THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

JULY, 1950

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.

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

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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XIV VICTORIA, B.C., JULY, 1950 No. 3

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THE NICKEL PLATE MINE, 1898-1932

The Nickel Plate mine, one of the outstanding mining properties in Southern British Columbia, is situated on Nickel Plate Mountain, which coincides closely with the portion of the Hedley mining district that is of economic importance. From it has come almost the entire production of the area. The Hedley district, 210 miles due east of Vancouver, is located in the Okanagan Range in Southern British Columbia,[1] where this rather gentle uplift is dissected by the canyons of the Similkameen River and its roaming tributaries. The region is essentially part of the great Interior plateau of this Province, but is adjacent to the easterly portions of the Coast Range.

The Similkameen canyon, 4,000 feet in depth and frequently less than 4 miles from rim to rim, traverses the district from north-west to south-east. At Hedley, Twenty Mile Creek, an important tributary, enters from the north in a bold canyon, from 2,500 to 4,000 feet deep, with sides, gashed by many deep and narrow box canyons, sloping downward at angles of about 40 degrees. Nickel Plate Mountain occupies the sector to the east of the river junction, and its flanks, as a consequence, are ringed by the cliffs of Twenty Mile canyon on the west and the Similkameen canyon on the south. The mountain slopes gently to the hanging valley of Eighteen Mile Creek on the east, while to the north it merges almost imperceptibly into the moderately hilly surface of the Interior plateau. Hedley lies 1,700 feet above sea-level; 4,500 feet above the town towers the summit of Nickel Plate. The average height of the plateau is about 6,000 feet.[2]

The history of mining in the Similkameen Valley begins with the discovery of gold on the lower reaches of the river by a member of the United States Boundary Commission in 1859.[3] During

(1) Technically, the Okanagan Mountains are the easternmost portion of the Cascades.

(2) Paul Billingsley and C. B. Hume, "The ore deposits of Nickel Plate Mountain, Hedley, B.C.," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, XLIV (1941), p. 528.

(3) *Papers relative to the affairs of British Columbia.* Part III [Cmd. 2724], London, 1860, p. 88.

1860 there was a small rush to the valley, but it quickly faded before the magnetic appeal of the Cariboo. Placer-mining is usually of a temporary character; the exhaustion of the pay-gravel takes very little time, and the place is soon deserted. This, the first period in the mining history of Hedley and the Nickel Plate mine, is relatively unimportant. It was of short duration and is now almost entirely forgotten.

Following the logical sequence, the era of placer-mining was only the antecedent of the more important and lasting phase of lode-mining which began near the turn of the century. During the past fifty years there has been a slow but successful gradient of industrial development, and the Nickel Plate mine has attained high rank among the producing gold mines in Canada.

The history of the Nickel Plate begins on a summer day in August, 1898, when two prospectors, Francis H. Wollaston and Constantine H. Arundel, discovered a rich outcrop of ore which, although partially oxidized, showed abundantly the characteristic arsenopyrite of the primary ores.[4] They first staked the Horse-fly, Nickel Plate, Copperfield, Sunnyside, and Bulldog Mineral Claims and later recorded others on the same mountain. Late in the fall of 1898 Wollaston and Arundel took some samples of the surface ore from their Nickel Plate claim to the Provincial Fair at New Westminster. M. K. Rodgers, one of the leading figures in the early history of the Nickel Plate, first saw the ore there. At that time Rodgers was travelling through the Province in the interests of Marcus Daly, a mining magnate of Butte, Montana. Rodgers was so impressed by the appearance of the samples that he immediately started on a trip which took several days of arduous travel, by rail, stage, and horseback, to reach the district.[5] The examination proved so satisfactory that in November Rodgers took a bond on the Nickel Plate, Sunnyside, Bulldog, and Copperfield claims.[6]

(4) Billingsley and Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 529. A survey of the early history of mining in the Hedley district can be obtained in: H. D. Barnes, "Early history of Hedley Camp," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1948), pp. 103–125; Charles Camsell, *The geology and ore deposits of Hedley mining district, British Columbia*, Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey Branch, Memoir No. 2, Ottawa, 1910; Hedley *Gazette*, January 19, 1905.

(5) Camsell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(6) *Loc. cit.*

The work of cutting trails, erecting camp buildings, and packing in supplies was commenced at once. At first supplies were hauled by wagon from Penticton to Keremeos and carried by pack-horses from the latter point to the Nickel Plate by way of the Camp Rest Trail. During 1900 a road about 15 miles in length was built across the mountains east of the Nickel Plate which connected with the Penticton–Keremeos Road.[7] From then on all supplies were transported directly from Penticton.

Before proceeding to record the early development, a brief description should first be given of the discovery showing of the Nickel Plate claim. The red rusty outcrop occupied a small clearing on a fairly steep hillside, and the ore exposed to sight was probably about 15 feet wide and 20 feet long. The ground to the right, left, and below the outcrop was covered by an overburden and thickly strewn with jack-pine windfalls, among which a second growth of young pines already had made a good start. On the upper side of the ore outcrop a light-coloured, hard igneous rock stood out boldly several feet higher than the ore, with the contact between the ore and the igneous rock being sharply defined. The red dirt from the outcrop panned gold very freely; a gold-pan of the material would often give twenty to thirty coarse colours about the size of a pin-head as well as a long, thin, thick stream of fine gold.

It would be interesting for those who have never visited Nickel Plate Mountain to know that it was an ideal location for a mine, with an ample supply of timber for immediate use close at hand. Near-by springs above the camp allowed the installation of a gravity water system. The southern slopes of Nickel Plate and adjacent mountains are more or less covered with a scattered growth of Douglas fir, among which bunch-grass and other grasses grow freely. Northern slopes are usually covered with mixed stands of fir, jack-pines, spruce, and balsam. From the ore-bin, the upper terminus of the gravity tramway, a won-

(7) The road was surveyed and built by Rodgers, assisted by a government grant of $4,000. "This road starts at a point on the Penticton–Fairview Road 2¾ miles south-west of Penticton, and runs south-westerly through a farming, grazing, and mining country a distance of about 30 miles to the Nickel Plate . . . ," British Columbia, Department of Lands and Works, *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 1900*, Victoria, 1901, p. 439.

derful view can be had of the snowy peaks of the Cascade Range which stretches away to the west and north-west, peak after peak, as far as the eye can see. To the south and south-east lie the jagged peaks of the Ashnola Mountains. In the immediate foreground one looks down into the narrow trench-like valley of the Similkameen, some 3,700 feet lower at river-level. Surely a most entrancing view of mountain peaks, deeply eroded valley, and winding river, especially so when seen of a summer evening with the setting sun lighting up the distant summits.

Permanent work on the Nickel Plate, as all the claims bonded together became known, started early in January, 1899. The first work was done on the discovery showing of the Nickel Plate claim—elevation above sea-level, 5,850 feet—and consisted of stripping off some of the overburden and driving a wide open-cut across the ore-body. This cut was blasted out to about an average depth of 9 feet. Pin-heads of free gold were frequently visible in the sides of the cut. Then followed the sinking of a shaft in about the middle of the cut, which later was to be used as an ore-chute. The next major development was the driving of a cross-cut tunnel—elevation at portal, 5,750 feet—which was designated as No. 3 tunnel. This adit cut the ore-body about 400 feet in from the portal. Hand-steel was used for driving the first part of the tunnel, but it was slow going owing to the extreme hardness of the rock. Early in 1901 a small Ingersoll straight-line air-compressor and steam-boiler were hauled in from Penticton over the newly built road.[8] The compressor was installed in the draw at the foot of the slope below the tunnel portal. This installation speeded up the driving of the adit, and, as development proceeded, it was found that the ore-body dipped 23 degrees to the west. The hard, white igneous rock seen at the discovery outcrop was found to be a sill which formed the hanging wall of the ore-body. Later this rock was classified by Dr. Camsell as a gabbro. Near the portal of No. 3 tunnel the first permanent blacksmith and machine shops were built about 1900. During the early years of production all ore shipped to the mill at Hedley from Nickel Plate was mined above

(8) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1901*, Victoria, 1902, p. 1075. About 1904 this compressor was replaced by a much larger 40-drill compressor. Hedley *Gazette*, January 19, 1905.

the level of No. 3 adit. About 1915 the last of the ore was taken out from this adit and the tramway tracks were taken up.

The driving of No. 4 tunnel—elevation at portal, 5,600 feet—to cut the Nickel Plate ore-body at still greater depth, was undertaken in 1904–1905 by Rodgers. It was driven by him to a distance of 1,160 feet in from the portal, and has been driven no further since that time. R. B. Lamb, who replaced Rodgers as manager in the fall of 1905, stopped further exploratory work in the adit shortly after his arrival. For the next four years nothing further was done, save possibly a small amount of diamond drilling.

The staff at the Nickel Plate mine in those early years of development consisted of M. K. Rodgers, general manager; Wesley P. Rodgers, a brother of M. K. Rodgers, mine engineer and surveyor; Gomer P. Jones, who came to the Nickel Plate in August, 1900, mine superintendent; and Frank Bragg, storekeeper and timekeeper.[9] About the time the option was taken up on the four original claims a British Columbia charter was obtained for the Yale Mining Company, which became the holding and operating company. A few years later, when it was decided to build a mill at Hedley, it was found that the Yale Mining Company's charter was not broad enough to provide for the building of tramways and power-flumes, nor for the expropriation of land for rights-of-way. Consequently, a second company, the Daly Reduction Company, Limited, was incorporated, and a British Columbia charter obtained for it early in 1903. It became the operating company for both the mine and the mill, the Yale Mining Company existing thereafter only as a holding company. Marcus Daly died while the mill was under construction, and ownership of the Nickel Plate then became vested in his estate.

The consideration paid to Wollaston and Arundel for the Nickel Plate, Sunnyside, Copperfield, and Bulldog claims was commonly reported to be $60,000,[10] and the option was taken up within the year. A few years later the same partners sold Rodgers the Iron Duke Fraction, Silver Plate, Copper Plate,

(9) Princeton *Similkameen Star*, October 24, 1903.

(10) Hedley *Gazette*, January 19, 1905, states that the amount paid was between $60,000 and $80,000, and that the option was taken up within ten months.

Woodland, and other claims, and it was understood the consideration was also $60,000.[11] Between 1900 and 1905 a number of adjacent claims were acquired by Rodgers from other prospectors, which included the Mound and Copper Cleft,[12] Climax, and I.X.L.,[13] and the Exchange Fraction.[14] The Windfall group, now included in the Nickel Plate holdings, consisting of the Windfall, Morning, Bighorn, Czar, and Winchester Fraction, was acquired by the Hedley Gold Mining Company in 1912.[15] The consideration paid to the owners was reported to have been $131,000. In the following year the Red Mountain group was purchased by the company.[16]

The early buildings were all of log construction, but in 1902 a new dining-room was built and was of frame construction, the lumber having been hauled in from Penticton. This was a two-story building abutted on to the log-built kitchen which had heretofore served as both dining-room and kitchen. The top story was designed for a hall or sleeping-quarters as occasion demanded, access to which was by an outside stairway. This building was known as " Cameron Hall." Directly across the road was a large two-story bunkhouse which was always known as the " Hot Air Tenement." A little farther down the track was the log house of the mine foreman. Still farther down the road was the two-story store building with basement, partly of

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) Owned and discovered by Johnson, Jacobson, and Williams.

(13) Owned by Harry Yates and George Cahill.

(14) Owned by C. H. Arundel.

(15) Owned by Cahill and Pickard. Of this purchase the Annual Report states: " This was really the most important and significant event of the year [a very successful and profitable year] for the camp. Its importance lies in the fact that it proves the fallacy of the contention urged by former managers that the *Nickel Plate* deposit did not extend beyond the bounds of the *Nickel Plate* claim. . . ." British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1912*, Victoria, 1913, p. 181.

(16) "Apart from the *Nickel Plate* operations, the most important occurrence during the year was the exploration by diamond-drill of the Red Mountain claim, which was one of a group of claims in the canyon of Twenty Mile held under bond by Exploration Syndicate No. 2, made up principally of members of the United States Steel Trust." British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1913*, Victoria, 1914, p. 177.

log and partly frame construction, built about 1901. Lumber for this building was also hauled in from Penticton. Almost directly across from the mine foreman's house on the upper side of the road stood a log building, the front part of which was used by the mine engineer as a draughting-room and the rear as his sleeping-quarters. Farther down the lower side of the road was first the manager's two-story log house and then followed three smaller log houses for employees. These last four buildings stood on the Sunnyside claim. Back again to the cookhouse and going up the road towards No. 3 tunnel there stood another small log cabin used for a time as a school-house and later as the diamond-drill setters' workshop. In the summer of 1905 four additional cottages were built for the employees. These were of frame construction, the lumber going up from Hedley over the company's tramways. These cottages were built in a row near the northern limit of the camp, and the little settlement went by the name of "Bogus Town." Near by stood the company's stables and the first compressor-house. This gives a fairly accurate picture of the camp buildings up to the summer of 1910.

By the year 1902 a sufficient tonnage of ore had been blocked out and indicated on the Nickel Plate claim to warrant the construction of a mill. Hedley was selected as the location for the mill as a free site had been given to the company by the Hedley City Townsite Company.[17] Later Rodgers acquired the flat on Indian Reserve No. 2, which adjoined the mill-site, from the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa. The acquisition of this land gave the company ample room for all its operations. In the summer of 1902 preliminary surveys were made for the tramways, the power-flume up Twenty Mile Creek, and the mill by Wesley Rodgers. Construction started that fall.[18] Early in the spring of 1903 work was started simultaneously on the mill

(17) "When installed this mill will be the first stamp mill erected in the Similkameen district, the others nearest being at Camp McKinney and at the Stemwinder mine in Camp Fairview." Princeton *Similkameen Star*, October 25, 1902.

(18) *Ibid.*, November 1, 1902. Mr. Munson, of Grand Forks, got the contract for the dam on Twenty Mile Creek and for the flume from the dam to the mill. At the same time contracts were let for the grading of the mill-site and for the building of the stone walls for the mill foundation.

and the flume which was to furnish the power for the mill and the mine.[19]

As soon as the snow had disappeared in the spring of 1903, work commenced on the clearing of the right-of-way and grading for the tramways. From the ore-bin station at the head of the gravity tramway—elevation, 5,400 feet—the mountain slopes steeply down to the tipple—elevation, approximately 2,100 feet. On account of its course being deflected 20 degrees at central station, the gravity tramway was built for operating in two sections. The distance from the tipple to the central station is about 5,600 feet, and from the central station to the ore-bin about 4,000 feet. The electric tramway, from its terminus at the ore-bin station to the portal of No. 3 tunnel, is about 2 miles in length. On account of the grade the tramway track was carried through a close-timbered drift underneath the waste dump of No. 3 tunnel and continued along the mountain slope several hundred feet beyond the portal. A switchback allowed the ore-trains to be backed from there into No. 3 tunnel. Tracks of both electric and gravity tramways were laid to a 36-inch gauge, and 20-pound steel rails were used on both tramways. The ore-cars used on the electric tramway had a capacity of about 2 tons of ore, and the skips on the gravity tramway had a maximum capacity of about 6 tons. The section of the tramway from Sunnyside No. 2 to No. 4 tunnel was not built until 1910.[20]

By May, 1904, the machinery in the mill was turning over and ore was being shipped over the tramways to the mill. On May 4 the first stamps were dropped.[21] After a short period for making the necessary adjustments, all forty stamps commenced to drop,[22] and the muffled roar of the stamps soon became a familiar sound around the camp. Under Rodgers' management the Nickel Plate had been developed from a prospect in August, 1898, to a producing mine in May, 1904, and much credit is due

(19) *Ibid.*, February 23, 1903.

(20) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1910*, Victoria, 1911, p. 124.

(21) "The stamp mill made a trial run last week—a battery of ten stamps working nearly an hour. Some of the shoes came off and a stop was necessary. The full forty stamps will soon be dropping continuously and then the goldbricks will be rolling out." Princeton *Similkameen Star*, May 14, 1904.

(22) *Ibid.*, July 9, 1904.

to Rodgers on his achievement. Outside of lumber, which was obtained locally,[23] all supplies and machinery had to be freighted in from Penticton by four-horse teams. The distance from Hedley to Penticton is 50 miles, and half the distance was over what was then a rough mountain road with many steep grades. From Penticton to the Nickel Plate mine is about 35 miles, but this was all a rough mountain road with even steeper grades than on the Hedley road. The nearest telegraph office was then at Vernon, two days' travel from Hedley.

In October, 1905, R. B. Lamb replaced M. K. Rodgers as manager,[24] and in the following fall of 1906 F. A. Ross succeeded Lamb. During the four years Lamb and Ross were managers both the Nickel Plate and Sunnyside claims continued to be steady shippers of ore to the mill. During this period some diamond drilling and other exploratory work was done; its results, however, added but little to the known ore reserves. In the spring of 1907 the Geological Survey of Canada sent in Charles Camsell to make a survey of the Hedley district. By the summer of 1908 the field work was completed and his very comprehensive report of the geology of the area was printed by the Department of Mines at Ottawa as Geological Memoir No. 2.[25] About twenty years later H. S. Bostock, of the Geological Survey of Canada, made another survey of the Nickel Plate Mountain, and his report was published by the Department of Mines in 1930.[26] Paul Billingsley, consultant geologist from Salt Lake City, also made an examination of the mine for the Hedley Gold Mining Company and wrote his report in 1927.[27]

In the early years a wide open-cut and a short adit were driven on a zone of mineralization at Sunnyside No. 1, but failed

(23) In August, 1901, Messrs. A. R. Tillman and J. J. McDonald brought their portable sawmill and planer from Phoenix and set it up on the riverbank across from the mouth of Sterling Creek. In 1902 they bought a new plant and located on J. Neill's ranch on the other side of the river where suitable timber existed close at hand. Tillman dropped out in 1903 and Angus Stewart purchased his interest. Hedley *Gazette*, October 26, 1905.

(24) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1905.

(25) *V. supra.*, footnote (4).

(26) H. S. Bostock, "Geology and ore deposits of Nickel Plate Mountain, Hedley, B.C.," Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey Branch, *Summary Report, 1929*, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 198a–252a.

(27) Paul Billingsley, *Prospecting and possibilities in the property of the Hedley Gold Mining Company, Hedley, B.C.*, n.p., 1927.

to disclose any body of commercial ore.[28] In the same year some surface work was done on the Bulldog claim. Sunnyside No. 2, the most important of the ore-bodies on the Sunnyside claim, was covered with a fairly heavy overburden and was not found until 1904, when grading for the electric tramway in 1903 had exposed float and red dirt from the ore-body.[29] Sunnyside Nos. 3 and 4 were later found by trenching.[30] None of the Sunnyside ore-bodies carried down for any great depth, and Nos. 2 and 3 were mined out by the end of 1909, while No. 4 lasted a short time longer.[31] Sunnyside Nos. 2 and 3 were very valuable ore-bodies, and it was estimated by the management that the ore mined from them had a value of over $2,000,000 in gold in their short period of operation.[32]

Early in 1909 the Daly Estate gave an option on all its holdings in the Hedley camp to a New York syndicate headed by the late I. L. Merrill.[33] That spring the syndicate sent in a party,

(28) A 20-foot open-cut and a 15-foot tunnel were blasted. British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1901*, Victoria, 1902, p. 1162.

(29) Sunnyside No. 2 was first worked as a glory-hole immediately adjoining the main tramway. Camsell, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

(30) On Sunnyside No. 3 an incline of 120 feet ran down on the dip of the ore, and the cars were drawn up by a donkey-engine. No. 4 was also mined as a glory-hole for some time before a tunnel was driven in from the main tramway a distance of about 240 feet.

(31) The exhaustion of these claims may have been one motive behind the transfer of ownership in 1909.

(32) "The Sunnyside mines are no longer being operated, but Nos. 2 and 3 were very valuable ore-bodies, over $2,000,000 having been mined from them. They were comparatively shallow deposits and easily worked. The high-gold ore contained, relatively, a much lower percentage of sulphides than the present ore, and was not nearly as hard and tough as that found in the Nickel Plate mine." B. W. Knowles, "Hedley mine and mill—the Hedley Mine," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, XXXII (1929), p. 178.

(33) This syndicate, Exploration Syndicate No. 1, was formed by the United States Steel Corporation, one of the largest and wealthiest industrial and financial organizations in existence. T. Walter Beams was director of the U.S. Steel and I. L. Merrill was president that year. A survey of the various changes in ownership was given by the Hedley *Gazette*, which is very interesting. "After Marcus Daly died friction developed between Rodgers and the estate, resulting finally in Rodgers withdrawal in 1905. Various managers and policies have been tried since on the property. None have proven wholly satisfactory to the Daly people although the monthly

which included an assayer, to make a thorough examination of the mine. The investigation took most of the summer to complete. When the report was submitted, it was decided to take up the option. In August, 1909, the actual transfer was made, and it was reported that the consideration paid to the Daly Estate was $760,000 plus a substantial block of shares in the Hedley Gold Mining Company, Limited, the new corporation formed to take over the property from the former owners.[34] In the reorganization which followed, F. A. Ross retired as manager, and Gomer P. Jones, who had been the mine superintendent, was made the general superintendent of all the company's operations.[35] Roscoe Wheeler, of Oakland, California, replaced E. A. Holbrook as mill superintendent, and B. W. Knowles, of Denver, Colorado, one of the examining party, was engaged as mine engineer and later became mine superintendent. William Sampson, the shiftboss, was promoted to mine foreman.

Under the new management exploratory work was resumed in the No. 4 adit, where work had been suspended some four years previously.[36] The No. 4 tunnel was originally driven to

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dividend came regularly. The last manager was a pessimist. He led the Daly people to form such conclusions that they decided to sell out. [Several attempts to locate ore in 1908 failed. In addition the company was losing ore in several steep faults.] The sale settled all differences between them and Rodgers and besides, Rodgers outstanding interests were confirmed." Later, Rodgers returned, investigated the property, and with the benefit of his excellent geological knowledge pertaining to mines in general and the Nickel Plate in particular, he concluded that the reservoir of ore had merely been scratched. He secured an option on the mine and mill, apparently for $715,000, and interested some wealthy and powerful friends, including Merrill and W. E. Corry, a Pittsburg steel magnate, in the enterprise. Hedley *Gazette*, October 28, 1909.

(34) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1909.

(35) *Ibid.*, September 23, 30, 1909.

(36) " Shortly after the reorganization, the cross-cuts and drills on adit 4 level began to encounter ore—rich but in small quantities—wedged into crotches where porphyry on the footwall met porphyry on the hanging wall. But these narrow crotches proved on development to expand with depth into normal widths of ore formation, and, with the discovery of this, Stage III in the growth of geological concepts had been reached. At this stage it was realized that ore and porphyry, while in alternate layers, were irregular in that the porphyry might swell and obliterate, locally, the ore-bearing formation. When, thereafter, this phenomenon was encountered, the individual stope might be abandoned but general exploration continued to push

intersect the glory-hole or No. 1 ore-body, but at the point of intersection there were practically no values. This was the situation that existed when the new owners took over in the fall of 1909. Early exploratory work done by the new management was successful in finding the No. 3 ore-body, and a 120-foot inclined shaft was sunk on the ore.[37] This shaft was designated the No. 4 incline. The first train-load of ore to go out from No. 4 tunnel came from this ore-body in the fall of 1910.[38] In 1911 a cross-cut driven west from the collar of No. 1 incline cut the apex of a heretofore unknown ore-body.[39] This new body of ore, by its position designated as No. 2, developed into one of the richest sections of the entire operations. A 400-foot inclined shaft, No. 5 incline, was sunk on this ore and four levels were opened up. A hoist was installed at the collar of the shaft, and an ore-bin was built for loading the ore-trains. The collar of No. 4 shaft was 850 feet in from the portal of No. 4 tunnel, and the collar of No. 5 shaft was 1,050 feet in from the same portal. The three ore-bodies mentioned were numbered according to their relative positions to each other, the glory-hole or No. 1 ore-body being at the top, No. 2 a little lower, and No. 3 at a still lower horizon. As the mine-workings increased in depth, other bodies were discovered at even lower horizons, and they were numbered respectively, according to this system, as Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

In 1913 the method of getting at the ore on the deeper levels radically changed character. In exploration, the bold step of deep-hole drilling from the mountain-top, aiming at the projected trend of the ore-zone 600 or 700 feet below, had proved successful.[40] As a result, small local inclines within the confines of the ore-bodies were abandoned. Late in 1912 Gomer P. Jones received instructions to go ahead with a major development project—to sink a permanent shaft from the floor of No. 4 tunnel

forward." This was a very important discovery making for the future success of the mine. Billingsley and Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

(37) For an account of the early work done by the new company, *see* Hedley *Gazette*, October 7, 1909.

(38) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1910*, Victoria, 1911, p. 1924. By the end of 1910 two train-loads a day were being taken out.

(39) *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 179.

(40) Billingsley and Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

to a depth of 3,000 feet, reaching all of the ore-bodies and designed to remain as a great highway for the ores of the Nickel Plate mine for many years.[41] The shaft was named the "Dickson incline," after Mr. Dickson, vice-president of the company, who was an occasional visitor to the camp. The incline was sunk at an angle of 30 degrees from the horizontal, while the great ore-bodies it was to serve had a dip of 23 degrees. It was estimated that the shaft would have payable ore above it continuously for 1,100 feet.[42]

Starting in the No. 3 ore-body the shaft gradually cuts down through the gabbro footwall and enters No. 4 ore-body at the 600-foot level. Thence it passes through Nos. 4 and 5 ore-bodies and encounters No. 6 at the 800-foot level. From the 800-foot to 1,200-foot level it follows No. 6 lens until it finally reaches and cuts through the footwall. At the 1,500-foot mark it is below any known ore lens.[43] The course of the incline coincides closely with the trend of the ore-shoot, and cross-cuts to the different lenses, at the several levels, are as short as possible. As subsequent developments have proved, the location of the shaft could not have been more wisely chosen.[44] The shaft is 9 feet high and 18 feet wide and carries double tracks of 36-inch gauge. The Dickson incline was first sunk to the 860-foot level, but later, at intervals, it was continued to the 1,500-foot level. At the collar of the shaft, some 800 feet in from the portal of No. 4 adit, a Canadian Rand double-drum air-operated hoist was installed. For the loading of trains an ore-pocket was cut, having a capacity for 50 tons of ore. It is interesting to note that some thirty-six years later the Dickson incline is still functioning as one of the mine's main shafts for the hoisting of ore.

During the early years of the Nickel Plate the old piston type of rock-drilling machines were in general use in the mines of British Columbia. Few miners of to-day have ever used these now obsolete machines that weighed from 350 to 375 pounds and took two men to operate. The cutting-ends of the drills were made of cruciform section steel, and octagon section steel was used for making the drill-shanks. Holman machines, made

(41) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1912*, Victoria, 1913, p. 180.

(42) *Loc. cit.*

(43) B. W. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

(44) Billingsley and Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

at Camborne, England, were used at the Nickel Plate. These machines were replaced in 1917 by the Denver Rock Company's hammer-type rock-drilling machines using a round hollow steel drill.

The years from 1910 to 1913 were ones of expansion at the Nickel Plate and saw many changes made. Formerly, when No. 1 ore-body, which was thought to be the main body, was being mined from No. 3 tunnel, all the mine buildings were situated on, or near, the trolley-track leading to the mouth of No. 3 tunnel. However, when the new developments occurred and No. 4 tunnel became the main thoroughfare into the mine, it was found that, for convenience, the blacksmith-shop, machine-shop, warehouse, and store should be centred near the mouth of No. 4 or along the tracks leading to it.[45] In 1913 much of this work was done, and in the process new and larger buildings were erected. The old shops at No. 3 were abandoned and later torn down. During 1914 and 1915 a new cook-house, dining-room, and store were built. The new cook-house was a two-story structure with sleeping-quarters for the kitchen staff upstairs. The dining-room, a large commodious building, was a one-story structure with the kitchen at one end and a reading-room at the other. The dining-room was often used for dances and other social gatherings. Later on it became customary for the miners to give one big dance during the year, as a rule in the summer months, which would be attended by people from throughout the Similkameen Valley. In the evening special trips would be run over the gravity tramway to take up the visitors; at the ore-bin a train would be waiting to take them up to the mine, a distance of about 1½ miles. At midnight a supper would be served by the kitchen staff, after which dancing would be resumed and continued on to about 5 a.m. Toast and coffee would be served to the visitors, and around 6 a.m. a train would be waiting to take them back over the tramways to Hedley.

The new store and warehouse were erected along the track about 150 feet north of the cook-house. The store was a two-story building with rooms upstairs for the storekeeper and his family. The draughting-room for the mine engineer was also located there. The adjoining warehouse was a one-story build-

(45) British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1913*, Victoria, 1914, p. 175.

ing. North of the store, nearer to No. 4 tunnel, a change-room was built in 1918, well equipped with showers and lockers for the use of the miners coming and going off shift. A neat house was built in 1915 for the mine foreman and his family along the track 200 feet south of the bunk-house. About the same time, plans were prepared for a new bunk-house, and a site graded for it, but adverse conditions caused by World War I intervened and it was never built. For the next fifteen years or so no new permanent buildings were erected in the camp.

The years from 1910 to 1916 were prosperous ones for the Hedley Gold Mining Company, and handsome dividends were paid to the shareholders throughout this period. However, by 1917 war conditions began to affect more seriously gold-mining, and the ever-increasing costs of production greatly reduced profits and the amount available for dividends.[46] The mine and the mill continued in operation throughout the war years, but in 1920 adverse conditions became so acute that the directors decided to cease operations on November 1.[47] By the following summer, conditions had improved, and in June it was decided to reopen the mine for doing some needed development work. During the summer and fall the Dickson incline was sunk an additional 100 feet and a considerable amount of drifting and cross-cutting was done. In the spring of 1922 operations were again resumed.

For the next eight years the mine and plant were in continuous operation, except for some periods in the winter when ice on the Similkameen River caused a temporary shut-down of the hydro-electric plant. During the twenties there were no changes of any great importance. Late in 1930 the management

(46) The last and final dividend, amounting to $48,000, was paid to the shareholders in 1919.

(47) The main reason for the shut-down was the increasing cost of production. Labour troubles also hampered successful operation. In an official statement, company officials stated: "During the world war we continued operations at Hedley, as we felt it our duty, not only to British Columbia and the Allies as the gold was needed, but also felt our moral obligation to the people of the town of Hedley. After the armistice was signed, we continued to operate, thinking all costs would come down and allow us to make a fair profit." Costs remained high, however, and the company closed operations until conditions improved. Princeton *Similkameen Star*, November 5, 1920.

decided to suspend operations both at the mine and mill as the grade of ore then available no longer made it a profitable operation.[48] Some diamond drilling was done in the summer of 1931 but gave negative results.

During the period the Nickel Plate had been in production from May, 1904, until December, 1930, there had been 1,300,000 tons of ore mined and milled of an average grade of half an ounce of gold per ton. This would give a yield of 65,000 ounces of gold, and with gold then selling at $20.67 per ounce, it would represent a value of something over $13,000,000. Mr. Paul Billingsley, consulting geologist for the Kelowna Exploration Company, compiled these figures of tonnage and average grade, and very kindly made them available for inclusion in this article.

In the summer of 1932 the Hedley Gold Mining Company sold all its holdings in the Hedley camp to the John W. Mercer Exploration Company, which a little later on was merged into the Kelowna Exploration Company, Limited, the present owners and operators of the Nickel Plate. Twice during the now long history of the Nickel Plate mine it was thought to be about mined out. But good mines die hard, and in both cases the Nickel Plate came back. The gradually increased price paid for gold, which in about 1935 was finally advanced to $35 an ounce, was quite a factor though in the successful rehabilitation of the Nickel Plate in 1932–1934. Except for some comparatively short, unavoidable shut-downs, the Nickel Plate has been in continuous production since December, 1934, and it now seems quite reasonable to hope that the Nickel Plate will continue to be one of the Province's major gold mines for a good many years yet to come.[49]

HARRY D. BARNES.

HEDLEY, B.C.

(48) In 1930 the ore in Nickel Plate became exhausted. Drilling resulted in the discovery and location of new ore-bodies, but none were sufficiently large to warrant further operation. The company failed to reach an agreement with Duncan Woods, owner of the Mascot Fraction, which bounded the Nickel Plate and which was known to contain some values. British Columbia, Department of Mines, *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1931*, Victoria, 1932, p. 133.

(49) The author wishes to express his thanks to Mr. B. W. Knowles, of Colorado Springs, Colorado, former mine superintendent for the Hedley Gold Mining Company, for his kindness in verifying dates and supplying other data for this article.

THE McINNES INCIDENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

A study of the McInnes incident in British Columbia from 1897 to 1900 is of interest not only to students of local history; it also extends into the realms of Canadian constitutional development for it involves the right of a Lieutenant-Governor to dismiss his responsible Ministers. The case of McInnes and the much better known Letellier incident are the two outstanding instances when this power has been exercised in Canada, and for this reason alone both deserve a more earnest and less biased examination than has been attempted to date. Although scattered references to the McInnes affair occur in most constitutional studies of Canada, the events are fully understood by few authorities. Unfortunately, the misunderstanding arises not only from the lack of documentary political evidence, but, more important still, because each phase of the evolving situation was shaped and determined by individuals into whose minds historians are unable to peer.

The topic is significant in three distinct ways: it hinges constantly upon personalities—chiefly that of Lieutenant-Governor McInnes, whose story is intrinsically interesting; it involves an examination of the office which he held—one of the significant features of the Canadian Federal system; and, finally, it demands a brief survey of political development during a very important period in the political and economic evolution of British Columbia. Each of these features must be considered in turn.

Thomas Robert McInnes was born in 1840, the son of an Inverness Scot who, after following a career at sea, had settled at Lake Ainslie, Nova Scotia. The youth received an excellent education and graduated successively from Truro Normal School, Harvard University, and Rush Medical School.[1] After graduating from Rush the young doctor, inheriting much of his father's restlessness and yearning for adventure, remained in the United

(1) The material pertaining to the family background and early life of McInnes can be found in E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the earliest times to the present*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. IV, p. 1116.

States to enlist with the Confederate forces, and served as an army surgeon for the duration of the Civil War.

Before moving to British Columbia in 1874 McInnes lived in Dresden, Ontario, where he filled numerous public offices with some distinction. Three years after his arrival in New Westminster he became Mayor of the "Royal City." The following year he successfully contested a Federal by-election and sat in the House of Commons as an independent. In the general election of 1878 he was returned, and served for three years in the Federal chamber. Although seldom brilliant, McInnes was always forceful in debate. He supported causes which he deemed worthy with a staunch conviction usually based on a wide knowledge and a comprehensive grasp of the subject under discussion. In 1881 McInnes was appointed to the Senate, and despite his youth soon achieved a prominent position in that assembly. Fluent and pleasing in debate, with an outstanding record and a blameless past, popular and respected in his own Province, McInnes, despite his independence of political parties, was a logical choice of the Laurier Government to succeed Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, whose term of office expired in November, 1897.

McInnes' appointment as Lieutenant-Governor was very favourably received in British Columbia; not a voice was raised in protest. "We feel satisfied," wrote the editor of the Victoria *Colonist*, soon to become his most bitter critic, "that in McInnes British Columbia will have a constitutional administrator. He has had a long experience. He is a gentleman of more than ordinary ability. He is a conscientious man. In his hands the prerogatives appurtenant to his high office will be perfectly safe."[2] These eulogistic phrases were soon retracted, for McInnes had the misfortune to arrive in the midst of an imbroglio which gradually became more violent and confused, and from which there seemed to be no escape. However, before any discussion of political affairs begins it might be advisable to mention several incidents which serve to illustrate the new Lieutenant-Governor's character, for it was not long after he assumed office that McInnes began to exhibit certain traits which, before his term ended, were to affect the political situation profoundly.

Like many other Scots, McInnes possessed a streak of obstinacy which, when mixed with an individualistic philosophy

(2) Victoria *Colonist*, December 2, 1897.

concerning many aspects of political, social, and economic life, made him a most difficult person with whom to work.[3] On an early occasion McInnes revealed that he held an exalted opinion of his newly acquired office. In the summer of 1898 the Vancouver Amateur Dramatic Society advertised a performance under the patronage of the "Governor-General and Countess of Aberdeen, Rear-Admiral Palliser and Officers of the Fleet, Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. McInnes."[4] Although the established order of precedence was rigidly adhered to, McInnes, furious at being placed lower in the hierarchy than the naval officer, withdrew his good offices.[5] His action was applauded by most people, Canadians all, slowly becoming aware of their badge of inferiority. Undoubtedly McInnes' new popularity heightened his estimation of himself and his position. The approving audience were in part morally responsible for the attitude which he was to take later on.

For the purposes of this study, the office of the Lieutenant-Governor originated with the British North America Act, 1867, which called into existence the Dominion of Canada. The position of the Lieutenant-Governor is a creature of positive legislation. "It owes its existence, its constitutional character, functions, and incidents to the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, and to the terms of the commissions and instructions issued to this important officer."[6]

The office was in great part the child of Sir John A. Macdonald's fertile brain. At Quebec in 1864 Macdonald suggested its creation in terms later echoed in the British North America Act. The Lieutenant-Governor was an integral part of Macdonald's over-all conception of a highly centralized Federal system. "As this is to be one united province," said he in the

(3) Shortly after his appointment McInnes ordered that all toasts at government functions should be drunk only in some mild beverage. A firm believer in temperance and a total abstainer, he remained oblivious to the storm of protest. Actions like this indicate his weaknesses and served only to irritate the populace, destroying amicable relations between the Lieutenant-Governor and his Provincial charges. Vancouver *Province*, March 19, 1898.

(4) Victoria *Colonist*, July 23, 1898.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Canada, Department of Justice, *Memorandum on the office of Lieutenant-Governor of a Province: Its constitutional character and functions*, Ottawa, 1938, p. 3.

Canadian assembly, with the local governments and legislature subordinate to the General Government and Legislature, it is obvious that the chief executive officer must be subordinate as well."[7] The Lieutenant-Governor, although theoretically appointed by the Queen, was in practice an appointee of and subject to dismissal by the Federal Government. He was compelled to refer all Provincial Acts to Ottawa, and upon the advice of the Dominion Cabinet he was empowered to reserve legislation. Moreover, his office was expressly removed from the sphere of Provincial legislative jurisdiction.[8] Yet positive law can only set boundaries around political institutions; it cannot rigidly determine evolution within these limits. Despite the apparent clarity of the British North America Act, confusion and uncertainty often resulted, and for many years the legal and constitutional position of the Lieutenant-Governor remained unclear.

The rather obscure position held by the Lieutenant-Governor was further clouded by the nature of his appointment as the theoretical head of a responsible ministry. It is wrong to assume that because of his appointment by the Federal Government he lost all vestiges of the royal prerogative. This point was clearly made in a Privy Council decision in 1892. "A Lieutenant-Governor, when appointed," stated Lord Watson, " is as much the representative of Her Majesty for all purposes of provincial government as the Governor-General himself is for all the purposes of the Dominion Government."[9] In the exercise of many of the royal prerogatives the Lieutenant-Governor was limited by established convention, the nature of his office, and the weight of his prestige in the Province and among his advisers. The task of this officer was not to be an easy one, for between his three obligations—to the constitution, to the Federal Government, and to his Provincial advisers—there was frequently a great divergence.

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(7) Canada, *Parliamentary debates on the subject of the confederation of the British North American Provinces*, n.p., 1865, p. 42.

(8) On the position of the Lieutenant-Governor as provided for in the British North America Act, 1867, *see* sections 9, 10, 11, 13, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 82, 90, 92 (1).

(9) E. R. Cameron, *The Canadian constitution as interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*, Winnipeg, 1915, p. 419, quoted from *The Liquidators of the Maritime Bank of Canada v. The Receiver-General of New Brunswick.*

British Columbia enjoyed only representative government before its entry into the Canadian federation on July 20, 1871. Upon the union with the Dominion of Canada, responsible government was granted to the new Province, but it did not exist, except in theory, for several years. "In British Columbia during the first five years following federation," writes Dr. W. N. Sage, "the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Joseph Trutch, was in a very real sense the head of the government. To him fell the task of bridging the gap between colonial and provincial status, and especially of introducing responsible government."[10] Once this had been attained and the Lieutenant-Governor had been divorced from a controlling voice in government, relations between the Lieutenant-Governors and their advisers remained relatively unperturbed until the closing years of the century when T. R. McInnes came to Government House.

When McInnes became Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia in November, 1897, the Government led by John H. Turner was being severely attacked from all sides.[11] This Government was actually the last remnant of the group which had risen to power with Premier William Smythe in 1883; since that date, although the personnel had varied, little had changed in governmental outlook or policy.[12]

Turner himself had become Premier in 1895 when Theodore Davie resigned to accept the office of Chief Justice. Davie had been returned to office in 1894 with a two-thirds majority, largely because he had taken a well-organized machine into the electoral fray while his opponents lacked both organization and leadership. Davie's Government, which Turner inherited body and soul, was by no means as popular as we are led to believe. But his ability to defend his administration against the numerous charges of corruption, incompetence, and extravagance hurled by the Opposition, and the indiscreet statements of his opponents, which

(10) W. N. Sage, "The position of the Lieutenant-Governor in British Columbia in the years following Confederation," R. Flenley (ed.), *Essays in Canadian history*, Toronto, 1939, p. 178.

(11) The press was almost unanimous in its condemnation of the Government. The notable exception was the Victoria *Colonist*, while among the harshest were the Victoria *Times*, Vancouver *Province*, and Kamloops *Inland Sentinel*.

(12) E. B. Mercer, *Political groups in British Columbia 1883–1898*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1937.

needlessly alienated certain sections of the populace, were telling factors in the contest. Despite the conclusiveness of the victory, however, the machine showed signs of almost inevitable collapse.[13]

Turner had been Minister of Finance since 1887. In many respects he was an able man and had a wealth of experience. Yet he was by no means suited to lead a government, particularly one which was dependent not upon party discipline but upon personalities, and, above all, one which was the heir to legacies that would have taxed the best genius of any Premier. Turner had qualities which set him apart from and above many others, but he lacked those so necessary for effective political leadership—steadiness, strength of will, and aggressiveness.

The basis of Turner's difficulties can easily be stated, although an intensive examination is impossible here. After 1895 British Columbia was undergoing a vigorous process of development. As a result of increasing activity in mining, logging, and fishing, there was a significant growth in population. Districts such as the Kootenays, the Similkameen, and Cassiar were growing rapidly; cities such as Grand Forks, Nelson, Greenwood, and Rossland appeared almost overnight. Oriental immigration increased rapidly, much to the displeasure of the white workers in British Columbia. Yet the Government seemed incapable of keeping pace legislatively with this rapid expansion. Organized railroad construction on the Mainland, although badly needed, was almost completely ignored. Many small companies had received charters, land grants had been liberally allocated, and government aid had been poorly distributed.

In an attempt to assure the success of a loan being floated in London, Turner and Charles Pooley, a member of his Cabinet, openly allowed their names to figure on the prospectus of a mining company, and while in London advertised the surety arising from this "peculiar" connection.[14] Not only were such acts bitterly resented in the Province, but also they attracted the attention of

(13) Davie completely controlled the Island, but he was very weak on the rapidly growing Mainland. Two Government supporters won minority seats in the Cariboo; four others won uncontested seats. The Government received only 55 per cent of the popular vote. During the early years of the Turner Government there was a noticeable change of sentiment and signs were manifest of the inevitable break-up of the faction which had been so long in power.

(14) Vancouver *Province*, November 13, 1897, *et seq.*

Eastern Canadian and English press. The editor of the Toronto *Globe* became quite impassioned as he implored the electorate to oust Turner and his colleagues. "The Ministers," he wrote, "seem to have been affected with a violent desire to give away, on every possible pretext, the mineral and forest wealth which would serve the purposes of public revenue for generations to come."[15]

From the time of McInnes' accession to office all thought was turned toward the forthcoming election, for the mandate of the Turner Government was to expire in the summer of 1898. The public temper as reflected by the newspapers was becoming increasingly hostile to the Administration, and the defeat of the Government was forecast by many commentators. The Session of 1898, therefore, was unimportant and the assembly was usually quite lethargic in its operation. The only feature meriting comment was the introduction of a Redistribution Bill. This measure, introduced only after consistent pressure from the Opposition had wearied the Government and made normal procedure almost impossible, was very disappointing. It was by no means a true redistribution, but rather a "sop" to the Mainland, to which it gave four more members. The representation in the various electoral districts was almost unbelievably unequal. Attempts by the Opposition to defeat the Bill failed, and, finally, after an all-night session the members walked out in protest and allowed it to become law.

The Leader of the Opposition was Charles Semlin, a farmer from Cache Creek, who had first entered the Legislative Assembly in 1871 and had held a seat continuously since 1882. Although popular and respected, Semlin was very colourless and unaggressive. Consequently, many turned for leadership to Joseph Martin, a new arrival in the Province, who possessed the qualities which Semlin lacked and who had a brilliant record. Martin came from Manitoba, where, after playing a leading role in the Manitoba schools crisis, he had been defeated in the Federal election of 1896 and apparently had been snubbed by the Laurier machine. Although Martin has proved to be unpopular among British Columbia historians, he deserves a new analysis, as any study of the Province in this period centres around "Fighting Joe." Martin agreed to be a candidate in the election and soon became the leading Opposition figure.

(15) *Ibid.*, November 13, 1897.

The election was bitter and close. The hold of the Turner faction on Vancouver Island was finally broken and its unchallenged supremacy in the Province forever shattered. When the smoke of battle cleared, it was obvious that Turner had lost the support of the electorate. Government candidates had been successful in only seventeen constituencies while the Opposition had won nineteen. Two seats in Cassiar remained undecided, but it was almost certain that the Government would win them.[16] Moreover, fraud and corruption had so characterized the day that twenty-nine election protests were filed, and it was possible that one or more Government members would lose their seats.[17] The popular vote showed that the Government had exchanged a majority of over 3,000 for a minority of 2,500.[18] The editor of the Vancouver *Province* colourfully described the situation: " Turner is still there, Pooley has been elected, son-in-law Bryden is still in and the Dunsmuir interests have been strengthened by the election of James Dunsmuir himself, but thank God, they are powerless to harm us any longer. Their claws have been clipped and their teeth pulled."[19]

Cries for the immediate dismissal of Turner arose on all sides. Denunciation of the Administration for having alienated public lands and squandered the public revenue, for the system of class taxation and the encouragement of and participation of Cabinet members in monopolies, for the support of cheap Oriental labour, and for the attempts to encourage sectional jealousies between the Island and the Mainland increased in intensity, while all the critics of the Government pointed to the unmistakable verdict of the electorate. Dismissal, however, was the most extreme solution, and in England the power had lain dormant for over a century. The normal procedure would have been for the Lieutenant-Governor to act only on the advice of his responsible

(16) The election of two members from Cassiar, a district with only 300 voters, was held three weeks after the other contests. Cassiar was a recognized Government stronghold, due in great part to the generous public-work doles handed out in the area.

(17) The only recorded trial, that in Esquimalt, reveals that road work, liquor, cigars, etc., were liberally handed out by W. B. Bullen, the Government candidate. The evidence was so damning that D. W. Higgins, with a minority of two votes, was declared elected.

(18) Figures compiled from the official election returns.

(19) *Ibid.*, July 11, 1898.

advisers and, if they so desired, to await the normal opening of the Session early in the following year. Yet with economic development proceeding so rapidly that vigorous governmental interference and control were necessary, McInnes would have served his Province well had he pressed upon the Government the need for an early Session. An immediate dissolution would have provided a final solution, throwing the entire question once again before the people. In these circumstances dissolution, like dismissal, would clearly have been unorthodox.

Soon after the election McInnes refused his assent to several Orders in Council and recommendations for appropriations. His actions, wrote McInnes, were governed by the fact that he "could not look on the result of the general election . . . as other than adverse . . . to the existing ministry" and as an expression of a want of confidence by the people.[20] Thus, unless he could be shown that "an urgent necessity existed . . . in the interests of the province" he was determined to continue this policy of refusal.[21] Despite such an explicit and rational statement of policy, McInnes was constantly badgered by his Ministers. In one instance the Government Agent in Cassiar was deliberately advised to ignore the Lieutenant-Governor's veto of a public works appropriation for that district immediately prior to the election there.[22] McInnes began to suspect that his advisers—particularly Attorney-General Eberts—were attempting to hoodwink him into assenting to various appropriations, and in a letter to Lord Minto, the Governor-General, he stated that the actions of his Ministers not only justified but necessitated their dismissal.[23] On August 8, 1898, therefore, Premier Turner received the following notification of dismissal:—

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(20) McInnes to Turner, July 11, 1898, in *British Columbia Gazette*, September 1, 1898, p. 1790.

(21) *Ibid.* In this instance McInnes followed the precedent set by Lord Aberdeen in 1896 when he refused his assent to many Orders in Council of the interim Tupper Administration. Aberdeen's course was approved by most public men, except the Conservatives of course, and by the Colonial Secretary, to whom he was responsible.

(22) McInnes to Lord Aberdeen, August 19, 1898, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1899, Vol. XIV, No. 89, p. 4.

(23) *Ibid.* Eberts informed the Lieutenant-Governor that despite official refusal of assent, he, the Attorney-General, had the power to grant appropriations from the Treasury on his own authority. McInnes doubted

I have decided to no longer delay in calling for other advisers. For, as I would not feel justified in granting you another dissolution and appeal to the electorate, and as after a careful study of the situation I am convinced that you could not command a majority in the Assembly, I shall not put the Province to the delay, or to the expense, of a special session of the Legislature, merely for the purpose of formally demonstrating what has been sufficiently demonstrated to me by the General Election.[24]

It is certain that McInnes had been considering dismissal for some time. His delay was understandable, as this action was not only unorthodox but also presented him with the difficult task of choosing Turner's successor. Before dismissing the Premier, McInnes had consulted with Robert Beaven, one-time Premier of the Province and a man possessing a long and fairly clear political record. Beaven, however, had neither a seat in the Assembly nor a following in the Province. His only chance of success lay in reconciling the two parts of the Opposition which, although allied in opposing Turner, were split into the Martin and Semlin factions. An Opposition meeting had been arranged to iron out the difficulties and to agree upon a single leader and a common policy. It is probable that Beaven's task was merely to accelerate this union and then to fade quietly out of the picture. After four days of negotiations he admitted failure, and McInnes called upon Charles Semlin to form a government.[25]

Semlin had no great difficulty in forming an administration, but he was unable to command a majority in the Assembly without the support of Joseph Martin. Yet the latter, feeling that Semlin had betrayed his trust in taking office before the Opposition had met, refused to accept the proffered post of Attorney-General.[26] He soon relented, however, realizing that his refusal would mean the return of Turner.[27] Francis Carter-Cotton of Vancouver (Minister of Finance), Dr. R. McKechnie of Nanaimo (President of the Council), and J. Fred Hume of Nelson (Minister of Mines) completed the five-man Cabinet.

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the validity of such a claim, and after much investigation found that Eberts was wrong. It appeared to McInnes as if it was an attempt to bluff him.

(24) McInnes to Turner, August 8, 1898, in *British Columbia Gazette*, September 1, 1898, p. 1790.

(25) McInnes to Lord Aberdeen, August 19, 1898, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1899, Vol. XIV, No. 89, p. 5.

(26) Victoria *Colonist*, August 14, 1898.

(27) Vancouver *Province*, August 16, 1898.

The new Administration began its work energetically. Martin was a bundle of energy and his mark remained on most of the legislation. The Session of 1899 was a stormy one, with the dismissal of Turner, the wholesale removal of "Turnerites" from public office, the election trials, and revolutionary legislation providing topics for animated debate. The Government attempted to restrict underground work in mines to eight hours a day, and in so doing alienated the majority of the people in the mining areas.[28] An Act confining future entry into the placer-mining industry to British subjects, although designed to exclude Orientals, offended American interests in the Province. When pressure exerted by the American and Canadian Government proved unsuccessful, the latter was forced to disallow the Provincial Statute.[29] Several by-elections showed an increase in Government strength; even in Victoria, Turner, Hall, and McPhillips, after resigning their seats on technicalities, were returned with greatly reduced majorities.[30] As a rule the Government secured majorities of from three to seven in the Assembly, and when the Session ended there were no visible signs of decreasing strength or internal decay. The Semlin-Martin Government had weathered its first stormy session and had been granted a respite. No one foresaw the rift which was to appear within their ranks, and make impossible any prolonged retention of power. The historian, wise in retrospect, can see that dissension was inevitable.

Premier Semlin was neither a strong nor an able leader. The Cabinet was dominated by Cotton and Martin. The latter was the more masterful; the former the more sagacious. Martin, vain, ambitious, and unconcerned with the feelings of others, tried to ride roughshod over his opponents; Cotton pursued his

(28) For the correspondence pertaining to this topic *see* British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1900 (Victoria, 1901), pp. 463–483.

(29) *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 485–486.

(30) C. E. Tisdall, the owner of a Vancouver store which for years had supplied the Provincial Police with their ammunition, discovered that soon after his election a clerk had sold a box of cartridges to a policeman. A law was violated whereby a member having commercial associations with the Government could be fined $500 for every day he sat in the Assembly. Tisdall resigned to recontest his seat. Hall realized that he had sold coal to Government House and resigned also. McPhillips, Turner, and Baker were worried about their status, and all but Baker resigned. Victoria *Times*, January 11, 1899.

way throughout tactfully and insidiously. In a Cabinet led by the vacillating Semlin there was no room for two such strong and clashing personalities, and in the end Martin's impetuosity, rashness, and domineering methods were to prove his undoing.

Semlin soon realized his dilemma and chose to retain his old friend Cotton. Differences over the use of Deadman Island brought the Martin-Cotton controversy into the open, and although Cotton was guilty of underhanded practices, Semlin refused to take any action against him. At last, on June 21, 1899, Martin's very peculiar action at a Rossland banquet, which brought disgrace to the Cabinet, gave Semlin the opportunity he desired to request the resignation of his colleague.[31] True to his nature, Martin refused, and demanded written cause for the request. In the correspondence that followed, Semlin clearly came off second best. Martin accused the Premier of gross inefficiency, neglect, and lack of ability to administer a Cabinet post.[32] Semlin, charged with betraying his trust to his supporters in taking office, offered no reply when the Attorney-General asserted that:—

> You are, therefore, the premier of this province only by sufferance and in demanding my resignation you do not command a majority of the supporters in the house. If my statement upon this point is correct then, instead of me resigning from the government, it is your duty to take that step at once.[33]

It was evident that the basis of Semlin's support had vanished. The Opposition, particularly the "Turnerites," demanded an early Session, hoping that a government in line with the former Turner Administration would be reinstated. McInnes, while

(31) Martin happened to be in Rossland on a night when a huge banquet was held. He was invited and in due time was called upon to respond to the toast to the Government. Fluent and pleasing in speech, Martin was usually well received. This was no exception, but Martin talked on and on. His words became more flat, stale, and unprofitable—"a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." His audience became restless and inattentive, but Martin, visibly bothered by the frequent interruptions, went on like an unappreciated end man in a variety show. Suddenly he roared, "I will not be silenced by hobos in evening dresses." When someone had recovered sufficiently to reply, "You're the hobo," Martin lost his temper completely. *See* Rossland *Miner*, July 13, 1899.

(32) Martin to Semlin, July 5, 1899, quoted in Victoria *Colonist*, July 6, 1899.

(33) *Ibid.*

favouring an early Session, took the advice of the Hon. R. W. Scott, Secretary of State, who, speaking for the Laurier Government, revealed that the Ottawa Liberals feared the introduction of a government led by Martin. Scott advised McInnes that "your ministers are at all times the proper judges of the time to call the Assembly."[34] The days of the Semlin Government were numbered. Although able to carry on for several weeks after the Session opened, sometimes with the casting-vote of the Speaker, its final defeat was assured with a full house. On February 23, 1900, with all the members present, the curtain rose for the last act. The Government was defeated twice on a Redistribution Bill, and the Assembly adjourned to await developments.[35]

That evening Semlin informed McInnes of his defeat, and asked for several days in which to survey his position and if possible to improve it. The Lieutenant-Governor agreed, and intimated that Semlin should either strengthen his Government considerably by the evening of the twenty-sixth or resign. The Premier attempted to form a coalition with some of the Opposition, and, although definite information is lacking, it appears that some arrangement was made with the leaders, Turner, Eberts, and Helmcken, whereby they agreed to desert their followers for a price—two or three Cabinet positions and a change of policy.[36] Semlin told McInnes late in the evening of the twenty-sixth that he felt confident that he could control the Assembly, but refused to give any particulars.[37] McInnes, obviously aware of the political manœuvring that had taken place and probably disgusted with it, promised an answer within a few hours. On his return from Government House, Semlin appeared quite pleased, but he was rudely awakened in the cold grey hours of the morning when he received a letter of dismissal.

For some unknown reason McInnes did not stress as causes for the dismissal the general weakness and inefficiency of the

(34) Scott to McInnes, August 30, 1899, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 7.

(35) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1900, p. 77.

(36) Vancouver *Province*, February 27, 1900; Martin to David Mills, Minister of Justice, March 19, 1900, *Premier's official letter book, 1900–03*, Letter No. 17, *MS.*, Archives of British Columbia.

(37) McInnes to the Governor-General, March 27, 1900, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 7.

Semlin Government since the resignation of Martin, or the unusual means that Semlin had employed to retain his precariously held office. On the contrary the Lieutenant-Governor chose to place his emphasis on recklessness and unwarranted expenditure, an incomplete Executive Council, and the failure of badly needed legislation merely by the efflux of time, while the Government seemed incapable of acting.[38] "I believe," wrote McInnes in the letter of dismissal, "it now to be sufficiently demonstrated that the interests of the province have suffered and are suffering in consequence of a weak and unstable government."[39]

The next few days are among the most confused and peculiar in the history of British Columbia. Developments proceeded so rapidly that no one was able to keep fully abreast of them. Upon hearing of Semlin's defeat, Scott wired to McInnes: "I understand your government is being materially strengthened by accession of several members from opposition ranks. Think you should give them a little time rather than force dissolution or change."[40] How different the subsequent few months may have been if the telegram had arrived before the dismissal rather than three hours after it!

On the afternoon of February 27, 1900, the House assembled in anticipation of a highly spectacular sitting. Semlin immediately declared that the Lieutenant-Governor's action was unconstitutional, and asked for the adoption of a virtual vote of censure which read:—

> That this House, being fully alive to the great loss, inconvenience and expense to the country of any interruption of the business of the House at the present time, begs hereby to express its regret that His Honour has seen fit to dismiss his advisers as in the present crisis they have efficient control of the House.[41]

After long and acrimonious debate the resolution was adopted by twenty-two votes to fifteen.[42] Martin and Dunsmuir were challenged to deny that they had been called upon to form an administration.[43] Dunsmuir was absent and Martin merely

(38) McInnes to Semlin, February 27, 1900, *ibid.*, p. 11.

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) Scott to McInnes, February 27, 1900, *ibid.*, p. 7.

(41) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1900, p. 78.

(42) *Ibid.*

(43) Vancouver *Province*, February 28, 1900.

smiled a seraphic and indulgent smile that could have meant anything.

In his search for Semlin's successor, McInnes was in a most unenviable position. Failure would have been an admission of error and defeat. Although outcries for dismissal had arisen on all sides, no one except the editor of the Victoria *Colonist* had suggested a possible successor; and to follow his advice and reinstate Turner was clearly distasteful, even impossible for McInnes. There was no recognized leader who could control a majority in the Assembly. At last, from over a dozen prominent men and possible alternatives, Joseph Martin was chosen as the man " best able to meet the necessities of the situation, create decisive issues, and establish final order, and something like usual political conditions out of the chaos of factions into which provincial parties have been rent."[44] Hoping that a coalition could be formed, McInnes consulted with J. C. Brown, member for New Westminster, in conjunction with Martin, but Brown was disinclined to accept office. The Lieutenant-Governor was fully aware of the protests that would arise, and realized that all the other factions would make common cause against whomever he chose. Nor did he fail to understand that:—

> Mr. Martin was distasteful to Sir Wilfrid's government, and that if I considered my own interests and my own position merely, I should under no circumstances call upon him, and immediately upon the defeat of Mr. Semlin's government I was made fully aware also that the great corporations, whose metallic influence is apparently all-powerful at Ottawa, would do their utmost to have me politically assassinated if I should dare call on Mr. Martin.[45]

On February 28, two days after the dismissal, Martin announced that he had agreed to form a government.[46] On the following day, immediately after prayers, ex-Premier Semlin moved: " That this House has no confidence in the third member for Vancouver who has been called in by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to form a government."[47] A cry of " ayes "

(44) McInnes to the Governor-General, March 27, 1900, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 8.

(45) McInnes to the Toronto *Globe*, cited in Canada, Senate, *Debates*, Ottawa, 1900, p. 850.

(46) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1900, p. 79.

(47) *Ibid.*

greeted this motion, and on the division only one member, J. M. Martin, supported the Premier, while twenty-eight voted for the motion.[48]

As soon as the division had been completed, notice was given that the Lieutenant-Governor was approaching to prorogue the Assembly. As the Bar was being removed to admit him, the members, led by Dunsmuir, vanished through the exits, and a round of cheers from the gallery rang through the chamber. McInnes, bewildered and confused, took his seat on the throne amid boos and hisses from the spectators. He sat for several minutes, pale and nervous, while his attachés looked at each other in evident indignation at their own position. Even Martin, theatrical, experienced, and usually unperturbed, standing at the foot of the dais, bit his lips in evident agitation, as he alone in the House was subjected to this disgraceful behaviour. McInnes eventually found voice to speak. As he finished his short address someone called for "three cheers for McInnes" and resounding boos and catcalls followed him from the chamber. The members reappeared in a most spectacular fashion, and after a few moments the Eighth Parliament was ended.[49]

The next three months rank among the most significant, confused, and interesting in the history of this Province. The Lieutenant-Governor was attacked from all sides. The Dominion Government was continually demanding reports and giving instructions, which for the most part were mild reprimands, and which were always at variance with the advice tendered by McInnes' Ministers. The Provincial press, like the Federal Government, demanded an early Session or an immediate election. Martin experienced serious difficulty in forming a Cabinet, and that with which he finally emerged was in some ways ludicrous. Upon taking office Martin announced that J. Stuart Yates, of Victoria, would take the position of Provincial Secretary and that Smith Curtis, a former law partner from Grand Forks, would hold the portfolio of mines. Then his troubles began. No important political figure in British Columbia was willing to stake his future on an association with Martin. J. C. Brown, however, later repented and joined the Cabinet, and after a long search two unknowns were found. One, George Washington Beebe, was an

(48) *Ibid.*

(49) *Cf.* Vancouver *Province* and Victoria *Colonist*, March 1–2, 1900.

Agassiz farmer with no political experience whatever. The Minister of Finance was Cory S. Ryder, whose sole qualification was that he had successfully managed a small store in Cumberland.

While McInnes and the Dominion authorities argued over the date of the election which, as Martin desired, was finally fixed for June 9, 1900, British Columbia prepared for another contest—the second in two years. In his appeal to the electorate Martin conducted a campaign which in its brilliance outshone anything which the Province had ever witnessed. His platform and policy have been characterized by casual historians as insincere—merely the means to an end. With this interpretation one must differ entirely. Martin's plan was twofold. Realizing that every faction in British Columbia was against him, he knew that his only hope of success lay in the introduction into the Province of political party lines. This step had long been needed, and Martin had openly espoused the idea before it was forced upon him. He was to carry the Liberal banner, yet the Laurier Government desired no association with a Liberal Government led by the fire-brand Martin. Perhaps they feared his individuality and rashness; undoubtedly they distrusted and resented his ability.

Martin at once began to transfer his ideas from the realms of theory into practice. A meeting of the Vancouver Liberals was held, at which a resolution was passed approving of him as the Liberal leader. It appears, however, that this meeting was attended mainly by Martin's supporters and did not truly represent the sentiment of the Provincial Liberal Association.[50] Liberal conventions in Victoria and New Westminster declared against him, expressing great admiration for his platform but unanimous distaste for him as their political leader. Thus in the first step of his plan Martin failed. The much-needed introduction of party lines awaited another picturesque figure, Sir Richard McBride.

Martin's platform exceeded any previous one in its scope, farsightedness, applicability, and recognition of the major needs and desires of the rapidly expanding Province. It was so admirably conceived that it won the support of some of his bitterest enemies and the approval of nearly everyone. The main "plank" was the construction of a Government-owned railway from the Gulf of

(50) Vancouver *Province*, March 7, 1900.

Georgia to the mining districts of the Interior, via the fertile Fraser Valley, the rich copper region of the Similkameen, and the Okanagan.[51]

The Opposition showed no signs of constructive ability, let alone brilliance. Their entire campaign was a perfect barrage of vituperation and abusive language fired at Joseph Martin. No charge was too vile to hurl at the Premier, yet none of his adversaries dared to meet him publicly and substantiate their attacks. To incite fear and hatred seemed to be their sole desire. It was a bitter campaign, one of the most animated and violent ever witnessed in the Province. Martin, the " one-man party," met defeat on June 9, but it had been an outstanding and almost an epic struggle.

At first it appeared that only three or four of Martin's followers had been elected, but when the air cleared seven assured " Martinites " had won seats. There were also six men who, although assuming various labels, were to be found siding with Martin during the next Session. The Semlin faction had been utterly annihilated. The only one of Semlin's Ministers who chose to run, Carter-Cotton, barely saved his deposit in Vancouver, and of the eighteen Semlin supporters only six were re-elected, while several lost their deposits. The victors were not a united group. Thus in some ways Martin was still the strongest single figure, for he had the largest homogeneous party. Some men could secure the adhesion of other factions, however, while he could not. As his last official act Martin advised the Lieutenant-Governor to call upon James Dunsmuir to form an administration. His advice was followed, and Dunsmuir brought with him Turner as Minister of Finance and Eberts as Attorney-General.

The story now enters its last and most painful chapter. As soon as Martin had taken office, an association arose between the

(51) The construction of a line such as Martin advocated had been, and was to remain for another fifteen years, the crying need of the Southern Interior. Development in the Kootenays, the Okanagan, and the Similkameen was almost entirely dependent upon the introduction of transportation facilities. The Turner Government, as early as 1897, had turned down the application of the V.V. & E. for a charter to build. After Martin had failed, the Dunsmuir Government followed a policy of hesitation and procrastination. The railway was not completed until 1915.

alleged unconstitutional action of Lieutenant-Governor McInnes and Martin's success at the polls. Critics of the Lieutenant-Governor maintained that he had overstepped his prerogatives in dismissing Turner and Semlin. McInnes' only hope of vindication, they asserted, had rested in the popular endorsement of "his candidate," Martin. As early as March 27, 1900, McInnes had referred to this feeling in a letter to Lord Minto, the new Governor-General. With reference to the approaching election, he stated that "if some new leader be elected upon new issues—I fail to see how, in such an event, it can with justice be said that the people have condemned my action in dismissing Mr. Semlin and that my official life is involved in Mr. Martin's defeat."[52] Many people did not share this point of view. In Ottawa a prominent Liberal wrote: "We hear today that the House is dissolved and the elections will be held June 9. Well, I would not give much for McInnes' scalp if Martin is turned down."[53]

In the House of Commons the British Columbia members, particularly Colonel E. G. Prior, Conservative member from Victoria, kept the issue alive. When Prior first brought the crisis in British Columbia to the attention of the House and demanded that the Dominion Government actively intervene, the Prime Minister, Wilfrid Laurier, replied:—

> I must confess to my honourable friend that I do not at all appreciate at this moment the motive which has induced him to bring this matter to the attention of the government. The question which exists in British Columbia today is certainly very serious, but . . . it is not an unconstitutional one. It is today in the hands of the people of British Columbia. The Lieutenant-Governor has acted within the precincts of his power. Whether he has acted wisely or not is a question which is submitted not to the government, not to this parliament, but to the people of British Columbia.[54]

The Prime Minister emphatically pointed out that Lieutenant-Governor McInnes had not violated the fundamental principles of responsible government, for he had found in every instance responsible advisers ready and willing to assume office and accept the responsibility for his actions.

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(52) McInnes to the Governor-General, March 27, 1900, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 9.

(53) *Ibid.*

(54) Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, Ottawa, 1900, p. 1386.

Now it has been determined more than once, and the question is no longer under dispute, that under such circumstances it is in the hands of the people of British Columbia themselves. It is for the people of the province to declare whether they approve or disapprove of the action of the Lieutenant-Governor. . . . If they approve of the action . . . in my judgment that is the end of the question. If they disapprove of it by returning to the House of Assembly a majority opposed to the present government, it is obvious that the Lieutenant-Governor will be found to have taken a very serious step.[55]

Colonel Prior did not cease his agitation. When the election results became known, he bluntly demanded an explanation of the Government's policy. Laurier refused any comment. He received telegrams from the Rossland and Inland Boards of Trade requesting McInnes' removal. On June 18 the recent victors in British Columbia met and drafted the following resolution:—

In the opinion of the undersigned members elect of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, the action of the Lieutenant-Governor in calling upon Mr. Joseph Martin to form a Ministry, while wholly unsupported in the Legislature, and in giving him such an unwarranted time to complete his Cabinet and his completion of the same by gentlemen unendorsed by the electorate was contrary to the principles, usages and customs of constitutional government, and detrimental to the best interests of the Province, and having been emphatically condemned by the electorate at the late general election, the undersigned would respectfully request the Premier of Canada to lay these facts before the Governor General of Canada humbly suggesting that the usefulness of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is gone. . . .[56]

Two days later the Governor-General, upon returning from a fishing trip, gave his assent to the following Order in Council:—

On a memorandum dated June 20, 1900, from the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that the action of the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia in dismissing his ministers had not been approved by the people of that province, and further, that in view of recent events in the said province of British Columbia it is evident that the Government of that province cannot be successfully carried on in the manner contemplated by the constitution, under the administration of the present Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Thomas McInnes, whose official conduct has been subversive of the principles of responsible government.

The Right Honourable the Premier submits that therefore Mr. McInnes' usefulness as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia is gone, and he recommends that Mr. McInnes be removed from said office, and that the

(55) *Ibid.*

(56) Vancouver *Province*, June 19, 1900.

cause to be assigned for such removal under the provisions of section 59 of the British North America Act shall be the matters set forth in this minute.[57]

The official appointment of Sir Henry Joly de Lotbinière as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia occurred the following day. It was felt in the Province that with Martin powerless and McInnes removed a period of political stability would commence. Unfortunately, there remained the extraordinary conditions of which the incidents covered in this survey are just a fraction. These incidents were the result, rather than the cause, of the political instability and uncertainty. From 1898 to 1900 British Columbia was a seething cauldron of political unrest. Ministries rose, played well or ill their part, and vanished into the limbo which yawns for the unfit and defective. Men appeared and vanished; only the confusion remained.

The standard interpretation of the McInnes episode appears to be that held by Professor A. B. Keith, who writes "that McInnes had set about to turn the province into a good Liberal province and had dismissed a couple of ministries as a preliminary to this result, and had kept another ministry in office for months without a parliamentary majority."[58] R. MacGregor Dawson, a noted authority on Canadian constitutional history, seems to agree almost completely with Keith and adds that "Lieutenant-Governor McInnes . . . succeeded in getting the affairs of that province into hopeless confusion in 1898–1900 through a misguided use of the power of dismissal."[59] Later in the same article he comments that "the politics were . . . in such confusion that the Dominion Government was forced to intervene, which it did in a very effective manner by removing the Lieutenant-Governor."[60] With this analysis one cannot help but disagree.

McInnes was charged with having unconstitutionally dismissed Turner and Semlin, allowed Martin to form a government, and retained him in office while he lacked support in the Assembly. The Turner Government had definitely lost the support of

(57) Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 26.

(58) Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Imperial unity and the Dominions*, Oxford, 1916, p. 432.

(59) R. MacGregor Dawson, "The independence of the Lieutenant-Governor," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. II (1922), p. 239.

(60) *Ibid.*

the electorate and, as events were soon to prove, could not control the House. This seemed fully apparent immediately after the election of 1898. Turner, however, chose neither to resign nor to have an early Session. While he pursued this policy of vacillation, the Province was undergoing a process of development which demanded legislation. At no time had the Turner Ministry been able to keep pace with this expansion; rather it had seemed preoccupied with the active and moral support of what might be called " vested interests " in the Province, and the new elements and new industries had suffered accordingly. McInnes must have seriously questioned the fitness of the Administration to govern. Moreover, if we can rely on the correspondence, McInnes distrusted the advice tendered to him by his Ministry, for on several previous occasions he had been almost purposely misled. Accordingly, believing that the Government was not acting in the best interests of the Province, and feeling that advice was not tendered to him in good faith, McInnes was easily convinced by the election results that the people, too, had a definite distaste for Turner and his colleagues. When the Premier refused to take any action—that is, either resign or meet the Assembly—McInnes dismissed him. Considering all the impinging factors, the dismissal appears justifiable, however slim the margin of constitutionality might have been. The acclaim which his action received in most parts of the Province was adequate testimony to the expected benefits arising from the dismissal.

Semlin had more clearly lost the support of the Assembly. He had achieved and held power because of the brilliant campaigning and strenuous efforts of Joseph Martin. When Martin left the Cabinet, Semlin's strength collapsed. Rather than resign or request a dissolution,[61] the Premier attempted to form a precarious and somewhat unorthodox coalition, where the only bond of unity would be a common determination to retain the spoils of office. Such a government as Semlin contemplated would have been hesitant, ineffective, and almost fraudulent. In dismissing Semlin, McInnes had served his Province well. He stretched the constitution to its limits. He did not break it.

(61) Most authorities would agree that Semlin was entitled to ask for a dissolution. It is probable that he would have received one.

Theoretically the monarch may call upon almost anyone to form a government, but convention has determined the course normally followed, and the Leader of the Opposition is usually approached. During this crisis, however, there was no official Leader of the Opposition and the correctness of McInnes' act in calling upon Martin is not disputable. With the public outcry so strong and spontaneous and the displeasure of the Assembly so emphatically pronounced, McInnes should have taken further steps. He would have suffered little loss of dignity or prestige had he revoked his decision outright when Martin experienced such severe difficulties in forming a ministry. Better still, Martin, upon threat of dismissal, might have been persuaded to relinquish office by admitting his inability to form a government. He could still have participated in a general election, for irrespective of who was called an election was necessary.

Considering the Cabinet which Martin had formed, and remembering that none of the new Ministers had obtained a seat, the three months' delay before the election was very irregular and perhaps unconstitutional; it certainly violated convention. Yet the Lieutenant-Governor faced a dilemma. His responsible advisers wanted the new Redistribution Bill to take effect before the election, in order to remove many of the glaring inequalities in representation. Although Scott at this point demanded an early Session or an immediate election, McInnes chose to adhere rigidly to the advice of his Cabinet.[62]

It appears from this survey that Lieutenant-Governor McInnes can be justly charged with violating outright the fundamental principles of the constitution in one instance alone, and even on this occasion he had followed the advice of his responsible Ministers. To condemn him on all charges would be to disregard completely the fundamental issues underlying the situation which he faced. Above all, it must be kept in mind that, in many ways, political conditions are but an outward reflection of the social and economic nature of a society.

There is no evidence to support Keith's statement that McInnes acted with a preconceived plan—the introduction of a Liberal government on true party lines into British Columbia.

(62) *Cf.* Scott's advice to McInnes of August 30, 1899, *v. supra*, footnote (34).

No doubt McInnes wished to see the end of factional government, as did most progressive public men who were not so deeply involved in the local maelstrom that their vision was clouded. Many realized that only with the introduction of true political parties would political stability result. Later events were to prove the soundness of this belief.

To state that McInnes created the confusion in British Columbia lies no nearer the truth. Confusion already existed. It was the natural corollary of factional government. This period was one of transition, politically and economically, from adolescence to maturity. Factional alinements were breaking down in the face of new, larger, and more significant issues. British Columbia was at last coming of age, and the existing type of government could not cope successfully with the new demands made upon it. The confusion was to remain until true political parties, organized and disciplined, with definite political philosophies and practical programmes, became permanent features of Provincial politics.

The last point that must be considered is the justice of McInnes' dismissal. The only similar case before that time had occurred when the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald had dismissed Lieutenant-Governor Letellier of Quebec in 1878.[63] The precedent established in that case, however, was not one that could be easily or justly followed.

McInnes was fully aware of the association that had arisen between his actions and the success of Martin. Immediately after the election McInnes wrote to the Governor-General informing him that the Semlin faction had been utterly annihilated. In McInnes' own words: " had Mr. Semlin made an issue of his dismissal and had been sustained by the electorate, I admit that my action could justly be said to have been condemned by the people of this province, and I should have tendered my resignation." He believed, on the contrary, that the election proved that " my action in dismissing the Semlin Government has been

(63) On the Letellier incident *see* A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Canada and its provinces*, Toronto, 1914, Vol. XV, pp. 180–190; " The McInnes incident in British Columbia," a graduating essay by this author available at the University of British Columbia or Provincial Archives; Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1879, Vol. VIII, No. 19, and *ibid.*, 1880, Vol. IX, No. 18.

completely justified by the people." "And at that point," McInnes concluded, " I respectfully submit that my responsibility ends. For if the people themselves cannot indicate a leader in whom they have confidence—and they certainly have not done so —I submit that I cannot be fairly condemned for having to select a leader under whom they would unite."[64]

When the Letellier question arose in the House of Commons, Wilfrid Laurier, then in Opposition, had strongly opposed any Dominion interference in what he considered a purely Provincial affair. With reference to the projected dismissal of Letellier, Laurier maintained that it rested solely in the hands of the Quebec electorate, and intimated that if the vote went against the Cabinet chosen by the Lieutenant-Governor, the reinstatement of the dismissed ministry would be the only proper punishment. In 1900, although his words were reminiscent of his earlier statements, Laurier discovered, probably to his own dismay, that his position had undergone a profound change. While there is no reason to doubt that he was still firmly convinced that the Federal Government should not interfere in the Provincial imbroglio, as Prime Minister he could not disregard the public outcry. Principle was overridden by political expediency.

The note of dismissal charged that Lieutenant-Governor McInnes' policy had not been approved by the people and that his actions had been " subversive of the principles of responsible government." This statement is rather too narrow an approach. It is necessary to realize that the election of 1900 was fought, not upon the action of the Lieutenant-Governor, but between two political groups striving to seize the reigns of office. The act and the cause assigned were slightly incongruous.

Yet, McInnes' dismissal was necessary. He would have found it impossible to achieve an amicable working relationship with his new advisers. Deadlock would have resulted, and dismissal was a necessary last resort. It is not known how far the Laurier Ministry went in an attempt to work out a satisfactory adjustment before the dismissal. McInnes was asked to resign, but in such a way that he refused, believing that resignation would be construed as an admission of error and would relieve the Government of the difficult task of having to devise a justi-

(64) Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Ottawa, 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 174, p. 7.

fication for his dismissal. The note, however, was couched in phrases which were an undue reflection upon McInnes' integrity and far too severe an indictment of his policy.

Only one more point remains to be stressed. McInnes found extant a political situation that would have taxed the ingenuity, patience, and resourcefulness of the greatest of statesmen. Had he let matters drift, he would have betrayed his position of moral responsibility and destroyed the faith and trust of those over whom he had been placed. That he took too strong a stand when he had become convinced of the soundness of his policy, and that he moved boldly when his path became clear, is indisputable. That he erred in judgment is also beyond dispute. Those who charge him with political partisanship, like those who maintain that he was the creator of the confusion, have failed to understand the nature of the conditions which he faced. The confusion was pre-existent and ever increasing, and in his attempts to stem the rising tide of uncertainty and stabilize the politics of the Province, McInnes had ignored the old, firmly entrenched interests. In so doing he had helped to bring about their downfall, but had also assured his own.

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LETTERS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE DIXON IN THE BANKS COLLECTION

Two letters—one actually a memorandum—of Captain George Dixon are to be found in the Pacific Northwest packet of the Sir Joseph Banks manuscript collection now in the hands of the Sutro Branch of the California State Library in San Francisco.[1]

In 1787 three separate fur-trade expeditions were fitted out for the Pacific Northwest—Captains John Meares and William Tipping in the *Nootka* and *Sea Otter* respectively from Bengal, James Strange's *Captain Cook* and *Experiment,* and the expedition of Nathaniel Portlock[2] and George Dixon. Captain Dixon, appointed to command the *Queen Charlotte,* a British snow of 200 tons, sailed from St. Helen's on September 17, 1785, accompanied by the *King George,* 320 tons, commanded by Captain Portlock, his old shipmate on Cook's *Resolution.* Sailing for the King George's Sound Company, formed to develop the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, Dixon rounded Cape Horn, touched at the Sandwich Islands, and reached the mouth of Cook's Inlet in July, 1786. After sailing about off King George's, or Nootka, Sound, he wintered in the Sandwich Islands before returning to the Northwest in March, 1787. Dixon then explored the coast, especially the area of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and later sailed to Macao to sell the furs he had taken.

Following his return to England in September, 1788, he published an account of his voyage, written in the form of a series of interesting letters by his super-cargo, William Beresford, addressed to a person named Hamlen. This volume, published

(1) These documents were published in a limited edition by The White Knight Chapbooks as No. 3 in their Pacific Northwest Series at the White Knight Press, San Francisco, in 1941.

(2) His account of this voyage is to be found in Captain Nathaniel Portlock, *A Voyage round the World; but more particularly to the Northwest Coast of America; performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon . . .* , London, 1789.

in London in 1789, was dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks.[3] Little is known of his life after this expedition. Some believe that he may have been the George Dixon who taught navigation at Gosport and who authored *The Navigator's Assistant,* published in 1791. He is supposed to have died about 1800. These two brief items, written after the publication of his account of the voyage, are of some interest in shedding more light upon an historical figure veiled by the mists of obscurity.

RICHARD H. DILLON.

SUTRO BRANCH, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I

Sir

Having seen in the Papers that a ship is to be fitted out by Government, to explore some Part of the South Seas not yet sufficiently known maid it my Business to enquire and find that a ship for that purpose is Bought and that Lieut. Roberts[4] is expected to have the command, shall therefore beg leave to lay before you some Remarks that (I hope) may be of Service, as I think there is not the least Doubt she will be sent to the N.W. Coast of America. The first is that she should have two Schooners along with her, of a light Draught of Water capable of being mov'd along with Sweeps, by which means they will be prevented from getting on Shore when the Wind leaves them,—this being the Case 9 times out of Ten under the high Lands on that Coast and where for the most part close in Shore no Ground is to be got at-100-Fathoms, this will always intimidate the boldest Navigators in Large Ships and prevent their going sufficiently near, by which means they may pass considerable Inlets. The Second is it should not be omitted instructing the Commander to examine well that Part of the Sea betwixt America

(3) Captain George Dixon, *A Voyage round the World; but more particularly to the North-west Coast of America; performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon* . . . , London, 1789.

(4) This was the scientific expedition that the British Government had decided in 1789 to send out to the South Seas and the Northwest Coast of America. Captain Henry Roberts was chosen as the commander, and the sloop *Discovery,* then being built in the yards of Randall & Brent on the Thames, was acquired before completion. Captain George Vancouver was appointed second in command. The expedition was nearly ready for sea late in April, 1790, when the Nootka Sound difficulty between Great Britain and Spain flared up, and as a result the projected expedition was cancelled. *See* George Godwin, *Vancouver: A Life, 1757–1798,* New York, 1931, pp. 24–28.

and Japan, being convinced there are Islands and perhaps some of them of considerable size not yet discovered, on which I suppose most of the Sea Otter to breed that frequent the American Coast.—The Third is that Government will make at least one Settlement on the American Coast it may be done at a small Expence and in a short Time will not only maintain itself by the Sale of Furs that may be collected but return a large Overplus to Government; from this Settlement they may with Ease examine not only the Coast but hope they will be able soon to give sum Account of the Interior Country. The best Place for the above purpose I think at present known to be at or near the North End of Queen Charlottes Islands

I am Sir your most Obedient Hbe Servant
GEO DIXON

Oct 20 1789
No 6 James Street Covent Gardin

II

Memorandum from Capt. Dickson [*sic*]
Sea Otter Skins by the King George and Queen Charlotte 2552, Some Marmott, Land Otter, and Beavers.

The Russians are Settled in Cooks River, and at Bering's Bay. The Spaniards are Making Settlements Somewhere, a little South of King Georges Sound.

The French Ships on Discovery[5] have been at Macao, Sold Some Skins, and are gone to the North, but whether to the Coast of America or Japan, is not known.

Captain Dixon Surveyed all a long the Coast betwixt Woody Point[6] and Cape Edgecombe, and thinks that it has very much the Appearance of the Archipelago Islands, Said to be Seen by Admiral de Font—There are many deep Inlets; the Main he thinks he has not Seen, and is convinced that Cape Edgecombe is an Island. Captain Dixon is almost certain that the land at King Georges Sound is an Island, the Northern entrance round Woody Point, and the Southern one, to the Southward of Point Breakers.[7]—He thinks the best way would be to establish a

(5) The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* under the command of Jean Francois de Galaup LaPerouse, which in 1787 were on this coast. See *The Voyage of La Perouse round the World in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788* . . . , London, 1799.

(6) This point was named by Captain James Cook on March 29, 1778. Subsequently, in 1860, it was renamed Cape Cook by Captain George H. Richards, R.N. *See* Captain John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906*, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 106–112.

(7) Captain Cook gave this name to the point in 1778, and it so appeared on Captain George Vancouver's famous chart. The British Admiralty chart of 1849 returned to the original name, Estevan Point, which had been given in 1774 by Lieutenant-Commander Juan Perez in honour of his second

Settlement about the Latitude of 53° North, as no Europeans had been there before him, nor could he have procur'd Skins at any other place.

The Mouth Piece Sent to Sir Joseph Banks, is used there by the Married Women; Capt. Dixon thinks they are intended to disfigure the Females, that in time of war, if they are taken by an Enemy they may not be induced to keep them alive.—The young Women at first use a small copper pin, which they change and increase by degrees, to prepare for the Wooden Mouth Piece, which they insert in the lower lip as soon as Married by a Crop Incision; and is afterwards constantly used, and deforms the face in a terrible Manner.

Memorandum of Sea Otter Skins brought to China by Europeans from the North West Coast of America.[8]

1786	By the Sea Otter[9]—China	about	550
	By the Experiment[10]—Bombay	D.°	650
1787	By the Fly[11]—China	D.°	400
	By 2 French Ships[12]—France	D.°	1,200
	By the Sea Otter[13]—Bengal	D.°	500
	By the King George[14] & Queen Charlote—England	D.°	2,550
	By a Ship from Europe—Captain Barcl'y[15]—Ostend	D.°	4,000
	Total about		9,850

lieutenant, Estevan Jose Martinez. *See* Captain John T. Walbran, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–174.

(8) There is a marked discrepancy between the figures provided in this memorandum and in the printed account of the voyage; presumably Dixon at this time was writing from memory.

(9) The *Sea Otter*, a British snow of 120 tons, presumably came from Canton and was owned by the East India Company. Commanded by Captain James Hanna, she arrived at Nootka Sound in August, 1786, and traded on this coast until October, when she returned to China. The previous year Captain Hanna had been on the coast in a brig of 60 tons called the *Harmon* or *Sea Otter*. Evidently at this time Dixon is confusing the two trips in so far as the fur-catch is concerned, for in his *A Voyage round the World* he stated that on the 1785 voyage 560 skins were taken and only 150 sea-otter skins, with 300 different-sized flips and pieces on the second expedition (pp. 315–317).

(10) The *Experiment*, a snow of 100 tons burthen commanded by Captain Guise, and the *Captain Cook*, a snow of 300 tons commanded by Captain Henry Laurie, comprised this expedition, directed by Captain James Strange, which reached this coast in 1786. *See* F. W. Howay, "The Voyage of the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment*, 1785–86," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V (1941), pp. 285–296. Complete details are to be found in A. V. Venkatarama Ayyr (*ed.*), *James Strange's Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition from Bombay to the North-west Coast of America*,

A Vessel from Bengal calld the *Nootka*[16] & one from China[17] are Supposd to be lost on the N West Coast. All the other Vessels brought Small Beavers Skins & the French Ships Some Black Bears.

Madras, 1928. Dixon's figures, as given in the printed account of his voyage (p. 318), credit the *Experiment* with 604 skins.

(11) This ship cannot be identified; Dixon himself does not appear to have mentioned her in *A Voyage round the World.*

(12) Presumably the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* commanded by LaPerouse. Again, Dixon in *A Voyage round the World* (p. 320) mentions the fur-catch at 600 skins.

(13) Owned by the Bengal Fur Society, this British snow of 100 tons was commanded by William Tipping and arrived on the coast in 1786, and was sighted by the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment* in September. Subsequently she disappeared, and presumably Dixon is confusing her with the *Nootka.*

(14) Now referring to his own expedition, his figures are quite correct, for the catch was given as 2,552 on page 321 of *A Voyage round the World.*

(15) Charles William Barkley, who is responsible for the naming of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, arrived at Nootka Sound in June, 1787, in the *Imperial Eagle,* formerly the East Indiaman *Loudoun,* 400 tons. The ship sailed from England in August, 1786, for Ostend, where she loaded and was also transferred to Austrian colours in order to circumvent the monopoly of the East India Company. She sailed from that port on November 23, 1786, and had on board Captain Barkley's young bride, the first white woman ever to visit this part of the Pacific Northwest. *See* W. K. Lamb, " The Mystery of Mrs. Barkley's Diary," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VI (1942), pp. 31–59. Dixon gave the fur-catch of this expedition as 800 in *A Voyage round the World* (p. 320).

(16) This vessel, a snow of 200 tons from Bengal, was commanded in 1787 by Captain John Meares and owned by the Bengal Fur Company. She wintered at Prince William's Sound and lost twenty-three members of her crew through scurvy. Dixon's reporting of this incident lead to the famous controversy with Captain Meares. *See* F. W. Howay, *The Dixon-Meares Controversy,* Toronto, 1929, *passim.* In this memorandum, Dixon is obviously confusing this vessel with the *Sea Otter,* for in *A Voyage round the World* he credits the *Nootka* with a fur-catch of 357 sea-otter skins (p. 319).

(17) This could possibly be a reference to the British snow *Lark,* owned by the East India Company and commanded in 1786 by Captain William Peters. She sailed from Bengal in March and from Canton in July, and was subsequently lost on Copper Island.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VICTORIA SECTION

A meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, May 22, the Vice-Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, presiding. The meeting took the form of a showing of two film-strips—one on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the other on the Coast Salish Indians. These film-strips are the first to be produced under a plan sponsored by the Department of Education and prepared by the Provincial Archives in co-operation with the Provincial Museum designed to carry to the school-children of the Province authentic information on the history and development of the various regions and aspects of this Province. The film-strips were accompanied by a commentary prepared and read by Mr. A. F. Flucke, special research assistant on the staff of the Provincial Archives. The film-strip on the Queen Charlotte Islands gave a complete pictorial history of the archipelago from the period of discovery to the present day, use being made of contemporary maps, manuscripts, newspapers, as well as photographs. The film-strip on the Coast Salish Indians similarily provided pictorial information on the life, customs, and accomplishments of this particular tribe of our native people.

A regular meeting of the Section was held on June 19 in the Provincial Library, at which a large number of members of the Victoria Natural History Society were present. The speaker of the evening was Mr. George Winkler, who had selected as his subject *The Explorations of Dr. George Mercer Dawson in British Columbia.* The centenary of the birth of Dr. Dawson occurred on August 1, 1949, and it was only fitting that some recognition should be given to one whose name looms large in the geological, mining, and ethnological history of this Province. Mr. Winkler had made a careful study of the voluminous writings of Dr. Dawson and was, consequently, well qualified for the task he had undertaken. At the conclusion of the meeting, Dr. M. S. Hadley, of the Department of Mines, showed a number of interesting and attractive slides depicting mining scenes and transportation methods in British Columbia.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A regular meeting of the Vancouver Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, May 23, on which occasion the speaker was Captain C. W. Cates, Vice-Chairman of the Section, who chose as his subject *Memoirs of the Pioneer Days of Western Canada.* The family of Captain Cates has had a long association with British Columbia and Western Canada. Although Charles Henry Cates, his father, was born in Nachias, Maine, as a very young child he came with his parents to Nova Scotia. His first venture into the Canadian Northwest occurred in 1879, when he joined a land-

surveying party in what is now Southern Saskatchewan. Subsequently, he worked in lumber-mills in the Kenora-Rainy River country during the period when the boundary dispute between Manitoba and Ontario was at its height. In 1886 his attention was directed to British Columbia, and his recollections of Vancouver antedated the disastrous fire. Shortly after his arrival he became interested in marine matters and, in April, 1890, took over Spratt's *Ark*, one of the most famous and most curious vessels on the coast. Captain Cates was able to draw heavily from the written reminiscences of his father as well as from his own recollections to give a most fascinating account of earlier days.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

All five branches of the Okanagan Historical Society were represented at the annual meeting held in the board room of the B.C. Tree Fruits Ltd., Kelowna, B.C., on Tuesday afternoon, May 30. The President, Mr. J. B. Knowles, was in the chair and thirty-two members were present. Mr. Knowles' report gave ample evidence of a busy and successful year: two new branches had been organized at Osoyoos-Oliver and Armstrong and the details for the unveiling of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada cairn at Westbank arranged, to mention but two of the highlights. The Treasurer's report indicated that the financial affairs of the Society were prospering, there being a balance of $582.28, profit on the *Annual Report* alone being $309.92. Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Editor-in-Chief, took the occasion to thank all those that had assisted in the preparation of the *Thirteenth Report* and reviewed plans for the *Fourteenth Report*. Representatives from each of the five branches presented reports, indicative of active interest and auguring well for the future of the Society. Mr. Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, was present and addressed the meeting, bringing greetings from the Association he represented. Speaking in a reminiscent vein, he told of the work done by the Kamloops Museum Association and commented on the activities of the Okanagan Historical Society and kindred bodies.

The election of officers for 1950–51 was announced, as follows:—

Honorary Patron	Col. the Hon. Charles Arthur Banks, C.M.G.
Honorary President	Hon. Grote Stirling, K.C.
President	J. B. Knowles, Kelowna.
First Vice-President	Dr. F. W. Andrew, Summerland.
Second Vice-President	Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton.
Secretary	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Treasurer	Major H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Auditor	A. E. Berry, Vernon.
Editor-in-Chief	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Vancouver.

Directors—

North—

G. O. Tassie, Vernon. J. G. Sims, Vernon.

Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops.

Middle—
Mrs. Dorothy Gellatly, Westbank.
James Goldie, Okanagan Centre.
F. M. Buckland, Kelowna.
South—
G. J. Rowland, Penticton.
H. D. Barnes, Hedley.
Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton.
At large—
Mrs. G. Maisonville, Kelowna.
A. K. Loyd, Kelowna.
J. H. Wilson, Armstrong.
F. L. Goodman, Osoyoos.

Officers of the branch societies were announced, as follows:—

Penticton

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

Kelowna

President - - - - - - - - J. B. Knowles.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - L. L. Kerry.
Directors—
Mrs. Dorothy Gellatly. E. M. Carruthers.
W. R. Pawley. H. C. S. Collett.

Vernon

President - - - - - - - - J. G. Simms.
Secretary - - - - - - - H. R. Denison.
Directors—
A. E. Sage. J. G. Heighway.
G. E. McMahon. Burt R. Campbell.

Oliver-Osoyoos

President - - - - - - - - F. L. Goodman.
Vice-President - - - - - - - George J. Fraser.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - A. Katten.
Directors—
N. V. Simpson. L. J. Ball.
Dr. N. J. Ball. Albert Millar.
Mrs. Albert Millar.

LUMBER INDUSTRY CAIRN, PORT ALBERNI

In keeping with its policy of erecting monuments to commemorate the basic industries of the various regions of Canada, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada selected Port Alberni for the honour of receiving the cairn for the lumber industry of British Columbia. It was recognized that other areas within the Province had lumber-mills antedating the 1860 venture at Port Alberni, but the fact that the Alberni Valley had for so long been associated with the lumber trade, that it had witnessed the first efforts at a wood-pulp paper mill, made its selection a fitting one. The inscription on the cairn reads, as follows:—

THE LUMBER INDUSTRY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

> The gigantic cedars of the Pacific coast were used by the Indians in the construction of their houses and canoes, and in their handicrafts. The white man has built up his lumber industry chiefly from Douglas fir, red cedar, hemlock and Sitka spruce. The huge trees have required special techniques in "falling," logging, sawing, milling and transportation. The opening of the Panama Canal greatly stimulated the export lumber trade.

The unveiling ceremony took place on Saturday afternoon, July 22, and was presided over by Mayor Loran Jordan of the City of Port Alberni. Other guests on the platform included Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; H. R. MacMillan and C. Y. Robson, representing the two major lumbering corporations in the valley; Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist; Mayor Ben Wright of the City of Alberni; Jack Gibson, member of Parliament for the Comox-Alberni constituency; James Mowat, M.L.A. for Alberni. In addition, four of the workers at the original paper-mill were on the platform—Alfred Carmichael, E. Woodward, Mrs. Johnnie Williams, and Mrs. Morrison. Mr. George Bird, veteran pioneer and sawmill-owner, was also present, and Mr. Alex. Sproat, son of Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, one of the prime movers in Alberni's first lumber-mill.

The first speaker on the programme was Dr. W. N. Sage, who explained the purpose of the cairn and the reasons for the selection of Port Alberni as the site. Mr. Willard E. Ireland brought the congratulations of the Provincial Government and recounted a few of the pertinent facts concerning the establishment of the first mill at Alberni. Considering the large capital investment in the lumber industry at the Albernis to-day, it comes as a shock to realize that the pioneer mill closed down in 1864 because of the scarcity of timber. Actually what was meant was that lack of transportation made it impossible to bring to the mill the great forest resources that lay any great distance from the mill-site. The principal speaker of the afternoon was Mr. H. R. MacMillan, who traced the development of the lumber industry from the days of Sproat and Stamp to the present modern set-up, giving facts and figures illustrative of the enormous expansion.

Of even greater importance, however, was the different attitude of British Columbia to her great forests—scientific methods to provide perpetual yield were now a necessity. Mr. C. Y. Robson, representing Mr. Prentice Bloedel, brought felicitations from his company and spoke briefly of the pioneer venture in paper-making. Mr. Alex. Sproat was then called upon and, despite his eighty-four years, contributed most interestingly to the programme. To Mr. Alfred Carmichael, of Victoria, one of the workers in the first paper-mill established in British Columbia, fell the honour of performing the actual unveiling. Mr. Carmichael traced very briefly the history of the pioneer paper-mill, which, though unsuccessful itself, paved the way for the now immensely valuable pulp and paper industry.

The extreme heat of the day prevented many from attending the function, a portion of which was broadcast over the Alberni radio station. Following the ceremony, the platform guests were entertained by the City of Port Alberni at a tea served in the Somass Hotel, Mrs. L. K. Jordan acting as hostess.

British Columbia is proud of the fact that of the three cairns to be erected to commemorate the lumber industry in Canada, the one for this Province is the first to have been erected.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Harry D. Barnes, an old-time resident of the Similkameen District, is a Director of the Okanagan Historical Society. He has already contributed to this *Quarterly* the history of the community of Hedley.

John T. Saywell is a graduate of the University of British Columbia, with honours in history, who has been a special research student on the staff of the Provincial Archives during the summer.

Richard H. Dillon is Research Librarian at the Sutro Branch of the California State Library.

Rev. John Goodfellow is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and Secretary of the Okanagan Historical Society, and a keen student of the history of the Southern Interior of this Province.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

The Thirteenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society. Vernon: The Vernon News, 1949. Pp. 200. Maps and ills. $2.50.

Originally known as the Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society with headquarters at Vernon, B.C., this organization was founded by the late Leonard Norris on September 4th, 1925. It was his intention to give the members a report each year, and the first carried the date "10th September, 1926." Mr. Norris was responsible for the first ten reports which appeared periodically over a period of twenty years. The eleventh report was already on the press when Mr. Norris died on April 18, 1945. By that time the name had become simply the Okanagan Historical Society, and Captain J. B. Weeks, of Penticton, was president, and under his leadership the Society was reorganized with some important results. The eleventh report was issued by the Society and carried a portrait of Mr. Norris with the legend " he loved this Okanagan Valley, and was its fond historian," and a fine tribute penned by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.

It was decided to organize branch societies in the various parts of the valley and to have all represented at annual meetings to be held in Kelowna, the most central point. Another decision was to give reality to Mr. Norris' dream of an annual report, to be printed by rotation in Penticton, Kelowna, and Vernon, with blue, cream, and red covers respectively. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor consented to act as Honorary Patron and Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia, agreed to act as editor-in-chief. Two years later, J. B. Knowles, of Kelowna, was elected to succeed Captain Weeks as President. All former and prospective members were invited to take an active interest in the organization, and the membership rose to nearly 600. It was suggested to the editorial committee that future reports vary in size from 175 to 225 pages. Membership dues were raised to $2.50, this sum to include a subscription to the annual report. The *Twelfth Report* had 223 pages and the *Thirteenth Report*, which is under review, has 200 pages. As it was printed by the Vernon News Limited, it has a red cover, and, like the preceding report, it was edited by Dr. Ormsby. It contains over a dozen illustrations and two maps.

The first of the thirty-five articles, " The Origin of Okanagan Lake," by the late S. J. Schofield, gives the valley setting in geologic time, and " Dawn Redwoods in Similkameen " tells of tree life in pre-historic ages. Eric Tait's " Birds and Their Relation to Agriculture " is of value to farmers and of interest to ornithologists. Mr. Tait concludes that most of the valley birds benefit the farmer—" There are few places in Canada where so many species can be found in one area." In his article on " Indian Pictographs in South Central British Columbia," Joseph G. Garris lists locations of four sets of Indian paintings and notes that there are others elsewhere. Some he describes as " of fairly recent origin," but the time-defying red ochre used

by the Indians makes dating difficult. Ashnola Mary told this reviewer that all the paintings in Similkameen were there when she was a girl, and that is well over a century ago. "Indian Place Names," by Maria Brent, has reference to the Vernon district. In the *Twelfth Report* (p. 197), A. G. Harvey, quoting G. H. Armstrong's *Place Names in Canada*, stated that the Town of Armstrong was named for "Hector Armstrong, of London, England, who negotiated the bonds of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway in 1892." Further research revealed that the place was named for William Charles Heaton-Armstrong, Lord of the Manor of Roscrea in Ireland. Stuart J. Martin has contributed an article giving the origin of Vernon street names.

Transportation, by land and water, is the theme of a number of articles. Part of A. C. Anderson's map is reproduced to illustrate the article by Dr. M. A. Ormsby on "The Significance of the Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail." This link between New Caledonia and the Columbia was explored by the Astorians in 1811, used by the North West Company and, from 1821, by the Hudson's Bay Company. "Oohn-Hyot," by Hester E. White, describes the first trail on the east side of Okanagan Lake. This trail was opened by the Indians about 1858. In May, 1865, Thomas Ellis, Penticton's first settler, described it as the worst trail he had seen in the country, but later travellers had less to complain about. Under the title "Indian Road," F. M. Buckland tells of the early trail between Princeton and Peachland and the first automobile journey on the wagon-road between these points.

Railroad history is recorded by Ruth Macorquodale in the story of "Andrew McCulloch and the Kettle Valley Railway"; and three articles are devoted to lake travel—"Early Days on the Okanagan Lake," by N. C. Caesar; "The Swan Song of the Sternwheelers on Okanagan Lake," by Captain J. B. Weeks; and "Navigation on Skaha Lake," by A. S. Hatfield. N. C. Caesar is sceptical about Ogopogo—"I have been living by the lake for 56 years and have not seen the sea-serpent yet."

A delightful chapter is Harry Barnes' "Reminiscences of the Okanagan and Boundary Districts, 1891–1900." These start at Vernon, then move to Rock Creek and Camp McKinney in the Boundary country. Not only are people, places, and events clearly remembered, but they are faithfully recorded. Fall fairs are remembered in an article by the late F. W. Laing, and B. R. Campbell also writes with intimate knowledge of the "Vernon City Band & Vernon Fire Brigade Band, 1893–1920." E. M. Carruthers has contributed a history of the Kelowna Club.

There is a wealth of biographical material in the *Report*. Verna B. Cawston tells of Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Cawston in "Pioneers of the Similkameen," and "Our Wedding Trip from Ontario to British Columbia," by the late Mrs. R. L. Cawston, preserves a picture of pioneer life. Other sketches include "Luc Girouard," by the late Leonard Norris; "Joe McDonald, Master Builder and Craftsman," by Frank McDonald; "Arthur Cosens, 1872–1949," by Miriam E. Darling; "James A. Schubert," by M. E. Hunter; "W. T. Hayhurst," by Amy Winkles; and "Reuben Swift," by H. R. Denison. Two stories have reference to the religious life of the valley—"Rev. Father Pierre Richard, O.M.I.," by Georgina Maisonville, and

"Okanagan Baptist College," by Frank Haskins. The account of Father Richard was drawn largely from records in St. Peter's Rectory, New Westminster, and thanks are expressed to Father Forbes for access to these records. The Okanagan Baptist College was established at West Summerland in 1907 and continued in operation until 1915.

Dr. Ormsby is to be congratulated on a fine piece of editing. The *Thirteenth Report* is a mine of information to which, along with the other Reports of the Society, future historians will turn for records that otherwise would have been lost.

JOHN GOODFELLOW.

PRINCETON, B.C.

Nooksack Tales and Trails. By P. R. Jeffcott. Ferndale, Washington: Sedro-Woolley Courier-Times, 1949. Pp. 436. Maps & ills. $5.50.

That Man Thomson. By R. H. Thomson, edited by Grant H. Redford. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950. Pp. iii, 134. Ills. $2.75.

Prize Winning Essays Armitage Competition in Oregon Pioneer History, 1949. Portland; Reed College Bulletin, 1950. Pp. 38.

It is now nearly a quarter of a century since the *History of Whatcom County*, edited by Lottie Roeder Toth, was published, and in the interval it has become difficult to procure. For that, as well as for other reasons, students of Pacific Northwest history will welcome the appearance of *Nooksack Tales and Trails*, for the Nooksack Valley embraces the heart of Whatcom County. The author, P. R. Jeffcott, a resident of Ferndale, Washington, is well qualified for the task he set himself, as he is the historian of the Whatcom County Pioneer Association.

Mr. Jeffcott has not attempted to write a political history of the county; indeed, political events are incidental to his main purpose, which is "to picture the everyday life of the pioneers and related events in such a way as to increase interest in a too much neglected subject." To this end he has made available a number of hitherto unpublished reminiscences of pioneers of the county. Nor is he interested in recent developments but has confined himself to "the pioneer days of the formative years between 1848 and 1895." However, even a cursory glance will reveal that much patient research has preceded the writing of this book.

The writer plunges into his story in a forthright manner by describing the activity during the years 1857–59 of the British and American Joint Boundary Commission appointed to locate the boundary-line as laid down in the treaty of June 15, 1846. There is little to be found in the book about earlier explorers of the region, including Captain George Vancouver, who plotted the shore-line of the county. Considerable attention is paid to the Nooksack Indians, identifying their earlier villages and describing the effects of the intrusion of the white men. To British Columbia readers, one of the most valuable chapters deals with the gold-rush of 1858 and the building of the Whatcom Trail. Having had access to the exceedingly rare

file of *The Northern Light*, published at Whatcom, Mr. Jeffcott has reproduced most of its articles dealing with the building of this famous trail and its eventual abandonment. Equally interesting is the chapter on the Telegraph Road, in that it throws light on the southern approaches to the Chilliwack region.

As is to be expected, considerable attention is paid to the founding and development of the early communities, particularly Ferndale, and since his principal interest is the Nooksack River valley, early settlers along the banks of this river and of its tributaries are chronicles. The development of transportation is carefully outlined—river-steamers, road and bridge building are all dealt with. But the author's interest is always the people that did the pioneering, and for this reason the book is invaluable as a source of information on the pioneers—farmers, teachers, merchants, clergymen—all those whose lifework contributed to the development of the region.

About one-third of the book is made up of the personal reminiscences of pioneer settlers such as George N. Adam, Eddie Bruhns, Andrew R. Smith, Pete Harkness, Rebecca E. Jeffcott, George T. Kinley, to mention but a few, and in gathering these together and preserving them, Mr. Jeffcott has contributed much to local lore and history. A wealth of illustrations has been provided, and while there is a map in connection with the Whatcom Trail, it is unfortunate that no general map of the area under survey is provided. Readers from outside Whatcom County will not be sufficiently familiar with the lay of the land, and even a good sketch-map would have assisted them. There is an excellent index, and because of the tremendous amount of detailed information in the book, it will be an invaluable aid to those searching for specific data. This book is not always easy to read, but it has made a worth-while contribution to local history in the Pacific Northwest. This reviewer does not claim to be competent to comment on its accuracy in detail, but sincerely hopes that the supplementary volume that the author has in contemplation may soon become available.

That Man Thomson is local history of another kind. It is the autobiography of Reginald H. Thomson, city engineer of Seattle during its hectic years of growth. Written in 1948 when its author was 92 years of age, it is a remarkable feat and of unusual interest in that sixty-seven of those years had been spent in Seattle. It is a matter of regret that Thomson, who died on January 7, 1949, never saw his book released, although he did have the opportunity of checking proof.

Perhaps it is unfair to say that this book is an autobiography, for actually the reader will learn little about the personal life of R. H. Thomson. It is really his report on his years of service as city engineer, and consequently it is the story of the changing physiography and physiognomy of the City of Seattle. Thomson came to the Pacific Northwest as a mining engineer in 1881 after some disappointing years in California. His early contact with the Dunsmuir interests will be of interest to British Columbia readers, and particularly his record of Dunsmuir's views as to the comparative future prospects of Seattle and Victoria. For ten years Thomson worked at a variety of projects—with the F. H. Whitworth coal interests, two years

(1884–86) as city surveyor in Seattle, survey engineer for the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern Railroad, and numerous other jobs in connection with his private practice as an engineer.

Thomson took up his work as city engineer on June 1, 1882, and held that office under seven different Mayors. In that interval he planned and carried through to completion a large number of major civic projects—the North Tunnel sewer, the Cedar River water system, the street regrades, the Lake Washington canal and Duwamish waterway, the Salmon Bay locks. He fought the battle of the railroad franchises and laid the foundation for city light. The story behind each of these projects Thomson tells in this book with all the pride in accomplishment that is justly his due, yet none of the spirit of braggadocio one might have expected. These were all immense undertakings; to cite but one example, the regrading of Jackson Street alone involved the removal of 1,810,656 cubic yards of earth in a three-year period, and this was only a part of the whole undertaking. Thomson was a great engineer, and fortunately for Seattle he was a man of vision and, in consequence, laid plans for the city that was to be and not just the city of the 1890's he knew so well. It is of passing interest to note that Thomson was selected to lay out Strathcona Park on Vancouver Island, the completion of which project was prevented by the First World War.

The editorial work of Grant H. Redford is confined mainly to an introduction which reprints two newspaper appraisals of Thomson's work written ten years apart, which in themselves are interesting as revealing opinions and attitudes regarding Thomson. There are numerous illustrations and an index of personalities named in the book, which, in view of the topical treatment of the subject-matter, was possibly considered all that was necessary. Typographically it is a very satisfactory piece of book-making.

One has come to expect a high quality of scholarship in the essays published by Reed College, Portland, Oregon, in the Frances Greenburg Armitage Competition in Pioneer History of the Oregon Country. In 1949 only one award was made, and that in the undergraduate division. The prize-winning essay by Homer L. Owen, entitled "Nesmith: Pioneer Judge, Legislator, Farmer, Soldier, Senator and Congressman," is an excellent piece of work, well written, well documented, and revealing a wide basis of research. It is a biographical appraisal of the career of James W. Nesmith, who may be considered as fairly typical of the public men of territorial and early statehood days in Oregon. The highlight of his career was his election to the United States Senate in 1860, and an adequate survey of his career up to that point is provided. The essay, however, is particularly a study of that election which was significant in view of the strongly entrenched position the Democratic Party had achieved in territorial days and the impact of the approaching civil war on that party. Nesmith was a member of the "Salem Clique" and originally a friend of Joseph Lane, Oregon's delegate to Congress, whose popularity with the clique gradually waned and in 1859 ended in a complete break. Nesmith's growing hostility to Lane and political advancement progressed simultaneously. The split in the Democratic Party in the 1860 election gave Nesmith his opportunity. Secessionist sympathy

was strong in Oregon—Lane was national vice-presidential candidate with Breckenridge, and his faction was in control—but Nesmith allied himself with the Douglas Democrats, and his election was made possible only by the support of the Republicans. His career as a Senator and still later as a representative in Washington are outlined, and an attempt made to explain some of his contradictory attitudes on the leading questions of the day.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Maritime History of Russia, 1848–1948. By Mairin Mitchell. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1949. Pp. xvi, 544. Maps & ills. 31s. 6d.

Over half a century ago F. T. Jane wrote that "every Russian feels himself a member of the empire that will be the world empire of the future. And that empire will be a great sea empire." "At some future date," he continued, "that great struggle between the British Empire and the Russian, between the Anglo-Saxon and the Slav, that so many prophesy, may come off." Essentially this is the struggle that faces us to-day. The fact that Great Britain has been replaced by the United States as the bulwark of the Anglo-Saxon race does not affect the potential validity of Jane's forecast. At present we are witnessing strife between two great powers, both imbued with a sense of historic destiny in which the question of world power is involved. In this struggle the question of maritime power is paramount. The United States is admirably situated, but only since the end of the recent war has Russia been able to see the fulfilment of her historic urge to reach the open sea. This drive to the sea has been one of the basic trends in Russian history and one of the cardinal points in her foreign policy.

Mairin Mitchell has attempted to portray in a single volume the evolution of Russian maritime history, partly to explain the contemporary situation. She has done more, for in combining the geo-political theories of Sir Halford MacKinder with this historical analysis of Russian policy, she has gravely outlined the potential strength and territorial aims of Soviet Russia.

The several chapters relating to the Pacific Northwest should prove extremely interesting and enlightening to students of Pacific Coast history. The story of Russian expansion across the Pacific has not been told in a vacuum; that is one of the excellent features of the book. On the contrary, there has been an almost conscious attempt to set the part played by Russian adventurers into the general framework of Northwest history, without bias and in the proper perspective. These chapters are fresh and stimulating. No punches are pulled nor contentious points side-stepped. Her analysis of some events, such as the purchase of Alaska, are often at variance with the orthodox interpretation, yet they carry sufficient weight to demand consideration.

The author's knowledge of the international background of Pacific Coast history is very complete. She explains with the utmost clarity how a Russian-Spanish crisis was rapidly approaching in 1789 when, by chance, the Nootka controversy arose. The part played by Shelikov, the "Russian Columbus,"

Cherikov, and Baranov are admirably outlined. Perez' second voyage, she states quite emphatically, was in large part motivated by the desire on the part of the Spaniards to ascertain to what extent the threat of Russian encroachment from the north was a reality.

The volume is well illustrated and contains many good period maps. In some places the author has marred her work by assuming too much knowledge on the part of her readers. Frequently hazy references result in vagueness and confusion. The author has included a large, useful multi-language bibliography. All in all, the book is well worth reading, but it is rather difficult to read. Nevertheless, it should be on the "must list" for serious students of Northwest history, as well as for those who desire the explanatory historical background to world currents in the Far East and a key to future Russian policy in Europe and Asia.

JOHN T. SAYWELL.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Milestones on the Mighty Fraser. By C. P. Lyons. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada), Ltd., 1950. Pp. xxxvi, 157. Maps & ills. $3.50.

The need for attractive yet factually accurate information about British Columbia for the thousands of tourists that annually visit the Province has long been recognized. *Milestone on the Mighty Fraser* will go a long way in meeting this need in so far as the route from Vancouver eastward through the Fraser Canyon to Lytton and thence along the Thompson River to Kamloops is concerned. Unfortunately, if the tourist group is the one to whom the book is directed, it is likely that it has been priced out of its class.

This is certainly no fault of the author, nor does it in any way detract from the merits of the book. C. P. Lyons is associated with the Parks Division of the British Columbia Forest Service. He is no arm-chair traveller, for his work has brought him into intimate contact with many parts of the Province, and, in consequence, he writes with a personal knowledge of the region he is describing. The book is not designed to attract tourists to the Province but "to interpret to them some of the sights seen in this unrivalled outdoor museum" through which they may be passing. It was, moreover, written also in the hope, as the author freely admits, of arousing "an appreciation in residents of how much British Columbia can offer in romantic history and natural wonders, when subjected to something more than casual observation." It is an ambitious undertaking, and it could succeed, for all the pertinent information has been assembled.

As the title suggests, this book is a mile-by-mile descriptive guide to the route traversed. The various bits of significant information are given when the proper occasion demands. There are no separate divisions on history, geology, natural history, or the like. Yet all of these aspects are touched upon. This is an historic old route, and its traditions and lore are

explained, and there is sufficient detail concerning flora and fauna, geology and geography to satisfy the varying interests of potential readers without either boring them or swamping them with technical jargon. It is perhaps regrettable that a little more attention was not given to the derivation of place-names, which seems to be always a matter of curiosity. The book is profusely illustrated with line drawings and photographic reproductions as well as maps. It is relatively free from factual inaccuracies, although some do occur. Surely Mr. Lyons meant that Forest Lawn and not Ocean View Burial Park can be glimpsed from the Grandview Highway (p. 4), and the great Canadian Pacific Railway builder was *Onderdonk*, not *Onderunk* as stated on pages 44 and 45. One would be interested in knowing who were the settlers on the site of New Westminster as early as 1850 (p. 5), and the credit for the establishment of the first flour-mill in British Columbia should go to S. L. C. Brown, for his mill was established at Dog Creek in 1861, rather than to William Fortune at Tranquille as stated on page 155.

But these are relatively insignificant errors. Admittedly the book does not make easy continuous reading, but it was not designed to be read in that fashion. It does provide the answers to many of the questions that naturally come to mind as one would travel through a scenically beautiful and historically interesting part of this Province. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lyons will find encouragement in the reception given to this book to produce similar guides for the many other tourist routes in British Columbia.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

VICTORIA, B.C.
Printed by DON MCDIARMID, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty
1951

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