours being the Musqueams of the delta area and the Hatzics to the east. The life of these early inhabitants must have been rudely simple, but comparatively care-free. Salmon and wild berries provided them with food, and animals and the bark of the cedar provided them with articles of clothing. In the main, too, these people were peaceably disposed, but they suffered from frequent raids by the more savage and war-like Yucultas of Seymour Narrows.³

(1) This account was prepared many months before the disastrous floods of late May and early June, 1948. For a well-illustrated account of this event, see *Nature's Fury, the inside story of the disastrous British Columbia floods of 1948*, Vancouver, 1948.

(2) A detailed history of a portion of the valley lying on the north bank of the Fraser River is to be found in J. J. Woods' *History and Development of the Agassiz-Harrison Valley* [Agassiz, 1941].

(3) For a recent account of Indian activity in the valley, see B. A. McKelvie, *Fort Langley, Outpost of Empire* [Montreal], 1947, *passim*.

Such was the condition of the Indians when the first-known party of white men, led by the intrepid Simon Fraser, came into contact with them in July, 1808. Fraser had successfully overcome the dangers and hardships of the descent of the river which now bears his name. He had reached the mouth of the North Arm of the river, and having taken his bearings had proved, to his disappointment, that this river was not the legendary Columbia.⁴ The hostility of the natives was such that Fraser deemed it wise to retrace his steps with all possible speed. He had little opportunity to explore the possibilities of the valley, even from the view-point of a fur-trader. It was to be nearly two decades before a permanent settlement was made in the valley.

In 1821 the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'-Westers was brought to an end by amalgamation of the two companies. Pursuing a vigorous policy of expansion in an effort to control the fur trade of the Pacific slope, the new company sent a party under James MacMillan to establish a post about 35 miles from the mouth of the river. Thus Fort Langley in 1827 became the first permanent white settlement in the valley. During the first few years the fur trade was profitable, but the officers of the company utilized other available resources to increase returns to the company. Salmon was salted and cured, not only to be used as an additional article of food by the employees of the company, but also for export trade. The agricultural possibilities of the soil did not fail to attract attention, and it was not long before several patches of land near the fort were producing enough foodstuffs to supply the needs of the small community.⁵

(4) "This river is therefore not the Columbia! If I had been convinced of this when I left my canoes, I would certainly have returned." Simon Fraser, "Journal of a voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, 1808," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (première série), Quebec, 1889, p. 203. Fraser's sojourn in the valley, from June 30 to July 6, 1808, as recorded in his *Journal* appears in *ibid.*, pp. 195-207.

(5) R. L. Reid, "Early Days at Old Fort Langley: Economic Beginnings in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I (1937), pp. 71-85; and R. L. Reid (*ed.*), "Fort Langley Correspondence," *ibid.*, I (1937), pp. 187-194.

After 1839 there was a considerable increase in agricultural products at Fort Langley, owing to the fact that the company was paying rental for the lease of the Alaskan "pan-handle" by means of farm produce. The company's farm on Langley Prairie, comprising at one time some 2,200 acres,⁶ was famous throughout the valley. After the termination of the lease in 1877, with trade decreasing and settlement increasing, the policy of the company was, perforce, changed to meet the new conditions. In 1878 this farm was subdivided into parcels of land of varying acreage and sold at auction.

For political reasons the Hudson's Bay Company in 1843 had transferred its headquarters from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia to Fort Victoria. As a result of the settlement of the Oregon Boundary dispute, the company was forced to find a new trade route between the Interior forts and Victoria. An overland route to Kamloops was found; Fort Yale was built in 1848 and Fort Hope a year later.⁷ Fort Langley then became merely a point for transshipment of supplies. From this time on the importance of the historic fort began to wane, although the first few months of 1858 saw a feverish, albeit a brief, renewal of activity.

But the period which seems, in retrospect, to be the most romantic—the day when the fur-trader was king—was indeed passing. In 1856 gold was discovered in the gravelly bars of the Fraser River and its tributaries. The news spread like wild-fire, and early in 1858 thousands of eager miners, many of whom had earlier flocked to California, were making their way up the Fraser River.⁸ Fort Langley at first was the head of navigation for steamers, but in June, 1858, the American steamer *Surprise* succeeded, with the aid of an Indian pilot, in reaching Fort

(6) F. W. Laing, "Hudson's Bay Company Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia, 1858-1861," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1939), p. 91.

(7) F. W. Howay, "The raison d'etre of Forts Yale and Hope," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, XVI (1922), section ii, pp. 49-64.

(8) See F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines* (B.C. Archives Memoir No. VI), Victoria, 1926, *passim*.

Hope.⁹ It meant the beginning of the end for Fort Langley. For many years the fort was reduced to the status of a small general store, but even that was ended before the close of the last century.

During the gold-rush James Douglas, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as Governor of Vancouver Island, took immediate steps to cope with the situation created by the arrival of the throng of gold-mad miners. He wished to establish law and order, as well as to safeguard the interests of his company. The Imperial Government, made aware of events, moved with unwonted promptness. Some of Douglas' actions were declared *ultra vires*, and on August 2, 1858, an Act was passed creating the Crown Colony of British Columbia. On November 19 of the same year, in an historic ceremony at old Fort Langley, James Douglas was installed as Governor of the newly created colony. At the same time the trading privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company were formally revoked.

Upon the request of Governor Douglas for a military force to maintain order in the mining camps, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, British Colonial Secretary, wisely sent out a special detachment of Royal Engineers. The advance guard of this force reached the coast in time to take part in the installation of Governor Douglas. The commander, Colonel R. C. Moody, arrived at Victoria on December 25, 1858, bearing credentials as Commissioner of Lands and Works in the new colony. The Governor had intimated that in all probability old Fort Langley, or Derby, as it was called, would be the capital of the new colony; Colonel Moody promptly overruled that choice and selected the present site of New Westminster as more suitable. The disbanding of the Royal Engineers took place in 1863 after they had assisted in the building of the famous Cariboo Road and in other important public works.¹⁰ Most of the rank and file of the Engineers had already felt the lure of the new colony; many took up land near New Westminster and became honoured pioneers in the country of their adoption.

(9) Norman Hacking, "Steamboat 'Round the Bend," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 259-262.

(10) F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858 to 1863*, Victoria, 1910, *passim*.

Among the thousands of adventurers, eagerly searching for fortune on the bars of the Fraser, were many sturdy sons of the farms and towns of Eastern Canada and the United States. As they made their way up the valley they could not have failed to notice the agricultural possibilities of the lush meadows and sloping hillsides that stretched on either side of the river. When the gold fever had abated somewhat, many of these men, disappointed in their quest for immediate wealth, chose a less spectacular method by cultivating the soil or by supplying merchandise to those who still sought for gold. The Chilliwack and Sumas Valleys attracted several in 1862 and 1863, and it was there, with the exception of the Hudson's Bay Company's farm at Fort Langley, that the first attempts at systematic farming in the Fraser Valley were made.¹¹ Fruit, vegetables, grain, and hay were grown in abundance, and with the introduction of cattle the dairy products of the valley began to establish their present-day reputation.

During the decade following the inception of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, other settlements in the valley were begun at Mud Bay in Surrey, at Mission, at Maple Ridge, at Pitt Meadows, and on Nicomen Island. At the time of British Columbia's entry into Confederation the population of the valley was estimated at 4,000.¹² In April, 1872, the newly elected Legislature of the Province passed the Municipality Act and one year later, on April 26, 1873, Chilliwack and Langley Municipalities were incorporated,¹³ the first rural municipalities in British Columbia. These were followed by Maple Ridge on September 12, 1874,¹⁴ and Surrey, Delta, and Richmond on November 10, 1879.¹⁵ Only these six municipalities were incorporated previous to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Thus, by the year 1885, there were several small but vigorous settlements, most of which were naturally near the river.

(11) E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, p. 592.

(12) John E. Gibbard, *The Early History of the Fraser Valley, 1808-1885* (M.A. thesis at the University of British Columbia), p. 218.

(13) *British Columbia Gazette*, April 26, 1873, pp. 2-6. Chilliwack Municipality is spelled "Chilliwhack."

(14) *Ibid.*, September 12, 1874, pp. 199-201.

(15) *Ibid.*, November 10, 1879, pp. 385-393.

Gradually also had been established the concomitants of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Boards of local government were instituted, churches and schools were built, and roads and bridges were constructed. Pioneer merchants had established small general stores, and usually undertook as well the duties of postmaster. Some industrial development had also taken place to exploit the marvellous natural resources. Salmon-canneries at several points on the river gathered in the rich annual harvest of the sea. Small sawmills and grist-mills catered to local needs. But the completion of the long-awaited transcontinental railway inaugurated a new era of growth in population and in industrial activity. Since 1885 the progress of the Fraser Valley has been remarkably steady and consistent.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

There is no doubt that the comparatively rapid settlement of the Fraser Valley has been due to the fact that modern means of transportation have been available during the last sixty years. Few regions have been better served. The river-steamer, the railway, ferries, bridges, the electric tram, the automobile, and paved highway have all played their parts in this settlement. To-day no section of the valley is more than two and one-half hours away from the coast cities, and residents think nothing of taking in a special musical or sporting event in Vancouver during the evening.

Waterways, of course, offer the easiest means of travel in a new country, and here was a river navigable throughout the length of the valley by the modern river-steamer. Although sea-going ships had come up the river to Fort Langley when it was a Hudson's Bay post, the real era of the river-steamer dates from the time of the gold-rush. During that time, as well as during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, many a steamer churned her way up the muddy Fraser.¹⁶ The completion of the railway, though an advantage to the settlements on the north side, did not by any means displace the steamer.

(16) See Norman Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X (1946), pp. 1-41; and by the same author, "British Columbia Steamboat Days, 1870-1883," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XI (1947), pp. 69-111.

For many years there was enough business for two or three steamers, and this continued until the completion of the Fraser Valley line of the British Columbia Electric Railway in 1910. Passenger traffic on the steamers practically ceased from that date, but for several years after there was enough freight for one boat.

The typical river-steamer was a sternwheeler, 100 or more feet in length, 20 to 35 feet in beam, of shallow draught and capable of a speed of about 12 knots. When conditions were stabilized, the regular run was from New Westminster to Chilliwack, going up one day and returning the next. The up-river run took about nine hours, but the return trip was usually at least two hours less. There were some thirty regular ports of call on the route, many of them with wharf accommodation. Such accommodation, however, was not a necessity. Wherever a white flag was flying, the boat would make a call. Service was a prime consideration, and nothing in the way of freight was too large or too small. A call would be made for a can of milk or a crate of eggs as readily as for a ton of hay or shipment of live stock. The crew of a dozen or more husky deck-hands would soon get freight or passengers from shore to boat. For the passengers the tedium of the journey was always relieved by watching this transfer of freight, particularly if it happened to be a refractory animal. Although Indians and half-breeds were mainly used as deck-hands in those days, any husky young fellow could get work on the river-steamers if he so wished.¹⁷

The first decade of the present century was the hey-day of the sternwheeler. The Canadian Pacific Railway, having in January, 1901, bought out the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, was then operating the *Beaver*, namesake of the Hudson's Bay Company's famous steamer. This boat was undoubtedly the finest of a long line of river-boats. Built in 1898 at Victoria by the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, she was 140 feet in length, 28 feet in beam, and 5.1 feet in depth, and of 545 gross tonnage,¹⁸ and could make 14 knots. In contrast to the usual

(17) Information supplied to the author in an interview with W. H. Nesbitt, a former purser on the river-boats.

(18) *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1900*, London, 1900, p. 35. She was powered by 13-horse-power engines.

river-steamer, she had a steel hull and was, in fact, the first steel ship to be built in British Columbia. She was originally intended for the Stikine River, but instead was placed on the Fraser for the run to Chilliwack under the command of Captain George Odin. In 1903 she was commanded by Captain F. W. Reid, with W. H. Nesbitt, purser, and Fred. McIntosh, steward.¹⁹

Her most serious competitor was the *Ramona*, which had been built in 1896 at Portland and brought to the Fraser by Captain Richard Baker for the Lower Fraser River Navigation Company to replace one of the three vessels lost in the disastrous New Westminster fire of 1898.²⁰ She was the largest sternwheeler to operate on the Fraser, being 178 feet in length, 25 feet beam, and 4.4 feet in depth.²¹ On April 17, 1901, she was destroyed by fire at Fort Langley when her boiler exploded, killing four people.²² Subsequently her hull was purchased by a group of New Westminster merchants who had organized the Western Steamboat Company²³ and she was rebuilt and put under the command of Captain Hollis Young.²⁴ On April 21, 1909, she foundered oppo-

(19) New Westminster *Supplement to the Daily and Weekly British Columbian*, December, 1903, p. 5. She was described as "one of the best of the kind on the Coast." Subsequently, in 1919, she was sold to the Provincial Government and extensively refitted to operate as a ferry between Ladner and Woodward's Landing. The *Transfer*, owned by the same company, operated on the run from New Westminster to Ladner and Steveston. She had been built in 1893 by Alexander Watson at Victoria and was 122 feet in length, 24.5 feet in beam, and 5.6 feet in depth, powered with 18-horse-power engines and of 264 gross tonnage. [*Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1900*, p. 352.] In 1909 she was sold and broken up.

(20) New Westminster *Supplement to the Daily and Weekly British Columbian*, December, 1903, p. 5.

(21) *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1900*, p. 292. Her gross tonnage was 251 and she was powered with 9-horse-power engines.

(22) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 17 and 18, 1901.

(23) The promoters were T. J. Trapp, president; R. Whitmore, manager and secretary; F. J. Hart, T. S. Annandale, L. A. Lewis, and J. A. Cunningham, directors. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1909.

(24) At that time Charles Tait was purser and Frank Latta, steward. See New Westminster *Supplement to the Daily and Weekly British Columbian*, December, 1903. If this newspaper account is correct, evidently she had been reconstructed on a smaller scale, for her dimensions were given as length, 130 feet; breadth, 23 feet.

site Port Haney.²⁵ Her place was taken by the *Paystreak*, built at New Westminster in 1909 for the Royal City Navigation Company.²⁶ Other vessels on the river at this time included the *Royal City*,²⁷ *Favorite*,²⁸ *Hamlin*,²⁹ *Mona*,³⁰ and *Defender*.³¹

In 1904 river service was described as follows:—

The steamer *Transfer* runs from New Westminster to Ladner and Steveston, and connects the other places of call along the river. Daily service is kept up each way, winter and summer.

On the upper river there are four steamers. The *Beaver*, which, like the *Transfer*, is owned and operated by the C.P.R., is run to Chilliwack, alternating with the steamer *Ramona*, owned by a local company. These steamers, too, give the river valley settlers a regular service all the year round, being seldom interrupted, and that only for a few days in midwinter occasionally by ice, which sometimes jams in the river.

The steamers *Favorite* and *Defender* are run from New Westminster up the river to Mt. Lehman, Mission and other points. Once a year the

(25) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 22, 1909.

(26) According to the *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1911*, p. 399, she was 126.5 feet in length, 26.4 feet in breadth, and 4.6 feet in depth; of 382 gross tonnage and powered with 10-horse-power engines. In 1917 she was dismantled.

(27) This vessel was built at Langley in 1898 for William West. Her dimensions were: Length, 99.1 feet; breadth, 17.7 feet; and depth, 4.6 feet. Her gross tonnage was 200 and her engines were rated at 10 horse-power. [*Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1900*, p. 306.] She was burned at the wharf at Mission on April 10, 1901. [New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 10, 1901.]

(28) The *Favorite* was screw-propelled, with engines of 9 horse-power. She was 100 feet in length, 20 feet in breadth, and 3.8 feet in depth, and was built in 1901 at New Westminster for George C. Harvey, who acted as her mate and purser. [*Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1908*, p. 140.] For a time she was commanded by Captain Charles E. Seymour.

(29) This vessel was built in Vancouver in 1898 for the Canadian Pacific Railway. She was of 515 gross tonnage and powered with 17-horse-power engines, being 146.2 feet in length, 30.8 feet in breadth, and 4.6 feet in depth. [*Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1900*, p. 156.] For a time she was commanded by Captain John H. Bowser.

(30) No details are available on this vessel; evidently she was brought from the Stikine by Captain John H. Bowser and operated on the Fraser in 1903.

(31) Built in 1901 at Langley for Henry West, she was of the following dimensions: Length, 85 feet; breadth, 16.5 feet; depth, 4 feet; gross tonnage, 216; engines, 13 horse-power. [*Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1902*, p. 99.]

steamer Beaver makes a trip up Harrison river and lake with supplies to Fort Douglas, the Hudsons Bay post at the head of Harrison lake.³²

The last of a long line of sternwheelers was the *Skeena*. Built in 1908 at a cost of over \$40,000 for use on the Skeena River during the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,³³ she was brought down from the North in 1912 and for some years ran up the North Arm of Burrard Inlet. In 1914 she was transferred to the Fraser and operated for many years by Captain Charles E. Seymour, with W. H. Nesbitt as purser, both well-known figures on the river. Her regular schedule was to Ladner and return on Monday, to Chilliwack on Tuesday, returning Thursday, and to Mission and return on Friday. On Captain Seymour's death the *Skeena* was tied up at a New Westminster wharf for some months, despite the futile efforts of the Board of Trade of that city to put her again into operation. Eventually she was bought for a song by Ewen's Cannery, dismantled, tied up to the wharf, and used as a bunkhouse for the cannery employees.³⁴ Later still, without superstructure, her hull was used as a barge by one of the oil companies.

Thus passed from the scene, in rather ignoble fashion, the last of the river-steamers, making way for a speedier means of transportation. Nevertheless, the pioneer residents of the valley viewed the passing with a measure of regret. For them the daily arrival and departure of the steamer was a social event of some importance, a brief contact with the outside world, which satisfied in some measure the gregarious instincts of those who live in lonely places. For over half a century these boats, their officers and crew, had provided a reasonably efficient means of transportation. In times of special stress, as in the floods of 1894, they had done a magnificent work in rescuing settlers and their live stock. It is not too much to say that the ubiquitous sternwheeler rendered exceptional service to the Fraser Valley.

(32) New Westminster *Supplement to the Daily and Weekly Columbian*, December, 1904, p. 13.

(33) According to the *Mercantile Navy List and Maritime Directory for 1910*, p. 469, her owner was John W. Stewart and her dimensions: Length, 121.2 feet; breadth, 26.8 feet; depth, 5.6 feet; gross tonnage, 515; and engines, 8 horse-power. Captain Seymour was her owner from 1914 onward.

(34) Vancouver *Morning Star*, December 17, 1928.

Bisected as it is by a great river, the valley needed some means of communication between its north and south shores. In the early days a bridge was out of the question because of the cost; therefore, ferries were operated as the most useful substitute. The first of these, which bore the cryptic name *K de K*, was operated between New Westminster and Brownsville, just west of the present bridge. It afforded connection with the Yale Road, built in 1875, but the service was most unsatisfactory.³⁵ A new ferry, the *Surrey*, was built by the City of New Westminster at a cost of \$25,000. She was launched on December 11, 1890,³⁶ and made her first run on February 19, 1891.³⁷ This ferry gave reasonably satisfactory service until the new bridge was completed in 1904.³⁸ Another ferry was maintained at Mission for many years. Still another link, between Chilliwack Landing and Harrison Mills, was originally operated in fulfilment of a contract to carry mail across the river to the Canadian Pacific Railroad. This service was instituted by J. T. Harrison in 1887 and from 1900 to 1910 was well patronized, as many preferred the train to the slower river-steamer. The completion of the British Columbia Electric Railway to Chilliwack, however,

(35) "Formerly the ferry—a mere apology for such—ran at a diagonal, lengthy route across and up river, and had such poor accommodation in the way of landings that it was too much of a risk to attempt to put horses and vehicles on the boat and it was seldom attempted." *New Westminster British Columbian*, March 14, 1891. The *K de K*, named after J. S. Knevett de Knevett, a Belgian gentleman with large interests in New Westminster, began operation about 1883, although according to a pioneer, James Johnson, as early as 1873 Thomas Penney had operated a small steamboat with a scow. Fares charged were heavy: 25 cents single fare for an individual; 50 cents single for an individual with horse and saddle; wagon and team single, \$1.75; return, \$2. Ordinarily the trip took only ten minutes. Memorandum from James Johnson to R. E. Gosnell, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. See also *Vancouver Daily Province*, March 25, 1948.

(36) *Victoria Colonist*, December 12, 1890.

(37) *New Westminster British Columbian*, February 19, 1891.

(38) In 1903 the *Surrey* was commanded by Captain R. Purdy, with John Power as purser and James Grier as engineer. "The *Surrey* is unique also as being the only fire boat in British Columbia, and her crew are firemen as soon as an alarm is turned in." *New Westminster Supplement to the Daily and Weekly British Columbian*, December, 1903, p. 6.

practically put an end to the run.³⁹ Further up-river the Rose-dale-Agassiz ferry has been in continuous operation since 1901.⁴⁰ The popularity of Harrison Hot Springs as a health resort will ensure the retention of this service, unless the Government accedes to the present-day agitation for a bridge at that point. For some localities ferries may continue to serve as a link between the north and south shores in the future, just as they have in the past.

The need for a bridge at New Westminster was recognized for nearly a generation before the plan was brought to completion. The local press of that period reflected the demands for the bridge, many cogent reasons being given for its erection.⁴¹ Nearly every year some new scheme was put forward or an old one revived, but invariably the negotiations were wrecked on the rock of financial responsibility. About the beginning of the century the Provincial Government recognized the project as a necessary public utility, but hoped to get some assistance from Ottawa. The most the Federal Government would do, however, was to promise to subsidize any private company that would undertake the work.⁴² Popular sentiment was strongly in favour of construction as a public work, and as such it was finally undertaken by the Dunsmuir government, the necessary financing being taken care of by a loan. It is true that a highly popular Royal City native son, the Honourable Richard McBride,

(39) Operators of this ferry were: 1887 to April, 1891, J. T. Harrison; 1891-1899, William MacDonald; 1899 to March, 1901, J. F. Harrison; 1901-1908, J. F. Harrison and Captain R. C. Menten; 1908 onward, Chilliwack Ferry Service (J. T. Henley and associates). Captain Menten used the *Minto* on this run; later the *J. P. Douglas* was used until she was burned in January, 1909, and then the *Vedder* was in operation until September, 1911; thereafter a gasboat was used until 1917. See J. J. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(40) This service was started by Messrs. J. and M. Vallance and W. McGrath. In 1907 it was taken over by Noble Ryder and Charles Gill, and they obtained a Provincial Government subsidy for two trips daily. From 1922-1932 the Government took over complete operation, and since then have given five-year contracts with subsidy, and Captain J. T. Henley has been in charge. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

(41) New Westminster *British Columbian*, December 24, 1895.

(42) E. O. S. Scholefield and R. E. Gosnell, *British Columbia: Sixty Years of Progress*, Vancouver and Victoria, 1913, part ii, p. 168.

was a valuable friend at court, and it was very fitting that he was the head of the Government that completed the project. Nevertheless, the undertaking had the unanimous endorsement of the members of the Legislature.⁴³ The same could hardly be said of the present Pattullo Bridge.

The Dunsmuir government wisely decided to spare no expense in the construction of the bridge, which was to be a combined railway and vehicular traffic structure of masonry and steel. One of the most eminent bridge engineers of the continent, J. A. L. Waddell, a Canadian by birth, but a resident of Kansas City, Missouri, was engaged to design and supervise its construction. The contract for the substructure was awarded to the firm of Armstrong, Morrison & Balfour, of Vancouver, while that for the superstructure went to the Dominion Bridge Company.

Construction was commenced in August, 1902, but the substructure was not completed for more than a year, for the depth of the water on the north side presented an unexpectedly difficult engineering problem in the building of the piers. This was solved by the use of caissons of timber which were filled with cement and sunk for nearly 40 feet into the river silt. Masonry was then built on top of the cement. The five piers in the shallower water of the south side rest on cedar piles driven 100 feet into the river-bed. With the completion of this work, the superstructure was rapidly erected. The steel was fabricated in Lachine, Quebec, and brought to the south bank of the river on the tracks of the Great Northern Railway, the first shipment arriving in June, 1903. In March, 1904, the Y-span at the north end of the bridge was placed in position and the work was virtually complete. The total cost was over \$1,000,000, but at the time it was considered one of the finest bridges on the continent. The central swing span of 361 feet, speedily operated by electricity, allowed passage for large boats. The roadway, including the approaches, was 2,850 feet long and 16 feet wide, a width which was considered "ample to accommodate general traffic."⁴⁴ On July 23, 1904, with appropriate ceremonies, the bridge was formally opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir

(43) *New Westminster Supplement to the Daily and Weekly British Columbian*, December, 1903.

(44) *Ibid.*

Henri Joly de Lotbiniere. One of the features of that opening was a long procession of river-steamers and tugs through the open span. Each vessel, loaded with passengers, saluted the bridge, as it passed through, with a long blast of the whistle.⁴⁵

Benefits of the long-awaited structure were immediately apparent. The Great Northern Railway, which had maintained a terminus at South Westminster, now had access to the cities of New Westminster and Vancouver. For this privilege the company pays an annual rental of \$20,000.⁴⁶ By 1910 the British Columbia Electric Railway also made use of the bridge for its Fraser Valley line, and within a few years the Canadian Northern trains were using the bridge and the Great Northern's right-of-way into Vancouver. The railways continue to use the old bridge.

The growth of population and traffic have fully justified the erection of the bridge, but few would have been so rash as to foretell the need for another bridge within thirty years. The increase in automobile traffic was a totally unexpected development. A 16-foot roadway was barely wide enough to permit the passage of two big trucks or buses. On holidays the traffic-jam proved that the old bridge was no longer adequate. The Pattullo government accordingly proposed a new bridge for vehicular traffic only. Although a great deal of acrimonious discussion arose among laymen and professional engineers as to the wisdom or necessity of building a new bridge, the Government proceeded with its plan and tenders were opened on June 10, 1935. In a little more than two years, on November 15, 1937, the present magnificent four-lane bridge was open for traffic.⁴⁷ This structure, immediately west of the original one, cost \$3,500,000 and makes its predecessor look antiquated and ugly. There are few to-day who still maintain that the new bridge was not necessary. Tolls were removed from the first bridge within six years⁴⁸ and, needless to say, Premier McBride had popular approval for this act. What plans the Government has in that respect as far as the Pattullo Bridge is concerned remains yet

(45) New Westminster *British Columbian*, July 23, 1904.

(46) Scholefield and Howay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 529.

(47) Vancouver *Daily Province*, November 15, 1937.

(48) New Westminster *British Columbian*, April 1, 1910.

to be disclosed, although it is only fair to say that the present tolls are not excessive.

There has been a bridge across the Fraser at Mission since 1891.⁴⁹ It was erected by the Canadian Pacific Railway primarily as a railway bridge to connect a branch line with the Great Northern at Abbotsford. Two wooden bridges preceded the present steel one. In 1927, after many demands by residents of the district, this bridge was planked and opened for vehicular traffic. In recent years railroad needs in that area have decreased considerably, and consequently the bridge has increasingly been used as an alternative route across the river for automobile traffic.

A railway or an electric-tram line on the south side of the river first began to materialize with the proposal of the British Columbia Electric Railway. After preliminary surveys to determine the best route, this project was commenced on August 26, 1907,⁵⁰ and was in operation as far as Cloverdale within a few months. The last section from Abbotsford to Chilliwack was delayed for many months because the route hinged on the much-mooted Sumas reclamation scheme. However, this section of the line was completed in due course, and on October 3, 1910, the inaugural train of three gaily decorated coaches left New Westminster at 10 a.m. A large party of notables, headed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas W. Paterson, and Premier McBride, was welcomed all along the line. The gaiety of the occasion was not even marred by the fact that for the last part of the journey one of the company's steam locomotives which had been used in construction-work had to be requisitioned as motive power. An electrical storm the previous evening had caused a large tree to fall across the power-lines at Sumas Mountain. Chilliwack residents, led by a brass band, turned out *en masse* to greet with wild acclaim the somewhat delayed arrival. The Premier of the Province performed truly and well

(49) "Quite a large number of Vancouverites were down at the Canadian Pacific depot this morning to witness the departure of the first regular through train to Whatcom by way of the Mission-Sumas branch and the Bellingham Bay road. . . . Assistant Supt. Downie of the C.P.R. also went over and there were 40 passengers beside. The train consisted of three coaches and a baggage car." *Vancouver World*, June 22, 1891.

(50) New Westminster *British Columbian*, August 26, 1907.

the customary ceremony of driving the last spike.⁵¹ For the little city at the eastern terminus of one of the longest electrical interurban lines in the world, it was hailed as "the greatest day in the history of Chilliwack."⁵² Within a year a daily schedule of three passenger-trains each way, in addition to the "milk train," was put into effect. One thousand passengers daily were frequently transported.⁵³

For nearly two decades this interurban line was probably the most important factor in the transportation facilities of the valley. But with the improvement in automotive transportation and in the construction of highways came the greatest competition to railways. Just as the river-steamer was superseded by the electric railway, the latter in turn suffered eclipse because of the automobile. The "march of time" has relegated the railway to the background in the present system of transportation.

The valley's transportation facilities profited to some extent also as a result of the orgy of railway-building induced by the general spirit of optimism during the first decade of this century. Even before the long-deferred hopes of the valley residents had been consummated in the completion of the British Columbia Electric Railway, Mr. Donald Mann, later Sir Donald, had announced that the Canadian Northern Railway would be in operation within a year.⁵⁴ The site for the new terminus was to be Port Mann, on the south bank of the river about 2 miles east of New Westminster. A contract for clearing a 2,000-acre townsite was let, and lots were soon selling at boom prices. Extravagant claims were made as to the ultimate importance of this "Liverpool of the Pacific." Strangely enough, even a Vancouver newspaper prophesied that it was "soon to become a serious rival to the growth of Vancouver."⁵⁵ Those dreams were never even remotely realized. The logical decision to extend the railway to tide-water at Vancouver would have caused the collapse of the original plans, even if the pre-war depression had not. However, the consolidation of the line as part of the Cana-

(51) *Ibid.*, October 3, 1910.

(52) *Chilliwack Progress*, October 5, 1910.

(53) *New Westminster British Columbian*, June 1, 1911.

(54) *Ibid.*, June 13, 1910.

(55) *Vancouver World*, Industrial Supplement, September 21, 1910.

dian National Railways has given a regular service to some of the older settlements on the river. Being a transcontinental railway, it has not had to depend on local traffic as had the British Columbia Electric Railway, but both suffered from the competition of motor buses and trucks.

It would not be an extravagant claim to say that the automobile has revolutionized the economic, the educational, and even the social life of the residents of the valley. In the early days it was probably an all-day task for the farmer to take a load of grain, hay, or fruit to a river-landing for the steamer. The railways improved conditions greatly, but to-day huge trucks ensure that quick delivery of farm products which is so advantageous to consumer and producer alike.

The increase in the number of automobiles in British Columbia since 1907, the first year of registration, has been incredible. It has jumped from 175 in that year to well over 100,000 to-day.⁵⁶ A conservative estimate would give about 60 per cent. of this number to the towns and cities of the Lower Mainland. The number of trucks and buses has shown a similar increase. There does not appear to be any serious rival to the dominant position such vehicles now hold in the field of transportation. Keeping pace, perforce, with the improvement of the automobile has been the improvement of highways. To-day the valley is served by splendid primary highways—the Lougheed Highway on the north side and the Trans-Provincial and Pacific Highways on the south side. There are also several important “feeders” or secondary highways, as well as hundreds of miles of gravelled roads.

It was not always thus. The pioneers did little systematic road building or planning. Roads were often evolved by the dumping of gravel on old foot or pack trails and consequently seldom followed the best or shortest routes. Financial arrangements, too, were very haphazard. In each electoral district funds were allocated to a superintendent of road-building, who depended on resident settlers for necessary work.⁵⁷ During the 1890's the valley newspapers complained with a great deal of

(56) *Canada Year Book, 1946*, p. 663.

(57) Province of British Columbia, *Manual of Provincial Information*, Victoria, 1930, p. 204.

asperity about the condition even of the Yale Road during the winter months. The *British Columbian* characterized certain stretches of it across Langley Prairie as "an impassable ditch . . . an example of sheer neglect."⁵⁸ Only real pioneers could adequately describe the condition in winter months of the "feeder" roads.

About 1908, however, owing to the use of automobiles, the Department of Public Works began a systematic construction of trunk roads suitable for motor traffic. The Province was then in a prosperous state—the McBride Government had actually produced a surplus for several years in succession. It was during this period of prosperity that more work was done than ever before. During the First World War a policy of retrenchment prevented any extension of the programme, despite the rapid increase in motor traffic. Most of the improvements noted to-day have been effected since 1924. The Trans-Provincial Highway, following mainly the old Yale Road of pioneer days, the Lougheed Highway, and the King George VI Highway to Blaine have been relocated in places, widened, and resurfaced, so that to-day they conform to standards required for modern traffic.

A commentary on the conditions of yesteryear is contained in an item from the *Chilliwack Progress* of November 2, 1910, under the caption "Fast Motor Driving."

H. Hooper, of Vancouver, who has been in the valley the past week or ten days demonstrating to prospective buyers the splendid qualities of the Hupmobile, made a record trip from this city to Abbotsford yesterday. With S. Pugh they made the trip in 2 hours and 10 minutes. The time is authentic, it being telephoned back to Chilliwack upon their arrival at Abbotsford. The trip is a most remarkable one considering the state of the roads and it is a practical tribute to the qualities of the Hupmobile as a utility car. Across the Sumas prairie, in places, the axle of the car dragged through the mud and water. Dr. Swift, of Abbotsford, came back with Mr. Hooper today and the same good time that was made yesterday was repeated today.⁵⁹

Such a trip could easily be made to-day in less than half an hour!

AGRICULTURE.

The agricultural possibilities of the Fraser Valley first attracted permanent settlers there. It has been the increasing

(58) New Westminster *British Columbian*, December 26, 1890.

(59) *Chilliwack Progress*, November 2, 1910.

development of those possibilities which has laid the foundation for the prosperity of the valley. An equable climate and fertile soil provided the initial advantages, of which the pioneers were not slow to take advantage. The growth of two cities at the front door of the valley ensured a good market for the sale of their produce, but wider markets have been by no means neglected.

The major problem that many valley farmers have had to face was the annual freshet season. Both the date and the maximum height of the freshet have always been uncertain, being dependent on weather conditions in the upper reaches of the river during the spring months. There were several low-lying sections of the valley that were always subject to flooding. The first of these from the eastern end of the valley was the Agassiz flats, an area of nearly 5,500 acres. The next point of danger was at Chilliwack, where nearly 22,000 acres were subject to floods, but most of it only during the highest freshets. The third area was that of Sumas Prairie, nearly 30,000 acres, all subject to annual flooding. Next was Nicomen Island, a comparatively small area. A little farther west, at Dewdney, there was an area of over 5,000 acres that suffered, while across the river, on the south side, were the Matsqui flats, comprising 10,000 acres. The most westerly danger-point was the Pitt River flats, an area of over 8,500 acres, lying in the angle formed by the confluence of the Pitt and Fraser Rivers.⁶⁰

In 1876, after more than a decade of settlement, the highest freshet then on record occurred toward the end of June.⁶¹ In 1882, about the middle of June, this height was surpassed by 13 inches on the gauge at Mission City, which has always been considered the standard for measuring the height of flood-waters.

The accounts as to the relative height of water as compared with that of 1876 are conflicting, but there is no doubt that it is now considerably higher and it is equally certain that it is proving much more destructive. In the Chilliwack, Sumas, and other settlements there is utter ruin everywhere on the lower lands. Crops are destroyed, live stock in some instances is perishing, and even buildings are wrecked, and some of the settlers have been driven for refuge to their less unfortunate neighbors or to the moun-

(60) R. E. Gosnell, *The Year Book of British Columbia* . . . 1897, Victoria, 1897, pp. 276-280.

(61) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 28, 1876.

tains. Everywhere ruin and consternation reigns. And the water is still rising! . . . And when shall the end be? God only knows!⁶²

But in 1894 occurred the greatest flood that has ever been recorded in the valley. A very hot spell in the Interior caused a tremendous run-off of water. The river began to rise on May 19 and thereafter rose at an average rate of 2 feet per day until June 6. At that date the Mission gauge registered 25.75 feet, an all-time high. Several lives were lost, and crops, live stock, dykes, bridges, and roads suffered tremendous devastation.⁶³ The right-of-way and telegraph-lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway were damaged to such an extent that communication with the East by these means was interrupted for several days. Sumas Prairie was flooded to a depth of 15 feet. River-steamers, which did valiant rescue-work, steamed without difficulty from Chilliwack to Huntingdon on the International Boundary. Assistance, both private and governmental, was rushed to the residents of the stricken valley, but it took considerable time to repair the ravages created by the "Big Flood."

Lulled into false security by the hope and belief that high water came only once in a decade or so, the settlers were caught unprepared by the freshet of 1896. The maximum height did not quite equal that of 1882, but since it was later than usual—July 8—the damage was serious.

While the damage by flood, in the Lower Fraser Valley, this year, is nothing like so widespread and serious, on the whole, as resulted from the unprecedented freshet of two years ago, evidences are coming to hand which leave no room for doubt that, in some sections, the effect of this year's high water, though at the highest from three to four feet lower than the 1894 high water mark, will prove practically almost equally disastrous to the farmers whose lands are overflowed.⁶⁴

It did demonstrate very convincingly the necessity of a comprehensive system of dykes and drainage if crops on the low-lying lands were to be secure from annual devastation. During the succeeding years many miles of dykes have been constructed, and these have given reasonably good protection.⁶⁵ Not until the

(62) New Westminster *British Columbian*, June 14, 1882.

(63) *Ibid.*, May 19 to June 15, 1894; also *Chilliwack Progress*, June 6 and 13, 1894.

(64) New Westminster *British Columbian*, July 10, 1896.

(65) *Report of a Special Investigation Commission, Fraser Valley Dying Affairs, 1934.*

summer of 1936 did these dykes undergo a very severe testing. In that year the height of the flood—22.61 feet—was exceeded only by that of 1894.⁶⁶ Fortunately the residents were forewarned by the Dominion Hydrometric Bureau at Vancouver, and most of the main dykes were maintained intact. Several small private dykes gave way under the strain, and, in addition, breaks in the main system at Agassiz and Dewdney resulted in the flooding of about 7,000 acres.

In all, about 120 miles of dykes have been constructed, only about 15 miles of which have been financed without Government assistance. Naturally the original cost and that of maintenance has been a serious financial drain on the valley farmers and on the Government. There has been much special legislation, several Commissions have been appointed, and frequent revisions of assessments in an attempt to deal equitably with this major problem.

Fruit-growing, dairying, and hop-growing are the most important phases of agricultural industry in the Fraser Valley. In pioneer days the growing of fruit received most attention, but the lack of suitable shipping facilities and good markets resulted in much fruit being left to rot on the ground. The first regular shipments to the Prairies by express began in the 1890's⁶⁷ and since that time have increased steadily. With the development of the Okanagan Valley as a superior apple-producing region, the fruit-growers of the valley ceased to be particularly interested in that phase of horticulture. The modern trend has been toward specialization, as certain districts were proved to be especially adapted for the growing of the smaller fruits. Thus the Chilliwack district has specialized in cherries, while the bench lands of Mission and Maple Ridge are well adapted to the production of strawberries, raspberries, and loganberries. With the discovery of a special process of preserving the berries, the growers have been able to extend their markets even to the British Isles.

For the dairy-farmer, the valley offers a mild climate, good water, and nutritious grasses, all prime factors in successful dairying. As early as 1868 the Chadsey brothers, pioneer settlers

(66) Vancouver *Daily Province*, June 6, 1936.

(67) R. E. Gosnell, *The Year Book of British Columbia . . . 1911-1914*, Victoria, 1914, p. 233.

in the Sumas district, had put the industry on a commercial basis.⁶⁸ They put their butter in hermetically sealed tins, transported it to the Cariboo, and did a thriving business with the luxury-hungry miners still in that district. From that time on the value of the dairy products has increased amazingly. In 1896 the first creamery in the valley began operating at Sardis, near Chilliwack. It was the well-known Eden Bank Creamery, a co-operative concern, the outgrowth of a private venture by A. C. Wells, an honoured pioneer of the Chilliwack Valley, who had made butter and cheese at his own farm for several years previously.⁶⁹ A few years later the Chilliwack Creamery was built to serve the producers of the eastern end of the valley. In 1906 these two creameries alone produced nearly 500,000 lb. of butter.⁷⁰ A creamery at New Westminster drew supplies from the neighbouring districts.

From 1910 onward, two important factors changed the whole outlook of the dairying industry. One was the tremendous growth in population of the coast cities. The other was the completion of the Fraser Valley line of the British Columbia Electric Railway. From the beginning a "milk special" left Chilliwack daily at 6.15 p.m. The two creameries immediately turned their attention to the selling of whole milk and cream in the coast cities rather than to the making of butter and cheese. The reason was quite simple—it gave better returns to the producer. The dairy-men soon realized that some form of co-operative marketing was highly desirable, and the first of several organizations was incorporated in 1910. The present organization, under the name of Associated Dairies, Ltd., operates plants at Vancouver, at Delair near Abbotsford, and a utility plant at Sardis.⁷¹

The dairy-farmers have shown a progressive spirit that is commendable. They early recognized the importance of pure-bred stock of the best milking strains, and to-day some of the valley herds of Holsteins and Ayrshires, Jerseys and Guernseys

(68) Scholefield and Howay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 593.

(69) Chilliwack *Progress*, June 17, 1896.

(70) New Westminster *British Columbian*, October 28, 1907.

(71) For a detailed study of the dairy industry in the Fraser Valley, see R. E. English, "Problems of a Specialized Area—the Fraser Valley," in H. A. Innis (ed.), *The Dairy Industry in Canada*, Toronto, 1937, pp. 213-245.

are internationally known. In 1925 the Federal Government enacted legislation in an attempt to eradicate bovine tuberculosis through testing by veterinary inspectors. Several such tests have been given, each showing a marked decrease in the number of reactors.⁷² The area is now up to Government standards in freedom from disease, and the purity of Vancouver's milk-supply is well safe-guarded.

Hops of splendid quality are grown in the eastern end of the valley, the soil and climate there being particularly favourable. Early records indicate that John Broe, of Aldergrove, was the first to experiment with this crop about the year 1884.⁷³ It was from this pioneer plantation that the early growers in Chilliwack and Agassiz got their supply of root stocks. These hops soon established an excellent reputation among the brewers of Great Britain,⁷⁴ and this reputation has been maintained since the beginning. Hop-growing is a profitable venture, though it requires a heavy initial outlay, and for that reason is to-day in the hands of well-established companies.

One of the features of this industry has always been the influx of hop-pickers in the fall. In early days these were mainly families of Indians who came from far and near, attracted by the social as much as by the financial opportunities. Not an evening went by without their engaging in long drawn-out games of chance, to the accompaniment of rhythmic chanting and the beating of tom-toms. For about three weeks there reigned a carnival spirit in the district, and the merchants profited greatly. The depression years broke the ancient monopoly in hop-picking established by the Indians, and for some time white people and Chinese have come in considerable numbers to assist in the annual harvest of the fragrant crop.

Among the minor activities and crops connected with the agricultural industry may be mentioned stock-raising (other than cattle), poultry-raising, the production of honey, and the growing of all kinds of root crops. Tobacco is a comparatively

(72) Canada, Department of Agriculture, Health of Animals Branch, *Bovine Tuberculosis*, Ottawa, 1929, p. 6, gives the following percentages of infection: 1926, 7.9 per cent.; 1927, 1.1 per cent.; 1928, 0.76 per cent.

(73) Vancouver *Daily Province*, October 28, 1933.

(74) New Westminster *British Columbian*, May 19, 1894.

new-comer among the crops, as it was first grown on the reclaimed land of Sumas Prairie. After initial set-backs that were most discouraging, the industry is now more firmly established and making headway.⁷⁵ The growers face strong competition from the other tobacco-growing regions in Canada, and experience has proved that the best plan in marketing the crop is to sell it entirely to the powerful interests in Eastern Canada.

It is fitting that tribute should be paid to the invaluable services of the Provincial Department of Agriculture and to the Dominion Experimental Farm at Agassiz and its various superintendents—T. A. Sharp, P. H. Moore, and, since 1916, W. H. Hicks. They pioneered in all phases of agricultural and horticultural experimentation, and the farmers of the valley are fully aware of their great debt to the work which has been carried on for their benefit. Nor would it be just to discount the part played by fall fairs in this chronicle of development of agriculture. Nearly every centre of population has a long record in this matter, although Chilliwack has the honour of having organized, in 1874, the first fall fair in the valley. There was a definite educational value for the farmer in these exhibitions, but for many years they were purely preliminaries to the annual exhibition at New Westminster, sponsored by the Royal Agricultural and Industrial Society. It was there that a healthy rivalry among the valley municipalities always brought forth a magnificent display of live stock and produce. That the standard of excellence was high has been demonstrated in recent years, when several exhibitors have gone to the neighbouring States or as far east as Toronto and come back with more than their share of prizes and awards.

OTHER INDUSTRIES.

Although primarily an agricultural region, the Fraser Valley is richly endowed with at least two other sources of wealth—timber and salmon. The legitimate exploitation of these resources has assisted in no small measure in promoting the prosperity of the whole valley. Apparently there is only one of British Columbia's primary industries—mining—that has little

(75) From information supplied the author by Mr. G. E. W. Clarke, District Horticulturist, Department of Agriculture, Abbotsford, B.C.

or no future in the valley. Undoubtedly there are some heavily mineralized areas throughout the region, but up to the present these have proved to be of low-grade ore content or the cost of developing them is prohibitive.

Little need be said of the salmon-fishing industry. Its importance ever since the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Langley has been known to the whole world. It was not until 1871, after some experiments in canning salmon undertaken by James Symes as early as 1867, that the first cannery for that purpose was built at Annieville,⁷⁶ just across the river from New Westminster.⁷⁷ By 1901 the number of canneries on the river had increased to forty-eight,⁷⁸ and the output that year was over a million cases (48 lb. to the case).⁷⁹ Although there are six species of salmon useful commercially, the sockeye, because of its unsurpassed colour and flavour, is the most important. The sockeye's life-cycle is only four years, and, in consequence, the big runs have usually come every fourth year. In 1913, during the construction of the Canadian Northern Railway, a huge slide of rock blocked the river at Hell's Gate. It was a major disaster for the industry, for 1913 was a "big run" year and millions of salmon died without being able to reach their usual spawning-grounds. The resulting serious depletion became a matter of international concern. In addition, American fishermen were using huge fish-traps and purse-seines in the Gulf of Georgia, while river fishermen were allowed only a gill-net. Many years of negotiation finally led to the appointment of an International Commission with control of all operations of the industry. One major project has recently been completed by the Commission

(76) Although officially called "Annieville," it was known locally as "Anniesville."

(77) "Canned Salmon.—A new company has commenced operation in the above business in the premises formerly occupied by Mr. J. Syme with every prospect of success." [New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 7, 1871.] "A company has started the business of putting salmon up in tins in the fishery premises opposite the town of New Westminster." [Victoria *Colonist*, June 8, 1871.] Later that same year still another cannery was started in buildings formerly part of the Royal Engineers' camp at Sapper-ton. [New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, June 20, 1871.]

(78) *Manual of Provincial Information, 1930*, p. 128.

(79) *Report of the Fisheries Commissioner for British Columbia, 1901*, p. 823. The value of the pack that year was \$5,000,000, more than double that of the previous year.

which promises to restore the industry to its former importance. Fish-ladders have been constructed at Hell's Gate, enabling greater numbers of fish to reach the spawning-grounds.

The sockeye run was a godsend, especially to the early settlers in the valley. Some of the record catches on the river have been made in the section between Mission and the New Westminster bridge.⁸⁰ The settlers depended on the fishing to provide them with ready cash, and it was a poor year when they did not make \$500 or \$600 for their summer's work. Women and children carried on with the farm-work while the bread-winner was fishing, but the main run was over before the harvest-time began—a wise dispensation of Providence. Evidently the lot of the pioneer farmer in the Fraser Valley would have been a more difficult one had he not been able to depend on the harvest from the river to supplement the harvest from his field.

It is now almost impossible to estimate accurately what the quantity of marketable timber in the valley was previous to settlement. A conservative estimate would be twenty billion feet, board measure. Douglas fir, red cedar, and hemlock predominated, but the most valuable stands have long since disappeared. One of the last of these was the famous "Green Timbers" in Surrey, through which the Pacific Highway ran. Despite strenuous efforts to save this as a scenic attraction, it was logged off by 1930.⁸¹ Forest fires and land-clearing operations have also taken toll of a great deal of valuable timber. As a matter of fact, to the settler who wanted the land for crops, the timber was a detriment rather than an asset. Until 1910 there was little sale for timber, and only those fortunate enough to be near a sawmill were able to profit, either by the sale of timber or by getting the lumber for house or barn. Millions of feet of the finest timber were destroyed simply to get it out of the way. The idea of conservation of forest wealth certainly did not originate with the early settlers.

Few people, perhaps, realize that the lumbering industry in the valley was under the control of the Federal Government. When British Columbia joined the Canadian Confederation in 1871, the Province agreed to give a strip of land 20 miles in

(80) New Westminster *British Columbian*, September 17, 1910.

(81) Vancouver *Daily Sun*, August 28, 1930.

width on each side of the right-of-way in consideration for the building of a railroad. Known as the "railway belt," this strip of land extended from the Alberta boundary to a line just east of New Westminster. It was administered by the Federal Government from 1883 to 1930, when it was returned to the Province. Timber licences being much cheaper under the Federal system than under the Provincial, and being easily accessible to the railway, it is not difficult to understand why timber berths in the railway belt were eagerly sought after. The few marketable stands of timber remaining to-day are around Harrison Lake and in the Chilliwack River district.

Almost from the beginning of settlement down to the present day, there have been a few mills in various parts of the valley, but they were cutting lumber mainly for local requirements. After the building of the British Columbia Electric Railway Fraser Valley line there was increased activity for some years. Most of the mills were small; on the other hand, 2 miles east of New Westminster there is one of the largest mills in the British Empire, the Fraser Mills. Logs from the Fraser Valley were used extensively a few years ago, but in recent years the main supply has come from Vancouver Island or the coast districts. The lumber industry, though not benefiting the settlers as directly as that of the fishing, has contributed greatly to the economic life of the valley. If the Government pushes its policy of reforestation vigorously, much could be done to maintain this industry as a permanent one in the valley.

Other factors in the economic development may be briefly mentioned. Fruit-canneries have been operated at different times and with varying success. At first the idea was mainly to use fruit that would otherwise be wasted. These early efforts were mainly in the Chilliwack section of the valley,⁸² but the improvement of transportation facilities, particularly the use of refrigerated cars, has provided the fruit-growers with a chance to market fresh fruit even on the Prairie market, and naturally as such it demands a better price than canned fruit. As the centre of the small-fruits district, Mission has probably been most active in the fruit-canning industry. There are several plants still in operation at the present time.

(82) *Chilliwack Progress*, April 16, 1891.

Clayburn and Haney brick and tile products established a sound reputation among British Columbia contractors a good many years ago and have maintained it to the present day. The Clayburn company has extended its field of operations to Kilgard and intends to concentrate its efforts there.

A comparative new-comer among industries is fur-farming. The shades of the old Hudson's Bay Company traders, McMillan *et al.*, have thus seen the economic wheel turn full circle, but with what feelings they might regard the modern methods of obtaining furs we can only conjecture. What the future holds for this industry is uncertain. There were several fur-farms in the valley, and a number of farmers that were trying fur-farming as a side-line up to the time of the outbreak of World War II. It requires a great deal of patience and skill in the handling of animals, but prices of good pelts make it profitable. During the war, difficulties in getting food for the animals and help to care for them have caused a decrease in the number of fur-farmers. The supply of pelts has never caught up with the demand, and there may be a promising future for the newest and the oldest industry in the valley.

SUMAS RECLAMATION PROJECT.⁸³

The project of reclaiming and draining the lands of the Sumas Prairie area was one which had challenged the attention of the farmers, civil engineers, and financiers since the 1870's. Scarcely a year went by without the expenditure of time, money, and energy on the project. The record of the early years is strewn with failures and abortive attempts to get the work started. It was not until 1919, when the Provincial Government, through the Land Settlement Board, undertook the project, that success seemed assured. With its completion in 1926 the long-deferred hopes of the farmers of the valley were realized and some 30,000 fertile acres were added to the agricultural resources of the valley and of the Province.

The earliest record of this scheme goes back to 1875 or 1876, when Edgar Dewdney, later to be Lieutenant-Governor of the

(83) The author has drawn much of his information from a special report prepared by W. S. Latta, Director of the Land Settlement Board, and dated December 31, 1926, entitled "Record of Events—Sumas."

Province, made a survey of the whole district. In 1878 the Government authorized Ellis Luther Derby, through the "Sumas Dyking Act," to proceed with the work of dyking and draining certain lands in the Chilliwack, Sumas, and Matsqui districts.⁸⁴ Amendments to the Act in 1879, 1883, 1885, and 1888 indicate a continued interest in the scheme, but there is no record of any actual construction having been undertaken during that decade.

About 1890 the problem of draining the area became greatly complicated as a result of one of nature's pranks. The Vedder River, which up to that time had followed the Luck-a-Kuck channel through Sardis direct into the Fraser River, changed its course at Vedder Crossing and, flowing thereafter north-west-erly, emptied into Sumas Lake. This materially increased the difficulty of draining the area, although the silting action of the river increased the fertility of the lake-bed soils. In 1892 a Sumas Reclamation Company was incorporated⁸⁵ and the first actual construction was done, but subsequently abandoned. The following year a Dyking Commission was appointed, and for a time it appeared that action would be taken. Messrs. Keefer and Smith, engineers, were called in to make surveys and prepare plans which were duly presented early in 1894,⁸⁶ but financial difficulties prevented the work from getting beyond the preliminary stage. In 1905 a Seattle company, Messrs. Lewis and Hill, prepared plans which the property-owners approved by a two to one majority on September 17, 1906, but the proposal was definitely vetoed by the Department of the Interior at Ottawa when it was learned that the proposal involved making all Crown lands subject to assessment. In 1908 the British Columbia Electric Railway Company, proceeding with the building of its Fraser Valley line and desirous of encouraging the development of the

(84) *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1878*, Victoria, 1878, pp. 33-45 (chap. 6).

(85) *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1892*, Victoria, 1892, pp. 369-381 (chap. 59). The promoters of this scheme were C. A. Holland, H. S. Mason, J. A. Lumsden, and F. A. Lumsden. The previous year D. McGillivray, C. T. Dunbar, and C. G. Major had incorporated the British Columbia Dyking and Improvement Company to undertake much the same project. *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1891*, Victoria, 1891, pp. 403-421 (chap. 48).

(86) *Victoria Colonist*, January 14, 1894.

area, prepared plans for the project. These were dropped when the London board of the company failed to approve of the undertaking. Still later, two other companies—the Dominion Stock and Bond Corporation, Ltd., of Vancouver, and L. M. Rice and Company, of Seattle—put forward proposals, but financial difficulties were again too great. The declaration of war in 1914 caused the postponement of any further plans.

By 1917 the property-owners of the district were petitioning the Government to undertake the work through the Land Settlement Board. The Government acceded to this request, assumed responsibility for unpaid liabilities of the old Dyking Commission to the extent of some \$14,000, and became the heirs of a voluminous pile of plans, agreements, and maps pertaining to the project. Then arose a controversy between the two engineers that were preparing plans and specifications, which was settled only by calling in a third engineer as consultant.⁸⁷ On November 24, 1919, a meeting of the property-owners was held at Huntingdon to hear the report and to vote on the project. Those owning 86 per cent. of the assessed value of the land were in favour of proceeding,⁸⁸ and tenders were accordingly called.⁸⁹ Four companies submitted bids, each of which was considerably higher than the engineer's estimates, and the bid of the Marsh Bourne Construction Company was finally accepted. Work began on August 30, 1920.

Delays and difficulties too numerous to mention continued to dog the successful completion of the project. Necessary dredging equipment was hard to get, the contracting company became insolvent, new and unforeseen work had to be done, and to cap it all the winter of 1921–22 was unusually severe. However, by April 7, 1922, the first phase of the work, that of diverting the Vedder River into a canal dug for it, was completed.⁹⁰ During the summer and following winter, work on the main pumping-

(87) The Brice-Smith plan put forward by H. C. Brice and after his death in March, 1919, by W. C. Smith; and the Sinclair plan, put forward by F. N. Sinclair, were the two rival proposals. C. E. Cartwright was the third engineer, and he recommended in favour of the Sinclair plan.

(88) *Chilliwack Progress*, November 27, 1919.

(89) Tenders were called on January 22, 1920, to be opened February 25, 1920.

(90) *Chilliwack Progress*, April 20, 1922.

station and dam proceeded apace. Pumping actually began on July 4, 1923, and on June 26, 1924, the last of the water in the Sumas basin had been pumped out.⁹¹ By this time some 6,000 acres of lake-bottom land had been seeded to timothy. In July, 1925, the Federal Government, having accepted \$1 as a nominal payment for the area, forwarded the title to Victoria.

The total indebtedness of the Sumas Dyking District was shown in March, 1926, as \$3,716,277.85—nearly \$2,000,000 over the original estimates.⁹² There is no doubt that the engineers had based the original estimates on insufficient data. However, it was necessary to build a plant that would take care of maximum floods without difficulty. That this course was wise was proved in 1936 and in 1948. Severe criticism was levelled at the Government as a result of the excessive cost of the whole project, but the Premier, John Oliver, during whose regime the work was carried out, persistently maintained his stand that the relationship between the Government and the Sumas Dyking District was simply that of mortgagor and mortgagee.

Looking over the whole reclamation project after a period of twenty years, one cannot but feel that it was well worth while and that it will repay all the time and money spent on it. For countless years there lay an 8,000-acre area of mud and water that was too shallow for navigation and probably too deep for the comfort of duck-hunters, who were the only ones to get even a few days' use of it. In addition, it was probably the finest breeding-ground in the whole Dominion of Canada for mosquitoes. To-day there exists as fine a stretch of farming country as one could wish to see, with excellent soil, ample water-supply, a splendid system of drainage, and only 50 miles from an urban community that already contains nearly 400,000 people. It is difficult to conceive of any farm lands in North America more favourably situated.

To conclude this somewhat incomplete chronicle of the development of the Fraser Valley, one must remember that it has mainly occurred during the life-time of many of its present-day

(91) *Ibid.*, July 9, 1924.

(92) In all fairness it should be pointed out, however, that some \$850,000 of this increase arose from items not included in the engineer's estimates.

residents. All modern conveniences—electricity, telephones, hospitals, educational and library facilities—are available to them. They enjoy all the advantages of urban life combined with the freedom of rural life. To enjoy a pleasant vacation, whether it be at the sea-side or at a picturesque mountain lake, one does not need to leave the confines of the valley. To the sportsman, whether he be a Nimrod or a disciple of Isaac Walton, it is a veritable paradise. At the north-eastern end of the valley, beautifully situated, is Harrison Hot Springs, an internationally known health resort. The mineral waters of potash and sulphur there have undoubted therapeutic value, a fact of which the aborigines were fully aware. Truly Mother Nature, with prodigal hand, has heaped upon the valley a profusion of all things necessary for pleasant living.

What does the future hold for this area? It would not be too bold a prediction to say that the future development will surpass that of the past. Even a casual trip through the valley will reveal evidences of substantial prosperity. The trend in agriculture will probably be toward more intensive cultivation, with the larger farms being subdivided into smaller holdings. One of the most interesting of recent suggestions is that of the Town Planning Commission of Vancouver, which released details of a scheme for a control of decentralization and regional planning for the whole area from Vancouver to Hope.⁹³ To foresee that region as one great metropolitan area is not too difficult a feat of imagination. The pioneers laid truly and well the foundations for such a structure.

GEORGE B. WHITE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(93) *Vancouver Daily Province*, August 7, 1947.

JUDGE BEGBIE'S SHORTHAND: A MYSTERY SOLVED.

Students of the colonial period of the history of British Columbia almost invariably encounter Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie in their reading and research. As first Judge of the Crown Colony he established the judiciary and made that system supreme. At the same time he was a member of the Executive Council and so played a part in the formulation of policy and the promulgation of law. In addition, he performed many services beyond the strict line of official duty. On one occasion he conducted a scientific reconnaissance into the Interior.¹ He drew maps and helped with surveys, much to the chagrin of the Royal Engineers.² His dispatches show him making arrangements for ferry services and the sale of town lots.³ In one report to Governor Douglas he gave a long account of the condition of the roads.⁴ In short, he was not only head of the judiciary but also a member of the Government who, in the early days of the colony, rode about the Interior as a representative of the legislative and executive branches of the administration.

Yet, in spite of these multifarious duties and the wide range of personal contacts that they entailed, there is little known about the Judge. His correspondence, which is guarded and generally impersonal, contains hints that it was his habit to discuss problems in private conversation with the Governor and his officials. As no minutes of the Executive Council are extant—perhaps none were taken—scholars are left very much in the dark as to the background of Douglas' administration. It is known that Judge Begbie disagreed with the Governor in mat-

(1) Begbie to Douglas, April 25, 1859, Begbie Letters, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(2) Sydney G. Pettit, "Judge Begbie in Action: The Establishment of Law and Preservation of Order in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XI (1947), p. 123.

(3) *Ibid.*

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

ters of policy, but there is no inkling as to the nature of the objections taken.⁵

On the personal side, the few fragments of correspondence at present available cast little light upon the man himself. They do nothing to account for his attitudes or explain his behaviour which, on some occasions, was quite extraordinary. Was Judge Begbie the author of the squib that set poor Mr. Langford by the ears?⁶ What actually took place at Cottonwood in the summer of 1862?⁷ We should like to know whether he played a part in the final settlement of the Cranford-Wright dispute.⁸ And his secret giving—who were the recipients?⁹

It is possible that a key exists to some of these vexing problems. In the Provincial Archives are a number of the Judge's Court note-books and two large pocket-books which he carried with him on his journeys. Scattered throughout these records are entries in an antique shorthand which, up to recently, has defied identification. How much would a transcription of these mysterious passages reveal?

The discovery of the system that Judge Begbie used thus became an attractive but baffling approach to a number of unsolved problems. The first and obvious step to be taken was to submit the script to shorthand experts. When none of these authorities was able to identify the system, the present writer ransacked second-hand bookshops for old texts. This, too, proved fruitless. At this stage of the investigation it seemed possible that the Judge, like Samuel Pepys, might have invented his own system. If such were the case, the task would be one for a cryptographer and not a historian. While reflecting on the difficulty and expense of obtaining professional assistance of this kind,

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

(6) During the election of 1860 a squib written at the expense of a candidate, Mr. Langford, was plastered all over the walls of Victoria. Langford accused Judge Begbie of being the author.

(7) Sydney G. Pettit, "His Honour's Honour: Judge Begbie and the Cottonwood Scandal," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XI (1947), pp. 187-210.

(8) Sydney G. Pettit, "The Tyrant Judge: Judge Begbie in Court," *ibid.*, pp. 273-287.

(9) W. Kaye Lamb, "Memoirs and Documents relating to Judge Begbie," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 125, 126.

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A sample of Begbie's shorthand from a diary in the Archives of British Columbia.

. . . 8.15 came to a very nasty bend in the river and had to lighten the ship and get a rope. I stood by and took observation—pretty good one—but to my great disgust my watch stopped last night shortly after I got into bed. I took Pooley's watch which he says is a good one, keeping good time at least. . . .

the writer suddenly conceived of another avenue of inquiry. It appeared to be a reasonable hypothesis that a contemporary of Begbie's would use the same shorthand. Almost instantaneously Charles Dickens sprang into the writer's mind. Dickens, born in 1812, was only seven years older than Begbie and, like him, had been a Court reporter. If these men used the same system, identification would not be too difficult, for the vast quantity of Dickensiana would be almost sure to contain the name of the shorthand that the great novelist employed.

A fragment of biography written by Sir Henry Dickens, entitled *Memories of My Father*, contained the final clues.¹⁰ First, Sir Henry stated that his father used the Gurney system.¹¹ Secondly, a reproduction of a few of Dickens' symbols tallied closely with those used by Judge Begbie.¹² As it was still possible, however, that the two scripts might be similar but not identical, the final test consisted in obtaining one of Gurney's texts. At length, through the kindness of the Provincial Library, two volumes were secured, one from the Library of Congress and the other from the Philadelphia Public Library. A careful comparison of these texts with the Begbie note-books established beyond shadow of doubt that the Judge used the Gurney shorthand.

The Gurney system, it appears, had been invented by Thomas Gurney (1705-1770) and developed by members of his family, presumably his sons. One volume, printed in 1778, bore the following title:—

Brachygraphy: or an easy and compendious system of shorthand, adapted to the various arts, sciences and professions; improved after more than forty years practice & experience by Thomas Gurney; and brought still nearer to perfection upon the present method by Joseph Gurney. The 9th ed. London. Printed for J and M Gurney; sold by M. Gurney, 1778.

The other volume, published in London in 1803, bore the same title, save for the number of the edition, which was omitted.

The present writer's wife, Constance Pettit, who learned the shorthand, transcribed a number of samplings from the pocket-books. While these yielded no startling information, they were

(10) Sir Henry F. Dickens, *Memories of My Father*, London, 1929.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

not devoid of interest and value. The Judge recorded, for instance, times of arrival and departure, topographical details, weather conditions, and the state of the roads. There are personal trivia, such as "I took Pooley's watch," which he says is "a good one keeping good time at least." He describes a house as one "with walls like a gridiron, roof little better than a colander."

As one of Begbie's closest friends, Canon Beanlands, describes him as being reticent and "no diarist," it is possible that all his entries are of the kind given above.¹³ On the other hand, there may well be, tucked away among the Judge's observations, a passage of rare importance that might illuminate what is now obscure and clear the way for further inquiry. Such a discovery would be a rich reward for the exacting task of transcription.

SYDNEY G. PETTIT.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(13) W. Kaye Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

McCREIGHT AND THE CHURCH.*

Ulster Protestantism formed the religious background of John Foster McCreight, with both his father and his grandfather ordained as clergymen in the Anglican Episcopal Church in Ireland. He was himself baptized into the same faith and later became a steady supporter of the Anglican Church. Of his religious affiliations in Ireland and Australia there is little record, but on Vancouver Island he became a member of the congregation of Christ Church Cathedral.

This Anglican church originated in Victoria in 1853 when its building was begun by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1855 the Rev. Edward Cridge arrived from England to become the third Hudson's Bay Company chaplain¹ and the first rector of the colonial church. In 1856 the new church was dedicated and in 1859, on the arrival from England of Bishop George Hills, it was named Christ Church Cathedral. The diocese over which the new bishop was to preside included both Vancouver Island and the Mainland of British Columbia and was to be known as the Bishopric of British Columbia with the bishop taking the title of "Lord Bishop of British Columbia."² The usual powers were granted to the bishop, with an oath of obedience to be made to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Under the new bishop, Cridge was appointed dean and rector. In 1869 Christ Church Cathedral was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt almost at once and the new building was consecrated in 1872.

As soon as Bishop Hills arrived and the diocese was organized, a Church Committee was formed for the cathedral. McCreight was one of the original members, and then became people's warden from 1869 to 1873 and again in 1875 and 1876. When a synod was organized for the diocese, McCreight was a lay dele-

* This is the fourth and concluding article in a series of four dealing with various aspects of the career of John Foster McCreight.

(1) He was preceded by Rev. Herbert Beaver at Fort Vancouver in 1836 and Rev. R. J. Staines at Fort Victoria in 1849.

(2) *Letters Patent of the Diocese of British Columbia*, Transcript in Archives of B.C.

gate, representing his church there from 1874 to 1883. At first the diocese represented the whole Province, but in 1879 a division was made. Vancouver Island and adjacent islands became the Diocese of Columbia; the Lower Mainland, the Diocese of New Westminster; and the Northern Mainland, the Diocese of Caledonia.

This brief sketch shows that McCreight was an active participant in church work. Even when he must have been most occupied holding the position of Premier of the Province, he still maintained the appointment as a church warden. It is known, too, that he was a great personal friend of Bishop Hills and fully concurred in his somewhat "high church" views.

In 1874 occurred a most significant event. Dean Cridge, the rector of the cathedral, felt that he could neither serve under Bishop Hills nor agree with his doctrines. The causes of his disaffection were many. Fundamentally it seems to have been the diverging trends of a "low church" man from a "high church" man. Cridge objected to the ritualistic practices and doctrine of the bishop and to the organization of a synod for the diocese. To him, ritual was wicked "Popery," a synod was an authoritarian substitute for the local self-government of each congregation.³ In June, 1874, at a meeting of the Church Committee, Dean Cridge listed his reasons for dissent as:—

- (1) An attempt to introduce disputable doctrines and practices into the congregation.
- (2) An endeavour to force the Christ Church congregation into a synod without their consent and contrary to their wishes.⁴

Bound up with these objections was the feeling that Cridge had certain rights in connection with the church, its administration, and its property. At the height of the controversy he sent a request to the Governor-General and to the Archbishop of

(3) In a letter to Bishop Hills, dated January 6, 1874, and published in the *Victoria Colonist*, January 10, 1874, Cridge stated: "I believe that every congregation with its accepted Pastor, is a complete church (the word and sacraments being duly administered therein); that a Diocese is no necessary part of a Church. . . ."

(4) Christ Church Cathedral *Minute Book*, p. 141, under date June 17, 1874, and initialled by "E.C." (Hereafter this source will be cited as *C.C.C.M.B.*)

Canterbury regarding the deeds of trust of the cathedral. This document is a significant one. Drawn up in 1864 as an indenture between the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor Kennedy of Vancouver Island on the one hand and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Hills on the other, it bears the signatures of "G. Columbia, A. E. Kennedy, Governor, C. T. Cantuar, Thomas Fraser for Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay."⁵ It granted to the bishop and his successors the land on which the church was built—land which had been the property of the Hudson's Bay Company—also the site and buildings of the parsonage and the bishop's residence. It stipulated that part of the rents should go to pay the £600 stipend of the Rev. Edward Cridge, provided that:—

the said Edward Cridge and each of his successors of the said incumbency shall be deemed for the purposes of this deed to continue incumbent thereof until he shall die or resign or be removed from the said Rectory and incumbency; Provided also that no such removal shall take place except for failure to conform to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the said United Church of England and Ireland, and that every such removal shall be subject to such appeal and review as are provided.⁶

The document was possibly the ordinary one for such cases, but the mention of Rev. Edward Cridge by name, the special provisions for him, and the right of appeal do point to the fact that he was a Hudson's Bay Company chaplain before he was a church rector. He had "the company" solidly behind him. If he left the church, many of the old stalwarts would leave with him. This is an interesting side-light on the "family-company-compact" influence in Victoria. Even in 1874 the company's power was still felt. Cridge belonged to them; they would take care of him. Bishop Hills had no association with the company; he was regarded as an outsider.

It was easy to see where McCreight's sympathies would lie. He apparently admired the ritualistic doctrines of the bishop, a not uncommon thing among students of religion of his day. The Oxford Movement had a great appeal for scholarly minds, and

(5) *Trust Deeds relating to Christ Church Cathedral*, Transcript in Archives of B.C.

(6) *Ibid.* Provision was made that the stipend might be increased to £800.

McCreight, once he had formed a belief, would adhere to it unwaveringly. Then again, McCreight had no connection with the church before Hills' time and certainly no claim to belong to that select group of "company men"—the Douglas-Helmcken aristocracy. Finally, McCreight had a strong regard for law and authority. The bishop was the representative of the authority of the church and he was to be obeyed. It would be partly a matter of personal loyalty, certainly a matter of personal conviction, McCreight would take the bishop's part and would condemn Cridge for his "revolt"—meanwhile deploring its very necessity.

McCreight's part in the controversy is, as Mr. G. H. Slater expressed it, that of "the power behind the throne."⁷ He was never vociferous, never unfair. He tried to be conciliatory and to keep the dignity of things at a time when tempers were hot and men expressed themselves bitterly. The first mention of the affair came on January 16, 1874, when a meeting of the Church Committee passed a resolution:—

that the Committee of Christ Church Cathedral having read the letter from the Very Revd. Dean Cridge to the Right Revd. the Bishop of Columbia published on the 10th of January 1874 in the *Standard* and *Colonist* on Synod, do not acquiesce in such a letter and regret its publication.⁸

The meeting was presided over by the Honourable J. W. Trutch and was attended by Robert Williams and W. C. Siffken who voted against the resolution and R. C. Jackson, Henry Wootton, H. P. P. Crease, B. W. Pearse, J. W. Mackay, W. C. Ward, and McCreight who voted for it. As a consequence of this resolution, a letter was sent to Dean Cridge as follows:—

Govt. St. 20th Jany.
1874.

Dear Sir,

In pursuance of my promise I send you a transcript of the Proceedings of the Church Committee meeting of the 16th Jany Instant. As I earnestly wish that the whole matter may now drop I should have been glad if you had not asked for them, & trust they may not create any feeling between you & any of the members of the Congregation.

I should look upon this as one of the greatest misfortunes arising from this unhappy controversy.

(7) G. H. Slater in a letter to the author, dated December 1, 1946.

(8) *C.C.C.M.B.*, p. 104, dated January 16, 1874.

With sincere regards & hope that what ever all have done simply as a matter of conscience and duty may not offend.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
J. F. McCreight.

Very Rev. Dean Cridge,
Quadra St.⁹

In spite of McCreight's wish that the matter might be ended, there was only a temporary peace. In March, 1874, the Church Committee drew up a voting list for a convention to be elected from the members of the congregation—this convention to appoint the synod delegates. On April 4 a congregational meeting passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient that delegates from the congregation of Christ Church should be elected for the proposed convention for a Synod."¹⁰ This action was taken despite the reading of a letter from the dean in which he stated his reasons for opposing the establishment of a synod and hinted that much of the congregation was not in favour of it. However, the synod elections went on as planned and the Lieutenant-Governor (J. W. Trutch), R. E. Jackson, B. W. Pearse, C. T. Dupont, W. C. Ward, and J. F. McCreight were elected.¹¹ But the dean had rallied his forces. The Church Committee might oppose him, but a large part of the congregation did not. Here lay his strength, in his group of personal friends, ex-company officials, and those who favoured his doctrine. At the annual vestry meeting of the cathedral held on April 15, 1874, W. C. Ward, who had served as rector's warden, received no nomination, and his position was taken over by A. F. Pemberton, a supporter of the dean. McCreight, who had served as people's warden, was opposed by Robert Williams who defeated him 41 to 32.¹² At the next meeting McCreight resigned from the Church Committee and was followed by Pearse and Crease. The friends of the dean were now in control, and a declaration signed by 147 members of the congregation stated:—
We the undersigned Members of the Congregation of Christ Church, beg to say that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, we do not wish

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 117, dated April 4, 1874.

(11) *Victoria Colonist*, April 14, 1874.

(12) *C.C.C.M.B.*, p. 128, dated April 15, 1874.

that the congregation of Christ Church should in any way be connected with the Synod as proposed to be constituted, or be represented therein.¹³

Apparently to justify his position, Bishop Hills wrote a letter explaining his stand on the whole matter. The Church Committee objected to this and wrote to the bishop stating their displeasure.¹⁴ From the registrar of the diocese, M. W. T. Drake, came the reply: "I am not aware that it falls within the province of the Church Wardens to interrogate the Bishop of the Diocese as to the authority of addresses which he may issue."¹⁵ This did nothing to help. The matter was getting beyond the point where conciliation could be effected. The Church Committee ranged itself solidly behind the dean and proceeded to defy the bishop. It declared itself "altogether Protestant and opposed to Ritualism" and criticized a sermon on ritualism preached by a visiting archdeacon.¹⁶ It went a step further in open defiance of the bishop when it refused to receive his annual visitation until replies had come to the protests that had been sent to the Governor-General and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In fact the next stage was open rebellion when, on July 2, the rector's warden stated that the bishop by his behaviour appeared to have seceded from the Church of England and ceased to be the Bishop of Christ Church¹⁷—an open insult and contradiction of the legal fact of the case. In thus writing to the bishop, A. F. Pemberton well illustrates the attitude of the "company group" to the bishop. "I had been Church warden of Christ Church several years before your arrival in Vancouver Island, and after nearly ten years service in that capacity resigned my office. . . ." He then goes on to mention many of the reasons for this resignation—the bishop's ritualism, land disputes, and the like, but the main point remained summed up in the words "several years before your arrival."¹⁸

(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133.

(14) A. F. Pemberton and R. Williams to Bishop Hills, May 22, 1874, *ibid.*, p. 137.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 138.

(16) *Ibid.*, p. 139. The visiting archdeacon was Rev. William S. Reece.

(17) A. F. Pemberton to Bishop Hills, July 2, 1874, *ibid.*, p. 143.

(18) *Ibid.*

Faced with this uncompromising attitude, the bishop was forced to take decisive action. On July 14, 1874, the following letter was sent to Cridge:—

Bishop's Close,
July 14, 1874.

My dear Sir,

Ten days having elapsed without any intimation of regret or apology for your conduct in reference to and on the occasion of my visitation at the Cathedral on the 3rd inst. I am forced to the painful necessity of instituting proceedings for your defiance of the Episcopal authority and of the laws of the Church contrary to your Ordination Vows and your oath of Canonical obedience. Deeply pained to be compelled to take this course, I now offer you, before formal steps are begun the opportunity of acknowledging your fault, expressing your regret and submitting yourself in future to lawful authority.

I am &c.

G. Columbia.¹⁹

The bishop then proceeded to revoke Cridge's licence to preach and announced that he would take the services himself in the cathedral. To this the wardens replied with cold politeness that they had already arranged for the dean to take the services. Cridge himself remained at his post, quoting to the bishop the decision of the Privy Council on the deprivation of the Bishop of Natal that "suspension or deprivation is a matter of coercive legal jurisdiction, and not of mere spiritual authority."²⁰ The bishop took the matter up at once, declared that the lawful authority was the Supreme Court, and instituted proceedings against Cridge to remove him from his position. In this McCreight was of great assistance, as he could conduct the legal proceedings of the matter. The Church Committee, sure of their position, began to raise funds for the dean's legal expenses.²¹

The case came up before the Chief Justice, Matthew B. Begbie, on September 10, 1874. It was charged that Cridge had violated the doctrines and discipline of the church on eighteen separate charges, all but two of which were proved. The fact that he had defied the authority of the bishop was stressed, and an injunction was granted forbidding him to preach as a minister of the

(19) Bishop Hills to Very Rev. Dean Cridge, July 14, 1874, *ibid.*, p. 147.

(20) E. Cridge to Bishop Hills, September 26, 1874, *ibid.*, p. 148.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 151, dated September 18, 1874.

Church of England.²² In consequence, Cridge announced that "not being able conscientiously to refrain from ministering he contemplated attaching himself to the Reformed Episcopal Church lately organized in Canada and the United States."²³ A memorandum by A. F. Pemberton tells the end of the controversy:—

The Minister and Church Wardens; the whole of the Church Committee; the greater part of the congregation, and of the Sunday School, with the Superintendent and most of the Teachers; nearly all the choir, with the Organist; and the Sexton left Christ Church in consequence of the proceedings against their minister and worshipped in Pandora Street Church.²⁴

The memorandum does not add that Cridge remained in the Christ Church rectory claiming his right to that property under the trust deeds. This caused a second Court case, tried before Judge J. H. Gray, after which Cridge was evicted and the property restored.

By November, 1874, the storm was over. A sadly depleted little congregation met at Christ Church to elect a new committee and wardens. W. C. Ward was again chosen rector's warden and C. T. Dupont, people's warden. McCreight once again became a member of the Church Committee. Apparently funds had suffered as a result of the break, for the Honourable J. W. Trutch, H. P. P. Crease, and McCreight are each on record as contributing \$50 to expenses.²⁵ The following year McCreight returned to his old position of people's warden and during 1879 contributed "\$25.00 towards the deficiency."²⁶ The synod continued its work and at the vestry meeting of April 19, 1883, McCreight, now a Judge, was present and was again elected lay representative to the synod.

The last mention of McCreight came a year later. At the annual vestry meeting, April 17, 1884, it was moved by R. H. G.

(22) The case was heard September 10–12, 14, and 17, and the judgment was given on October 24, 1874. For a detailed account with supporting documents, see *Trial of the Very Reverend Edward Cridge, Rector and Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, Documents, Evidence, Correspondence and Judgment, as used and given in the Bishop's Court and in the Supreme Court of the Province before the Hon. Chief Justice Begbie*, Victoria, 1875.

(23) *C.C.C.M.B.*, p. 153, dated October 27, 1874.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 157, dated November 4, 1874.

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Jackson, seconded by W. C. Ward, "that Mr. Justice Crease be appointed as Lay Delegate to the Synod from the Cathedral in the place of Mr. Justice McCreight who has seceded from the Church."²⁷ This statement fixed the date of McCreight's withdrawal from the Anglican Church as somewhere between April, 1883, and April, 1884. Recent material has come to light fixing the event in the period between September and November, 1883. An entry in McCreight's diary for October 28, 1883, reads: "Baptized about this time by Father ——,"²⁸ and a note on the back cover of the same diary reads: "Thank God heartily for all His great mercies during A.D. 1883 and most of all for bringing me to the true Church."

The circumstances connected with McCreight's change of religion are somewhat obscure. According to Bishop Hills the change came as a great surprise and shock. On August 31, 1883, the bishop received a letter from McCreight "showing great interest in the Church of England and offering \$50 subscription."²⁹ On September 9 the bishop noted that McCreight was absent from church. On September 21 came the warning that something was wrong, for the bishop noted that McCreight—

Was at Church this Friday evening and came into vestry after service. Said he wished to speak to me upon a very important subject. He seemed much excited. Said he had doubts whether the Church of England was a Church at all. Got doctrines from Parliament. Anything could be taught. Baptismal regeneration not a necessary doctrine. Decision on Gorham case shewed this. Could not suppose when Our Lord said the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, that he meant his Church to be a creation of the State. Said he had been reading the Roman Catholic answer to Littledale's reasons, but had not seen Littledale's book. Could I lend it to him. Said he had been reading "Ellery" (I think) he must read both sides. He had arrived at a *negative* (I suppose that the Church of England was not a Church) but had not yet reached the *affirmative* (I suppose as to Rome.)

I used a few obvious arguments. He showed ignorance of the controversy and I promised to send him books.³⁰

(27) *Ibid.*, under date April 17, 1884.

(28) J. F. McCreight *Diary*, 1883, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Unfortunately the name of the priest is undecipherable.

(29) The following details are to be found in a note-book written by Bishop Hills and now preserved in the synod office of the Diocese of Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

(30) *Ibid.*

Further correspondence followed, the bishop trying to help McCreight to study the whole matter, McCreight merely acknowledging the letters. By November it was known that McCreight had been received into the Roman Catholic Church and the bishop upbraided him: "Either you were a hypocrite for some time past which I cannot believe or you were rashly precipitant. The least to be expected, considering our relations, was that you wd. have communicated your doubts and sought quiet discussion. . . ." ³¹

The whole subject of McCreight's conversion to Roman Catholicism is an interesting one, for it shows most clearly many sides of his character. It was obvious that the Cridge episode and his own part in it would be an important phase in McCreight's spiritual life. It has been mentioned that McCreight favoured ritualism and so-called "high church practices"—perhaps not a very far step from the Roman Catholic Church. Again it can be seen that McCreight stood for authority, for discipline, for absolutism in belief. The Cridge revolt would seriously challenge the authority of the Anglican Church—it could certainly make a man doubt whether that authority could be maintained. The Roman Catholic Church would permit of no such defection. In its confines, authority would be absolute, faith unwavering. To a man of McCreight's temperament, the answer seems obvious. Shaken in his respect for the authority of his church, leaning toward practices not popular with it, and, above all, driven by a clear, lucid mind and a relentless conscience, he could not fail to doubt, then to question. The doubts and questions must have tormented him exceedingly, and he could not put them by. Slowly, strongly, uncompromisingly he would work out a formula, then he would take a definite stand. He was a man who must choose one way or the other—a doubtful position was of no use to him. Finally he decided to leave a church which could no longer satisfy him—it would have been strange had he not done so.

Great stress has been put on the personal factors that encouraged him to enter the Roman Catholic Church. This takes the story of McCreight to the Cariboo country, where he lived between 1880 and 1883. In the little town of Richfield there was only a Roman Catholic church administered by the priests of St.

(31) *Ibid.*

Joseph's Mission at 150-Mile House. Of these priests, the most outstanding was Rev. Father J. McGuckin, O.M.I. He had been sent to establish a mission near Williams Lake in 1869,³² and he had been most successful in his work amongst the Indians. During the period that McCreight was in the Cariboo, Father McGuckin was actively at work in the vicinity. He was, apparently, a scholarly man, but with great energy and executive ability. It is known that he later became president of Ottawa College—so he must have been a man of learning and character. It is probable that McCreight felt lonely during his stay in the Cariboo. In a letter to Judge H. P. P. Crease, written in November, 1881, he deplored "the useless nature" of his life, but at the same time went on to say: "Meanwhile I can be of use in getting a clergyman for the people."³³ In January, 1882, he mentioned Charles Blanchard, the Anglican clergyman from Barkerville.

Apparently his interest in Roman Catholicism became stronger after that time. There is every reason to believe that the isolated life and McGuckin's personality would be factors in leading McCreight to study the new faith and finally to adopt it. The fact that Father McGuckin's home church was St. Peter's in New Westminster³⁴ is perhaps significant. The contacts would be maintained when McCreight came to live in New Westminster in November, 1883. The only other mention of Father McGuckin comes in 1897, a month after McCreight's retirement, when the *British Columbian* announced that Father McGuckin "for many years a resident of this city but now president of Ottawa College" had broken down in health and was reported to be dying.³⁵

The point is often made that McCreight was a very ardent Roman Catholic, almost to the point of bigotry. This is natural, considering his type of mind. Once he had made a change, once he had accepted the new faith, he would cleave to it with all the

(32) A. G. Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, Toronto, 1910, Vol. II, *passim*.

(33) J. F. McCreight to H. P. P. Crease, November 26, 1881, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(34) This church was located at the corner of Columbia and Blackwood Streets. It was later burnt down, and the present church is of more recent construction.

(35) New Westminster *British Columbian*, December 11, 1897.

strength of a concentrated personality. McCreight did nothing by halves, he desired to be exactly right. It is claimed that his conscience troubled him owing to his strong religious convictions, a fact which is certainly in keeping with his character.

In spite of his religious views, he continued to be extremely impartial in his work. There never was an occasion where it could be suspected that his judgment was swayed by his religious views. Dr. R. L. Reid quotes one case to which the Roman Catholic convent at New Westminster was a party and McCreight's decision, as Judge, was against the convent. "He regretted the necessity, but as he told the registrar of the Court, also a member of the same church, 'I know the Mother Superior will be very angry at me, but the law is the law and must be obeyed, no matter whose feelings are hurt.'"³⁶

After McCreight retired in 1897, he spent some time in Rome. By 1909 he was established in Hastings, England, near the Pious Society of Mission's hostel for aged men—many of them elderly priests. That he was still closely associated with the Roman Catholic Church is shown by his will, originally drawn up on August 20, 1909. The executors who were appointed included two priests, Rev. Father Dominic Crescitelli, rector of the Roman Catholic Church, High Street, Hastings, and Rev. Father John Davis, High Street, Hastings (probably the address of the hostel). The third executor was a solicitor, Frederick George Manley Wetherfield, Gresham Building, London. In a codicil of June 20, 1911, the latter was replaced by Miss Elizabeth Fisher, 85 High Street, Hastings—the address at which McCreight himself resided.³⁷

The bequests of the original will, apart from those to his two sisters and to the four daughters of Mrs. Fisher, included £50 to Rev. Father Crescitelli and a similar amount to Rev. Father Davis. Then there were bequests of £100 each to the Superior of the Convent of Notre Dame des Missions (The Hermitage, The Croft, Hastings) and to the Superior of the Convent of Marie

(36) R. L. Reid, "R.W. Bro. John Foster McCreight," *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge A.F. and A.M. of British Columbia*, 70th Annual Communication, Vancouver, 1941, p. 174.

(37) By the same codicil, Wetherfield's legacy was reduced from £150 to £50.

Reparatrice (Hastings Lodge, Old London Road, Hastings), with a stipulation that the money "be applied in each instance as in the past."³⁸ In memory of his religious connections in British Columbia, he left £100 to the Roman Catholic Bishop of New Westminster "to be applied for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church as the Bishop shall think fit." A codicil of June 19, 1911, willed £50 to the Rev. Father Bernard McCoul of the Roman Catholic Church, High Street, Hastings. All remaining property, "real and personal, estate and effects," was left to Rev. Fathers Crescitelli and Davis for the reduction of the debt existing on the Roman Catholic Church, High Street, Hastings, or otherwise exclusively for its benefit. McCreight's estate amounted to £3,619 when all other legacies had been paid, so, taking death duties into account, the church at Hastings probably received over £2,000.

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LADNER, B.C.

(38) The present rector of the Roman Catholic Church in Hastings, Rev. H. Treacy, P.S.M., in a letter to the author, dated February 20, 1947, states: "He [McCreight] paid for the heating of the church in winter. At the Convent of the Reparatrice Nuns he converted part of it, which was formerly a Hydro Baths, into a Club room for Catholic Women's organizations. He was most generous to the poor."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GEORGE M. WRONG: 1860-1948.

The death occurred in Toronto during the summer of Professor George MacKinnon Wrong. He was the last survivor of a notable group of Canadian historians who flourished during the early years of this century. From 1895 to 1927 he was professor of history in the University of Toronto. His predecessor, Sir Daniel Wilson, president of the university, had been appointed to the combined chair of history and English literature in 1853. During his early years Professor Wrong worked alone, but gradually he built up a well-staffed and efficient department, manned, in the main, by his former students, most of whom had continued their studies at Oxford.

George M. Wrong was a Canadian, born in Gravesend, Ontario, in 1860. His father's family was United Empire Loyalist, his mother was Highland Scottish. After his early schooling in Aylmer and a brief business training in Toronto, George Wrong decided to enter the Anglican ministry; he enrolled in arts in University College, Toronto, and in theology at Wycliffe College. Although he was admitted to Holy orders he does not seem to have ever been placed in charge of a parish. He often, however, conducted services at his summer home at Murray Bay, Quebec. His chief interest was in historical study. From 1883 to 1892 he lectured on church history at Wycliffe College.

His marriage to Sophie Blake, daughter of the Honourable Edward Blake, sometime leader of the Liberal party, brought him into closer touch with public affairs. He was a staunch Liberal, but he never paraded his political opinions.

In 1892 he was appointed lecturer in history at Toronto. The same year witnessed the publication of his first book, *The Crusade of 1883*, material for which he had gathered in England, especially in Oxford where he worked under the direction of Reginald Lane Poole. Oxford enthralled him, and he modelled much of his instruction in Toronto after the Oxford Honours School of Modern History.

Although well known as an author, it was probably as a teacher that Professor Wrong accomplished his greatest and most enduring work. He was notable as a lecturer and he was also a keen critic of style. He introduced into Toronto the Oxford system of tutorial instruction, and no one who has read essays to him will ever forget his searching, though kindly, criticisms. His students are to be found in many Canadian and American universities. In 1939 his former colleagues and students presented him with a volume of *Essays in Canadian History*; of the sixteen contributors, ten were former students, eight of them members of the Department of History in the University of Toronto, and the other two heads of departments in their respective universities. For three years, from 1922 to 1925, all the members of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia were former pupils of Professor Wrong.

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If he had been asked what he considered his greatest achievement, Professor Wrong would probably have referred to the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* which he started in 1896. In 1920 it was merged into the newly established *Canadian Historical Review*. It is interesting to note that all the editors of this publication have, to date, been his former students.

For over thirty years Professor Wrong published books, articles, and reviews in the field of Canadian history. He was much interested in French Canada and was scrupulously fair to the French-Canadians. His *Rise and Fall of New France* is one of his best-known books. He was widely known and respected in the United States, so much so that when the *Chronicles of America* series was being planned he was asked to write on "Washington and His Comrades in Arms." His work was also favourably known in Great Britain, and for many years he was one of the honorary vice-presidents of the Royal Historical Society.

His literary style was good and his books are most readable. His critics have claimed that he cared more for style than for research, but this is not altogether just. He did make use of source material, a good example is his volume *The Fall of Canada*, but he did not haunt the Public Archives in Ottawa with the steady assiduity of some of his contemporaries and successors. Nonetheless, he did inspire in his students a love of history.

His death, at the advanced age of 88, is in a very real sense the end of an era. He built up a large department at the University of Toronto and he wrote many books, including some valuable high-school text-books. But he is chiefly remembered by his old students as a great teacher. He is gone, but his work lives after him.

WALTER N. SAGE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The fall sessions of the Victoria Section opened with a meeting in the Provincial Library on Tuesday evening, October 19. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. George A. Hardy, botanist on the staff of the Provincial Museum, who chose as his subject *The History and Botany of the Jordan Meadows*. Mr. Hardy traced the early history of this area from the time of the naming of the Jordan River by the Spaniards down to the opening of the British Columbia Electric Company's power-site on the river in 1912. There had been some interest in the region at the time of the Leech River gold excitement in the 1860's and again in 1883 when surveys were being undertaken for the island railway, but the first permanent settler, George Weeks, did not arrive until 1887, and incidentally his title deeds were not delivered until 1910. Conditions for settlement were not good, and as a result the area to-day remains comparatively untouched and is of great interest to natural historians. Mr. Hardy showed a splendid series of slides to illustrate the district under consideration.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The final meeting of the spring season of the Vancouver Section was held in the Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday evening, June 1, when Mr. Henry Castillou spoke on *Prehistoric Man in North and South America*. By vocation a lawyer, but by avocation an enthusiastic anthropologist and archæologist, Mr. Castillou brought a refreshing enthusiasm into his lecture, which dealt with the location in time and place of many of the famed anthropological discoveries, including Heidelberg man, Pekin man, Java man, Sandia man, and Folsom man. While many of his listeners may not long remember the technical details of a very excellent address, they will not forget his advice: "If you would free yourself from the worries, frustrations, and trivialities of this disturbed age and see things in their right perspective, get the anthropological and archæological bug and experience the rare satisfaction that comes with the discovery of an untouched midden or an unentered cave." The Section also noted, with regret, the passing of Rev. James Henry White, D.D., in his ninety-fourth year. Dr. White had lived for nearly ninety years in British Columbia, having come as a young boy to the then colony when his father, Rev. Edward White, established the first Methodist church in New Westminster in 1860.

So interested was the Section in Mr. Castillou's address in June that he made a return appearance before the Section on Tuesday evening, October 26, at a meeting held in the Grosvenor Hotel. This time dealing more specifically with *Traces of Prehistoric Man in British Columbia*, Mr. Castillou was able to draw upon his own wide experience as an amateur anthropologist. So successfully did he interest the Section that a resolution was adopted urging the Council of the Provincial body of the British Columbia Historical Association to undertake by means of a questionnaire an archæological census of the Province.

NEW DOMINION ARCHIVIST.

The announcement, early in September, of the appointment of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian of the University of British Columbia and formerly Provincial Librarian and Archivist, to succeed Dr. Gustave Lanctot as Dominion Archivist was received with mixed feelings in British Columbia. Naturally we are proud that a native son of this Province and one who has made so considerable a contribution to historiography in the Pacific Northwest should be so chosen, but at the same time we are saddened by the realization of the loss we are sustaining in losing the close contact with so staunch a friend of the British Columbia Historical Association and this *Quarterly*.

Dr. Lamb goes to Ottawa with the backing of an enviable reputation in the historical field. Largely through his zeal the British Columbia Historical Association was reorganized shortly after his appointment in 1936 as Provincial Librarian and Archivist, and the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* came into being. For its first ten years Dr. Lamb was its editor and set a standard of achievement and publication that is largely responsible for the high position this journal holds in the field of historical serials.

A frequent contributor to many historical publications, he will long be remembered for his scholarly introduction to the three volumes of McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters published jointly by the Hudson's Bay Record Society and the Champlain Society.

Great things may be expected from Dr. Lamb in his new and broader field of action. The good wishes of this association are tendered to him, and we are philosophical enough to believe that our loss is a national gain.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Douglas of the Fir, a Biography of David Douglas, Botanist. By A. G. Harvey. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. x, 290. Maps, ill. \$5.

A. D. Rodgers, writing recently on the history of botany in America, observes that "the number of really great North American botanical explorers is not many: David Douglas, Thomas Drummond, Thomas Nuttall, John Charles Fremont and [C. C.] Parry." The abilities and achievements which entitle a man who died at the early age of 35 to be numbered among this select few may be expected to excite the inquiring admiration of workers in the same field, but do not necessarily make him a figure of wide or popular interest. Douglas, however, was a many-sided character, who neglected nothing that came within his field of view, and both the circumstances of his life and the geographical region in which he pioneered should make a wide appeal to citizens of the Pacific Northwest. He was the first white man, other than a fur-trader, to explore the hinterland of the Pacific slope, while his association with the chief timber tree of the region has made his name almost a household word.

The literature on Douglas is widely scattered in publications originating in Great Britain, North America, and Hawaii. Many of these are scientific and other journals of limited circulation, long out of print, and only to be found in the larger libraries. Probably the best-known and most accessible is the *Journal kept by David Douglas during his travels in North America*, published in 1914 by the Royal Horticultural Society. Presumably the edition was a small one, for it was soon out of print. In addition to the published material, the author has had access to much unpublished matter in the archives of learned societies, the Hudson's Bay Company, and other institutions, and has supplemented this by wide correspondence. As the fruit of these researches, we have now the first full-length biography of Douglas—a well-written narrative, not too technical for the general reader, with an exceedingly full documentation for the historical and botanical student.

The traits which shaped Douglas' career revealed themselves at an early age in an exceptionally strong love of natural history and an outdoor life. The son of a working stone-mason, his educational opportunities were limited, and he left school at 10 or 11 years of age. His father, an intelligent man of strong character, having observed his son's love of plants, secured employment for him in the neighbouring famous gardens of Scone Palace. Here he served an apprenticeship of seven years, winning the approbation of the head gardener. Two years later he joined the garden staff of the Glasgow Botanical Gardens. This was one of the landmarks of his life, as his abilities and zeal, as both gardener and botanist, attracted the notice of Dr. (later Sir) W. J. Hooker, regius professor of botany in the University. In 1823, at the age of 24, he was appointed, on the recom-

mentation of Hooker, to a position as botanical collector for the Horticultural Society of London. Almost at once he was sent on a mission to the Eastern United States and Upper Canada to obtain such varieties of fruit-trees as were new to Britain, as well as vegetables and any other plants of interest. The voyage from Liverpool to New York took fifty-nine days, and four months were spent collecting material. This mission was "a success beyond expectation."

Douglas' qualifications having been established, arrangements were now made with the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company for the botanical explorations of the Pacific slope, on which his fame rests. On April 12, 1825, he landed at Fort George (Astoria), accompanied by Dr. John Scouler, a fellow passenger, after a voyage of over eight months. The story of his wanderings in the next two years is given in detail, and the author has been at pains to help the reader to follow them by giving the modern names of rivers and the settlements which have sprung up in what was then an aboriginal wilderness. These pages contain many names well known to students of the fur trade, for Douglas met many of the chief men of the Hudson's Bay Company, the posts being his only source of supplies and his only contact with civilization. He seems to have got on well with them, even with the redoubtable Peter Skene Ogden, whose later views on scientific collectors are given in an amusing and revealing note: "it would not be good policy not to treat them politely, they are a perfect nuisance." Douglas' relations with the Indians, sometimes his only companions and who dubbed him the "Grass Man," were also good, although there were occasions when hostilities were narrowly averted.

The collections he had sent home had delighted his patrons and justified the expedition. After two years of fatigue, hardships, often near-starvation, and incessant anxiety over his collections, and having covered over 7,000 miles in his wanderings, Douglas left Fort Vancouver, March 20, 1827, with the fur brigade on the long arduous journey overland to Hudson Bay, arriving in England on October 11. The total cost of the expedition to the society, including Douglas' salary, was under £400. A chapter is devoted to the Mount Brown and Mount Hooker controversy, and the author's conclusion is that Douglas' error was almost entirely due to his having accepted an excessive height for the pass itself—11,000 feet as opposed to the true height of 5,571 feet—from information given him by those better equipped for making observations than himself. The author finds no evidence of Douglas having reached Kootenay Lake on any of his expeditions, and that oft-repeated story of his being the original discoverer of the lode of the Bluebell mine has no foundation in fact.

The story of the next two years in London is based to a considerable extent on letters and unpublished material and contains much that is new to this reviewer. Douglas was received with acclaim and honours in the scientific world, but London life soon irked him. Here, for the first time, he appears in a somewhat unfavourable aspect, showing irascibility and petulance and a tendency to depreciatory comment on his contemporaries. As the author points out, however, there were extenuating circumstances. To be lionized by society hostesses and to associate with peers and notables

while "not as well paid as the Society's porter" must have been embarrassing. Also there seemed to be no permanent position in sight. However, being retained on the society's pay-roll, albeit grudgingly, enabled him to work at his collections and to publish papers which enhanced his reputation as a man of science and not merely as a collector. These mental stresses were resolved when the society decided to send him once more to the Pacific Coast.

This time the Colonial Office and the Hudson's Bay Company were also co-sponsors. Edward Sabine, secretary of the Royal Society, instructed him in the methods of determining latitude and longitude and magnetic data. He appears to have been so impressed with the possibilities of his pupil that he exceeded the authorization of the Colonial Office in the cost of instruments furnished Douglas, a matter which will be referred to again. On June 3, 1830, Douglas arrived once more on the *Columbia*, but before the end of the year moved on to California, where plant collecting had only been done at a few points along the coast. His collections during nineteen months here were very rich. Hooker said, "I think I scarcely ever in a collection of such an extent saw so much that is new and rare." It is to be noted, however, that the society was much less enthusiastic. George Bentham, who had succeeded Sabine as secretary, wrote to Hooker ". . . for the interest of the Society, that last expedition has been generally so much less productive than the former, that it may be a matter of doubt whether it is worth the Society's while in the present state of its finances, to urge his continuing in their service at the same rate of expenditure as hitherto." Be it noted that Douglas' salary at that time was only £120 a year and the Colonial Office had agreed to pay most of his other expenses. In this matter, Bentham was no doubt writing as a horticulturist and not as a botanist. Although central and southern California may have been a virgin paradise for the botanist, it is unlikely that a large proportion of its plants would thrive in British gardens. With Douglas' resignation from the society's service, following the news that Sabine had resigned, the botanist finally triumphed over the horticulturist and thereafter all his plants went to Hooker.

The story of the expedition to Fort St. James and the disastrous shipwreck in the Fraser River, with the loss of journals, collections, and supplies, has been told by the author previously in this *Quarterly* (Vol. IV, pp. 221-241), and only its results need be considered here. Previous to this event, hardship had affected Douglas' health, and he had lost the sight of his right eye from repeated attacks of ophthalmia. Frayed nerves resulted in the quarrel with Samuel Black. After the disaster he wrote that it had "much broken my health and spirits." The prearranged journey home by Sitka, where Baron Wrangel was eagerly awaiting him, and Siberia was abandoned, and, in consequence, he sailed for the Sandwich Islands, from whence he expected to take a ship home. For a man in broken health and in a tropical climate, his activities during his stay of six months in the Islands are astonishing, and include not only extensive collections but the ascent of the three volcanoes of Hawaii, two over 13,000 feet high, and writing a paper on them, which was published posthumously. His tragic death in a bull-pit containing a trapped wild bull, July 12, 1833, caused not

only profound regret but much discussion. The fact that the last person to see him alive and who gave him his final directions was an escaped convict from Botany Bay strengthened suspicions of foul play. In Appendix A the author reviews the evidence and inclines cautiously to the accident theory.

In the final chapter, "In Tribute," the author assesses the character and achievements of Douglas. While his fame rests primarily on his botanical explorations, the stimulus which he gave to horticulture, with over 200 ornamental plants introduced to cultivation, was very great. His accounts of the primeval wilderness, now covered with populous and thriving communities, will always be of interest. But for sheer ill luck his discoveries in ornithology might have been second only to those in botany, but the long sea voyage, with two crossings of the Equator, together with the carelessness or indifference of consignees, ruined much of his collections. He published scientific papers on birds, mammals, and volcanoes. He made a long series of determinations of latitude and longitude and barometric and magnetic variations for the British Government, entailing a vast amount of tedious work. Where Douglas had done so much for so little material gain, it is a melancholy commentary on the ways of governments that for years after his death officials were still disputing over who should pay for the instruments supplied him by Sabine, and it is even hinted that these bills were never paid.

The book is attractively produced and typographical errors are remarkably few—a missing second bracket to a scientific name on page 177 and *Asplevium* for *Asplenium* on page 218 being all noticed. In the event of a future edition, which it is hoped will be needed, the following might also be noted: On page 157 "the 200th centenary" of Dr. John Rae should surely be "the second centenary" or "the 200th anniversary"; on page 242 the name given by Lambert was *Pinus taxifolia*, based on Menzies' collection (given correctly on page 154). The fact that *taxifolia* is the oldest name is the reason why it was revived and *Douglasii* dropped by modern botanists in accordance with the rule of priority. On the plate which bears simply the caption "Mt. Hood," attention might be drawn to the fact that the striking plants in the foreground are the bear-grass (*Xerophyllum tenax*), mentioned on page 58 and in Appendix B, although the botanical name there given and also in the 1914 edition of the *Journal* is now restricted to the Atlantic species.

This is an important work and fills a gap in both the historical and botanical literature of the Pacific slope. From the extent of the author's researches in all quarters which might possibly throw a ray of light on his subject, it will probably remain the definitive biography for many years to come and the indispensable starting-point for any future investigation. It is gratifying to know that it has been done by a citizen of this Province. In a Province of which lumbering is still the most important industry, and of which industry the Douglas fir has been, and will probably continue to be, the mainstay, it deserves to be widely read. One still meets occasionally persons intelligent and otherwise well informed who associate the Douglas fir with Sir James Douglas. This work should hasten their disappearance.

J. W. EASTHAM.

Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679-1684. Second Part, 1682-1684. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by G. N. Clark. Toronto: The Champlain Society; and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1946. Pp. xlvii, 368, xv.

This volume contains the second part of the Hudson's Bay Company's Minute Book for 1679-1684. The reader will find the minutes of 3 General Courts, 169 meetings of the Committee, and 23 sub-committee meetings. The appendices include copies of selected documents relating to the suit in the High Court of Admiralty brought by Charles Boone, John Davall & Company against the Hudson's Bay Company as a result of the detention of the "interloper" *Expectation* in Hudson Straits; copies of invoices of outward shipments to the company posts during 1684; and a number of biographical notes. The value of this documentary material is enhanced by a useful introduction by G. N. Clark, who has recently returned to Oxford as head of Oriel College from the Regius Chair of History at Cambridge. The editorial work has been competently done by E. E. Rich. The style and format of the volume are those which we have come to expect from all Champlain and Hudson's Bay Record Societies' publications.

The years covered by this, the third of the published volumes of Hudson's Bay Company minutes, were years of challenge to the position and the monopolistic privileges of the company. From England, America, and France came interlopers seeking to share in the anticipated profits of trading into Hudson Bay. In 1682 Thomas Phipps, a former stockholder, and others fitted out the ketch *Expectation* (Richard Lucas, Master) for a trip to the Bay. On June 13 the minutes of the Committee read:—
Ordered that Mr. Cradock and Mr. Hayward be desired immediately to hire a Coach for Windsor and repaire to his Highness Prince Rupert and acquainte him that this Committee is certainly informed that there is a certaine Interloper now intended for Hudsons Bay and what charges they are at to place to the Compa. Acco.

Apparently Prince Rupert and the Committee acted quickly, too quickly. The vessel which they fitted out to pursue the interloper was lost at sea owing to the lateness of the season, while the offending ship put back to England. In the following year, however, the *Expectation* was caught by Captain Nehemiah Walker and the company's vessel *Diligence*. The interlopers brought legal action against Walker and the company, but without success. Two of the interlopers went over to the company's side and exposed the designs of their employers. For these services they were both taken into the company's employ.

The documents in Appendix A deal with the action brought against Walker and the company. They reveal something of the court procedure of the day and outline the arguments for and against the charter of 1670. One of the arguments advanced on behalf of the interlopers, that the company's monopoly was in conflict with certain undertakings given the Muscovy Company by "K. Phillip and Q. Mary in the first and second yeare of their Reigne of all the Lands territoryes dominions Isles Signoryes and other places now pretended unto by the said Hudsons Bay Companye," seems

not to have weighed very heavily with their lordships of the High Court of Admiralty.

Interlopers from America were dealt with with equal vigour. On June 27, 1683, Sir James Hayes, deputy governor of the company, was instructed by the Committee "to prepare a Letter of Attorney to empower some person att Boston in New England to Seize on Young Gillam Commander of the *Batchelors Delight* whome the Committee is informed went last yeare as an Interloper for Hudsons Bay and Capt. Zachariah Gillam and Capt. Ezbon Sandford if they Arrive there as also to procure a letter from the Committee of Plantations to the Governr. in New England to be Assisting to such person as the Compa. shall employ as their Attorney." The power of attorney referred to in this minute was given to Edward Randolph, Collector of His Majesty's Customs at Boston. Just what Randolph did is not revealed in later minutes, but on April 25, 1684, the Committee noted:—

Mr. Randolph havinge done good Service for the Company in New England in Carring the Kings Letter to the Government there & Delivering the Same for which good Service it is ordered that Mr. Willm. Walker buy a peice of Plate to the vallue of £10 with the Companys armes upon it, and Sr. James Hayes be Desired to present the Same in Behalfe of the Compa.

The French interlopers presented a more serious problem to the company, particularly as they were led by the two renegades Radisson and Groseilliers. The company protested to King Charles II against the French action, and the matter was taken up on a diplomatic level. There are few references to the actions of the Canadian fur-traders, but one of these is to be found in the minute for January 14, 1684, which stated:—

Sr. James Hayes haveing Delivered into this Committee a copy of the petition upon the notice of the French Invasion of Porte Nelson as also a copy of the memoriall that was sent from his Majesty thereupon to the French King as also copys of Affidavitts to prove the fact Ordered they be all entred in the Compa. bookes of Forreigne letters.

The formal protest sent to Louis XIV from London, together with the instability of character of Radisson, produced the not so astonishing but still unexpected minute which appeared in the company's records for May 12, 1684:—

Sr. James Hayes and Mr. Yoong made report to this Committe that Mr. Espirett Radison is Lately arrived from france and haveing tendered his Service to the Company that they had Caryed him to Windsor and presented him to our Governor His Royall Highness who the Said Mr. Radissons Protestation of fidellity to the Company for the future was pleased to advise he Should be received againe into faviouir the Service of the Company as thereby they had made an agreement with him to receive him accordingly under the wages of £50 p. annum and the Benefitt of haveing two Hundred pounds in the Capatall Stock of the Compa. dureing his Life and good behaviour in the Service, and that he Should have £25 to Sett him out for the present expedition for Pt. Nelson And that his Brother Grossilier who is now in france if he comes over Shall have 20 s. a weeke for his Support dureing his abode here he Ingaging also to be faithfull to the Interest of the Company for the future.

This was too much for one member of the Committee. The minute continued:—

This Committee Judging it to be for the Interest and Service of the Company have approved thereof all Except Mr. Weymans.

During the period covered by this volume the company continued to hold its privileged position close to the Crown. On November 29, 1682, Prince Rupert died, and at a General Court held on January 3, 1683, H.R.H. the Duke of York was elected governor. Prince Rupert had always displayed a real interest in the affairs of the company. Of the thirteen General Courts held during his period as governor, no less than eleven were held at his lodgings in Spring Gardens. He was, moreover, the only governor for many years who personally signed the commissions and letters of instruction issued by the company. The Duke of York, for instance, refused to bother himself with such responsibilities, and arrangements had to be made for the secretary of the company to sign on the Duke's behalf.

Let it not be imagined by the reader that he will be able to piece together a narrative of the general history of the Hudson's Bay Company from these minutes. They are, as one might expect, concerned chiefly with the details of the trade as seen by the members of the Committee in London, and it was fortunate that Professor Clark was able to supplement them by drawing upon the Wynne Papers at All Souls College, Oxford, and upon other materials in the Public Records Office and Somerset House in London. After all the names of the members of the Committee show them for what they were, not "adventurous, ruthless and far-sighted imperialists," but simply "hard working London business men, efficient enough in what they had been brought up to understand, but dependent on expert advice for everything outside it, and only learning by painful experience how to make their distant enterprise into a profitable investment" (p. xlvii). We must still await the publication of the inward and outward letters and the post journals to obtain a clear picture of the company's activities on the Bay. To the student of economic history these minutes must, however, be of the greatest significance.

A point of special interest in these days of 2 and 3 per cent. returns on investments is the announcement of the first dividend paid by the Hudson's Bay Company. The minute for March 24, 1684, reads:—

The Committee having Sould all their Beaver doe resolve to make a dividend of £50 p. Ct. Ordered the Secretary bring in to the next Committee a Cobby of all the adventurers with their Stock and make out warrants for each adventurer upon one as allso Goldsmiths Payable the 23d of Aprill next, Except his Royal Highness the Duke of York which the Commite have resolved to Present him his Dividend in Gold.

This large dividend has been taken by some writers as indicating tremendous profits on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. It should be remembered, however, that the company had paid no dividend since its incorporation in 1670 and four more years were to pass before another was declared. Certain it is that the 50-per-cent. dividend bore little relation to the company's financial position in 1684. The company was, in fact, obliged to raise an overdraft of £600 and a loan of £1,000 at 6 per cent. in order to finance the outward voyage the year the dividend was paid. Whatever the reason, the effect of the inflated dividend seems to have been exhilarating—perhaps this in itself furnishes the necessary justification. Financial lean becomes an unappetizing diet to even the plumpest of investors when extended over too long a period.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.
Series III. No. 3. Edited by Clifford Wilson. Winnipeg, 1947, Pp. 54.
Ill. \$1.

With this year's *Papers* the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba has changed slightly its publication policy. Heretofore the papers published had been read at meetings during the previous season; now, however, the publication of papers read at earlier meetings when no annual publication existed has been undertaken, and the first two papers of the present series fall into this category.

The late Most Rev. S. P. Matheson was a native son of Manitoba, having been born at Kildonan in 1852. "Floods at Red River" deals with the inundations of 1826, 1852, and 1861. The first flood is described by means of extracts from the letters of John Pritchard and the second from the published account of Bishop Anderson's *Notes of the Flood*. The description of the flood of 1861 is an eye-witness account, and, in addition, some reasons for the comparatively rare recurrence of floods in later years are set forth.

The second paper, "Early Winnipeg Newspapers," is a sketch of the first seventy years of journalism in Manitoba by the late John Dafoe, for years editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. Mr. Dafoe's association with journalism in Winnipeg dated from 1886, and consequently he was able to draw upon personal knowledge for much of his narrative. The pioneer paper was the *Nor'Wester*, begun by William Coldwell and William Buckingham on December 28, 1859. Much interesting information regarding other early newspapers is provided, and numerous related and amusing anecdotes have been combined to make a most readable and informative article.

J. W. Harris was long associated with the city of Winnipeg as assessment commissioner and city surveyor, and his diaries contain a wealth of information on the early development of the city. Mr. Percy Eaton in "An Early Manitoba Diary" has extracted many of the most significant portions and pieced them together for the years 1873-1922. At best, however, such treatment is rarely very satisfactory and serves only to arouse the reader's curiosity as to what other information the diaries might contain.

Mrs. Irene Craig has contributed the most useful of the four papers. "Green Paint on the Prairies" is an account of the theatre in Winnipeg from 1866 to 1921. This deals primarily with amateur dramatics, although passing reference is made to the visit of early stock companies. A tremendous amount of research has gone into this paper, and those interested in early theatre movements will find it not only a valuable source, but also pleasant reading.

As with the previous *Papers*, the brochure is very well published, although in the opinion of this reviewer it does not quite measure up to the standard of the first two of the series.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Canada, A Political and Social History. By Edgar McInnis. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1947. Pp. viii, 574. \$6.50.

For years contemporary Canadian historians were quite justly reproached with being so engrossed in their own researches that they failed to present to the general reader a perspective of the country as a whole. The result was that for some time the only one-volume text-book on Canadian history—and a good one—was the work of an American scholar, Carl Wittke. But times have changed, and in the past five years we have had a series of volumes by A. L. Burt (*A Short History of Canada for Americans*), D. G. Creighton (*Dominion of the North*), A. R. M. Lower (*Colony to Nation*), and most recently by Edgar McInnis. Each of them has profited from the really impressive amount of monographic material that has been produced in what may be called the Mackenzie King era of Canadian history.

Still fresh after the seven years of toil upon his excellent history of the Second World War, Professor McInnis of the University of Toronto has produced a solid and careful survey of Canada's development, which he describes as "a study in political survival." Patience, compromise, and the deliberate choice of the unspectacular middle course, he suggests, have enabled Canadians to continue their efforts to build a distinctive society "in the face of numerous stresses, both internal and conflicting." Like Professor Lower, the author is no wide-eyed optimist expatiating on our great natural resources and wonderful future. In the very last sentence of the book, with reference to our role in world affairs, the author warns his readers that "The direct connection between internal structure and external policies had become clearer and more inescapable than ever; and Canada, which had reached mature stature among the nations of the world, must first prove her capacity to solve the internal difficulties that confronted her if she was to fulfill the destiny that now lay before her."

In this reviewer's opinion, except in its splendid collection of prints and pictures, the volume scarcely lives up to its promise of being a social as well as a political history. It is not as provocative in its generalizations as Lower's, nor as attractively written as Creighton's. But for thoroughness, proportion, and analysis, it deserves high marks. The volume has an excellent select bibliography, good maps and index, and is notably free from errors of fact or careless proof-reading.

F. H. SOWARD.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Great North West, A History. By Oscar Osburn Winther. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. Pp. viii, 383, xxv. Maps, ill. \$4.50.

This is one of the best, if not the best, one-volume history of the Pacific Northwest. The author, Professor Oscar O. Winther of Indiana University, although born in Nebraska, grew up in Oregon and obtained his early education there. A graduate of the University of Oregon, he took his master's degree at Harvard and received his doctorate from Leland Stanford. He has been a member of the History Department of Indiana Univer-

sity since 1936. During 1945-46 he was a research fellow of the Huntington Library in California, and there he wrote most of the present volume.

Professor Winther knows not only American sources, but British and especially Canadian as well. His long bibliography (pp. 346-383) is noteworthy for the large number of citations from recent Canadian books and periodicals. He tells the story of the Pacific Northwest clearly, simply, and with perspicacity. It is quite frankly a regional study, and its defects are those inherent in regional histories. It does not attempt to place the Great Northwest in its North American and world settings. Diplomatic history is rather slighted, and there is but little attempt to assess the formative influences of the Eastern and Middle Western States on the institutions of the Pacific Northwest. Nonetheless, this is a very sound piece of work.

A British Columbian is at once struck by the author's fairness in treating both the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies. The first nine chapters, comprising nearly half the volume, tell the story of Old Oregon. Of these, three and a portion of three others deal with the British fur trade and British claims to Old Oregon. As might be expected, the American side of the case is, on the whole, stressed, but the British is by no means neglected. The Indians, too, receive sympathetic attention. The story of Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce followers is termed "lamentable." Professor Winther is just and generous in his treatment of controversial topics.

More than half of the volume deals with the development of the Northwest Pacific States. The treatment is topical and lacks the cohesion of the earlier chapters. This is not really the author's fault. It illustrates a defect in historical scholarship observable in Canadian as well as American writings which deal with events of the last half to three-quarters of a century. Most of the solid research has been done in the earlier periods. All that an author has to do is to summarize fairly well-known sources. But in the later period, although much good spade-work has been done, research has not yet emerged from the monograph stage. In fact, even monographs are lacking, and the author has to fall back on periodicals and a mass of, as yet, undigested source material. On the whole, Professor Winther's economic chapters are more successful than those which deal with the political and cultural history of the area. This is perhaps to be expected.

There are a few minor details on which the reviewer finds himself at variance with the author, but they are relatively unimportant. For example, one might suppose that the old legend of David Thompson's so-called "race to the sea" had been sufficiently discredited that it would not appear again. But legends die hard. Professor Winther is to be congratulated upon adding this valuable volume to the ever-increasing historical literature of the Northwest Coast.

W. N. SAGE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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ERRATA.

- Page 82, line 5, and page 86, line 26: For *Babington* read *Babington*.
 Page 104, line 10, and page 108, line 3: For *Lamby* read *Lambly*.
 Page 108, line 23: For *1936* read *1933*.
 Page 118, line 21: For *Bank of British Columbia* read *Bank of British North America*.
 Page 152, line 12: For *Duff* read *Dufferin*.
 Page 156, line 13: For *Carnavon* read *Carnarvon*.
 Page 159, line 22: For *W. G. Prior* read *E. G. Prior*.
 Page 163, line 4: For *J. H. Abrams* read *J. A. Abrams*.
 Page 163, line 7: For *Helgeson* read *Helgesen*.
 Page 202, line 20: For *1894* read *1904*.
 Page 215, line 13: For *S. F. Wootton* read *S. Y. Wootton*.
 Page 215, line 36: For *now* read *how*.
 Page 240, foot-note (17), line 1: For *1848* read *1849*.

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