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The
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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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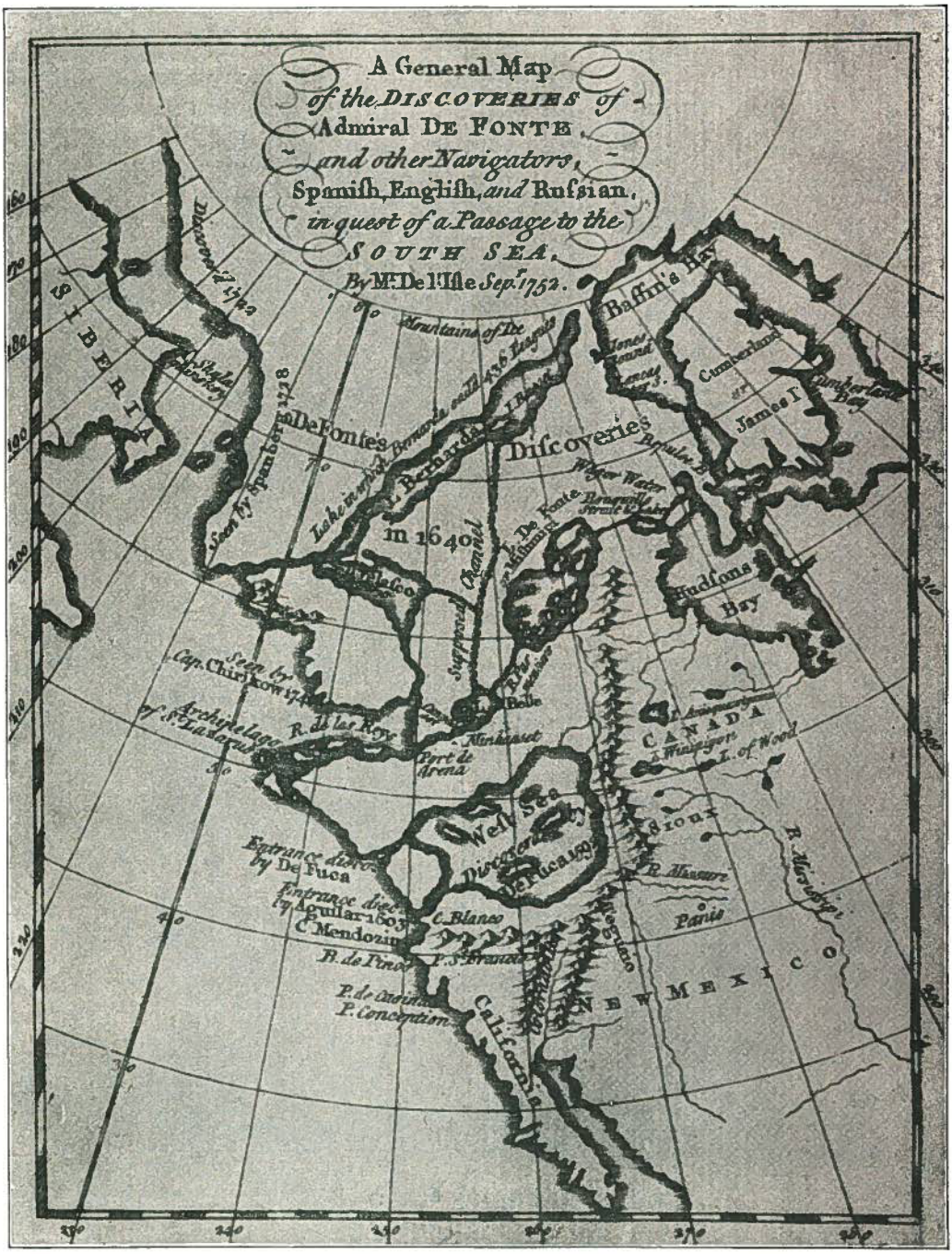
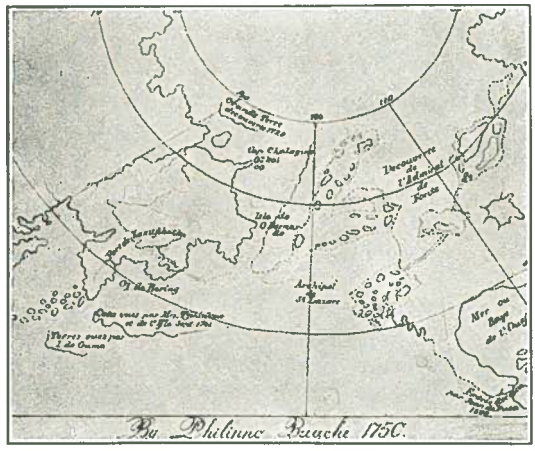
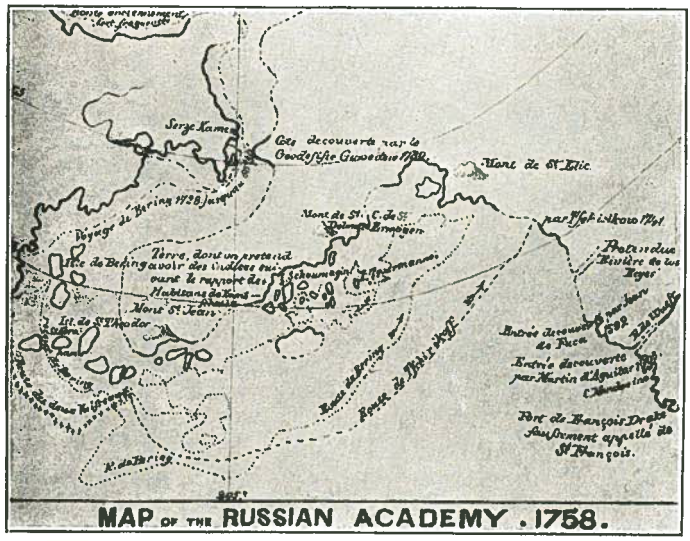


Map I. A copy of the map of De l'Isle, 1752.



Map II. Showing accurately only the results of the Bering expedition of 1828.



Map III. This map was prepared by Müller.

RUSSIA'S APPROACH TO AMERICA.

PART I.—FROM RUSSIAN SOURCES, 1741–1761.

When Peter the Great issued his first directive for an expedition into the North Pacific, he must have been aware that Russia might be encroaching on Spain's exclusive claims to the west coast of America. Indeed the instructions issued on February 5, 1725, to Vitus Bering for his first voyage indicated as much:—

> [You are instructed] to find out where it [Asia] joins America and . . . seek out some city in European possession; or, if a European ship is sighted, inquire of it what it [the city] is called and make a note of it; and go ashore on the coast itself and get first-hand information; and, having put it on a map, return.[1]

In fulfilling this injunction, Bering was not altogether successful. Skirting the Asiatic coast he passed through Bering Sea and Bering Strait into the Arctic Ocean, penetrating as far north as 67° north latitude. This left still open the question whether the two continents by some chance might be united north of that point. A rumour persisted among the Chukchi to the effect that from time to time, when the fog lifted, there could be seen at a great distance a huge island where lived a strange people with whom they were frequently at war. After Bering's return, a Cossack chief, Afanasii Shestakov, was sent northward with an expedition to verify this story of "a great land" over the horizon. This attempt failed, and Shestakov was killed, but a sea expedition which sailed under a Michael Gvozdev in one of Bering's old vessels coasted northward to Bering Strait and there made the crossing from East Cape, on the Asiatic side, to Cape Prince of Wales, on the American mainland. The problem was now one step nearer a solution.

(1) Ivan Ivanovich Golikov, *Dyeyaniya Petra Velikago, mudrago preobrazovatelya Rossii, sobrannyia iz dostovyernykh istochnikov i raspolozhennyia po godam* (12 v., Moscow, 1788–89), IX, 187. Since Peter died on January 28, 1725, the document in its final form was issued by his wife over his signature. *See also* Frank A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, New York, 1922–1925, I, p. 11, citing *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, VII, Doc. 4649. For a full account of the first voyage of Bering, *see* Volume I of Golder's work.

It was now that Bering, stung by a sense of failure in his first attempt, came forward with a proposal for another expedition—actually a series of voyages—that would put an end to all uncertainty; that would map the whole hitherto unexplored northern coast of Siberia and, at the same time, clear up the mystifying uncertainties of "Gama Land" and "Yezzo," legendary islands off the coast of Asia customarily inserted on seventeenth-century maps, but not heretofore identified. But Bering's most unique proposal was that he himself should strike boldly eastward into the hitherto uncharted wastes of the Pacific in search of the American continent. The more northerly expeditions were to descend the Siberian rivers and coast along the shore to solve the mystery of the north-east passage. Since they called for no great nautical skill, they were entrusted to junior officers. That across the Pacific was to be commanded by Bering himself. The immense scope of the project called for the collaboration of two governmental bodies—the Academy of Sciences and the Admiralty College—and orders went forth to this effect.

The voyage of Bering himself involved the risk of conflict with Spain, and this was frankly recognized in the *ukaz* from the Senate to the Admiralty, the latter being directed to give Bering secret instructions to guide him in case of contact with foreigners. The specific instructions from the Senate were a repetition of those issued by Peter in 1725 (cited above), and, in addition, they enjoined on Bering to guard against traps and not to disclose the route by which he was to return. Furthermore, an interpreter versed in both Latin and French was to be provided for the voyage by the Slavyano-Latin school.[2]

There is no doubt from an examination of this document that the Russian Government was nervous about trespassing on the territory of Spain and running into international complications. It will be interesting to trace the stages by which this second expedition of Bering and subsequent voyages brought Russian explorers progressively closer to Spanish dominions, and to observe how this gradual approach was reflected in the reports of the Spanish embassy in St. Petersburg.

(2) *Polnoe sobranie zakonov*, VIII, Doc. 6291. An approximate rendering (though by no means an accurate translation) appears in Golder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 29–32.

The second Bering expedition was epoch-making in the history of the north-west coast. But it failed of one of its main purposes. It was conceived on a vast scale to settle for all time the uncertainty regarding the relation of America to Asia. It included, as we have seen, plans for the exploration of the North Siberian coast, the final task of which was to fix definitely the location of the Chukchi Peninsula; that is, the extreme north-eastern part of Asia. The expedition across the Pacific under Bering's personal direction was, however, not to be a mere plunge into the void. If he reached the continent (as it was presumed he would), Bering was to turn north and follow the coast until he reached a point opposite the Chukchi Peninsula. Thus, complete continuity would have been established in the mapping of those regions where the two continents approached one another. Since these instructions regarding the course to be followed were to be kept secret, it is fairly clear that the purpose was to avoid any possibility of a clash with Spain.[3]

Bering failed to follow these instructions for two obvious reasons. In the first place, they were based on a completely false conception of the American coast. It was assumed that it trended uniformly towards the north-west in much the same way as the Asiatic coast trends towards the north-east until the two approached one another in the vicinity of the Chukchi

(3) We do not have a copy of the orders which laid down the course Bering was to follow. According to *Polnoe sobranie zakonov*, VIII, Doc. 6291, Sect. 13: "The instructions the voyagers receive are to be forwarded to the Senate [to be] appropriately phrased and supplemented by special instructions from the Senate itself. These are to be kept secret, but if foreigners are met, they are to be told that the expedition is scientific, having been prepared on the recommendation of the St. Petersburg, Paris, and other academies. This is the ostensible explanation to be given out; the other instructions are not to be revealed." We are indebted to Steller, who accompanied the expedition as naturalist, for a general idea of what these instructions were. After describing the course to be followed by Bering across the Pacific, Steller adds: "If in doing so America should be reached, it was proposed to follow the coast in a northerly direction until we came to the parallels of 64° and 66°, where the farthest point of Asia or the Chukchi promontory is situated, towards which it was then intended to turn in a westerly direction and, having determined the distance between both continents to the north, to make ready for the return to the home port when it was intended to let the remaining part of the investigation be conditioned on a second voyage the following year." Golder, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19.

Peninsula. No one dreamed that a huge peninsula was interposed between Bering and his objective, and that this obstacle was prolonged 800 miles farther by the Aleutian Islands, the persistent fog in which they were customarily veiled heightening the illusion that they were continuous with the mainland. Secondly, the loss of a supply ship as Bering was leaving Okhotsk in the spring forbade any long stay off the American coast. It was necessary that he limit his efforts for the year to an attempt to reach the American coast and return immediately.

On this voyage both Bering, commanding the *St. Peter*, and his lieutenant, Chirikov, in the *St. Paul*, managed to reach the American coast, though independently of one another. On his return Bering was cast away on an island near the Asiatic mainland. There he died, but the survivors of his crew put together from the wreckage of the *St. Peter* a craft in which they made their way back to Petropavlovsk, in Avacha Bay, in the summer of 1742. Chirikov was more fortunate. Though his crew had suffered the extremities of hunger, thirst, and scurvy, they had finally brought their ship the *St. Paul* to anchor in Avacha Bay on October 12, 1741.

Although numerous private ventures following Bering's track carried Russian exploration and even temporary occupation into the Aleutians, nevertheless both the location of these islands and their relation to America remained uncertain till they were finally determined by Krenitzyn and Levashev in 1769. Even then Spain was not completely convinced that Russia's position in these islands constituted actual occupation of any part of America until the results of Cook's third and last voyage were made known in 1784.

The results of the first three official voyages—that is, the two carried out by Bering and that by Gvozdev—did not immediately become known to the Russian public nor to the world at large. Spain being at that date the European country chiefly concerned, it seems reasonable to assume that her Government would keep posted on geographical discoveries as their results were published. But one must bear in mind the general air of secrecy with which these geographical expeditions were surrounded. The instructions for the second Bering expedition had contained the following injunction:—

The correspondence regarding the expedition is to go to the Chancellery of the Senate to be translated into Russian, the originals then to be turned over to the Academy to be prepared for publication. They are not to be published either secretly or openly until such publication is authorized; nor are their contents to be divulged by correspondence abroad until after their publication here. The violation of this secrecy is to be visited with severe penalties.[4]

The news of the first Bering expedition (1728) began to reach the outside world within seven years. In 1735 there was published at the Hague, Jean Baptiste du Halde's *Description géographique, historique et chronologique de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise,* in four volumes. An English version appeared in London in the same year with a slightly different title, *The General History of China: Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political, and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese Tartary and Thibet,* in four volumes like the French. At the end of the fourth volume an account of the first Bering expedition is added with a map prepared after Bering's return, by Joseph Nicolas Delisle and engraved by D'Anville.[5] The author gives the following account of the channels through which this was received:—

Captain Berings having punctually executed his orders returned to Petersburg on the first day of March 1730 and brought a short account of his voyage, with a map, which he had made of it; This Map was sent to the most serene King of Poland as a Present worthy of his Regard and Curiosity,[6] and His Majesty having been pleased to communicate it to me, with a Permission to make what use I pleased, I thought that the Public would be somewhat obliged to me if I added it to all the others I have promis'd.[7]

In 1745 the Academy of St. Petersburg issued its first atlas. It was called *Atlas Rossiiskoi* and it covered all parts of the Russian Empire. For Eastern Siberia, it showed the results of the first Bering expedition. Although the results of the second voyage (concluded in 1741) had reached St. Petersburg

(4) *Polnoe sobranie zakonov,* VIII, Doc. 6291 (1732).

(5) *See* article "China" in the *Catholic Encyclopædia,* Vol. III. Two subsequent editions of Du Halde's work appeared within a few years, attesting to its wide appeal.

(6) Probably Augustus II, King of Poland (and Saxony), who died in 1733 and whose death provoked the War of the Polish Succession.

(7) Jean Baptiste du Halde, *The General History of China,* IV, p. 429. It may be noted that the map shows only the Asiatic coast, since Bering apparently did not see the coast of North America.

by 1743, two full years prior to publication, the Academy refused to embody these in this work or even to consult the members of the expedition that had returned. The atlas was immediately exposed to unfavourable comment, and within ten years directions were issued for a new edition.[8]

Information of the first Bering expedition was also contained in a publication that came out in London about 1748. There had appeared in 1705 a work by John Harris entitled *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca; Or a compleat collection of voyages and travels: consisting of about four hundred of the most authentick writers . . . in the English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portugese, German or Dutch tongues* (2 v., T. Bennet, London). A second edition came out forty years later under the editorship of John Campbell, the sub-title now reading . . . *consisting of above six hundred of the most authentic writers originally published . . . by John Harris . . . now carefully revised with large additions, and continued down to the present time, including particular accounts of the manufactures and commerce of each country* (2 v., London, T. Woodward, 1744–48). Campbell made use of the journal of Bering for an account of his first voyage. As to the second, he cites a letter of Leonhard Euler, dated December 10, 1746, in which the latter mentioned the second voyage of Bering but expressed doubt whether the Russian Government would publish the results of the expedition.[9]

Nevertheless, in spite of the purpose of the Russian Government to keep the second Bering expedition secret, its hand was forced by an event that took place outside of Russia. Delisle, the

(8) As a matter of fact the *Atlas* had been issued by the president, I. Schumacher, on his own initiative and without the authority of the Academy's members. Almost from the first there were complaints of the incompleteness of the maps. *See* V. F. Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department Akademii Nauk XVIII vyeka*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1946, pp. 52–57.

(9) James R. Masterson and Helen Brower, "Bering's Successors, 1745–1780," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1947), pp. 35–83, 109–155. The significance of this letter lay in the fact that Euler, professor of higher mathematics in the Academy of Sciences, had been assistant to Delisle in the Geographic Department of the Academy, which had been founded October 22, 1739, and had taken some part in its work. But he was no longer in the Russian service, having left Russia for Berlin on February 16, 1741. *See* Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department*, pp. 30, 31, 48, 49, 52.

geographer of the Academy, had gone abroad, and on April 8, 1750, he appeared before the Royal Academy of France and read a report on the Bering expedition of 1741. This report was accompanied by a map and purported to set forth the true course of the Bering expedition. The map and report were published in 1752 by Philippe Buache in Paris.[10] It was inaccurate, however, and when Count Keyserling, Russia's ambassador at the Austrian court and former president of the Academy at St. Petersburg, heard of it, he at once wrote to Count Razumovskii, then president, and demanded that a public refutation of the statements there contained be prepared by Professor Müller.

Müller's reply appeared the following year as *Lettre d'un officier de la Marine Russienne à un seigneur de la Cour.* It was published at first separately and later in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque germanique* (Berlin, 1753); in the same year both English and German translations appeared.[11]

Müller now proceeded to bring to completion and publish the maps begun after 1745 in order to correct the defects in the Academy's *Atlas* of that year. In 1754 a revised map was engraved to illustrate the discoveries, and it is probable that copies of it found their way into circulation, though none have been found. Müller followed this up by preparing a full account of Bering's last voyage for submission to the Conference of the Academy. This was read before the latter body and published four years later with the title *Nachrichten von Seereisen und zur*

(10) Gerhard Friedrich Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, Moscow, 1937, I, pp. 101, 102. The map was entitled *Carte des nouvelles découvertes au nord de la mer du Sud, tant a l'est de la Siberie et du Kamtschatka, qu'à l'ouest de la Nouvelle France, dréssée sur les mémoires de Mr. de l'Isle . . . par Philippe Buache.* In justice to Delisle it should be noted that at the time of the latter's departure from Russia many of the documents of the Bering expedition had not yet reached the capital but were still in Siberia. Delisle's report bore the title *Explication de la carte des nouvelles découvertes au nord de la mer du Sud.*

(11) Golder, in his *Bering's Voyages*, I, p. 362, erroneously ascribed the work to Sven Waxel; and the error has been repeated by Masterson and Brower, "Bering's Successors, 1745–1780," *loc. cit.*, p. 37. But it was unquestionably the work of Müller. Indeed, he says distinctly in his autobiography that he was the author. *See "Avtobiografiya"* in Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, I, p. 150. A careful perusal of his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, St. Petersburg, 1732–1764, III, would also have disclosed the authorship.

See gemachten Entdeckungen die von Russland aus längst den Küsten des Eismeeres und auf dem östlichen Weltmeere gegen Japan und Amerika geschehen sind zur Erläuterung einer bei der Akademie der Wissenschaften verfertigten Landkarte. It was accompanied by a map—that of 1754 brought up to date.[12]

This account of Bering's voyages was incorporated in the author's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* (III, 1–304) and remained for over a century and a half the standard version, until superseded by the work of Frank Golder, which was based on the original log.[13]

The voyage of Gvozdev (1730–1732) into Bering Strait, although authorized by the Administrative Senate, was little noted at the time. Perhaps it was veiled in official secrecy, though no such efforts in that regard are known. But Gvozdev's expedition, if it touched the American mainland as claimed,

(12) Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department*, pp. 63–65; A. I. Andreyev, "Trudy G. F. Millera o Sibiri," in Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, I, pp. 103–106. This map was reproduced in S. P. Krasheninnikov's *Opisanie zemli Kamchatki*, St. Petersburg, 1755, which appeared shortly afterwards in French and English translations. It was also published by A. F. Prevost in 1768 at Paris in *Histoire générale des voyages*, XVIII, p. 367. *See* map III.

(13) Golder, *Bering's Voyages*. Actually, interest in Bering had been revived early in the nineteenth century by V. N. Berkh, who published two short studies on him: *Pervoe Morskoe Puteshestvie Rossiyan predprinyatoe dlya resheniya geografischeskoi zadachi*, St. Petersburg, 1823; and "Biograficheskoe Svedenie ob Kapitanom Komandorom Vitusye Beringye," *Syevernyi Arkhiv*, VI, No. 8 (1828). About the middle of the nineteenth century Lieut. A. P. Sokolov wrote some articles on the Kamchatka expeditions which provoked a controversy, in the course of which Karl E. von Baer wrote "Zaslugi Petra Velikago po chasti rasprostranenii geografischeskikh poznanii Rossii i prograunichnikh s neyu zemlyakh Azii," in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva*, III (1849), pp. 217–253; IV (1850), pp. 260–283. Late in the century two works appeared in the United States: Peter Lauridsen, *Russian Exploration, 1725–1743; Vitus Bering, the Discoverer of Bering Strait*, Chicago, 1889; and William Healy Dall, "A Critical Review of Bering's First Expedition, 1725–30, together with a translation of his original report upon it," in *National Geographic Magazine*, II (1890), pp. 111–169. These added little to what was already known. Golder's publication of the logs of both vessels that took part in the expedition was epoch-making. Soviet scholars have been extremely active in searching their archives for material on the Bering and subsequent expeditions. One of the more important of the publications that has emerged from this activity is: Aleksei Alekseyevich Pokrovskii, *Ekspeditsiya Beringa: Sbornik Dokumentov* (Moscow, 1941).

probably did more to answer the question "Is Asia joined to America?" than did the second Bering voyage, and thus it fitted more directly into the story of exploration.

After the reports of the second Bering expedition had been received at the capital, official interest in exploration waned. The expenses of this and other expeditions had far exceeded all expectations. Elizabeth was more and more drawn into diplomatic and military entanglements which strained the financial resources of the country, and there was no money for new expeditions. In the words of one writer, "the acquisition of new material by the Geographic Department [of the Academy] during the period from 1746 to 1765 was almost negligible."[14]

Actually, there was much new geographical information at the disposal of the Academy had its members had access to it. Fur-traders in Eastern Siberia, fired by stories of the pelts of a hitherto unknown fur-bearing animal—the sea-otter—brought back by the Bering expedition and sold at fabulous prices in the Chinese market, began slowly and unskilfully to back-track on Bering's course to find this new pot of gold. They secured permission to use Bering's ships till they fell to pieces or were wrecked; then they built themselves crude ships of native lumber till they painfully acquired the art of ship-building. Landsmen, they often sailed without benefit of compass or chart. They had no instruments to take observations. And when they returned from a voyage, they could give only the vaguest account of the seas they had traversed, or the islands they had visited. There was no special reason why the Government of St. Petersburg should bestir itself for the fur trade, save to provide pelts for China. The State was concerned only with levying its percentage on the cargo and with the collection of *yassak* (tribute) in the Aleutian Islands. Since Siberian officialdom was notoriously corrupt, there was an additional motive for the suppression of information from these new lands. The silence regarding developments in the North Pacific that pervaded the official world after the second Bering expedition came to an end about the year 1760.

The factors that caused the new discoveries in the East to become a matter of public interest are obscure. It is unthinkable

(14) Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department*, 59.

that in the midst of the Seven Years' War Elizabeth had time or inclination to turn her attention in this direction. One can but assume that the cumulative effects of previous discoveries, the great profits derived from the Siberian fur trade, and the appearance of new and forceful personalities in the fur business, as well as the accession of a new and energetic sovereign, combined to produce a revived interest in fur-trading and exploration.

The solicitude of the Government for the fur trade is further attested by the abandonment of the State monopoly of the trade between Siberia and China.[15] Perhaps to compensate for the loss of revenue involved in this, it was decided to tighten up on the collection of *yassak* from the natives of Siberia as well as from those of the Kurile and Aleutian Islands.[16] The State seems further to have adopted the practice of remitting the tax of 10 per cent. on the profits of the voyages of the fur-trading companies.

The Andreanof Islands were explored and mapped; the most easterly lying of the chain—the Fox Islands, including Umnak and Unalaska—had been violently brought under Russian control in the savage fighting of 1762–1764; the mainland had been visited in 1761; and the Island of Kodiak explored in 1762–1763. Word of these and other explorations which trickled back to St. Petersburg reached there at an opportune time, when Catherine II, having secured the throne for herself, was casting about for fields of activity in which her brilliant gifts would have full scope. It is not to be wondered at that geographical discovery could look forward to a bright future.

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(15) This monopoly, established by Peter in the last years of the seventeenth century following the Treaty of Nerchirsk (1689), was somewhat relaxed in 1728 by the Treaty of Kiakhta, by which two ports of entry had been provided for by private traders. Raymond H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade, 1550–1700*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943, p. 227; William Coxe, *An Account of Russian Discoveries*, London, 1780, pp. 201–210.

(16) Waldemar Jochelson, *Archeological Investigations in Kamchatka*, Washington, 1928, pp. 12, 13. The collection of *yassak* was tantamount to effective occupation, as we can see from a dispatch from Governor Chicherin to the Empress Catherine on the return in 1761 of the expedition of Andrean Tolstykh. Russia, Archives Department, *Papers Relating to the Russians in Alaska, 1732–1796*, 21 v. (photostat copies of originals in Russian Archives in the University of Washington Library, Seattle), II.

Yet, despite the awakened official interest, it was only slowly that really accurate information began to accumulate. The death of the great savant Lomonosov in 1765, the departure of Müller in 1767 (to assume the post of archivist of the College of Foreign Affairs in Moscow), and the outbreak of the Turkish War in 1767 were only partly compensated for by the return from abroad (after an absence of twenty-five years) of Leonhard Euler with his son, the physicist, Johann Albrecht Euler, and the complete reorganization of the Academy of Sciences.[17]

The Geographic Department was galvanized once more into life. Despite feverish activity, however, it did little beyond incorporating knowledge already assembled into cartographical form. Little attention was at first given to the fund of material accumulated by the fur-traders since Bering's time. Such information was seldom reduced to writing, but could have been obtained from the participants in these voyages.[18]

(17) Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department*, pp. 52, 84, 87; "Avtobiografiya" in Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, I, p. 153.

(18) The paucity of records of these voyages still hampers the student of the exploration of the North Pacific in the eighteenth century. Our all-too-scanty knowledge of them is drawn from a handful of sources—not all of these independent. The most important relevant material is contained in the following (arranged so far as possible in the order of publication): Jakob Staehlin von Storcksburg, "Kratkoe Izvestie o novoizobryetennom Syevernom Arkhipelagye" (accompanied by a map), which appeared in the *Mesyatsoslov istoricheskii i geograficheskii* for 1774 and was reprinted in *Sobranie Sochinenii iz mesyatsoslovov* for 1789, and which is usually attributed to Staehlin; *Das von den Russen in den Jahren 1765–1767 entdeckte Insel-Meer zwischen Kamtschatka und Nord Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1774; an English translation of the same, *An Account of the new Northern Archipelago lately discovered by the Russians in the Seas of Kamchatka and Anadir* appearing also in 1774, at London; J.L.S., *Neue Nachrichten von den neuentdeckten Inseln in der See zwischen Asien und Amerika aus mitgetheilten, Urkunden und Auszügen verfasset*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1776, for the authorship of which *see* Masterson and Brower, "Bering's Successor, 1745–1780," *loc. cit.*; William Coxe, *An Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, London, 1780, which went through three subsequent editions (1780, 1787, and 1803); Peter Simon Pallas, "O rossiiskikh otkrytiyakh na moryakh mezhdu Azieyu i Amerikoyu," in *Mesyatsoslov istoricheskii i geograficheskii* for 1781, reprinted in *Sobranie Sochinenii vybrannykh iz mesyatsoslovov*, 1796; Pallas, *Neue Nordische Beyträge zur Physikalischen und geographischen Erd-und Völkerbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und Oekonomie* (7 v., St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781–1796), material from which, bearing on Russian discoveries in the North Pacific,

It is to be noted that from the time of the second Bering expedition down to the date when Catherine began to intervene in the task of exploration, not less than thirty-five separate voyages had been made by private Russian traders eastward from the coast of Siberia. While neither the officials in Siberia nor the central government could have been in complete ignorance of this activity, definite information regarding their results seems to have been lacking in St. Petersburg until the year 1764, when a participant in one of these expeditions had an audience with the Empress and submitted for her examination a map drawn by one of his shipmates.[19] Thereby official interest was rekindled. In the effort to clear up the uncertainties regarding the location of the new discoveries, Catherine decided to intervene officially in the work of exploration. The voyage of Lieutenant Sind (1765–1766) and especially the expedition of Krenitsyn and Levashev (1768–1769) for the first time brought some order out of the cartographical chaos.

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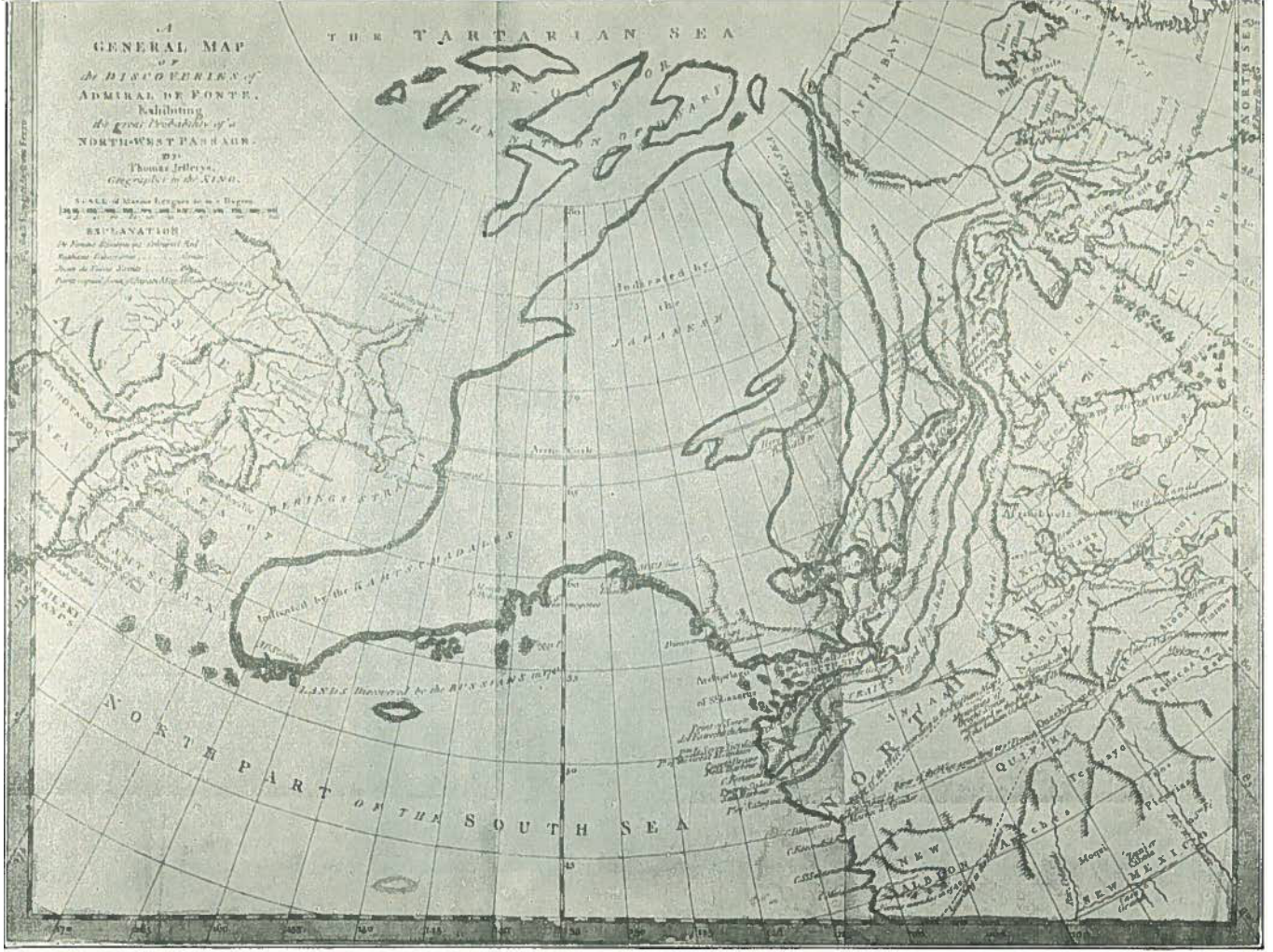
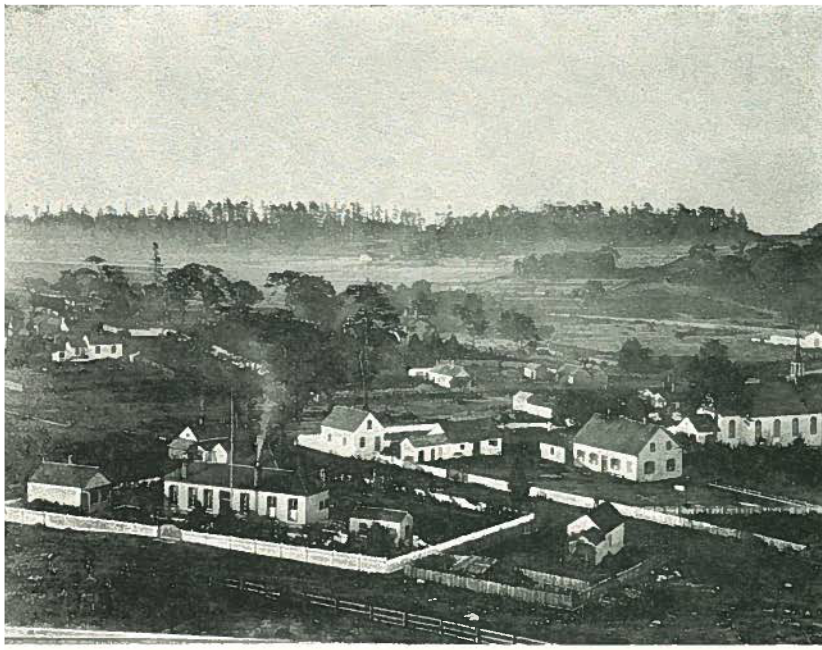
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA.

is translated by Masterson and Brower, *op. cit.*, in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for January and June, 1947; Moriz August, *graf* von Beniowsky, *Memoirs and travels of Mauritius Augustus count de Benyowsky* (tr. by William Nicholson) Dublin, 1790; Vasilii N. Berkh, *Khronologicheskaya Istoriya Otkrytiya Aleutskikh Ostrovov ili Podvigi Rossiiskago Kupechestva*, St. Petersburg, 1823; A. Polonskii, *List of Journeys of Russian hunters in the Pacific Ocean from 1743–1800* (undated MS. in the archives of the Geographical Society in St. Petersburg), which has been consulted by Bancroft, Jochelson, and others; A. O. Andreyev, *Russkie otrytiya v Tikhom Okeanye i Syevernoi Amerikye v XVIII i XIX vyekakh*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1944.

(19) Berkh, *Khronologicheskaya Istoriya*, p. 88 ff.



Map IV. Jeffery's map, taken from *Voyages between Asia and America*, and based on the map of the Russian Academy, 1858.



A view showing, in the foreground, the French Hospital as it was in the 1870's.

THE FRENCH IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.*

It is not unnatural that in the history of British Columbia great attention has been given to the gold-rush era. The discovery of gold brought to an abrupt end the era of the fur trade and ushered in, with almost unseemly haste, the era of extensive exploitation of natural resources that has, in effect, prevailed to this day. Successive discoveries of gold and their accompanying minor "rushes"—to Wild Horse Creek, to Big Bend, to the Stikine, to the Peace, and to Cassiar—gave to men a knowledge of the geography and wealth of British Columbia almost undreamed of. Naturally, too, the emphasis has been on achievement—where did they go? how much did they find? what did they do? Frequently the more lasting social implications of this sudden metamorphosis have been lost sight of in the rapidly changing scene, for the cycle of "boom and bust" in the gold-rush economy has usually been relatively short in British Columbia.

It is hoped that this article will give some indication of the part played by one segment of that complex mass of gold-crazed humanity that funnelled through Victoria and the Fraser River to the goldfields of the Cariboo. At best it can only be considered a preliminary study, for much more detailed examination of material remains yet to be done. However, some generalizations can now fairly safely be made concerning the role of the French in British Columbia.

To pass over the contribution to the development of this Province of the many French-Canadians who served in the fur-trading companies is unfortunately necessary. Men like Jules Maurice Quesnel, a fellow traveller with Simon Fraser on his epic voyage in 1808 who died a member of the Legislative Council of Canada, or like Leon Labine and Jean Ba'tiste Fortier, whose handiwork survives to this day in the bastion of old Nanaimo, made a worth-while contribution to our Province, but their story lies beyond the scope of this survey, which is strictly limited to

* The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Vancouver, January 14, 1949.

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those whom Mons. de Saint-Amant in his *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Orégon* called " Les Français de France . . . pour les distinguer des Français d'origine canadienne."[1]

The question might well be asked why an envoy of the French Government was visiting California and Oregon in 1851 and 1852, for such was the function of Mons. de Saint-Amant. The answer is to be found in the large-scale migration of Frenchmen to California following word of the discovery of gold there in 1848. The first group of some forty men arrived in San Francisco on board *La Meuse* on September 14, 1849[2]—the precursors of an immigration which it is claimed, between November 30, 1849, and April, 1851, brought over 4,000 Frenchmen to California.[3] Smaller numbers of French had come in from Mexico, Chili, the Sandwich Islands, and Louisiana, but the vast majority had come direct from Europe, largely through the ægis of dozens of " societies of emigration."

France at that time was in a turmoil. The Revolution of 1848 had seen the downfall of Louis Phillipe and, in the interlude before the election of Louis Napoleon as President, economic distress was widespread. Thousands were unemployed; the " national workshops " failed to provide the remedy, and emigration came to be regarded as a solution. The story of the duplicity and graft of many of these emigration societies is not a pleasant one,[4] but they were responsible, in a large measure, for the existence of so large a French colony in California.

Since it was from this source that British Columbia received, in turn, its French population, it is interesting to examine what manner of person had found his way to California. Daniel Lévy, in his history *Les Français en Californie*, is perhaps a prejudiced commentator. He contended that the French formed not only the largest but the most important element of California's foreign population and that this arose mainly because an urban population had been transferred. The Mexicans and Chileans were mainly labourers, without either capital or education; the

(1) Mons. de Saint-Amant, *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Orégon*, Paris, 1854, p. 157.

(2) Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie*, San Francisco, 1884, p. 67.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 75.

(4) Gilbert Chenard, *When the French Came to California*, San Francisco, 1944, *passim*.

Irish and Germans were either labourers or from rural areas; whereas the French, coming mainly from the towns, were better educated, had more capital, and were a more representative cross-section of their native land.[5] One thing is certain: they did represent all shades of political opinion.

Perhaps a more reliable opinion is that offered by the San Francisco *Alta California* in 1853, which is interesting, too, for its attitude towards the French colony:—

There are about six thousand Frenchmen in this city. They are engaged in all occupations; they are bankers, physicians, speculators in land, importers, wholesale jobbers, retail merchants, mechanics and day laborers. A fair proportion of them are wealthy, and nearly all are industrious and good citizens. They come from all parts of France. . . . They all have the characteristics of Frenchmen, they must live in company, and talk so long as they remain awake, and gesticulate while they talk. There are but very few of them from France who intend to make California their home; they long for the time when they may have enough of the shining gold to return to *La Belle France*, and live there in ease and independence. They learn the English language very slowly, probably because they do not intend to make their permanent home here. They cannot avoid comparing California as it is, the growth of half a decade of years, with their own country, the growth of a thousand years, and as they see it, the comparison is very much in favor of the latter. Their universal intention of returning to France is an error, for which many of them will repent in time.

They complain that they have suffered injustice at the hands of the Americans. No doubt many of them have, like many of the Americans themselves. But one reason that the French have suffered injustice is that they have no political power. They have not endeavoured to become citizens,

(5) " Nous avons déjà dit que, dans le principe, les Français formaient la population étrangère la plus remarquable et la plus importante, au point de vue du nombre et au point de vue des éléments qui la composaient.

" Expliquons-nous.

" Les émigrants de race espagnole, Mexicain, Chiliens, etc., étaient presque tous des travailleurs, sans capitaux et sans éducation. Les Irlandais et les Allemands apportenaient aussi généralement par leur origine, aux classes laborieuses et rurales.

" Il n'en était pas de même de nos compatriotes. Par leurs allures, leurs idées, leurs sentiment, leurs professions, leurs habitudes et leurs mœurs, ils présentaient dans leur ensemble, le caractère et la physionomie d'une population urbaine. Les ourvriers, de divers métiers, étaient nombreux; mais il y avait aussi des capitalistes, des négociants, des médecins, des professeurs, des notaires, des architects; plus, un certain nombre d'anciens fonctionnaires publics, des journalistes, des hommes de lettres, des proscrits politiques, etc.; bref, beaucoup d'élément excellents, avec un mélange de déclassés." Lévy, *op cit.*, pp. 107, 108.

and they have not learned the English language. They are in the country, but not of it. . . .[6]

Certain it is that they did not confine themselves only to California. Saint-Amant found a few in Oregon as early as 1851—" ricochet de la Californie," as he termed it[7]—and the discovery of gold in British territory drew them still farther north; indeed, some were in the vanguard of the great rush.[8]

It is impossible at this time to hazard even a guess as to the number of French that came to British Columbia, but they were in sufficient number to be recognizable as a national group. Governor Douglas, in reporting the arrival on April 25, 1858, of the steamer *Commodore* with 450 passengers stated: "About 60 British subjects, with an equal number of native born Americans, the rest being chiefly Germans, with a smaller proportion of Frenchmen and Italians composed this body of adventurers."[9] Several months later Douglas had revised his estimate upwards, for he reported:—

About two thirds of the emigrants from California are supposed to be English and French; the other third are Germans, and native citizens of the United States. There is no congeniality of feeling among the emigrants, and provided there be no generally felt grievance to unite them in one common cause there will, in my opinion, always be a great majority of the population ready to support the measures of Government.[10]

It is probable that the conditions found to be existing in British Columbia in comparison with those that had been experienced in California would be conducive to a considerable immigration of foreign miners. One of the principal differences was the absence in British Columbia of any discriminatory form of taxation. Licence fees might be vexatious, but all were required

(6) San Francisco *Alta California*, May 13, 1853.

(7) Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

(8) Saint-Amant's comments regarding British territory in the Pacific Northwest are interesting: " Depuis la perte des régions au-dessous du 49e degré, les Anglais donnent un peu plus d'attention et de surveillance aux possessions qui leur restent dans la *Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Les six cents blancs, tout au plus, qui forment la population de l'île *Vancouver*, parlent pourtant déjà de réclamer des libertés et des franchises locales comment le Canada. C'est la vue et le voisinage des établissements prospères des Américains qui leur donnent cet appétit précoce d'indépendance." *Ibid.*, p. 159.

(9) Douglas to Labouchere, May 8, 1858, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(10) Douglas to Lord Stanley, July 1, 1858, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

to pay them. There was nothing comparable to the foreign miner's tax which in California had run as high as $20 per month. Still later, when mining boards were established, admittedly with limited powers, there was no discrimination—British and foreign miners alike shared in membership.

An even more subtle indication of their relative position and one of particular satisfaction to the French, is to be found in the fact that Governor Douglas had early in his experience given official employment to one of the French miners. Mons. O. J. Travaillot, more popularly known as Captain Travaillot, had arrived in the colony in the early spring of 1858 and had pushed well into the Interior. From time to time he forwarded reports to the Governor, and in June he was appointed " Revenue officer for the District of Fort Dallas or Fork of Thompson's River," with power to issue licences to miners and to collect legal fees. In addition, he was empowered to " raise and maintain a force of eight men for the service of Government, and to swear in all persons who take out mining licenses as special constables, for the maintenance of law and order. . . ."[11] Travaillot continued in his capacity as Assistant Gold Commissioner for many months, and he it was who, with Corp. William Fisher, R.E., surveyed and laid out the townsite of Hope,[12] although his official district stretched from Lytton to the Fountain. It is interesting to note, in passing, that many of his official reports to the Governor were written in French and were so reproduced in Parliamentary Papers.[13] One cannot but wonder at the problem they may have posed for Government officials in New Westminster and Victoria. Travaillot remained a citizen of this Province until his death in 1879.[14]

The most obvious evidence of the existence of a considerable body of Frenchmen in the colony was the establishment of a French-language newspaper at Victoria in September, 1858. *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie* was in effect the fourth newspaper to begin publication in Victoria. Its proprietor, Paul

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(13) *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, Part I, [Cmd. 2476], London, 1859, p. 21.

(14) Victoria *Colonist*, February 2, 1879.

de Garro, was reputed to be a French count who had been forced to leave France for political reasons in 1851. Presumably, in his newspaper venture in Vancouver Island de Garro had the support of Bishop Modeste Demers, for it was upon the old hand-press given to the prelate by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of Paris that the newspaper was printed. Its editor was W. Thornton and the printer, Frederick Marriott, who had several months earlier begun the publication of his own newspaper, the *Vancouver Island Gazette.* The *Courrier* made its first appearance on September 11, 1858. De Garro was completely forthright in his announcement:—

AU PUBLIC FRANÇAIS.

En entreprenant la publication d'un journal français dans cette colonie, je ne me suis pas dissimulé les nombreuses difficultés que j'aurais à surmonter pour édifier une oeuvre durable.

Il m'a fallu en quelque sorte créer avec presque rien " Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie," cependant fort de la sympathie que mes compatriotes ne manqueront pas d'accorder à une feuille française, je suis hardiment entré dans la lice, comptant sur l'appui de mes amis et de tous ceux qui à un titre quelconque aiment le nom Français.

Je n'ai rien negligé pour rendre le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie aussi utile et intéressant que le comporte l'état actuel de la colonie.

J'ai obtenu le concours d'un rédacteur, dont la position et le nom bien connu ne pourront manquer d'être agréable au Public Français et Anglais. J'ai pris de mesures pour réprandre dans nos mines le plus grand nombre d'exemplaires possibles, je me suis déjà mis en relation avec l'intérieur, San Francisco et même La France, afin de pouvoir tenir les lecteurs de Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie au courant de tout ce qui peut les intéresser sur cette terre lointaine.

Si le concours de la communauté ne me fait pas défaut, j'espere que le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie tiendra plus qu'il ne promet et que le resultat sera aussi satisfaisant pour les interêts des uns et des autres que pour ceux de votre tour devoué serviteur.

P. DE GARRO.[15]

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(15) Victoria *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie,* September 11, 1858. A free translation of this statement follows:—

TO THE FRENCH PUBLIC.

In undertaking the publication of a French newspaper in this Colony I have no illusions as to the numerous difficulties that I shall have to surmount in order to build up a lasting work.

I have had in some way to bring into being from almost nothing the *Courier of New Caledonia.* However, sure of the sympathy which my compatriots will not fail to accord to a French paper, I am bravely entering the

Nor was he any less honest in announcing his policies:—

Organe des populations Françaises et Canadiennes, le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie suivra une ligne indépendante, aucune considération quelconque ne le fera dévier dans sa marche, aussi longtemps que nous aurons l'honneur de tenir la plume; mais cette indépendance nous fera précisement un devoir de rendre justice à qui de droit et l'on nous trouvera toujours dans les rangs des défenseurs de la loi et des grands principes de liberté et de justice légués par la Constitution de la Grande Bretagne à ses glorieux enfants et à tous ceux qui vivent sous son égide.[16]

Not only was the *Courrier* to be the " Organ of the French population in the English Possessions " but it aimed to be a " political and literary journal " and with some justification for it did publish literary comment, including " Civilization in California," by Charles Dickens. It is also to be noted that de Garro printed Alfred Waddington's famous pamphlet *The Fraser Mines Vindicated,* one of the earliest colonial imprints. Launched originally as a tri-weekly, only nine issues are known to have been printed between September 11 and October 8, 1858. In addition, a weekly—" Edition Hebdomadaire pour les Mines les Etats Unis et l'Europe "—was projected and issued on September 18 and October 9. The early demise of this newspaper is probably accounted for by the fact that its clientele was too

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lists counting on the support of my friends and of all those who for any reason whatever love the French name.

I have neglected nothing to make the *Courier* as useful and interesting considering the existing conditions of this colony.

I have obtained the services of an editor whose well-known name and position cannot fail to be agreeable to the French and English public. I have taken steps to have the greatest possible number of copies distributed to the mines and I have already established a connection with the interior, San Francisco and even France in order to keep the readers of the *Courier* aware of everything that might be of interest to them in this remote land.

If the co-operation of the community does not fail me I hope that the *Courier* will perform more than it promises and that the result will be as satisfying for the interests of everyone as for those of your devoted servant.

P. DE GARRO.

(16) *Ibid.* Organ of the French and Canadians, the *Courier* will follow an independent line; no consideration whatsoever will cause it to deviate from this course as long as we have the honor of holding the pen; but this independence gives us a precise obligation to render justice to the truth, and we will be always found ranged in the ranks of the defenders of law and the great principles of liberty and justice bequeathed by the Constitution of Great Britain to her glorious infants and to all who live under her protection.

limited, particularly during the first winter of the gold-rush. Presumably de Garro's plea "que le nerf de la guerre est l'argent, où pour nous son equivalent, les abonnements et les annonces "[17] went unheeded. However, it should also be pointed out that its printer, Marriott, was of none too savoury a reputation and that he was shortly thereafter ushered out of the colony. De Garro, however, continued to reside in the colonies until, in 1861, he fell victim to the explosion which wrecked the steamer *Cariboo Fly* outside Victoria harbour.[18]

As would naturally be expected, many of the French gold-seekers, like the others, stayed but a short time in the colony. Discouraged by difficulties in reaching the mines, many returned to California. But there remained, particularly in Victoria, the nucleus of a permanent colony that exhibited many of the characteristics of its counterpart in San Francisco, yet with many differences worthy of note.

For one thing, evidently the French themselves were careful to differentiate themselves from the French-Canadians. In 1861 the Victoria *Colonist* reported the trial and conviction of a Frenchman, Noel Le Clerc, but in the next issue made a point of stating that he was " not a Frenchman, but a native of the Canadas, and of French descent."[19]

Moreover, it is obvious that the French were made welcome in the colonies. Towards the end of 1861 it was rumoured that many French families in San Francisco were making preparations to come to Victoria and British Columbia. Of this event the *Colonist* wrote: " Let them come. We'll give them a hearty welcome. The French are quiet, orderly, industrious, and thrifty colonists. The more we have the better."[20] Several years later a contemporary newspaper reported:—

While speaking of our French fellow citizens we may call attention to the remarkable fact that no native of La Belle France has ever been brought before a Police Magistrate [for] disorderly or criminal conduct since the establishment of the Colony.[21]

(17) *Ibid.* . . . that the sinews of war is money or for us its equivalent—subscriptions and advertisements.

(18) Victoria *Colonist*, August 3, 1861.

(19) *Ibid.*, January 31, February 2, 1861.

(20) *Ibid.*, November 25, 1861.

(21) Victoria *The Vancouver Times*, March 6, 1865.

While not strictly true, nevertheless the fact remained that by and large the French proved themselves to be a law-abiding people.

But what is much more to the point, the criticism levelled against the French in California that they were " in the country but not of it " never applied in British Columbia. Presumably the experience of nearly a decade of life in California before coming northward is partially responsible. Very definitely they were " of the colony." In some instances they did retain national characteristics and functions, but in the main they fused their identity with general community life and affairs. Possibly the relatively small population in the colony made this all the more necessary. In San Francisco they had organized and maintained their own volunteer fire brigade—La Compagnie Lafayette des Echelles et Crochets[22]—but in Victoria they participated actively in the volunteer brigades as organized amongst the general population.[23] Many of them were Masons and joined with their fellow colonists in the affairs of that ancient craft.

There is no evidence of criticism being levelled against them for their failure to speak English. It is probably not without significance that Edward Mallandaine when advertising his " Select School " in 1860 added a special note, in French incidentally, to the effect that " French gentleman are invited to take an evening course in English, and to send their children to Mr. Mallandaine."[24] In this connection the career of Mons. B. Deffis in the colony is interesting. Formerly a lieutenant in the French Army under Louis Phillipe, he had come to California after the Revolution of 1848 and later came on to British Columbia.[25] It was his custom to spend the summers working in the mines and the winters in Victoria, where for several years he evidently conducted well-patronized classes in French, Spanish,

(22) Lévy, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200.

(23) *See* F. W. Laing and W. Kaye Lamb, " The Fire Companies of Old Victoria," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X, (1946), pp. 43–75, *passim.*

(24) Victoria *Colonist*, May 17, 1860. " Messrs. les Français sont invités à faire un cours d'Anglais le soir, et à envoyer leurs enfants chez M. Mallandaine."

(25) *Ibid.*, November 21, 1873.

and English.[26] He was a man of some considerable scientific training and for several years acted as the Cariboo correspondent for the Victoria *Colonist*, providing interesting and detailed reports on mining activity. Indeed, it was he who acted as their correspondent on the Big Bend " rush " in 1866, and sent out the report that frankly warned the public of possible overoptimism. Typical of his sane reporting is the following:—

I consider that undue excitements have to a great extent contributed to the general state of depression under which the country is laboring. I shall say this much. This quartz discovery may still prove to be a " fizzle," though we have the greatest confidence that the reverse will be the case. Should the lead turn out as we anticipate, a new era of unparalleled prosperity will dawn upon these Colonies, as it will pave the way to the discovery of many new lodes in this part of British Columbia.[27]

Quartz-mining was his main interest, and he discovered a lode in the vicinity of Williams Creek in 1868 and remained in the Cariboo until his death by accident in the South Wales claim on Lightning Creek in 1873.[28]

As previously suggested, in some ways, particularly culturally, the French colony tried to maintain its individuality, For example, in January, 1861, they organized their own choral society—La Société des Enfans de Paris[29]—presumably following the pattern of a similar society organized in San Francisco in 1855.[30] This group was under the direction of Mons. George Sandrie, who was also the conductor of the pioneer Victoria musical society, the Philharmonic. Its first concert, presenting an all-French programme, was held under the distinguished patronage of Governor Douglas and was well received. The *Colonist* reported:—

The theatre was comfortably filled with ladies and gentlemen, and we have no hesitation in saying that no entertainment of the kind ever given here afforded more real satisfaction than that of last evening. . . . The conductor deserves great praise for the state of efficiency to which he has brought his company of amateurs; and we trust that the Society will become a permanent institution in our city, and that our residents will enjoy many entertainments of a like nature.[31]

(26) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1864; December 11, 1865; October 29, 1866.
(27) *Ibid.*, August 31, 1866.
(28) *Ibid.*, November 21, 1873.
(29) *Ibid.*, January 29, 1861; July 22, 1861.
(30) Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
(31) Victoria *Colonist*, August 17, 1861.

The group was composed of thirty to forty members and gave a second concert early in September,[32] but no further notice is made of the society, and the assumption is that it was absorbed by its English counterpart, the Philharmonic. An incident in the career of its conductor, Mons. Sandrie, indicates the harmony existing between the French and the citizens generally. As he grew older and became confined to his home, a benefit ball was planned for him in 1870, about which the *Colonist* wrote:—

All classes appear anxious to assist the worthy couple, who have grown old here and of late have become incapacitated, by reason of their infirmities from earning a livelihood. The case is one that appeals directly to the tender sympathy of all, and if we know Victorians as well as we think we do, the appeal will not be in vain.[33]

It would be interesting to trace the activity of many of the leading members of the French colony in British Columbia, but the detailed research involved yet remains to be done. Sufficient evidence, however, has come to light to lead one to believe that British Columbia was singularly fortunate in those it attracted. Many of the leaders of the French colony in San Francisco transferred themselves to the colony. Possibly the fact that the immigration here was entirely a voluntary matter—there is no record of any assistance by emigration societies—accounts in a large measure for the type of Frenchman that came. In passing, mention will be made of only three typical individuals.

One of the earliest Frenchwomen to arrive in San Francisco was Mme. V. A. Pettibeau, who is remembered there for her activity in the field of education. In fact, in conjunction with two other women, she opened, in 1853, the first girls' school in that city—" un pensionnat de jeunes filles."[34] She transferred her activity to British Columbia in the early months of the gold-rush and for a time, at least, taught in the school instituted by Bishop Demers. Shortly thereafter she opened her own school, as an advertisement in the Victoria *Gazette* indicates:—

Madame Pettibeau informs the public that she has opened a Seminary for Young Ladies, on Fort Street, between Government and Broad street.

Lessons given in French and Music.

For terms and references apply at the School.[35]

(32) *Ibid.*, August 28, 1861.
(33) *Ibid.*, May 10, 1870.
(34) Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
(35) Victoria *Gazette*, March 10, 1859.

British Columbia became her permanent home, for she lived here until her death on April 20, 1880, when the *Colonist* noted: "We regret to announce the death last evening of Madame Pettibeau, a very early resident of this city, and for many years a successful school teacher."[36] Her funeral, conducted by Bishop Cridge, was attended by many of the leading citizens of the community.[37]

The other two are men who came to occupy prominent places in the commercial and social life of Victoria—Jules Rueff and Sosthenès Driard. Both of these men came to British Columbia in 1858—Reuff to engage successfully as a merchant and Driard equally successfully as a hotel proprietor. Driard became, in effect, the leader of the French community, and his hotels, the Colonial and Driard House, the centre of activity. He was a native of Lachapelle and left France in the revolutionary period for New Orleans, whence he went to California in 1850.[38] The interesting fact about these two friends is that while in San Francisco, in company with Mons. J. Vaillant, they were responsible for the establishment of a *Maison d'Asile* for the sick and destitute who were not members of the French Benevolent Society. This shelter had accommodation for forty-four persons, and while it had only a short existence, it paved the way for the establishment of a municipal alms-house.[39] It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that with such a record of philanthropy behind them in San Francisco, they soon set about to provide similar assistance in their new home.

As a result of their activity, there was founded on February 24, 1860, *La Société Français de Bienfaisance et Sécours Mutuels de Victoria*—or as it came to be called, "The French Benevolent Society." Since this organization in so many respects symbolizes French activity in British Columbia, a more detailed examination of it is in order, for its effects are felt even to this day. In the first place the date of its establishment is significant. February 24 was the anniversary of the overthrow of Louis Phillipe, and

(36) Victoria *Colonist*, April 21, 1880.

(37) *Ibid.*, April 24, 1880.

(38) *Ibid.*, February 16, 1873.

(39) Lévy, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–202.

the organization of this society on that date provides, at least to a degree, a clue as to the political affiliations of many of the French that came to the colony. In addition, the society provides a further example of the degree to which the "principle of Association" had become a French national characteristic. This principle had come very much to the fore in the latter days of Louis Phillipe's reign and was the basis of the form of socialism advocated by Fourier and his fellows. The emigration societies mentioned earlier were still another exemplification, and while they, for the most part, ended in failure, the benevolent societies were unusually successful.

At the time of the organization of the French Benevolent Society, the *Colonist* commented:—

> We learn with pleasure that a French Benevolent Society has recently been inaugurated in town on the principle of mutual relief for the sick. It will be supported by a small monthly subscription open to persons of all nations, and who thereby will become entitled to the benefit of the institution. The bye-laws of the Society are in a great measure adopted from those of the French Benevolent Society of San Francisco, which rendered immense services to the sick and distressed of California, and which began under the humblest auspices and is now one of the important Institutions of the State. We certainly think such an establishment is highly creditable to the French people.[40]

The contemporary *Gazette* was equally complimentary to the sponsors:—

> The French residents in this Town, like Frenchmen in all foreign countries, form an orderly, industrious, and highly respectable body, have established a mutual relief Society in this Colony. The public should encourage and support all such useful and charitable institutions, for they do an incalculable amount of good in all communities.[41]

Immediate action was taken to implement the plans. A house was rented from Alfred Waddington and refitted as a hospital, with accommodation for twenty patients,[42] and by June it was ready to open its doors.[43]

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(40) Victoria *Colonist*, March 6, 1860.

(41) Victoria *Gazette*, March 7, 1860. For details on the organization of the French Benevolent Society of San Francisco *see* Lévy, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–188.

(42) Victoria *Colonist*, March 24, 1860.

(43) Victoria *Gazette*, June 8, 1860. At that time the board of directors was as follows: P. Corbiniere, president; A. Ledrier, vice-president; T. Perrodin, treasurer; L. A. Henselin, secretary; H. Banel; J. Bigne; A.

To-day, as we are embarking upon a Province-wide scheme of hospitalization, this pioneer venture in co-operation is doubly interesting. The rates were almost ridiculously low—$1 per month. This entitled the subscriber to admission to the hospital, the services of a physician, and free medicines. Non-subscribers could take advantage of the hospital facilities at a prescribed rate of $2 per day. There was no restriction as to nationality, the only stipulation being that a majority of the members of the executive committee administering the institution should be Frenchmen and that all proceedings were to be kept in the French language.[44]

The physician in charge was Dr. Nicolet Michel Clerjon, who had been practising in the colony since September, 1858. He was a native of Paris and his first advertisement gave pertinent, if amusing, information:—

> Dr. C. is a student of the Medical Academy and Clynique of Paris; has practised a long time in China, where Fevers, Dysentery, Rheumatism and other diseases were dreadful; and for the last eight years in California. Has been "Medicin en Chef" of the French Asylum Benevolent Society of San Francisco.
>
> Persons leaving the city can receive advice and Medicines, with directions for the treatment of all diseases at a moderate charge.
>
> Treatment purely Vegetable.[45]

Dr. Clerjon retained his position until his death in February, 1864,[46] when he was succeeded by Dr. I. W. Powell,[47] who held the position until his resignation in 1872 and his replacement by Dr. John Ash.[48]

By 1865 the society had prospered to such an extent that a new hospital had been built, newly furnished, and entirely free of debt, according to a report in the *Vancouver Times*:—

> In February, 1860 a few noble minded Frenchmen originated the idea, and subscribed money in shares to purchase a lot of ground and erect a hospital for the sick. They have lately replaced the first building with a more handsome, well arranged, and substantial structure. They have also newly

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Casamayou; S. Driard; P. Manetta; J. Rueff; J. B. Timmerman; Dr. N. M. Clerjon, physician.

(44) For the detailed rules and regulations of the society *see* the Appendix to this article.

(45) Victoria *Gazette*, September 3, 1858.

(46) Victoria *Colonist*, February 26, 1864.

(47) *Ibid.*, April 29, 1864.

(48) *Ibid.*, December 10, 1872.

furnished it, and the whole stands free from debt or embarassment. There is no better accomodation for the sick in the town than this noble institution. There are six beds, and the doors are open to men of all nations.[49]

The French hospital, with its tricolour fluttering in the breeze, was one of the landmarks near Humboldt street.[50] Despite the hard times through which the colony was passing, it continued to flourish, although the rates for non-members were eventually raised to $3 per day.[51] In 1870 extensive alterations and additions were made to the existing building,[52] and yet the society was still able to report a cash surplus out at interest. Apart from the subscription fees, it was financed by an annual picnic and tombola usually held early in August,[53] which was one of *the* events of the year—indeed, a civic half-holiday was occasionally

(49) Victoria *The Vancouver Times*, March 6, 1865.

(50) Victoria *Colonist*, January 17, 1867. "The French people are proverbial wherever they go for the careful provision they make for their own sick and needy. The pedestrian, winding his way to Beacon Hill, must have often seen the tricolor fluttering in the breeze from a building near Humboldt Street, and probably concluded that it indicated the French Consulate, but such is not the case; this same flag is the flag of humanity, unfolded over the abode of the sick. Six years ago, our French residents established a Society for benevolent purposes, and we are glad to hear, that the society has continued to prosper ever since, so that, what was at the outset but a bud, has ripened into a fruit bearing tree. By dint of frugal management on the part of those entrusted with the finances of the Society a lot with a nicely furnished house has been secured, affording all the comfort and accommodation needed for the inmates; and a good sum of money invested at interest for the benefit of the Institution."

(51) *Ibid.*, November 20, 1868.

(52) *Ibid.*, June 21, July 1, August 14, September 6, 1870. "The contractor, Mr. D. F. Adams, has virtually completed the new wing of the French Hospital, raised the old building twelve feet and converted the establishment into one of the most complete and beautiful Maison de Santés on the Pacific Coast. There is such an air of comfort—a rest-and-be-thankfulness—and cleanliness and neatness withal—pervading the establishment that the prospect of a long illness is robbed of half its terrors. The establishment contains spacious suites of rooms for male and female patients, three bath rooms—one on the Russian principle—drawing-room, kitchen, closets, &c. A wide piazza surrounds the building. The grounds are about one acre in extent and will be laid out with walks and beds, and planted with flowers, shrubbery and fruit trees." *Ibid.*, September 7, 1870.

(53) *Ibid.*, September 6, 1870; July 21, 1872; August 3, 1873; August 2, 1874; August 8, 1875.

proclaimed for the event.[54] Every year, too, there was an anniversary dinner,[55] which, in effect, was a gathering together of all public-spirited organizations—the fire brigades, Germania Sing Verein, and Turn Verein, the Caledonian Benevolent Society, and the like.

Throughout its career the annual financial statements as published in the newspapers with but one exception revealed an increase of assets over liabilities.[56] Nor were its benefits confined only to Victoria, for there were corresponding members for New Westminster, Burrard Inlet, Nanaimo, Clinton, Lillooet, Quesnel, and Cariboo.

Of slightly more than passing interest is an item that appeared in the *Colonist* of June 28, 1870, commenting on a projected medical aid society for London, England:—

> The *Lancet* is opposed to the principle of the association as constituting the first step towards reducing the whole profession to the level of a trade. In whatever light it may be regarded by the profession there can be little doubt that such an association is in the interest of so dense a community as that of London. In new and thin communities there is far less reason for such combinations, but even in Victoria, we find a similar principle recognized by the French Benevolent Society, whose members are entitled to command medical attendance at less than half the current rates.[57]

The society and its hospital always commanded the loyal support of the community. In 1873, when Frenchmen the world over were straining to aid La Belle France, the *Colonist* wrote:—

> It cannot but be admitted that its originators and their countrymen here have good cause to rejoice at the signal success which has crowned their

(54) *Ibid.*, September 4, 1870.

(55) *Ibid.*, January 21, 1867; March 25, 1868; February 26, 1869; February 25, 1870.

(56)

Year.	Hospital and Lot.	Furniture and Equipment.	Cash and Invested Assets.	
1867	$1,225.00	$375.00	$1,030.37.	*Ibid.*, February 20, 1868.
1868	1,225.00	375.00	1,267.45.	*Ibid.*, February 13, 1869.
1869	1,225.00	425.00	1,689.93.	*Ibid.*, February 13, 1870.
1870	4,087.00	795.00	177.16.	*Ibid.*, February 4, 1871.
1871	4,645.28	873.00	65.40.	*Ibid.*, February 4, 1872.
1872	4,940.30	982.31	723.64.	*Ibid.*, January 29, 1873.
1873	5,345.06	1,010.93	1,331.38.	*Ibid.*, January 13, 1874.
1874	5,345.06	1,010.93	2,052.65.	*Ibid.*, January 27, 1875.
1875	5,345.06	1,010.93	1,911.96.	*Ibid.*, January 18, 1876.
1876	5,345.06	1,010.93	1,964.30.	*Ibid.*, January 17, 1877.

(57) *Ibid.*, June 28, 1870.

efforts at relieving suffering humanity. Its past administrations . . . have been composed, for the most part, of Frenchmen; and to their harmonious working, intelligent effort and conscientious discharge of duties do we now owe an institution which is in every way a credit to this city. May national pride long find in such worthy objects cause upon which to plume itself. . . . Long may the French flag float over such works of peace and charity.[58]

In 1872 a special event took place when a presentation was made to the founder, Sosthenès Driard.[59] It was a timely gesture, for before the next anniversary could be celebrated Driard was dead.

Everywhere, yesterday, there was heard but one expression, and that of keen regret, when it became known that Mons. Sosthenes M. Driard, proprietor of the Colonial Hotel and Driard House, had breathed his last. He will be sorely missed, for in truth he was a good and active man, first and foremost in every charitable work.[60]

Still further indication of the high esteem in which he had been held is the fact that the Legislative Assembly adjourned its proceedings in order to permit its members to attend the funeral.[61] That year, too, saw Jules Rueff return to France in search of health. But in two years he, too, was dead.[62]

Their work lived on, for it was not until 1884 that the hospital was closed, but even then the members continued to be eligible for weekly sick benefits,[63] and operating on that basis the society

(58) *Ibid.*, January 29, 1873.

(59) *Ibid.*, March 2, 1872.

(60) *Ibid.*, February 16, 1873.

(61) *Ibid.*, February 18, 1873.

(62) *Ibid.*, September 1, 1875. " Mr. Rueff came to the Province in 1858 and early embarked in business as a merchant, etc. He remained there till 1873 when he returned to France to recover his health. . . . Mr. Rueff was a valuable and public-spirited citizen. He always took great interest in charitable institutions, was one of the founders of the French Benevolent Society in 1860, and was a prominent Mason and Odd Fellow."

(63) "At a meeting of the Directors held last Sunday at the Driard House it was resolved that the institution be closed and the building and grounds of the hospital sold. The sum gained thereby to be deposited in the bank, new by-laws to be framed, subscriptions continued, and members to be paid when in sickness, a certain weekly sum to be afterwards decided upon. It will be conducted upon a similar basis to the Odd Fellows, etc." *Ibid.*, January 22, 1884. " The committee met again last evening when it was resolved that the hospital should be closed for the present and that the members should be paid, when sick, $10 per week, with medical attendance." *Ibid.*, February 29, 1884.

continued to flourish. In 1890 the Royal Jubilee Hospital in Victoria was incorporated, and provision was made that when a satisfactory arrangement had been effected between the board of directors of the hospital and the executive committee of the French Benevolent Society for the transfer of the property of the French Hospital by Order in Council, the latter society would be given the right to elect three representatives to the board of directors of the Royal Jubilee Hospital.[64] Almost immediately negotiations for an amalgamation were begun, at which time it was pointed out that it would be " quite a help to the Jubilee Hospital as the property is worth from $10,000 to $12,000."[65] A mutually satisfactory plan was agreed upon in October,[66] and by Order in Council of April 6, 1891, the arrangement was formally ratified. In this way the French Hospital went out of existence. The members of the society in good standing became " life members " of the Royal Jubilee Hospital, entitling them, amongst other things, to receive " free of charge the treatment of a first-class day patient.[67] How well Driard and Rueff had laid the foundations is reflected in the fact that at this time of writing two

(64) "An Act to Incorporate the Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital," chapter 37, *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 1890*, Victoria, 1890, section 19, p. 48.

(65) Victoria *Colonist*, April 22, 1890.

(66) *Ibid.*, October 9, 1890.

(67) Order in Council No. 114 of 1891, dated April 6th, contained the agreement. It continued the provision regarding representation on the board of directors and formally transferred Lots 1197, 1198, and part of 1199 in Block 28 and the buildings to the Royal Jubilee Hospital. The exact provision regarding existing members of the French Benevolent Society read: ". . . all the present members of the French Benevolent and Mutual Society shall become life members of the Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital, the term 'life member' being understood to mean one who is entitled to receive free of charge the treatment of a first-class day patient at the said Hospital, and who shall enjoy all the rights, benefits and privileges of the Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital, except the right to vote for the election of the Directors at the Annual Meeting. Provided always that the Directors of the Hospital shall only be bound to receive a member in to the pay patients' wards when unoccupied, but room shall be provided at all times at the Hospital to such members when actually in need of hospital treatment." It is interesting to note that as recently as 1937–38 the privilege of electing representatives to the board of directors of the hospital was at least partially used.

British Columbians may claim exemption under the present hospitalization scheme by virtue of their membership in the old French Benevolent Society.

The activities of this society have been detailed at some length to indicate not only a significant accomplishment of the French residents of the Province, but also to show the reaction of the British population to their efforts. In all probability Paul de Garro's statement of faith in support of British institutions was generally acceptable to his countrymen. Certainly in the testing-time provided by the depression following the collapse of the Cariboo " boom " their loyalty never wavered. While other foreign elements in the population might support the annexationist movement and even sign the petition, such was not the case for the French.[68]

Nor did time and distance dim their love for France. There was an immediate response to the appeal made by the French Consul-General in San Francisco on behalf of the families of soldiers killed or wounded in the Franco-Prussian War.[69] Still later when France was struggling to pay off the huge indemnity demanded of her by Prussia in way of reparations, aid was forthcoming from Victoria. All the proceeds of the celebration held in connection with the reopening of Driard House in the spring of 1872 were devoted to the " National Subscription."

> The projectors are true sons of *La Belle France*, and not only shall have the support of their fellow countrymen but of all nationalities. Today the Tri-colored flag of Old France will mingle in friendly harmony with the Union Jack and the Star-spangled Banner, and people of every race will join in the endeavor to ransom Britain's ally.[70]

Such then is the story of the French in British Columbia, albeit hastily and perhaps too casually surveyed. That their influence is not more readily recognizable to-day arises from a variety of factors. In numbers they were always relatively few, and it could hardly be expected that they might perpetuate themselves as a distinctive entity. Moreover, many of the early settlers did return to the homeland in the 1870's and 1880's, and

(68) *See* Willard E. Ireland (ed.), " The Annexation Petition of 1869," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 267–287, *passim.*

(69) Victoria *Colonist*, September 1, 1870.

(70) *Ibid.*, May 4, 1872. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 295, states that in the National Subscription for 1872 the sum of $157.50 was raised in British Columbia.

the influx of population at the completion of the transcontinental railway submerged those that remained. But theirs is a pleasant heritage — an industrious, loyal, philanthropic people with a vivid, social consciousness.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

APPENDIX.

FRENCH BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.*

Founded at Victoria, V.I., February 24th, 1860.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

Art. 1.—The Society is instituted for a benevolent purpose, and mutual help in cases of sickness; it does not, nor ever will, entertain any political or religious question.

2.—Every Frenchman or foreigner may become a member of it.

3.—The number of members is unlimited.

4.—The monthly subscription of each member is fixed at ONE DOLLAR. To become a member it is necessary to be in good health, pay in addition to the monthly subscription an Entrance Fee of not less than ONE DOLLAR, and sign a copy of the Rules and Regulations.

5.—The payments are to be made dating from the first of each month, to the Collector of the Society, and in his absence to the Treasurer, to one of the Members of the Committee, or to the Manager of the Society's Hospital. In the Mining Districts the Corresponding Members of the Society shall receive subscriptions, deliver receipts for the same, and furnish a copy of the Rules and Regulations.

6.—The members, provided they subscribed when in good health, shall enjoy the rights, benefits and privileges of the Society, one month after the first subscription; but these rights, benefits and privileges are forfeited by allowing three months to elapse without making the usual payments. The rights may, however, be enjoyed before a month in cases of fracture or other unfortunate and unforeseen accident. The Committee shall have power to decide on such admissions.

* Reproduced from a printed form used in the year 1870 and issued to Mr. John Connell. [Now preserved in the Archives of B.C.]

7.—Every person suffering from acute, chronic or other malady, reputed incurable at the time of his first subscription, shall not have the right of admission to the Society's Hospital nor a claim to medical attendance.

8.—Members suffering from Syphilitic disease shall pay ONE DOLLAR per day during the course of their treatment inside of the Hospital; outside they shall have the right of gratuitous consultation, and to have the medicines furnished at the reduced prices of the Society.

9.—All medicines ordered by the Doctors of the Society will be delivered gratuitously at the Pharmacy of the Society, with the exception of those mentioned in Art. 8.

10.—No Patient shall be allowed to participate in any of the advantages or privileges of the Society, unless he presents his subscription paper in good order and signed by him. Should the member, however, have lost it, the Executive Committee shall examine the registry of subscriptions, and on finding that the claimant has observed all the rules and regulations of the Society, his demand shall be allowed.

11.—Ex-Members of the Society shall be allowed to re-enter the Society, on the same conditions as the new members.

12.—A Legal Adviser, or Minister of any Religious Denomination, shall be immediately called in, upon the expressed desire of a member or other patient.

13.—The Society receives donations and other special gifts, of whatever kind they may be, and applies them conformantly to the wishes of the Donor.

14.—Every sick person not being a member, without regard to nationality, is admissable to the Hospital at the rate of TWO DOLLARS per diem. They will receive every attention. Private rooms will be held at the disposition of members, at the rate of ONE DOLLAR per diem, and at the rate of $1.50, if the member is suffering from some Syphilitic disease, and at the rate of THREE DOLLARS per diem for patients not being members.

Executive Committee.

15.—The Committee is composed as follows: A President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and Seven Directors.

This Committee shall be elected in general meeting by a majority of votes. The majority of the members of said Committee shall be composed of Frenchmen, and all proceedings shall be kept in the French language. Rules and Regulations shall, however, be printed in English.

16.—The Committee shall be elected for one year, and it shall elect its own officers.

17.—The Committee shall be renewed each year by election. One or more of the outgoing members may be re-elected.

18.—No member shall be admitted to vote, unless he has belonged to the Society for at least two months.

19.—Every person elected as a member of the Committee must become a member of the Society, if he is not so already.

20.—The Medical Gentleman in charge of the Hospital shall not be a member of the Committee. He must elect for one or the other position.

21.—The Committee will appoint a Collector for the Society, who shall attend at the sittings and give his opinion on measures to be voted by said Committee.

22.—The members of the Committee will meet according to the Rules and Regulations, which are to guide them.

23.—Six members of the Committee shall form a quorum.

24.—The President, or in his absence the Vice President, shall direct the course of business brought before the meetings, and announce the decisions voted by the majority.

25.—At each monthly meeting the Treasurer shall present a report of the receipts and expenditure. The Collector shall furnish the Treasurer an exact statement of all subscriptions and other sums received by him for the Society, and present a monthly report to the Committee.

26.—The Treasurer shall not pay any funds unless the accounts are approved and signed by the President, or the members of the Special Committee; all accounts having reference to the Hospital must, before payment, be approved by the Manager.

27.—One of the Secretaries shall keep the minutes of the meetings, and have charge of the correspondence.

28.—The Treasurer shall receive, direct from the Corresponding Members, the amount received by them for subscriptions, and the Collector shall acknowledge such payments, and furnish all necessary and useful information to said correspondents.

29.—Two members of the Committee shall be alternately and monthly appointed to act as a Special Committee, to examine strictly into all that concerns the administration of the Society, and about the care taken of the sick; their duty shall also consist in examining attentively the account of expenses at the hospital before approving them.

30.—In case of resignation, absence, or death of one or more members of the Committee, an election shall take place within three months in a general meeting of the members of the Society; said meeting to take place at the room of the Committee, and notice given at least eight days previously.

31.—The Manager of the Hospital shall attend at the sittings of the Committee, and give his opinion on measures to be voted by said Committee.

32.—The Corresponding Members may attend the sittings of the Committee, and give their opinion on measures to be voted by said

Committee. They shall send every month to the Treasurer the amount received by them, with the names of the members to whom these payments are to be applied.

33.—An election for members of the Executive Committee shall take place every year in the beginning of January.

34.—All modifications, alterations, or additions to the rules and regulations, shall be made in general meeting of the subscribers, and all general meetings shall be preceded by a preparatory meeting, at least fifteen days previous to said general meeting; eight days' notice must be given of said preparatory meeting.

35.—A quarterly report of the situation of the Society shall be posted at the Hospital and in three public establishments of Victoria.

Regulations for Subscribers.

1.—Three members out of Victoria may choose a member correspondent for their locality, and pay him their subscriptions. Upon notice being given to the Treasurer to that effect, the Committee will forward subscription papers and the necessary authority to collect.

2.—The consultations take place at the Hospital.

3.—All patients, members or others, having cause to complain, shall, if at the Hospital, apply to the Manager of the Hospital or to the Special Committee; if at home, to the President of the Society.

4.—All letters, complaint or information, may be addressed to the Members of the Committee at the Hospital.

President: S. DRIARD. *Vice President:* JULES RUEFF.
Treasurer: J. KRIEMLER. *Secretary:* H. PASSERARD.

Directors:

FELIX LELOUIS. PIERRE FISSET.
JOHN VOGEL.

Physician, Surgeon: DR. POWELL.

THE DIARY OF MARTHA CHENEY ELLA, 1853–1856.

Soon it will be 100 years since the barque *Tory* dropped anchor in Esquimalt Harbour, inbound from England. It was a bright May day, the 14th to be exact,[1] and the passengers, crowding the rails, suddenly felt as bright as the day itself. They had been at sea so long, for the ship had cleared from Gravesend early in November, 1850.[2] Six months at sea, with intermittent periods of storm and calm, had made even more impatient the impatient passengers. The novelty of the sea voyage had soon worn off, and everyone was anxious to get ashore and settled in the new land of Vancouver Island. Many of our pioneers made the long haul around Cape Horn in sailing-vessels. Firm friendships were often struck up on board during the tedious days at sea that lasted lifetimes in Victoria. Each vessel carried its quota of brave souls coming to hew new homes out of a wilderness far removed from the comforts and settled civilization of the British Isles.

The *Tory* was a small ship, only 433 tons burden, having two decks and a poop.[3] She was commanded by Captain Edward

(1) This is the date given by William John Macdonald, one of the passengers, in his reminiscences entitled *A Pioneer 1851*, n.p., 1914 [?], p. 6. Governor Blanshard wrote to the Colonial Office of the arrival as follows: "The ship Tory, has just landed about one hundred and twenty persons, all, with two exceptions, servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . ." [Blanshard to Grey, June 10, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] The earlier date, however, is substantiated by an entry in the Fort Nisqually Journal under date May 21, 1851: "Evening arrived A. Beinston accompanied by Mr. Lewis 2d officer of the Ship "Tory" which vessel arrived at Victoria sometime last week." [Victor J. Farrar, "The Nisqually Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1922), p. 135.]

(2) "The Tory will be ready to sail next week." J. W. Pelly to James Douglas, London, October 25, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(3) The *Tory* had been built at Monkwearmouth Shore, Durham, by Luke Crown and was first registered at London on August 20, 1842, and her first owner was Joseph Somers, of Broad Street, Ratcliff, Middlesex. Her dimensions were as follows: Length, 113.2 feet; breadth, 25.3 feet; depth, 19 feet. In 1850 her owner was Frederick William Green, a ship-owner of Bristol, and Captain Edward Duncan was appointed at London on October

Duncan, whose wife accompanied him on the voyage. The exact number of passengers is not known,[4] but there were well over 100 persons on board. Many were servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and there were also two groups of independent settlers. Possibly no vessel disembarked as many men and women destined to be true founders of British Columbia as did the *Tory*. There was Captain E. E. Langford, his wife and five daughters, coming as bailiff of the Colwood farm of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company;[5] W. H. Newton, a farm assistant who later married Emmeline Tod, daughter of the prominent Hudson's Bay Company fur-trader; W. J. Macdonald, who came as an apprentice clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company and lived to build "Armdale" and die a Canadian Senator;[6] and Miss Cecilia Cameron, niece-by-marriage of James Douglas, soon to become the governor.

18, 1850. The vessel was wrecked near Point Saint Stephen, New South Wales, in 1853.

(4) Governor Blanshard in reporting her arrival had stated that there were about 120 persons on board. On the other hand, W. J. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 5, states: "In the first cabin twenty-one of us, in the second cabin, thirty; and in the steerage, ninety labouring men and families." This would make a total of 141. A copy of the passenger list in the Archives of B.C. lists 88 men, and notes also the presence of wives and families, but there are some known omissions; for instance, there is no reference to Martha Cheney. Pelly, when writing to Douglas on October 25, 1850, of the imminent departure of the *Tory*, stated: "By the Tory there will be sent three Bailiffs and 74 Labourers 9 Women & 4 Children."

(5) For further details regarding the Langfords *see* Leigh Burpee Robinson, *Esquimalt: "Place of Shoaling Waters,"* Victoria, 1948, pp. 59–64.

(6) Many years later Macdonald wrote of his experiences on board the *Tory:* "Soon after putting to sea we encountered severe gales, chiefly in the Bay of Biscay. Close reefed topsails for days, green seas washing over us. This delay caused an apprehension as to the scarcity of food, water and stores generally, which determined the Captain and Supercargo to put into Saint Jago, in the Cape de Verdes, off Portugal, and belonging to that country. Here we obtained supplies of different kinds. . . . On sailing from Cape de Verdes we soon got to the tropics—trade winds, calms and beautiful weather, rain occasionally, and a burning sun, our companions being porpoises and flying fish. I used to enjoy being soused in the wash deck in the early mornings. Mrs. Duncan having a piano, and Aubery Dean, a second cabin passenger, having a metal flute, we used to have dances after dinner, on the quarter deck. As we neared the Falkland Islands the weather became much colder, gales, rain, thunder and lightning. Very

The independent settlers arriving by the *Tory* are of particular interest. The leader was Captain James Cooper. Born at Wolverhampton, England, in 1821, at an early age he had gone to sea and in 1844 joined the Hudson's Bay Company's marine service. In 1849 he was in command of their barque *Columbia,* and shortly thereafter, having returned to England, he severed his connection with the company.[7] Determined to settle upon Vancouver Island as an independent settler, he made arrangements to bring out his wife and effects on the *Tory.* In addition, he brought out, in sections, a small iron schooner, with which he proposed to engage in trading operations, a design which brought him into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company. He came to play an important role in the life of the young colony, serving as a member of the Legislative Council from 1852 to 1856. With him came Thomas Blinkhorn to act as superintendent of the farm, which was carried on with success until 1856. At that time, Blinkhorn having died, the farm was sold, and for a time Cooper returned to England. In fact, he was there in time to appear before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company in May, 1857.[8] Subsequently, he returned to Vancouver Island and was appointed harbour-master for British Columbia on January 13, 1859. He continued to serve in various marine capacities with both the colonial and early Provincial Governments until 1879, and shortly thereafter with his family removed to California.[9]

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stormy off the River de la Plata. . . . Sailing south with strong head wind, snow and hail, going to 63 degrees south in trying to round Cape Horn. After getting into the Pacific Ocean our voyage was uneventful, no ships met, no land sighted. Our food by this time three months out, became bad and scarce, cheese and biscuits full of weevils, water scarce and putrid part of the time. . . . Very monotonous sailing week after week without seeing any signs of life besides some sea birds and porpoises." W. J. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6.

(7) James Cooper, "Maritime Matters on the Northwest Coast and Affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in Early Times," *MS.*, Bancroft Collection, University of California, photostat in Archives of B.C. This document was written at Victoria in 1878.

(8) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company . . . ,* London, 1857, p. 192 ff. Cooper gave his evidence on May 21, 1857.

(9) For a brief biographical sketch of Cooper *see* Captain John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names,* 1592–1906, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 110, 111.

Thomas Blinkhorn was born on May 3, 1806, at Sawtry, Huntingdonshire. From 1837 to 1849 he engaged in stock-raising in Australia and was credited with being instrumental in rescuing Captain Sir John Franklin from almost certain death when he had become lost in the bush.[10] Captain Cooper contacted him in England and persuaded him to assume charge of the farm that he proposed to establish on Vancouver Island. In this connection the comment of the Hon. Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, who had visited Vancouver Island during the winter of 1852–1853, when giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857 is interesting:—

> . . . he [Captain Cooper] was in partnership with a farmer, Mr. Blenkhorn [*sic*], who was by far the most energetic settler on the island; he was a man who had been in Australia for several years, and afterwards came back to England, and then went out with Mr. Cooper to the island.[11]

Blinkhorn had married Anne Beeton, of Great Gidding, Huntingdonshire, and she accompanied her husband to Vancouver Island. In March, 1853, Governor Douglas appointed Blinkhorn as Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for the "District of Metchosin and twenty miles around."[12]

Perhaps the brightest and most excited of the passengers on the *Tory* was Martha Beeton Cheney, niece of Mrs. Blinkhorn, then a young girl in her mid-teens.[13] She had kept the passengers

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(10) A brief biographical sketch of Blinkhorn is to be found in *ibid.*, pp. 55, 56.

(11) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company . . .* , London, 1857, p. 119. Fitzwilliam appeared before the committee on March 5, 1857.

(12) The official commission, signed by James Douglas, is preserved in the Archives of B.C. In addition, it is to be noted that Blinkhorn was one of the independent settlers that signed the memorial to Governor Blanshard shortly before his return to England urging the appointment of a Legislative Council. *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company . . .* , London, 1857, p. 293, reproduces the text of this memorial.

(13) W. J. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 5, states that at the time of the voyage on the *Tory* Martha Cheney was 14 years old. However, she was probably slightly older, for at the time of her death in 1911 it was stated that she was in her seventy-sixth year. [Victoria *Colonist*, April 10, 1911.] This would mean that in 1851 she was in her sixteenth year, a fact that more closely corresponds with the information that at the time of her marriage in 1855 she was 19 years of age.

in good spirits during the long voyage and was a general favourite. She had good cheer in time of storm, and when the vessel lay becalmed, she fished with the men passengers, and no doubt brought tea to the ladies as they lay prostrate in their bunks when the waves thudded against the *Tory* as if her very timbers would fall apart. Little did she known then that for more than sixty years she would live in Victoria, that she would marry a gallant sea captain, and know sorrow and joy in this new world as the mother of pioneers.

Martha Cheney kept a diary. Some days she was so busy that she had to ignore it and then, when she had a few minutes, make several back entries. It is the only diary by any woman on Vancouver Island in the pre-goldrush period that has yet come to light. Only portions of the diary have survived, for it was written in a simple blue-lined scribbler. The earlier surviving portion, which she entitled "The Second Volume," covers the period September 16, 1853, to March 31, 1854. Then occurs a lapse of several months, for the second portion commences with a mutilated entry for January 1, 1855, and continues to November 25, 1856. Both portions were presented to the Provincial Archives by her last surviving son, Henry Reece Ella, a short time before his death on October 30, 1941.

The diary gives a delightful, vivacious picture of early life in this part of Vancouver Island, viewed through the eyes of a young woman filled with the joy of adventure in a rugged land. In its pages we see that the young women of her time could dance until 4 o'clock in the morning at the Governor's Ball at the fort or on the quarter-deck of a British man-of-war and spend the next day ironing. Theirs was the happy faculty of combining a bright social life with hard domestic cares, the duties of wifehood and motherhood. How these women found the time to lead so full a life is something difficult to understand to-day, for in those earlier days a kitchen did not resemble a hospital operating-room as does the modern North American kitchen to-day.

Captain Cooper took up land at Metchosin,[14] and it was there that Thomas Blinkhorn and his wife settled. Martha Cheney

(14) Blinkhorn is not listed in the Census of Vancouver Island, 1855, although the details regarding the Cooper farm are to be found there. *See* W. K. Lamb, "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 51–58, *passim*.

lived with them in the rambling farm-house and helped with the chores. Everyone was welcome at the Blinkhorn home. "A houseful of company" wrote Martha more than once in her diary, for in effect the home became the half-way house to Sooke. The friends of the *Tory* were often there—those old shipmates that always had so much to talk about that darkness, even in summer, came before they realized it and then there was nothing to do but spend the night and start back in the morning, strengthened by a huge farm breakfast that Martha had helped her aunt to prepare.

We get a clear idea of Martha Cheney's girlhood at the Metchosin farm from entries in her diary: "I had a ride with uncle around the plain . . . I had to churn and make up the butter . . . Ironing all day . . . We set the goose on five eggs . . . Went to a dancing party on board the Trincomalee, kept up until four o'clock in the morning." She was a belle of the period, blushing with the coyest of the maidens behind their fans, yet how capable she was as well. It is no wonder that she was destined to become one of Victoria's most gracious hostesses, equally at home in the drawing-room of Government House or presiding over the wonderful smells of preserves and fresh bread in her own kitchen. She was a typical Vancouver Island woman of her time, and she led a full life.

Martha Cheney was not out of her teens when romance came her way. When she first met Henry Bailey Ella is not known to-day. He had been born on Tower Hill, London, in 1826 and went to sea at the early age of 14. He first came to Victoria in 1851 as chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company's chartered barque *Norman Morison* and sailed for some years between Victoria and England. Undoubtedly, he may have been a guest at the Blinkhorn home, although there is no record of this, for the first mention of him in the diary was on January 7, 1855. In the intervening period he had been in command of the *Recovery*, and later he became a pilot on the coast and in this capacity assisted Captain G. H. Richards, R.N., in his surveys in H.M.S. *Plumper* and H.M.S. *Hecate* in the years 1858 to 1862.[15]

(15) For a brief biography of Captain Ella *see* Walbran, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

On July 19, 1855, Martha Cheney and Henry Ella were married.[16] We may well imagine the day—the farm-house at Metchosin wrapped with excitement after days of preparation. What baking must have gone on in the big kitchen, how juicy and tender the hams from the farm must have been, how rich the preserves. Tables were spread under the apple-trees, and soon the guests began to arrive—even the Governor himself, as well as old shipmates from the *Tory*. The young folk in all probability went out by horseback and arrived at the farm-house gates in a swirl of dust; the older people may probably have paddled out by canoe and picked their way up over the rocks and the meadows from the beach where they had landed.

The next year Thomas Blinkhorn died. " I trust he has gone to rest, Poor Uncle," wrote Martha Ella in her diary on October 13, 1856. Soon there was an auction at the farm—"A dreadful wet day, the Stock sold remarkably well, altogether it was a good sale "—and Mrs. Blinkhorn with Captain and Mrs. Ella moved into town, where Mrs. Blinkhorn owned property and cottages just outside the fort, where Broad and Yates streets join at the south-east corner to-day. She and Rev. Edward Cridge were very great friends. At that time Victoria had no hospital—a fact that greatly worried Rev. Mr. Cridge, and Mrs. Blinkhorn promptly came to the rescue and presented him with one of her cottages which became Victoria's first hospital.

Victoria was commencing to grow in 1862, and the Blinkhorn property was too valuable to continue to be used for residential purposes. Besides, the Ellas had become interested in a piece of property further removed from the turmoil of the bustling town. It was on the Cadboro Bay Road, as Fort Street was then called. It was a fine place for a family—plenty of space in which to romp and oak-trees to climb, and, of course, there would be an orchard and a dairy, for Mrs. Ella was never quite happy unless churning her own butter. This property was on the crest of the present Fort Street hill, and, with the choice made, Captain Ella gave orders for the building of his new large home, " Wentworth Villa " he called it, and so well was it built that it stands to-day, handsome as ever, a link with the Victoria that is gone.

(16) The marriage is recorded in the *Register of Marriages solemnized in the Parish of Victoria* [Christ Church Cathedral], transcript of which is in the Archives of B.C.

Early in December, 1862, the downtown Blinkhorn property was sold:—

Moving an old settler.—The dwelling of Mrs. Blinkhorn, which was built in '55 on what is now the corner of Broad and Yates streets, but which when built was one of the very few houses outside the fort pickets—is being removed to make way for a more modern structure. So go the old settlers—one by one moved out of the way to make room for new-comers.[17]

Mrs. Blinkhorn went to live with the Ella family, for she was the darling grandmama—and what home in those days was quite complete without an old lady?

Seven children were born to Henry and Martha Ella, four daughters and three sons—Annie, Louise, Marion, Mary, Tom, Henry, and Fred.[18] It was a happy home, and the boys and girls loved to gather each evening in the big drawing-room to listen to "grandmama" tell stories far more exciting than could be found in books. Stories of the long voyage in the *Tory*, and of the big farm at Metchosin, and of Indians, sometimes with their faces painted, who beat tom-toms and chanted strange noises far into the night.

In 1873 tragedy came to "Wentworth Villa," for Captain Ella was accidentally drowned. The *Colonist* told the story to shocked Victorians:—

A private telegram from Burrard Inlet, on Monday night, announced the sad intelligence of the death of Capt. Ella, by drowning, while attempting to cross the Inlet on that day in a canoe. Capt. Ella was one of our earliest settlers, was formerly in the Hudson's Bay Company, and at the time of his death was a licensed pilot.[19]

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(17) Victoria *Colonist*, December 3, 1862.

(18) The *Register of Baptisms solemnized in the Parish of Victoria* [Christ Church Cathedral], a transcript of which is in the Archives of B.C., gives the following details:—

Elizabeth Ann, baptized May 29, 1857.
Louisa Martha Blinkhorn, baptized April 29, 1859.
Thomas Richards, baptized March 17, 1861.
Marion, baptized sometime between March and April, 1863.
Henry Reece, baptized January 22, 1865, born December 20, 1864.
Frederick William, baptized February 10, 1867.
Mary, baptized August 23, 1868, born July 23, 1868.

The Victoria *Colonist*, February 2, 1863, gives the date of birth of Marion as January 31, 1861.

(19) *Ibid.*, February 19, 1873.

Further details became known the next day:—

He left Moody & Co's mill in a canoe on Sunday afternoon [February 16, 1873] intending to cross the Inlet. A Chinaman was in the canoe and steering. When halfway across, the canoe was caught by a heavy sea and upset. Capt. Ella sank at once. The Chinaman clung to the bottom of the canoe and was saved.[20]

Martha Ella was to have her full share of sorrow. Less than a year later, in September, 1874, her eldest daughter, Elizabeth Ann, died. She was only 17 years of age, having been born on April 25, 1857. Of her, the *Colonist* said: "A lovely and accomplished young lady, endeared to all that knew her."[21]

As in all large families, the hurt of sorrow is assuaged and left tender memories. Mrs. Ella and "Grandmama" Blinkhorn could laugh again with the sons and daughters that were left. Mrs. Blinkhorn was growing old, and when she reached her eightieth birthday on August 11, 1884, there was a party at "Wentworth Villa." The *Colonist* called it "a memorable gathering," with both young and old "assembled to do honor to the lady, who, notwithstanding her great age, took an active part in the pleasures of the evening." Each guest was received with a warm welcome and the old lady "passed about among her guests receiving congratulations and good wishes from all sides."[22] Laughter was soon turned to tears once more in the Ella home, for less than three weeks after the bright birthday party, on August 29, 1884, Mrs. Blinkhorn died.[23] In paying tribute to her, the *Colonist* reported: "Mrs. Blinkhorn has crowned a useful life with a beautiful old age."[24]

Then once more came the laughter and the happiness of wedding bells. The first wedding at "Wentworth Villa" was that of Marion Ella to Samuel Nesbitt on February 9, 1887,[25] and on April 23, 1888, there was another wedding when Louise became the bride of Robert E. Dodds.[26] As Mrs. Ella grew older, she had her grandchildren to brighten her big home. She had her old friends and her memories, her church work—for she was devoted

(20) *Ibid.*, February 20, 1873.
(21) *Ibid.*, September 19, 1874.
(22) *Ibid.*, August 12, 1884.
(23) *Ibid.*, August 30, 1884.
(24) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1884.
(25) *Ibid.*, February 10, 1887.
(26) *Ibid.*, April 25, 1888.

to the Reformed Episcopal Church. There were also her dreams, although she was an old lady who did not believe in looking backward too often, for that, she maintained, made one's mind old. One must always look forward, too, as well as recall the past with pleasure. Doubtless, she often thought of the *Tory's* voyage and the fields of Metchosin, over which she had galloped with her uncle; of the canoe trips between Victoria and the farm; of the dances at the fort and on shipboard when the Admiral was her host; of her courtship and her happy marriage and her babies. Marth Ella died on April 9, 1911, in her seventy-sixth year, and without fear of contradiction the newspaper in announcing her passing could say: "Mrs. Ella was an ardent worker in charitable causes and her name will long be remembered in many homes throughout the city."[27]

JAMES K. NESBITT.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(27) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1911.

THE DIARY OF MARTHA CHENEY ELLA.

PART I. SEPTEMBER 16, 1853–MARCH 31, 1854.

1853

September 16th, The Second Volume . . .

16th, Our house full of company in the afternoon old Mr Muir[1] came in went on to Soake [*sic*] in the evening presently in came John and Archibald Muir[2] they stayed all night, and then between 9 & 10 oclock at night just as we were going to bed in came Mr. Swanston,[3] Mr. Skinner[4] and Capt Grant[5] & Capt Cooper

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(1) John Muir, Sr., his wife, Anne, their four sons, Andrew, Robert, John Jr., and Michael, and married daughter, Marion Turner, with her two sons, and a cousin, Archibald Muir, came to Vancouver Island on the *Harpooner* in 1849, destined to work the coal deposits at Fort Rupert for the Hudson's Bay Company. This venture proved unsuccessful. Early in 1852, Muir Sr. examined the coal deposits at Sooke and still later that year helped to open the Nanaimo coal seams. Eventually the entire family removed to Sooke and late in 1853 acquired the estate of Captain W. C. Grant. They engaged in farming and lumbering. [*See* W. K. Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), pp. 48–53, 95–97.] John Muir, Sr., died on April 3, 1883, aged 84 years. [Victoria *Colonist*, April 4, 1883.] His wife, Anne Miller, a native of Ayrshire, died on February 18, 1875. [*Ibid.*, February 19, 1875.] A diary kept by Andrew Muir covering the period of their voyage to and early days on Vancouver Island is preserved in the Archives of B.C.

(2) John Muir was born in Airdrie, Scotland, in 1828 and died at Sooke on January 21, 1909. [*Ibid.*, January 23 and February 14, 1909.]

(3) James Douglas wrote of Robert S. Swanston the he was "not a Colonist, and has no real property in the Colony, being merely Agent for a Mercantile House in San Francisco, from whence his imports are exclusively received and to which his returns are remitted." [Douglas to Newcastle, March 13, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] Swanston had urged an investigation into the loss of the brig *William* and then refused to appear before the Court of Vice-Admiralty. For this he was arrested and fined £50 with costs for contempt. Douglas reported: "The fine was immediately paid and the young man was discharged from custody. . . ." [*Ibid.*] He was closely associated with Rev. R. J. Staines and was once referred to as his "coadjutor." Later, in 1856, he was active in the agitation over the conduct of Chief Justice David Cameron.

(4) Thomas James Skinner reached Vancouver Island early in January, 1853, on board the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Norman Morison*, accompanied by his wife and family. He became the bailiff of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farm at Constance Cove on Upper Esquimalt Harbour. He was active in the political life of the colony, representing his area in the first Legislative Assembly elected in 1856, and also served as Justice of the Peace from 1854 onwards. [*See* L. B. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–74.]

was here too a fine housefull [*sic*] some had to go up in the Loft to sleep, the two Muirs

17th, The two Muirs went away as soon as they were up, the other party went after breakfast to Soake in Capt Websters[6] Boat.

18th, Sunday, Mr Pierce's[7] and Mr Lewis,[8] 1st, Mate of the Propeller Steamer Otter[9] the same person that was Second Mate in the Ship Tory—they went home in the evening, we walked down to the Beach with them and something very wonderful we were in bed before 8 oclock that is a Memo.

19th, Received a English letter from Aunt Hannah telling us of Grandfather['s] death, the letter was dated July 14th, 1853.

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(5) Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant was Vancouver Island's first independent settler. Having purchased 100 acres of land from the Hudson's Bay Company in England, he sent out eight settlers in the *Harpooner*, who arrived in June, 1849. Grant himself arrived by a more devious route. He was also engaged by the company as surveyor, an obligation that he was unable to fulfil adequately. He settled in the Sooke area and engaged in farming and lumbering, but during 1851 and 1852 went gold-seeking in Oregon. In 1853 he sold out to the Muirs and returned to England. Still later he served in the Crimean War and in India, assisting in the siege of Lucknow. He died at Saugor, Central India, in 1862, aged 39 years.

(6) " Mr. Webster, a crafty American Adventurer, who was striving to secure a monopoly of the timber exports from Soke District," so wrote Douglas to the Colonial Office. As a result of his activity, Governor Douglas decided to establish the Supreme Court of Civil Justice under David Cameron, and as a consequence of this addition to the Bench " Mr. Webster decamped and has never returned to this Colony." [Douglas to Sir George Grey, December 11, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. *See also* W. K. Lamb, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.]

(7) Presumably Benjamin William Pearse, who was born in Devonshire, England, on January 19, 1832, and came to Vancouver Island in the fall of 1851 to be an assistant to J. D. Pemberton, Surveyor-General. Later, from 1864–1871, he succeeded to this position. He died in Victoria, June 17, 1902.

(8) Captain Herbert George Lewis was born at Aspeden, Hertfordshire, England, on January 2, 1828. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company's marine service in 1846 and sailed on the barque *Cowlitz*. He was second officer on the *Tory* in 1850–1852, returning in her to England via China. In January, 1853, he became first officer on the steam vessel *Otter* and continued active in marine affairs on this coast. He died in Victoria on March 30, 1905. [*See* J. T. Walbran, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 305.]

(9) The *Otter* was the second steam vessel on this coast. Built in 1852 at Blackwall, London, she was 122 feet in length, 20 feet beam, and 12 feet depth of hold. She first arrived on this coast in June, 1853, in command of Captain Miller. She ended her days as a coal hulk for the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company and was finally burned for her metal in June, 1890. [*Ibid.*, pp. 367–368.]

20th, Mr Swanston and Capt Grant came in the evening to tea stayed all night.

21st, The 2 Gentlemen went away before breakfast in a canoe to the Brig William[10] in Pedder Bay Mr. Swanston came in to dinner walking from the Bay Capt Grant went on to Soake in a Canoe Mr S went to the Fort after dinner.

22d, Mr Swanston came in from the Fort in a Canoe, wanting to go on to Soake but could not get a Canoe from the Indians on account of their feast, so went to the Fort again after dinner in Capt Kirk's Boat the Capt of the Brig William Capt Mitchell[11] gone to the Sandwich Islands. Capt Grant came in the evening from Soake on horseback I had a ride with Uncle round the Plain.

23d, Capt Grant went away to Capt Coopers direct after breakfast a wet morning. I almost distracted with the Toothache.

24th, A wet day Michael[12] & Archibald Muir called on their way to the Fort walking, they went from here in Uncle's Canoe to the Fort. 3 ships in the Straits.

25th, Sunday, Capt Grant came in to breakfast from Mr Langfords[13] on horseback. Mr. Ford[14] the Engineer of the Sawmill came over in the afternoon we all went down to the Indian Village it being their feast and we went to see them, when we got down the Old Tyee, *that is the Chief* man he invited us in the camp

(10) The British brig *William*, 204 tons, was engaged in the carrying trade between Vancouver Island and San Francisco and at this time was commanded by Captain James Kirk. Subsequently, on December 5, 1853, she cleared San Francisco for Vancouver Island in command of Captain John McIntosh and on January 1, 1854, ran ashore near Nitinat. Although the crew was saved, McIntosh lost his life. [San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, December 6, 1853; February 15, 1854.] A full account of the inquiry before the Court of Vice-Admiralty is contained in Douglas' dispatch to the Colonial Secretary, March 13, 1854. [*MS.*, Archives of B.C.]

(11) Captain William Mitchell, a native of Aberdeen, was born in 1802. He first came to this coast in 1837 in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1852 he was in charge of the *Una* on her famous visit to the Queen Charlotte Islands. He continued to live in British Columbia until his death on January 13, 1876. [*See* J. T. Walbran, *op. cit.*, p. 340.]

(12) Michael Muir was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, and at the time of his death, January 15, 1888, was in his fifty-fifth year. [Victoria *Colonist*, January 17, 1888.]

(13) Edward Edwards Langford, a travelling companion in the *Tory*, was in charge of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's Colwood farm. Langford returned to England on January 12, 1861. [*See* L. B. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–64.]

(14) In August, 1853, Giles Ford succeeded John Hall as millwright, engineer, and sawyer of the Albert Head mill of the Vancouver's Island Steam Saw Mill Company. [*See* W. K. Lamb, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 44.]

to see his friends—so we went in and then it was *Oh Siame, Siame,* how do you do. Siame, means the same as Tyee—they were very proud to see us, so they honoured us with a dance and a song it was quite amusing to see them all with their Knifes [*sic*], Pistols, Swords, & Guns in their hands, holding them above their heads, now and then firing a Gun or two out of the Roof, then we saw about 9 more Canoes come in then they shoot and the Canoes come up in a Row the Indians that are in the canoes singing and Dancing all the time they are coming, when they get near the Beach one Man goes to the edge of the water and makes a speech, to the Indians that are in the canoes, Saying, that his heart is very good towards them, and hopes theirs are towards him, and that he had invited them to come to this feast and share with [him] some Blankets that they had to give away. But if their hearts are not good towards them, they were not to come on shore, and a great deal of more of what I did not understand, then there is a [w]hooping, Drumming and Dancing. After seeing all that we came home as it was getting Dusk. Capt Grant stayed all night. Mr Ford went home.

26th, Capt Grant went on to Soake after breakfast Capt Cooper came, Michael and Archibald Muir, returned from the Fort stayed all night Capt Kirk of the Brig William came in the evening for a short time

27th, the two Muirs went away in the morning before Breakfast.

28th, Mr Swanston arrived from Soke [*sic*] walking.

29th, Mr Swanston went up to the Fort in a Canoe back in the evening to tea. I have been almost mad with the toothache the last 3 or 4 Days is now a little better.

October 1st, Mr & Mrs Langford came over in the afternoon on horseback, stayed all night.

Sunday 2d, a housefull of company Mr & Mrs L[angford] Mr Swanston Capt Grant & Capt Kirk. Mr & Mrs Langford went home in the afternoon, the other 3 Gentlemen stayed all night went away early in the morning returned again in the evening very tired with a long journey.

4th, Capt Cooper came, still in the Timber trade.[15] Capt Grant gone to Soke. Mr Swanston gone to the Fort.

5th, Miss Phillips,[16] Miss Langford[17] and Miss Mary[18] came over on horseback I went back with Miss L and Mary in the evening left Miss Phillips with Aunt.

(15) For a general survey of the timber trade at this time *see* W. K. Lamb, *op. cit., loc. cit.,* pp. 38–53.

(16) Ellen Phillips was the sister of Mrs. E. E. Langford. On December 19, 1860, she married Dr. Alfred R. Benson.

(17) Miss Louise Ellen Langford was a sister of E. E. Langford. She joined him in the colony and established a school on the Colwood farm—

6th, Went to the Fort with Uncle Mr Langford and Mr Swanston on horseback, stayed at the Fort all night. Court day.[19]
7th, Went from the Fort to Mrs Cooper w[h]ere I have been staying a for[t]night.
8th, Uncle & Mr Swanston got home.
13th, Capt & Mrs Cooper and I went to a Dinner Party at Mr Langfords. 5 oclock in the evening.
18th, there was a theatre on Board man of War Trincomile[20] [*sic*], Capt & Mrs Cooper and myself were invited to see the Scene and of course went. Mr & Mrs Langford and family, the Governor and his family Mr & Mrs. Skinner, and the Gentlemen from the Fort, went on board about 6 oclock in the evening. went home in the evening I stayed all night, came to the Farm in the morning on the Black Mare with one of Mr Langfords men, that is my Journal while from home. Now for what they were doing at home, going back from the day I went away.
8th, Uncle went home from the Fort with Mr Swanston, Capt Cooper came home from the Farm
10th, Capt Grant came from Soke in a canoe stayed all night at our house also Mr A Muir[21] came from the Fort in a canoe he stayed all night, Capt Grant and Mr Swanston went to the Fort in the morning Mr Swanston returned again in the evening.
12th, Mr Swanston went to Soke. Mr A Muir called on his way to Soke. Uncle got a bad face ache.

"Academy for Young Ladies"—that became very popular amongst the older families in the colony.

(18) Mary Langford, a daughter of E. E. Langford, had fallen in love with Herbert George Lewis, second officer on the *Tory*, on the voyage out from England, but her father disapproved of the match. However, years later they were married in London in 1870.

(19) The administration of justice posed an acute problem for Governor Douglas. His great difficulty was to find competent persons to act as Magistrates. In April, 1853, he appointed E. E. Langford, Kenneth McKenzie, T. J. Skinner, and Thomas Blinkhorn as Magistrates. He described the system of justice as follows: "We have provided for the administration of Justice by appointing a resident Magistrate for each District of the Colony except Soke, where none of the Colonists are qualified in point of character or education to perform the duties of that responsible office. . . . One or more of the Justices hold a petty sessions on the 1st Thursday of every month, and a general quarter sessions of the Peace, is held once in every quarter to hear and determine cases." [Douglas to Newcastle, July 28, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.]

(20) H.M.S. *Trincomalee*, a sailing frigate, 1,066 tons, commanded by Captain Wallace Houston, arrived at Esquimalt in July, 1853, and remained on the Pacific station until 1856. [*See* J. T. Walbran, *op. cit.*, p. 495.]

(21) Andrew Muir, the diarist of the family, married Isabella Weir in 1854. He died at the age of 31 and was buried January 13, 1859.

14th, Mr Swanston and Capt Grant returned from Soke, also Mr A Muir with his father on their way to the Fort.
15th, Mr Swanston and Capt Grant both went to the Fort Mr S returned the same day. Capt Cooper came down in a canoe back in the evening.
16th, Capt Kirk came and spent the afternoon with us from the Brig William.
18th, Mr Swanston went to Soke.
19th, Mrs Coopers Wedding day.
20th, I came home that is all. Capt Grant & Mr Swanston came in the evening stayed all night.
21st, The 2 Gentlemen both went to the Fort in a canoe.
22d, Mr Langford came over on horseback, with 2 Oficers [*sic*] from the Trincomile, Mr Hall & Sir Ampton Loraine[22] a Midshipman, went away in the evening, Capt G and Mr Swanston came in the evening.
23d, Capt G went to Soke Mr S still here.
24th, Capt & Mrs Cooper, & Miss, came down in a canoe. Capt C went home in the evening Mrs Cooper staying a few days with us.
25th, Mr Swanston gone to the Fort.
26, A very wet day cold quite wintry [*sic*].
27th, Aunt gone over to Mrs Langfords on horseback, left Mrs Cooper and I to keep house.
29th, Aunt still at Mrs Langfords. I had to churn and make up the Butter.
31st, Aunt came back from Mr Langfords in the evening with Clout.
November 1st, Coultus.
2d, Mrs Cooper went home left Lizzy[23] with us. Uncle went with Mrs C as far as her house stayed there all night went to the Fort the next day being Court day, which happens the first Thursday in every month.
4th, Uncle came home and brought with him Mrs Langford & Miss Phillips to stay a day or two with us.
5th, Remember Remember [*sic*] the 5th of Novem[ber] we had a Bonfire, and fireworks too. close to the house it Illuminated the whole place[24] Mr Swanston here.
6th, Mr Langford came over in the morning.
7th, A very wet day Blow Breezes Blow.

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(22) It has not been possible to identify Mr. Hall. Sir Lambton Loraine, the eleventh baronet, was born on November 17, 1838. He received his lieutenancy on September 13, 1858, and had a distinguished naval career, eventually rising to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He died on May 13, 1917.

(23) Elizabeth Emma Cooper was born on August 7, 1851, and baptized by Rev. R. J. Staines on September 7, 1851.

(24) Guy Fawkes Day.

8th, Mr & Mrs Langford went home and Aunt with them to stay a few days Miss Phillips stayed with me to keep house.
9th, Capt Grant came in the afternoon from Soake brought bad news, that the Ship Lord Western[25] had sprung a leak, on her way to California and was sinking very fast, he, Capt Grant was on board of her, and says that he and two of the men were Pumping her day and night for nearly a week, when they got her back to Soake w[h]ere he left her sinking.
10th, A miserable day Mr Swanston Mr Yates[26] and Mr A Muir came in on there [*sic*] way to Soake on foot.
11th, Cold miserable day Snowing. Aunt went up to the Fort.
12th, Aunt still at Mrs Langfords. I had to churn and make up the Butter.
13th, Sunday, a dull miserable day.
14th, Aunt came home, brought Miss Langford and Miss Mary Tod[27] with her to stay a day or two.
16th, Capt Cooper came on horseback to fetch Lizzy home also Miss Phillips Miss L and Miss Tod all on horseback.
17th, Mr Swanston came in the evening stayed all night.
18th, Mr S went to the Fort in a Canoe, Uncle and I went to Mr Langfords on horseback got nearly wet through coming home in the evening Mr A Muir called at our house on his way from Sooke to the Fort.
19th, Sunday, Nothing particular.
20, Uncle went to Mr Langfords back in the evening.

(25) The *Lord Western*, a British barque of 530 tons in command of Captain James Parker, cleared for San Francisco on October 26, 1853, with a cargo of salmon, piles, and squared timber to the value of $4,000, the greater part of which was consigned by Robert Swanston. Evidently, after putting back to Sooke, she was made seaworthy again and put to sea only to run into foul weather, and, according to the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1854, she was abandoned near Nootka Sound on December 1st. Governor Douglas first heard of the disaster on December 19 and sent the *Otter* to the rescue. Captain Parker and three of his crew were saved and returned to Victoria on December 26. [Douglas to Newcastle, January 5, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.]

(26) James Yates was born on January 21, 1819, at Linlithgow, Scotland. He came to Vancouver Island as an articled clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1849 and after some eighteen months was successful in obtaining a cancellation of his articles. He subsequently set up as an independent trader and prospered. He took an active part in the political life of the colony. In 1860 he and his family returned to Scotland, where they remained, although from 1862 to 1864 he was again in the colonies. [J. B. Kerr, *Biographical Dictionary of Well-known British Columbians*, Vancouver, 1890, p. 325.]

(27) Miss Mary Tod was the second daughter of John Tod. She married John Bowker on May 24, 1864. [Victoria *Colonist*, May 26, 1864.]

21st, Washing all day.
22d & 23d, The same.
24th & 25th, Ironing all day, in the evening of the 25th, we felt a Shock of an Earthquake, which shook the whole house, which nearly took us off our feet it was about 5 oclock.
26th, very stormy the wind blew Terific [*sic*] in the night.
27th, Sunday, very blustering Mr A Muir called on his way to Soake over the plains walking.
29th, Mr A Muir returned from Soake, and went on to the Fort.
30th, Uncle went to Mr Langfords from their [*sic*] up to the Fort the next day, it [being] Court day.
Dec 2d, Uncle returned from the Fort. Aunt and I very busy putting a Calico Ceiling round her room.
3d, Mr Staines[28] came over from Mr Langfords on horseback, went up to the Fort in the evening in Canoe Mr Swanston came down in the evening per canoe.
4th, Sunday Uncle went over to Mr Langfords stayed all night the Doctor[29] Cupt [*sic*] him. Mr Swanston gone to the Fort.
5th, Uncle came from Mr Ls in the afternoon.
Nothing particular this week.
11th, Sunday Mr Lewis & Mr Ford came went away in the evening.
12th, Uncle went over to Mr Langfords.
14th, Mr Swanston came Just returned from Tetena a day's Sail from here.
15th, Mr Swanston went to the Fort.
16th, Mr Ss birthday.
17th, Micheal [*sic*] Muir and one of the young Weirs[30] called on their way to the Fort.
18th, Sunday nothing particular.

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(28) Rev. Robert John Staines, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, arrived in the colony in 1849 with his wife and nephew. He was also the schoolmaster. He soon joined the anti-company faction in the colony and became one of its leaders. Of him, Governor Douglas wrote: "He entertains a most unaccountable and unreasonable dislike to the Company, and has done so ever since he arrived in this country; and he moreover endeavours to fill the minds of every stranger who arrives here, with the rancorous feelings of his own breast." [Douglas to Barclay, May 27, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] Early in 1854 Staines agreed to carry the colonists' grievances home to the British Government. His ship, the *Duchess of San Lorenzo*, cleared on February 22, 1854, but was lost off Cape Flattery, no persons surviving. [San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, March 27, 31, 1854.]

(29) Presumably Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken.

(30) Robert Weir, affectionately known as "The Laird," arrived at Vancouver Island on the *Norman Morison* in 1851. He was a widower and was accompanied by his four sons, John, William, Hugh, and Adam, and two

23d, Theatricals at the Fort.
25th, Sunday Christmas day a fine day
26th, The Gove[r]nors Party.
27th, Uncle gone over to Colwood.[31] Mr Swanston called on his way to the Fort from Sooke, he brought us an English letter Dated Oct 1853.
31st, The Last day in the old Year and a very fine day.
January 1st 1854. we wish Aunt Edgley many happy returns of the day. Sunday New Years day.
2d, Nothing particular. Bad Ink.
5th, Court day Uncle gone to the Fort.
14th, Mrs Cooper confined of a little girl[32] nothing particular frost and snow.
17th, Uncle walked to Mr Langfords Snow on the ground came back the next day, the same day we heard of the wreck of the Ship William. The Captain was drowned.
19th, A deep snow fell in the night.
20th, Uncle tryed [*sic*] [to get] to Mr Langford['s] walking, he got to the river walking across the ice and fell in, had to come back and change his things Tryed to get a canoe could not get one the Indians would not go it was Snowing very fast and very thick.
21st, Uncle went up to the Fort in a Canoe, rather rough & very cold.
22d, Mr A Muir married to Miss Weir.[33] Uncle got a bad cold sitting in the canoe on the water going to the Fort.
27th, Aunt had a fall Bruised herself very much. Uncles cold no better.
28th, Aunt in bed most part of the day from the effects of the fall.
29th, Sunday Aunt little better Uncle the same cough not so bad.
30th, the same.
February 1st, Uncle went up to the Fort in the evening and to Capt Cooper.
3d, Friday, Uncle came back from the Fort at night.
Saturday, Mr Finlayson[34] Mr MacDonald[35], & Mr Pemberton[36] came down to see us, stayed an hour or two.

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daughters, Isabella and Robina. Weir came originally as head stockman to the Hudson's Bay Company and subsequently became an independent settler.

(31) E. E. Langford's farm.

(32) This baby was baptized Fanny Mary on January 24, 1854, by Rev. R. J. Staines.

(33) This is an error, for Andrew Muir and Isabella Weir were married on January 31, 1854.

(34) Roderick Finlayson, one of the builders of Fort Victoria in 1843, was born March 16, 1818, at Lochalsk, Rosshire, Scotland. In 1839 he came to the Pacific Northwest in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a member of the first Legislative Council of Vancouver Island. He died in Victoria on January 20, 1892.

5th, Sunday, Mr. Lewis & Mr Weighton[37] came down in the morning went back in the evening to the Fort. A beautiful day.
6th, Uncle cold worse had two Blisters on the back of his ears.
8th, Mr Swanston called on his way to Soke came in to breakfast walking from Mr Langford's.
9th, Uncle cold much better. Capt Cooper down with the Alice.[38]
10 C.C. went on board in the evening went off before daylight next morning came on to snow very fast.
13th, Uncle went to the Fort to take Dr Tolmie's farm[39] came on to snow.
14th, Snowed all day Uncle came to Mr Ld
15th, with Mr Staines stayed all night
16th, Uncle came home with Mr Staines the latter came to see us before starting for England.
17th, Uncle went back with Mr Staines to the Fort. Mr A Muir called on his way to the Fort.

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(35) William John Macdonald, a travelling companion on the *Tory*, came out in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, from which he retired in 1858. He was one of the three Senators appointed at the time of British Columbia's entry into Canadian Confederation.

(36) Joseph Despard Pemberton, surveyor for the Hudson's Bay Company and later Colonial Surveyor-General, was born in Dublin, July 23, 1821, and came to Vancouver Island in 1851. [For further details *see* Harriet Susan Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton, 1821–1893," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 111–125.]

(37) Stephenson Weynton was the son of the marine superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company in England in 1856 and a brother of Captain A. J. Weynton of the company's barque *Cowlitz*, 1847–1850. He served with the Hudson's Bay Company in various capacities on Vancouver Island.

(38) This was the iron vessel brought out in sections by Captain James Cooper and assembled at Vancouver Island. She was registered as of 45 tons burden. Of her, Governor Douglas wrote: "The 'Alice' is the first and only sea going vessel that has been built on Vancouver's Island." [Douglas to George Aiken, H.B.M. Consul at San Francisco, May 4, 1852, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.]

(39) Dr. William Fraser Tolmie was born in Inverness, Scotland, February 3, 1812, and came to this coast in 1833 in the *Gannymede*. He served at various Hudson's Bay Company posts, including Forts McLoughlin, Nisqually, and Vancouver. He did not settle permanently on Vancouver Island until July, 1859, but he had previously acquired property which became the family estate, "Cloverdale." [Simon Fraser Tolmie, "My Father: William Fraser Tolmie, 1812–1886," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I (1937), pp. 227–240.]

19th, Sunday, Uncle came home walking. Mr Newton,[40] & Mr Macdonald [*sic*] came part of the way with him. 2 Bullocks dead, Swan & Coy.

20th, Mr A Muir gone to the Fort per Canoe. Aunt and self alone with Indians untill [*sic*] the 25 which was Saturday.

26th, Sunday Mr Swanston called stayed all night.

28th, Uncle gone to the Fort.

March 2d, Court day Uncle still at the Fort.

4th, Uncle came home on horseback Mr & Mrs Langford, & Miss Phillips & Miss Langford, came over to see us, stayed Sunday with us.

6th, Monday they went home Aunt & I went down to the Indian village with them to get a Canoe for them, to go as far *as Albert point.* Micheal [*sic*] Muir called on his way to the Fort. Uncle and I went for a ride up the Plain in the afternoon. 3 Vessels in the Straits, and a Boat a fine day rather cool.

7th, Mr Lee[41] came here in a canoe heard that the Emigrant Ship Colinda[42] was anchored in Metchosen [*sic*] Bay little way from here. The report not true. Mr Weir came in the evening.

8th, Uncle went to Colwood in the morning to the Fort in the evening to his Farm of Dr. Tolmies *Clover Dale*[43] came back on Friday evening.

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(40) W. H. Newton, a fellow passenger on the *Tory*, was a native of Bromley, Kent, who came out as a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company. He married Emmeline Tod and later lived in the neighbourhood of Fort Langley. At the time of his death, January 21, 1875, he was 42 years of age and in charge of Fort Langley, having succeeded Ovid Allard. [New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, January 28, 1875.]

(41) William Thomas Lee Leigh arrived in the colony in the *Otter* in August, 1853, and entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in a confidential capacity and afterwards supervised the building of the steamer *Sir James Douglas.* In 1863 he became the town clerk of Victoria, the second person to hold that position, and remained in that capacity until his death on May 1, 1884. [Victoria *Colonist*, May 2, 1884.]

(42) The *Colinda*, commanded by Captain John Powell Mills, was chartered by the Hudson's Bay Company to bring 212 passengers, coal-miners and other company servants, and cargo to Vancouver Island. She was to have come direct, but as a result of a mutiny on board she put into Valdivia and was subsequently taken by the British Navy to Valparaiso, where Captain Mills failed to substantiate his charge of mutiny. Douglas wrote to the Colonial Secretary as early as February 28, 1854, reporting these circumstances, but had no idea when the vessel would arrive. Actually she entered the port on April 16, 1854.

(43) This was the farm of William Fraser Tolmie. From this account it is apparent that Blinkhorn was administering this farm for Tolmie.

12th, Sunday Mr Weir went to the Fort came back Tuesday Morn. Uncle went to the Fort again the next day. Mr Andrew Muir called on his way to the Fort.
17th, Mr Muir Junior returned.
18th, Uncle returned from the Farm.
19th, Mr Lang[44] from Steam Saw Mill came over stayed all night.
20th, Uncle went as far as Colwood on his [way] to the Farm went on in the morning Mr Swanston called in the morning got here to breakfast stayed all day and all night.
On Wednesday morning 22d, he went on to Soake walking. Beautiful weather. No signs of the Clorinda [*sic*] at present expecting the Thomas[45] in every day.
23d, heard that Mr Swanston had an accident going down to Soake his foot slipped jumping off one log on to another he fell and hurt his side very much he fainted and laid some hours before he came to himself he reached Soake 12 o'clock in the night.
24th, Uncle came from the Fort. Mr Weir gone away.
26th, Sunday, a beautiful day we had a walk up the Mountain in the afternoon a Ship in the Straits
28th, Uncle went to Cloverdale came back the next morning Aunt and I alone all night
29th, *Snow, Hail, Rain,* and Blowing a hurricane at time[s] all day. Mr & Mrs Langford, Mrs Skinner and her babe, *Constance Langford Skinner*[46] came over walking from Colwood that miserable day to see us they were almost Frozen they stayed all night, went back the next day fine day but very wet. We set the Goose on 5 eggs. The Propeller Otter came in yesterday from San Francisco loaded with goods.
31st, Micheal [*sic*] Muir returned brought us news that the Colinda was in Valpariso [*sic*] has been great disturbance on board.

(The concluding part of the Diary will appear in the July issue of the *Quarterly*.)

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(44) Robert Laing was a native of St. Andrew's Scotland. He came out to this coast on the *Susan Sturgess* and was among the group that was held captive after the ship was attacked by the Indians in 1852. Eventually he got to Fort Simpson, the company having ransomed the crew, and reached Victoria on Christmas Day, 1852. He then "engaged with the H. B. Company and had charge of their saw mill at Albert Head till it was burned down in '54." He became one of the leading ship-builders in the colony and died on September 29, 1882, aged 66 years. [*Ibid.*, October 1, 1882.]

(45) The *Thomasine* or *Tomasine*, Captain Edward Owen, entered from London on May 7, 1854, and cleared for Hawaii on June 17.

(46) Constance Langford Skinner was born February 23, 1853, and baptized February 5, 1854. She married A. E. B. Davie on December 3, 1874, and died in Victoria on December 3, 1904. [*Ibid.*, December 6, 1904.]

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

A meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, February 18, with some seventy members in attendance. As the annual meeting of the Provincial body had been held in Vancouver, Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, repeated his presidential address on *The French in British Columbia*, which is published in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

On April 11 a meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library, with over sixty members present. The speaker of the evening was Mr. F. G. Roe, who chose as his subject *Buffalo Trails and Railway Routes in Canada*. Mr. Roe is an authority on the buffalo and, in the course of his lecture, related numerous interesting sidelights on buffalo migrations and, in an informative and emphatic manner, disposed of the popular legend that highways and railway routes took their inception from animal trails across wild country.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The regular meeting of the Section was held on Tuesday evening, February 22, in the Hotel Grosvenor, Chairman L. S. Grant presiding. The speaker of the evening was Miss Corday Mackay, who had selected as her subject *The Magnetic Telegraph Comes to British Columbia*. The same thorough research, lucid style, and flair for the adventurous and picturesque that had characterized her article on the Collins Overland Telegraph in the July, 1946, issue of this *Quarterly* delighted her audience on this occasion. Her substantially documented narrative of Perry McDonough Collins' well-planned and enterprising, though futile, project was enlivened by entertaining excerpts from the old files of the New Westminster *British Columbian*, portraying the social life of that city in the 1860's under Governor Seymour.

Rev. George Forbes, O.M.I., was the speaker at the meeting of the Section held in the Hotel Grosvenor, Tuesday evening, March 22. His address, entitled *Pioneer Priests in British Columbia*, was in effect a comprehensive survey of approximately three-quarters of a century of missionary activity following the arrival in 1774 of the two Franciscan friars, Fathers Crespi and Pina, who had accompanied the Spaniard Juan Perez. Fifteen years later two chaplains and four Franciscan friars arrived at Nootka, and on June 24, 1789, mass was celebrated—the first Christian service to be held in any part of what became British Columbia. More permanent missionary activity dates from the arrival of Modeste Demers and F. N. Blanchet, who, on October 14, 1838, reached the Big Bend of the Columbia River and there

celebrated the first mass to be said on the Mainland of this Province. The travels of Father Demers in those early days were recounted, and his consecration as the first Bishop of Vancouver Island in 1847 noted. References were also made to the work of Fathers de Smet, Nobili, and Bolduc.

The lecture was followed by the showing of a series of beautifully coloured pictures taken by Mr. Dick Corliss on an aeroplane trip northward over the Cariboo, Northern British Columbia, Yukon, and Alaska.

THE PAPERS OF SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

Recently British Columbia was honoured with a visit from Miss Phyllis Mander Jones, librarian of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. There are many points of common interest in the history of the Antipodes and of our own Province, notably the explorations of Captain James Cook, R.N. Miss Jones has kindly contributed the following note on the project involving the publication of the papers of Sir Joseph Banks:—

"Your readers may be interested to hear of a project, originating in Australia, to publish the papers of Sir Joseph Banks. A public fund for this purpose is held in trust by the Board of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and it has recently been announced that Dr. J. C. Beaglehole, the eminent New Zealand historian of the Pacific, has been appointed editor.

"The purpose of the undertaking is not only to make the papers available to scholars but to provide a fitting memorial to the great traveller and scientist, whose influence on the young colony and on the exploration of the continent was so beneficent that he has been called the Father of Australia.

"So far only a small proportion of Banks' papers has been published. Large quantities of them exist and in any scheme of publication, selections will have to be made. Some of those in the twenty-three folio volumes in the Mitchell Library were included in the Historical Records of New South Wales but there are many more in the Mitchell Library collection which are worthy of publication. Banks' Journal on the *Endeavour* when he accompanied Captain Cook on the voyage of 1768–1771, also in the Mitchell Library, was edited from a transcript by Sir J. D. Hooker and issued by Macmillan in 1896, but with numerous alterations and omissions. The State Library of California has published Banks' correspondence relating to Iceland from the large quantities of Banks' manuscripts in its Sutro Collection in San Francisco. A few other small items have been published but there is need for an inclusive edition of important papers from the many collections which can be traced.

"During my visit to England, Canada and the United States, September, 1948, to March of this year, I have been privileged to examine several important collections. The British Museum of Natural History has a number of volumes of transcripts and there are Banks papers in the Library of the Royal Society and at Kew Gardens. In the United States I have seen papers at Yale University and in the Sutro Collection. Should any of your readers know of other collections of Banks' papers I should be most grateful for information about them."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Stuart R. Tompkins is a member of the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma and an authority on Alaskan history. His most recent book in this field is *Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough.*

Max L. Moorhead is a colleague of Professor Tompkins in the Department of History at the University of Oklahoma.

James K. Nesbitt, second vice-president of this association, is press correspondent in the Parliament Buildings for the Vancouver *News-Herald.* Keenly interested in local history, he is currently writing a series in the Victoria *Colonist* on historic houses of Victoria.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

The Bella Coola Indians. By T. F. McIlwraith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948. Pp. xix, 763; ix, 672. Maps, ills. $15.

The two-volumed study of the Bella Coola Indians by Professor McIlwraith of the University of Toronto is a specialized work in cultural anthropology, and pre-eminently must be viewed in this light.

What are the purposes of study, and perhaps also of teaching, in this field, according to which this work may be judged, in so far as it accomplishes some of them? These purposes have changed with the development of the science, and to-day are changing so fast that there is danger of some serious work being dominated by ephemeral fashions or even fads which do not belong in scientific endeavour. Some recent works in anthropolgy can clearly be categorized as of this passing nature and this temporary interest; frequently they are of some general popular interest, and just as frequently are not likely to be remembered by scholars in another five years.

One of the earlier pursuits of anthropology was that of origins; in what manner, in what phase of human pre-history, it was asked, lay the beginnings of religion, of the family, of political life? That cultural anthropology gave up major attempts to answer these and similar questions was decided by the apparent impossibility of answering them. Except for equivocal indications yielded by the archaic survivals in man's language, customs, and in material refuse such as that of middens and burials, evidence is generally lacking, and reconstruction becomes so speculative as to be unattractive to the scientist.

A later pursuit of scientists could be called a zealous attempt to spread the "anthropological point of view." Relativist in tone, this attempt was spurred by the necessity for imparting to agents of the dominant civilizations, to colonial officials and missionaries, the fact that other cultures, or civilizations as there is every reason for calling them, have equally long histories, are devoted to satisfying much the same set of wants, and include systems of law and morality which are related to the remainder of the culture as they are in our own. Unlike the speculative attempts to explore the origins of culture, this remains one of the aims of much anthropological teaching to-day, and is often one of the purposes achieved by those anthropological works, like Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*, which find a wide audience. One can assert that this has been fulfilled by McIlwraith's study, using as proof the non-specialist reviews of the work which have appeared in the weekly supplements. The Bella Coola become understandable, say the reviewers; their culture is shown to be intricate, and also to be worthy of respect. Benedict would have pursued this a little further, to say that an evaluation of Bella Coola customs and institutions was not to be reached by a mechanical application of the principles of the Indian Act or of our own morality and creed; full appraisal could

be made possible only by a sensitive examination of the operation of these customs in their relation to Bella Coola individuals and their culture, in relation to their physical welfare, their sense of freedom and happiness, values which might be realized effectively in their own setting but almost assuredly could not be approached by means of a mechanical substitution of some of our own customs and institutions.

Without any doubt, McIlwraith has succeeded in making this point with the Bella Coola. The reviewer may pause a moment to say that it needed making, even in our enlightened age. It is not an easy point to grasp, except in the abstract. Even the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, even the American Anthropological Association attempting to draft a set of principles to guide the Trusteeship Council, find it mightily delicate and complicated, and perforce have to become satisfied with an approximate application. In British Columbia it is still a principle far from recognition. In so far as the Indian cultures persist, they are not only misunderstood, but combated as evil. We fear that which is different from our own; only as we have destroyed the main structure of the native cultures do we become sentimental about their remnants, trying to revive "folk arts," handicrafts, dances stripped of their intense meaning, costume worn incongruously by self-conscious performers who have momentarily doffed their street clothes. There is no doubt that McIlwraith's study is timely, and no doubt either that it takes more than a scientific publication to alter such a situation.

Yet another set of aims is held by most current anthropological writing. This is the achievement of insight into parts of our own culture. Based upon the principle of basic identity of physiological and psychological equipment of all peoples, a principle universally accepted by anthropologists, these aims direct modern studies in cultural anthropology to the elucidation of the operation of primitive institutions so that they exemplify points which are of value in understanding our own. Well known among such approaches, even if challenged in detail, are some of Margaret Mead's studies of the relationship between physiological and psychological factors in different cultural settings. It has by now, after the publishing of many such studies in the past two decades, been adequately shown that these comparative studies can be made to yield the critical instances when human institutions reveal their innermost nature; they can furnish extremes of behaviour that test any generalization about human nature and culture; can give data sufficiently different from that in which we are immersed by daily life so that we can achieve an objectivity perhaps impossible when viewing our own behaviour and institutions; and can at times give enough instances so that even some quantitative checks can be applied to a notion about the relationship between elements of human life.

It is in this setting that *The Bella Coola Indians* makes one of its most significant scientific contributions. With a fullness of detail that will be the envy of his colleagues, whose field-work is less painstaking or whose publishers are less appreciative of the importance of the minute particular, McIlwraith reports of the social organization, the religion, the mythology

of the Bella Coola so that at the end we know significantly more about human social organization, religion, and mythology.

A South African anthropologist now visiting the United States, Hilda Kuper, states in a recent work on the Swazi: "Originally I intended to write a general monograph. I collected innumerable facts and fitted them into stereotyped headings—Economics, Politics, Religion, Magic, and so on. After a few months in the field, the 'pattern' of the culture slowly emerged for me. Unfortunately I persevered in collecting all the usual material of an ethnographic account. Even after I left Swaziland I devoted some months to forcing these facts into the artificial chapters of a standard monograph. Finally, I decided to write on what appeared to me the essential orientation of Swazi life—rank."

With a few changes, McIlwraith might have included the above paragraph in his monograph. His object was the full description of a primitive culture; his presentation shows a culture in which religion, ceremony, and rank are of the greatest importance, and colour the whole of Bella Coola life. The story becomes told from the point of view of ceremony and belief, and the result for the patient and interested reader is a penetrating vision into a life whose aims are very far removed from our own. This is a result not often eventuating from descriptions of primitive life; too frequently the sympathetic observer portrays the culture as one eminently reasonable according to our tenets; the primitives emerge as Canadians—or Americans—but for the superficial accidents of language and outward forms of custom. In the majority of cases this is simply not true, however comforting. McIlwraith offers no such short-cut to understanding. The Bella Coola are as different from ourselves as can readily be imagined, and a disciplined reading is needed before that difference can be fully comprehended.

Bella Coola religion, presented in this work as less systematized than was indicated by Boas in the classic study, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, has a belief in a supreme deity, in several worlds, in stories of creation, and in the continuing relation of the individual and his acts and surroundings to the supernatural. Religion ordered the daily life of the Bella Coola in many particulars. The hunter, the fisherman, the stroller in the woods, the eater of salmon, in short everyone in almost every act, paid heed to the religious aspects of his situation; prayer, observance of a less intense nature, offering, might be called for to ensure success. Although Bella Coola religion did not include a directly ethical teaching, the majority of its operations were for the benefit of others as well as for the individual. It would not be possible to deny that the Bella Coola possessed religion, or honestly to stigmatize it as worship of idols or devils. It was central to their culture, and little imagination is needed to see that when religion was successfully attacked, Bella Coola culture had to fall.

Comparison is inevitable with the earlier formulation of Bella Coola religion by Boas, with which McIlwraith manifests a number of points of disagreement, usually of stress rather than fact. It seems to the reviewer

that McIlwraith's formulation and material is to be accepted. Bella Coola religion does not appear quite as clearly systematized as Boas had stated, to the reviewer's personal and irrelevant regret, but the convincing sense and consistency of McIlwraith's overwhelming mass of data force acceptance of this as the definitive presentation.

It is also enticing to compare Bella Coola religion with that of other cultures of the area. Its general form, its clearly recognized supreme deity, most of its pantheon and some of its observances are unique. But many important features come up in form almost identical with those of other North-west Coast cultures. Features such as the special nature of animal life, kin to humans and under special circumstances seen to possess human form and speech, parallels beliefs found in a much wider area even than in the Coast. Special figures such as Raven have their counterparts in the mythologies of other peoples, and even many of the stories and qualities attributed to him are closely similar. In religion, as in social organization and in winter ceremonials, the reader may regret McIlwraith's decision not to pursue comparisons with other North-west Coast cultures.

A grouping of those who claim descent from one of the first mythological ancestors places the individual socially and bestows his names upon him. The interrelationship of this unit, called "ancestral family" by McIlwraith, with the village and with the individual family illustrates aptly some generalities of North-west Coast social organization, although it is pointed out that the Bella Coola had much less political cohesiveness than did the surrounding peoples.

The excellent data on rank indicate the need for more definitive studies of this topic in this cultural area. In the reviewer's opinion, better results might come from treating it essentially as the result of the strivings of the heads of the households rather than competition between individuals of different social classes. This should yield a more comprehensible explanation of the extraordinary strivings of the whole group for the attainment of high position for the leading member; rather than seeing this competition as one in which three or four social classes operated, it then becomes apparent that all except the slaves, captives of war, are identified with the success of leading members of the family or household by both kinship and residence. To borrow a phrase, "All were kings in those days," or at least every person was a son, daughter, husband, wife, nephew, or niece of a chief. When the older people say ruefully, "Nowadays everyone is a chief," they are expressing the extension of this striving to the heads of the smaller unit, the individual family.

The winter ceremonials and their dances played a colourful and important rôle in Bella Coola culture, which McIlwraith sets out in great detail. More clearly and understandably than in any comparable monograph, McIlwraith shows how it is possible for these "secret" portrayals of origin myth and the sources of power to deceive an audience of the uninitiated who are friends and relatives of the performers. On the other hand, there are to-day no more uninitiated, and one wishes that it had been possible to obtain in the actual numbers of those in the performance and

those in the audience in the former times. One wonders if, as in other settings, everyone finally became initiated in the normal course of events, and the children furnished the only really naive audience.

McIlwraith does not report the usually credited correlation between ordinary rank and importance in the winter ceremonial, and it would have been an addition to the study had he dealt with this differentiation. A very different social organization prevailed during the winter; it did not seem to reflect the social and economic distinctions of the rest of the year, in contrast to the Kwakiutl and some other cultures, and a poor man was able to perform some of the most important of the rituals. On the other hand, the parallels between the Cannibal and Breaker dances of the Bella Coola and comparable ones of the Kwakiutl and Nootka are extensible even to details, and recently the reviewer was told of past shamanistic performances on the Nass River which resembled closely the Stomach-Cutting and other Bella Coola performances which feature elaborate deception. It comes as no surprise to anyone familiar with the situation to read McIlwraith's denial of the popular belief that the ceremonial dances were orgies of immorality; this fact might well be publicized even to-day, as an important contribution to ethnic understanding.

Within the wide meaning of the gift-bestowal ceremonies of the Northwest Coast, the potlatch of the Bella Coola had a special significance, which McIlwraith defines. He mentions the loose employment of the term "potlatch" by scientists and others, and in spite of the many elements shared with ceremonies of this nature in other cultures, correctly makes a very clear distinction of the special meaning of the Bella Coola potlatch. Its closest definition is a rite in which a man's ancestral myth is displayed; it was performed on the occasion of a marriage, or the assumption of a professional prerogative or a name; its validation was dependent on the presence of witnesses and its importance was proportionate to the number of witnesses.

The distinctive definition of the Bella Coola potlatch indicates a problem both for anthropologists and for others who wish to understand the Indians of British Columbia. In its briefest statement, there is a great need for a study of the gift in the cultures of this area. Comparable features, often striking ones, have enabled people to write and think of the potlatch as essentially the same ceremonial in all these cultures, and have enabled the Indian Act to attempt its blanket suppression. Actually, the ceremonies and their setting, the meaning and the occasion of the bestowal of gifts vary in their esssentials. There was a range of competitiveness from a negligible quantity to the destructive rivalry described by Benedict as a Kwakiutl pattern, but which actually was only one of their gift-bestowal patterns. There were different occasions and reasons for gift-bestowal among the Bella Coola, in many instances representing essentially a rewarding of the necessary craftsmen and witnesses and performers, and in others the marking of an important stage in the individual life. Forced loans at high rates of interest were by no means a widespread feature of the ceremonial. As with other neighbours of the

Kwakiutl, the elements of extreme competition, aiming at the humiliation or even the destruction of a rival, were known, but not the norm. Through the potlatch a Bella Coola strove for standing which, although relative to that of others, did not aim at single and unchallengeable dominance.

It would be erroneous for this review to give the impression that it has attempted a summary of this monumental work; in fact, it has been possible only to touch on a few of the aspects covered by McIlwraith, and to mention some of their implications. Chapter headings cover Location and Environment; Religion; Social Organization; Rank; Features Associated with the Potlatch; Origin Myths; Birth, Adolescence and Marriage; Death; Relations with the Supernatural; Stories illustrating the Supernatural; Medicine, Magic, Taboo; Winter Ceremonial Dances; Songs; Warfare; Games; Stories; The Man Himself. An excellent index makes the use of the large volumes appreciably easier, and a full vocabulary aids one to pick a path through the wide use of native terms and facilitates the attainment on the author's part of a consistency in their spelling and employment which has not been a feature of even some of the great publications on the anthropology of this region.

In conclusion, it seems hardly necessary to state that this is a work of the greatest importance, and perhaps cannot be duplicated for any other North-west Coast culture. It will certainly stand among the definitive works on this area. It is also needful to add, however, anticlimatically, that the same details and particulars which make it invaluable for the scientist may make it too prolix for the enjoyment of the non-specialized reader, and that its price will preclude its purchase by many individuals.

H. B. HAWTHORN.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Valley of Youth. By Charles W. Holliday. Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948. Pp. 357. Ill. $5.

In the writing of this book, Mr. Holliday allows his memory to stroll down the highways and bypaths he has travelled in a long but unhurried life. He recalls old friends and adventures and recounts with quiet humour the experiences of a man who has spent a good life in pleasant surroundings.

The Valley of Youth contains Mr. Holliday's memoirs. It is the tale of an Englishman, born in 1870, who set out at the age of 16 in search of health and adventure. Both of these he was to find. His health was much improved by a voyage in a four-masted barque around the Horn to San Francisco in 1887, and a return trip to England. There was adventure on this trip, too, and when the Pacific Coast lured him back in 1889, and he left California to push northward to Victoria, he added to his store. His experiences on these voyages are described in Part I, " Fifty Thousand Miles," which he added to *The Valley of Youth* at the publisher's suggestion. There is much that is interesting in this part of the book—especially the description of San Francisco in the eighties—but the second part of the book deals with a theme that is less well known.

In part II, "The Land of My Dreams," Mr. Holliday reaches the valley of his youth—the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. In 1889, when he entered the valley from Sicamous, the surveys were being made for the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway. The cattle-ranching era was just ending, the settlers were arriving in greater numbers, lumbering was becoming an important industry, and fruit-ranching was commencing. These changes are barely noticed by Mr. Holliday. His reminiscences are much more concerned with the companions, friends, and neighbours who shared with him the pleasures of an almost idyllic existence.

Like so many pioneers, Mr. Holliday has a gift for "yarning." The yarns he tells are part of the history of the Okanagan Valley, and he is the first to write them down. Because his work has the integrity which comes from being based on fact, he has succeeded, as no novelist has yet done, in catching the real flavour of life in the Okanagan Valley after the first wave of English settlement struck it.

Mr. Holliday's pioneers are types who might seem to be overdrawn to "outsiders." But in the valley, their names and reputations are part of household currency, and they are proudly remembered as persons who helped to make the quality of life there distinctive. Among the persons Mr. Holliday knew in the nineties are the Kentucky colonel who, after serving with Gordon in the Boxer Rebellion, is now turned hotel-keeper; the eccentric titled Englishman, come to rest after empire-building in Asia; the English public-school boys; the remittance man; the irrepressible young Scottish aristocrat who is succeeding in throwing off the shackles of Presbyterian restraint; the lumberjack; the prospector; the occasional desperado; the democratic Provincial Cabinet Minister who is always called by his Christian name; the speculator in lands; the mining swindler; the Austrian backwoodsman; and the strong-willed steamboat captain.

The Valley of Youth supplies material for those interested in social history. In these memoirs, one learns of the pastimes of young Englishmen in a new country that is bountifully supplied by nature; of law-enforcement; of the influence of the missionaries and other religious leaders. Indirectly, one gains knowledge of the economic development of a pioneer community in reading of the supplying of essential services: transportation, merchandising, banking, etc. Mr. Holliday also notes the emergence of class consciousness and the appearance of snobbery as new settlers arrive in the valley. (Is it possible that in his own attitude toward the Indians, there is a trace of this in Mr. Holliday himself?)

In telling of the care-free life of young Englishmen in the valley during the days when it was being opened up, there is no hint of their later suffering from economic hardship. Indeed, such an aura of serenity surrounds the book that one cannot imagine any of its characters faced with hazard or haunted by insecurity. Perhaps Mr. Holliday is one of the favoured few who escaped the real suffering that was experienced by most Okanagan families in the "hungry thirties." In any case, it is good to know that at the age of 75 he can write of his youth in these words: "We were a pretty lively bunch and used to whoop her up considerably at times,

and probably the way we lived would have seemed deplorable to our respectable relations at home, but we certainly enjoyed life and most of us eventually settled down as the country did the same and became quite respectable citizens and as to making fortunes in the Okanagan, I never heard of anyone doing that—it used to be a sort of joke that if you once got in the valley you would never amass enough money to get out again." (p. 125).

Altogether this is a charming book, full of delight in the beauties of nature and the enjoyment of simple pleasures. Mr. Holliday's account has colour and life, for he writes with enthusiasm and puts down on paper many of the little details and the arresting anecdotes the historian so often misses.

The Valley of Youth is an artistic production, well printed and well supplied with illustrations. These include a coloured reproduction of a painting of an Okanagan scene by Mr. Holliday, and drawings and numerous photographs to illustrate the text. He has been fortunate in his publishers and must be grateful for the pains they have taken to do justice to his words.

Should a new edition be brought out, something should be done to eliminate misspellings of place-names: Saucelito (p. 92); Frazer (pp. 150, 214); Caribo (p. 175); Naramatta (p. 243); and Naranatta (p. 244); Quesnal (p. 271); Lillooet (p. 243). To me there is mystery in the fact that Enderby is spelled correctly in two places in the text, but appears elsewhere as "Enderley." Surely this is rather cavalier treatment of an old friend, Mr. Holliday! And Mr. Bruce McKelvie, whose encouragement is acknowledged by the author (p. 10), should appear as President of the British *Columbia* Historical Association.

MARGARET A. ORMSBY.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Hawaii: A History. By Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day. New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1948. Pp. x, 331. Ills. $3.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, nearly every trading nation in Europe had a finger in the juicy and strategic Sandwich Island pie. The joint authors of this very readable history have given a graphic, if necessarily abbreviated, account of the difficulties besetting the native monarchs in their attempts to gain for the Hawaiian people some of the economic blessings of the European world, while still retaining for them a measure of political and cultural independence.

Hawaii: A History is "in straight narrative form, the consecutive events of Hawaii's history to date." Written for the intelligent reader who has neither the time nor the inclination to wade through masses of historical detail, it supplies on the one hand a condensed, but accurate description of the social, political, and economic development of this strategic group of islands from earliest times to the present. On the other hand, it is an attempt to rouse some appreciation, particularly among

Americans, of the progress achieved by the Hawaiians who, as the authors state in their foreword, "have passed, during the span of one hundred seventy years, from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age."

Professor Kuykendall, now a member of the staff of the University of Hawaii, is an acknowledged authority on his subject. He was Executive Secretary of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii from 1922 to 1932 and is the author of several other historical works, two of which were written under the auspices of that body. His partner in this latest work, A. Grove Day, while a comparative newcomer to the Islands, is nevertheless an author of some standing in historical studies and is at present professor of English at the University of Hawaii.

The work is divided into six "books." Book I, headed "Ancient Hawaii," is a brief topographical and cultural survey taken up to the time of Captain Cook's death in 1779. The other headings are self-explanatory. Book II, "Evolution of a Constitutional Kingdom"; Book III, "The Middle Period of Change, 1854–74"; Book IV, "Later Years of the Kingdom, 1874–93"; Book V, "Hawaii in Transition, 1894–1900"; Book VI, "Hawaii a U.S. Territory, 1900–."

Of particular interest to British Columbians is the close connection between the early history of their own part of the world and that of Hawaii. The Sandwich group provided excellent winter shelter for the vessels engaged in the North-west Coast trade and a popular stopping-place for the ships en route to Orient ports. Capt. James Hanna was there in 1785—first trading-ship to stop at the Islands. The Irish surgeon, John Mackay, first European to spend a year living with the Nootkan tribes of Vancouver Island, debarked from the *Imperial Eagle* and remained to settle on Hawaii. Our own Capt. George Vancouver introduced the first cattle to the Islands and thereby established an industry still of prime importance to the country. Kaiana, a prominent Hawaiian chief, by sailing with Meares to China, began a trend which reached alarming proportions by 1850, when it was estimated that nearly one-fifth of the native male population of the Islands were on the high seas.

Of even greater interest is the part played by Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, while visiting Hawaii in 1842, offered his advice and services to Kamehameha III as a commissioner to seek guarantees of Hawaiian independence from Great Britain, France, and the United States. His efforts were successful in the case of the first two countries mentioned, and their official declarations in the matter were subsequently exchanged.

The story of the succeeding monarchs' trials in coping with the intrigues of European governments and American commercial interests ends with the establishment of the provisional government of the republic in 1893. The long-awaited annexation to the United States followed shortly after, and the final chapter shows the young Territory striving for recognition of its fitness for full statehood.

Together with the reactionary desires of the last two rulers, the authors stress the effect of the notorious "Gibson Regime" in bringing about the

downfall of the monarchy by its fostering of racial antagonisms and stimulating the resentment of the *haoles*, or foreign element. While indicating the part played by American officials who favoured the provisional government of the annexationists, the authors treat the latter-day history, not from the point of view of an indigenous people intent on maintaining its freedom in the face of foreign encroachments, but as a number of poly-racial groups, each with its own particular axe to grind.

For a book of a mere 300 pages, this history contains a wealth of detail concerning the economic and cultural development of the country. Although admittedly written for popular consumption, it carries a brief glossary of Hawaiian alphabetical sounds, an enlightening statistical and chronological appendix, and an inclusive and pertinent bibliography. Some forty photographic illustrations add materially to the reader's information and interest.

A. W. FLUCKE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin written at Fort Vancouver, 1829–1832. Edited by Dr. Burt Brown Barker. Portland: Binford & Mort for the Oregon Historical Society, 1948. Pp. iv, 376. $6.

The early history of Oregon is, inevitably, bound up with the career of Dr. John McLoughlin, and much has been written thereon. But it is only comparatively recently that authentic source material has become available in print in any quantity. The Hudson's Bay Record Society paved the way with its publication of the three-volume series of *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters* covering the period 1825 to 1846. These are the basic reference works, for in the main the letters contained therein were those in which the over-all policy of the company was hammered out.

Now the Oregon Historical Society has sponsored the publication of another set of *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin.* This volume constitutes a much-needed supplement to the earlier-mentioned volumes. More restricted in coverage—for only the years 1829–32 are dealt with—it records the minutia of the Hudson's Bay Company's administration in the Columbia Department. It is, in effect, a record of the inner workings of the company. Here one can find details in abundance—the allocation of personnel and trade goods to the various posts, the rates of exchange of goods for furs, instructions regarding the establishment and operation of such non-fur trade activities as grist- and saw-mills, the supervision of the marine service, involving victualling as well as crew transfers—to mention but a few. As a result, the letters do not always make easy or, for that matter, interesting reading; but they were all well worth publishing. A reading of these letters fills one with amazement at the facility with which McLoughlin coped with the infinite detail of his department, but at the same time his ability as an administrator is called into question. Was he incapable of assigning responsibility to his senior assistants? or worse, was he unwilling to do so? for surely men of the calibre of James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden could have shared the burden.

All of the 280 letters in the original leather-bound letter-book have been reproduced. Many of them were in McLoughlin's own handwriting and have been so identified. Over a third of them are entirely new, for copies have not been discovered in the company's archives in London. Such copies as exist have been compared with the originals and any differences noted. All of which gives evidence of the patience with which Dr. Burt Brown Barker has carried out his editorial duties. In addition, he has contributed several useful appendices—the names of the individuals mentioned in the letters have been arranged alphabetically and pertinent biographical data provided; similar lists have been prepared for the posts and ships of the company. His appendix entitled "Technique of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia District" is a clear and concise statement that might better have formed part of the introduction.

The foot-notes to the letters have been segregated letter by letter in an appendix, a system which this reviewer finds particularly irksome. Dr. Barker has taken great pains with these notes, and they are extremely useful. Surely the references on pages 62 and 176 to the "*Beaver*" should have read "*Bearer*," for the steamer *Beaver* did not arrive on this coast until 1836, and this reviewer knows of no other vessel by the same name in the company's service. Similarly, the list of private letters forwarded by the *Eagle* in 1830 notes one to Miss Cecilia Douglas (p. 148), and the suggestion is made that this was to a sister of the botanist David Douglas. A more reasonable identification would appear to be Cecilia, the sister of James Douglas, who later came to Vancouver Island as Mrs. David Cameron.

While the book is very well printed, nevertheless the general format leaves much to be desired. It will not be an easy book for students to use, although the index obviates some of the difficulty. These are criticisms in the realm of book-making and in no way reflect upon the editorial standard of the volume, which reflects great credit upon Dr. Barker.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Twelfth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society. Penticton: The Penticton Herald, 1948. Pp. 223. Ills. $2.50.

This is the first report of the Okanagan Historical Society to be issued under the editorship of Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, associate professor of history in the University of British Columbia. The society is to be congratulated on the production of such a full and comprehensive volume so ably edited. It is a worthy successor to the long series of volumes edited by the late Mr. Leonard Norris.

Almost every phase of life in the Okanagan has been touched upon in this report—the natural features, the early legends, Indian arts and crafts, the fur trade, the colonial period, early settlers and settlements, the mining camps, sawmill, fruit-ranches, newspapers, schools, medicine, the militia, and place-names. There are twenty-two signed and one unsigned article, and also a most valuable reproduction of the earliest map of the

Okanagan Valley, made in 1827 by Archibald McDonald of the Hudson's Bay Company. Special mention should be made of the following articles: "The Seven Stones of Similkameen," by Rev. John C. Goodfellow; "Price Ellison, A Memorial by His Daughter," by Myra K. DeBeck; "From Ranches to Orchards," by F. M. Buckland; "Camp Fairview," by Hester E. White; "Early History of Hedley Camp," by Harry D. Barnes; "Medical Services in the Okanagan Valley," by Dr. F. W. Andrew; "Okanagan Newspapers," by Burt R. Campbell; "A History of the Okanagan Regiment," by Lieut.-Col. D. F. B. Kenloch; and "Marketing Fruits in British Columbia," by A. K. Loyd. Dr. Ormsby has edited Francis G. Claudet's Journal of 1867 and Mr. A. G. Harvey has contributed an outstanding study on "Okanagan Place Names: Their Origin and Meaning." There is also a brief section, contributed by the editor, dealing with "Recent Books Mentioning the Okanagan Valley."

Local historical societies fulfil a special function. They not only collect and preserve materials which might otherwise be lost, but they also provide the basis for a sound local patriotism upon which may be built a more comprehensive national feeling. The Okanagan Historical Society has, since 1925, paid close attention to the story of the Okanagan Valley, including in that term "all that portion of British Columbia which is drained by the Okanagan, Similkameen and Spallumcheen Rivers and their tributaries." The good work begun by Mr. Leonard Norris is being continued by his successors.

WALTER N. SAGE.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

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