THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JULY-OCTOBER, 1949

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published by the Archives of British Columbia
in co-operation with the
British Columbia Historical Association.

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. Price, 50c. the copy, or $2 the year. Members of the British Columbia Historical Association in good standing receive the *Quarterly* without further charge.

Neither the Provincial Archives nor the British Columbia Historical Association assumes any responsibility for statements made by contributors to the magazine.

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

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XIII VICTORIA, B.C., JULY-OCTOBER, 1949. NOS. 3 & 4.

CONTENTS.

The *Charlotte* at Quesnel, 1897.

The *B.C. Express* and *B.X.* at South Fort George, 1912.

THE "B.X." AND THE RUSH TO FORT GEORGE.

1.

On the 30th day of July, 1903, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the head of a strongly established Liberal Government, presented to the House of Commons a bill to incorporate the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. This bill provided for the construction of a railway westward from Winnipeg through central British Columbia to the Pacific Ocean.[1] The proposed railway would undoubtedly utilize the Yellowhead Pass to Fort George, at which point the river turns in a southerly direction. The natural route for the railway westward from Fort George would follow the Nechako and Endako Rivers up-stream; thence over the divide to the headwaters of the Bulkley River, and down that river and the Skeena to the Pacific Coast. This was the route that over a quarter of a century before Sandford Fleming, in his reconnaissance journey, had selected as the natural route for a railway across central British Columbia.

When news of the proposed railway reached British Columbia, a great deal of enthusiasm was kindled, particularly in the Cariboo, where the people would be directly affected and therefore, possibly, had a better appreciation of the spectacular changes that would be accomplished by the construction of a transcontinental railway through this then little-known part of the Province. It is astonishing how few people had been north of Quesnel and up the Fraser to its source prior to the announcement of the coming of the railway. Apart from a few Hudson's Bay Company employees and the Indians, the country was unoccupied. It was wholly undeveloped, so one could visualize the very great changes that would be brought about by the construction of a modern railway. Thousands of construction workers would come pouring into the country and millions of

(1) For further details *see* J. A. Lower, "The Construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 163–181.

dollars would be paid out for labour, supplies, and transportation. The country was known to contain immense natural resources. Its lakes were teeming with fish; large herds of moose and other big game, and also fur-bearing animals, were roaming the country; extensive stands of fine spruce timber were within a short haul of the treeless prairies, and millions of acres of agricultural land would be made available for settlement. The route of the proposed railway would be within a few miles of the famous Cariboo goldfields, one of the world's major gold discoveries, and it was not unlikely that further important deposits of precious metals might be found in the country through which the railway would be built.

For nearly half a century the British Columbia Express Company's horse-stages had been carrying Her Majesty's mails, passengers, express matter, and miners' gold over the famous Cariboo Road. The company was commonly known as the "B.X." (Barnard's Express), and the service was started in the days of the gold-rush, in the early sixties.[2] In the beginning the company's stages connected with the river-steamers at Yale, the head of navigation on the Lower Fraser, but after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the middle eighties the company's head office was moved to Ashcroft, which had then become the point of departure from the railway and the gateway, via the Cariboo Road, to the Northern Interior of British Columbia.

Francis Jones Barnard was a man of vision, who secured from Governor Douglas the first contracts to carry mail into the interior of the colony and who started the "B.X." stage service. Associated with Barnard in the performance of the service were some rugged and forceful pioneers. The most outstanding of these was Stephen Tingley, who for nearly twenty years drove the stage between Yale and Cache Creek, over what was perhaps the most hazardous road on the North American Continent. He was a great horseman and should be given credit, in large measure, for organizing and operating the stage service during the difficult early days in the development of the enterprise.

(2) Details regarding the early history of staging into Cariboo are to be found in Willis J. West, "Staging and Stage Hold-ups in the Cariboo," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XII (1948), pp. 185–192.

Tingley had been a shareholder in the company since its incorporation, and on the 1st day of September, 1888, he became the sole owner, having acquired from the Barnards, father and son, and his other associates, all of the outstanding shares in the company.

From the beginning of the mail service in 1862 F. J. Barnard & Company had continued as mail contractors in the Cariboo, with the exception of a short period from October, 1870, to May, 1872, when the contract was awarded to others by reason of, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, the high contract price demanded by the company. The Barnards and their associates in the mail service were strong supporters of the Conservative Government at Ottawa; their mail contracts for the Cariboo service were renewed from term to term without calling for competitive tenders. Tingley, after he became sole owner of the British Columbia Express Company, continued to secure renewals of the contracts for as long as a Conservative Government remained in power.

It can be easily understood why the mail contracts were renewed when the political records of the Barnards, father and son, and also of F. J. Barnard's son-in-law, J. A. Mara, are taken under review. Barnard, senior, was first elected to the Legislative Council of the Colony of British Columbia for the session of 1867 and continued in this capacity for several sessions. On April 10, 1878, the British Columbia Express Company was incorporated, and on December 2 of that year the first directors' meeting was held, when a resolution was passed authorizing the taking-over of the assets, liabilities, and good-will of the firm of F. J. Barnard & Company, effective on the 1st day of January, 1879, when the business of the new company would come into operation. Among the assets transferred to the newly incorporated company were the Cariboo mail contracts. In consequence, the Barnards, no longer being mail contractors for the Federal Government, became eligible to serve as members of the House of Commons at Ottawa.

In 1879 F. J. Barnard was elected to the Federal seat of Yale and sat until 1882. He was later elected in 1886 for the Sixth Parliament as member for Cariboo. In 1888 he declined a

senatorship and died at Victoria on July 10, 1889.[3] His son, F. S. Barnard, was first elected to the House of Commons as member for Cariboo at a by-election in 1888 and was subsequently re-elected and served until the termination of the Seventh Canadian Parliament in 1896. In 1902 he contested unsuccessfully the Victoria, B.C., riding for the Conservative Party; however, later, from December 5, 1914, until December 9, 1919, he served as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Francis J. Barnard's son-in-law, J. A. Mara, was first elected as Federal member for Yale for the Sixth Parliament in 1886, and he was re-elected for the Seventh Parliament in 1891. In the general election of 1896 he ran in the Cariboo riding against Hewitt Bostock but was defeated in the Liberal landslide that swept Laurier into power by a large majority.

Owing to the Barnards' control of political patronage in the district, they had no difficulty in securing from time to time renewals of the mail contracts during the years the Conservative Party was in power in Ottawa. Advantage was not taken of this political influence, however, to extort from the Post Office Department an unreasonable price for the service. The contracts were performed in an efficient and satisfactory manner, and the records of the company show that the mail subsidy paid about one-half of the cost of performing the service. The balance of their costs had to be earned by carrying express matter, passengers, and by other services to the public. In years when mining was active, the company made a fair profit on the capital investment, but in years when the Cariboo mines were in a depressed condition, the total revenue of the company was barely sufficient to pay the cost of performing the service.

In the Federal election of 1896, when Laurier made his energetic and successful bid for power, the Liberal candidate for the Cariboo riding was Hewitt Bostock. When he started his active election campaign in the Cariboo country, he found the great question in the minds of a majority of the voters was what would be a Liberal Government's attitude towards the Cariboo mail contracts. It can well be understood that throughout the years a considerable antagonism had developed against what was called the Tory political machine, which controlled not only all mail

(3) Victoria *Daily Colonist*, July 11, 1889.

contracts, but also all other patronage in the district. It was stated by the Liberal supporters during the campaign that no man could get a job in the Cariboo District without the approval of Stephen Tingley, whom it was claimed not only owned the mail-stage service, but also controlled any patronage connected with the Post Office Department or the Government Telegraph Service. The cry that Bostock heard at every point visited was " Get rid of the Cariboo Octopus." He made a promise to the voters that if they would elect him as their representative and if the Liberal Party came into power, the Cariboo mail contracts would be taken away from Stephen Tingley at their expiration and thrown open to competitive tenders.

Laurier won the elections by a large majority, and the voters of Cariboo elected Bostock. It was now his responsibility to see that his promise to the voters regarding the mail contracts in Cariboo was fulfilled. In due course the Postmaster-General advertised for tenders for the service, but no one in British Columbia, where conditions were known, was willing to risk the capital for so dubious an undertaking in competition with Tingley, who, with a lifetime of experience in the business and possessing all the necessary special equipment, made it known that he intended to oppose any rival who might invade what he considered his exclusive territory.

When the Post Office authorities found that no one in British Columbia apart from Tingley was willing to undertake the service, an effort was made to get some one in Eastern Canada to accept the contracts. After a considerable delay, and negotiations with different prospective contractors, a small group of Toronto citizens headed by Charles V. Millar agreed with the Postmaster-General to contract for the service for a period of four years on the understanding that the contract price for those four years would be somewhat less than the amount Tingley had tendered for the service. It was understood that at the termination of the four-year term the contractors would submit a financial statement showing the results for the period. If their returns were not satisfactory, the contract price for the next four-year period would be increased sufficiently to give them a reasonable profit on their undertaking, when the risk, depreciation, and other factors were taken into consideration. It was also agreed

that the contracts would be renewed without the calling of competitive tenders for so long as a Liberal Government remained in power. But governments cannot always be relied upon to carry out their political promises, for, at the end of the first four-year period, when the Post Office Department was requested to renew the contracts for a further term at an increased price owing to inadequate earnings, the contractors were bluntly told they could either accept a renewal at the old figure or the service would be thrown open to public tender. This situation was very discouraging to the Toronto group, which had made a considerable investment in stage-coaches, harness, horses, and other equipment necessary for operating hundreds of miles of stage service in the mountainous Cariboo District of British Columbia. The investment was no longer attractive to some of the group, so eventually Millar acquired a large majority of the shares of the company.

Charles Vance Millar was a wealthy Toronto lawyer with a national reputation in his profession. He was born near Aylmer, Ont., the only child of a farmer who was considered a rich man according to the standards of the time. His mother was insistant that her son be given the benefits of a university education, and he was duly enrolled as a student at the University of Toronto. In those early days very few farmers' sons attended university, and young Millar, an awkward, roughly clad youth from the country, was left very much to himself by the city-bred rich men's sons who possibly did not observe nor appreciate the brilliant qualities possessed by this shy country lad. Millar's father, though a rich man, was not in favour of spending more than he could avoid, and only allowed his son $5 a week to pay his board and lodgings and to cover such other expenses as laundry and text-books. As a result of this meagre allowance, Millar explained that he had had no money to spend on student activities and so had been compelled to remain in his room and study while his fellow students were relaxing and enjoying themselves. As a result of this forced study, he graduated as a gold medalist, with average marks of 98 per cent. in all subjects. He selected law as a profession, and within a few years after having been called to the Bar had attained distinction as a brilliant but eccentric lawyer who seemed to derive great satisfaction

from fighting the battles of the underprivileged against the rich. He hated all forms of deceit and hypocrisy, and acquired an unpopular reputation with a certain class of citizens who did not appreciate his advanced ideas of human rights and privileges.

Millar died suddenly on October 31, 1926, and when his will was made public, it created a furore of amazement and ridicule that swept over the world and evoked adverse criticism from all classes. In the preamble to this remarkable document Millar declared: " This will is necessarily uncommon and capricious because I have no dependents or near relations and no duty rests upon me to leave any property at my death and what I do leave is proof of my folly in gathering and retaining more than I required in my lifetime." The will then set out not only bequests to employees and friends, but also a number of eccentric bequests to clergymen and others. It then directed that the residue of the property—about three-quarters of a million dollars—be sold and converted into money and, at the expiration of ten years from his death, given with its accumulations " to the mother who has since my death given birth in Toronto to the greatest number of children as shown by registrations under the Vital Statistics Act. If one or more mothers have equal highest number of registrations under the said Act, to divide the said moneys and accumulations equally between them." The press and the public missed the point of the will altogether. The newspapers were filled with articles in which Millar was described as a sportsman and joker who was promoting a contest for the indiscriminate breeding of babies for a rich stake. Neither the press nor the public suspected that he might be a great but eccentric humanitarian who in his own way was endeavouring to effect a great reform. A very few of his intimate friends, however, understood what he was trying to accomplish.

Charles Vance Millar had a very high regard for women and believed that they were unfairly treated, especially the underprivileged classes, whose women were compelled to bear unwanted children, notwithstanding the condition of their health or of their lack of financial resources to feed, clothe, and educate their offspring. During his lifetime he was often heard to express his abhorrence of a social system in which birth control was held to be a criminal offence and the dissemination of birth-control infor-

mation strictly suppressed. He believed that promoting a baby contest with a reward of well on to a million dollars would so outrage the moral sense of the good people of Toronto and of the rest of the country that reforms would quickly follow. Millar died and his will was made public a little over twenty years ago. What reforms have been accomplished in that time? To-day the practice of birth control is accepted by the State and a large proportion of the people of Canada. We have the most advanced social legislation in respect to mothers and their children of any country of the world. Who can affirm that the remarkable will made by Millar did not contribute in a large degree towards bringing about these great reforms in our social legislation?

When Millar, with the Cariboo mail contracts in his pocket, first visited Ashcroft in 1897, he had no difficulty in negotiating with Stephen Tingley, who soon realized that he had to deal with a man whom he could not intimidate. Tingley sold the British Columbia Express Company,[4] with certain equipment needed in performing the mail service, at a fair price, and the new owners, led by Millar, took over the performance of the mail contracts and were still carrying on the service when the Laurier Government announced the proposed construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.

From the time he bought the Express Company from Stephen Tingley, Millar took a personal interest in its operation. He would steal away during the vacation period from his busy legal practice in Toronto to visit Cariboo, and he seemed to enjoy immensely travelling over the stage routes and meeting the people. He was a great lover of horses and encouraged the company management in their efforts to secure for the Cariboo service the finest stage-horses obtainable in Western Canada. From the time when he had first taken charge of the mail service and had found that it was not profitable, he had looked forward to a period of development in British Columbia that would enable him to realize on his investment. The coming of railway-construction

(4) Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, June 26, 1897. "Messrs. Shields, Bond and Miller [*sic*], the successful tenderers for the Cariboo Mail contract and who have purchased all the stage equipments of the British Columbia Express Company went to the coast Saturday to complete the deal. The new management took charge on the first of the month, and all of the old hands will be retained with probably a few changes." *Ibid.*, July 3, 1897.

to Cariboo presaged great changes and the eventual ending of the operations of the company. The railway, however, in opening up the country for settlement would provide an opportunity for great expansion of the company's services and for earning large profits during the period that the railway was under construction. During this period large additional capital expenditures for the construction of river-steamers and for other equipment would be required, and Millar was prepared to finance the company in view of the prospects of large earnings.

The reader can appreciate the many advantages the Express Company would enjoy over all its rivals in competing for the prospective business, especially if the company provided an efficient steamer service on the Upper Fraser River. A great rush of traffic was anticipated over the Cariboo Road, which was the only practical route to Central British Columbia, as well as the scene of the proposed building of a section of a transcontinental railway. The company, with its organization and years of experience in the country, and its virtual monopoly of passenger traffic over the Cariboo Road by its mail-subsidized horse-stages, was bound to secure a very large proportion of this traffic.

This article is primarily an attempt to relate and to record the activities of the British Columbia Express Company during the " Rush to Fort George," occasioned by the opening-up of the country for settlement by the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. An account is also given of the pioneer steamers on the Upper Fraser and of the many stern-wheelers that were built during the railway-construction, particularly the Express Company's two boats, the Royal Mail Steamers *B.X.* and *B.C. Express*. The writer participated in the company's activities and can, therefore, write with first-hand knowledge of those stirring days.

2.

The Cariboo Road extends for a distance of 167 miles in a northerly direction from Ashcroft to the town of Soda Creek, situated on the banks of the Fraser River. The steamboat experts had discovered in the early days of the gold-rush that it was not practicable to navigate the Fraser between Yale and Soda Creek, owing to the many canyons, rapids, and other obstructions and handicaps that would be encountered on the

route. Just down-river from Soda Creek there is a hazardous canyon through which steamers cannot safely pass; consequently, in locating the Cariboo Road, it was planned that it should meet the river just above Soda Creek Canyon. Advantage could then be taken of unobstructed navigation from Soda Creek to Quesnel, on the route to the rich newly discovered gold-bearing creeks in the Barkerville area.

In the 56 miles between Quesnel and Soda Creek the Fraser River drops approximately 240 feet, and the average speed of the current is about 8 miles an hour. This stretch of the river has been navigated by various stern-wheelers since the early days of the gold-rush and presented no navigating difficulties apart from the strong current. The steamers in this service were carriers connecting at Soda Creek with the stages of F. J. Barnard & Company and with the freighters hauling supplies up the Cariboo Road for the mines at Barkerville. The mail, passengers, and express were carried to Quesnel by boat, and at that point were again transferred to the express company's horse-stages for furtherance to Barkerville and way points. Freight delivered for the mines by steamer to Quesnel was also forwarded by freight teams to its destination. At this period in the gold-rush the placer mines in the Barkerville area were booming and there were large quantities of freight to be transported by steamer from Soda Creek to Quesnel. This was a very profitable business, as the freight rate was $40 a ton—four times the charge made in later years for the 56-mile haul. The navigating season on the Upper Fraser lasts about six months in the year, or from the time the ice breaks up in the spring, around the first days of May, until the freeze-up of the river in the fall, about the end of October.

The first steamboat built on the Upper Fraser was named *Enterprise*. This pioneer stern-wheeler was built at Four Mile Creek, near Fort Alexandria, and was completed in the spring of 1863, her builder being the well-known Victoria shipwright James Trahey. She was a small boat, approximately 110 feet long by 20 feet beam, with very little power compared with a modern stern-wheeler. The *Enterprise* was operated by Captain Thomas Wright and G. B. Wright between Soda Creek and

Quesnel.[5] In 1871, the year of the Omineca gold excitement, she was taken by her owners up through the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons to Fort George. She was then navigated up the Nechako and Stuart Rivers and along the lakes and rivers leading to Tatla Landing. This was the last voyage made by this pioneer steamer, as she was abandoned by her owners at Tatla Landing and never returned to the Fraser. It is likely that she was considered not to be of much value owing to deterioration, the result of her years of service.[6]

The owners of the *Enterprise* built a new steamer at Quesnel in 1868, which they used to augment the service between that point and Soda Creek. Named *Victoria,* she also was constructed by James Trahey and was completed and put into service in the spring of 1869. She was a somewhat superior boat to the *Enterprise,* being 116 feet long and 23 feet beam, with about 50 per cent. greater power.[7] She served on the Soda Creek–Quesnel run for many years, until she was finally hauled out of the river in the fall of 1886 and berthed at Steamboat Landing, near Alexandria, her days of service at an end.

The Upper Fraser was to be without steamer service for ten years. In the spring of 1896 the North British Columbia Navigation Company, Limited, was organized by Senator James Reid of Quesnel, Stephen Tingley of Ashcroft (who at that time had been owner of the British Columbia Express Company for eight years), and Captain John Irving of Victoria, and plans were made for the construction of a boat to run between Soda Creek and Quesnel and possibly farther up-river.[8] The keel of this new steamer was laid at Quesnel in June, Alexander Watson having come from Victoria to superintend the construction.[9] On August 3, 1896, the *Charlotte* was launched with due ceremony

(5) For further details *see* Norman Hacking, " Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* X (1946), pp. 22–24.

(6) *See also* Norman Hacking, " British Columbia Steamship Days, 1870–1883," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XI (1947), pp. 73, 74.

(7) Norman Hacking, " Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *loc. cit.,* p. 37.

(8) Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal,* April 18, 1896.

(9) *Ibid.,* June 20, 1896. For the arrival of Watson, see *ibid.,* June 6, 1896.

by Mrs. James Reid, after whom the steamer was named.[10] The initial run to Soda Creek was not made until late in October, at which time it was claimed: "The Charlotte is a perfect model and moves gracefully through the water as she steams against the rapid current of the Fraser."[11] She was under the command of Captain Frank Odin, a veteran of river navigation, and James McArthur was her engineer. Compared with her predecessors, the *Charlotte* was a much improved type of river-boat. She was 111.4 feet in length and 20.6 feet in beam. She had plentiful power—the cylinders of her engines were 11 by 60 inches and the working steam-pressure of her boiler 160 pounds—and could make excellent time from Soda Creek to Quesnel against the strong current that prevails in that stretch of the river.

In the fall of 1896 the owners of the *Charlotte* were forced to purchase the old *Victoria*, laid up at Steamboat Landing for so many years. In her first year of service the *Charlotte* had a busy, though very short, season. In mid-November her captain was instructed to take a chance on making one more trip to Soda Creek, where there was an accumulation of freight, although at the time there was a slight running of ice in the river at Quesnel. On her return journey the *Charlotte* got as far as Steamboat Landing, but the ice by then was running so heavily that no further progress up-stream could be made, and the captain was compelled to tie up his boat.[12] The weather became steadily colder, and the steamer was frozen in the river squarely in front of the location occupied by the *Victoria*, which would have to be moved before the *Charlotte* could be safely berthed above the

(10) This event occasioned the following lyrical outburst in the Ashcroft newspaper:—

Quesnelle is booming so folks say
And faith it must be true,
For enterprising men each day
Are planning something new.

A steamer also—launched last week—
Will soon be setting sail
To ply 'twixt here and Soda Creek
With passengers and mail.

Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, August 15, 1896.

(11) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1896.

(12) *Ibid.*, November 21 and 28, 1896.

heavy run of ice which each spring swept down the river destroying everything in its path. The *Victoria,* at this time, was owned by Robert McLeese, of Soda Creek; after some negotiating she was acquired by the owners of the *Charlotte,* who proceeded to demolish and move the old steamer so that the new one could be safely laid up, free from the dangerous spring floods.[13] The last activity in connection with the *Victoria* was during the First World War, when there was an urgent demand for copper and other metals. Some copper piping was salvaged from the old hull and was used to help in the war effort.

It is approximately 95 miles from Quesnel to Fort George by the river. There are two serious difficulties to navigation in this stretch of the Fraser—the Cottonwood Canyon, about 18 miles up-stream from Quesnel, and the Fort George Canyon, approximately 15 miles down-stream from Fort George. Although G. B. Wright had taken the steamer *Enterprise* through both of these canyons in 1871, this single trip was no proof that a regular scheduled service through the canyons could be maintained during the six months' season of navigation. The *Enterprise* was a comparatively small boat, and it is recorded that she was slowly lined up through the two canyons, using her manually operated capstan, with the passengers as well as her crew assisting, and, of course, the full power of her engines. For a steamer on this run to provide an adequate service and to be a financial success, she would have to be able to navigate these canyons at all stages of water in the river and to maintain a definite schedule.

The British Columbia Express Company was prepared to build a steamer for this service, provided they had some assurance that a powerful light-draught stern-wheeler could be designed and constructed that would be able to give a semi-weekly service between Soda Creek and Fort George and thus fit in with the semi-weekly mail schedule along the main stage route between Ashcroft and Barkerville that was in effect at that time under the terms of the mail contracts with the Postmaster-General. In the meantime the construction of the new railway was being pushed expeditiously westward. During the years

(13) Details of this incident were provided the author in a letter from John A. Fraser, dated at Quesnel, October 11, 1947. At the time of these events Fraser was agent for the Reid Estate.

that followed its announcement, many survey parties had entered the country, travelling through Ashcroft and up the Cariboo Road on their way northward. The railway had now been definitely located and would pass through Fort George, as had been anticipated by all those familiar with the topography of Central British Columbia. Owing to the greatly increased activity on the Cariboo Road, particularly between Ashcroft and Quesnel, on the direct route to Fort George, the Express Company had experienced a very satisfactory and increasing annual gain in the volume of its earnings. The company had found it necessary, in order to take care of the rush of horse-stage traffic, to increase greatly its facilities by building additional stages and sleighs. Its shops were also engaged in manufacturing harness and other equipment in anticipation of a still larger volume of business as construction of the railway progressed westward from Edmonton. This increased traffic demanded many more horses to permit the establishment of additional stage stations, and the company's horse-buyers were active in combing the horse-ranches, not only of British Columbia, but also of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and selecting the finest stock for the service.

Each year during the most favourable stage of water in the river the Fort George Indians would make many trips to Quesnel in their large dugout canoes to bring down the year's catch of furs and to take back supplies for the Hudson's Bay Company's trading-posts. During the years many lives had been lost in navigating the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons, and the Indians therefore considered these canyons very dangerous. Neither the owners of the steamer *Victoria* nor, a decade later, the owners of the *Charlotte* had seen any advantage in risking their boats in these canyons when there was no probability at that time of earning revenue by providing a service on the upper reaches of the river. However, the approaching construction of a railway down the Upper Fraser, with the opportunities for steamboats to earn large profits, changed the outlook, and in the spring of 1908 the *Charlotte* was given a special overhauling, since her owners had decided to test their powerful little vessel in these dangerous Upper Fraser waters. The cylinders of the *Charlotte's* engines were sent down to Victoria to be rebored in order to increase their efficiency, and a powerful steam capstan

was installed on her forward deck so that she could be lined up through the strong currents.[14]

It was arranged that Captain John Irving, one of the owners, would visit Quesnel and be aboard the *Charlotte* when she made her attempt to steam up the canyons. Captain Irving was not only an important figure as a steamboat operator, but was famous as a great river pilot, and his advice would be of inestimable value during the trial voyage. To the casual traveller it might appear a simple undertaking to step into the pilot-house of a river-steamer and to steer her safely through a fairly smooth-looking stretch of mountain stream, such as the Fraser appeared to be between Soda Creek and Cottonwood Canyon. The traveller would know nothing about the rocks and gravel-bars that were concealed beneath the placid surface of the river. He would not realize that there was a definite channel in the river that must be followed, that this deep-water channel was ever changing as the height and volume of water in the river varied, and he would have no knowledge of the mighty swirls and undercurrents concealed in the river that would throw the ship on the rocks if their effect were not anticipated and guarded against by constant vigilance and quick action in the pilot-house. He would also have no understanding of how easily the thin wooden hull of a light-draught stern-wheeler could be pierced if she struck a rock or a gravel-bar when travelling at the comparatively slow speed of 8 miles an hour against the strong current. All good swift-water pilots could pick the channel and tell the approximate depth of water over any gravel-bar or rock by reading the surface indications of the river. This ability to read water could only be acquired by years of study and practical experience in steamboating on swift mountain streams where these conditions prevailed.

Such a pilot was Captain O. F. Browne, who had been master of the *Charlotte* since the spring of 1906. He was a native son of British Columbia, having been born at New Westminster.

(14) References to the repairs to the *Charlotte* are to be found in the Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, January 4, February 29, March 14, 1908. She was relaunched on May 2, and it was then announced that she would soon go to Soda Creek and upon her return would go as far as the Fort George canyon. *Ibid.*, May 19 and 26, 1908.

From his early boyhood he had worked on river-boats plying the Lower Fraser and also the Yukon River. He was very highly recommended to the management of the North British Columbia Navigation Company as a first-class swift-water man and, while in command of the *Charlotte,* proved himself an exceptionally accomplished river pilot who was also well liked by the travelling public, the business-men of the Cariboo, and his employers. Captain Browne was quite familiar with Cottonwood Canyon, as he had recently made a number of trips with his steamer to the lower end of the canyon with scow-loads of supplies for traders attracted to the country by the coming of the railway. He had talked to the Fort George Indians on their visits to Quesnel, and from information he had gathered he felt confident that his steamer, with the aid of her powerful newly installed steam capstan, would succeed in navigating the canyons and the river to Fort George.

In the summer of 1908, high water in the Fraser being over and Captain Irving having arrived from Victoria, Captain Browne thought that the stage of water in the river and the other obtaining conditions were satisfactory for the proposed attempt to steam through the canyons. Taking aboard a large supply of dry cordwood, Captain Browne piloted the *Charlotte* up the river and steamed to the foot of Cottonwood Canyon. As part of the preparations for the attempt, a heavy ring-bolt had been fixed in the canyon-wall at a point most favourable for attaching the cable for the planned attempt to pull the steamer up through the very strong current at the foot of the canyon. The cable was now strung along the wall of the canyon and attached to the ring-bolt. The capstan was then set in motion and a start was made to pull the steamer through the rapids. Everything seemed to be going well and the vessel had almost reached the head of the canyon when the ring-bolt gave way and the *Charlotte,* suddenly released from the straining cable, came crashing down-stream and avoided the misfortune of piling up on the rocks only through the brilliant manner in which Captain Browne manœuvred his ship. An experienced observer who was on the boat at the time stated that when the cable broke loose the steamer did not clear the rocks by more than a foot or so, and that if she had struck at the foot of the rapids she would have instantly capsized and sunk in the depths of the canyon.

After consultations with Captain Irving, Captain Browne decided that no further attempt would be made at this time to navigate the canyon and, deeply chagrined and disappointed with their ill luck, the two captains returned down-stream to Quesnel.* From the experience gained in this first trial, they were of the opinion that the channel at the upper end of the canyon could be greatly improved by the removal by blasting of a large rock which, located in the middle of the river, confined the current and made it very difficult to line up even a small steamer such as the *Charlotte* through the narrow rapids. It was decided to petition the Federal Government to provide the necessary appropriation for the cost of the removal of this menace to navigation and to ask that the work be undertaken and completed during the period of low water in the approaching winter, so that the improved channel would be ready by the opening of the river in the spring.

The British Columbia Express Company was not alone in thinking that providing river transportation on the Upper Fraser by the building of stern-wheelers would be a profitable venture. Construction of steamers by other companies was already under way. Between the projection of the railway in July, 1903, and its completion in 1914, no less than nine stern-wheelers were built to navigate the upper reaches of the Fraser between Soda Creek and Tête Jaune Cache.

The steamer *Charlotte* continued to be the only boat on the river until May 25, 1909, when the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company launched the *Nechaco*,[15] later to be regis-

(*) [Editorial note.] From the local newspapers it is apparent that the *Charlotte* did successfully negotiate the Cottonwood Canyon. Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, May 23, 1908, *et seq.* Late in September a trip was made through to Fort George Canyon, and it was also announced that plans had been laid to raise the cable used for lining through the Cottonwood Canyon that had been lost. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1908. The last trip to the Fort George Canyon was announced for October 21. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1908.

(15) N. S. Clark, of the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company, had announced his intention of building a river-steamer as early as November, 1908. Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, November 7, 1908. Donald McPhee was engaged as the builder, and the keel was laid on March 13. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1909; *see also* Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, March 13 and 27, 1909. " The steamer presents an ideal type of river boat, and some very favorable comments have been made about her. Owing to her light draught,

tered as the *Chilco*. She was a comparatively small stern-wheeler, 80 feet long by 16.4 feet beam, and was built at Quesnel. Her first master was Captain J. H. Bonser, a first-class swift-water man from the Skeena and Yukon Rivers.[16] This boat did some very useful work in pioneering the Upper Fraser, her maiden voyage taking her to Fort George on May 30 and later that week on up the Nechako River to Stoney Creek.[17] Later in the year she became the first boat to navigate the Grand Canyon of the Fraser River, a fearsome place about 104 miles above Fort George and the principal menace in navigation to the head-waters of the river.[18]

The second steamer to be built was the *Quesnel*, which followed the *Nechaco* into the water in the spring of 1909. She was constructed at Quesnel and owned by Telesphore Marion, a pioneer merchant and fur-trader of that town. The *Quesnel*, 70 by 16.2 feet, was 10 feet shorter than the *Nechaco* but approximately the same beam, and was licensed to carry nineteen passengers.[19]

---

about thirteen inches, she will be able to go in places in the Fraser and Nechaco Rivers which have been impassible hitherto for the larger and heavier steamers to navigate." *Ibid.*, April 24, 1909. The *Nechaco* was launched on May 25, the christening ceremony being performed by "Miss Blanche the first white girl to enter the Nechaco Valley." Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, May 29, 1909. When navigation opened in 1910 it was announced that owing to registry requirements the name of the *Nechaco* would be changed to *Chilco*. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1910.

(16) Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, April 3, 1909. William McAllum was her first engineer.

(17) Actually she had left Quesnel on May 27 but did not reach Fort George until May 30 "having been delayed at the Fort George Canyon owing to the blowing out of packing in the steam capstan." Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, June 5, 1909.

(18) *Ibid.*, October 30, 1909. On this trip she reached the Goat River rapids.

(19) The *Quesnel* was built by John Strand, a Quesnel carpenter, and powered with 75-horsepower engines from the Doty Engine Works, of Goderich, Ont. Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, January 23, 1909. Originally named *City of Quesnel* she made her trial trip on May 10 in charge of Captain D. A. Foster. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1909. However, it was found that she drew too much water and as a result Donald McPhee, having completed the *Nechaco*, was engaged to lengthen her. *Ibid.*, May 29 and July 10, 1909. The rebuilt *Quesnel* was launched September 2 [*ibid.*, September 4, 1909] and shortly thereafter successfuly negotiated the canyons to Fort George. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1909.

During the winter season of 1908–9 Dominion Government engineers had supervised the removal of the large rock in the channel of Cottonwood Canyon,[20] and in the spring of 1909 the *Nechaco* experienced no great difficulty in lining up through the two canyons with freight and passengers for the new townsites which were being planned in the Fort George area at the confluence of the Fraser and Nechako Rivers. After high water was over, Captain Browne took the *Charlotte* through the canyons to Fort George early in September and reported that a modern stern-wheeler of good power might be able to steam up both canyons at a fair stage of water in the river.[21] Shortly thereafter the *B.C. Mining Journal* was able to record:—

All three steamers now operating on the Fraser River North of Soda Creek, have made successful trips to Fort George. The Str Quesnel being the last to venture on this trip, made equally as good a trip as both the steamer Charlotte and Nechaco.[22]

3.

When the British Columbia Express Company received the favourable report from Captain Browne, the directors made an immediate decision to build a boat for service between Soda Creek and Fort George and, if possible, to have her finished and ready for the opening of navigation in the spring of 1910.[23]

(20) As early as the summer of 1907 it was announced that the clearing of the canyons was in the hands of the Dominion Government, which had had examinations made several years earlier. Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, July 13, 1907. An Order in Council authorized the spending of $15,000 on the Cottonwood Canyon, and work was commenced in September under Captain D. A. Foster. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1907. He was succeeded in November by G. E. Hedstrom, and the work continued until April, 1908; in all, nearly $13,000 was expended. *Auditor-General's Report, 1907–08*, p. V 263, and *ibid., 1908–09*, p. V 277. In September, 1908, it was announced that work would be undertaken on the Fort George Canyon [Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, September 26, 1908], but evidently no action was taken until October, 1909, when F. Heden began work. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1909. That year over $2,500 was expended, and the following year nearly $6,700 was spent in clearing the canyon of obstructions.

(21) *Ibid.*, September 11, 1909.

(22) Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, September 18, 1909.

(23) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, January 1, 1910. " The new boat will cost $40,000.00 and will be equipped with the latest electric light plant, and search-light, steam stearing gear, powerful steam capstan, and compound condensing engines, which will develop about 40 per cent more power than those of any other boat on the river at the present time in proportion to size."

They appropriated the sum of $75,000 for this purpose and stipulated that the new stern-wheeler should be of light draught and good power and in every respect the most up-to-date river-boat that the engineers and builders could provide. Now that the company for the first time in its long history had decided to operate a steamer service, their first act was to sign with Captain Browne a contract as master of the new steamer. He was selected because, owing to his length of service as master of the *Charlotte*, he was the most experienced Upper Fraser River captain. The Express Company also planned, provided the first steamer was a success and a profitable investment, to build a second steamer for service between Fort George and Tête Jaune Cache, the head of navigation on the river.

The outstanding designer and builder of stern-wheel river-boats in British Columbia at this time was Alexander Watson, Jr., of Victoria. He was the son of the designer and builder of the *Charlotte*, who in the early days had constructed many successful river-boats which plied the Lower Fraser between New Westminster and Yale, as well as the rivers of the Interior of the Province and the Yukon. Alexander Watson, Jr., had therefore learned his trade from a master craftsman, and all of his boats were successful models which gave great satisfaction to their owners. The British Columbia Express Company told Watson of their plans and asked him to consult with Captain Browne regarding the difficulties to be overcome in navigating the Cottonwood and Fort George Canyons on the proposed route from Soda Creek to Fort George. In due course Watson was engaged to design and build a stern-wheeler which the company named *B.X.*[24] She was so named because it was anticipated that she would be known as the " B.X." boat in any event, and they felt that they might as well give her that short but appropriate appellation.

Watson proceeded with the designing and planning of the new steamer. When it came to consideration of the size and type of engines, the boiler and other necessary parts and equipment, he strongly recommended that the Chicago Marine Iron Works be consulted. This company had a world-wide reputation for designing machinery for all types of stern-wheel steamers.

(24) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1910.

They had built machinery for stern-wheelers operating not only on the Mississippi and its tributaries, but on the rivers of South America, Africa, and on other navigable streams throughout the world. Watson went to Chicago to consult with them, and when plans were completed, they contracted with the Express Company for not only the engines and boiler, but for the complete equipment for the proposed stern-wheeler.

It was pointed out to the Chicago company that the steamer would be constructed 167 miles from a railway and that the engines, boiler, and other equipment would have to be conveyed that distance by horse over very bad mountain roads in the spring of the year when hauling conditions would be at their worst. It was most advisable to take all these factors under view in planning the type of boiler and other equipment. When the *Charlotte* had been built in 1896, great difficulty had been experienced in transporting her boiler from the railway at Ashcroft to where she was being constructed at Quesnel. She had been only a small boat, lightly powered in comparison with the proposed new steamer *B.X.*, yet her locomotive type of boiler, stripped and without tubes, had weighed 14,777 pounds. The Cariboo Road freighter who had been given the task of delivering her boiler had finally located an old iron-axle bull-wagon which he thought would carry the load, and, with a team of sixteen mules, he had succeeded, after many grievous breakdowns and delays, in delivering the boiler to Quesnel.

William Lyne, of Nine Mile Creek, near Soda Creek, a very expert portable-sawmill operator, was asked by the Express Company to locate a stand of good fir out of which it would be possible to cut the large timbers and long clear planking needed in the construction of the hull of the new steamer. When Lyne later reported that he had found a stand of suitable timber on a mountainside not far from Soda Creek, he was given a contract to log and cut the required timbers and planking and to deliver them to the site on the bank of the Fraser at Soda Creek which Watson had selected for his shipyard.

Watson was a past master in the building of light-draught stern-wheelers of strong construction. He took advantage of every opportunity to cut down weight, so that whereas the hull of the steamer was built of local fir, all the lumber that went into

the building of the housework above the main deck, as well as all the sash, doors, and mouldings, were of first-grade cedar, shipped from Victoria and freighted by horse up the Cariboo Road. The use of this dry cedar from the Coast in the superstructure of the new steamer would not only provide much better construction than freshly cut local spruce, but would greatly aid Watson, the craftsman, in his efforts to produce an especially light-draught boat.

Final preparations for the building of the steamer were completed in the latter part of February, 1910, after Watson's arrival at Soda Creek from Victoria with about fifty ship-carpenters, joiners, and other workmen, and shortly afterwards the ship's keel was laid and she began to take shape.[25] The company had an advantage over its rivals, as it not only had its own freighting outfits for the hauling of construction supplies and machinery, but it could rush badly needed materials by its fast horse-stages, which took only two days to travel the 167 miles between the railway at Ashcroft and the Soda Creek construction-site. Then towards the end of March a catastrophe occurred that might have been much more serious than it eventually turned out to be.[26] The ice suddenly started to break and run in the Fraser, and without any warning piled up and blocked Soda Creek Canyon, which was only about a quarter of a mile down-river from the construction-site. The river rose almost instantaneously, swept the new ship off her blocks, washed a warehouse full of supplies down the river, and deposited huge blocks of ice all over the building site. The workmen heard a great noise from the crashing and grinding of the ice in the canyon and barely had time to pick up a few tools and run to a higher level of the beach where they would be safe from the rushing waters. Fortunately, the jammed ice in the canyon soon broke, the flood-waters receded, and ship-builder Watson had an opportunity to survey

(25) Ashcroft *B.C. Mining Journal*, February 26, 1910. "The steamer's stem was set up and keel laid last Thursday [February 17] and by the end of this week the planking of the hull will be completed. The cedar lumber for cabin work has been forwarded to Soda Creek and the engine and machinery left Chicago nearly a fortnight ago. The shipyard at Soda Creek is a hive of industry, some thirty men being employed in the construction work."

(26) *Ibid.*, March 26, 1910.

the damage to the new ship. The damage was not serious—a few broken frames and other timbers twisted out of position. These were soon repaired, or new ones installed, the ship properly straightened out and blocked up, so that in a week's time work was resumed and an effort was made to compensate for the time lost as a result of the near-disaster. The supplies that had been swept down the river were soon replaced by the company's fast transport, and the full loss was paid by Lloyd's of London under the terms of a construction policy which the company had bought to provide for just such a contingency.

The greatest potential rival to the British Columbia Express Company for the freight and passenger traffic on the Upper Fraser was the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company. This company had already launched the small steamer *Nechaco*, or *Chilco*, as she was later to be called, and now proposed to build two more stern-wheelers at Soda Creek.[27] They proceeded to set up a shipyard on the beach at a site just down-stream from where the steamer *B.X.* was under construction. The rival company commenced work on a small stern-wheel prospecting boat named *Fort Fraser* and on a large passenger and freight stern-wheel steamer which they named *Chilcotin*. The *Fort Fraser* was 56 feet long and 10.8 feet broad and was licensed to carry fifteen passengers, and she began her career on the river in July.[28] This boat pioneered the first voyage to the head of navigation on the Fraser at Tête Jaune Cache,[29] as well as trial trips up the Nechako River and its tributaries. Owing to her small size, she was never much of a factor in the transportation activities on the river.

(27) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, October 30, 1909. Later it was announced that the *Chilco* would make the run from Fort George to Tête Jaune Cache, that one of the new steamers, to be called the *Stewart*, would run up to Stuart Lake, and the other, to be called the *Fort George*, would run from Quesnel to Fort George. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1910. These plans were ultimately altered, and later the company also chartered and eventually purchased the *Quesnel*. *Ibid.*, April 2 and 16, 1910.

(28) The *Fort Fraser* was evidently launched late in June. She arrived at Quesnel on July 3 and Captain Bonser became her captain, having been transferred from the *Chilco*, which was placed in charge of Captain George Ritchie. On July 6 she left Quesnel on her first trip to Fort George. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1910.

(29) *Ibid.*, July 30, 1910.

The hull of the *Chilcotin* was 134.5 feet in length by 23.5 feet beam, whereas the *B.X.* was 127.5 feet in length by 28.8 feet beam. The former was hence somewhat longer than her competitor though not nearly as broad. The *Chilcotin* was launched at Soda Creek on July 20 and made her first trip to Fort George in mid-August.[30] She was built to operate between Soda Creek and Fort George as an opposition steamer to the *B.X.*, and there was naturally a great deal of friendly rivalry between their respective construction gangs, each contending that their boat was the better model. The *Chilcotin* camp spread a rumour that the *B.X.* was so wide that she would not be able to pass through the narrow low-water channel in Fort George Canyon. This report travelled throughout the whole country, and many of the Express Company's friends, believing the story, would condole with employees of the company. These friends actually appeared to think that a mistake had been made in the ship's design, and naturally felt that she would not be of much service on the river if she could not navigate the canyon. The steamer *B.X.* was called the " White Elephant " from that time on, until after she had had an opportunity of demonstrating that she was a great success, and in due course she came to be known on the river as the " Queen of the North " owing to her great speed, comfortable accommodations, and the reliability of her scheduled service.

Rapid strides had been made in the building of the *B.X.*,[31] and on Friday, May 13th, 1910, she was quietly slipped into the water

(30) The *Chilcotin* was built by Donald McPhee and launched at Soda Creek on July 20, the christening ceremonies being performed by Mrs. Douglas Applegate, wife of the company's agent in that town. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1910. She arrived at Quesnel on her first trip on August 17 in command of Captain A. F. Doherty, with C. A. Dean as first engineer. She had main, promenade, and texas decks, and was reputed to have cost about $50,000. Provision was made for about fifty passengers, and she boasted running hot and cold water in the staterooms. She was powered with a Doty compound-condensing engine with 315 I.H.P. and her boiler was a Hollander high-pressure type with a maximum of 225 pounds of steam-pressure. It was claimed that she had capacity for 110 tons of freight. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1910. She left for Fort George on her first trip through the canyons on August 18. Unfortunately, on her return trip she had an accident in the canyon which put her out of commission. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1910.

(31) The Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, April 16, 1910, announced that her boilers were being installed and two weeks later that she was almost ready for launching. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1910.

without ceremony of any kind.[32] The shipyard workers were very much opposed to her being launched on a Friday, especially as that Friday fell on the thirteenth day of the month. Watson had a difficult decision to make. The river was falling rapidly, and if the steamer's launching were delayed, it might be some considerable time before the water would again be at a safe height for launching the ship from the precarious position she occupied just above deep water. He decided to launch her, but before he could get his ways set up in position, the water had fallen to such an extent that he had to resort to the expedient of cutting the end ways partly through. When the weight of the ship reached these end ways they broke gradually and thereby eased the ship into the river. All of these stern-wheel steamers were launched broadside to the river. The superstitious shipyard workers were somewhat pacified when it was explained to them that Friday the Thirteenth was the Express Company's lucky day. In this case it certainly proved to be so, for there was never a luckier or more successful ship than the Royal Mail steamer *B.X.* proved herself to be during her many years of service.

Watson was very enthusiastic about the manner in which the *B.X.* rode the river and was particularly pleased with her light draught of 16 inches at the bow and 20 inches aft at the deepest point. It was found later that when loaded with 100 tons dead weight of regular commercial freight she drew only 30 inches of water. Now that the ship was launched, work could be speeded up, and on May 23, 1910, she was ready to leave the river-bank on her first trip. She started at the break of day for Quesnel and arrived there at about 11 a.m.[33]

The following detailed description of the *B.X.* may be of interest. She was designed to carry loads up-stream. As already stated, her hull was 127.5 feet long by 28.8 feet beam, but her over-all length was 150 feet. Her stern-wheel was 18

(32) " The fine steamer ' Princess B.X.,' the B.C. Express Coy. have been busy constructing at Soda Creek, during the past two months, was launched last week. . . . " Ashcroft *Journal*, May 21, 1910.

(33) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, May 28, 1910. Her crew, under the command of Captain Browne, was as follows: Mate, Captain Reed; quartermaster, Captain Baker; chief engineer, George Gilbert; assistant engineer, James Hays; purser, Stewart Adamson; and chief steward, W. Cowley.

feet in diameter, with buckets 21 feet 6 inches long by 18 inches wide. Her gross tonnage was 513.7 tons. Her hull was divided into nine water-tight compartments equipped with a system of steam siphons for removing bilge water. She had three decks, with a pilot-house above the third or texas deck. There was stateroom accommodation for 70 saloon passengers. Her officers' staterooms were on the texas deck, and the quarters for her firemen and crew were located on the main deck aft of the engine-room. She was licensed to carry 60 deck passengers, or a total of 130 passengers in all. On her saloon deck aft, there was an attractive ladies' cabin, which provided an excellent room reserved for women. Off this cabin were special staterooms reserved for women travelling alone. Her stern-wheel was covered so as to shut off its splash, and it was this that made possible the fine view astern that could be enjoyed from the ladies' cabin. Forward on her saloon deck there was an observation and smoking room. Her dining saloon amidships could seat fifty persons at a time. Her steam-heated staterooms were supplied with comfortable mattresses and springs, and her blankets and linen were of excellent quality. The ship's dishes and crockery in her staterooms were monogrammed in the " B.X." colours and had been specially made in England. The staterooms and the ladies' cabin were carpeted in red velvet carpet; this carpeting, as well as the stateroom curtains and hangings and cushions in the ladies' cabin, was supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, who provided an upholsterer to cut and lay the carpets, hang the curtains, and to ensure that the ship presented as pleasing and tasteful an appearance as possible. Off the ladies' cabin there was a large stateroom called the bridal chamber. This was furnished in an especially luxurious manner. It had a large double brass bed with fine springs and mattress, large down pillows, and specially fine linen and blankets, with a silk eiderdown costing $150. Captain Browne and his officers were delighted to be able to provide Premier McBride and other prominent passengers with this comfortable accommodation when they were travelling in this rough and primitive country during the boom days of railroad-construction.

The *B.X.* was powered by a pair of horizontal tandem compound-condensing engines; each engine had a 9-inch high-pres-

sure and an 18-inch low-pressure cylinder, with a stroke of 60 inches. She had an inboard surface condenser with combined air and circulating pump. In order to save weight, the cylinders of her engines were made of mild steel, instead of the usual material, cast iron. Her steel wheel-shaft was 26 feet long by 8 inches in diameter and was hollow; indeed, in every respect in the building of her engines and other equipment, efforts were made to reduce weight and yet at the same time to provide an adequate factor of safety. She had a generating-set of ample capacity, with a turbine engine directly connected to the generator. Unlike some of the river-boats competing with her, she was equipped with an electric search-light on top of her pilot-house. She had a powerful steam capstan located forward on her main deck, and she always carried three or four thousand feet of flexible galvanized cable to enable her to line up against the strongest currents to be encountered in any canyon. She was provided with steam steering-gear so that she could be manœuvred quickly in the canyons and other swift water.

Her boiler was built by the Taylor Water Tube Boiler Company, of Detroit, Mich., under Canadian Government inspection. This water tube boiler had great capacity and carried a working-pressure of 250 pounds of steam. She burned cordwood, as that was the only type of fuel obtainable on the Upper Fraser at that time. The boiler was designed and built in sections and was assembled on the steamer at Soda Creek. The heaviest part, the steam drum, weighed less than 10,000 pounds, so no difficulty was experienced in hauling it over the Cariboo Road from the railway at Ashcroft to the building site.

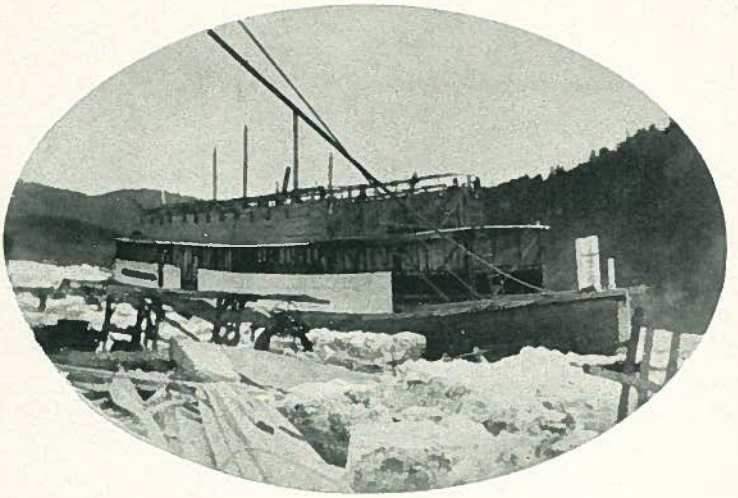
The compound-condensing engines provided for the new vessel utilized the steam first in the 9-inch high-pressure cylinders. The steam then passed into the 18-inch low-pressure cylinders and was then exhausted into the condenser. The hot water provided by the condensed steam was used to heat the boiler feed-water, which resulted in greater boiler efficiency and economy in fuel. As a result of the use of this type of engine, the new steamer consumed less than one-half of the amount of fuel required for the usual type of simple engine of comparable power. It was not only the saving in the actual cost of the fuel and the saving in the labour of loading and handling this smaller amount

of cordwood, but the additional cargo space made available that caused this type of engine to be so economical. One explanation of the splendid time made by the *B.X.* was the fact that she would be steadily steaming to her destination while the other boats would be tied up at a wood-pile laboriously taking on extra cordwood. It was later estimated by her owners that during her years of service on the river she saved in labour, extra cargo space, and cost of fuel, a sum about equal to her original cost of construction—an amount of $54,531.33.

At first the *B.X.* was restricted to making semi-weekly trips between Soda Creek and Quesnel, as she was not completely ready for testing in the canyons, and her captain did not want to try her in them until she was in her best operating condition. Finally, on June 23, 1910, she left Quesnel at 1 p.m. with about forty passengers and a fair load of freight, and reached Fort George at about 4.30 the next afternoon.[34]

Cottonwood Canyon is fairly straight, about a mile long and approximately 100 feet wide at the narrowest point. The river-channel, running between high rocky walls, has a very strong current, particularly at the upper end, where there is quite a perceptible "hill" or fall, and where, of course, the strongest current, estimated to flow at about 14 miles an hour, is to be encountered. On this maiden trip the *B.X.* steamed some distance up the canyon and disembarked her passengers, as her licence to operate at that time did not permit her to carry passengers all the way through the Cottonwood or Fort George Canyons. A trail had been built up from the river and around the bluffs to end at a point above the canyon where steamers could land and take the passengers back on board. When the *B.X.* had steamed up the canyon to where the very strong current was running, she put out a cable and had no difficulty in lining up through the head of the canyon to wait at the landing for the passengers to arrive after their climb of about half a mile over the rough trail. Captain Browne made no attempt to steam the Cottonwood unaided by his capstan on this first trip. He was content to line up his new steamer through the swiftly running rapids while he gained further experience and knowledge of her

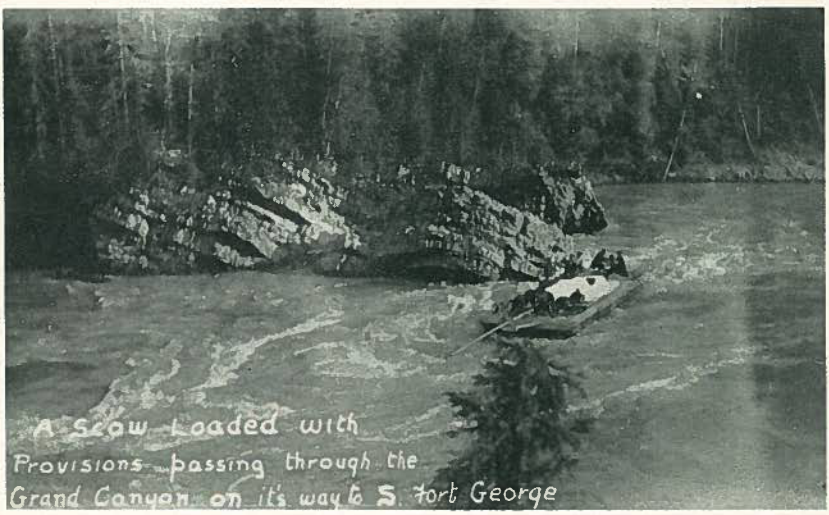
(34) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, June 25, 1910.



A near-accident to the *B.X.* when under construction at Soda Creek.

The *B.X.* at South Fort George, 1910.

The *Chilcotin, B.C. Express, B.X.*, and *Charlotte* (left to right) hauled out of the river for the winter at the sawmill, Quesnel.



A typical scowing scene on the Upper Fraser.

capabilities, and he was delighted to observe how well she handled on this untried stretch of the river.

The *B.X.* arrived at Fort George Canyon about 10 a.m. and again disembarked her passengers, who immediately sought vantage points along the quarter-mile trail around the canyon so that they could watch the steamer's progress in her first attempt to navigate this perilous stretch of the Fraser. Whereas Cottonwood Canyon has but one narrow and fairly straight channel, Fort George Canyon is divided into what appear to be three separate channels. As you approach up-stream from the south, the channel on the right or east side of the river appears, on account of its width and the volume of water which it seems to carry, to be the main channel. However, in 1910, this channel was not considered safely navigable, owing to a large reef protruding in its midst. During the fall and winter of 1910–11 this reef was partly removed under the supervision of Dominion Government engineers, and thereafter stern-wheelers with sufficient power to steam the canyon could use this east channel when the river was at its highest stage of water. The centre channel is so narrow and full of reefs that at no stage of water in the river would it have been safe to attempt to navigate it. The channel on the west side of the canyon was called the low-water channel and was used by all the steamers at every stage of water until the obstruction in the east channel was removed. The low-water channel was less than 50 feet wide, even at a fairly high stage of water. It led towards a part of the canyon full of reefs and numerous small islands, but right through to the head of the canyon there was a definite channel which, however, only a stern-wheeler with great power could steam at all stages of water in the river.

Captain Browne, as soon as he had unloaded his passengers at the foot of the low-water channel, proceeded to put out about a thousand feet of cable. This was attached to a large fir-tree, and a start was made to line the steamer through the canyon. After she had passed through the narrow gap at the foot of the channel and was approaching the middle of the canyon, the captain signalled for full speed ahead. The steamer quickly picked up speed, and as soon as it was realized that she was making good progress against the strong current, he called to

his first officer to stop the capstan and let go the line. The deck-hand who was ashore, "standing by" to release the cable, had difficulty in getting it free, for it had cut into the bark of the fir, preventing him from quickly releasing it. The steamer was now in a rather precarious position; she was straining on the cable and had started turning and drifting towards the reef-studded centre channel. The captain called an order to cut the line, and a deck-hand with a mighty swing of an axe cut the cable clean with one stroke. The *B.X.* had now drifted so perilously near the reefs that the cable was cut barely in time to prevent serious damage to the new ship. Captain Browne manœvred her for some time in hopes of turning her round so that she could head up-stream out of the canyon, but finding it impossible to turn her, he wisely piloted her down-stream through the narrow gap up which he had started so confidently about an hour before.

When the ship was tied up, the passengers were taken back on board and lunch was served. Captain Browne announced that immediately after lunch he would attempt the canyon again and that he was confident that he would have no difficulty steaming it without the aid of the capstan. However, one of the ship's officers who apparently had had no previous experience navigating in such dangerous canyons was not so confident and, with tears in his eyes, implored the captain to abandon any further attempt. Browne sought to assure him that his fears were groundless, adding that he was surprised and gratified by the power displayed by the new stern-wheeler. As soon as lunch was finished the passengers were again disembarked and the steamer started up through the canyon, while from the shore they anxiously watched her progress as she approached the point where she had been in difficulties on the preceding trial. The passengers were greatly relieved when they saw her proudly advance at good speed up through the swift-swirling current to steam out through the head of the canyon, and they were indeed a happy lot as they scrambled aboard the waiting ship, the last obstacle to their safe and speedy arrival at Fort George overcome.

The first voyage of the *B.X.* was the only occasion on which the capstan was used in navigating either Cottonwood or Fort George Canyons during the eight years the steamer was in ser-

vice on the route. Captain Browne found that his ship was able to steam both canyons during the highest stages of water, and no delay was experienced at either canyon during all of these years. This capacity to steam through the canyons gave the *B.X.* a great advantage over her rival steamers, which were compelled by their lack of power to line up with cables where she could go unaided. At extreme high water these other stern-wheelers would often have to wait several days for both the height of water and the power of the current to subside before it was considered safe for them to attempt the canyons.

On the trips down-stream it was found that a steamer had to possess great power to run Fort George Canyon in safety at all stages of water. The *B.X.* would enter the head of the canyon at a speed of about 20 miles an hour. She would maintain this speed until she had passed a point in the channel where the cross-currents would threaten to throw her on the reefs in the centre of the canyon. As soon as she had passed this dangerous point, Captain Browne would signal to the engine-room for full-speed astern and would start drifting his ship, and manœuvring her so that she would enter and pass through the narrow low-water channel at the canyon's southern end. Cottonwood Canyon presented no difficulties for any of the boats on voyages down-stream. It was a straight run throughout its entire length, and at a good stage of water the *B.X.* would pass down through it at a speed of approximately 30 miles an hour. Before the 1910 navigation season had ended, she was permitted to keep her passengers on board through both canyons, as the Federal steamboat inspectors had decided that there was less risk in her steaming straight through than in the stopping and manœuvring at the foot and again at the head of the two canyons.

4.

The writer had been a passenger on the steamer *Charlotte* when Captain Browne made his first trip to Fort George in the summer of 1909. No one could visit Fort George even at that early stage in its development without being impressed by its possibilities as a location for a prosperous future city. Situated in the centre of a large undeveloped country extending from the Alberta border 250-odd miles to the east, with the supply centre

of Hazelton on the Skeena River 300 miles to the west, and the town of Quesnel 100 miles to the south, and with the vast unknown country to the north, Fort George was the natural supply centre for a great area of Central British Columbia.

The transcontinental railway was rapidly being built from the east, and it had been definitely decided that it would cross the Fraser at Fort George and ascend the Nechako River on its way to the Pacific. The Indian reservation of some 1,366 acres at the confluence of these two rivers had seemed to be the most logical location for a city which the railway engineers had announced would not only be a divisional point for the railway, but would also provide the most suitable point from which to build a branch railway to Vancouver, a project which at that time was already under consideration. Yet, notwithstanding these great expectations, there was no evidence of activity in the district, except for the small log building erected in the bush on the bank of the Fraser where William Kennedy operated a small store for A. G. Hamilton, a pioneer independent trader. The few curious passengers on the *Charlotte* were told that there were only three white men in the district: James Cowie, the Hudson's Bay Company's post manager; Kennedy and Hamilton, the latter then being at his fur-trading post at Stuart Lake. No surveys or clearings for prospective townsites had been undertaken at that time.

During the early spring of 1910 quite a few hardy pioneers travelled to Fort George over the trail from Quesnel via Blackwater Crossing, and with the opening of navigation in the latter part of April the steamers *Chilco, Quesnel,* and *Charlotte* carried passengers and capacity loads of freight to the new townsites being promoted on the route of the coming railway. The first townsite promoters in the district were officials of the Natural Resources Security Company which, in the fall of 1909, had subdivided a tract of land which they named Central Fort George and which was situated just to the west of the Indian reservation and about one-half mile south of the Nechako River. This company was organized and controlled by the brothers George J. and William Hammond. Central Fort George lots had been offered for sale in Vancouver at a price of $100 for inside lots and $200 for choice locations. In the spring of 1910 the Hammonds sub-

divided an additional 400 acres situated to the north of Central Fort George and fronting on the Nechako River. They were the first to apply to the Government of British Columbia for the privilege of using the name "Fort George" and were accorded that name for their new townsite. In a short time Fort George lots were being advertised throughout the continent. The Hammonds took the precaution of securing a large additional acreage in order to be assured of a plentiful supply of lots for selling to a gullible public for as long as it was willing to buy them.

The next townsite promotion was organized by the Northern Development Company, consisting of a group of South Fort George pioneers headed by N. S. Clark, of the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company. This group bought A. G. Hamilton's pre-emption of 60 acres situated on the Fraser about a mile down-stream from the mouth of the Nechako. After securing additional adjoining acreage, they promoted the townsite of South Fort George. Their lots were advertised and offered to the public in the spring of 1910 at an average price of $500 each.[35]

When the Royal Mail steamer *B.X.* reached South Fort George on June 24, 1910, on her maiden voyage, she received a very enthusiastic welcome from the large number of residents who were waiting on the river-bank to greet her. They had heard her whistle as she had passed through Fort George Canyon several hours before and had been watching for her to appear around the bend in the river just below the town. Every inhabitant of the district seemed to be present, and they could hardly wait until the ship was tied up and a gang-plank put ashore so that they might hurry aboard to greet their friends and to inspect the new ship, about which they had heard so many rumours and reports.

The Express Company had made no arrangements for a steamer landing nor for a site for the warehouses, office building, and other facilities that they would require. This situation arose from the fact that the syndicate promoting the townsite of South Fort George had written to the Express Company stating

(35) For details on the development of Fort George, *see* F. E. Runnals, "Boom Days in Prince George, 1906–1913," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 281–306.

that they had a proposal to make for such a site and requested that no definite action should be taken regarding the location until the ship had arrived. Then once the site had been inspected and the proposal discussed, a decision might be reached without delay. Captain Browne, consequently, merely steamed his ship up the river until he saw the crowd of people on the bank, and as the point where they had gathered was ideal for making a landing, he ran the ship's nose into the bank and got out a line. This landing was at the foot of Fourth Street in the new subdivision of South Fort George and was the exact location that had been selected by the townsite syndicate to offer as a steamer landing and headquarters for the " B.X."

Albert Johnson, an experienced hotelman and an old-timer in the Cariboo country, was amongst those waiting anxiously for the steamer's arrival. He was planning to build the first hotel in this new territory, and the British Columbia Government had promised him a licence to sell liquor if he would erect a proper hotel building to provide badly needed accommodation for the public. The townsite syndicate naturally wanted the hotel built on their townsite, and as Johnson was determined to build his hotel quite close to the " B.X." landing, it was of first importance to the townsite promoters to have the landing definitely located and the question settled immediately. The promoters realized the great advantage they would possess over rival townsites in selling lots if the incoming public were landed right on their doorstep, since it was generally taken for granted that the Express Company, with its faster and more comfortable steamer, would capture most of the passenger traffic on the river. Although the Express Company had not previously taken any definite action regarding a landing, the matter had not been neglected, and the company had reached the conclusion that it must be on the Fraser. The rival townsite at Fort George, some 2 miles up the Nechako, was keen to have the company make its headquarters at that townsite. This, however, would have been quite impractical on account of the difficulty in navigating from the Fraser River into the Nechako, except at the time of high water. Sandbars would form at the mouth of the Nechako after the spring run-off, so that it was uncertain when even a light-draught boat such as the *B.X.* could pass from the Fraser into its tributary.

So much depended upon the South Fort George townsite promoters getting the Express Company's steamer landing and northern headquarters established on their townsite that the day following the arrival of the *B.X.* they offered the Express Company, free of charge, a deed to whatever number of lots at the foot of Fourth Street it might require. This proposal was accepted by the company, the required lots selected, and plans made to bring from the sawmill at Quesnel the lumber needed for rushing the construction of a warehouse and a small office building.

Now that their steamer *B.X.* had been so successfully tested in the canyons, the Express Company immediately inaugurated a semi-weekly service between Soda Creek and South Fort George. They further arranged with the Post Office Department for a semi-weekly mail service, to be effective during the season of navigation. The *B.X.* connected at Soda Creek with the company's horse-stages for the transfer of its passengers, mail, and express matter. These regular mail-scheduled stages left the railway at Ashcroft at 4 in the morning on Mondays and Fridays, and made the 167 miles to Soda Creek by Tuesday and Saturday nights at about 10 o'clock. It was regarded as much too risky to attempt to navigate the Upper Fraser except during daylight, so the steamer would not leave for up-river points until the break of day, at about 3 a.m. She would reach Quesnel at about noon and, after unloading her cargo for that town, would continue on up the river. Her schedule was so arranged that when it became too dark for her to navigate safely, she would tie up at a woodpile and take fuel aboard. She would start again at dawn and reach South Fort George about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. On the return trip down-river the *B.X.* would leave her landing at 7 a.m. on Tuesdays and Saturdays and arrive at Soda Creek at 4.30 in the afternoon. The stage fare from Ashcroft to Soda Creek was $27.50 and the steamer fare from there to South Fort George was $17.50; berths and meals were extra. Berths on the steamer were $1.50 for a lower and $1 for an upper; meals were 75 cents each. The Cariboo Road freighters charged $60 a ton for the 167-mile haul from Ashcroft to Soda Creek, and the steamer charge from there to South Fort George was $40

a ton. The charge on express matter from Ashcroft to the northern terminus was $12.50 per hundredweight.

The *B.X.* soon gained a reputation for a highly dependable service. Captain Browne had been instructed to spare no effort to be helpful and accommodating. At any point along the river if a settler or prospector wanted the steamer to call, he would only have to put out a white flag, and the captain would turn his ship into the bank and make a landing. It might be some settler's wife who had a few eggs she wished marketed in South Fort George, or again it might be some sick or injured adult or child to be rushed to hospital. A white flag was never ignored.

The navigating season of 1910 was a busy one for the stern-wheelers on the Upper Fraser. The freighters on the Cariboo Road were strenuously engaged in hauling large quantities of all classes of freight from the railway at Ashcroft to be loaded at Soda Creek on the steamers for delivery to the new townsites. Many buildings were undertaken, or were projected, and there was an urgent need to bring in building supplies from the outside. The many merchants in the new townsites realized the urgency of providing, before the close of navigation, sufficient food and other necessities to last until spring. In consequence, all of the freight space of the river-steamers was needed, and all of the available boats were operating to capacity.

Navigation on the Upper Fraser was at all times a very hazardous undertaking, and the river captain who could finish a full season without punching a hole in his ship or meeting with a misadventure of some kind was indeed lucky. Some weeks after the steamer *B.X.* had been completed and had made her first voyage to South Fort George, the rival steamer *Chilcotin* was launched and made the same trip. She was found to be greatly underpowered, and her performance must have been a great disappointment both to her builders and to her owners. On her first south-bound run through the Fort George Canyon she was badly damaged and was taken back to South Fort George, where she was laid up for the remainder of the season.[36] Hence, during her first summer, she gave no competition at all to the *B.X.*, while the latter successfully kept up her semi-weekly service.

(36) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, August 20 and 27, 1910.

The pioneer ship of the river fleet, the steamer *Charlotte,* met with a series of accidents early in the season.[37] These were climaxed when, on July 15, she struck a reef in running Fort George Canyon and was sunk at the foot of the low-water channel.[38] Salvage operations were undertaken during the summer, but it was not until early October that she was brought down to Quesnel and hauled up on the ways for examination.[39] She had been operating for all of fifteen navigating seasons. Her frames and planking of local fir had deteriorated badly since her launching in 1896, and it would have cost a considerable sum of money to put the old ship in first-class operating condition. Under no circumstances would she have been able to compete successfully with the Express Company's faster and more modern boat, so her owners sensibly decided to leave her permanently on the river-bank. From the time of her building until the end of the navigating season of 1909 the *Charlotte* had operated as a connecting carrier with the Express Company's stages at Soda Creek and had carried all their passengers, as well as mail and express, between that point and Quesnel. It was this service that the *B.X.* took over after her launching in 1910.

The fall of 1910 was exceptionally dry, lacking the usual heavy rains, and there was a continuing low stage of water in the river. Early in October the *B.X.* struck a rock at a point about 5 miles above Fort George Canyon when travelling downstream at a speed of about 20 miles an hour. A hole about 60 feet long and 3 feet wide was torn in her hull, but the ship's water-tight compartments enabled the captain to beach her before her stern settled in deep water.[40] In about two weeks' time the hole had been patched and the ship taken to Quesnel, where she was hauled out of the river for repairs. By October 20 she was back in service again,[41] as good as new, carrying heavy loads in an effort to make up for lost time by delivering to South Fort George all the freight that had accumulated and that would continue to pile up until the close of navigation.

(37) *Ibid.*, July 2, 1910.
(38) *Ibid.*, July 23, 1910.
(39) *Ibid.*, August 20 and October 8, 1910.
(40) *Ibid.*, October 1, 1910.
(41) *Ibid.*, October 22, 1910.

Late in November the steamer *Chilco* was on her last trip up from Soda Creek with a full load of freight, principally food-supplies. At a point in the Fraser about 6 miles above the mouth of the Blackwater River she struck a rock and was beached, partly submerged.[42] Her cargo was removed and a watchman left in charge, since nothing could be done towards salvaging her that year on account of the freezing-up of the river. Early next March Captain George Ritchie was placed in command of the *Chilco*, and with his officers and crew, consisting in all of fourteen men, proceeded to the semi-submerged boat to begin salvage operations.[43] He succeeded in making temporary repairs and, after raising the ship, planned to take her down to Quesnel, where there was every facility for hauling her up on the ways and where needed supplies of all kinds were available. Late in April the ice started to break and run, and Captain Ritchie, deciding that all of the river, including Cottonwood Canyon was clear, believed that he could get his ship through to Quesnel. He started down-stream but, on reaching the canyon, found to his dismay that it was blocked solid with ice at the foot. It was too late to turn back; Captain Ritchie and his crew were able to take to the ship's boats in time to escape, so that there was, fortunately, no loss of life. Almost immediately after they had abandoned the vessel, she struck the ice, capsized, and disappeared in the angry currents and swirls of the canyon. Her destruction was complete.[44] No trace of her was ever again seen on the river.

5.

In the spring of 1910 quite a " rush " had developed on the Cariboo Road, largely as a result of the advertising campaigns that were being so vigorously carried on in the newspapers throughout the continent by the Fort George and South Fort George townsite promoters. Some of the people who were travelling to the new townsites were speculators in lots, but the majority of these early arrivals were individuals possessed of a roving and pioneering spirit who, without having much money,

(42) *Ibid.*, November 26, 1910.

(43) *Ibid.*, March 18, 1911.

(44) *Ibid.*, April 29, 1911. *See also* South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, January 28 and April 15 and 29, 1911.

were looking forward to employment and to opportunities to better themselves during this railway-construction era, when huge sums of money were to be expended on labour, transportation, and supplies. The stopping-houses along the Cariboo Road were exceptionally busy. They were filled every night with stage-drivers, freighters, and the travelling public that was arriving early in order to get accommodation on the first boats sailing for Fort George after the opening of the navigation season.

The freighters were very active. Their numbers had been increased by the arrival from the Spokane country of many experienced freighters with their own outfits of horses and wagons, who had learned of the boom conditions and of the opportunity to make large earnings. This arrival of newcomers on the Cariboo Road demanded certain changes in traditions that had prevailed from the early days. Previously, when the freighters had been obliged at times to leave their loaded wagons unguarded at some lonely place along the road, the valuable supplies carried in these wagons were never molested by the old-timers of the country, who realized the necessity to respect the property rights of others under the pioneer conditions that prevailed. The regular mail stage, containing the gold-safe as well as the registered mail, would stand unguarded all night long in front of the overnight stopping-house while the drivers and their passengers were sleeping. Naturally, the influx of city-raised travellers to Fort George included some unscrupulous individuals who would not hesitate to steal anything of value if they thought they could do so undetected. The freighters had to take precautions against losses, and the Express Company issued instructions to its drivers and other employees that the registered-mail sacks and all treasure be unloaded from the stages at night and locked in a secure place. The driver usually took the gold-safe and his treasure-bag to his bedroom as an extra precaution against loss. To prevent the theft of feed, harness, and other loose property, padlocks were supplied to all the hostlers along the company's routes so that the stables could be locked when the hostlers were not on duty.

During this period, too, the Express Company was called upon to deliver the immensely increased volume of mail matter that was entering the country. This increase became especially

great after the semi-weekly service to Fort George by steamer was inaugurated. With extra stages leaving the railway at Ashcroft daily, the company found its facilities taxed to the limits of their capacity. However, the most serious problem the company had to solve was the menace which the coming of the automobile to the Cariboo provided to its monopoly of all passenger traffic. From the beginning of travel in the country, the Express Company, by virtue of its mail-subsidized stages and its relays of fresh horses stationed every few miles, provided a fast service which no competitor could afford to equal. But if automobiles could be operated efficiently during the summer months, especially between the railway at Ashcroft and the starting-point of navigation at Soda Creek, passengers would no longer patronize the comparatively slow mail-carrying horse-stages, and the company would suffer a very serious loss of revenue.

The first automobile ever to arrive in the Cariboo country was shipped by rail to Ashcroft in the middle of June, 1907.[45] It was the property of O. S. Perry, an official in charge of the Guggenheim interests, then operating gold-dredges in the Yukon and a big placer mine at Bullion, in North-east Cariboo. This mine had been developed under the direction of J. B. Hobson, in his day considered by his profession to be the world's most experienced and best qualified hydraulic mining engineer. Originally owned by a group of Canadian Pacific Railway Company directors, they had grown reluctant to contribute further capital towards development, and Hobson had arranged the sale of the mine to the Guggenheims, by whom he was retained to build a great 20-mile ditch, which it was expected would provide sufficient water to prolong the hydraulicking season and thus make the mine's operations very profitable. Perry was on his first visit to the Cariboo, and his experienced mechanic-driver had no difficulty in taking his four-cylinder Peerless automobile the approximate distance of 200 miles between Ashcroft and the mine at Bullion, as the roads were dry and in their best condition for travel. On the return trip it was recorded that Perry left Bullion about 8 a.m. on June 23 and reached 100-Mile House that same night, a distance of a little over 100 miles. He arrived at Ashcroft,

(45) Ashcroft *Journal*, June 15, 1907.

a further distance of 87 miles, the next afternoon about 5 o'clock.[46] When it is recalled that the Express Company's horse-stages, which averaged about 6 miles an hour over the mountainous roads, were the fastest transport in Cariboo up to this time, the amazement with which the people beheld this demonstration of speed can be well understood.

The successful automobile trip made by Perry was an encouragement to others. In the spring of 1908 a group of enterprising citizens, calling themselves the Cariboo Automobile Company, brought a 40-horsepower Rambler automobile to the Cariboo Road and advertised that, starting June 8, this car would make semi-weekly trips, leaving Ashcroft on Mondays and Fridays and connecting with the steamer *Charlotte* at Soda Creek,[47] on a running-time of fourteen hours. This venture was not a success, for on its second trip the car broke down near 141-Mile House and remained there for many weeks, first waiting for parts to arrive and then for repairs. This discouraged its owners and convinced them that their automobile could not provide a profitable passenger service under the difficult conditions that were characteristic of the Cariboo Road at that time.

For some years the British Columbia Express Company had been watching the development of the automobile and had recognized that the time was approaching when competition would force them to adopt it, at least during the summer season, since passengers to Cariboo could not be expected to ride in a slow-moving horse-stage if a comfortable and speedy car were available. The stage service would have to be continued the year round, however, since a reliable mail schedule could not be maintained with the trucks and cars of that time, which would have been helpless against the snow conditions in winter and the almost impassable state of the roads in summer after periods of heavy rains. The company had not been able to see any advantage in trying out the automobile, as that would only have demonstrated to its potential opposition the practicability of using cars on the Cariboo Road. But by the early spring of 1910 the company realized that in view of the improved design and greater efficiency of the latest automobile models, and the invasion of the

(46) *Ibid.*, June 29, 1907.
(47) *Ibid.*, June 13, 1908.

Cariboo Road by a large number of these cars, the time had come for prompt action to offset the rivalry of the owners of these cars, as they were determined to compete with the long-established horse-stages in transporting the rush of travellers to the new towns building in the north.

Among the cars brought in by the Express Company's rivals there was nearly every make of American and Canadian automobile—from a White Steamer to a Winton Six. In addition, a syndicate formed in Victoria introduced an English Simplex, which they had specially imported for that purpose. The Simplex, however, owing to its low road clearance and its consequent inability to travel through the deep and rocky mud-holes encountered along the road, was not a success. The make of car that promised the most success in maintaining a service was the Winton, the first six-cylinder car to appear on the market. Two 48-horsepower models of this car had been shipped in by rail from Vancouver to Ashcroft and had been operated efficiently by expert mechanics during the full season.

When the British Columbia Express Company decided to buy automobiles to augment their horse-stage service, they dispatched a representative immediately to Vancouver and Seattle to study the merits of the different makes of cars and to select the most suitable for the company's operations. A firm in Vancouver had secured the agency for a Canadian car made near Toronto and had written to the Express Company urging them to investigate its claim that it was an ideal car for service under Cariboo Road conditions. It was a large vehicle, strongly built and of high horse-power. The first call the company's representative made after reaching Vancouver was upon this firm. When he introduced himself and stated that he had come to buy a number of automobiles, the agency manager was delighted and promptly took him into the showroom where the much-heralded car was on exhibition. It was a fine-looking car, and the representative was quite impressed by its possibilities until the manager casually remarked that he was sorry that he could not offer him a demonstration ride as it was raining and he did not want to get the car wet. The representative could not help thinking that a car that would be damaged by exposure to a few rain-drops would be of little value among the ice, boulders, mud-holes, and

mountainous grades and other hazards of Cariboo. He at once lost all interest in the Canadian car and left by the night boat for Seattle, accompanied by his wife.

The next morning he had just registered at the New Washington Hotel in Seattle and had been in his room only a few minutes when there was a ring on the telephone. Being a stranger to the city, he could not help wondering as he picked up the receiver who it might be that was calling. He had left Ashcroft unexpectedly and had not written to anyone in Seattle about his proposed journey. The speaker on the telephone announced that he was George Millar, manager of the Winton Motor Company in Seattle. He stated that he had expected a visit from a representative of the British Columbia Express Company, and that when the hotel clerk had telephoned and told him of the representative's arrival, accompanied by his wife, he immediately sent a chauffeur to the hotel with a Winton Six limousine which his company was placing at the disposal of the Express Company's official's wife during her visit to Seattle, as he thought that she might wish to do some shopping while her husband was engaged with his business affairs. He had also sent a chauffeur to the hotel with a Winton Six touring car which his company was placing at the disposal of the representative, who, it was felt, would likely have many business appointments, and to whom a car driven by a local chauffeur with knowledge of the city would therefore be very helpful. The visitors from Canada were quite embarrassed by this expression of hospitality, and after they had together discussed the generous offer, the husband told Mr. Millar that they hoped he would not be offended, but they were sending back the cars; they would not hesitate to call on him, however, if at any time they should have occasion to use a car. The two new Wintons were found parked in front of the main entrance of the hotel, their drivers patiently waiting. They were advised that Mr. Millar wished them to return to their garage. The representative from the Cariboo company could not refrain from comparing the respective sales techniques of the Canadian and American automobile salesmen and concluded that the Vancouver agent might well have been more successful had he only been willing to let his shiny new car get covered with mud in demonstrating its capabilities to potential customers.

The Express Company official did not immediately call on the Winton Company but spent his first day in Seattle examining the merits of other makes of cars that were meeting with public acceptance at that early period in their development. The Packard had an excellent record as an efficient and economical car but must have been meeting with keen competition from the Winton Six, as the Packard Seattle agent was quite voluble in explaining that the ideal car had only four cylinders and that the two extra cylinders on the Winton did not result in greater efficiency but merely entailed a waste of oil and gasoline. The next day the official called on the Winton people, who had a very imposing establishment for servicing and repairing their make of car—their facilities were much ahead of those possessed by any of their competitors. Their stock of spare parts in Seattle was valued at $80,000, so there was no doubt but that supplies could be ordered by telegraph and delivered by express to Ashcroft within twenty-four hours whenever needed. The Winton agents were anxious to demonstrate the efficiency of their car to the extent of taking it to some very steep hills around Seattle, and the representative purchaser, after being driven many miles under all road conditions, decided to buy two Winton Sixes and to have them shipped at once to Ashcroft.

The Winton Company had on hand two of their latest models which they had been using as demonstrators in Seattle. These cars looked just as if they were in new condition and the manager stated that he was prepared to sell them at a special price of $1,500 each. This seemed to be a great bargain until he added that glass fronts for the cars would be required at a cost of $75 each, large brass head-lights with carbide generator at $150, tops at $150, large brass coach-type kerosene-burning parking lamps at $75 per car, Klaxon horns at $50, trunk-racks at $50, brass robe-rails at $25, and seat-covers $100 per car. The cost of these parts was additional to the price quoted for each car—the $1,500 paid only for the chassis and the bare body of the car; these "extras" had to be bought to secure a fully equipped and efficient automobile. The Express Company's representative agreed to purchase the two fully equipped cars, but stipulated that the Winton Company was to provide two experienced driver-mechanics who would be willing to take the cars to Ashcroft and to drive them in the Cariboo Road service

for the balance of the season. This stipulation was most necessary, for few people in British Columbia knew at that time how to drive a car, and still fewer would know how to repair a complicated machine such as the Winton Six.

The two cars were shipped the following day by boat to Vancouver and by rail from there to Ashcroft, where they were immediately put to work carrying passengers between the railway and the steamers at Soda Creek.[48] The Express Company now began the construction of a garage with a fully equipped machine-shop to provide adequate facilities for servicing and repairing the fleet of cars which they planned to put into service. The company's shops for building and repairing its stage equipment were already located at Ashcroft, so that with the new garage it was able to undertake every kind of repair.

After the busy operating season each car would be taken into the shops, stripped to the frame, and rebuilt. The bodies of all cars at that period were of wood, and the company's coachmakers turned out several new bodies that were equal in workmanship and finish to those produced in the large factories in the East. All of the company's cars were painted the company colours—the bodies a bright red and the wheels yellow. In those days there were no service-stations for cars nor storage facilities for gasoline in the Interior of the Province. Gasoline was marketed largely in 4-gallon cans. The company arranged, however, with

(48) The first indication of the intention of the B.C. Express Company to operate automobiles appeared in the Ashcroft *Journal*, July 30, 1910, when, after reporting the return of Messrs. Charles Millar and Willis J. West from a trip to Fort George, a conversation with Millar was reported in which he said, " he is determined to put on an up-to-date fast, comfortable service between Ashcroft and Fort George and as a means to this desirable end he will purchase several touring automobiles and run a thrice-a-week schedule to Soda Creek returning the following day." The following week it was announced: " Supt. West of the B.C. Express Co., and Mrs. West, returned from their trip to Seattle on Monday [August 1], whither Mr. West had gone to purchase a couple of autos for the company's use on the Cariboo road. These cars arrived on Wednesday [August 3], two splendid specimens of the 'Winton Six' make. More cars will be added from time to time as traffic warrants and the services of two expert drivers have been engaged." *Ibid.*, August 6, 1910. The Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, August 6, 1910, reported that the first trip to Soda Creek of these new automobiles had been completed on August 5.

the Imperial Oil Company to ship gasoline from Vancouver in large returnable iron drums. This meant a considerable reduction in cost. The drums were hauled up the Cariboo Road by horse and distributed at various points along the road where the company installed underground tanks and Bowser pumps in order to control and record the gasoline consumption of its cars. The representative of the Imperial Oil Company in the Interior of British Columbia at this time was a handsome young man named J. S. Matthews, who was very helpful in making the necessary arrangements to supply motor gasoline, oils, and grease for the new transportation equipment on the Cariboo Road.

The British Columbia Express Company did not find its automobile service a very profitable venture owing to the high cost of operation under the conditions that prevailed during the great rush of traffic to Fort George. More freight was moving over the road than at any previous time in its history, and the heavy freight-wagons, some of them loaded with 8,000 pounds of supplies, would cut down to the hubs of their wheels, so that after heavy rains the road was a sea of mud and rocks. The narrow high-pressure automobile tires of that time would sink so far that the running-boards of the car would at times be 6 inches or more under the soft mud, with the chauffeurs compelled to drive the cars in low gear. The independent car-owners could withdraw their vehicles from service when the road was in too bad a condition, but the Express Company had to maintain its regularly advertised service under all road and weather conditions and, at great expense, maintained a large crew of expert mechanics to service and repair its cars. Business reached its peak in the season of 1913; in that year it cost the company a total of $67,233 to maintain eight Winton Sixes on the Cariboo Road during their six months' operating season. The total revenue earned by these eight cars in that period was $70,570.23, leaving a net profit of $3,337.23, not a large sum when the amount of the investment, the risk, and other factors are taken into consideration. One item of expense was $15,835.53 for tires and tubes. A 36- by 6-inch high-pressure casing, which cost about $80 landed at Ashcroft, averaged a mileage of less than 2,000 miles. The largest item of expense was $20,250.07 for repairs.

6.

The Grand Trunk Pacific Development Company was a subsidiary of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. One of the chief objects of incorporating the subsidiary was to locate and promote townsites at strategic points along the route of the railway between Winnipeg and the Pacific Coast. The Fort George area was among the most promising of these locations, although the railway people did not take advantage of their opportunity to locate, subdivide into lots, and quickly offer for sale land for a railway townsite that would meet the demands of the clamouring public and that would have thus offset to a large extent the activities of the Fort George as well as the South Fort George townsite promoters. On the contrary, from the beginning of development in the district the railway officials told the impatient public that the proper time to go to Fort George and to buy lots would be after the railway was built and could carry them into the country. These officials appeared to be ignorant of the local conditions and their problems, and were outmanœuvred by the Hammond brothers (already mentioned as promoters of the Fort George townsites) almost every time its interests and theirs came into conflict.

It is on record that the railway had planned to locate its townsite on the land immediately west of the Indian reservation and facing on the Nechako River, but the Hammonds were ahead of the Grand Trunk and secured this acreage for their own townsite, which they named "Fort George." Nearly every person that visited the district was able to appreciate the virtues of the Indian reservation itself as the ideal townsite, consisting, as it did, of some 1,366 acres situated at the confluence of the Fraser and the Nechako Rivers. This was realized by all except the railway officials, who at this time made no intelligent or serious efforts to purchase the land from the Indians. It is likely that there was a large element of truth in the item published in the *Fort George Herald* in 1911 complaining that "the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company's townsite and development outfit are too busy cleaning up on their prairie townsites to push the promotion of their B.C. townsites."[49] The reserva-

(49) South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, July 29, 1911.

tion was no longer suitable as a home for the Indians, and they would have to be moved, as eventually they were, to a more secluded location. It would have demoralized them and been disastrous to their future welfare to permit them to remain on the reservation, which was adjacent to the new wide-open town of South Fort George, where whisky, gambling, and other forms of dissipation and vice were openly flaunted.

Charles Millar, head of the British Columbia Express Company, was familiar with the townsite situation at Fort George, having visited the district on one of the early trips of the steamer *B.X.* He, like a great many other people who were interested in the development of the country, expected that the officials of the government-sponsored railway would make a successful arrangement for possession of the reservation, but the summer of 1911 having arrived without any apparent effort on their part to obtain the Indian lands, Millar decided to attempt to buy the acreage, have it subdivided as quickly as possible, and to offer it for sale in the form of lots to the large number of prospective investors who believed that the reservation would eventually become the real townsite and the centre of all development and business activity in the area. Associated with Millar in the speculation was James Carruthers,[50] a capitalist and promoter of Montreal, who was favourably known in political circles in Ottawa and who would be of help in negotiating with the Department of Indian Affairs.

Some time later F. G. D. Durnford, a stranger to the community, arrived in South Fort George and, quietly and without any great difficulty, succeeded in buying the reservation for a price of $100,000.[51] He negotiated directly with the Indians, who were helped and guided by their spiritual adviser, Father Nicolas Coccola, who saw the necessity of quickly moving the Indians away from the contaminating influence of the white man. Durnford was acting on behalf of and under the direction of Millar and Carruthers, who had the approval of the Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa to open negotiations with the Fort

(50) Carruthers had been a client of Millar's for many years but was in no way connected with the British Columbia Express Company, which was a closed corporation with only four shareholders.

(51) South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, September 2, 1911.

George Indians and to buy the reserve, subject to confirmation by the Department of the price and conditions of the sale. The railway officials quickly learned of the sale and immediately lodged a vigorous protest at Ottawa, asking the Indian Department not to ratify the purchase, claiming that the construction of the railway had made the Indian lands of great value and that the railway-townsite company should benefit rather than any private interest. Millar and Carruthers' claim to the reserve, based on the purchase negotiated by Durnford, could not be ignored, and eventually a settlement was effected whereby they were alloted a total of 1,015 lots in the residential section of the new townsite. The Grand Trunk Pacific Development Company afterwards sent their solicitor to Fort George to negotiate a new purchase agreement with the Indians, and it was reported that they paid the sum of $125,000 for a deed to the property.[52]

The Grand Trunk still persisted in their policy of waiting for the railway to arrive before offering the lots for sale to the public,[53] and although the Millar and Carruthers interests strongly urged them to hasten and get the lots on the market, it was not until May, 1913, that the clearing and surveying of the land was under way and not until the following September[54] that any of the lots were offered for sale. Millar visited Fort George in November, when the Grand Trunk Pacific Development Company released the Millar and Carruthers lots for sale to the public.[55] He sold the first of their 1,015 lots for $3,500 cash.

The lot-selling boom, however, was soon to end, and hard times were on their way for the new settlements at the junction of the Fraser and Nechako. In the fall of 1913 large numbers of construction workers were being released, as the railway was rapidly being completed and the end of steel was approaching Fort George from the east. Many of the released workers drifted down the Fraser from the camps along the river to South Fort George, where they dissipated their pay-cheques and became a

(52) *Ibid.*, November 18, 1911.

(53) The general plan for the development of the railway company's townsite was published for the first time as late as April, 1913. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1913.

(54) The Vancouver auction sale of the townsite lots began on September 17. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1913.

(55) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1913.

charge on the Government and the community. The outpouring of millions of dollars in railway construction was swiftly coming to an end.

In reviewing the history of the townsite activities in the Fort George area, it seems regrettable that the railway company was not more alive to the situation and had not put its townsite on the market early in 1910 to compete in the lot-selling with the "wildcat" townsites of Fort George on the Nechako and of South Fort George on the Fraser. The local merchants and the investing public throughout Canada and the United States would have been saved several million dollars and the city of Prince George would have had a much more favourable start in growing into the splendid and prosperous city that it is to-day. The Millar and Carruthers speculation in Prince George suburban real estate turned out to be unprofitable, and in the end these men were glad to be relieved of the venture without suffering a loss.

On the other hand, the do-nothing policy of the railway-townsite company was highly approved of by the promoters of the Fort George townsite as well as of the South Fort George townsite, since it left them a clear field for continuing to unload their lots on the public, who, from the beginning of the promotion campaign, had been advised in sensational newspaper advertisements to buy early, since values would increase materially upon the arrival of the railway. The Hammonds, it was reported, spent in excess of half a million dollars in advertising their lots in the press throughout Canada and the United States. It was also claimed that they had sold 12,316 lots out of the total 20,145 that had been plotted.[56] The South Fort George promoters spent very little for advertising in comparison with the Hammonds but had sold lots in numbers and at prices far beyond their expectations.

There was naturally a great deal of rivalry between the two towns, and the salesman of the rival promoters would go to any extreme in condemning the offerings of their competitors. Practically all of the lot-seekers arriving by the river-steamers were landed at South Fort George, and of these approximately 90 per cent. were destined for the Nechako River townsite, where they

(56) *Ibid.*, June 1, 1912.

had been attracted by the Hammonds' sensational advertising. The South Fort George agents would pounce on the prospective buyers as they came ashore and endeavour to induce them to abandon any idea of buying in the Nechako River town. The Hammonds in retaliation had a respresentative travelling on the steamer *B.X.*, and since this steamer carried fully nine-tenths of all passengers coming into the country, the Hammond representative would have an opportunity to offset to a large extent the propagandizing of the rival organization. Newcomers were bewildered by this bitter feud. Many of them would visit both towns and would then decide that the Indian reserve would eventually be the centre of all business activity and that, therefore, they would postpone making any purchases until the railway town was plotted and its lots made available.

The first merchants and tradesmen coming into the district acquired property and set up their businesses in South Fort George for the same reason as Albert Johnson insisted on building the town's first hotel near the steamboat landing. They wished to be the first to contact and capture the trade of the large number of newcomers to the area. The Fraser River town thus took the lead in building and business development and probably conducted 75 per cent. of the trade of the whole district during the railway-construction period. The Fort George town on the Nechako was at a great disadvantage in this competition for trade, and although the Hammonds spent money lavishly in building a pretentious town in order to try to justify their exaggerated newspaper publicity, they were unable to overcome the early start and the many other advantages possessed by the rival town on the Fraser, where all development was undertaken by individual enterprise. The promoters of the townsite of South Fort George did not find it necessary in selling town lots to pay for services and improvements in their boom town, about which they had no illusions. From the beginning South Fort George was a " wide open " town, with every lure for tempting and exploiting the construction workers, who would drift down the river with pay-cheques in their pockets looking for excitement and entertainment. Albert Johnson was granted a licence to sell liquor and opened his famous bar for business late in

November, 1910.[57] It was nearly two years before he had any competition, which came with the granting of a licence to the hotel in the rival town on the Nechako. The first rooming-houses, restaurants, pool-halls, and moving-picture theatres were built in South Fort George. The only houses of prostitution which the police would allow in the whole area were segregated in the southern suburb of this Fraser River town.

When the railway-townsite lots were first offered to the public in the fall of 1913, there was a rush of eager buyers, who paid ridiculously high prices for some of the choice business locations. However, this was the last splurge in lot-gambling, since world affairs were approaching a climax, and the declaration of war on August 4, 1914, put an end to all speculation in real estate. The merchants and others who had invested in Fort George and South Fort George property began to have misgivings regarding its future worth, and although business activity held up for a while during the first half of 1914, there was a general drift over to the new railway townsite, which later was to become known as the city of Prince George. In a few years the boom towns of Fort George and South Fort George became ghost towns, after all business as well as the bulk of the population had moved to Prince George.

The Express Company used its steamer landing and headquarters at South Fort George until the end of steamboating in the fall of 1920. It then put the property up for sale but could not get an offer at any price. The headquarters consisted of five river lots, two large warehouses, a large stable, and a small office building. The lots had been stumped and graded and the property surrounded by a high board fence. The total investment represented about $10,000. After holding it for several years, the company was glad to accept $150 for its title to the property and thus be relieved of its liability for payment of Provincial taxes, fire insurance, and for the services of a part-time watchman. The sale of this property was an example of the deterioration in values that took place in these boom towns after the passing of the exciting and prosperous days of railway-construction.

(57) *Ibid.*, December 3, 1910.

7.

From the beginning of settlement in the Fort George country in 1909 the pioneer settlers had been vigorously urging the Postmaster-General to provide them with an adequate mail service in the winter months as well as during the navigation season.[58] As soon as the Royal Mail Steamer *B.X.* started operating through the canyons to Fort George in June, 1910, the Postmaster-General concluded a contract with the Express Company for a semi-weekly service between Quesnel and South Fort George during the summer months. The distance over the trail on the west side of the Fraser from Quesnel to South Fort George via Blackwater Crossing was 110 miles. A road had been in existence for some years between Quesnel and Blackwater, a distance of 50 miles.[59] This road followed the Yukon telegraph-line, and although it was very little better than a rough trail, it was passable the year round for the few early settlers who went into the Fraser Lake country. There was no road, however, between Blackwater and Fort George until the summer of 1910, when the Government of British Columbia undertook to build a wagon-road so that mail and supplies could be delivered during the winter months to the many pioneers who were being attracted to the district by the projected construction of the railway.[60]

During the winter season of 1910–11 a semi-monthly mail service was negotiated by the Postmaster-General with a local contractor who, however, had great difficulty in maintaining the scheduled service under the poor road conditions that prevailed and with the limited stage equipment at his disposal. This semi-monthly winter service was not satisfactory to the new settlement, and strong representations were made to Ottawa for an improved service. The Fort George residents claimed that they were entitled to the same standards of service that the Postmaster-General had provided for many years for the people of the Cariboo through the British Columbia Express Company, which not only carried all classes of mail matter in any volume tendered to them at the railway at Ashcroft, but also supplied

(58) *Ibid.*, October 15, 1910.
(59) *Ibid.*, September 17, 1910.
(60) *Ibid.*, October 29, 1910.

an express service throughout the country in their capacity as connecting carriers with the railway express service at Ashcroft. The Express Company also conducted a passenger service to all points along its mail routes and, as a part of this service, arranged for meals and beds at stopping-places along the routes.

In the summer of 1911 the Postmaster-General, having agreed to provide an improved service between Quesnel and South Fort George, contracted with the Express Company for a weekly winter delivery, and the company began preparing for this overland service which was to start at the close of navigation.[61] In planning this new service, it was necessary to build a stable and an office building on the west side of the river at Quesnel. There was no bridge over the Fraser at that point, and since, in some years, an ice bridge did not form after the ferry was unable to operate, the company was compelled to stable on the west side of the river the horses used in the upper run. In years when the ice bridge failed to form, the stage passengers and the mail, express matter, and baggage were conveyed across the river in a small boat operated by ferry-men in the service of the Provincial Government. These men at times had great difficulty in poling the boat across among the large blocks of ice that were running in the swift current. Crossing the river in a small boat was a hazardous task, especially during the bitterly cold winter weather when the temperature would sometimes be as low as 50 degrees below zero. Large quantities of hay and oats had to be delivered to the stables along the new stage route, and as this feed was shipped to Ashcroft from Alberta and then freighted up the Cariboo Road by horses, it can be appreciated why the cost of operating horse-stages in the Cariboo under boom conditions was an expensive undertaking.

The stage leaving Ashcroft Monday morning at 4 o'clock would arrive at Quesnel on Wednesday night. Passengers for

(61) "For the first time in history the stages of the British Columbia Express Company rolled into South Fort George on Thursday last [October 19]. The big red coaches drawn by four splendid horses showed signs of the hard trip they had made over the rough and uncompleted road between here and Quesnel. . . . The stage brought in twenty-five bags of mail and seven passengers. The service will not be so difficult to run with the smaller sleighs the company will use in their winter service. . . . *Ibid.*, October 21, 1911.

Fort George would leave Quesnel Thursday at 4 a.m., have lunch at Goose Lake, and then stop overnight at Blackwater. Then on Friday after an early start they would have a second breakfast at Round Meadow, and a late lunch at 21-Mile House, before reaching Fort George about 6 p.m. This Monday to Friday journey from Ashcroft to Fort George covered a distance of 330 miles. In 1912 the winter service between Quesnel and South Fort George was increased to a semi-weekly service, and the Express Company was obliged to build at Blackwater a large stopping-house as well as a large stable to provide for the rush of traffic over this route in the winter of 1912–13. The volume of mail matter had expanded greatly, and the company put a large number of its finest horses on this run in order to handle the extra stages necessary in providing an adequate service to the fast-growing communities building along the route of the new railway.

In the spring of 1911 the stern-wheelers on the Upper Fraser had been overhauled and prepared for examination by the Dominion Government steamboat inspectors, who visited each steamer and checked carefully its life-saving and fire-prevention equipment as well as its machinery and boilers. Every steamer was compelled to undergo this examination yearly before being granted a licence to operate. The boiler test was particularly severe; the inspector would subject each steamer's boiler to a cold-water pressure test of double the steam working-pressure allowed. The boiler of the steamer *B.X.* was built for a working-pressure of 250 pounds and thus had to withstand a test of 500 pounds pressure of ice-cold water from the Upper Fraser in the spring of the year. The boilers of the pioneer stern-wheelers on the Lower Fraser were liable to explode at any time—some of them did with a considerable loss of life—but all risk of this occurring to any of the more modern steamers on the Upper Fraser was prevented by the rigid inspection regulations which were strictly enforced by the officials of the Government.

The steamers *Chilcotin, Quesnel,* and *B.X.* were the only boats left to provide a freight and passenger service on the Upper Fraser after the *Charlotte* had been withdrawn from service and the *Chilco* lost in Cottonwood Canyon. The small stern-wheeler *Fort Fraser* had such a limited capacity that there was no profit

in operating her in the regular freight and passenger service. The *Chilcotin* had been improved since her unfortunate maiden voyage in 1910. She had been efficiently repaired and had been equipped with a steam steering-gear so that her captain could have better control of her when navigating the canyons and other strong water. In addition, her appointments had been made considerably more attractive.[62] Captain D. A. Foster, who had been master of the *Charlotte* for some years, became master of the *Chilcotin* and did splendid work while in charge of this big stern-wheeler.[63] When navigation opened in the spring of 1911, she made several useful trips from Fort George up the river to Giscome and the Grand Canyon. Later she was put on the run between Soda Creek and South Fort George, but owing to her lack of power she was only able to make weekly trips, whereas the *B.X.* continued to provide a scheduled semi-weekly service even during the period of extreme high water in the canyons.

Construction of the railway was making good progress from the east; steel was nearing the British Columbia boundary and was expected to reach the head of navigation sometime in the spring of 1913. The British Columbia Express Company had definitely decided to build a sister ship to the steamer *B.X.* in order to provide a river service between Fort George and Mile 53 B.C. immediately upon the arrival of the railway at the latter point, the head of navigation on the Fraser. Alexander Watson, Jr., the builder of the *B.X.*, was already engaged in designing the new stern-wheeler and otherwise planning for its construction at Soda Creek early the next year.[64]

By the surveyed railway route it was a distance of 183 miles between Mile 53 B.C. and Fort George, but by river it was 315 miles, and on this route there were three obstructions to be overcome before the river could be safely navigated. These obstructions were at Giscome rapids, 23 miles up-stream from Fort George; in the Grand Canyon, 104 miles up-stream; and at

(62) *Ibid.*, April 22, 1911.

(63) *Ibid.*, June 10, 1911. The *Chilcotin* was launched on May 11, and plans were made for a trial run through the canyons within a few days' time. It was then announced that her master would be Captain Arthur F. Doherty, with E. Deveaux as mate, W. Daly as chief engineer, and J. Adamson as purser. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1911.

(64) *Ibid.*, June 3, 1911.

Goat River rapids, 208 miles up the river from Fort George. This long stretch of the Fraser had never been navigated by steamer, except when Captain Bonser, in the fall of 1909, had taken the small stern-wheeler *Chilco* through the dreaded Grand Canyon and on up the river as far as the Goat River rapids at a low stage of water, and when in July, 1910, he had navigated the smaller steamer *Fort Fraser* to the head of navigation at Tête Jaune Cache (Mile 53 B.C.). Foley, Welch & Stewart, the general contractors for the railway, were planning to use stern-wheelers along the line of construction down the Fraser and were, therefore, very much interested in improving navigation by blasting boulders in the Goat River rapids and the Giscome rapids, as well as in efforts to improve the navigability of the Grand Canyon by the removal of certain reefs and rocks. Several gangs of experienced rockmen were at different times engaged in this work, of which the cost was afterwards borne by the Dominion Government.[65]

Among the fleet of river-boats operated by Foley, Welch & Stewart on the Skeena during railway-construction eastward from Prince Rupert were three sister ships named *Distributor*, *Operator*, and *Conveyor*. Alexander Watson, Jr., had designed and supervised the construction of these large vessels in Victoria in 1909, and the contractors now planned to dismantle the *Operator* and *Conveyor* in order to rebuild them at the head-waters of the Fraser for use in the construction of the railway down from Tête Jaune Cache.[66] During the fall and winter of 1911–12 the two boats were taken to Victoria for dismantling, and their machinery and equipment were shipped to the end of steel west of Edmonton.[67] From there it was freighted to Mile 49 B.C., where it was planned to set up a shipyard for reconstructing the two boats. Everything that could be utilized in

(65) There was also considerable public agitation for improvement to navigation of the river. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1911.

(66) In the fall of 1907 it was rumoured that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was going to build a stern-wheeler for operation on the Soda Creek–Fort George run. Ashcroft *Journal*, October 5, 1907. Nothing came of this rumour, and early in 1910 it was reported that the Skeena River boats would be dismantled and brought to Soda Creek for the Fraser River run. Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, January 29, 1910.

(67) South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, January 16, 1912.

their reconstruction was saved, and the machinery and equipment, when assembled, consisted in all of ten car-loads. The locomotive type of boiler in these steamers was built to withstand a working-pressure of 225 pounds of steam, and each weighed approximately 25 tons. The freighters had great difficulty in hauling the boilers from the end of steel to the construction site over what were very bad roads, and for part of the distance they had to be skidded over the right-of-way by a cable attached to a donkey-engine.[68]

Rebuilding of the two steamers was started early in 1912,[69] and they were launched on May 12 of that year under their old names of *Operator* and *Conveyor*. They were large, strongly constructed stern-wheelers designed to load and carry the heavy equipment used in railway-construction. Their hulls were each 141.7 feet long by 34.8 feet beam. There was a slight difference in their gross tonnage, the *Conveyor* being 725 tons and the *Operator* 698 tons. They were powered by high-pressure engines whose cylinders were 14 inches in diameter with a stroke of 72 inches. Both of them were fully equipped stern-wheelers with large stateroom capacity, and were each granted a licence to carry 200 passengers. Their boilers and engines had been made by the Polson Iron Works, of Toronto. As all freight was to be carried down-stream, each steamer, in addition to carrying 200 tons of freight, was able to handle a barge carrying approximately 100 tons. Thus, when the stage of water in the river was at a favourable height, well on to 300 tons of supplies or equipment could be forwarded on each trip. Captain "Con" Myers and Captain Jack Shannon had been masters of the *Operator* and *Conveyor* respectively on the Skeena, and these expert river pilots now took charge of their rebuilt ships for the three seasons that they were to operate on the Upper Fraser.[70] They were first-class men, experienced in handling heavy railway-construction equipment, and were so proficient in operating their boats as to be able to take advantage of every opportunity for delivering the maximum quantity of cargo during the short navigation period.

(68) *Ibid.*, March 16, 1912.
(69) *Ibid.*, February 24, 1912.
(70) *Ibid.*, April 20, 1912.

The summer of 1912 was a season of low water, and great difficulty was experienced in navigating the river between Mile 53 B.C. as far as the Grand Canyon.[71] In July the *Operator* ran on the rocks in Goat River rapids and Captain Myers had to jettison over 100 tons of cargo to lighten his ship sufficiently for her to be pulled free of the boulders that had pierced her hull.[72] She was then taken up to the shipyard at Mile 49 B.C. for repairs and was back in commission again within ten days.[73] Owing to the low water the two boats were laid up for the season on September 6 at Mile 142 B.C.

While the general contractors for the railway had provided these two big stern-wheelers which were so necessary for the delivery of construction equipment, such as steam-shovels, locomotives, etc., it was generally understood that the great bulk of the supplies required in the building of the railway would have to be floated down the river in scows. The steamers could navigate and carry good loads only when the Fraser was at a fairly high stage of water. Consequently, arrangements were made at Mile 53 B.C. to construct and to load the great number of scows needed in supplying the construction camps down-stream. These scows were approximately 40 by 16 feet and were quickly constructed, with but one thread of oakum in their seams. As they could not be taken back up the river after being unloaded at their destination, they were demolished to salvage the lumber used in building them. Each scow carried a load of from 20 to 30 tons. Owing to the many log-jams, rapids, and other hazards to be overcome in the 300-mile journey down the river, probably 10 per cent. of the scows loaded at the headwaters of the Fraser were wrecked and their loads lost. The Grand Canyon took a very heavy toll in lives as well as in scow-loads of supplies, and even the most experienced river scowmen felt relieved and happy after safely passing through this dangerous stretch of water. As not only the railway contractors but also the Fort George and other independent merchants and traders were scowing merchandise, it is difficult to ascertain the total tonnage of freight floated down the Fraser during this period. It has been esti-

(71) *Ibid.*, September 14 and 21, 1912.
(72) *Ibid.*, July 13, 1912.
(73) *Ibid.*, July 20, 1912.

mated that during the summer of 1913 there were fully 1,500 men engaged in scowing on the river between Mile 53 B.C. and Fort George.

The Express Company had decided to name their new steamer the *B.C. Express* and had engaged Captain J. P. Bucey, from the Skeena River, to be her master.[74] Captain Bucey had started as a young lad working on the stern-wheelers on the Mississippi, and he had also worked on the Columbia, Yukon, and other western rivers. He had operated boats on the Skeena for fourteen years and was recognized as one of the most intrepid and competent swift-water pilots in the profession.

In a distance of approximately 120 miles the Skeena drops 1,000 feet and thus is one of the swiftest navigable rivers in the West. Kitselas Canyon on the Skeena was considered by steamboat pilots to be the most difficult and dangerous of regularly navigated canyons, and Captain Bucey held the record for taking a loaded stern-wheeler up through this canyon at the highest stage of water encountered during any trip in the Skeena's entire history of navigation. There was, hence, good reason for the Express Company to consider Captain Bucey as the pilot best qualified to take charge of their new steamer that was to be specially built for operating through the Grand Canyon of the Fraser. Alexander Watson, Jr., who had been engaged as shipbuilder, was instructed to consult with Bucey regarding the size and design of the new ship and to discuss with him the type of engines and other equipment to be provided for her. The tandem compound-condensing engines installed in the steamer *B.X.* were great fuel-savers and had given splendid satisfaction on the run between Soda Creek and Fort George, but Captain Bucey preferred simple high-pressure engines for the *B.C. Express.* He claimed that for close work in the Grand Canyon he would get faster response to his signals to the engine-room with the high-pressure engines than he could expect from the condensing engines, which had to make two complete revolutions before attaining their full power. The question of saving fuel was unimportant, since the Express Company planned to operate the new steamer for only two seasons, after which it was expected that navigation on the Upper Fraser would be ended by compe-

(74) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, March 9, 1912.

tition from the railways then building or projected along the river routes.

A contract was entered into with the Marine Iron Works, of Chicago, for the engines and for all the other equipment required for the new stern-wheeler, with the exception of her boiler. The engines incorporated a new design of valve gear, superseding the use of eccentrics on the wheel-shaft. This new type of valve gear had two advantages: it permitted a wider stern-wheel and did away with the danger of the wheel picking up driftwood and breaking an eccentric rod—an occurrence that could be disastrous if it happened in a canyon and could well result in the loss of the ship. The boiler for the new vessel, built by the John Inglis Company, of Toronto, was a Yarrow water tube boiler. Built under Canadian Government inspection for a working-pressure of 250 pounds, it was shipped in parts for assembling on the steamer during her construction at Soda Creek.

The hull of the *B.C. Express* was 6 feet shorter than that of the *B.X.* and was also about 1 foot less in beam. The over-all length of the new vessel was approximately 140 feet.[75] Captain Bucey considered this was the largest boat that it was advisable to build for navigating through the narrow and crooked Grand Canyon. Except for her uncovered stern-wheel, the *B.C. Express* was virtually identical in appearance with the *B.X.* and, apart from having two less staterooms, was of the same construction and finish and had the same furnishings. Captain Bucey had Watson install on her fantail, aft of her stern-wheel, a special rudder known as a " monkey rudder." This extra rudder added considerably to the power of the three large rudders on the transom or stern of the hull and would be particularly effective and helpful in manœuvring his ship when passing through the canyon. The hulls of the two ships were different in design, the *B.X.* having been designed to carry loads up-stream from Soda Creek, whereas the *B.C. Express* was modelled to carry loads down-stream from Tête Jaune Cache to Fort George.

Watson arrived at Soda Creek early in March, 1912,[76] with a large crew of ship-builders, and a new shipyard was soon

(75) For a description of the *B.C. Express*, see *ibid.*, March 9, 1912, and also South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, March 16, 1912.

(76) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, March 9, 1912.

organized on the site where the *B.X.* had been built. This shipyard was equipped with a steam plant to supply power for the operation of planers, a band-saw, and other machinery necessary in the rapid and economical building of the new stern-wheeler. Swift progress was made in construction, and she was launched in June, 1912.[77] She proved to be highly satisfactory, especially in respect to her draught, which was somewhat less than that of the *B.X.*, as a result of the lesser weight of her high-pressure engines compared with that of the compound-condensing engines and surface condenser installed in her sister ship. Owing to the increase in wages and in the prices of construction materials in the two years since the *B.X.* had been built, the new ship cost $65,025.66, an advance of approximately 20 per cent. over the cost of the earlier vessel.

When the *B.C. Express* was completed and had been given a licence to operate by the steamboat inspectors, Captain Bucey took her to Fort George.[78] He was delighted with the manner in which she steamed the canyons and stated that his new ship performed better than any stern-wheeler he had ever handled and that he felt confident she would be a success in navigating the Grand Canyon. Within a week of her arrival at Fort George the *B.C. Express* made her first voyage up the river to the Grand Canyon, where she experienced no difficulty in steaming through the whirlpool and lower canyon to pick up a load of contractor's steel rails for delivery up the Nechako to the White rapids. She continued to make trips above Fort George as far as the Grand Canyon until early September, when the stage of the water in the river suddenly fell so low that Captain Bucey, on a voyage down from the canyon, considered it unsafe to navigate down

(77) *Ibid.*, June 29, 1912. Evidently the trial run was made on June 24. It is of passing interest to note that the pioneer boat-builder, Alexander Watson, Sr., died while his son was building the *B.C. Express*, but even this personal tragedy did not delay the ship's construction. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1912. In addition to Captain Bucey, the following served on her: F. A. Waller, first mate; R. Denniston, chief engineer; and S. Murett, purser. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1912.

(78) The *B.C. Express* first arrived at Quesnel on July 1; a few days later she took on board Charles Millar, then visiting the area, for her first run to Fort George. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1912. She arrived at Fort George on July 4. South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, July 6, 1912.

over the Giscome rapids.[79] The water in the Fraser kept falling, and it seemed as though the steamer would have to be hauled out of the river above the rapids and laid up for the winter. The idle crew was given the task of clearing and grading a suitable site, when suddenly, in the first week of October, the weather changed and a heavy warm rain started to fall at the headwaters of the Fraser. The river rose 2½ feet overnight, and the *B.C. Express* was brought safely through the rapids.[80] She made several trips between Soda Creek and Fort George before low water compelled all of the stern-wheelers to discontinue their operations for the 1912 season.[81]

8.

The ninth and last stern-wheeler to be built on the Upper Fraser after the projection of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in 1903 was launched on May 22, 1913, at Fort George, the Nechako townsite, and was named the *Robert C. Hammond.*[82] She was 101 feet long by 21.5 feet beam. Her cylinders were 10 by 48 inches, and the working-pressure of her boiler was 185 pounds. She had a gross tonnage of 250 tons. The Fort George Lake and River Transportation Company were her registered owners. The Hammonds had been willing to invest in this small steamer at a considerable cost in an attempt to justify the claims made in their sensational publicity maintaining that their townsite, located though it was on the Nechako River, was the headquarters of the Upper Fraser fleet. Actually very few of the boats ever called there. As an inducement to the steamer *B.X.* to continue on to Fort George from South Fort George, the Hammonds had for several years offered to pay the steamer $50 a trip for steaming the three extra miles to their town. This bonus was very seldom collected, for sand-bars would form where the two rivers joined, making navigation up

(79) *Ibid.*, September 7, 1912.

(80) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1912.

(81) The steamer *Quesnel* made the last run of the season 1912 in to Fort George, arriving there November 7. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1912.

(82) *Ibid.*, May 24, 1913. She was named after the son and heir of George John Hammond. Her machinery was brought up on the first trip made to Fort George by the *B.C. Express* in the 1913 season. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1913.

the Nechako impractical, except after a period of heavy rain. During 1913 the *Robert C. Hammond* made trips down the Fraser to Soda Creek and also up the Nechako River. In 1914 she was chartered by Foley, Welch & Stewart to carry construction-supplies down the river during the building of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.

Everyone in the Cariboo country was looking forward to 1913 as a year of intense activity and opportunity, which they anticipated would be brought about by the arrival of steel at the head of navigation on the Upper Fraser and the entry into the country of the thousands of workers needed for extending railway-construction down the river to Fort George. Many hundreds of men and women were converging on the Upper Cariboo, hoping to share in the prosperity attendant upon the construction of a great public work such as a transcontinental railway, when millions of dollars were distributed for labour and other building expenditures. There was a great surge of traffic over the Cariboo Road, and although the Express Company had 300 head of stage-horses engaged in hauling mail and express matter, it had considerable difficulty in coping with its hugely increased volume of business, especially after the opening of navigation between Soda Creek and Fort George early in May. The company's fleet of automobiles was operating day and night, and the many independent car-owners in Cariboo were also active in carrying a greatly multiplied number of travellers destined for Fort George.

In the first week of April, 1913, Captain Bucey journeyed by the Canadian Pacific Railway to Edmonton and then over the newly built Grand Trunk Pacific Railway to Tête Jaune Cache. Then as soon as the Fraser was clear of ice, he canoed with a companion down-stream to Fort George. His purpose in making this journey was to learn something about the upper reaches of the river over which he would pilot the *B.C. Express* as soon as navigation opened and a cargo of freight was available. The Express Company acquired a riverside site with trackage at Mile 53 B.C., where it built a large temporary warehouse and provided other facilities needed for the storage of the cargoes from the railway that were to be transferred to the steamer for delivery some 315 miles down the river at Fort George.

Late in May Captain Bucey took the *B.C. Express* on her first round trip between Fort George and Mile 53 B.C. On the return part of this trip he carried only about twenty passengers and a small load of cargo, as he did not think it wise to carry a full load until after he had run the Grand Canyon and had ascertained how his ship would behave in this untried and dangerous part of the river. This was the first voyage ever made by a loaded stern-wheeler down the Upper Fraser from the head of navigation through the canyons to Fort George.[83] The trip was successful, and a weekly round-trip service was initiated between the two points. The *B.C. Express* carried capacity loads of both cargo and passengers down-stream and full loads of passengers, though comparatively little freight, up-stream. The passenger fare was $35, with meals and berth extra, and although the fare was, like the freight rate of $80 a ton, considered excessive by some of the steamer's customers, the charges were altogether fair when the navigating risks and the brevity of the railway-construction period were taken into consideration. The *B.C. Express* was the only stern-wheeler that provided a freight and passenger service for the public between Mile 53 B.C. and Fort George during the hectic navigating season of 1913.[84]

In the middle of June of that year the writer of this article was on one of the round trips made by the *B.C. Express* between South Fort George and the head of navigation. Some details of this journey are descriptive of conditions on the Upper Fraser at that time. The steamer left her landing at South Fort George early in the morning and dropped down-stream some 2 or 3 miles to the P. Burns & Co., Ltd., abattoir to load many tons of dressed beef. This company had a contract with Foley, Welch & Stewart to supply meat and other foods to the railway-construction camps. Cattle were driven north from the ranches in the Chilcotin country along the trail to Fort George, where they were slaugh-

(83) *Ibid.*, May 31, 1913. The *B.C. Express* reached Fort George on her first return journey on May 30, and the next day both the *Operator* and the *Conveyor* came down to Fort George for the first time. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1913.

(84) In so far as Fort George was concerned, the 1913 season opened with the arrival of the *Chilcotin* on the morning of May 2, followed that same evening by the *B.C. Express*. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1913. The *Quesnel* was the first ship to go on to the Grand Canyon. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1913.

tered as needed. The *B.C. Express* would deliver these supplies to camps as far up-stream as the Grand Canyon. The quarters of beef were carefully wrapped in cheesecloth to protect them against flies and other contaminating influences, and they were usually stowed out on the bow of the ship—the coolest place on the steamer. After taking aboard the beef, the vessel returned to South Fort George to finish loading and to take aboard a capacity number of passengers, nearly all of whom were billed through to the head of navigation at Mile 53 B.C.

It was interesting to watch the passengers coming up the gang-plank, particularly the fifty or sixty scowmen who, after piloting their scows down the river, were returning up-stream for additional scow-loads of supplies. These men lived perilously and recklessly, and it was apparent that they had been celebrating their safe arrival by taking advantage of the opportunities at South Fort George and also at Fort George to buy whisky in the only two licensed premises in the vast territory extending from the Skeena River to the Alberta boundary. Not only had they been drinking freely, but each man had two or three bottles of liquor in his pockets for consumption on the journey up-stream. These scowmen were a fine looking lot, with some magnificent specimens of manhood among them. Quite a number of them had come from as far away as Texas and other southern States. They seemed happy and good natured, but it would not have taken much to start a fight as they moved restlessly around the lower deck of the crowded stern-wheeler.

There was a well-known professional gambler from the Skeena aboard the steamer. As soon as breakfast was finished, he visited Captain Bucey in the pilot-house and asked permission to organize a poker game on the lower or freight deck. He claimed that some poker would occupy not only the players, but many spectators, and would therefore be helpful in keeping the restless lower-deck passengers engaged and less likely to make trouble. The gambler, who would get a " rake-off " from the game, was well known to Captain Bucey and had a reputation of being fair and honest. The captain gave his consent and soon a game of draw poker was under way. At the beginning the sums wagered were quite modest, although the scowmen participating appeared to have their pockets crammed full of money

which they passed out recklessly. However, as the game progressed, the size of the stakes increased and some large jackpots were won by lucky players. There was a special Provincial Police man aboard who was a stranger and newcomer to the north country. He was travelling up the Fraser to a post assigned to him by the chief constable at Fort George. From the beginning of the poker game he had been a very interested spectator. Suddenly he astounded the players and other passengers by seizing the money in a large jackpot as it lay on the deck of the ship. He announced his identity in a loud voice and declared he was confiscating the stakes since gambling was illegal on shipboard. The relaxed and preoccupied poker players and spectators were instantly transformed into an indignant and threatening mob, and it seemed for a moment as if the policeman would be attacked and roughly handled. However, the gambler sprang to protect him and announced that he would guarantee the players against any loss and asked for time to obtain the advice and assistance of Captain Bucey. The captain, after hearing of the policeman's action, advised the gambler to speak to the policeman and to suggest to him that he could keep one half of the money in the jackpot if he would return the other half and permit the game to be resumed. He also asked that the policeman's answer to this proposal should be reported to him immediately. Meanwhile, the policeman had fled to the upper deck with the money in his pocket. There the gambler contacted him and was soon back to Captain Bucey with the word that the offer had been accepted and that the money, amounting to a little over $200, had been divided and that no further interference with the game had been promised.

When Captain Bucey heard that the policeman had accepted the bribe, he instructed the gambler to start up the game again, then by means of a blast on the steamer's whistle he signalled to his mate to come to the pilot-house. When the mate appeared, the captain turned over the navigation of the ship to him and proceeded to the lower deck, where he ordered two husky deckhands to accompany him in search of the policeman. When he was located, Captain Bucey required him to go with him to the lower deck where the poker game was in progress. There the captain apologized to his passengers for the policeman's attempt

to break up the game and to steal their money. He wished them to know that he was in absolute command of his ship and that no dishonest law-enforcement officer or anyone could come aboard and assume any of his authority. He then compelled the policeman to surrender the bribe and proceeded to tell the poker players and the assembled crowd of passengers what he thought of the culprit. As Captain Bucey had been acquiring a vocabulary of picturesque profanity ever since his early days as a deck-hand on the Mississippi, his language on this occasion was truly an amazing demonstration of what could be accomplished by a lifetime of effort and application. The captain ended his speech by stating that he proposed to report the incident to the Magistrate and to the chief constable at Fort George, and in the interval he intended to put the policeman in irons. The erring constable was a very distressed and chagrined specimen of humanity as he was led from the scene by two deck-hands. Actually the captain did not have him put in irons, for the reason that no irons were available, but he did report the incident at Fort George, where his conduct was given official approval. The special officer was recalled from his post and sent south out of the district on the first available vessel.

The *B.C. Express*, having left her landing at South Fort George at 7 a.m., was making excellent time up the river. She safely navigated the 7 miles of boulder-strewn Giscome rapids. It was a most delightful experience to sit out on her forward decks and enjoy the cool breezes and watch the many interesting sights as she made her way along the many bends of the Upper Fraser. Many loaded scows were met, and when the scowmen sighted the steamer, they would start swinging their long sweeps energetically in order to pass safely in the narrow, swiftly flowing river. The extent and size of the spruce timber was a surprising sight. At places where the railway grade passed along the river, men could be seen working feverishly. Word had come that the railway had to be finished by the end of the year, and the harder the station men and the sub-contractors worked, the more more money they would earn. Collingwood Schreiber, the Government engineer, made an inspection tour through the country in August, 1913, and stated that there were 3,500 men at work in constructing the grade between Mile 53 B.C. and Fort

George and that the contractors had thirty-two construction locomotives, many dump-cars, and twenty-three large shovels building the grade along this portion of the right-of-way.

Late in the afternoon the *B.C. Express* arrived at the Grand Canyon and steamed up the lower canyon to a point not far below the whirlpool. Captain Bucey thought it a wise precaution, before attempting to navigate farther up the canyon, to go on foot to the whirlpool in order to ascertain the amount of driftwood that was coming downstream with the current. What is generally called the Grand Canyon is in reality two canyons with a basin or lake between them. This basin is a placid body of water about one-quarter of a mile long and 300 or 400 yards wide. The upper canyon, for about a distance of a quarter of a mile, has the strongest current of any part of the Upper Fraser, and no stern-wheeler ever built could have steamed up through it without lining when the river was at a high stage of water. This upper canyon is narrow and has some very sharp turns that make navigating it extremely hazardous. Only a stern-wheeler of good design and great power, in charge of an expert pilot, could hope to travel safely either down-stream or up at any stage of water. The most dangerous part of the lower canyon was the infamous whirlpool, where so many scowmen and strangers to the country had lost their lives in attempting to run loaded scows, small craft, or rafts down-stream to Fort George during the two seasons the railway was building. The writer accompanied Captain Bucey on his hike to inspect the whirlpool. The trail along the high rock wall of the canyon was rough, and in places it was necessary to climb ladders made of poles to get to the higher levels of the trail. A point on the high ramparts of rock was soon reached from which the whirlpool could be viewed directly below, and it was an awesome sight to watch the full volume of water in the Fraser pour through a narrow gap from the basin into the raging maelstrom which seemed to be created by the peculiar rock formation of the river-bed. The whirlpool extended about 200 feet from shore to shore and was continually emptying and filling. There did not seem to be a great deal of driftwood coming down from the basin, and Captain Bucey, after studying the scene for a while, decided it would be safe to proceed.

After making sure that the passengers were all aboard, the captain turned his ship into the stream. Soon the whirlpool was reached, and with a full head of steam the *B.C. Express* was steered into it. When the steamer had reached the strong current running into the narrow channel leading up into the basin, she appeared to hesitate and then started to drift back into the whirlpool. Although Captain Bucey tried several times to steam up through the gap, the ship was unable to make progress against the strong current. The captain then decided it would be necessary to line her through, and he started, therefore, to manœuvre his ship over to the left side of the canyon. Suddenly a spruce-tree about 70 feet in length with a large root appeared on the surface of the whirlpool, and before the steamer could avoid it, it had swept underneath her and lodged against her three main rudders. Held there by the strong current, the spruce-tree put the steering-gear out of commission and the captain lost control of his ship. The tree was so lodged against the ship's rudders that when she went ahead she turned sharply towards the left of the canyon and when she steamed astern her stern would likewise swing to the left. Fortunately, the stern-wheel was not obstructed nor damaged in any way, so the captain began to manœuvre the ship by means of the wheel. His plan in these manœuvres was to drop the ship down-stream to a point where the canyon-wall was low enough for him to put a deck-hand ashore with a line so that the boat could be tied up and the ship's carpenter and deck crew put to work detaching the rudders in order to dislodge the spruce from under the ship.

Most of the passengers did not appear to be excited or worried by the plight of the stern-wheeler. They were confident that Captain Bucey was capable of meeting the emergency and were curious spectators of his efforts to reach a suitable landing-place down the river where the rudders could be freed. The captain would signal to the engine-room for slow speed ahead, then, when the nose of the ship would reach the wall of the canyon, he would signal for the engines to be stopped so that the ship could drift down-stream with the current. She was still in the whirlpool and had just touched the canyon-wall with her bow when suddenly a heavy-set male passenger less nonchalant than his travelling companions raced across the forward deck

and leaped on to a narrow ledge of rock. He had barely landed on the ledge when the steamer drifted away and he was left clinging to the rock barely 6 feet above the surface of the turbulent whirlpool. There was nothing the captain could do to rescue this frightened passenger at the time, for with the rudders out of order it was impossible to return up-stream. As the steamer drifted down the river and round a turn out of sight of the self-marooned man on the ledge, there were few on board that ever expected to see him again. In about half an hour the captain had succeeded in working the *B.C. Express* down-stream to a position where he was able to land a deck-hand with a line, as planned, and eventually the steamer was safely tied up and the crew busied themselves with freeing the rudders.

Meanwhile Captain Bucey turned his thoughts to the rescue of the passenger who had leaped in panic from the ship. He consulted with A. K. Bouchier, the agent of the Express Company at Mile 53 B.C., and asked him to see whether he could locate and possibly rescue the frightened castaway. Bouchier was a tall, powerfully built young man, and as soon as he and the three companions he had selected to assist him could get ashore, they started to work their way up along the side of the canyon to a point overlooking the whirlpool. When they reached the edge of the cliff, to their surprise and delight they saw the passenger still on the rock ledge about 70 feet below. They had taken with them about 200 feet of line from the steamer, and with some of this they lowered the lightest member of their rescue party down the face of the cliff to the ledge, where he secured the rope around the passenger, who was then hauled up to the top of the canyon-wall to safety. The occupation of this passenger was peddling diamond rings to the prostitutes and others in the towns and camps along the line of railway-construction. For carrying the rings he had two leather jeweller's cases fitted into two large pockets inside his coat. When he reached the top of the cliff, his first move was to clutch at his pockets to assure himself that his rings were safe, then he collapsed on the rocks, and it was some little time before he had recovered sufficiently to be assisted down to the ship, where he was put in his berth and given a stiff drink of Scotch.

Captain Bucey announced that, as it would take some hours to free the steering-gear, the ship would be tied up for the night, but that he planned to resume the voyage at daylight the next morning. Some of the passengers then took the opportunity of going along the trail up-stream to where the upper canyon emptied into the basin. Here the railway contractors maintained a large boat manned by four men. This boat served as a ferry for crossing the river, but was also used as a life-boat for rescuing, when possible, any scowmen who had the misfortune to be wrecked in their attempt to run the upper canyon. Before each scow would start down the canyon, the head pilot would signal to the life-boat and it would move at once out into the stream, prepared, if necessary, for emergency action. Just the previous week five men had been thrown into the rushing current when their scow had struck a rock, and only the leader of the crew had been rescued by the life-boat. The other four men were never seen again, but the rescued leader had immediately walked to the upper end of the canyon and without a trace of reluctance had brought another scow down-stream and was still imperturbably working as a pilot. Many lives were lost in bringing down the scows. Early in June, 1913, it was reported that twenty men had already lost their lives in the upper canyon since the river had opened in the spring. The Fort George newspapers called on the police to take action to prevent this reckless slaughter, and, in consequence, a large number of warning-signs were erected at the approaches to dangerous places and a constable stationed at the canyon to enforce safety measures and to interview newcomers among those scowing down the river.[85] No definite record of the number killed on the Upper Fraser during railway-construction is available. The *B.X.* would occasionally discover a body in the river on her route between South Fort George and Soda Creek, but most of the drowned were buried in the log-jams and sand-bars of the upper river.

The crew of the *B.C. Express* did not finish their difficult task of disengaging the ship's rudders until well after midnight. As announced, Captain Bucey got under way shortly after daybreak and again steamed up into the whirlpool, where he picked up the cable the railway contractors had provided for the use of all

(85) *Ibid.*, June 7 and 21, 1913.

steamers lining up the lower canyon. To the surprise of the passengers who had risen early to watch the second contest with the whirlpool, the ship had no difficulty in steaming up the narrow gap into the basin without making use of the cable. The explanation was that now the whirlpool happened to be full and overflowing, whereas on the previous afternoon it had been emptying when the steamer had made her unsuccessful effort to steam up the gap.

At the upper end of the basin the passengers were put ashore to walk along the trail to the head of the canyon, and the steamer started up through the turbulent current of the narrow and crooked upper canyon. It was necessary to put out a line three times in succession before arriving at a point where the force of the current had moderated sufficiently for the steamer to proceed for the remainder of the distance to the head of the canyon under her own power. Upon arriving at the landing above the canyon, beef was unloaded for the construction camp and the passengers quickly taken on board, for Captain Bucey was anxious to make up some of the time lost by the fouling of the ship's rudders. As the crowded stern-wheeler steamed up beyond the canyon, it was noticeable that the current was quite slack as compared with that below the canyon and that it was possible to make excellent time. At 10.30 p.m. the stern-wheeler arrived at Mile 121 B.C. and the captain announced that the ship would tie up for the night. Most of the passengers, after being warned that the ship would sail at dawn, went ashore to see the sights of this lively end-of-steel town which appeared to be well prepared to serve the construction worker no matter what form of excitement or entertainment he might seek. There were restaurants, pool-rooms, barber-shops, a shooting gallery, and other establishments catering to the workers. Everything seemed orderly and under control in this amazing movable town that kept shifting down the river as the end of steel progressed westward.

At 9 o'clock the next morning the *B.C. Express* arrived at her landing at Mile 53 B.C. and unloaded her passengers. They were, with the exception of the scowmen, connecting with the train for Edmonton. Captain Bucey announced that his ship would return down-stream at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The ship's steward began swiftly cleaning the ship in preparation for

the capacity load of passengers that were booked for the return voyage to Fort George. Simultaneously, the deck crew started to take aboard a full load of freight. Even although the *B.C. Express* charged a freight rate of $80 a ton for the 315-mile haul to Fort George as compared with the scow rate of $70 a ton, she was offered many times her cargo capacity during the short season of navigation. When a merchant shipped supplies by the Express Company's boat, he was assured of their safe delivery in good condition, whereas cargo forwarded by scow was at the shipper's risk and there were not many scow-loads that did not suffer some damage from weather, leaky scows, pilfering, or other hazards on their down-stream journey. The Express Company's large warehouse was always filled with down-river freight of all kinds and was guarded day and night by armed watchmen. Virtually the whole cargo being loaded on board the steamer for this trip consisted of liquor consigned to the two licensed hotels in the Fort George area. There were several hundred barrels of bottled beer as well as many cases of fine whiskys and wines. A goodly number of cases of Mumm's champagne were also observed being trucked on board. Liquor was a class of cargo that the owners dared not risk sending down the river by scow; if they had done so, it would most surely have disappeared somewhere along the route.

About a mile up-stream from Foley's headquarters and the Express Company's landing at Mile 53 B.C. there was a settlement that was generally known in that summer of 1913 as Tête Jaune Cache. This was the point where the railway delivered its passengers and commercial freight from the east. The Fort George merchants and others had their river warehouses there, from which they forwarded their scow-loads of merchandise. The temporary town itself was composed of a jumble of crudely constructed shacks, and it was the filthiest looking place imaginable. Most of the town had been flooded by the river at high water. The water had now receded, leaving driftwood and other litter throughout the town. There was little justification, however, for the lurid crime conditions depicted by visiting journalists who made hasty journeys along the line of construction. These journalists had by implication accused the police of failing to enforce any law and order worth speaking of in the construc-

tion area between the Alberta border and Fort George. Although bootlegging and prostitution were rampant, there were remarkably few serious crimes committed by the five or six thousand men of all nationalities engaged in scowing supplies and building the grade. Less than a dozen British Columbia police were present to maintain order in all of this large territory, including the Fort George area, and these officers did everything possible to prevent crime. Whisky could be bought for $1 a quart in Edmonton or Quesnel and could easily be sold at Tête Jaune Cache and along the line of construction westward for at least $5 a quart or more to the hard-working men who were building the grade or engaged in some other form of strenuous manual labour. Bootlegging was a great temptation to hundreds of men who did not scruple to acquire easy money by the extortionate charges they demanded to slake the thirst of the construction workers. Although the Magistrate stationed at Tête Jaune Cache convicted and sent a steady stream of bootleggers to jail at Kamloops, his efforts had little effect upon the illegal traffic.

The police also vigorously prosecuted a class of criminal whom they called " cheque scalpers." The railway contractors paid their workers by cheque, and as there were hardly any banks in the entire area, these scalpers were able to take advantage of the workers by charging usurious rates in paying them for their cheques. A rate of as high as 25 per cent. was sometimes obtained from foreign-born workers not acquainted with Canadian banking methods and anxious to convert as quickly as possible their cheques into cash. The experience of a member of the legal profession on a visit to Tête Jaune Cache late in 1912 is illustrative of conditions at the time. This gentleman lived in a city in the Interior of the Province and had an excellent reputation as a criminal lawyer. He had received a telegram asking him to go immediately to Tête Jaune Cache to defend a man that had been arrested and charged with murder. The lawyer arrived at his destination early in the morning after an extremely uncomfortable journey on the crowded construction train and, hungry and unwashed, was walking around the sleeping settlement waiting for it to waken for the day when he came upon a shop with its door open and with a sign across its front reading " Lady Barbers." As he had not shaved that morning,

he decided to take a chance and to give the lady barber a trial. When he entered the shop, he was surprised to note its well scrubbed appearance. He was greeted by a bosomy auburn-haired young woman endowed with a beautiful complexion and looking so clean and attractive in her white uniform that he had no further qualms regarding the sanitary condition of the establishment. In answer to his inquiries, he was told that the shop was open for business and was invited to be seated in the barber's chair, where he would be attended to immediately. However, the young lady who had been so favoured in her appearance by nature did not seem to be happy. Her eyes were red and swollen from weeping, and as she proceeded to shave him, it appeared to the lawyer that she must be suffering from some great sorrow. She had finished one side of his face when he solicitously remarked that she seemed to be disturbed and under some mental strain. He said that, as a lawyer, he was accustomed to giving advice and would be glad to be of help to her. This expression of sympathy produced a flood of tears from the young woman. Between spasms of weeping she explained that she had been most unhappy and lonely since the evening before, when the medical health officer and police had called and arrested her sick partner. When asked why her partner had been taken into custody, the unhappy young woman explained that, although she could not believe it was true, the police said that her partner had contracted smallpox. The lawyer, upon hearing this explanation of the young lady's grief, did not hesitate; he hurled himself out of the barber's chair, seized a towel and wiped the lather off his face, flung a dollar bill on the table, and rushed out of the shop as fast as his legs would carry him. Nor did he stop in his flight until he had reached the other end of the settlement.

When the *B.C. Express* left on her return voyage to Fort George, every stateroom was occupied. Women were given the preference, and thus numbers of husbands were separated from their wives and obliged to improvise beds wherever they could—on the tables in the dining saloon, under the tables, on the decks, and amidst the cargo—while some passengers even had to take their blankets and sleep on the river-bank while the ship tied up for the night. It was the biggest load of freight and passengers the ship had carried. Her gross earnings on this day and a half

trip to Fort George exceeded $12,000. At Mile 53 B.C. the Fraser was so narrow that Captain Bucey found it necessary to take his ship down-stream stern first for 2 or 3 miles before he could find a place wide enough to turn around and head down-stream. When he did turn, the ship's monkey rudder seemed to be up in the bush on the one bank of the river while her stem-band barely cleared the opposite shore. There was a good stage of water for safe navigation, and the ship made excellent time, passing safely through the Goat River rapids while it was still daylight. When the approaching darkness made it dangerous to continue, she tied up at a wood-pile to refuel and to be ready to start again at daylight.

The ship arrived at the Grand Canyon the next forenoon, and the passengers, as usual, were disembarked while she ran the upper canyon. This was a necessary precaution, dictated by the danger that the passengers, if left aboard, might become excited and start rushing irresponsibly from side to side, thereby making the ship more difficult to handle. Navigating through the canyon with a capacity load of cargo was a sufficient responsibility for the captain; it would have been pointless to burden him with the additional hazard of a full load of passengers, who, in any case, undoubtedly enjoyed their half-mile walk around the upper canyon after the confinement of the crowded steamer. From the moment the steamer left the landing to head down the canyon, there was a continuous ringing of bells as the captain sent the engine-room the necessary signals for his intricate manœuvring. The current at times was so strong that although the big stern-wheel was reversing at full speed, the ship was driven down-stream at a speed of 10 or 15 miles an hour. The most danger-ous point of all was a sharp left turn in the canyon, where the full volume of water in the Upper Fraser was hurled against the perpendicular wall of the abyss. It was here that many of the railway scows were smashed in attempts to run the canyon.

To an inexperienced observer watching as the tumultuous waters carried the ship towards this dangerous turn, it would have seemed hardly possible that Captain Bucey would be able to pilot his heavily laden steamer safely past this terrifying spot. When the ship reached the abrupt turn, the captain suddenly spun his steering-wheel as though he were going to fling the side

of his ship against the canyon-wall. He knew, however, that when the current carried the ship to within 6 or 8 feet of the canyon-side, the cushion of water would prevent her from crashing into the wall and she would be headed around the sharp curve. He swiftly signalled for full speed ahead at the turn and shortly afterwards brought the ship out into the calm waters of the basin, to the immense relief of the few observers who, with his permission, had stayed on board with him and his crew. Later, he pointed out that he could not possibly have swung the side of the ship into the wall of the canyon even had he been bent on such a suicidal endeavour, for so great was the cushion of water created by the current pouring against the side of the chasm that it held the ship away from the wall enabling her to make the turn safely.

The passengers were taken on board at the basin, and the ship was then safely navigated through the whirlpool and the lower canyon and proceeded briskly down the river in order to reach South Fort George while it was still daylight. Before she arrived there, an incident occurred that might have had very serious consequences for Captain Bucey. A few miles below the Grand Canyon he noticed a white flag on the bank, and consequently he turned his ship in and made a landing. Twenty men were waiting to be picked up; they were quickly taken on board and the ship backed out into the river and again headed downstream. The men were railway workers, who, with their paycheques in their pockets, were on their way to Fort George for whisky and other ways of parting themselves from their money. As soon as they came aboard, the purser proceeded to solicit their fares, and the first man to whom he spoke refused to pay, even although the purser offered to cash his cheque. The purser realized that if this man succeeded in evading payment, there would be no hope of collecting fares from the other men who had been picked up at the same landing for the 90-mile journey down the river. From the forward deck he called up to Captain Bucey in his pilot-house and explained the situation. Without hesitation the captain turned his ship about and made an upstream landing. As soon as the ship was moored, he descended to the forward deck where the purser indicated to him the man who had obstinately refused to pay his fare. The captain

repeated the purser's request, and when the man answered emphatically that he had no intention of tendering his fare, Bucey stated that he would permit no one to travel on his ship without paying his way. Summoning two deck-hands, he pointed to the man and ordered them to throw him in the river. The deck-hands seized the stubborn passenger, rushed him to the edge of the forward deck, and tossed him overboard. It all happened so quickly that the onlookers were astounded, and they rushed to the railside to see what had become of the man who had insisted on a free trip. Meanwhile Captain Bucey returned to the pilot-house, called to the crew to let go the line, signalled to the engine-room, and backed his ship into the stream and headed down river. He appeared to be completely uninterested in the fate of the man whom he had ordered to be thrown off the ship into the swift and treacherous water. This act had been a very dangerous proceeding, even although the man saved his life by turning out to be a powerful swimmer, for, favoured by a strong current setting towards the shore at that particular point along the river, he had floated down with the current past the ship and was able to grasp some bushes growing along the bank and pull himself ashore. The purser had no further trouble collecting the fares from the other railway employees, who were quite subdued by the treatment meted out to their companion.

Later in the day the *B.C. Express* passed without mishap through the Giscome rapids and steamed, as planned, into South Fort George before dark.[86] There she tied up beside the steamer *B.X.*, which had arrived up-stream from Soda Creek a few hours earlier. The *B.X.* was also carrying a full cargo of barrelled beer, wines in great variety, and whisky and other liquors. Obviously, the owners of the only two licensed premises in the Fort George area were stocking up early while cargo space was still available and the height of water in the river favourable for safe navigation. The steamer *B.C. Express* continued to provide a weekly service between South Fort George and Mile 53 B.C. until the end of August, 1913, earning in excess of $5,000 a week net profit, or a total of more than her entire cost of con-

(86) " The steamer B.C. Express completed a record trip from Tete Jaune this week, making the 315 mile run from the Cache to this point in an elapsed time of forty-two hours, bringing down a full load of freight and eighty passengers." *Ibid.*, June 28, 1913.

struction in the twelve weeks she was engaged in this upper-river service.

The *B.C. Express* had been especially built to navigate the Upper Fraser, and it came as a great surprise and shock to the Express Company when the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company, without giving any notice whatever of their intentions, suddenly blocked the Fraser at the site of their proposed bridge at Mile 141 B.C., thus preventing the stern-wheeler from proceeding up-stream to the terminus of her run at Mile 53 B.C. The bridge contractors strung a cable across the river and threatened to use force to prevent its removal. Captain Bucey, on encountering the cable, wanted to use a shotgun on the men guarding it, but wiser counsel prevailed and he was dissuaded from blasting his way through to the head of navigation and reluctantly returned down-stream with his ship, wiring from South Fort George to the head office at Ashcroft to inform them of the obstruction.

The plans which the Grand Trunk had submitted to the Board of Railway Commissioners for the construction of its railway down the Fraser had provided for a low-level bridge across the Fraser at Mile 141 B.C., as well as a second low-level bridge near Bear River, about 90 miles up-stream from Fort George. Though provision had been made for a lift-span in its bridge to be built at the third crossing of the river at Fort George, the construction of low-level bridges without lift-spans at the first two crossings of the Fraser would definitely block steamer navigation above Bear River. When the Grand Trunk's plans were published and the navigation companies and other local interests learned what was proposed, they sent a strong protest to Ottawa. The Board of Railway Commissioners immediately made an investigation and, upon ascertaining the facts, ordered the railway company to alter their plans in order to provide navigable bridges. But the railway company was anxious to hasten the completion of its line, and as any change in its bridge plans would also involve changing the railway grade and thus mean considerable delay, the company decided to defy the Railway Commissioners and override the navigation rights of the steamboat companies and to proceed with its original plan for the two low-level bridges.

On learning of this decision, the British Columbia Express Company caused a writ to be issued against the railway for large damages for loss of revenue and also applied to the Courts for an injunction to restrain the railway from blocking the Fraser. The suit came up for trial in Vancouver before Mr. Justice W. H. P. Clement, but ill luck seemed to follow the plaintiff all through its litigation. On the morning of the trial the eminent counsel who had been engaged to take the plaintiff's case announced that he would be unable to appear and handed the brief and the conduct of the case over to a junior partner who had had very little experience before the Bench. The result was that the plaintiff's evidence was neither properly nor fully presented, the whole trial was bungled, and the action dismissed with costs against the plaintiff. The Express Company immediately changed solicitors and counsel and lodged an appeal with the British Columbia Court of Appeal, and after hearing arguments this Court gave an unanimous judgment in favour of the plaintiff. The railway company then appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. When this Court handed down its judgment, it was found that three Judges supported the railway's defence, with two dissenting in favour of the plaintiff. The Express Company decided to apply to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London for leave to appeal. When the case was finally argued, the plaintiff's ill luck was still in evidence. The railway company sent the eminent Canadian counsel and diplomat, Leighton McCarthy, K.C., to London to plead its case. Sir John Simon, the distinguished British counsel, had been acting for the Express Company. The hearing came on during the First World War and just while Sir John was engaged in vital war work, with the result that he was unable to appear, and the brief was given to a junior counsel who was no match for the brilliant McCarthy. Once more the plaintiff's claim was dismissed with costs. One of the Grand Trunk's solicitors stated, after the trial, that when this case first appeared in his office in Winnipeg, he and his associates had wondered what possible defence they could offer on behalf of the railway. As it is, the two low-level bridges are still in place on the Upper Fraser River, effectively preventing it from being navigated.

9.

During the 1912 Session of the Legislature of British Columbia, Foley, Welch & Stewart obtained a charter for the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.[87] This railway was to run from Vancouver to Fort George and serve as a short and direct connection between the Grand Trunk and the Vancouver area. It was planned eventually to extend the Pacific Great Eastern into the Peace River country. In the summer of 1913 the contracting company moved their headquarters from Mile 53 B.C. to a site on the Nechako at Fort George, about half a mile up-stream from the Fraser. There they built large warehouses along the river-front, with a wharf and trackage so that steamers could be readily loaded from the warehouses or from railway-cars. They had accumulated large quantities of supplies and equipment left over from the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific and planned to use this material in building the Pacific Great Eastern southward from Fort George. Surveys had been completed, and the grade would follow as closely as possible the navigable Fraser as far as Soda Creek.

Foley, Welch & Stewart were determined to build the railway between Fort George and Vancouver as quickly as could be arranged, and at the opening of navigation early in May, 1914, a start was made to rush the distribution of supplies and sub-contractors' equipment down the river. The large stern-wheelers *Conveyor* and *Operator* had been brought through the Grand Canyon the previous summer and laid up for the winter at the Foley headquarters on the Nechako River so as to be available for construction of the new line. These two steamers and the light-draught stern-wheeler *Robert C. Hammond*, which the company chartered, began delivering capacity loads,[88] and active construction of the grade was speedily under way.

(87) "An Act to incorporate the Pacific Great Eastern Railway Company," c. 36, *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1912.* Leaders in this company were Timothy Foley, St. Paul, Minn.; John W. Stewart, Vancouver; Patrick Welch, Spokane, Wash.; D'Arcy Tate, Winnipeg, Man.; Donald McLeod, Vancouver; and Vernon W. Smith, Hazelton.

(88) South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, April 4, 1914. It is interesting to note that in order to move their vessels from the Nechako River winter headquarters to the Fraser, it was necessary to remove a span from the temporary railroad bridge across the river. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1914.

Now that a freight and passenger service was in operation by the Grand Trunk Pacific from the East to Fort George, the merchants of that community, as well as those down the river as far south as Soda Creek, found it cheaper to have their supplies routed via the Grand Trunk Pacific rather than over the earlier route from the Canadian Pacific at Ashcroft. The steamboat rate down-stream from Fort George to Quesnel was $30 a ton, whereas the rate up from Ashcroft to Quesnel by freight teams and steamer was $70 a ton. All supplies arriving at Fort George for down-river merchants were hauled by horses from the Fort George railway sheds to the steamer landing in South Fort George for delivery to the boats. Supplies for the miners and merchants of Northern Cariboo had been for over half a century hauled over the Cariboo Road, first from Lillooet and Yale and later from Ashcroft. The completion of the railway into Fort George[89] now greatly reduced the cost of mining in Cariboo, since the necessary supplies could be delivered at a considerably lower cost.

The Express Company once again launched its two fast stern-wheelers, the *B.X.* and the *B.C. Express*,[90] and began delivering the freight that had accumulated for the down-river merchants, who were ordering large quantities of supplies in anticipation of a great surge in their business during the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern. Although she had been active during the 1913 season, the steamer *Chilcotin* was not relaunched for the 1914 season, as her owners, the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company, felt that her lack of power would prevent her from safely carrying freight down through the Fort George Canyon. This same company, on the other hand, went to some considerable effort to rebuild their other small stern-wheeler, *Fort Fraser*, in an effort to make her of some value. A new shovel-nosed hull was built for her, her machinery transferred to it, and the new boat named the *Doctor*.[91] Despite efforts she

(89) The first train from the East came in to Fort George over the temporary bridge on January 27. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1914. The last spike was driven at a point about 2 miles east of Fort Fraser on April 6. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1914.

(90) *Ibid.*, April 11, 1914.

(91) *Ibid.*, September 13, 1913. She was named after Dr. J. K. McLennan, an active partner in the Fort George Lumber and Trading Company.

was none too successful and was really never a factor in steamboat activities on these northern rivers. The *Quesnel* had been acquired in 1912 by the Northern Trading Company[92] and was used by her new owners in delivering their supplies as well as in trading along the river.

While the movement of freight by land, northward over the Cariboo Road to Soda Creek, had practically ceased, there was still a considerable volume of passenger travel along the road, since it was the shortest and quickest route between the Fort George area and the Coast cities. The journey first by steamer and automobile from Fort George to Ashcroft and then by the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver usually took two days, but a passenger leaving Fort George at 7 a.m. on Tuesday or Saturday could be driven by special automobile from Soda Creek to connect with the train which, passing through Ashcroft at midnight, would deliver him to Vancouver early the next morning, approximately twenty-four hours after his departure from the northern town.

In July, 1914, the steamer *B.X.* was carrying on her usual semi-weekly service between Soda Creek and South Fort George. The two big Foley boats were also passing up and down the river, and the officers and crew of the *B.X.* were naturally curious about the speed of their ship as compared with that of the larger and more powerful construction steamers. Captain Jack Shannon of the *Conveyor* had already demonstrated that his ship was speedier than her sister ship the *Operator*. These two boats had hulls of the same size, their engines were exactly alike, yet Captain Shannon's boat had no difficulty in drawing away from the *Operator* in the many contests in speed undertaken by the two ships while they had been operating on the Upper Fraser. The *B.X.* had, on several occasions, shown that she was faster than her sister ship, the *B.C. Express*, so the big question among the steamboat crews on the river was what chance the steamer *B.X.* had of out-steaming the *Conveyor*. Amongst the officers of the *B.X.* only Captain Browne would express an opinion; he claimed that if the two boats were engaged in a race, the *B.X.*

As rebuilt, she was 65 feet in length, 16-foot beam, and designed for very shallow water. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1913.

(92) *Ibid.*, August 12, 1913.

would swiftly outdistance her much larger and more powerful rival. Captain Shannon, on the other hand, had no doubts as to the outcome of a race between his ship and the *B.X.* and was waiting for an opportunity to demonstrate the superior speed of the *Conveyor*. He had made several trips to Soda Creek and had become familiar with the river. High water was over and the river was now at a very favourable height for safe navigation. One day the *Conveyor* arrived about noon at Soda Creek with a large load of construction supplies, and after unloading them she steamed up in the late afternoon to an Express Company wood-pile located about 4 miles up the river from Soda Creek. That same day the *B.X.* arrived from South Fort George on her regular scheduled service and took on about 40 tons of freight for delivery to Quesnel and way points. About 9 o'clock in the evening a messenger arrived from Captain Shannon to inform Captain Browne that the *Conveyor* was " wooding up " and would wait until the *B.X.* was passing early in the morning. Captain Shannon proposed that the two ships should race for an hour and that the one in the lead at the end of that time be declared the winner and the speed queen of the Upper Fraser. Captain Browne could hardly reject the proposal, but he certainly would not have emptied the warehouse of freight had the messenger come to him earlier in the day. The race would be between a stern-wheeler with a fair load of cargo and a much larger and more powerful opponent without any cargo at all and carrying only a supply of fine, dry Express Company cordwood which the *Conveyor* had taken aboard in preference to their own fresh-cut green fuel. Obviously Captain Shannon was seeking every advantage in the approaching contest. He would be handicapped in the race to some extent in view of Captain Browne's superior knowledge of the river, gained during his nine years of experience piloting stern-wheelers on the Soda Creek run, but Shannon was one of the best river pilots in the profession, and Browne's greater experience would not be of great importance under the high-water conditions prevailing on the day of the race.

The *B.X.* left her landing at Soda Creek while it was still dark, an hour before her usual time of departure. Captain Browne had thought that by starting early he might surprise the

crew of the *Conveyor* and thereby possibly gain some advantage. In about half an hour the *B.X.* steamed around a bend and there, brilliantly lighted, was the *Conveyor*. As the *B.X.* drew near, Browne, hearing the safety-valve of the *Conveyor* blowing, realized that her boiler had a full head of steam and that she was ready for the start of the contest. When the *B.X.* was still some distance away, the other ship's engine-room gong and jingle could be heard ringing as Captain Shannon signalled for the big steamer to begin moving out into the stream. The compound-condensing engines of the *B.X.* exhausted noiselessly into her condenser so that the only sound made by her was that of her stern-wheel buckets striking the water. The *Conveyor's* high-pressure engines exhausted into her smoke-stack with a roar that could be heard for a mile. As she steamed out into the channel of the Fraser, the top of her stack appeared to be ablaze, and she resembled some great fiery monster about to annihilate a much smaller and defenceless rival.

Captain Shannon started running his steamer " wide open " in furious pursuit of the *B.X.* His deck crew could be seen feverishly splitting cordwood into kindling to be fed into her fire-box to maintain the maximum steam-pressure. On board the *B.X.* Captain Browne was taking every advantage of his greater knowledge of the river, and at times his ship's light draught enabled him to take a shorter route. The *B.X.* was drawing a little over 2 feet, as compared with the more heavily constructed construction boat, with a draught of probably 3½ feet. Moreover her firemen had no difficulty in maintaining maximum pressure in their big water tube boiler. Her engineers, quietly attending her machinery, did not even find it necessary to utilize her full power in order to draw away from her big and noisy competitor. This extra power, incidentally, had been kept a secret by the engineers and the other officers of the ship. A by-pass valve had been installed on each engine so that a small quantity of steam at full boiler pressure could be fed in emergencies directly into each 18-inch low-pressure cylinder. This extra power increased the speed of the stern-wheel by about three revolutions a minute, and it was this that enabled her to develop the extra burst of speed often badly needed in climbing the canyons at high stages of water and that had given the ship

a reputation for steaming the canyons that she would not otherwise have possessed.

There were quite a number of passengers on the *B.X.*, and they had not been informed of the proposed race because of the officers' uncertainty as to its outcome. They were soon awakened by the alarming sound of the *Conveyor's* exhaust and came out on deck to investigate, and before long they became enthusiastic over the prospect of their ship winning the contest. At the end of about the first half-hour of the race the big construction steamer had not passed nor even gained on her smaller rival. She was actually falling astern, and Captain Browne's prediction that his vessel could outsteam her rival appeared as though it were shortly to be realized. The *B.X.* continued to gain on the *Conveyor* and soon arrived at a point where it was necessary to make a landing to deliver a sack of mail. The landing was made as quickly as possible, and when she moved out into the channel again, she was still ahead of her opponent by a considerable margin. In the run to Twan's Landing, a distance of about 20 miles, she made four calls and was still half a mile in the lead when she docked at Twan's to deliver a large quantity of general merchandise consigned to the store located at that small settlement and to the traders in that vicinity. Although the freight clerk and the deck crew had the shipments sorted and ready to be unloaded swiftly, considerable delay was caused by the checking and signing of the freight bills. This enabled the *Conveyor* to overtake the *B.X.* and to pass on up the river.

In about half an hour after leaving Twan's Landing the *B.X.* had caught up with the *Conveyor,* but when Captain Browne started to pass in the narrow channel, he was prevented from doing so by the manner in which Captain Shannon crowded his steamer over in the channel. Browne made several attempts to get by, but Shannon evidently had forgotten the conditions which he had suggested and which Browne had accepted. The former's Irish temper was gaining the ascendancy over his usual affable and level-headed disposition, and he was determined not to let the *B.X.* make her way past. Captain Browne, meanwhile, was planning to take advantage of a final opportunity that would soon present itself to him to pass the *Conveyor* at a point farther up the Fraser where the formation of the river-bed would, for a

short space, prevent Shannon from continuing the manœuvres by which he was keeping the *B.X.* to the rear. At a turn in the river a few miles ahead there was a large gravel-bar dividing the stream into what, at the high stage of water during the race, were two navigable channels. Captain Shannon would undoubtedly choose the shorter and deeper channel. As the ships reached the bar, the bow of the *B.X.* was not far behind the stern of her rival. Then Captain Shannon took, as expected, the shorter of the two channels, while Browne, taking the other channel, succeeded in putting his ship in the lead, and when the *B.X.* emerged beyond the gravel-bar, her bow was 6 feet ahead of the *Conveyor*. For a moment there was no reason to suppose that she would not continue to gain on her adversary, but rather than let that happen, Shannon, his desire to be the victor now entirely beyond control, decided to ram her. Suddenly throwing over his rudders, he brought his great ship crashing into her side. It was only through great good fortune that the *Conveyor* struck the *B.X.* where the shear of their guards met. Had she not been in that fortunate position, the much wider guard on the Foley boat would have smashed through the side of her engine-room, damaging her port engine and probably putting her out of commission for the remainder of the season.

When the ships crashed, Captain Browne immediately signalled for the engines of the *B.X.* to be stopped. He had great responsibility as master of the vessel, and while it was quite permissible to engage in a friendly race, it was quite a different matter when an attempt was made to wreck his steamer. The *B.X.*, consequently, after the collision let the *Conveyor* pull away and then started up-stream again, making her scheduled landings and carrying out her usual routine. Notwithstanding this decision, the bow of the *B.X.* was within 20 feet of the stern of the *Conveyor* when the latter, having made not a single landing throughout the entire race, arrived at the eddy at Quesnel. Quite a crowd of the curious had gathered on the river-bank by the time the two stern-wheelers arrived, for they had received word by telephone from down-river that a race was on. Needless to say, it was assumed that the *Conveyor*, since she was in the lead, was the winner, but this assumption was rapidly dispelled when the men on the *B.X.* reported what had occurred to

the crowd. Captain Shannon, on his part, had now become obsessed with the idea of reaching Fort George ahead of Browne, and rather than go off his course to stop at the Foley landing about half a mile up the Quesnel River, he limited himself to making a quick landing at Quesnel itself, where he had to pick up a few construction officials and some mail. While he was taking on this mail, the purser of the *B.X.* met the purser of the *Conveyor* to inform him that the officers and crew of the *B.X.*, as well as some of her passengers, were prepared to wager $1,000 that if their ship were given an hour's start from Quesnel, she would be at Fort George five hours ahead of the *Conveyor*. Captain Shannon, however, headed up-stream without giving any answer to this challenge. The *B.X.* had a good deal of cargo to unload at Quesnel and, when she left about two hours later, made no attempt to overtake her rival, making her customary landings and tied up overnight as usual. When she arrived at South Fort George the next forenoon, the deck crew had tied a broom to the top of her jackstaff to symbolize their ship's claim to the speed championship of the Upper Fraser River.

10.

The principal owner of the British Columbia Express Company, Charles Millar, was a man above party politics. He had never felt that any special consideration or support should be given to any party in connection with the Cariboo mail contracts and, from the beginning, had told the management of the company that he did not wish them to let any party bias come into their operations. While the Liberals were in power, he had pointed out that some day the company would probably have to deal with a Conservative Government at Ottawa. He had not forgotten how badly the politicians had treated him when he had been inveigled into undertaking the service back in 1897. When Laurier's Administration was defeated in the Federal elections of 1911 and the Borden Conservative Government came into power, this change did not seem to alter the Express Company's relations with the Post Office Department officials at Ottawa.

The mail contracts were to expire on September 30, 1913. Under the terms of the contracts there was no limit upon the weight of mail which the company was obliged to accept for

distribution throughout the Cariboo country. With the great increase in population, including the thousands of temporary construction workers, the amount of mail of all classes had grown to many times the volume obtaining when the contracts had been last renewed. Then to aggravate the situation the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa had advertised in the newspapers throughout Canada an offer of free samples of oats for seeding purposes, as well as of other varieties of seeds, to be shipped by mail to any post-office in Canada, the recipient being required only to pay the postage. Each sample of oats weighed 5 pounds and the postage on each came to only 21 cents, or a delivered cost of slightly over 4 cents a pound. It so happened that in the Fort George area oats was selling for 12 cents a pound when any could be obtained locally. It can readily be imagined how eagerly freighters throughout the district, as well as ranchers and the public generally, took advantage of the Department's generosity. Five pounds of oats was a good feed for a horse, and at the landed cost from Ottawa a great bargain. The quantity of seed-grain thus tendered to the Express Company for delivery was enormous. At one time there had accumulated at Ashcroft over 50 tons of oats samples that it had been impossible to forward immediately as they arrived. In the end they were loaded on the company's fast freight teams and rushed through to the steamer at Soda Creek.

As can be imagined, the Express Company was taking a very substantial loss on its mail contract, not only owing to the extra weight carried, but also to the greatly increased cost of operating the service. The ranchers in the Cariboo no longer could grow sufficient hay and oats to meet the requirements of the greatly increased number of stage-horses now needed in the service. Thus the company had found it necessary to ship into Ashcroft from Alberta many hundreds of cars of baled hay and sacked oats to feed its own horses and to supply the freight-teams. The expense of hauling oats and hay up the Cariboo Road as far as Fort George was very great, and the company's losses in providing the mail service were increasing steadily. In 1913 this loss amounted to approximately $26,000 during the nine months of service rendered by the company in that year.

Early in 1913 negotiations were started with officials of the Post Office Department to establish a contract price for a two-year extension of the service. It was thought that after that time the service would no longer be needed, as the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway would be in operation and the projected Pacific Great Eastern Railway would have been completed from Fort George down the route of the Cariboo Road to Clinton and thence on to Vancouver. As a part of the negotiation, the Express Company submitted a statement to Ottawa, prepared by its auditors, showing the cost of the service and the loss the company had suffered under the terms of the existing contracts. Then in July the Deputy Postmaster-General dispatched to Ashcroft the financial superintendent of the Department and the head of its contract branch. After arriving at Ashcroft, these men made a trip up the Cariboo Road to Quesnel to study conditions in the country and to verify the company's statements regarding the cost of feed and labour.[93] After their return from this inspection tour, they made a careful audit of the company's affairs and prepared a report, dated July 15, 1913, to the Deputy Postmaster-General. In this report they confirmed the figures set out in the statement of the Express Company and agreed with the recommendation made by the Post Office Inspector for British Columbia that the company's terms for the proposed extension of their contract be accepted. The company had asked $120,000 a year for the two-year period, with a provision to be made in the new contracts that the maximum amount of mail to be carried at the contract price be limited to 1,000 pounds a day, with any amount in excess of that to be carried on a *pro rata* basis.[94] A short time after this report reached Ottawa, the Express Company was advised to prepare to continue the service. In accordance with these assurances the company purchased from a number of ranchers throughout the Cariboo during the harvest of 1913 about $50,000 worth of hay and oats for the coming winter and made various other commitments in anticipation of the extension of the mail contracts.

Not much later—on the afternoon of September 28, 1913, to be exact—the superintendent of the company was in its head

(93) Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, July 12, 1913.

(94) A copy of this report is deposited with the Archives of B.C.

office in Ashcroft when a former resident of the town called and asked to see him. When shown into the office, this visitor announced with some ostentation that not the B.C. Express Company but he and an associate had been granted the Cariboo mail contracts. This disclosure was supposed to be a great surprise and, after making it, the superintendent was asked what he proposed to do about the matter. However, the information was no surprise, for the evening before Charles Millar had telegraphed from Toronto the news that the company had lost the contracts and named the new contractors.[95] To the visitor's amazement he was informed that the Express Company would continue to operate its services until midnight on September 30, when its contract terminated and when all mail matter on its stages, steamers, or otherwise in its custody would be delivered to the nearest post-offices. Courteously, yet firmly, he was told that if he and his associates were the new contractors, it would be their responsibility to take charge of all the mail matter and to make the deliveries in conformity with the schedules for the service.

Neither of the two men holding the new mail contracts had had any experience as mail contractors—the one, a resident of Vancouver, was a lumber broker by profession and the other a real-estate and insurance agent. The most extraordinary fact about their venture was that they did not possess a single boat, stage, set of harness, or a horse, yet they had offered to carry the mails over nearly a thousand miles of road, trail, and river routes in the Cariboo country.[96] The officials of the Post Office Department that had visited Ashcroft stated in their report that no

(95) The new contractors were Mayor J. T. Robinson, of Kamloops, and J. C. Shields, of Vancouver. They operated under the name of the Imperial Express Company. R. Leighton, son of J. B. Leighton, a former manager of the B.C. Express Company, became their superintendent. Original plans called for the use of the steamer *Robert C. Hammond* on the run from Soda Creek to Fort George. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1913; *see also* South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, October 4 and 18, 1913.

(96) Some time later one of the associates was asked by the B.C. Express Company's superintendent how they had dared to contract to undertake the difficult service on a few days' notice without having available even a small part of the necessary equipment. He replied that they had not anticipated having to operate the service, for they had believed that the Express Company would be willing to pay them each $10,000 annually in consideration of their surrender of the contracts for the two-year period.

one in the country save the British Columbia Express Company had the necessary equipment for providing an adequate mail service. Obviously, it could not have been with the approval of these officials that the contracts had been given to party supporters who were so ill-equipped, or rather not equipped at all, to serve the people of the Cariboo. The Express Company continued all its other services until late in the year, when the new contractors offered to purchase all of its stages and sleighs, and some of its horses, harness, and other equipment of which they were so desperately in need. They agreed to pay inventory prices, and the Express Company was well content to discontinue its horse-stage operations, which were no longer profitable. The company, it should be added, took pity on the new mail contractors by agreeing to carry the mail on its steamers between Soda Creek and Fort George for $500 a week.

11.

The year 1914 turned into a very disappointing season for the steamboat operators and for business interests generally throughout the Cariboo country. When Foley, Welch & Stewart built the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in British Columbia, they did the work on a cost-plus basis, and money was spent lavishly in order to get construction finished and the railway operating as quickly as possible. The Pacific Great Eastern, on the other hand, was constructed by the Spokane contractors, P. Welch & Company, in so economical a manner that no one was able to make any great profit out of activities incidental to its construction. In the Fort George area a large part of the inhabitants realized that their occupation was gone, and, consequently, they found it necessary to leave the north country in search of more promising fields. Freighting conditions grew stagnant, and the roadhouse-keepers' very profitable business vanished to a large extent. Some of the stage-drivers and the younger freighters turned to driving cars and, with trucks and automobiles of their own, took over more and more of the services earlier performed by the stage and the horse-drawn freighting outfits. No longer was the horse " king " in Cariboo.

The depressed conditions in the Cariboo country reached their nadir with the outbreak of the First World War. Mr.

J. Stewart, of the Foley firm, hurried to Fort George and gave instructions to cease work immediately on the construction of the Pacific Great Eastern. This came as a most severe blow to business throughout the country and to the people generally. The exodus already under way from Fort George district was greatly accelerated. With most of the men of military age in the Cariboo joining the armed forces, the summer of 1915 found the population of the entire area drastically reduced and all business prospects, to say the least, extremely uncertain.

Most of the stern-wheelers ceased operations on the Fraser early in 1914 and were hauled out of the river.[97] The B.C. Express Company's boats, however, had to maintain the mail service until the end of October, and they had little trouble in handling the small volume of business available.[98] The end of navigation that year wrote finis to the careers of most of the eight stern-wheelers then in the district, for most of them never again were launched. Early in April, 1915, it was announced that the *B.X.* would operate the regular semi-weekly schedule between Soda Creek and Fort George, with the *B.C. Express* making special runs and being used for relief.[99] The *B.X.* made her first trip on April 30[100] and continued in service until late October when it was announced:—

> This is her last trip this year, and probably her last trip on the Fraser River. It is the intention of the B.C. Express Company to ship the machinery of their boats to the north country, where business will be conducted on the Peace.[101]

To all intents and purpose the *B.X.* had been the only stern-wheeler on the river that year, for the *B.C. Express* had been

---

(97) The *Operator* and *Conveyor*, having completed delivery of supplies to the P.G.E. construction camps, were hauled out of the river at the Cache early in September, overhauled in anticipation of the coming season. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1914. The *Robert C. Hammond* appeared to be the only other boat continuing in service in addition to the *B.X.* and *B.C. Express*. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1914.

(98) The *B.X.* was pulled out on October 22, at which time it was noted that the previous year her last trip had been made on November 7. Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, October 24, 1914.

(99) South Fort George *Fort George Herald*, April 2, 1915.

(100) *Ibid.*, April 30, 1915.

(101) *Ibid.*, October 23, 1915. This rumour had been circulated for some time. *Cf. ibid.*, November 1, 1913.

used only rarely and the *Quesnel* was evidently in service only for a short period at the opening of navigation.[102] Although she was run as economically as possible, it was found that, in spite of her monopoly of the river trade, at the end of the season she had lost $7,000. During 1916 and 1917 none of the stern-wheelers were in service on the Upper Fraser.

Early in 1918 the Quesnel Board of Trade, encouraged by members of the Provincial Legislature representing the area, appealed to the newly elected Brewster Administration at Victoria to grant to the British Columbia Express Company a subsidy that would enable it to restore its river service between Soda Creek and Fort George. In its appeal it was pointed out that the settlers along the Fraser, particularly those between Fort George and Quesnel, had been promised a railway, whose failure to materialize had caused them great suffering, since they had no way of marketing their crops. It should also be pointed out that mining in the Cariboo had become stagnant owing, partially, to the greatly increased delivery cost of equipment now that the low steamer rate from the railway at Fort George was not available. As the Express Company was willing to re-establish the river service, provided it was guaranteed against operating losses, an arrangement was eventually consummated whereby the Provincial Government paid an annual subsidy of $10,000.[103] In consequence, service was resumed at the opening of navigation in May, 1918,[104] and continued until the end of the navigating season in the fall of 1920.[105]

---

(102) *Ibid.*, April 30 and May 7, 1915. *Cf.* Quesnel *Cariboo Observer*, May 1 and 15, 1915. The *Quesnel* was operated by Captain D. A. Foster on charter from the Northern Lumber and Navigation Company.

(103) *Ibid.*, January 19 and 26, February 9, and March 2, 1918. A letter to the Board of Trade from J. M. Yorston, M.L.A., dated February 23, 1918, made public the arrangements. Tenders were to be called, and it was rumoured that Prince George interests were considering using the *Robert C. Hammond* and making a tender, but the B.C. Express Company was successful.

(104) *Ibid.*, May 4, 1918.

(105) Evidence of the payment of the subsidy can be found for only two years, each in the amount of $9,999.96. *See* British Columbia, *Public Accounts for the Fiscal Year ended 31st March, 1919*, Victoria, 1920, p. C 221; and *Public Accounts for the Fiscal Year ended 31st March, 1920*, Victoria, 1921, p. B 244.

The steamer *B.X.* was operating once more on her semi-weekly schedule,[106] which continued until late in August, 1919, when she met with her most serious accident in her eight years of service. This accident occurred after she had loaded 100 tons of sacked cement for delivery to Soda Creek in the building of the high-level bridge across Deep Creek by the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. About 5 miles below Fort George Canyon she struck a reef, smashing a hole in her bottom. Captain Browne immediately sought a place to beach her, and near by was what appeared to be an ideal spot, as it seemed, with timber close at hand. There was no time to study it more closely, but when the ship was run aground, the beach turned out to be only a narrow ledge, so the *B.X.* filled and sank, her forepart 20 feet under water.[107] The Express Company, realizing that salvaging her would be a long and difficult operation, made arrangements to launch the *B.C. Express* immediately.[108] Although she was virtually new, she had been out of water since the fall of 1914. Her seams had opened badly and would have to be thoroughly caulked and her machinery overhauled before she would be ready for service. Caulkers and ship-builders were rushed in from Victoria, and in less than three weeks she was in operation.[109]

Undertaking to raise the *B.X.* was an extremely difficult operation. The sacked cement had solidified and had to be separated under many feet of water before it could be hauled to the surface. Salvage work was not completed when the freeze-up came and was resumed early in the spring under Donald McPhee,[110] but it was not until October that the damaged stern-wheeler was raised and patched sufficiently to be brought to the shipyard at South Fort George. Since her boiler and machinery were not put back

(106) The *B.X.* was hauled out for the winter late in October, 1918 [Prince George *Citizen*, October 29, 1918], and launched again on April 28, 1919. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1919. Alexander Watson came up to overhaul the ship that spring. It was announced that in the 1918 season she had carried 2,329,262 pounds of rails, 552,000 pounds of farm produce, and 785,500 pounds of general merchandise and produce. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1919.

(107) *Ibid.*, September 3, 1919. The wreck occurred on August 30.

(108) *Ibid.*, September 10, 1919. Once again Alexander Watson was pressed into service for the refit.

(109) *Ibid.*, September 24, 1919. She was launched on September 20, and that same day left on her first trip to Soda Creek.

(110) *Ibid.*, October 8, 1919; March 12 and April 23, 1920.

in condition, it was impossible for her to steam up the river under her own power, so she was secured to the bow of the *B.C. Express,* which had no great difficulty in pushing her sister ship through the Fort George Canyon and along the river to the shipyard.[111] The cost of salvaging the *B.X.* was about $40,000.

Meanwhile the *B.C. Express* continued to operate until early in November, 1920,[112] when she was hauled out of the water on the company's ways, located on the Hudson's Bay Company's property on the Fraser River adjoining South Fort George. During the winter of 1920–21 the *B.X.* and the *B.C. Express* were both dismantled[113] and their machinery, boilers, as well as all their ironwork and their entire furnishings and equipment, were loaded on cars for shipment to Waterways in Northern Alberta to become the property of the Alberta and Arctic Transportation Company, Limited.[114] The hulls and superstructures of the two sister ships were abandoned on the river-bank, where they gradually deteriorated until they were at last carried away during a period of high water.

One by one the other six stern-wheelers disappeared.[115] Captain D. A. Foster, a veteran of Upper Fraser River navigation, made one vain attempt to prove steamboating was still practicable on the river. Late in April, 1921, in partnership with W. H. Matheson, he launched the *Quesnel,*[116] but her career was short-lived, for three weeks later she was wrecked beyond

(111) *Ibid.*, October 8, 1920. In reporting this remarkable event—"the first time in the history of sternwheel boats that one of these craft towed another through a canyon"—the newspaper stated: "The feat is a singularly able demonstration of river craft on the part of Captain Browne, his officers and crew and it marks a new departure in the work of sternwheel boats."

(112) *Ibid.*, November 9, 1920.

(113) *Ibid.*, November 30 and December 17, 1920.

(114) This company was controlled, financed, and managed by the British Columbia Express Company and, following the Fort Norman oil discovery in 1920, operated over 2,500 miles of river and lake transportation throughout Northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories as far north as Aklavik, near the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

(115) The *Chilcotin* already lay dismantled at South Fort George. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1920.

(116) *Ibid.*, April 22, 1921.

repair on the rocks of Fort George Canyon.[117] Gasoline-launches might continue to navigate the river, but never again did the canyons of the Upper Fraser River echo to the shrill whistle of the stern-wheelers. An era in river navigation had come to an end.

WILLIS J. WEST.

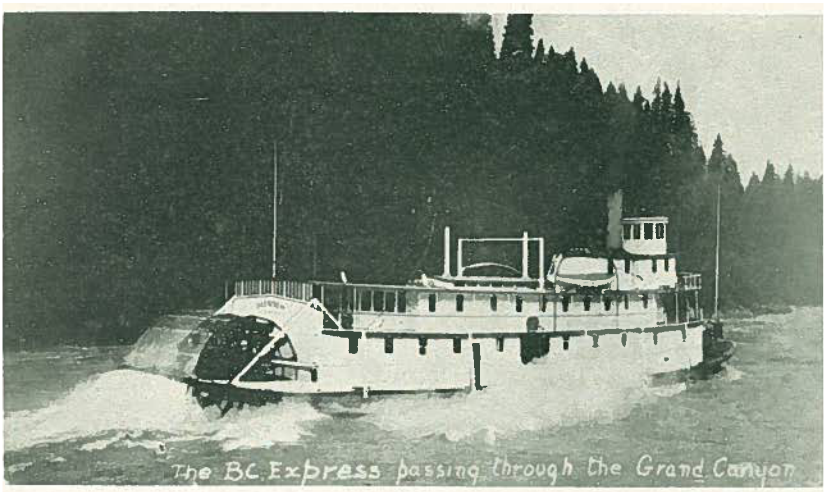
VANCOUVER, B.C.

(117) *Ibid.*, May 13, 1921. "The wrecked boat has always been a 'hoodood' craft. She was first badly designed, and was not operated successfully, and later was sold, rebuilt and run in a desultory fashion. Her greatest success was as a ferry boat when the temporary bridge was being constructed across the Fraser here." Later it was reported that her machinery was being taken out and the hull of the *Doctor* made ready to receive it [*ibid.*, May 17, 1921], but no further information is available concerning this venture.

A B.C. Express Company " Winton Six " at Soda Creek.

B.C. Express Company automobiles at Ashcroft.

The *B.C. Express* passing through the Grand Canyon.



The *B.C. Express* passing through the Grand Canyon.

APPENDIX.

UPPER FRASER RIVER STEAMERS: 1863–1920.

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

[N] Contemporary newspaper records.

[S] *Report of the Steamboat Inspector for British Columbia* as published annually in Canada *Sessional Papers*.

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

1. *B.C. Express.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Soda Creek, June, 1912; built by Alexander Watson, Jr., for the British Columbia Express Company.
Dimension: 121.3 x 27.9 x 4.8 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 449; registered, 283 [S].
Engines: 9 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 130883 [S].

2. *B.X.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Soda Creek, May 13, 1910; built by Alexander Watson, Jr., for the British Columbia Express Company.
Dimensions: 127.5 x 28.8 x 5.1 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 513; registered, 323 [S].
Engines: Pair of horizontal tandem compound condensing engines; 9" (high pressure), 18" (low pressure) x 60" [N]. 27 h.p. [S].
Diameter of stern-wheel: 18' [N].
Official No.: 126516 [S].

3. *Charlotte.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Quesnel, August 3, 1896; built by Alexander Watson for the North British Columbia Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 111.4 x 20.6 x 4.6 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 217; registered, 79 [S].
Engines: 11" x 60" [N]; 10 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 103909 [S].

4. *Chilcotin.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Soda Creek, July 20, 1910; built by Donald McPhee for the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 134.5 x 23.5 x 4.5 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 435; registered, 274 [S].
Engines: 21 h.p [S].
Official No.: 126945 [S].

5. *Conveyor.*

Stern-wheeler: Originally built at Victoria in 1909 by Foley, Welch & Stewart for use on the Skeena River in connection with the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, she was dismantled and the machinery shipped to Tête Jaune Cache, where the vessel was rebuilt and launched May 12, 1912.
Dimensions: 141.7 x 34.8 x 5.2 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 725; registered, 457 [S].
Engines: 15 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 130885 [S].

6. *Enterprise.*

Stern-wheeler: Built at Four Mile Creek in 1863 by James Trahey for G. B. Wright and Tom Wright.
Dimensions: 110 x 20 [W].
Engines: 12" x 30"; 60 h.p. [W]. Two boilers 36" in diameter and 10' long [W].
Diameter of stern-wheel: 15' 6" [W].

7. *Fort Fraser*, renamed *Doctor.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Soda Creek, late June, 1910, for the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 56 x 11.8 x 2.9 [S]. When relaunched September, 1913, as *Doctor*, 65 x 16 [N].
Tonnage: Gross, 33; registered, 21 [S].
Engines: 2 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 126944 [S].

8. *Nechaco*, renamed *Chilco.*

Stern-wheeler: Launched at Quesnel, May 25, 1909; built by Donald McPhee for the Fort George Lumber and Navigation Company.
Dimensions: 80 x 16.4 x 3.2 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 129; registered, 76 [S].
Engines: 13 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 126512 [S].

9. *Operator.*

Stern-wheeler: Originally built at Victoria in 1909 by Foley, Welch & Stewart for use on the Skeena River in connection with the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, she was dismantled and the machinery shipped to Tête Jaune Cache, where the vessel was rebuilt and launched May 12, 1912.
Dimensions: 141.7 x 34.8 x 5.2 [S].
Tonnage: Gross, 698; registered, 439 [S].
Engines: 15 h.p. [S].
Official No.: 130,886 [S].

10. *Quesnel.*
    Stern-wheeler: Launched at Quesnel in May, 1909; built by John Strand for Telesphore Marion; she was rebuilt by Donald McPhee and relaunched September 2, 1909.
    Dimensions: 70 x 16.2 x 3.7 [S].
    Tonnage: Gross, 130; registered, 77 [S].
    Engines: 3 h.p. [S].
    Official No.: 126245 [S].

11. *Robert C. Hammond.*
    Stern-wheeler: Launched on May 22, 1913, at Fort George for the Fort George Lake and River Transportation Company.
    Dimensions: 101 x 21.5 x 4.2 [S].
    Tonnage: Gross, 250, registered, 158 [S].
    Engines: 10" x 48" [N]; 5 h.p. [S].
    Official No.: 133979 [S].

12. *Victoria.*
    Stern-wheeler: Built at Quesnel in 1868 by James Trahey for G. B. Wright.
    Dimensions: 116 x 23 x 4 [W].
    Engines: 14" x 54"; 90 h.p. [W].
    Diameter of stern-wheel: 17' 8" [W].

RUSSIA'S APPROACH TO AMERICA.

PART II.—FROM SPANISH SOURCES, 1761–1775.

In 1761 the Government of Spain revived the Family Compact with France and dispatched to St. Petersburg its first diplomatic representative at that court since the mission of the Duke de Liria, 1727–1730. The new ambassador, the Marqués de Almodóvar, was warned of Russian advances in the Pacific, of which it is reasonable to suppose that the Government in Madrid had recently learned. Thus, while Almodóvar was endeavouring to cement Russo-Spanish collaboration in the Seven Years' War, he was also striving to pierce the veil of secrecy with which Russian discoveries were hidden. His successors likewise probed the matter, and, from the scraps of information so gleaned, a plausible picture of Russian exploration and expansion was pieced together. While the evidence so accumulated by Spain was inconclusive, it put the Spanish Government on guard in the New World and, ultimately, inspired a series of expeditions under trained mariners to search for Russian posts and to forestall any threat to Spain's American possessions.

The account which we derive from the Russian documents concerning this expansion into North America is, of necessity, incomplete and confused. The fur-trading companies were groping their way eastward along the Aleutian Islands in considerable uncertainty. The landsmen, who made up the crews, were unable to record their observations accurately. Such information as they obtained was often garbled and therefore of little use to their successors, especially as it was transmitted, for the most part, orally. Even Government intervention in the work of exploration did not altogether alter this. Half-measures, such as the detailing of Lieutenant Sind to accompany a commercial expedition as pilot, could only aggravate the situation. Sind, even had he been in command of the expedition, was not a properly qualified navigator. The only result, therefore, was to lend official sanction to the badly confused maps which he prepared. The errors Sind made on this voyage (1765–1766) were perpetuated by the account of Staehlin and did much to spread confusion in the cartography before they were corrected

by Krenitsyn and Levashev on their voyage of 1768–1769.[1] These mistakes were, of course, repeated in the reports of the Spanish ambassadors. The strength and permanence of Russian lodgements on the islands were also misjudged by the Spaniards. They were prone to accept the word of merchants or voyagers who reached the capital and, in their own interests, exaggerated. Thus, a temporary building thrown together at some point as a shelter became a fort, and a landing-site, such as Bering Island, which was regularly visited on the voyage out and back, became a depot of supplies for the whole Aleutian chain. A few deft touches sufficed to make Russian expansion look impressive on a map when no contradictory evidence was at hand. However, later reports corrected these distortions, and the Spaniards themselves soon scaled these claims down to life-size.

In the course of time much material has been accumulated from the Russian side, but even to-day it does little more than fill out the original outlines of Russian expansion without giving us many additional details. It is astonishing how this fresh light merely serves to confirm what the Spanish ambassadors were able to learn in skeletal form some 200 years ago. An examination of their correspondence with the home Government reveals how closely, in spite of official secrecy, they were able to follow Russian movements in the North Pacific. Spain in this connection was well served by her representatives at St. Petersburg.

Transcriptions of many of these Spanish documents are to be found in Bancroft Library, having been secured by Charles E. Chapman from the Archives of the Indies at Seville. No such copies are available for two of these reports, however, and we have had to resort to paraphrases which appear in Chapman's *Founding of Spanish California.* While we should have preferred to use the original text, there did not seem to be any valid reason to doubt the substantial correctness of this version, especially since it checks closely with information derived from Russian sources. To obviate the inevitable delays that would attend the effort to procure a transcript of the original, we have preferred to accept a second-best in the belief that, for our purpose, it is adequate.

(1) *See* below, Document IV. Complete accuracy in this regard was not established, of course, until the last voyage of Captain Cook.

I.

The first pertinent Spanish dispatch was in response to the royal instructions of March 9, 1761, directing the minister at St. Petersburg to gather all possible information on Russian discoveries in the North Pacific.[2] Replying in October of that year, the Marqués de Almodóvar traced the background of Russian expansion and the two Bering expeditions (1728 and 1741), and then offered some conclusions of his own:—[3]

> Up to the present the Russians cannot be said to have done more than sight the coasts of America. . . . [However] even though they have not taken possession of it, they are in a position to do so at any time. The point nearest to our establishments [reached by the Russians] is that which Captain Tschirikow discovered at 56° north latitude[4]—thirteen degrees distant from Cape Blanco, which is the northern extremity of California. . . . These voyages may better serve to further the advancement of Geography than to expand the [Russian] Empire. . . . Neither the English nor the Dutch have had, or can have, any part in the expeditions into the Pacific from Kamtschatka. All of their attempts to enter the Pacific north-eastward through the Arctic Ocean have failed up to now, and the last voyages of the Russians have demonstrated that even if this voyage were possible, it would be entirely impracticable commercially. In addition to surmounting a million dangers, the expedition would find its progress interrupted by winter three or four times before reaching the Pacific.

Almodóvar enclosed with his dispatch a "Geographical Chart" from the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, in which the expeditions mentioned were indicated.[5]

II.

By 1764 Almodóvar had been succeeded as ambassador by the Visconde de la Herreria, who took up the task of finding out all of the facts of Russian expansion in the Pacific. Under date of

(2) Instructions to Marqués de Almodóvar, Buen Retiro, March 9, 1761, in Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo 6618 (Antiguo).

(3) Almodóvar to Ricardo Wall, St. Petersburg, October 7, 1761, in *Archivo General de Indias* (hereinafter cited as *A.G.I.*), América en General, Legajo 1.

(4) Chirikov's discovery was actually at 55° 21′ north latitude, according to best authority. *See* Frank A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, New York, 1922–1925, Vol. I, p. 291.

(5) This was probably G. F. Müller's map published in 1758 at St. Petersburg in connection with his *Nachrichten von Seereisen*. *See also* Part I of this article, pp. 59, 60.

March 30, 1764, Herreria resumed the story and gave his Government its first official news of post-Bering discoveries:—[6]

There has just arrived from Kamtschatka a Russian merchant who has had an audience with the Empress.[7] In this interview he declared that, having undertaken a voyage to America with three of his companions, they had embarked in a small boat at Avatscha. Pursuing their course to 65° north latitude, they discovered sixteen islands. On two of these they landed and traded with the inhabitants (whom they call Esquimaux), taking among other pelts many beautiful black Fox Skins . . . which were valued in Tobolsky at 100 rubles each.[8] They have brought some of them here for the Empress, who found them extremely beautiful.

According to the report of this man and his companions, it appears that the direction of their voyage was to the Northeast, and they claim

(6) Visconde de la Herreria to Marqués de Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, March 30, 1764, in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Amér. Gen., Leg. 1.

(7) This account so closely resembles that given by Berkh in connection with the voyage of Glotov that it is reasonable to suppose that they both refer to the same incident. "When the travellers returned in 1761 on the ship Julian with black foxes, dark brown foxes, and red foxes, the *nachal'nik* of Okhotsk took the first two and sent them off to the 'Cabinet' of her Majesty the Empress. Some of these were selected and the rest returned." Vasilii N. Berkh, *Khronologicheskaya Istoriya Otkrytiya Aleutskikh Ostrovov ili Podvigi Rossiiskago Kupechestva*, St. Petersburg, 1823, p. 88 ff.

(8) This story presents at first sight a number of difficulties. The meaning intended is: The expedition set out from Petropavlovsk (in Avacha Bay on the east coast of Kamchatka); heading toward the north-east, they discovered sixteen islands, with whose inhabitants—called Esquimaux—they traded, securing (it is implied for the first time) the skins of the black fox, which brought an unusually high price at Tobolsk.

If this is the same voyage as that mentioned by Berkh, it is credited with having discovered the Alaska Peninsula, which means that it touched the mainland at about latitude 54°, and not 65° north. Since none of the early fur-traders used the word "Esquimaux" to describe the natives they encountered, one is inclined to believe that the merchant had picked it up from some member of the Academy with whom he conversed. It was a word current in learned circles rather than among actual traders.

The crews were obviously impressed with encountering black foxes (not hitherto seen in the Aleutians). It is implied apparently that their presence indicates a northerly latitude. This is hardly true, since black foxes occur on the Fox Islands. Ivan Petrof discusses the range of the various species in his "Report on the Population, Industries and Resources of Alaska," in *Report of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, VIII (47th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Misc. Doc.* 42, Part 8), p. 58.

to have sighted the mainland of America, not far from their position on one of the islands.[9]

They have sketched a Map of their discoveries, which the Academy of St. Petersburg is now examining in great secrecy, and although I have attempted to acquire it by various means, I have been unable to do so. But whenever I shall have done so, I will send it to Your Excellency.[10]

(9) The account of this voyage given to the St. Petersburg authorities puzzled the members of the Academy of Sciences. Lomonosov, who had been named in 1757 a member of the Chancellery of the Academy, was at this time very active in introducing more scientific accuracy in the cartography of Russia by training young men in astronomy and surveying (geodesy). He had attacked the work of Müller in geography for his want of grounding in the basic mathematics. Some penetrating comments on this expedition were made by Lomonosov in a letter to Count I. G. Chernyshev, vice-president of the Academy, on September 15, 1765: "According to the explanation of the above mariners, they reached the island of Umnak from Komandor [Bering] Island in 31 days. . . . On their course, they kept to the northeast. However, the declination [variation] of the compass shown on Bering's map as 1¾ to 2½ rhumbs, which the above seamen did not know, proves that their direction was east-north-east. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the climate there is warmer than it would have been had they gone directly to the northeast. . . ." Quoted in [A. P. Sokolov], *Proekt Lomonosova i ekspeditsiya Chichagova 1765 goda*, St. Petersburg, 1854, p. 142 ff.

The "rhumb" so used is a point of the mariner's compass. One and three-quarters to two and a half rumbs would be a variation of somewhere between 19° and 34° east. If Lomonosov's conjecture is correct, we get a very natural explanation of the mistake in the direction of the voyage and the latitude reached, an error that was repeated on later expeditions. For an account of the voyage of the *Julian* under Glotov, *see* A. I. Andreyev, *Russkie Otkrytiya v Tikhom Okeanye i Syevernoi Amerikye v XVIII i XIX vyekakh*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1944.

(10) According to Berkh, the map prepared by Ponomarev and Shishkin, who accompanied this expedition, was submitted to the Admiralty College, which was most directly interested. But there is no reason why it may not also have been submitted to the Academy of Sciences. In further confirmation of the incident, Berkh cites an entry from the Journal of the Admiralty College:—

"The Ustyug merchant Shilov laid before the college [*i.e.*, the Admiralty], to illustrate his voyages to the Kamchatka islands, a chart on which their location as far as is known is laid down. He also gave satisfactory oral explanations concerning their inhabitants and resources. The college having at the wish and will of her Imperial Majesty inspected and examined their chart and compared it with the one compiled by Captain Chirikov, and upon careful consideration, presents most respectfully the following report: 'The college deems the report of Shilov concerning navigation and trade

Another Company of Merchants, who sailed from the Kolima river, doubled the Cape of Tschutsky and entered the strait which separates America from Siberia.[11] Having encountered many Islands at 70° north latitude, they landed on several of them and had very good luck in obtaining skins, and among these some very valuable black Foxes. They disembarked with their cargo at Avatscha, and returned to Kamtschatka.[12]

The merchants have stated that since the year 1759 they have already made several voyages equal to this one. But the Russian officials of these Siberian outposts . . . have concealed such information, because most of the peltries which they have brought from those islands . . . have been taken to China and sold there at very high prices.[13]

---

insufficient for official consideration, and, in many respects, contradictory; especially the chart, which does not agree in many important points with other charts in the hands of the college; and, moreover, it could not be expected to be correct, being compiled by a person knowing nothing of the science and rules of navigation. On the other hand, as far as this document is concerned, we must commend the spirit which instigated its conception and induced the author to undergo hardships and dangers in extending the navigation and trade of Russia, as we find in it the basis upon which to build further investigation and discoveries of unknown countries, which well deserves the approbation of our most Gracious Imperial Majesty.'" Quoted in Berkh, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–72.

(11) The voyage referred to is unquestionably that of Shalaurov, who made an unsuccessful attempt in 1762 to reach Bering Strait from the mouth of the Kolyma; he repeated his attempt later, in 1764, and was apparently successful, but the expedition was lost in the Gulf of Anadyr, and Shalaurov himself perished. News of these expeditions was picked up by Billings three decades later. For a fairly full account of these events, *see* Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia . . . Performed . . . by Commodore Joseph Billings, in the Years 1784–1794*, London, 1802, pp. 95–97.

(12) It is to be noted that the travellers *did not land at Avacha*, since the expedition came to grief in the North.

(13) All authorities agree on the existence of an extensive contraband trade in furs between Siberia and China which resulted from the Government's attempt in the early eighteenth century to establish a monopoly over this commerce. It was abandoned in 1762, largely because it was a farce. But besides removing what must have contributed to corruption among the officials in Siberia, this served as a stimulus to enterprise on the part of the private traders and hunters. It also lifted the veil of secrecy from the activities of the *promyshlenniki*, since there was now no motive to continue to suppress news of the voyages. *See* Moriz August, *graf* von Beniowsky, *Memoirs and travels of Mauritius Augustus count de Benyowsky*, tr. by William Nicholson, Dublin, 1790, Vol. I, p. 72; and Waldemar Jochelson, *Archeological Investigations in Kamchatka*, Washington, 1928, pp. 12, 13.

They also said that the north[west]ern extremity of America projects very much farther out into the sea than the Cape of Tschutsky, and that at 65° north latitude the channel has a width of approximately 200 versts [about 132 miles].[14]

They endeavored to take possession of the islands on which they landed and, according to Russian custom, to force the inhabitants to pay tribute [yassak], which they refused to do.[15]

At present they are having some ships built in Kamtschatka that are larger than those hitherto employed in these Expeditions. The government is encouraging these voyages in the expectation of a profit.

III.

The first fruits of the awakened interest of the Government under Catherine was the authorization passed down through official channels and finally reaching Lieutenant-Colonel Plenisner, commandant of Okhotsk, to undertake exploration in the general area of the Chukchi Peninsula. Plenisner at this time had been urging the Government to abandon Anadyrskii Ostrog as being too inaccessible from the sea and too exposed to Chukchi attack. In addition to carrying out two expeditions by land to Chukchi Peninsula, Plenisner apparently made use of this authority to direct Lieutenant Sind, one of his military subordinates, to accompany a commercial vessel, presumably of the Shilov-Lapin Company, on a voyage into Bering Sea. The following document apparently relates to this voyage, from which it was hoped that accurate knowledge would be forthcoming. But the advance notice of the expedition obviously gave an exaggerated idea of the qualifications of those taking part. Sind, like Plenisner, had accompanied Bering on the expedition of

(14) The meaning apparently is that, since the Pacific Ocean narrows from a width of between three and four thousand miles in the latitudes where Bering and Chirikov crossed it to a mere 132 miles, then America must project westward in a great promontory or peninsula. While the geographers had not yet formed a clear picture of the configuration of Alaska, this conjecture indicates that it was taking shape. Of course, Müller's map of 1758 gives some idea of it. *See* Map No. III in Part I.

(15) The collection of *yassak* from the native population in the form of furs had long been practised and was extended naturally to the Aleutians. It occasioned disturbances and violence, owing to the barbarous methods of its collection, but it was not discontinued until after the expedition of Billings, 1784–1794. It seems to have been replaced by the imposition of forced labour in hunting, though without any statutory sanction until the third charter of the Russian American Company in 1844.

1741 but probably had no mathematical training beyond what an army officer would have. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Russian agent Ismailov told Captain Cook at Unalaska in 1778 that little of note was achieved on this expedition.[16] In September, 1764, the Spanish ambassador at St. Petersburg dispatched a new report to Madrid.[17] Fresh information at hand confirmed his conjecture of March 30 that the Russian traders had penetrated regions not previously reached. That they had gone north of the 60th parallel was certain (to him) because:—

It has long been observed that Foxes do not have black fur except beyond 60° north latitude, while those brought from the islands mentioned (which they have named the Islands of Aleyut) are decidedly black.[18] This has aroused in this Government a lively desire to further the discoveries, and thus it has determined to send an expedition to cross the strait which separates America and Siberia, with a view also to corroborating the said discoveries.[19]

(16) Capt. James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780*, London, 1785, Vol. II, p. 498.

(17) Herreria to Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, September 18, 1764, in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Amér. Gen. 1, Doc. 83.

(18) *See* above, foot-note (8). The use of the term "Aleyut" as applied to the chain of islands is added confirmation of Lomonosov's conjecture that previous expeditions, through an error in taking their bearings, had placed these islands ten or more degrees too far to the north.

(19) This is probably the voyage associated with the name of Sind. A Soviet scholar working in the archives of the Geographical Department of the Academy of Sciences recently uncovered what seems to be documentary material on this voyage. It is in the form of a map entitled "Map of Northeastern Asia and North America" and is dated 1770. It shows the coast of Siberia and the adjacent American coast, together with the rivers. A Russian fort is shown on the American mainland on the River Khevruven [Kuzitrin?] with a notation that the inhabitants there closely resemble the Chukchi in speech and customs, clothing themselves in skins similar to those worn by the latter; and that there is a lively exchange of goods between the peoples on either side of the strait. Further notes on the margin, in the handwriting of S. Y. Rumovskii (a well-known member of the Academy), indicate that the map was received from Lieutenant-Colonel Plenisner, that originally it was accompanied by two other maps, some information about the coast-line of both continents, a geographical description of the River Anadyr, a short account of Kamchatka, and a journal kept by some secret expedition. It is a reasonable inference that this latter was the original journal of Sind, which in the course of time has become misplaced or has disappeared. *See* V. F. Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department Akademii Nauk XVIII Vyeka*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1946, Prilozhenie, II, 292, No. 123. Historians have had to rely on two secondary accounts of this

This new expedition has been placed in charge of a Lieutenant-Colonel (of German nationality) called Blensner [obviously Friederich Plenisner, the commandant of Okhotsk], and preparations for it are being made at this time at Anadirsky-Ostrog, which is a Port which takes its name from the Anadir River, which flows into the strait between America and Siberia at 65° north latitude. Blensner is taking with him Mathematicians and Geographers. . . . I am sending to Your Excellency the enclosed Map of the Russian discoveries made by the Academy of St. Petersburg. . . .[20]

---

voyage. The first of these appeared in the *Mesyatsoslov Istoricheskii i Geograficheskii* for 1774 and was reproduced in *Sobranie Sochinenii iz mesyatsoslovov* for 1789 (pp. 342–345). It offers the following:—

"To promote this design [navigation and trade among the newly discovered islands] still further, an imperial *ukaz* was directed to the admiralty office in Okhotsk on the shores of the sea of Penzhina [Sea of Okhotsk] to lend assistance to this Kamchatka trading company in its undertaking and to endeavor to furnish information on the islands and coast lying to the north and northeast of Kamchatka. And so in 1764 they sailed in galliots and Siberian ships called *doshchenki* under command of Lieut. Sind of the above Admiralty Office, from the harbor of Okhotsk, across the sea of Okhotsk around the southern tip of Kamchatka into the Sea of Kamchatka, or the so-called Pacific ocean, towards the north, and afterwards they put into the harbor of Petropavlovsk, wintering at this post. Next year they sailed farther to the north and, as on the first, so in the following years, 1765 and 1766, they gradually discovered between the 56th and 67th degree of north latitude many large and small islands, and in 1767 they returned safely home. As a result of the report sent by them to the provincial chancellery of Irkutsk and thence to the Administrative Senate, and of the maps drawn, the map engraved in 1758 underwent many alterations and assumed a different appearance with reference to the countries on the Sea of Anadyrsk and in the position of the coasts of America, opposite. But still greater is the difference observed in the newly discovered northern archipelago on the map attached herewith, which is more accurately drawn according to the latest information. On this is shown the journeys of Bering and Chirikov and, particularly, the last sea expedition of our Kamchatka fur traders and of Lieutenant Sind, also all the islands newly discovered by them in their observed positions and according to their size; some of them named, others still unnamed."

The second account is that of William Coxe, who visited Russia about 1778. It was published in his *Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, London, 1780. Coxe gives a very inadequate description of the voyage, but it is accompanied by a map which, though inaccurate, clearly indicates that Sind sailed north along the Asiatic coast and into Bering Sea before returning.

(20) The reference to mathematicians and geographers is obviously a gross exaggeration, since Lomonosov was complaining of the lack of trained mathematicians and geodesists in the Geographic Department of the

IV.

The next Spanish report of any significance was received in Madrid nine years later; *i.e.*, in 1773. Herreria had been succeeded by a new ambassador, the Conde de Lacy. The nine years which had elapsed represents the period of Catherine's most intense activity in fostering explorations in the East. Her energies were now being absorbed in the great foreign and domestic crises of her reign: the first Turkish War, the partitions of Poland, the Pugachev revolt. The Empress was not to pick up the threads in the East again until after the American Revolution and the annexation of the Crimea, in 1783.

In following up the Sind expedition, Catherine had authorized one exclusively under Government control, commanded by Captain Krenitsyn with Lieutenant Levashev second in command. It was to explore the Aleutian Islands more thoroughly and make accurate astronomical observations. The Krenitsyn-Levashev voyage fixed for the first time the exact location of the easternmost group of the Aleutians, the Fox Islands. Lacy's report in 1773 is of special interest, in that it indicates that Spain had notice of this expedition years before any account of it was published.[21]

. . . I have managed to obtain a detailed report through the medium of a subject who has read and handled papers relative to this matter which are sealed up in the Archives at this court. Until I have an opportunity to send Your Excellency this report, I am referring Your Excellency to its most essential points. . . .

On the voyage of Captains Bering and Tschiricovv . . . it says nothing that is not known. . . . But in the year 1764 the Empress sent out three ships, two under Captains Estehacovv and Panovvbajevv, which sailed from Archangel, and a third under Captain Krenitzin, which sailed from Kamtschatka with instructions to join the first two. The junction was effected, and they reportedly found the lands between forty-odd and 75 degrees [north latitude] to be part of the mainland, but almost everywhere shrouded in very dense fog. And that from 235° longitude to Kamtschatka, the sea is full of Islands inhabited by people who have been trading for many years with those of Kamt-

Academy at St. Petersburg. The map forwarded by Herreria was probably the *Nouvelle Carte des Découvertes faites par des vaissaux Russiens aux côtes inconnues de l'Amérique Septentrionale avec les Pais adjacents*, put out by Müller in 1758.

(21) Lacy to Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, March 19, 1773, in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Audiencia de México, Legajo 1, Doc. 5.

schatka, all of which has been unknown, until now, to the Russian governors.[22] In the most remote of the said Islands, which they call the Tschuktschi, the inhabitants have the same clothes, language, and customs as the American natives. They [the voyagers] reiterate what the Russian Professor Stelar said on his return from the Bering expedition, that if America was not joined to the Tschutsky promontory, the separation could not be [as much as a voyage of] two hours.[23] The mainland, according to what they say and believe here, is California, in which case it extends to 75 degrees, and the employees of the first voyage, as well as those of the second, thus give it a very favorable report. They say that the Coasts are formed by high mountains covered with Trees which the Russians call "livvnaza" and Cedars,

(22) The expedition from Archangel under the command of "Estehacovv" and "Panovvbajevv" was unquestionably the one inspired by Lomonosov, whose objective was to find the north-east passage and join up with Krenitsyn. The expedition actually consisted of three ships, commanded respectively by Chichagov, Panov, and Babayev, the originals of the "Estehacovv" and "Panovvbajevv" of the Spanish dispatch. It succeeded only in reaching the north-west coast of Spitzbergen and returned finally to Archangel in 1766. The junction with Krenitsyn did not take place. *See* Lev S. Berg, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkikh Geograficheskikh Otkrytii*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1946, pp. 34–40.

This expedition of Chichagov is known to have been surrounded with the utmost secrecy, and the wonder is that the Spanish minister was able to pierce the iron curtain at all. The errors are thus understandable. Information about it is of the scantiest. An article by G. F. Müller, "Herrn v Tschitschagow Russisch-Kayserlichen Admirals Reise nach dem Eismeere," was published after the author's death by P. S. Pallas, in *Neue Nordische Beyträge zur Physikalischen und geographischen Erd-und Völkerbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und Oekonomie*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781–1796. Müller's own title was "Nachrichten von den neuesten Schiffahrten im Eismeere und in der Kamtschatkischen See seit dem Jahr 1742." [Sokolov], *Proekt Lomonosova, passim.*

(23) Again the reports apparently confuse the Chukchi with the natives of America, either the Aleuts or the Eskimos.

The reference here is to Georg Wilhelm Steller, who accompanied the second expedition of Bering in the capacity of naturalist. This information must have been obtained from someone in the Academy of Sciences who had had access to Steller's journal, since the journal itself was not published until 1793. We know from Pallas, however, that "this noteworthy journal . . . was communicated to me in the original by the later professor of history, Fischer." *See* Golder, *op cit.*, Vol. II, p. 9, foot-note (2).

Steller knew that Bering's secret instructions from the Admiralty were to proceed northward along the coast of America until he reached a point opposite the Chukchi Peninsula, where he was convinced that only a short distance separated the two continents. Indeed, he severely criticized Bering for failure to conform to this plan. Golder, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 19.

well-suited for ship-timber.[24] The region is agreeable and moist, abundant in copper mines and indications of other, more precious, metals. I have at hand a piece of copper from that region. The Land abounds in Foxes, Sables, and Otters with skins of the finest and best quality. When informed of this, the Empress in 1765 and 1766 authorized a company of Merchants of Kamtschatka to form an establishment, which they have done in what they here call the mainland of America, at 64° north latitude.[25] This company is composed of twenty-four individuals [share-holders] and two hundred Cossacks who are

(24) At this point Lacy appears to have drawn his information from the report of the Krenitsyn voyage to the mainland of America, but he has obviously confused the latitude reached (75°) with that of the Chichagov voyage across the Arctic Ocean from Archangel.

The "first voyage" to which Lacy refers is obviously the Bering expedition of 1741, the reports of which were entrusted to Krenitsyn to guide him in his explorations. The "second" refers to that of Krenitsyn himself. Although this latter voyage was authorized in 1764, various mishaps prevented its sailing to America until 1768.

The term "Livvnaza" (*livnaza*) does not appear in any of the standard Russian dictionaries. The word *lyva* is given as "a dense forest growing in a marsh." *Livnaza* is probably a local Siberian term. As for the cedar, there is some disagreement among authorities as to whether it occurs on the Alaska Peninsula, though the yellow cedar is common on the Alexander Archipelago. *See* Petrof's "Report on Alaska," *loc cit.*, map facing page 75; and Bernard E. Fernow's discussion in *Harriman Alaska Expedition, 1899*, New York, 1903, Vol. II, p. 185.

We do not have the journal of the Krenitsyn expedition, but an extract of the same appears in Appendix I to William Coxe's *Account of Russian Discoveries*. This was given to Coxe by Dr. Robertson, who had obtained it from the Russian archives by submitting a request to the Empress through her physician, Dr. Rogerson. *See* William Robertson, *The History of America*, London, 1777, Vol. I, pp. xi, xii. No other account of the voyage is known to have been published. However, in addition to the extract of the journal, Coxe must have obtained additional material from the archives, for related documents appear in the appendices to his work. This latter information bears so striking a resemblance to what is contained in the Spanish dispatch that one is tempted to conjecture that Lacy's informant had access to these same documents.

(25) Since the Krenitsyn voyage did not return until 1769, this information submitted to Catherine must have been obtained from earlier expeditions, material on which was probably seen by Lacy's informant at the same time as the Krenitsyn journal, just as it was by Dr. Robertson. *See above*, foot-note (24).

A Russian map of Alaska of 1801 confirms the prevalence of a widespread belief, at least among Russian geographers, that there was a permanent post on what is now Seward Peninsula. This may have arisen from the Sind expedition. *See above*, foot-note (19).

employed in hunting, exploring the Country, garrisoning the establishment, and seeing that the Americans are subjected to tribute. Besides this, there are in that region forty seamen and two shipwrights attached to the Company. The individual share-holders have gold medals emblazoned with the bust of the Empress, who has given the Company the privilege of trading in anything that it might see fit to in that region. . . .[26]

V.

The following dispatch was sent to Madrid by Lacy prior to the one just quoted, but since it deals with later Russian operations in the Pacific, we have reserved it to follow the events related above. Curiously enough it describes a voyage about which there appears to be no other information. Perhaps it is a garbled version of the Krenitsyn-Levashev expedition; perhaps it is the figment of someone's imagination. It is offered here for what it might be worth.[27]

I have recently learned with tolerable certainty that in the year 1769 a Russian Naval officer called Tscherikow [Chirikov?] was engaged in the exploration which this Nation is promoting between Kamtschatka and America. This officer returned in 1771 to one of the

(26) The company whose activities are here described was obviously the Shilov-Lapin Company mentioned in the *Mesyatsoslov Istoricheskii i Geografischeskii* for 1774. " She [the Empress] confirmed the establishment of a company of Russian merchants and conferred [on them] special privileges for carrying on shipbuilding and trade with the newly-discovered islands, and the first twelve of the company she rewarded with medals, specially cast for this purpose, which they wear with a blue ribbon on the breast as a mark [of the condescension] of the empress. . . . In the beginning it [the company] consisted of twenty merchants, many of whom traded in Russian goods and those of the European countries, in Siberia and on the Chinese frontier. Each invested in this new trading company 500 rubles, and they established two principal trading branches—one at Okhotsk, the other at Kamchatka. The first was managed by a merchant from Velikii Ustyug, Vasillii Ivanovich Shilov; the other by Ivan Timofeyevich Krasil'nikov, from Soligamsk, who sailed in his own ship on the first expedition and after this settled in Kamchatka. Of the other members of this trading company the principal ones were: Fedor Nikiforovich Rybinskii, a merchant of Moscow, Fedor Afanaseyevich Kul'kov, Ivan Lapin and Fedor Burenin, the last three all from Vologda." A similar report is given by Berkh in his *Khronologicheskaya Istoriya Otkrytiya*, p. 88, the slight discrepancies being accounted for by the fact that Berkh got his information directly from Lapin himself many years afterwards in Siberia.

(27) Lacy to Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, February 7, 1773, in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Aud. de Méx. 1, Doc. 1.

Ports of Kamtschatka with his ship in good condition and without having lost a single member of his crew. He returned to this Court at the beginning of last year with his secretary only, having left the other Persons who had accompanied him on his expedition, in Siberia. He delivered all of his papers to the Minister, who deposited them under triple-seal in the Archive. This officer and his secretary were made to swear to maintain the discoveries a complete secret, and he was at once given command of the last Squadron which left here for the [Greek] Archipelago.

Informed of this, I have exercised the greatest diligence to learn what success this voyage has had, but I have heard only that on his return, Mr. Tscherikow said that he had been in America, from whence he brought some coins which he had known only in Europe. . . . Of all this I can vouch only for the voyage having been made by Mr. Tscherikow, of which there appears to be no doubt. The other circumstances of the matter I give as conjecture.[28]

VI.

Information of a more definite nature than the foregoing was relayed to Spain by Lacy in April of the same year.[29] As a result of persistent inquiries, a clearer picture of Russian activities in the East now begins to emerge out of the fog. Thus we become

(28) None of the extant records identify a voyage made by anyone named Chirikov at this time. Moreover, it is unthinkable that such a voyage might have escaped the notice of such contemporary scholars as Coxe, Robertson, or Pallas; or that it could have been ignored by the other explorers in their reports. It is most significant that no later writer, even those of the present day in the Soviet Union, has ever hinted at it. Official secrecy would have had to be of the most comprehensive and thorough-going kind to hide it for all time.

On the other hand, the account of the expedition here referred to seems to contain echoes of that of Krenitsyn. Krenitsyn himself was drowned shortly after his return to Kamchatka, so that it was Levashev who returned to St. Petersburg with the official report. This may have thrown off both Lacy and his informant, so that, not knowing Levashev, they might have jumped to the conclusion that it was a different expedition. The date of the return to Kamchatka (1771), as well as that of the arrival of the officer in the capital (1772), does not agree with those given for the Krenitsyn expedition (1769 and 1771).

The document does give an indication of the difficulty encountered by a foreigner in getting information on these secret voyages and the ease with which mistakes might be reported as fact. Significantly enough, no further mention of this mysterious voyage occurs in later Spanish documents.

(29) Lacy to Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, April 23, 1773, (extract) in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Aud. de Méx. 1, Doc. 10.

conscious of a rapidly changing situation. In the first place, the eager zest displayed by the Empress in the first years of her reign had begun to flag. Perhaps her energies were being drawn into other channels. After the voyage of Krenitsyn in 1768 and 1769, no other expedition under Government auspices left the mainland of Eastern Asia until that of Billings in 1790. There are apparently no further decrees or other official documents of any importance and no evidence of anything but the most casual interest of the Government in the fur trade. Yet it is precisely at this time that the fur trade was being drastically reorganized. The exhaustion of the Aleutian Islands fur resources was driving the traders farther and farther afield, into the waters of the Gulf of Alaska. Operations were becoming extended in scope and were consuming longer periods of time. The need for capital was forcing the *promyshlenniki* into larger and more permanent groups. More than this, their heavy expense would not allow the slow and painful collection of pelts through their own comparatively unskilful efforts, and they were driven to force whole settlements of natives into this service for widely organized drives on the sea-otter. It is on the changes of this period that contemporary Russian documents seem to be most silent. Indeed, it is only from later records that we have been able to piece the story together. The following document is of special interest because it gives us a contemporary account of these happenings.

There had arrived at St. Petersburg an inhabitant of Kamchatka (probably a Russian) whom Lacy considered intelligent enough to be questioned about the extent of Russian penetration into America. Through an interpreter he learned from the traveller of six Russian settlements between 64° and 65° north latitude in the newly discovered region.[30]

According to this individual, they have, in addition to the great establishment of the Russians on the Mainland, another on the Island called Semidock, peopled with four thousand hunters, comprising Cossacks and some Americans taken from their homes by force; another

(30) This bit of information Lacy afterwards found to be wrong. *See below*, Document VIII and foot-note (39).

on one called Midnoistrovs, or Copper Island; and another on Behring Island, or Comandador.[31]

(31) While possibly exaggerated, this information must be essentially true. It lifts the curtain on the barbarous practice coming into use of commandeering the services of the Aleutian Islanders to carry out wide sweeps of the coastal and island waters. Hundreds of *baidars* manned by Aleuts were used in hunting down the sea-otter.

The island "Semidock" may be the Semidi (possibly the Semichi) group lying in the Gulf of Alaska to the south of the Alaska Peninsula. By the end of the 1760's game had pretty well been cleared out of the Aleutians. But the coast of Alaska Peninsula, near-by Unga, and the Semidi group offered even richer fields. By this time the organization of large well-financed companies allowed the dispatch of strong expeditions which were able to overpower the savages, not yet possessed of firearms and thus helpless to resist the Russians. The carnage recorded for the years 1762 to 1764 was not mere wanton cruelty; it was a decisive step in terrorizing the Aleuts into complete submission. Henceforth they perforce yielded to the demands of each successive expedition and provided from their yet numerous population the hunters whose incessant labours piled up huge profits for the Russian *promyshlenniki*. Catherine had heard of this practice and had warned the Governor of Siberia that it would not be tolerated. Krenitsyn had denounced the custom on his return. But it was still followed thirty years later, at the time of the Billings expedition. Indeed, it was continued by the Russian American Company, though it never received legal sanction until the third charter of the Company in 1844.

Writing in 1840, Veniaminov (better known as the Metropolitan Innokentii of Moscow), who served for many years as a missionary in the Aleutian Islands, has this to say about the excesses of the Russians:—

"Of course, the treatment of the Aleuts by the first Russians was horrible, though in part excusable, and it may be it was even inevitable. But that of the Russians who followed was hardly excusable. The Russians arriving later [those who came] from 1770 to 1790, with the example of their predecessors before their eyes, also committed the worst excesses, especially the *promyshlenniki* of the Ocheredin and Polutov companies. Of the following, unhappily, their horrible conduct has left bitter memories in the minds of the Aleuts—Il'ya Lazarev, Molotilov, Petr Katyshevtsov, Shabayev, Kukanov, Sitnikov, Bryukanov and Malakov. The first two visited Akun, the others the eastern region. These people set no great store by the lives of the Aleuts. Thus it is known that the first hurled people from cliffs, slashed them with knives (which they always carried on their persons), and beat some unfortunate Aleuts with the back of the axe for the simple reason that one of them had dared to look on his mistress (the latter died as late as 1838). And one of these brutal fellows ripped open the belly of his Aleut mistress because, without his consent, she had eaten his favorite portion of the whale.

"Totalling up such massacres (I will not mention those that are not trustworthy), and taking into account their consequences, I do not consider

VII.

Further Russian designs on the lands of the North Pacific were reported by Lacy within a month after the preceding dispatch:—[32]

The Sovereign [Catherine] having informed the famous Haller,[33] professor of the Academy here, of the discoveries in America, the latter has presented a detailed Memorial recommending that when peace [with the Ottoman empire] is made, a part of the Russian Squadron from the [Greek] Archipelago be sent around the Cape of Good Hope to Kamtschatka, in the ports of which it could refit after its long voyage and afterwards continue conquests advantageous to this Empire.[34] According to him, this Empire has more right than any other Power to America because it formerly had been colonized by inhabitants of Siberia, where was carried on all the trade in Drugs

---

the number of Aleuts exaggerated by Davydov in his account of his voyage as having been sent to the other world by Solov'ev [in 1764]; *i.e.*, 3,000. Even the number of Aleuts estimated by Sarychev as having been done in may be accepted as probable. And it seems to me to be too low.

" But at last the year 1790 and the arrival of Billings put an end to all these murders and excesses and ushered in an era of tranquility." I. Veniaminov, *Zapiski ob Ostrovakh Unalashkinskago Otdyela*, St. Petersburg, 1840, Vol. II, p. 195.

(32) Lacy to Grimaldi, St. Petersburg, May 11, 1773, deciphered copy in *A.G.I.*, Estado, Aud. de Méx. 1, Doc. 5.

(33) The name " Haller " does not appear in any accounts of the Academy of Sciences of the time. There was, of course, the famous Swiss scientist Victor Albrecht von Haller, well known to the members of the Academy and with whom we know that Gmelin corresponded. But since he is spoken of here as a member of the Academy, may the name " Haller " not be merely a Spanish phonetical rendition of " Euler "? The name Leonhard Euler is familiar enough to all who know the history of the Academy of Sciences in Russia. The latter was a native of Basel, Switzerland, and apparently was trained in the field of mathematics. He found his way to Russia in the early days of the Academy of Sciences, and in 1735, at the age of 28, was named assistant to Joseph Nicolas Delisle. After sixteen years of service, he left St. Petersburg for Berlin, where he became a member of the Berlin Academy. He was induced to return to Russia in 1766, when he was appointed by Catherine to the Geographical Department of the Academy. He seems to have been chiefly responsible for the brilliant cartographical work of the department that distinguished the years 1768–1774. *See* Gnucheva, *Geograficheskii Department*, pp. 37–90, *passim.*

(34) This is the first known proposal to support Russian claims in the Pacific with a naval force drawn from the fleet in European waters. It was revived in 1786, but did not actually materialize until the voyage of Krusenstern and Lisianskii in 1803.

which were sold in the Fair of Novogorod, a trade interrupted by the incursions of the Tartars and the occupation of the Molucca Islands by the Dutch.[35]

VIII.

By the spring of 1775 Lacy had prepared for his Government a rather detailed summary of Russian commercial activity in the North Pacific. This document apparently comprises a recapitulation of the operations of the Shilov-Lapin Company during the past decade. Since we have been obliged to rely on a paraphrase rather than the original wording for this account, the language is not necessarily Lacy's own.[36]

In 1763 a company of twenty Russian merchants was formed for trade with Kamchatka and the islands already discovered and those to be discovered. This company had two settlements in Kamchatka and had come upon many populous islands in 1764 and 1766 on the western coast of America.[37] The company's capital had increased from 10,000 rubles in 1763 to 60,000 in 1772, and the furs and other products obtained by this company in 1773 were valued at 300,000 rubles. Between 1768 and 1773 they sent seven frigates to the west coast of North America, one in 1768, two in 1770, one in 1772, and three in 1773; the boats of 1772 and 1773 had not yet returned.[38] This company had no fixed settlements in America,[39] but landed Cossacks there

(35) Perhaps this is a reference to the legendary belief prevalent in Russia that merchants of Novgorod had reached America in the Middle Ages, though Novgorod itself is here confused with Nizhnii Novgorod, the site of the great fair. *See* Theodore S. Farrelly, "A Lost Colony of Novgorod in Alaska," in the *Slavonic and East European Review* (American Series), III (1944), pp. 33–38.

(36) Lacy, *Continuacion de Algunas Noticias Adquiridas Sobre el Comercio de los Rusos en las Costas del Nor-Oeste de la América Septentrional* (*A.G.I.*, Estado, Aud. de Méx. 19, Doc. 10), paraphrased in Charles Edward Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, Berkeley, 1916, p. 245.

(37) For the personnel of the Shilov-Lapin Company, *see* foot-note (26), above.

(38) The number of ships sent out by this company as given here exceeds that recorded by Berkh, who gives only four. This seems strange, since Berkh got much of his information from Ivan Lapin, one of the former members of the company. The above figures give some idea of the fortunes amassed by the luckiest of the *promyshlenniki*. Berkh, *Khronologicheskaya Istoriya Otkrytiya*, p. 6.

(39) If this statement applies to the Shilov-Lapin Company, it is at variance with information contained in Document VI (*see* above, foot-note (30)). In point of fact, the earliest date for which we have conclusive evidence of the existence of anything like a permanent post is 1778. When Cook called at Unalaska, he found, according to his own statement, that the

to hunt. The commerce of Kamchatka bore a considerable relation to that of America and neighboring islands, and was therefore worthy of mention. In 1755 the Russian trade in Kamchatka did not exceed 10,000 rubles and it had already increased 300 per cent. They got cloth and other manufactured goods from Russia and Siberia. There were more than 3,000 people in Kamchatka and the dependent islands (exclusive of the newly discovered ones on the coast of North America), who paid tribute to the crown in furs of a total value of more than 20,000 rubles.

IX.

What appears to have been the fullest account of Russian explorations to fall into Spanish hands was that transmitted to Madrid by Lacy in June, 1775, together with Müller's map of the latest discoveries. It was a memoir entitled *Notte* [*sic Note?*] *relative aux découvertes que les Russes ont fait en 1764, 1765, 1766 et 1767.*[40] It was a translation made by Müller himself from an original which the dispatch does not identify. The very anonymity of the document invites speculation as to the authorship. There is no suggestion that it was written originally by Müller, an assumption confirmed by reference to a list of Müller's own published works. But a list of his manuscripts, now in various Soviet archives, which was prepared by N. A. Baklanova and A. I. Andreyev, is found in the first volume of Müller's *Istoriya Sibiri* (pp. 541–569). Listed there we find two documents, one of which might have been the original. The first, " Notes of Captains T. and V. Shmalev on the sea voyages carried out by the *promyshlenniki* of various companies from 1744 to 1775," consists of fifty-nine pages and was apparently completed in 1775. The second is called "A list of *promysh-*

Russians were quartered in buildings, implying that this was a post. Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, Vol. II, p. 498.

The long voyages that now removed the traders from their base at Okhotsk made it impossible for the hunting to be done by the crews on the outward voyage. This had now to be done by persons detailed, while the crews henceforth spent their whole time plying back and forth to keep the post and the hunters supplied.

(40) Lacy's dispatch, dated June 26, 1775, and the translated memoir, *Notte relative aux découvertes que les Russes ont fait en 1764, 1765, 1766, et 1767, tant au sud du Kamchatka, qu'a l'est et au Nord est de cette presque isle traduite litterallement du Russe en français en juin 1775* (*A.G.I.*, Estado, Aud. de Méx. 19, Doc. 10) are not available to us in the original text. The paraphrase is in Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246.

lenniki and their voyages from Kamchatka and Okhotsk to the American islands, compiled by T. Shmalev in 1775." It consists of eight pages and is accompanied by the draft of a translation into German in the handwriting of Müller.[41]

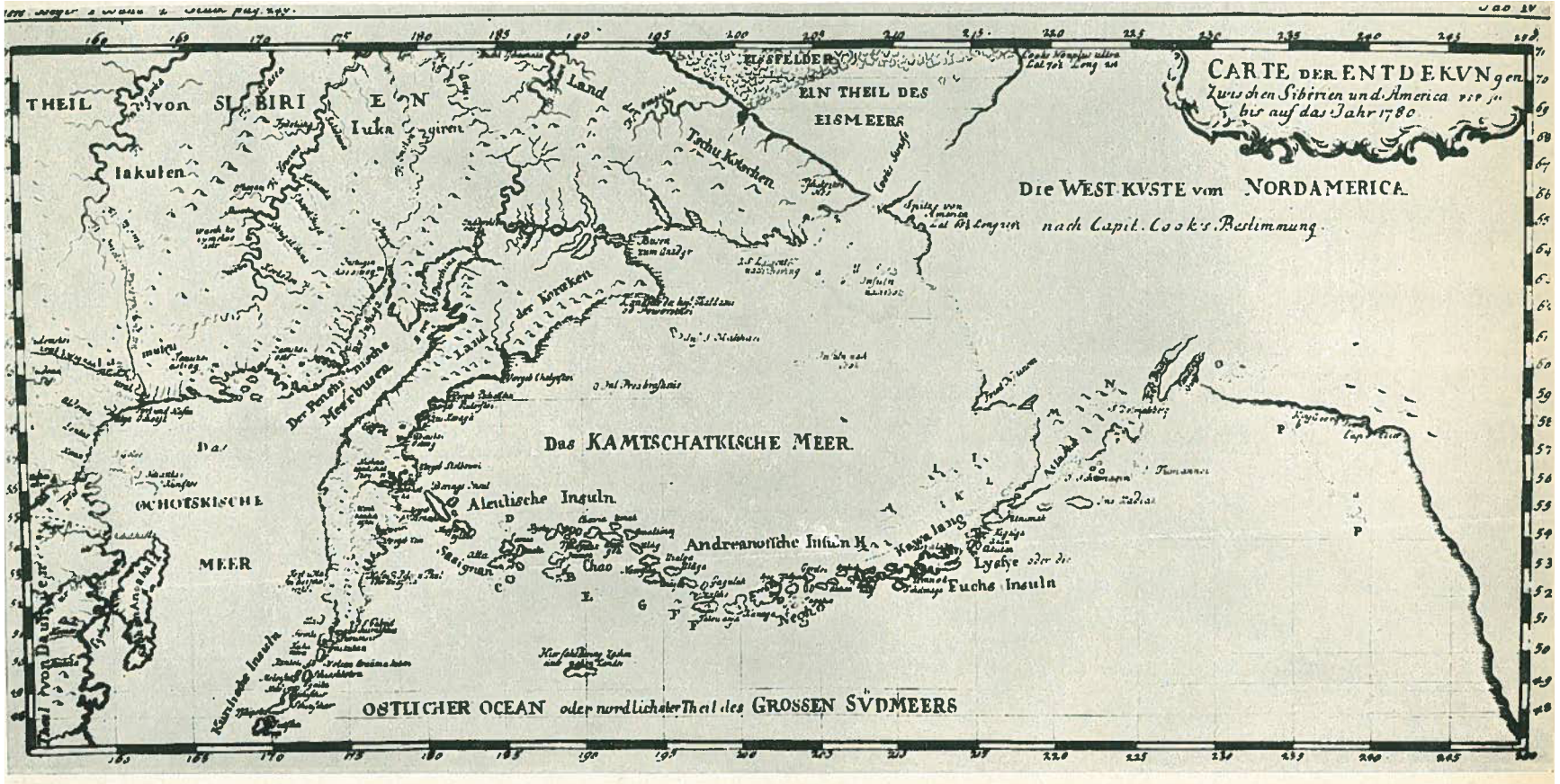
He [the author] commented upon the general awakening of European interest in the Pacific at that time, this being an important period for French and English discoveries farther south, while Russia was discovering new lands and inhabitants in the north. The Russian discoveries began with Ivan IV (1533–1584), who conquered Siberia and sent an expedition to explore its northern and eastern frontiers, which returned in the next reign, having found the sea at both points.[42] Müller had found documents in the Siberian archives showing that in a subsequent exploration along the Siberian coasts, one man reached Kamchatka. He must therefore have passed through Bering Strait.[43] Discoveries stopped during the troublous times of the usurpers, Boris and Demetrius, but were resumed in the reign of Peter I (1672–1725).[44] He sent one body of explorers along the northern coast of

(41) This list of manuscripts gives some idea of the vast amount of material on Russian discoveries that had been assembled by Müller and the extraordinarily wide range of his contacts that facilitated this work. T. Shmalev (and his brother) contributed not less than twenty-five of these manuscripts, so it is easy to see why he enjoyed the confidence of Müller (*see* below, foot-note (52)). The full tale of the explorations of the Russian trading companies will not be unravelled until all of this material has been subjected to thorough scrutiny.

(42) If this sentence means what it appears to, that the Arctic and Pacific Oceans were reached by explorers during the reign of Fedor Ivanovich (1584–1598), some violence is done to history. The Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Lena was reached in 1632 for the first time by Russians, and the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Ud in 1639—both nearly a half-century later. The Arctic Ocean, it is true, was reached farther to the west by traversing the Yenesei to its mouth in 1607, but this hardly appears to be his meaning. *See* R. J. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea*, Berkeley, 1942, pp. 75–80 (and especially the maps on pp. 75 and 80); also E. A. Samoilov, *Semen Dezhnev i ego vremya*, Moscow, 1945, p. 20, and map facing p. 104.

(43) This refers probably to the Dezhnev expedition, 1648–1650. On the basis of material he alleged to have found in the archives of Yakutsk, Müller claimed that in the seventeenth century a Cossack named Dezhnev had in one year (1649) made the journey from the mouth of the Kolyma River around the north-east corner of Asia to the mouth of the Anadyr. *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, III, App. 5–20. Golder and others have cast doubts on this story. *See* Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850*, Cleveland, 1914.

(44) The statement that there were no discoveries from the Time of Troubles (1598–1613) to the reign of Peter I (1689–1725) is demonstrably untrue. *See* foot-note (42), above.



Map of the discoveries between Siberia and America to the year 1780, by Peter Simon Pallas. Taken from *Neue Nordische Beyträge*, ed. by P. S. Pallas, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1781, Vol. I.

Siberia, and others up the eastern coast of Kamchatka to see if they would meet, and to discover new lands and islands.[45] It was not until 1728, however, that Danadisiki Bay in 66° was reached, this being accomplished by Captain Bering.[46] Later, Chirikof reached the coast of America and Spanberg discovered the Kurile Islands, a great archipelago north of Japan.[47] It was reserved for Catherine II (1762–1796) to charter a company of Russian merchants to engage in commerce with the new islands and discover others. There were twelve in this company, to each of whom the Empress had given a gold medal, while orders were given to her officers in Okhotsk to assist them in every way. Thus far they had discovered a number of islands, from which came their principal profits in furs.[48] In 1764 the company sent out ships from Okhotsk under Lieutenant Lynd [Sind], who discovered a number of islands between 56° and 57°, returning late in 1767.[49] As a result, a new map was published in 1768, which appeared again

(45) This may refer to the activity of Atlasov in Kamchatka (1697–1706) and the sea expedition of Ivan Yevreinov and Fedor Luzhin (1719–1720). The discoveries of these men, however, were negligible.

(46) The first Bering expedition, 1728. Danadisiki Bay in latitude 66° is puzzling. If he means the Gulf of Anadyr, which is somewhere near that latitude, it was not the farthest point reached by Bering, which was 67° 18′ north, in the Arctic Ocean.

(47) This is obviously a deliberate attempt to belittle the achievements of Bering on his second expedition (1741). Not only had the latter directed the far-flung expeditions that mapped the northern coast of Siberia, as well as the expedition of Spanberg and Walton toward Japan, but he also personally commanded the voyage across the Pacific toward America. He himself succeeded in reaching the mainland, a fact which is studiously suppressed. The mystery is why Müller, himself a German who had suffered from the antipathy to foreigners in the Academy of Sciences, should have lent himself to such a manœuvre to lower Bering's prestige and exalt that of the native Russians. While it is not implied that Müller himself was the author of this memoir, it seems strange nevertheless that he had translated the document as it was, without a comment. On the other hand, there is some evidence that Müller attached himself to the Russian nationalist group to advance his own interest. *See* James R. Masterson and Helen Brower, "Bering's Successors, 1745–1780," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1947), p. 49; also A. M. Skabichevskii, *Ocherki istorii russkoi tsenzury*, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 16.

(48) This is the Shilov-Lapin Company referred to in Document II.

(49) *See* Document III for the voyage of Lieutenant Sind, and especially foot-notes (19) and (20). All available information indicates that Sind proceeded through Bering Sea into Bering Strait and that he may have touched Seward Peninsula, which would be about 66° north latitude. The latitudes 56° and 57° are obviously some degrees off. This may be a copyist's error. Or it may be Müller's conscious effort to correct the obvious mistakes in latitude made by Glotov's expedition of 1764 and others.

in the publications of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in 1773.[50] Müller himself made an even more striking map, showing all the voyages and discoveries since the time of Bering and the size, position, and, in part, the names of the islands.[51] As regards products, dress, and speech, the islands and their inhabitants between 50° and 55° resembled those of the Kurile Islands; between 55° and 60° the people almost exactly resembled the natives of Kamchatka; between 60° and 70° they differed a little from the other sections. In all of these islands the people were very much like those discovered by the English and French in the middle of the Pacific. Beyond the islands discovered were others not yet occupied by the Russian argonauts, but a number of ships sent out in recent years had not returned. The present commander in Kamchatka, Timafey Tschemalow [Shmalev], had 1,120 men under his orders, as follows: 300 soldiers; 706 natives of Kamchatka; and 114 men in some of the Kuriles.[52] A certain major, of Polish origin, in the Government mining service of Siberia, had informed Müller that the Russians had no settlements on the

(50) The natural inference to be drawn from this statement, that this was an official map of the Academy, is hardly true. It is more probable that it was the map used to illustrate the voyage of Sind and which may have been the work of Staehlin. It seems to have been the original of that which appeared in Coxe's *Account of Russian Discoveries* in connection with Sind's voyage. It may also have been used in the *Mesyatsoslov Istoricheskii i Geograficheskii* for 1774, which is apparently the publication of the Academy mentioned.

(51) Müller's map was based on recent information and was intended to correct the earlier map of 1758 (published in 1771). It was prepared by him in collaboration with Truscott.

This map had been completed in 1776 and was published in Berlin by Büsching for the Berlin Academy, under the title "Totius Imperii Russici, tabula generalis optimis quibus vis Acad. Petropolit, mappis quarum Cl. Dn. Fried. Büsching Consist. Supr. Consil usui dedit copiam collectam." Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, Vol. I, p. 106, foot-note (4).

(52) Timofei Shmalev was one of the most competent Russian officers in the Far East for many years. He had already won golden opinions of the officials in St. Petersburg. In a letter of August 30, 1770, Müller, on instructions from the Empress Catherine, complained of the inadequacy of information of discovery that had been assembled. He recommended that Shmalev, after the return of Krenitsyn (*see above*, Document V), be sent to explore regions off the mouth of the Anadyr, *i.e.*, the coast of America, along which he should cruise until he reached Russian settlements or Russian trading-posts. Shmalev at this time had just returned from an expedition. *See* letter of Müller to Sergei Matveyevich Kuzmin, August 30, 1770, 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), XI.

American coasts, although they were sending some vessels there every year, as well as to the new archipelago.[53]

In order to gauge the true significance of events in the North Pacific, we must remember the incomplete and, in many cases, the false concepts of the geography of the north-west coast of America that prevailed at the beginning of the eighteenth century—concepts that had to be tested and corrected by experience. That this was of necessity a slow and painful process was due in the first place to the want of trained navigators in the crew and the necessarily meagre and often inaccurate information obtained on the voyage. The general atmosphere of secrecy with which these expeditions were surrounded resulted in even this reaching later voyagers often in garbled form.

The Spanish account reflects, of course, the confusion in the minds of the Russians. From the voyages of Bering and Chirikov in 1741 the cartography of the north-west coast emerged in the vaguest outlines. The subsequent voyages of the fur-traders, ill equipped as they were for accurate observations, in some cases added to the chaos. For instance, the expedition of Glotov (completed in 1764), in the course of which he reached the Alaska Peninsula, threw the maps into complete confusion by locating it some 9° too far to the north. When, following this, Sind, in the years 1765 to 1768, identified the islands he discovered in Bering Sea and Bering Strait as the same islands of the Aleutian chain, it confirmed the belief that that group trended north-east toward the American Continent. These errors entirely vitiated the account published by Staehlin in 1774 and were not corrected till Krenitsyn and Levashev made their voyage to the mainland in 1768 and 1769 and fixed the correct latitude of the Fox Islands at the eastern end of the Aleutian chain.

The correct information thus rendered available was used by Müller in his map published in 1771. It thus gave the Spanish their first really accurate information as to the exact *locale* of the activity of Russian fur-traders. While one of these documents (Document IX) reassured the Spanish on the temporary nature of Russian occupation, even official secrecy could not obscure the fact that the Russians were on the point of a rapid extension of their hold south and east.

---

(53) *See above*, foot-note (39).

The turning-point had come in Russian expansion with the subjugation of the Aleutian Islands and the partial exhaustion of their fur resources, entailing a venture into the more distant waters of the Gulf of Alaska. Ultimately, this new area would itself provide an approach to Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and Alexander Archipelago. The loosely knit stock companies, formed for one trading venture and then dissolved, would be superseded by others of a more lasting character, capable of more extended operations and promising greater financial rewards.

When Cook in 1778 found Gerasim Ismailov installed at Unalaska in the role of the factor of a Hudson's Bay post, it meant that the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company had established a permanent advanced base. This would serve not only as a means of exploiting the neighbouring Fox Islands but also the Alaska Peninsula and the islands lying to the east in the Gulf of Alaska. At this point there appears to be a hiatus in the Russian sources. With one exception—*viz.*, the voyage of Potap Zaikov in 1783 into Prince William Sound — we have almost nothing to indicate the stages by which the Russians proceeded from their foothold at Unalaska to that established by Shelekhov on Kodiak in 1784. The Spanish documents do something to fill this gap.

The embassy reports from St. Petersburg over the years 1761 to 1775 were not without effect on Spanish policy in America. That Spain was so long in realizing that the Russian outposts in the north constituted a counterclaim to her own dominions was due not so much to the failure of her intelligence service at the Russian capital as to Russia's own confusion regarding its new discoveries. Ultimately, when the flow of information failed to clarify the situation, Spain was forced to act. In order to ascertain the extent of the challenge, she moved northward up the Pacific coast. Her gradual occupation of Upper California, beginning in 1769, was due only in part to the Russian menace.[54]

(54) Having examined most of the Spanish correspondence on the subject which shuttled back and forth between the ambassador, the ministries, and the viceroy in Mexico, we arrive, along with Chapman, at the conclusion that the occupation of the bays of San Diego (1769), Monterey (1770), and San Francisco (1776) were motivated also in part by Spain's concern over French, Dutch, and British operations in the Pacific, by her need for sta-

But her series of reconnaissance expeditions to the North Pacific between 1774 and 1790 were inspired directly by the alarmist reports from her embassy at St. Petersburg. The first of the Spanish voyages, undertaken by Pérez in 1774, reached 55° north latitude in its search for the Russians; the second, under Hezeta and Bodega, reached 58° in 1775–1776; and the third, under Arteaga and Bodega, reached 60° in 1779; all without having found evidence of Russian activity. As a matter of fact, it was not until the fourth voyage, under Martínez in 1788, that the Russians were encountered. In the following year, when Martínez in 1789 sailed north to fortify Nootka Sound, a show-down occurred. The clash, however, was not with the Russians, as expected, but with the British, and it was the British who forced Spain to abandon her exclusive claim to the north-western coast of America.[55] Thus, after 1790, that region was open to colonization and exploitation by all nations.

STUART R. TOMPKINS.
MAX L. MOORHEAD.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA.

tions to break the long east-bound voyage of the Manila Galleon, and by the pressure exerted on her Ministry of the Indies by the Franciscan Friars, who were eager to open new fields for missionary activity. *See* Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 419–421.

(55) The Spanish voyages of 1774 to 1790 are best summarized in Henry Raup Wagner's *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to 1800*, Berkeley, 1937, Vol. I, pp. 172–180, 191–196, 202–205, 214–219. The international incident of 1789–1790 is fully dealt with in William Ray Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy*, Washington, 1905.

THE DIARY OF MARTHA CHENEY ELLA.

PART II. JANUARY 1, 1855–NOVEMBER 25, 1856.

1855

January 1st, [As the manuscript is badly torn this entry is illegible.]
3, 4 & 5 Snowing [manuscript torn] weather.

7th, Doctor Helmkin[1] came down walking, to see Aunt, stayed all night. Mrs. Staines was taken very poorly, obliged to go to bed. The Doctor went back in the morning Aunt much about the same.

We heard of a Mail Steamer[2] being lost by Cape Flattery, about 50 Mail Bags lost. The Major Tompkins[3] that brings the mail to Victoria [h]as gone down to rescue the passengers.

Mr. Ella came down with a Boat to fetch Mrs Staines, and Horace[4] up to the Fort who are going to England in the H.B. Coy Ship Princess Royal.[5] Mrs. Staines leaves here to morrow morning.

9th, Uncle and I went down to the Beach to see Mrs Staines off A fine calm morning Aunt still in bed, and I am with my arm

(1) Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, a pioneer of 1850, who came out in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the *Norman Morison.*

(2) Presumably the steamer *Southerner*, Captain Sampson, formerly the old Panama liner *Isthmus*, but in 1855 owned by Captain J. T. Wright, of San Francisco. She sailed from San Francisco, December 20, 1854, bound for the Columbia River, stopping en route at Port Orford and Umpqua, which latter port was cleared on December 31. "On attempting to enter Columbia river, the *Southerner* struck on the bar, and sprang a leak. Not being able to cross the bar, Capt. Sampson put out to sea and stood for Puget Sound, but the leak increasing, he was compelled to run his vessel ashore in order to save the lives of his passengers and crew. All were safely landed about sixty miles south of Cape Flattery; the vessel and cargo will be a total loss." San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, January 17, 1855. *See also* Lewis & Dryden, *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, Portland, 1895, p. 53.

(3) Built in Philadelphia in 1847, the *Major Tompkins* was the first regular mail steamer on Puget Sound, beginning the service in September, 1854. Unfortunately the vessel was wrecked on Macaulay Point, February 10, 1855. Lewis & Dryden, *op cit.*, pp. 52, 59.

(4) Horace Foster Tahourdin, nephew of Mrs. R. J. Staines, who accompanied her and her husband to Vancouver Island.

(5) The barque *Princess Royal*, 583 tons, was built at Blackwall for the Hudson's Bay Company. On her maiden voyage to this coast she brought out the party of Staffordshire miners that became the pioneers of Nanaimo. She arrived at Esquimalt, November 23, 1854. *See* Barrie H. E. Goult, "First and Last Days of the *Princess Royal*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1939), pp. 15–24.

in a sling A nice house to leave Uncle had to do everything, Cook and all [there] was to do in the house.

[As the manuscript is torn a few entries are illegible.]

16, . . . Princess Royal sailed to day for England, a beautiful day and a fine fair wind.

20th The Steamer Otter, sailed for San Francisco this morning, Mr. Ella Chief Mate Mr Pemberton and Capt Howard[6] passengers, the former on his way to England.

24, Mr and Miss Langford came over on horseback stayed all night when [*sic*] back the next afternoon.

Feby 1st, Capt. and Mrs. Cooper, Tom,[7] and the 2 children came down, Fanny Mary the baby to be weaned, they stayed all night went home the next day, left baby with us

Now comes a Blank for a short time.

July 19th I was married to Mr. Ella by the Rev. Mr. Cridge[8] we were married at home by Special Licence It was a beautiful day but very warm, we had a large dinner Party, had a tent made out doors, it being too warm in the house, for so many The Governor and his family honored us with their company, and beside them were Mr and Mrs Langford and family, Capt and Mrs Cooper, Mr & Mrs Barr,[9] the two Miss Reids,[10] Mrs

---

(6) Presumably Captain Edward Howard, a pioneer shipmaster in the Pacific Northwest and resident of Vancouver Island for many years in the colonial period. Lewis & Dryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113. Born in England in 1812, Captain Howard died in Oakland, Calif., February 2, 1910. Victoria *Colonist*, February 3, 1910.

(7) Thomas Cooper, brother of Captain James Cooper.

(8) Rev. Edward Cridge, born December 17, 1817, at Bratton Fleming, Devonshire, came to Vancouver Island in the *Marquis of Bute* on April 1, 1855, as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. He remained in Victoria until his death on May 6, 1913.

(9) Robert Barr and his wife, Harriett, arrived in the *Norman Morison* on January 16, 1853. Previous to their marriage both of them had been teachers in Leeds, England. Originally it was intended that Barr should become the school-teacher at Craigflower, but instead he assumed charge of the Victoria District school, which position he held until he resigned in August, 1856. [*See* D. L. McLaurin, "Education before the Gold Rush," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), pp. 252, 253, 260.] On August 12, 1856, he was appointed "Clerk *pro tem*" of the first Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Vancouver Island. Evidently he resigned from this position in December, and presumably shortly thereafter he returned to England. E. O. S. Scholefield, (ed.), *Minutes of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, August 12th, 1856, to September 27th, 1858* [B.C. Archives Memoir III], Victoria, 1918, pp. 16, 30.

(10) Presumably Catherine Balfour Reid and Mary Anne Reid, daughters of Captain James Murray Reid who came to this coast in 1852 in

Muir and family, Mr Newton, Mr Pierce [*sic*] Mr Mackay, and one or two others. Miss Mary Langford was Bridesmaid and Mr Thomas Cooper, Bridesman. The British man of war Brisk[11] came into the harbour the same day, Mr. Tyne one of the Midshipman [*sic*] called here to report to the Governor.

August Mr Ella, Tom Cooper and myself went up to the Fort to a Party, given by the Governor to the oficers [*sic*] of the Brisk and Dido,[12] we stayed at the Fort that night, came home the next day on horseback very tired, the next day, my husband went to Victoria again to join the Otter came back did not go in her. On Monday, we all went to the Fort Uncle, Aunt. Mr Ella and myself all on horseback, Uncle and Aunt came back as far as Mrs. Cooper's the same night. I was staying with a friend of ours,—Mrs. Barr for a few days, we came home on Saturday. My husband and self brought Mrs Barr, and the little Girl[13] home with us, for a visit, they not being very well thought a change would do them good. My husband was taken very ill with dysentry, after we got home, we sent for the Doctor, he came next morning, bled him and gave him medicine kept in bed until the next Thursday, which made him very weak indeed. I was taken very ill myself with the same complaint was in bed for two days was very weak.

Sept. Mr. Swanston the Austrailian [*sic*] Gentleman came to pay another visit to Vancouver Island, he is going to the Sandwich Islands, with Capt Cooper.

Oct. Capt C[r] sailed with his Schooner Alice, for the Sandwich Islands, he was away a fornight [*sic*], then returned such dreadful weather nearly lost the the [*sic*] Schooner. Mr. Swanston came

---

command of the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Vancouver* which was lost on Rose Spit in August, 1854. Thereafter he engaged in mercantile pursuits in Victoria until his death on April 24, 1868.

(11) H.M.S. *Brisk*, a screw steam sloop, 1,087 tons, was launched at Woolwich in 1851 and mounted fourteen guns. At this time she was returning under Commander Alfred J. Curtis from participation in the joint British and French attack on Russian positions at Petropaulovski in May, 1855. *See* Donald C. Davidson, "The War Scare of 1854: The Pacific Coast and the Crimean War," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 243–253.

(12) The *Brisk* was joined by H.M.S. *Dido* at Esquimalt on July 24, 1855. [W. K. Lamb (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Melrose," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1943), p. 214.] This eighteen-gun corvette, built in 1836, was commanded by Captain William H. A. Morshead and also participated in the Petropaulovski assault. The *Dido* sailed for San Francisco on August 6 and the *Brisk* the following day. *Ibid.*

(13) Mary Elizabeth Barr, born May 21, 1853 [*Melrose Diary*, p. 127], was baptized by Rev. R. J. Staines, July 3, 1853.

and stayed at our house ten days, untill [*sic*] the Otter goes to San Francisco.

Dec. 22 The Otter Sailed for California, Passengers Mr Swanston, Mr Ford, Capt & Mrs Hunt[14] and Miss Liddle[15]
Xmas, very dull no company at all

31st Uncle Aunt and self went over to Colwood to see the Old Year out, and the new one in, the next day we all went to see Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Cameron.[16]

1856

3d. On Thursday we came home, Miss Phillips and Miss Langford with us, to spend a few days.

January 10th We received a Letter from Mrs. Staines and 1 Newspaper.

12, The Otter returned from California—my husband came down in the evening in a canoe, from Victoria. Tom Cooper came down in a Boat from Colwood, to take Miss Langford and Miss Phillips home tomorrow.

14, My Husband returned to Victoria

19, Saturday Mr Lewis, and Mr Ford came down with Henry, to spend Sunday with us they returned in the evening, walked to the Saw Mill, and from there by canoe.

26, My husband, with Mr Gale[17] chief mate of the H.B. Co's Ship Princess Royal, came down. I went up to Victoria with them on Monday Morning, walked as far as the Sawmill, then by canoe.

---

(14) Captain James Hunt was the former part owner and commander of the *Major Tompkins*. Lewis & Dryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 59.

(15) The *Otter* reached San Francisco, December 28, 1855, and at that time the passenger list records, along with Swanston and Ford, a " M. Liddell." San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, December 29, 1855. A James Liddle, wife and infant, came to Vancouver in the *Norman Morison* in 1853; whether this is intended for Mrs. Liddle, or whether a sister of James Liddle had come to the island, is not clear.

(16) Mrs. David Cameron, née Cecilia Douglas, a sister of Governor James Douglas, came to Vancouver Island in July, 1853, with her husband who, subsequently, on December 2, 1853, became the first Chief Justice of the island colony. Their home on Esquimalt Harbour was called " Belmont." Mrs. Cameron died November 26, 1859. Victoria *Colonist*, November 29, 1859.

(17) Charles Gale first came to this coast on the maiden voyage of the *Princess Royal* in 1854, and it is his log of this voyage that provides us with our only detailed information concerning this important voyage. According to the Melrose *Diary*, the *Princess Royal* arrived on her second trip on December 17, 1855.

30, I returned from the Fort. The Otter sailed this morning for the North. Capt Swanson[18] Pilot and Mr Weyghton[19] passenger.

Feb. 9 Tom Cooper came over, to stay a day or two, for the benefit of his health.

12 Tom went back to Colwood, The Princess Royal, sailed for England this morning 40 passengers on board, from the Colony Mr & Mrs Muir & Michael called and stayed all night with us, going from the Fort to Soke.

14 Valentine day, Uncle and I went over to Colwood, on horseback, back at night found the roads shocking bad.

16, Capt and Mrs Cooper and children came down, to spend a few days, came on Saturdy went back the following Wednesday, left Lizzy with us for a short time

23, Saturday My husband returned from the North, brought us two North Indian Boys with him

24, Tom Cooper came over from Colwood stayed all night with us, and back the next morning. My husband returned to Victoria the same day, in a canoe raining in torrents, Andrew & Robert Muir came to see for Michael, who has gone to the Fort and not yet returned

26, My husband came down late at night in a canoe, returned next morning to Victoria went away to Nenimo [*sic*], on Thursday.

March, 3d, I went up to the Fort in a canoe, a fine calm day got up about Noon.

4th, The Otter came in from Nenimo in the afternoon.

8th, The Otter sailed for San Francisco, Mrs Muir [?] passenger. I came down as far as Metchosin in the Otter, and then crossed in a canoe. Mr Barr and his daughter with me. Capt Cooper came to fetch Lizzy.

9th, A lovely day. Mr Ford and Mr. Moffit[20] [*sic*] came down to see us in the afternoon returned in the evening to Victoria.

10th, Monday, A lovely day, very calm.
Tuesday the same, & Wednesday a lovely day

(18) Captain John Swanson was born in Rupert's Land in 1827 and joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at the age of 14. He came to the Northwest Coast in the schooner *Cadboro*, and rose in the service, becoming a master mariner in 1855. He commanded various of the company's ships and died in Victoria, October 21, 1872. Victoria *Colonist*, October 22, 1872.

(19) Stephenson Weynton. *V. supra*, p. 110, foot-note 37.

(20) Hamilton Moffat came out to this coast in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the barque *Cowlitz* in 1850. For a time he served in Victoria and subsequently at Fort Rupert, Fort Simpson, and other posts. He retired from the company in 1872 and the following year joined the Indian Affairs Branch of the Federal Government. He died in Victoria, August 13, 1894. Victoria *Colonist*, August 14, 1894.

Thursday a Strong Breeze from the N E. Mrs Langford, two Miss L's. and Master George came down yesterday, they go back to day except Mary, she is going to stay a few days with us. I go with Mrs L to Colwood, with Uncle, to stay the night, come back the next day

15th, A wedding at Victoria to day, Mr Moffit one of the H.B. Co's. Clerks, to Miss McNeill[21] Daughter of one of the Chief factors, Fort Simpson.

16 Sunday Mr Barr, and Mr Ford came down went back to Victoria in the evening

21st, Good Friday, a very wet day, we expecting a party but cannot come for the wet Saturday, Squally in the forenoon, a fine evening.

23, Easter Sunday, nothing particular.
Monday a fine day &c I received an invitation for an evening Party, Capt McNeill's on Wednesday

26, Wednesday evening came on to rain and Blow from the S.W. Thursday fine, with a Breeze, S.W. I have been Sowing Flower seeds, and Nuts. The Otter returned from San Francisco, a quick passage of 19 days.

29th, My husband came down, also Mr Barr and Capt Cooper, with his two daughters, the younger to stay with us for a short time.

31st, My husband returned to Victoria on horseback.

April 1st, A very Blustering day, wind from the Westward The 1st Lieutenant with 8 Soldiers came down to inquire after our welfare, and to afford us protection in case of any disturbance with the Indians.[22]

---

(21) Hamilton Moffat married Lucy McNeill, daughter of Captain W. H. McNeill. Of this wedding, Augustus F. Pemberton in his *Diary* wrote " General holiday at the Fort in honor of the marriage of Miss McNeil to Mr. Moffatt. I accepted an invitation to the breakfast." *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(22) In 1854 and 1855 large numbers of northern Indians came to Victoria during the summer. In the latter year Governor Douglas, besides warning the settlers to be on their guard, raised a small police force of four men " to detach on emergencies to the aid of any settlers who might apply for assistance." [Douglas to Lord John Russell, August 21, 1855, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] This small force became known as the Victoria Voltigeurs, a term that Douglas had used as early as 1853 in connection with the Peter Brown murder at Cowichan when he referred to the employment of " our little corps of colonial voltigeurs " in the expedition sent out to capture the murderers. [Douglas to John Tod, January 7, 1853.] At the February 27, 1856, meeting of the Legislative Council, Douglas directed attention to the defenceless state of the colony and the possibility of the presence of large numbers of Indians during the summer. In consequence, it was resolved " That a Company of thirty, to consist of 1 Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant,

3d, Thursday My husband sailed with Capt Mitchell in the Recovery,[23] to San Francisco and back.

5th, Received an English letter from Aunt Hannah.

6th, Sunday A very stormy day. We had a slight fall of snow in the afternoon Blowing a gale from the S.W. Tom Cooper came over in the [evening] stayed all night. The Cos. Steamer [Otter sailed] yesterday for the North. Capt McNeil and family, passengers.

10, Uncle and I rode over to Colwood, met with Miss Cameron Mr McDonald and Mr Mackay and Mr Margery[24] there. Uncle went to Esquimalt Mill to see our Flour ground, he returned home the same evening. The Boat with the Flour next morning.

15, The following week very stormy weather S.E. winds and rain. The Voltizeurs [*sic*] payed [*sic*] us their usual visit last Tuesday, they come once a fornight [*sic*]

25, We had a party of young Ladies to pay us a visit Miss Phillips, Miss Langford, and Oty [?] and two of Capt McNeil's daughters, they return next Wednesday.

28, Mr and Mrs Langford came over on horseback to spend the evening and go back the next day. Just as they were going to leave, Mr Skinner and Mr Jones,[25] an American officer, came in they stayed a short time, then Capt Cooper and his eldest daughter came in, our house was pretty well full with company Capt C. got wind bound, was obliged to stay all night and walk home the next morning, left Elizabeth with us.

30, Our party of Ladies, left to day, rather a stormy day for them.

---

and 2 Corporals and 26 Privates, be immediately raised and maintained at the publick expense until the Northern Indians leave the settlements. . . ." [E. O. S. Scholefield (*ed.*), *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island . . . August 30th, 1851, to February 6th, 1861* [B.C. Archives Memoir II], Victoria, 1918, p. 28.] Later that year Douglas wrote: " Mr. McNeill with a guard of eight Voltigeurs has orders to visit the several settlements in Esquimalt District, to enquire about your welfare, and to afford you protection." [Douglas to the inhabitants of Esquimalt District, March 29, 1856, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.]

(23) Originally brought out to Tumwater, Washington Territory, in January, 1850, as the brig *Orbit*, some time prior to March, 1852, she was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company for $1,000 and renamed *Recovery*.

(24) Mr. Margery was sent out in the *Marquis of Bute* to be accountant for the Craigflower Farm of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. His services proved unsatisfactory and he was dismissed from the company's service in the spring of 1857. H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, January 16, 1857, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(25) J. J. Jones was purser on the U.S.S. sloop of war *Decatur*. This vessel played a prominent part in the wars against the Indians in the United States, assisting in the defence of Seattle in February, 1856. [Lewis & Dryden, *op. cit.*, p. 61.] According to the *Diary* of Robert Melrose, she was in Esquimalt from April 21 to May 4, 1856.

[Lewis & Dryden, *op. cit.*, p. 28.] She was of 154 tons burden and commanded by Captain W. H. McNeill and used generally on the coast.

May 3d, Saturday, Uncle's birthday, a lovely day. Mr Ford, Mr Golledge,[26] & Mr Laughton,[27] came in the evening returned to Victoria next day Mrs Cooper, sent for her two daughters we are quite alone now.

13, My Birthday, Mr Skinner, Dr Johnson[28] [*sic*] and Mr Yates, came down returned to the Fort in the evening.

14, Uncle and I rode over to Colwood, Miss Langfords Birthday, we returned home in the evening.

16 The Recovery returned from Frisco, she passed our house about 9 in the morn. My husband, came down in the evening.

17 Rather a dull stormy day. Miss Phillip's Birthday.

18, Sunday, Tom Cooper came over in the afternoon Mrs Cooper, confined of another daughter this morning.[29]
Mr Pemberton the surveyor general called to see us this evening.

19 I went up to Victoria with my husband in a canoe, a nice calm morning. I remain at Mrs Barr's untill [*sic*] Mr Ella Sails.

24 The Queen's birthday, a very wet miserable day, had racing as usual at Victoria My husband sailed this morning, in the Brig Recovery, for the Sandwich Islands.

26 I returned to Metchosen called at Mrs Coopers on my way to see her and the Baby. I got home about 9 oclock at night—canoe traveling [*sic*] Thomas Cooper came with me from Thetis Cottage, Mr Ford was at our house when we got home.

---

(26) Richard Golledge was a fellow passenger with Martha Cheney in the *Tory*. He came out as a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, originally intended for service at Fort Victoria, but shortly after his arrival he became private secretary to Governor Douglas. He was born at West Ham, Essex, and died at Victoria, September 5, 1887, aged 55 years. Victoria *Colonist*, September 7, 1887.

(27) Thomas Laughton was a partner of William Eddy Banfield and Peter Francis, private traders in the Clayoquot Sound district, residing in 1855 at Port San Juan. [W. E. Banfield and P. Francis to Douglas, July 17, 1855, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] No details are available as to when he arrived in the colony. As late as 1865 he was serving as Indian interpreter to the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition.

(28) Dr. George Johnston was another fellow passenger in the *Tory*, having come out as surgeon to the Hudson's Bay Company. For a time he served at Nanaimo, where he fell into disfavour because of private trading transactions. [Douglas to Tolmie, August 25, 1855, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] Evidently he continued on in the colony in private practice, for in 1858 he was advertising as " George Johnston, M.R.C.S., S.A.C. of London " with an office at the corner of Yates and Government Streets. [Victoria *Vancouver Island Gazette*, August 4, 1858.] He left the colony in the *Princess Royal* on March 25, 1859. [Victoria *Colonist*, March 26, 1859.]

(29) *V. infra*, entry for September 14.

27 Mr Ford, and Tom looking for Gold, washing out sand, they succeeded in getting the colour, they got some beautifull [*sic*] black sand with several specks of Gold in it. Weather rather unsettled this last week.

June 1st, Mr Pemberton, with his Uncle Augustus Pemberton[30] came down to see us.

13th, Aunt, and Uncle, are gone over to Mrs Cooper on horseback, and also to Colwood. I am all alone, no one near nor by, excepting the dogs which keep watch for me Aunt & Uncle returned in the evening, brought news of a poor young man being killed with a horse, was smashed to atoms, he was riding one and leading another and tied the Rope round his body, the horse shied and started off, which pulled him of [*sic*] his horse, and his foot caught in the stirrup, and the two horses dragged him along the ground some distance, he was picked up on the Bridge—the poor fellow died the same evening—his name was Mr. Armstrong.[31]

23d, Tom Cooper came over to see us, and to bid us Good bye, he is going away in the Schooner Alice, to the Sandwich Islands, with his Brother

24th, Capt and Mrs Cooper, and little Henrietta & Mr Clark[32] came down to pay us a visit returned in the evening Capt Cooper sails this week for the Islands. Beautiful weather.

27, The Schooner Alice, sailed to day, for the Sandwich Islands.

31, Mr Langford, Emma, & Oty came over on horseback Emma to stay with us a short time for the benefit of her health, Mr L and Oty returned in the evening.

July 4, Lieutenant McNeil and 8 men came down to enquire after our welfare, &c.

8, Aunt sprained her ancle [*sic*] very bad.

9th, The house full of company, Mr Langford Miss L and Mary, and Miss Tod, came on horseback also Mr Skinner, Dr. John-

---

(30) Augustus Pemberton, a native of Dublin, Ireland, came out to the colony as an independent settler in December, 1855, presumably in the *Princess Royal*. In July, 1858, he was appointed Commissioner of Police by Governor Douglas. [Victoria *Gazette*, July 17, 1858.] He died in Victoria on October 18, 1891. Victoria *Colonist*, October 20, 1891.

(31) Robert Melrose, in his *Diary*, gives his name as Joseph Armstrong. He was buried June 7 by Rev. Edward Cridge, and the Burial Register gives his age as 22.

(32) Charles Clarke, accompanied by his wife, came out to the colony in the *Princess Royal* in the fall of 1854, assigned for duty as school-teacher at Craigflower. The school was completed and opened in March, 1855, and there he remained until May, 1859, when he was succeeded by Henry Claypole.

son, Mr Yates, and Capt Sangster,[33] all returned in the evening. Emma Langford went back with her Papa too. Aunt is still laid up with her ancle. I have a great deal to do, 9 cows to milk night and morning, for a treat.

22d, The Recovery returned from the Islands to day she had a very good passage. My husband came down in the evening, returned to the Fort early next morning.

26, Saturday, he came down again I went up to the Fort with him on Monday morning, Mr Ford acompanied [*sic*] us, I returned from the Fort as far as Mrs Coopers the next day. Uncle went to the Fort on Tuesday, and called at Mrs. Cs for me on Wednesday, and we came home in the evening. Miss Mary Langford and her youngest sister with another little girl, are staying with us for a visit and change of air.

August 1st, Mr and Miss Elizabeth Cridge[34] came this evening from Victoria on horseback, whom we were very happy to see, they stay over Sunday with us.

2d, Saturday we had a ride round the Plains. Mrs Cooper came down to dine, brought little Henrietta with her, they got weatherbound could not get home untill [*sic*] Sunday morning early.

3d, Sunday Mr Cridge read prayers this morning we were quite a family circle we spend a very pleasant day, indeed, in the afternoon we had a small walk, to the mountain at the back of the house.

4th, Monday, Mr Ella went away early in the morning Mr and Miss Cridge and myself started for the Fort about 11 oclock, we got up there about 2 P.M. I was visiting at the Parsonage, stayed there from Monday untill [*sic*] Saturday, came down with my husband in the evening to Metchosen.

11th, Monday, I went back with my husband to Victoria to stay the week with Mrs Barr another friend of ours,

15th, I came home last evening, with Mr Cridge and Miss Mary Cridge,[35] who came down with the intention of going to Sooke, but were disapointed [*sic*], and did not get there.

---

(33) Captain James Sangster, a native of Scotland, first came to the Northwest Coast in 1832 as a seaman in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1837 he commanded the brig *Llama* and the brigantine *Cadboro*, 1848–54. Subsequently he became pilot, harbourmaster, collector of customs, and postmaster for Victoria. He relinquished all of these offices in the summer of 1858, partially because of ill health, but also on account of the increased detail of work as a result of the in-rush of gold-seekers. He committed suicide, October 18, 1858. Victoria *Gazette*, October 19, 1858.

(34) Miss Elizabeth Cridge, a sister of Rev. Edward Cridge, came out to the colony in the *Princess Royal* in December, 1855.

(35) Miss Mary Cridge accompanied her sister Elizabeth to the colony in December, 1855.

17th, Sunday, Mr Cridge read prayers in the morning. Monday they returned to the Fort I went with them stayed untill [*sic*] Friday 2 Men of War came in last week the Line of Battle Ship Monarch and the Trincomalie.[36]

29th, Uncle and [Aunt] gone to the Fort to the opening of the Colonial church.[37] I am all alone

30th, My husband sailed to day for the Sandwich Islands

Sept 5, Aunt & Uncle returned from the Fort Uncle is not at all well.

6th, I went to Mrs Skinners to go on Board the Monarch, to hear the service to morrow

8th, I returned home, rather a wet day

11th, Mr Alexander[38] the flag lieutenant and Mrs Alexander his wife the daughter of Admiral Bruce came down to spend a night with us.

12, Mr & Mrs Alexander returned, Mr Langford and Dr Beaumont[39] came over to see us, returned in the evening to Colwood.

13 Capt Cooper came down I returned to Thetis Cottage with him in the evening

14 Sunday went on Board the Monarch to hear the service, Capt Cooper had his child christened by the Chaplain,[40] named Jane Bruce Mrs Alexander Godmama, and Mrs Langford.

16, Went to the Governor's Ball at the Fort a very pleasant party, kept up untill [*sic*] 4 oclock in the morning we had the Admiral's Band from the Ship.

18, Went for a row in the Trincomalee's Boat with with [*sic*] Mrs Langford and some of the Miss Ls had a very pleasant Picnic round the Dockyard Island,[41] 3 officers with us, Mr Somerville, Mr Bray & Mr Richardson,[42] after dinner we went on Board the Trincomalee for a short time, after that we roed [*sic*] home again.

---

(36) H.M.S. *Monarch*, eighty-four guns, was launched at Chatham in 1832. When Rear-Admiral William Henry Bruce was appointed to the command of the Pacific Station, November 25, 1854, this vessel became his flag-ship. She participated in the Petropaulovski assault in 1855 and at this time was on a routine visit to the Northwest Coast. According to Robert Melrose in his *Diary*, she arrived on August 11, and the following day H.M.S. *Trincomalee*, Captain Wallace Houstoun, dropped anchor in Esquimalt.

(37) The Victoria District Church, the predecessor of Christ Church Cathedral, was consecrated Sunday, August 31, 1855. The original building was destroyed by fire in 1869.

(38) John R. Alexander.

(39) Robert W. Beaumont was assistant surgeon in H.M.S. *Trincomalee*.

(40) The chaplain in the *Monarch* was Rev. William G. Green.

(41) Presumably Cole Island in Esquimalt Harbour.

(42) The only one of these three that it has been possible to identify is Horatio Somerville, a clerk to the admiral's secretary, George P. Martin.

19, I went on Board the Monarch to dine with Mrs Alexander, at 5 oclock, in the evening went to a small dancing party given by Capt Patey[43] of the Monarch, I returned to the Ship with Mrs Alexander to sleep, went on shore the next morning after breakfast in the Capts Gig.

22, I went to Mr Skinners this morning, to fetch Constance there [*sic*] youngest child but one to go home with me, we came by canoe had rather a rough passage down, found Uncle very ill when I got home

23, The Monarch sails for San Francisco to morrow morning early

25, Thursday we had a party came down on horseback Mr. Langford, Mary and Oty, & Mr Martin[44] & Sir Santim Loraine,[45] from the Trincomalee, they all returned in the evening, Uncle much about the same.

26, Dr Beaumont came down in the evening to see Uncle he stayed all night with us.

27, Dr. Beaumont returned to the Trincomalee the same day Mr Douglas Miss Cameron Miss Agnes Douglas and Alice came down on horseback to see Uncle.

28, Capt Cooper came over to see Uncle found him much about the same.

29, We had a large riding Party down here there was Mr Langford and 3 of his daughters, & Miss Agnes Douglas—and Mr Skinner then there was Dr Beaumont Mr Martin Mr Millar[46] Mr Somerville, Sir Santim Loraine Mr Price from the Trincomalee, 11 of them altogether I returned to Colwood with them in the evening.

30, went to a dancing Party on Board the Trincomalee kept up untill [*sic*] 4 oclock in the morning. A wedding took place to day Mr Newton one of the Companys Clerks, to Miss Tod, they go down to Metchosen to spend the honey week, they were the first couple to be married in the Colonial Church.

October 1st, Ambros [*sic*] Skinner came over to Colwood to escort me home, riding.

3d, Dr Beaumont rode over in the evening to see Uncle, stayed all night, Uncle about the same

4 the Dr returned a very wet morning indeed.

5 Sunday, a very wet day.

6, Mr & Mrs Newton, and myself rode over to Colwood. Dined there and returned in the evening we had a very pleasant ride,

---

(43) George E. Patey.

(44) George P. Martin, the admiral's secretary.

(45) Sir Lambton Loraine: *v. supra*, p. 106, foot-note 22.

(46) Henry M. Miller, a lieutenant in the *Trincomalee*.

The Trincomalee Sailed to day for Masset land[47] [*sic*], we are left without a Man of War again for a short time.

7, A very stormy day, Blowing a gale of wind from S. E.

8, I went to the Fort with Mr & Mrs Newton by canoe Blowing a gale of wind we had rather a rough Passage, I returned from the Fort next day was 4 hours coming down nothing but Indians in in [*sic*] the canoe, could not make them Paddle found Uncle much about the same.

October 13th, Mr Cridge came down to see Uncle and read to him the VI Chapter of Matthew, and concluded with prayer and I am grieved to say it was the last time that Mr Cridge saw him, though that visit was blest to him I am happy to say he knew that his strength was failing him. But we did not for a moment think his end was so near he died that same night at 12 oclock he went to bed at his usual time no worse, and he had a good sleep, and awoke coughing and it Broke a Blood vessel and was suffocated he never spoke again, I never witnessed a more happy [*word missing in manuscript*] than his, I trust he has gone to rest, Poor Uncle he was Buried in Victoria churchyard, by the Revd Edward Cridge Vancouver's Island, Oct. 16th, 1856.

Nov 1st, My dear Husband returned from the Sandwich Islands, and was very much shocked when he heard of the death of Poor dear Uncle, he came down in the evening Saturday, Mr Lewis, came down with him

Sunday, Mr Langford & Miss L came down & Mr Margery, returned in the evening Mr Lewis with them.

3d, My dear Husband's birthday rather a cold day

4th, A Sale by Auction was held at our place A dreadful wet day, the Stock sold remarkably well, althogether it was a very good Sale. Mr Langford & Mr Skinner stayed all night went home the next day, Mr L took Mary home with him, the rest of the week it took us to pack our things, to come to the Fort, we came up to the Fort on Saturday evening in a canoe, we went to the Parsonage, Aunt was very weary she did not go out the next day, Henry and I went to church in the afternoon, and up to Mrs Barr's in the evening, where I am now residing untill [*sic*] the English Ship comes out.

13th, My dear Husband sailed to day down to the Steam Saw Mills,[48] to take in lumber for the Islands.

---

(47) Mazatlan, a rendezvous and provisioning point on the Mexican coast.

(48) This was the mill owned by the Vancouver's Island Steam Saw Mill Company, then operated by Giles Ford and located on the north shore of the lagoon at Albert Head. For additional information concerning this mill, *see* W. Kaye Lamb, " Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), pp. 42–46.

14 Mrs Barr rode down with me to the Mill to see Mr Ella before he leaves,

15 they sail to morrow for the Sandwich Islands, I trust they will have a prosperus [*sic*] passage, and a quick and safe return. Very blustering weather for the next week

25th, My dear Aunt went down to Colwood to stay a little time also Miss Mary Cridge who is very poorly just now. We went down as far as Belmont in the Gove[r]nors Boat Mr Cridge and myself went with them as far as Belmont returned in the evening it was a lovely day, rather cold in the evening.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

VICTORIA SECTION.

A meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, May 30, with some fifty members in attendance. In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Willard E. Ireland presided. Tribute was paid to the memory of Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson, a faithful and much respected member in whose passing the Section has suffered a great loss. The speaker of the evening was Miss Corday McKay, of the staff of the Lord Byng High School, Vancouver, B.C. Choosing as her subject *Wires in the Wilderness*, Miss McKay gave a graphic account of the circumstances surrounding the Collins Overland Telegraph project of the mid-1860's. Many entertaining anecdotes relating to social life in New Westminster at the time were used to embellish a carefully summarized account of a most fascinating incident in the history of communications in this Province.

On Monday evening, June 20, the last meeting of the spring season of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library with Professor Sydney G. Pettit, Vice-Chairman, presiding. The Honourable Mr. Justice A. D. Macfarlane, of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, was the guest speaker, and he had selected as his subject *Looking Backward at the Administration of Justice in Victoria.* In an informal manner Mr. Justice Macfarlane centred his remarks around the Victoria Court-house, giving details of architectural design and plans of the building itself, with explanations concerning the uses of the various rooms and their contents. After dealing with the building, the speaker turned his attention to some of the early colonial Judges and historic cases, mentioning particularly Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie and the Thrasher case. The vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. R. A. Wootton. The Chairman referred to the presence of Miss Evaline Pemberton at the meeting, who was a daughter of the late Augustus F. Pemberton, under whose supervision the first Court-house and jail was built in Victoria in colonial days.

The Annual Field Day of the Section was held on Saturday, August 13, when over sixty members and friends motored to the Sooke River Flats for a basket picnic. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, gave a popular talk on the early exploration of Sooke by naval ships of Spain and Great Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, leading up to the first settlement of the district in 1849 by Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant. Reference was also made to other pioneers, notably the Muir family, and to the origins of industries in the district.

The first meeting of the fall season of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday evening, September 27. The meeting was arranged especially to commemorate the centenary of the California

gold-rush, and the Section was honoured by the presence of the patron of the British Columbia Historical Association, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and Mrs. Banks. The speaker of the evening was Dr. T. A. Rickard, who had chosen as his topic *The California Gold-rush of 1849.* Dr. Rickard told the story of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848 and the subsequent events which led eventually to the rush of 1849. After dealing with California, the speaker passed on to Australia, the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, and the Transvaal, pointing out the significance of gold-rushes and their economic effects and enlarging upon the stimulus and assistance they afforded emigration. The vote of thanks was proposed by His Honour and seconded by Mr. H. H. Claudet, both of whom recounted enjoyable reminiscences of early associations with the speaker.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

Mr. Herbert Hughes, M.A., a member of the staff of the Department of English at the University of British Columbia, was the speaker at a meeting of the Vancouver Section held in the Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday evening, May 10. Mr. Hughes discussed the Cariboo from a point of view quite refreshing to members who have figuratively plodded over every mile in search of gold. He had searched for songs, and while he did not find the "mother lode," there were some bright spots in his travels. Many of the songs sung in the Cariboo were parodies of American folk-lore—"Oh Susannah" became "I'm on my way to Cariboo with a gold-pan on my knee" or "I'm on my way to Similkameen." At one time Barkerville was one of the largest centres on the Pacific Coast, but the change from placer to hydraulic mining marked the end of both individual effort and of the days of romance. Mr. Hughes found that his contacts with "old-timers" were very friendly but not entirely satisfying to a researcher. The usual answer to his inquiry regarding songs was that "there were none," but gradually men like Clarence Stephenson, of Barkerville, a stage-coach driver, and Jack Gairdner, of Quesnel, pieced together old melodies. Mrs. Boyd, of Cottonwood, and Mrs. Lottie MacKinnon added to his collection. All those interviewed were generous in their attitude toward the attempt to reconstruct the old days of "sing-downs" in the gathering-places of golden Cariboo.

The first meeting of the fall season of the Vancouver Section was held in the Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday evening, October 11. Dr. Gilbert E. Tucker, formerly connected with the records branch of the Royal Canadian Navy and now on the staff of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, had chosen as his subject *The Royal Navy at Esquimalt.* In his introduction Dr. Tucker outlined the development of the British Navy from the pre-Elizabethan days, when it sailed the "narrow seas," until the nineteenth century, when, to preserve the *Pax Britannica,* it patrolled the "seven seas," supported by its many far-flung bases, among them Esquimalt. The first of Her Majesty's ships to make Esquimalt its base was H.M.S. *Constance* in 1848. Previously, since 1837, Britain had

used three South American ports for her Pacific bases, but following the Oregon Treaty of 1846, it became increasingly necessary for her to guard her interests on the Pacific Coast. Esquimalt was a good choice for many reasons—strategic position, ease of defence, good harbourage, a friendly population, and a favourable climate. Its one drawback, but a very annoying one, was its proximity to the United States with its high wages, proving a constant temptation for ratings to desert. On one occasion in the space of two days there were fourteen desertions. Six years after the establishment of the Esquimalt base came the Crimean War. At the request of the Pacific Command, Governor Douglas prepared hospital huts at the new base, the last of which buildings was demolished in 1939 to make way for war-time construction.

The speaker stressed four main episodes in the history of the base: the participation of men from the squadron in 1854 and succeeding years in the San Juan boundary dispute; the building of the Dockyard in 1887 to obviate the necessity of having the ships go to San Francisco for repairs; the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1885, giving added strategic importance to Esquimalt as an alternative route to the Orient and the Antipodes; the assignment of the ships in 1893 as a patrol to ensure that the terms of the Sealing Fisheries Agreement with the United States were observed. In 1905, in line with the policy of concentrating the fleet near home waters, the squadron left Esquimalt for the last time, and on May 4, 1911, after leisurely negotiations, the base was transferred to the Dominion Government by Imperial Order in Council. For almost sixty years the Royal Navy had played an interesting role in the social life of Victoria. Its departure was regretted by the citizens of the whole Province. Its officers and ships have left a memorial of themselves in many of the place-names of the Province.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The three branches of the Okanagan Historical Society were represented at the annual meeting held in the United Church hall, Kelowna, B.C., on Wednesday afternoon, May 4. Captain J. B. Weeks, of Penticton, was in the chair, and twenty-three members were present. Reports were received from officers on the year's activities, and particular appreciation was tendered to Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby for her work as editor of the *Twelfth Report*. The work of the various branches was presented by R. J. McDougall for Penticton, J. B. Knowles and H. C. S. Collett for Kelowna, and Major H. R. Denison for Vernon. A committee was appointed to work in conjunction with Dr. W. N. Sage, of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, in preparing a programme for the unveiling of the cairn at Westbank on August 24. One of the more encouraging items of business was the report that plans were in progress for the organization of a fourth branch in the Oliver-Osoyoos district. The officers of the Society for the coming year are as follows:—

Honorary Patron - - Col. the Hon. Charles Arthur Banks, C.M.G.
Honorary President - Hon. Grote Stirling, Kelowna, B.C.
President - - - - J. B. Knowles, Kelowna, B.C.
First Vice-President - Dr. F. W. Andrew, Summerland, B.C.
Second Vice-President - Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton, B.C.
Secretary - - - Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton, B.C.
Treasurer - - - - Maj. H. R. Denison, Vernon, B.C.
Auditor - - - - A. E. Berry, Vernon, B.C.
Editor - - - - - Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Vancouver, B.C.
Directors—
North—
J. G. Simms, Vernon, B.C. (three-year term).
Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops, B.C. (two-year term).
G. C. Tassie, Vernon, B.C. (one-year term).
Middle—
James Goldie, Okanagan Centre, B.C. (three-year term).
F. M. Buckland, Kelowna, B.C. (two-year term).
Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank, B.C. (one-year term).
South—
H. D. Barnes, Hedley, B.C. (three-year term).
Capt. J. B. Weeks, Penticton, B.C. (two-year term).
A. J. Rowland, Penticton, B.C. (one-year term).

Officers of the three branches for the ensuing year are as follows:—

Penticton Branch.

President - - - - - - - - - - - Mrs. R. B. White.
Secretary - - - - - - - - - - - - R. J. McDougall.
Directors—
W. T. Leslie. R. G. Duncan. H. Cochrane.

Kelowna Branch.

President - - - - - - - - - - - F. M. Buckland.
Vice-President - - - - - - - - - - - J. B. Knowles.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - L. L. Kerry.
Directors—
Mrs. D. Gellatly. E. M. Carruthers.
W. R. Powley. H. C. S. Collett.

Vernon Branch.

President - - - - - - - - - - - - J. G. Simms.
Vice-President - - - - - - - - - - - G. C. Tassie.
Secretary - - - - - - - - - - - - H. R. Denison.
Directors—
James Goldie. A. E. Sage.
J. G. Heighway. G. E. McMahon.
Burt R. Campbell.

Subsequently on Wednesday evening, June 22, a meeting was held in the dining-room of the Lakeview Café, Osoyoos, B.C., to organize a branch of the Okanagan Historical Society. Mr. J. B. Knowles, President of the parent society, took the chair, and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, of Princeton, was named Secretary *pro tem.* In all, twenty-four persons were in attendance, and it was unanimously agreed that a new branch—to be called the South Okanagan Branch—should be organized. The following officers were elected:—

President - - - - - - F. L. Goodman, Osoyoos, B.C.
Vice-President - - - - - George J. Fraser, Osoyoos, B.C.
Secretary-Treasurer - - A. Kalten, Osoyoos, B. C.
Directors (all of Oliver, B.C.)—
N. V. Simpson. Dr. N. J. Ball.
Albert Millar. L. J. Ball.
Mrs. Albert Millar.

THE WESTBANK CAIRN.

The cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to mark the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade trail through the Okanagan Valley was unveiled by Mrs. David Gellatly, of Westbank, on August 24, 1949, in the presence of a large company of valley residents. Mr. M. L. Riley, President of the Westbank Board of Trade, acted as chairman, and the speakers were Dr. W. N. Sage, western representative of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, President of the British Columbia Historical Association; J. B. Knowles, President of the Okanagan Historical Society; F. M. Buckland, Kelowna, B.C.; W. A. C. Bennett, M.L.A. for South Okanagan; Mrs. David Gellatly, Westbank, B.C.; and Mickey Derrickson, a descendant of Louis Pion who acted as packer and interpreter for the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies.

The cairn is located on the edge of No. 9 Indian Reserve at the east end of Westbank's business street. This spot, at the foot of Boucherie Mountain and in the centre of what was once known as McDonald Plains, is on the trail which the fur-traders followed on their way to the head of Okanagan Lake. The site is marked on A. C. Anderson's manuscript map in the Provincial Archives. The plaque on the cairn bears the following inscription:—

Okanagan Brigade Trail.

A link in the fur-trading route from New Caledonia (North Central British Columbia) to the Columbia River.

First explored by the Astorians in 1811, the Trail was used by the North West Company and from 1821 by the Hudson's Bay Company. The fur brigades from Caledonia journeyed overland by this route from Kamloops to Fort Okanagan until 1848.

The gold-seekers of 1858, coming through the Okanagan, followed the old trail, which also in the early 1860's became a second route to Cariboo.

The main address was given by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby. She declared that if the Fraser River had been navigable, the Okanagan Valley would hardly have been used as a supply route for the northern fur-trading posts. Both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, however, found it expedient to use the valley, which served as a natural link between the Fraser and the Columbia watersheds, after the practice was established of bringing out supplies to the Pacific Coast to avoid the long overland trip from the east. As late as 1825, Governor Simpson hoped to discover a route to the Interior from Fort Vancouver by way of the Fraser River, but he was induced by the failure of the McMillan expedition to open up a feasible route and, by John Stuart's advice, to adopt the overland route from Fort Okanagan to New Caledonia. From 1826 until 1847 the trail through the valley was used regularly and constantly, and the horse brigades travelled each spring from Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River to Fort Okanogan. Through the Okanagan Valley they carried the furs collected at Fort St. James from the other New Caledonia posts, as well as the fish shipped from Kamloops to supply southern posts. The furs were taken from Fort Okanogan by water to Fort Vancouver, the source of supply for the Interior posts. The Okanagan Valley itself was a poor fur-trading country, and for this reason no posts were established in it. In the 1840's the Catholic priests began to accompany the brigades to New Caledonia, and they had considerable success in converting the Indians before the trail was abandoned, following the drawing of the Oregon boundary-line in 1846. The last brigade passed through the valley in 1847, and in 1848 the difficult trail from Fort Hope through the Coquihalla Valley to Fort Kamloops was opened. The old Okanagan Valley route came back into use when miners followed it to reach the Fraser River and when cattlemen travelled over it to reach the Cariboo. In spite of its utility the Okanagan brigade trail never seems to have been regarded by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company as indispensable for the transportation of supplies in the Pacific Northwest. Simpson, conscious of the need of protecting the maritime fur trade against American inroads, always hoped the Fraser River route would be opened. Had posts been built along the Interior route, the Okanagan Valley might have been settled before it was, and it is remotely possible that a different division of the territory might have taken place in 1846.

BRIEF PRESENTED BY THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARTS, LETTERS AND SCIENCES.

The British Columbia Historical Association availed itself of the opportunity afforded by the appointment of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences to present a brief outlining its opinions on the various matters under review. The President of the Association, Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Miss Helen R. Boutilier, Dr. W. N. Sage, and Mr. John E. Gibbard, appeared before the Royal Commission during its sittings in Vancouver in October and were given a very sympa-

thetic hearing. The brief, drawn up by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Miss Helen R. Boutilier, and Mr. Willard E. Ireland, is reproduced herewith.

To the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.

Dear Sirs and Madam:

The British Columbia Historical Association, representing over five hundred laymen and professional historians who are interested in the study of local history, desires to lay before the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences its views in connection with the collection and preservation of records and other material that constitute the heritage of our country, and with the promotion of historical research in Canada in such a manner as will ensure a sound and intelligent use of these resources.

The British Columbia Historical Association came into existence in 1922 and subsequently published four *Annual Reports*. It was reorganized in 1936, and in co-operation with the Provincial Archives commenced the publication of *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly* in 1937. The *Quarterly* provides an outlet for research conducted by laymen as well as by recognized professional historians, both Canadian and foreign, post-graduate and honours students of the University of British Columbia and elsewhere. Its present circulation is in excess of six hundred, and it is to be noted that over fifty Canadian and foreign universities are regular subscribers. At the present time, when, with one exception, all the provincial histories of British Columbia are out of print, it is the most accessible source of information on British Columbia history, and it is the chief current bibliographical guide to material on the history of the province and its relation to the Pacific Northwest area.

The Association presently functions through branches in Victoria and in Vancouver at which papers are presented at monthly meetings. In addition, the Okanagan Historical Society, which has some three hundred and fifty members and which has published twelve *Reports*, and the Kamloops Museum Association are affiliated with this organization.

In a direct attempt to encourage an interest in local history, the Association has sponsored essay competitions at the University level.

The Association endorses all the recommendations made by its senior, The Canadian Historial Association, in the brief presented by that Association to the Commissioners. It, too, believes that the welfare of such federal agencies as the Public Archives of Canada and the National Film Board bears a direct relationship to the fostering and promotion of national feeling and common understanding. At the same time, the British Columbia Historical Association believes that provincial and local bodies can likewise make a contribution, particularly in the field of historical studies. Provincial and local history is the basis for national history. Research in both fields contributes to an understanding of Canadian problems as well as to an appreciation of our national heritage. The Association also believes that the fostering of historical studies is a step toward the promotion of international good-will. It therefore begs to lay before the Commissioners the following recommendations:

I. SUPPORT FOR FEDERAL AGENCIES.

1. *The Public Archives of Canada.*

The Association urges greater financial support for the National Archives so that it may increase its facilities as a repository of national records. Like the Canadian Historical Association, we hold that it is highly desirable that provision be made for systematic and regular transfer to the Public Archives of the papers of various government departments, and that, in addition, the Archives should acquire the papers of Ministers of the Crown and the private papers of figures of national importance. It is also urged that by means of micro-photography relevant historical records from British and foreign sources should be acquired.

The Association is interested not only in the accumulation but also in the mobilization of these resources in order that they may become readily accessible to all sections of the country. The early history of several of the Canadian provinces is contained in the papers of various departments of the federal government, and it is highly desirable that copies of this material be made available to students working in provincial centres. The Association is, consequently, interested in the expansion of micro-photography projects by the National Archives so that material bearing on the development of particular areas may be made available either by purchase or by loan to provincial archives or other responsible local bodies.

This Association would urge upon the Commission the responsibility of the National Archives in the matter of publications. It is felt that valuable as are the *Annual Reports, Calendars of State Papers,* and collections of documents, that have been published, these should be supplemented by a broader scheme for the publication of source material, relating to the social and economic, and not only to the political and constitutional development of Canada. In particular, a general guide to the resources of the National Archives is urgently required.

2. *The National Library of Canada.*

The British Columbia Historical Association heartily approves the foundation of the National Library for Canada. We endorse the recommendations of the Canadian Library Association on the nature and scope of the National Library. Specifically, we would urge the amalgamation, at least for purposes of administration, of the National Archives and the National Library. This recommendation is based upon local experience in British Columbia wherein over a period of many years the Provincial Archives and the Provincial Library have functioned as a unit.

3. *The Historic Sites and Monuments Board.*

The Association feels that there should be greater financial support for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, so that it may expand its work of marking historic sites and so that it may have the funds to maintain the monuments it erects. It would be desirable that this Board be empowered and given sufficient financial support to make possible its holding in trust for the citizens of Canada, historic buildings, and that, wherever practicable, it should establish local museums associated with events of

national importance, as it did in the case of Fort Beausejour in New Brunswick and Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia.

4. *The National Film Board.*

The Association feels that the National Film Board could assist in developing a greater pride in Canada's past by expanding its work in the production of historical films and film-strips, such projects being undertaken in close co-operation with the National Archives and the National Museum to ensure their historical validity.

5. *The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.*

The Association approves the production of such programs by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as " Documents of Canadian History." We would most strongly urge that such programs be related to the development of more than one area and that, wherever possible, parallelisms in the history of Canada be stressed. In other words, the emphasis should be put upon the highest common factors of Canadian national developments and not upon the least common multiples.

II. PROVINCIAL AGENCIES.

Since Provincial Archives do not exist in all of the provinces of Canada, this Association hopes that the Commissioners will be able to urge upon provincial authorities their responsibility in setting up Provincial Archives not only as repositories of much historical material that might otherwise be lost, but as centers in which students may have access to, and be trained in the handling of, source material.

III. FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANADA.

The Association wishes to point out that there is urgent need for greater financial support in the field of the social sciences. Mature and able scholars are in need of, and must receive, financial aid in the form of scholarships or bursaries, in order that research in this field may be raised to the same level as that achieved in the field of pure science under a system similar to that presently afforded by the National Research Council. A corollary need exists also in the matter of the publication of the findings of serious research. In the province of British Columbia under the ægis of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* and the *Memoirs* series published by the Provincial Archives, an important contribution is being made in the publication of monographs and shorter articles, but exigencies of space and expense prevent the publication of works of any great length. It is not always possible for the Social Science Research Council, which is almost entirely dependent upon the munificence of foreign foundations, to give aid to the publication of worthy studies which relate specifically to one area. The result is that much important work in the field of local history is lost and its loss reflects itself in the writing of national history. Research in Canada in the field of the social sciences is almost entirely dependent upon assistance from foundations outside of Canada, and our Association cannot too strongly recommend that the time has now come for the provision of adequate national support.

IV. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. This Association feels that official histories such as those dealing with the participation of the Canadian armed forces in two world wars should be completed and made available to the public.

2. If it is within its terms of reference to do so, the Association would be pleased if the Commission would recommend to provincial authorities the setting up of commissions to carry on similar work to its own, with a view to the correlation of the work of national and provincial bodies. If such a correlation could be achieved, the Association believes it would constitute a most important step toward development in the fields of the arts, letters and sciences, and that the culture of the whole country would thereby be enriched.

3. The Association believes that the study of history is most embracing, and it is interested in the cultivation of historical studies not only in the provincial and national fields, but also in the international sphere. For this reason, it approves the suggestion that there be set up in Canada a National Commission to assist UNESCO in its work of promoting intellectual co-operation.

Respectfully submitted,

MARGARET A. ORMSBY (President).
HELEN R. BOUTILIER (Secretary).

BLANSHARD CENTENARY ESSAY COMPETITION.

As part of its programme for the celebration of the centenary of the establishment of colonial government on the Pacific Coast of the Dominion of Canada as symbolized by the investiture of Richard Blanshard as first Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island at Fort Victoria on March 11, 1850, the British Columbia Historical Association is sponsoring an essay competition. Students of the University of British Columbia, Victoria College, and Royal Roads Service College are eligible. Prizes of $50, $30, and $20 are being offered for essays submitted on any one of the following subjects:—

(1) The Formation of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island.
(2) The Crown Colony of Vancouver Island: a Bulwark against American Advance.
(3) The Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Grant of Vancouver Island.
(4) The Colonial Policy of Lord Grey: with special reference to Vancouver Island.
(5) The Influence of British Humanitarian Movements upon the Establishment of the Colony of Vancouver Island.
(6) Vancouver Island as compared with other Colonies founded and operated by Chartered Companies.
(7) Chartered Companies as Factors in British Colonization.
(8) The Role of the Royal Navy in the Foundation of the Colony of Vancouver Island.
(9) The Governorship of Richard Blanshard.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Stuart R. Tompkins, author of *Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough*, is a member of the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma and an authority on Alaskan history.

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

Willis J. West, of Vancouver, B.C., was for many years associated with the B.C. Express Company and with other businesses in the Interior of this Province.

James K. Nesbitt is press correspondent in the Parliament Buildings for the Vancouver *News-Herald* and also second vice-president of the British Columbia Historical Association.

A. F. Flucke is a special research assistant at the Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

A. E. Pickford, formerly with the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C., as anthropologist, continues his keen interest in Indian matters although in retirement.

W. N. Sage is head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Farthest Frontier. By Sidney Warren. New York: Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. ix, 375. $4.50.

Farthest Frontier is a type of historical work long needed in the Pacific Northwest. While the memoirs of pioneers record many valuable and authentic items of historical interest, because usually they are limited in outlook, subject-matter, and locale, any one of them fails to present adequately all aspects of a budding society. In this book Sidney Warren has not only brought together the threads of the whole social fabric, but, through his research into many such reminiscences, diaries, news reports, magazine articles, and the excellent sources provided by unpublished theses, has produced a stimulating and exciting picture of a century of cultural growth.

Dr. Warren states in his preface that " this study is concerned with the beginnings of *American* settlement and the development of *American* society in the Northwest," and for this reason has refrained from extending the scope of his book to include territory north of the forty-ninth parallel, even although, to use his own words, " British Columbia is also sometimes included in the general territorial designation." British Columbians may be pardoned some slight feeling of pique at this rather casual brushing aside of their own share in the title of this book. The fact remains that, largely because of the dearth of suitable harbours and inlets south of Cape Flattery, the early history of the Pacific Northwest is the history of British Columbia's coast. However, such growling over old bones is perhaps not permissible in this case, since it must be admitted that prior to the 1840's there was little that could be called " society " in the whole of that vast area known as the " Oregon country."

While it seems unfortunate to circumscribe the stage on which so many dramas of hardship, courage, and resourcefulness were played, it is undoubtedly advisable, in a study of this nature, to note well the line of demarcation between the two cultural heritages—the more so, perhaps, because of the development in the Empire colony of a peculiarly " British " outlook. With the boundary treaty of 1846, *American* society south of the line and *British* society north of the line could develop along their separate paths. Nevertheless, the number of American citizens that floated in and out of British territory and that, particularly during the days of the Fraser River gold fever, contributed to the growth of settlement north of the forty-ninth parallel was by no means inconsiderable.

The author of *Farthest Frontier* received both his master's degree and his doctorate from Columbia University and is now associate professor of history and political science at the University of Florida. He has one other book to his credit, *American Free-thought,* and has lectured widely on national and international affairs. The present study was done under

a grant from the Library of Congress Studies in the History of American Civilization.

Although Dr. Warren is not a native of the area about which he has written, he has lived and travelled there a good deal. His own belief that " a relatively short residence and the lack of intimate ties should not be deterrents, if these could be balanced by other factors and qualifications," has certainly been sustained. His picture of the development of American society in the Northwest, in all of its many phases, is not only vivid, but also bears the evidence of extensive, if not always sufficiently painstaking, research.

After a brief recounting of the early history of the area, covering exploration, fur-trading, and the pioneer missions, Dr. Warren begins his study of social development with the surge of " Oregon fever " and the first lurching wagon trains of the 1840's. From here he probes every major aspect of Northwest society as it grew from squawling childhood to young maturity, from the early bellicose pride in the raw wilderness and rude pioneer settlements to the smug, stiff-necked aping of eastern ways that wealth and budding metropolitan life brought to the fore. The development of a territorial consciousness, the establishment and decay of various utopian-socialist communities, the constant interest in politics displayed by the settlers that eventually made itself felt in the affairs of the nation, and the flood of fearless assertive newspaper editors, each of whom felt he knew best what the country needed and said so in bold black print, are dealt with in a lively and interesting manner.

Through the entertaining method of describing the efforts of personalities in their respective fields, Dr. Warren has traced the development of medicine, education, literature, entertainment, and æsthetics, each from its crude and inadequate beginnings to the full flower of dignified status, accepted and respected by the inhabitants. While this style of treatment is worth while in that it has produced a very readable book, its disadvantages appear in a lack of definitiveness and historical interpretation. Nor does it always conduce to placing the characters and subject-matter in their proper historical perspective. Thus one finds a tendency to fit together personalities and topics without due regard for the proper importance of each. Although Dr. Warren has done much to draw together the threads of the fabric, much work remains to be done on social history of the Pacific Northwest in order to produce a complete pattern of historical significance.

One criticism the average reader may find with this history is the rather vague dating of many specific incidents. Historians are apt to forget that, in works of this order where topical development brings in a bulk of frequently unrelated detail, it may be a point of frustration to the reader not to be able to place at least the most interesting items in their proper time sequence. Thus when we read (p. 87) that "[the Americans] . . . began . . . to agitate . . . for the creation of some form of government . . . [but] Nothing happened until one of the settlers . . . died leaving some valuable property . . . and no heirs " and that the

meeting held to settle this estate decided to carry on business and elect officers for a provisional government but "no further action resulted until three years later," we are at a loss to know just when all this occurred.

This is again a cause for complaint when the author refers to the shortage of womenfolk in the pioneer communities and to some of the methods devised to remedy the situation. Dr. Warren's statement (p. 77) that "The following year a group of bachelors leaped to arms when word spread throughout Puget Sound that a shipment of women had been sent from London for the single men of British Columbia. A few desperate souls called a hasty conference and without much further ado made a mad dash into Canada, swept the women off their feet, and returned home with their brides" leaves the reader completely in the dark as to what year this took place, or to which shipment this escapade referred. From the date of the previous quotation, we take it that the incident occurred in the year 1859, but apart from the fact that there were no organized shipments of women into the British colony prior to 1862, there is also no reference in the colonial newspapers of that period or even later to any such overly ambitious action on the part of American bachelorhood. There was an occasion upon which American youth prevailed upon certain damsels destined for British Columbia to desert to their more available arms, but this involved the ship *Seaman's Bride* from Melbourne, Australia, not London, and the incident took place at San Francisco, where the ship had put in for water and provisions, in August, 1862. Another minor discrepancy in the account of this American "foray" is the fact that the name "Canada" is hardly applicable to British possessions in the Pacific Northwest prior to 1871.

The author's reference to "the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort George" (p. 18) and his further reference to "Alexander Henry, then head of the Company's fort," can only be regarded as a slip of the pen, since Henry had already been identified on an earlier page as an ardent "Nor'Wester." Nevertheless, even if we allow the ownership of Fort George (the former Astoria) to be an error in writing, we may still take exception to the placing of Alexander Henry as head of it. We have the word of Lawrence J. Burpee that Henry never became head of the North West Company's post, the confusion arising over the fact that the position was held by William Henry, a cousin of the more noted Alexander.

There are some rather wide generalizations made in the brief description of Indian culture. Certainly there is room for much disagreement in such broad statements as "Their [the Indians'] most important article of trade to the trappers was their women" (p. 13), and "sexual mores permitted Indian women to be promiscuous" (p. 17).

These criticisms, however, do not detract from the value of the work as a history of pioneer endeavour. Dr. Warren's bibliography is, to say the least, excellent, but one is faced with the possibility that much more use could have been made of sources so extensive and detailed than has been done in this book. Without doubt, *Farthest Frontier* makes a definite con-

tribution to American frontier history. Breaking open a wilderness and using its contents to build a new segment of civilization based on the ideas of older communities required not only courage but also a steadfast faith in those ideas. Nature, at many unyielding points, forced her attackers to modify, or delay, their designs. But the pioneer, though sensing, and in a measure resenting, his inadequacy, kept up the struggle, ever ready to defend his hard-won portion from the slurs of the older culture centres. That was the essential spirit of pioneering. Here, each by its own story, the facets of society outline that struggle and trace the changing outlook from that of backwoods "poor relations" to the justly proud self-consciousness of men and women who wrought and furnished, by brawn and brain, a new living space from mountain, plain, and forest.

A. F. FLUCKE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Series III. No. 4. Edited by W. L. Morton and J. A. Jackson. Winnipeg [1949]. Pp. 62. $1.

This volume contains the five papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba during the season of 1947–48. The new editors have maintained the high standard set by previous issues. All of the papers are of a high order and contain much interesting and valuable information on a variety of subjects.

Mrs. Margaret Arnett MacLeod, well known for her able introduction to *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* published by the Champlain Society in 1947, contributed "Life in the Early West." This is a synthesis of pioneer life—when people "worked hard, played hard, lived hard"—and has many apt and amusing anecdotes from the lives of such early settlers as Dr. John Bunn, Colin Fraser, Chief Factor John Harriott, Willie Brass, Peter d'Eschambault, and the like. The title of the second article, "Some Manitoba Women Who Did First Things," is self-explanatory. Mrs. Lillian Beynon Thomas, herself a leader in the movement for political rights for women, has given brief sketches of a considerable number of pioneer women of early days in Manitoba—Mrs. A. G. H. Bannatyne, Mrs. John Sutherland, Mrs. William Kennedy, Mrs. Lara Bjarnason—and many others who were the home-makers in a new land. Particular mention is made of Charlotte Whitehead Ross and Amelia Yeomans, pioneer medical doctors, and Margaret Scott in the profession of nursing. The galaxy of names is impressive and makes fascinating reading.

A more detailed account of a phase of the history of education is provided in "School Inspectors of the Early Days in Manitoba," by A. A. Herriot. The inspection service of the Education Branch in Manitoba dates from 1888, when five Inspectors were appointed, and Mr. Herriot has dealt most adequately with the pioneers in this work. It is of more than passing interest to British Columbians to know that there lives in retirement in Victoria, S. E. Lang, who joined the service sixty years ago. Dr. Ross

Mitchell has performed a similar service for the medical profession in "Early Doctors of Red River and Manitoba." The first medical man in the Northwest was probably Charles Doullon Desmarets, employed by Chevalier de la Corne in the Lake of the Woods country, 1753–1756. In a very succinct manner, details are provided concerning early surgeons sent out by the fur-trade companies, the Selkirk settlers, and the military companies. It is interesting to note that, relatively early, the medical profession drew its membership from within the colony, for Dr. John Bunn, who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1832, had been born in the Red River settlement, and many years later he was succeeded by Dr. Curtis James Bird, also born in the settlement. In the early 1860's medical men from the eastern British North American colonies began to reach the region, prominent amongst whom was Dr. J. C. Schultz, who before his death in 1896 had become Sir John and had served as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. In addition to their professional duties, many of these doctors took an active interest in political affairs, as, for example, Dr. John Harrison O'Donnell and Dr. David Howard Harrison, the sole medical Premier of the Province.

The Honourable Chief Justice E. K. Williams of the Court of King's Bench contributed "Aspects of the Legal History of Manitoba." In a carefully documented article he has traced the legal history of Manitoba from the appointment of the first judicial officer trained in the law in 1839, in the person of Adam Thom, to the appointment of the first of Her Majesty's Judges in Manitoba, in the person of Chief Justice Alexander Morris, in 1872. Much interesting light is shed on the career of the first Recorder, who served until 1851. In addition, details regarding the establishment of a police force during the period 1822 to 1869 are provided. The account of the establishment of the Queen's Courts in Manitoba contains a great amount of valuable detail regarding early Judges and their work in the Province.

While this volume is, perhaps, on the whole, slightly more restricted in its general appeal than previous issues, nevertheless the five papers comprised within it are packed with historical data that it would be next to impossible to locate readily in other existing sources.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Wolf and the Raven. By Viola E. Garfield and Linn A. Forrest. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1948. Pp. ix, 151. Ill. $3.

This work tells of an activity whereby the native Indian totem-poles found in a limited area of South-eastern Alaska have been salvaged, restored, and erected near their original sites, at points convenient to established routes of travel, where they can be readily seen by the tourist. The book is a final touch to this activity; it gives photographs and verbal descriptions of the poles, with some historical and legendary accounts connected with them. It is, as it were, a guide-book to the poles in their newly established sites.

The project was originally started by enthusiastic citizens of the district and was later taken over in a very practical way by the United States Forest Service. But it has suffered somewhat, in that, until late in the progress of the work, it did not come under the direction of a trained ethnologist. However, the essential work has been done, and very well done in view of the existing handicaps.

The student will appreciate the book, but he must realize that it is not a text-book on the totems of Alaska, and that it is limited within the scope of the above-named project. It would seem, rather, that the work is planned principally for the tourist and the general reader, who will appreciate its glamour and romance. But the modern man of travel, and especially the arm-chair traveller, is lost without a map. It is a grave error not to have included one—so much information could have been conveyed even on the inside cover and fly-leaf by this means.

Such detail as is given is very well told, and the general reader will be absorbed by it. It will whet his appetite, but as his interest increases, he will wake up to the fact that the story is lacking in background. He will have many questions to ask for which he cannot find the answers. Who were these people, the Tlingits, of whom we read in the introduction, whence did they come, and where did they settle? What relationship had they with the Haida, of whom we find casual mention in a later part of the book? What territory did they each occupy? (How badly we need a map here.) Where can I read more about these people? How did their art arise; if from outside, from what tribe and from which of the cardinal points of the compass did its inspiration come, and what are the geographical limits of its range? These and other questions the tourist and general reader will ask because he feels that the picture is lacking in essential life without the answers. The student will, moreover, feel the need of an index.

Of actual errors, there are few outside of the initial mistakes in the planning of the work, with which we are not concerned here. Among the stone tools used by the primitive people of the American Northwest, jadeite should not be named, as on page 2, for it is not found here; the mineral intended is *nephrite*, very similar to jadeite for all practical purposes, and it was in general use among the natives. This error is twice repeated elsewhere in the book. Again, the story of the boy who fed the eagles, occupying the whole of page 42 and part of page 43, is told over again at length on page 85 with no essential information added. This space could have been better used in answering other questions; for instance, from which animal is the wolf crest derived—is it the timber-wolf ("tired wolf" pp. 18, 19, and 20), the sea-wolf (p. 136), or the sea monster "which is not Gonaqadate" (p. 137)? Why is the eagle crest interchangeable with that of the wolf? And what are the respective sub-crests of the wolf and the raven phratries?

The totem on the jacket, with its badly drawn wings, lacks the graceful curves of the aboriginal design, and the bird upon it is not a raven (as the title would lead one to expect), but a thunderbird. One feels that the

artist of this jacket was lacking in appreciation of his subject. The book is not so bad as these caustic comments lead one to believe; it has vivid interest. It is in fact a notable addition to the recorded history of the Northwest and, as Americana, is very well worth the price.

A. E. PICKFORD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Columbia: Powerhouse of the West. By Murray Morgan. Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1949. Pp. ix, 295. Maps. $3.50.

The Columbia River has always loomed large in the history of the Pacific Northwest, in fact it symbolizes both the past and the future of a vast geographic area. To describe this river basin and to evaluate its significance is an immense undertaking. Mr. Morgan quite properly looked upon it as a "challenge," and, if to a degree, he seems not to achieve his full aim, nevertheless he has written an interesting and readable book.

His plan of attack is admirable. History is not relegated to an introductory chapter, but is interwoven into every section of the book. The geology and geography of the Columbia basin, with the accompanying story of its original Indian inhabitants and the first of the pioneer bands that were to intrude therein, receives the author's first attention. Then he proceeds to discuss the Columbia in three main divisions: "The Untamed River," comprising mainly that portion of it that lies within British Columbia; "The Working River," comprising the greater portion of the river that has been harnessed by man at various points in its wild plunge to the sea; "The Tidal River," wherein are described the activities in its lower reaches. A concluding section, "River of the Future," discusses the potential development of the river basin. This, presumably, is the most controversial portion of the book, for herein are discussed the arguments put forward by the proponents and opponents of a Columbia Valley Administration. There is a tremendous variety in the topics about which one can read in this book—the building and operation of Grand Coulee Dam, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission's work at Richland and Hanford are described along with Indian warfare in "Old Oregon," steamboat days on the river, and the coming of the railroads. A modest index makes the usefulness of this book from a topical point of view much greater.

This reviewer has little to complain of in so far as the planning of the book is concerned, but he is considerably perturbed by the many inaccuracies that mar its presentation. It is, for example, a little disturbing to find John Meares still credited with the discovery and naming of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, when the honour really belongs to Captain C. W. Barkley (p. 35). Moreover, Meares is given his proper Christian name, John (p. 35), but later (p. 38) it has become James. Similarly, Canadian readers will, or least should be, amazed to read that "Alexander Mackenzie . . . crossed the northern Rockies, found the Fraser—which he mistook for the Columbia, and followed it to the sea" (p. 48). This obviously does

justice to neither the gallant first crossing of the main North American Continent by Mackenzie nor to the subsequent efforts of Simon Fraser. Nor will British Columbians be any happier about the references (p. 97) to the work of W. A. Waillie-Grohman, and since this occurs more than once, it can hardly be passed as a typographical error for Baillie-Grohman. And for that matter in the fascinating story of the Columbia-Kootenay canal, evidently the author was not aware of Captain F. P. Armstrong's activity in the steamer *Gwendolen*. Presumably the use of the date 1884 for the arrival of David Thompson in Canada (p. 101) is a typographical mistake, but one wonders whether or not the author means "Keithley" rather than "Keithay" (p. 125). More serious, however, is such a reference as ". . . When the Canadian National was running the Grand Trunk through the mountains . . ." (p. 111), which indicates poor research on at least railroad-construction in British Columbia. In addition, one wonders where Mr. Morgan acquired his population statistics for British Columbia towns. Revelstoke is credited (p. 132) with a population of 2,736, which perhaps is close enough in view of the fact that the 1941 Census figures are 2,106, but the estimate offered by the Provincial Department of Trade and Industry for 1948 is 3,200. However, Nakusp (p. 136) is stated to have a population of only 394, whereas this same Provincial estimate for 1948 gives it as 1,300. Inhabitants of Castlegar will be astonished to discover (p. 137) that their "town" has only 54 inhabitants, when the last Federal Census (1941) credited it with 956, and the latest estimate exceeds 1,300.

Admittedly these errors refer mainly to the story of the Columbia River in Canadian territory, but even moderately careful research would have eliminated them. Unhappily, they leave the impression that perhaps similar errors mar that portion of the text dealing with the river in American territory, on which the reviewer does not presume a competency to judge. From the frequency with which extracts are taken from original sources, and usually to good effect, it can easily be appreciated that a great deal of research has gone into the preparation of the text, but had there been more care in the final preparation, the result would, from a historian's point of view, been much happier, nor would it have made the book in any way less readable. One cannot put this book down without mixed feelings—admiration for the planning, but regret that the definitive book on the Columbia River still remains to be written.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766–1780. Edited with introduction and notes by Harold A. Innis. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948. Pp. xxxiv, 298.

Simeon Perkins, 1735–1812, was a Connecticut Yankee who settled in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and played an important part in the building-up of that community. He kept a diary, rather intermittently at first, but more regularly after January 1, 1773. From 1774 to 1780 it sheds much light on the position of Nova Scotia during the American Revolutionary War.

Dean Harold A. Innis of the University of Toronto has, as usual, contributed a most valuable introduction and notes. He traces Perkins' career in Nova Scotia from his first arrival in Liverpool on May 4, 1762, to March 31, 1780, when the diary, as printed in this volume, abruptly ends. From the introduction and the notes, and especially from the diary itself, it is possible to reconstruct the career of this interesting pre-Loyalist American settler.

One of the most interesting features of the diary is the day-by-day account of life in Liverpool, N.S.; Perkins carefully notes births, marriages, and deaths, the construction of the local jail and the meeting-house, and the erection of sawmills. Church affairs receive considerable attention, especially the vagaries of the Reverend Israel Cheever. Perkins records his second marriage on September 10, 1775, to Mrs. Elizabeth Headley, a widow, and also the births of their children in 1776 and 1778.

Simeon Perkins rapidly became a man of substance, who engaged in ship-building, lumber and fish trading, and real estate. He steadily improved his position in the community and on May 19, 1772, received his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the militia. Two years before he had been elected, along with William Smith, to represent Queen's County in the Legislative Assembly. In the same year, 1770, he had been chosen Proprietor's Clerk and one of the Committee of the Township. Two years later he records that the General Sessions and Inferior Court of Common Pleas sat on April 14, 1772, and that he was "continued County treasurer, overseer of the Poor, and town clerk." Unfortunately, there are no entries in the diary from September 3, 1770, to March 16, 1772, so it is impossible to ascertain when he was first appointed to fill these positions. He soon afterwards became a Magistrate and held office for many years.

Before the outbreak of the American Revolution, Perkins' trade was mostly with New England, with occasional cargoes sent to the West Indies and a relatively small coasting trade with Halifax. After the outbreak of hostilities, and especially after the appearance of American privateers on the Nova Scotia coast, the trade with New England declined, but it did not altogether cease. On October 23, 1776, Perkins noted in his diary the fifth loss which he had "met by the privateers." At first his sympathies had inclined toward the American colonists, but as time went on he definitely took the King's side. The local militia was embodied for defence, but as it did not prove very effective, a detachment of the King's Orange Rangers under Captain Howard was stationed at Liverpool in December, 1778. Before this, on two occasions, there had been gun-fire in Liverpool Bay, and the local militia had captured the officers and crew of a French privateer, and had later given two American privateers a warm reception.

In 1779 the Nova Scotians began to fight back. The schooner *Lucy* was outfitted in Liverpool as a privateer and in January, 1780, sailed to make war on the Americans. On February 5 she returned with two prizes, a sloop and a schooner. The *Lucy* successfully captured a couple more enemy vessels, but was sold on March 21, 1780, and sent to Halifax. Ten days later Simeon Perkins made his last entry in his diary. The Liverpool

privateers were later to give a good account of themselves in the Napoleonic War and the War of 1812.

Above all the diary shows how, as a result of the American Revolution, "business interests shifted from Boston and New England ports to Halifax." The Nova Scotia Yankees, although connected by ties of blood and business affiliations with New England, elected to remain within the British Empire and did their part in building up a large overseas trade based upon Nova Scotian ports. Dean Innis has well termed the diary of Simeon Perkins "a report from a listening post in the Atlantic struggle."

To British Columbians, this diary has interest as an authentic record of the happenings in a Nova Scotian port during the momentous years from 1776 to 1780. It illustrates clearly the vast difference between conditions then existing on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. At a time when Captain James Cook, R.N., was refitting the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* at Nootka Sound, Simeon Perkins, as lieutenant-colonel of the Nova Scotia militia, was attempting to deal with American privateers.

WALTER N. SAGE.

Vancouver, B.C.

SHORTER NOTICES.

Arctic Mood. By Eva Alvey Richards. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 282. Ill. $4.

This is a delightfully written and beautifully produced book on a twentieth-century phase of pioneering. Mrs. Richards was from 1924 to 1926 school-teacher under the Alaska Division of the Native School and Medical Service of the United States Department of Interior at Wainwright, a tiny settlement some 100 miles south-west of Point Barrow. She writes with an eager pen and an understanding heart of her experiences and arouses in her reader an enthusiasm that does not lag from the summer day in 1924 when she boarded the steamer *Boxer* in Seattle northward bound until her return two years later. Life in Wainwright was evidently far from humdrum, particularly as a teacher's duties involved also many of the functions of medical man, nurse, clergyman, and civic adviser. Mrs. Richards gives vivid pen pictures of Eskimo life, for, despite her relatively short stay in the North, she came to know them well and to share in all their activities—their joys and sorrows and their journeyings. The book is beautifully illustrated, not only with well-selected photographs, but also with reproductions of her own paintings of many of the Eskimos whose lives are woven into this story. *Arctic Mood* is well written, and the reader will put it aside with a much keener appreciation of our Eskimo people.

Prize Winning Essays. Armitage Competition in Oregon Pioneer History. Reed College. [Reprinted from Reed College Bulletin, Portland, Oregon, 1949.]

This item includes the two prize-winning essays in the undergraduate division of the Armitage Competition at Reed College for the year 1948.

Over the years Reed College has established an unusually high standard of historical research, and the two essays here published are no exception. It will, perhaps, be a surprise to many to discover that the first prize went to a student whose major was in physics and not in one of the social sciences. That, however, is indicative of the rather amazing philosophy of education that permeates Reed College.

Clarence R. Allen knows a great deal of history as well as physics, as is evidenced by his essay "The Myth of the Multnomah: the history of a geographical misconception." The "myth" began to take form when, in 1806, Clark turned back to examine a river flowing into the Columbia from the south. This is the Willamette, but Clark gave it the name "Multnomah" and produced a sketch-map which, based on Indian information, grossly overestimated distances. In the course of the essay Mr. Allen tells the "story of the growth and decline" of a hardy myth. Eastern cartographers, such as John Mellish, who, in 1818, extended the river to give it rise in the Great Salt Lake of Utah, added to the confusion, as did the publication of a report of a journey on this river in 1821 by Samuel Adams Ruddock. Locally, at least, the "myth" was disproved by the Snake Country expeditions undertaken by Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, but accurate information spread slowly and it was not until 1839 that a relatively accurate map was produced.

The second essay by Morton T. Rosenblum is entitled "Simeon Gannett Reed, Gentleman Farmer." This is a study of the Ladd and Reed farming enterprises during the period 1871–1895. "Broadmeads" was the largest and most important unit of this farming venture, and here specialization in live stock was undertaken with the introduction of blooded stock. Before long, experimentation with crops and grass mixtures was also under way. Many details concerning these operations are to be found in the essay. Unfortunately, the live-stock operations did not prove as remunerative financially as had been anticipated, and gradually the whole enterprise was abandoned. It was, however, an important phase in the agricultural development of Oregon, and the analysis of its effects are interesting.

The Flying Canoe: Legends of the Cowichans. By B. M. Cryer. Victoria: J. Parker Buckle Co., Ltd. [1949]. Pp. 48. Ill. $1.

Mrs. B. M. Cryer has for years been a student of the legends of the Cowichan Indians, as the Coast Salish tribes are known locally within British Columbia. Now she has written down five of their legends primarily for the benefit of children, but adults will find them equally entertaining. Children will be fascinated by the story of the flying canoe, or of "Esq, the Seal, and her two little boys," or "Tcheeah, the first Blue Jay." The legends are true to the native tradition and are retold with sympathy and understanding. Miss Betty Newton, of the staff of the Provincial Museum, has done the illustrations and Mr. B. A. McKelvie has contributed a foreword. Parents and teachers, alike, will find this a most useful book.

W. E. I.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XIII

1949

VICTORIA, B.C.

Published by the Archives of British Columbia in co-operation with the British Columbia Historical Association

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIII.

ERRATA.

Page 46, line 13: For *tendecy* read *tendency.*

Frontispiece to face page 55: Date in caption of Map II should read *1728.*

Page 66, line 30: For *A. O. Andreyev* read *A. I. Andreyev.*

Illustration following page 66: Caption for Map IV should read, "Jeffery's map, taken from *The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage*, London, 1768, and based on the map of the Russian Academy, 1758."

Page 68, line 18: For *Phillipe* read *Philippe.* This same error occurs on page 75, line 27; page 78, line 33; and page 79, line 7.

Page 69, line 16: For *them* read *those.*
line 28: For *endeavoured* read *endeavored.*
line 33: For *Mexicain* read *Mexicains.*
line 35: For *apportenaient* read *appartenaient.*
line 38: For *sentiment* read *sentiments.*
line 40: For *ourvriers* read *ouvriers.*
line 44: For *élément* read *éléments.*

Page 72, line 25: For *de* read *des; réprandre* read *répandre.*
line 33: For *tour* read *tout.*

Page 73, line 8: For *Bretagne* read *Brétagne.*

Page 78, line 27: For *Français* read *Française.*

Page 81, line 2: For *accomodation* read *accommodation.*
line 33: For *Maison* read *Maisons.*

Page 91, line 30: For *J. W. Pelly* read *J. H. Pelly.*

Page 92, line 13: For *Armdale* read *Armadale.*

Page 105, line 44: For *Houston* read *Houstoun.*

Page 110, line 37: For *Gannymede* read *Ganymede.*

Page 128, line 9: For *Kenloch* read *Kinloch.*

INDEX.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by DON MCDIARMID, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1950.

650-749-3052
6