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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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CONTENTS

LABOUR AND SOCIALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1903*

Human organization pre-dates recorded history; indeed, it may be said that organization for economic, social, or political ends appears to be one of the characteristic, if not innate, features of human behaviour. Organization for specific economic ends, however, such as the amelioration of industrial abuses, is a product of the modern economic system and has risen and acquired prominence only within the last two centuries. In short, the labour movement, so-called, is a product of that rather popular phenomenon to which so much has been attributed—the Industrial Revolution. It was motivated, if not necessitated, by the " concentration of labor in urban centers and the changing economic position of the worker."[1]

The quarter-century following the Napoleonic Wars witnessed increased and often militant activity in both Great Britain and the United States—activity that was clearly reflected in the early appearance of craft unions in Upper and Lower Canada. In England intensive organization occurred among skilled tradesmen, while simultaneously Robert Owen and others sought to unite labour on a broader national front. Roughly the same pattern was followed in the United States, although more emphasis was given to town and city guilds. In retrospect, however, this early activity appears to have been relatively unimportant; it was ill-nourished and short-lived, for neither labour nor capitalism was sufficiently advanced to stimulate and sustain a strong labour movement. On the contrary, it was the period following the mid-century conflicts that witnessed the emergence of modern trade-unionism. This movement cannot be discussed here; perhaps it is sufficient to state simply that the foundations of the national and international labour organizations that exert such a weighty influence to-day were laid in this era.

In many ways the federation of the British North American colonies was a result of the economic changes that transformed international

* This essay won the Alan Boag Scholarship at the University of British Columbia in 1951. The scholarship is awarded on the recommendation of the Heads of the Departments of Economics and History and the Director of International Studies for the best essay or report on some aspect of socialism.

(1) Harold Faulkner and Mark Starr, *Labor in America,* New York, 1944, p. 39.

society during the latter half of the nineteenth century, for historical scholarship has revealed that the creation of the Canadian nation arose in part from the failure of the individual colonies to solve the problems posed by the new age of industrialism. During the three decades following Confederation the young dominion took on much of its present complexion and arrangements: the population increased by over one million; Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy had as its declared object the economic integration of a diversified nation; behind the protective shield of the National Policy, "Maritimers" struggled, with mixed success, to substitute modern industry for their archaic wood, wind, and water economy; subsidized by a substantial tariff, manufacturing developed in Eastern Canada; and the Canadian Northwest, opened at last to direct communication with the world market, steadily increased in population and productivity.

In July, 1871, after four years of indecision, the Crown Colony of British Columbia chose federation with Canada in preference to annexation to the United States or the maintenance of the *status quo*. To-day the moment and difficulty of that choice may escape us, for it appears only natural and proper that this Province should be a part of the Canadian nation. Yet for some years it appeared possible—to some, inevitable—that the Pacific slope would become American. In choosing as they did, the colonists cut the tried and proven ties, both economic and social, that had linked them to the United States in favour of an unknown quantity. For many years the wisdom of their action remained in question, as federation did not become a reality until new bonds of steel were united at Craigellachie in 1885. This economic union inaugurated a phenomenal process of development in British Columbia which reached its peak during the buoyant prosperity of the "age of Laurier": fishing, mining, and lumbering underwent vigorous expansion; population increased by 500 per cent before the turn of the century; almost overnight hitherto unknown mineral claims mushroomed to prominence as prosperous urban centres; and, as a result, the political, economic, and social structure and long-standing balances became sadly disarranged.

The history of British Columbia is varied and interesting, full of charm and local colour; but in it are visible the same forces that characterized the history of Eastern Canada—the fur, mining, and settlement frontier, the struggle for representative and responsible government, and the often contrary pulls and conditioning influences of empire and repub-

lic. Yet by 1900 the main lines of this development had been determined and the necessary choices made. Thus, within a narrow and definitive span of fifty years, the student of history has spread before him a graphic and vivid picture of human behaviour. Limited in time and space, our observations can be piercing and our facts verifiable, although our analysis may never permit generalization or profundity. Nevertheless, the value of this two-dimensional limitation outweighs its defects and in so doing justifies this regional study.

Until 1858 British settlement on the Pacific Coast was in the main confined to Vancouver Island and peopled by British immigrants. The discovery of gold in that year occasioned a sudden transformation. Thousands of Americans deserted the waning riches of the Sacramento Valley to seek their fortunes on the lucrative sand-bars of the Fraser River. The greater proportion of this alien population retreated before the onslaught of the depression six years later, but only to return again near the turn of the century, when British Columbia once more began to reap the bounties of nature. Although the American invasion was far more spectacular, it was neither as large nor as constant as the immigration of British stock. The following figures give some indication of the extent of immigration into the Province between 1881 and 1901:—

Year	Total Population	British-born	American-born
1881	49,459	5,783	2,295
1891	98,173	20,163	6,567
1901	178,657	30,630	17,164[2]

These facts are of great importance in such a study as this, for with him the immigrant brought the influence of his social, economic, and political environment. Toward the end of the century the penetration of the Americans can be used in part to explain the outburst of radicalism. Thirty-five years earlier the British influence can be seen in the origin of the labour movement. L. G. Reynolds has stressed the attachment of the British immigrant to his union and has quoted one as having said:—

(2) The statistics of British-born are quoted in L. G. Reynolds, *The British immigrant—his social and economic adjustment in Canada*, Toronto, 1935, p. 298; those for American-born are to be found in R. H. Coats and M. C. Maclean, *The American-born in Canada*, Toronto, 1943, p. 56.

Unionism is bred right into your blood over there. I was born into it myself; I've been a member for thirty-five years. I can't conceive of any circumstances in which I would leave the union; if I became a multi-millionaire tomorrow, I'd still stay in.[3]

Upon his arrival in Canada the immigrant would immediately join the union of his calling, although the adjustment involved was often very difficult; or, if such an organization was not present, he would exert his energies toward its creation, for the absence of a union left "him with a temporary sense of loss, a feeling of a gap in his occupational environment."[4]

It was the British influence that resulted in the organization of labour almost simultaneously with the beginning of industrial activity in the colony. A strike in the Nanaimo coal mines in 1861, although short-lived and futile, reveals the existence of organization at this early date.[5] Two years later the first craft union appeared, apparently in imitation of a British union of the same name.[6] From 1864 to 1871 the recurrent depressions were accompanied by constant agitation among the coal-miners on Vancouver Island for steadier work, healthier working conditions, and higher wages. Such organizations as did exist were necessarily small, fragmentary and local in scope. The economic foundations upon which the larger industrial union was to be erected had yet to arrive.

The seventies represent a decade of steady growth—a period in which the bases for a strong and concerted trade-union movement were laid. British Columbia federated with Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway slowly and intermittently pushed across the continent, and the Province recovered, for a short while only, from the depression. It was not until the 1880's, however, that an accumulation of factors resulted in large-scale labour organization. New elements appeared—elements that breed and nourish discontent, such as the concentration of capital, the large-scale and often ruthless exploitation of labour, recession, and unemployment. In addition, increasing competition from Oriental labour, although often more imaginary than real, aggravated the working-class, and labour leaders advised organization in what was considered to be

(3) L. G. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 173.

(5) Victoria *British Colonist*, October 4 and 10, 1861.

(6) This union, the "Journeymen and Shipwrights Association of Victoria and Vancouver Island," was formed "to protect their rights, regulate the number of hours to work, and the amount of wages they shall accept." *Ibid.*, February 17, 1863.

righteous self-defence.[7] Anti-Oriental agitation was to remain a prominent feature of the labour movement for fifty years; in fact, it has not entirely disappeared to-day. Thus labour was confronted with new problems which demanded new or vastly improved types of organization.

Three distinct, yet interrelated, trends can be seen as labour attempted to meet the new challenges. The first was simply an increased tendency to establish craft unions. By 1890 few were the occupations that had not organized on this level. These unions agitated for improved conditions, but met with little success because of the narrowness of their application.

The second outstanding feature of the period, the appearance of the Order of the Knights of Labour, tended to give unity and direction to what had hitherto been a rather vague and disorganized movement. The first local of the Knights was established in Victoria in 1884,[8] and branches rapidly spread throughout the Province. The order had originated as a secret society of craftsmen in Philadelphia immediately after the Civil War, and while other non-secret organizations of a similar type were weakened by public and official opposition, the Knights continued to grow. The period between 1878, when the order came into the open, and 1886, when it reached its peak, represents nearly a decade of steady expansion, but by 1890 its strength had been dissipated by a series of futile and endless struggles. In its origin and during the decade of success the Knights emphasized a form of fraternal co-operation and devoted much of their time to the discussion of social and economic problems, although on occasion they did become extremely vocal. The cause of the order's downfall can be partly explained by the fact that after several disastrous strikes in 1886 other unions were becoming increasingly conservative, whereas the Knights were forsaking their early moderation in favour of a more aggressive and radical policy.

(7) The actual adverse effect of the Oriental is somewhat difficult to ascertain. After having made an intensive examination of the relevant material, one is inclined to believe that labourites exaggerated the evils resulting from their presence. The Orientals became the scapegoat, however, and the blame for every malady was at one time or another placed upon them. The first legislation attempting to limit immigration was introduced into the Legislative Assembly in 1872 but failed to pass. The question then became an annual issue, both in Victoria and, after 1878, in Ottawa. British Columbia legislation was continually disallowed by the Federal Government, and it was not until 1885, following the report of a Royal Commission, that the Dominion Government instituted restrictive legislation. Cf. Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, Toronto, 1941, *passim*.

(8) Victoria *Colonist*, March 4, April 19, and December 19, 1884.

There was a time-lag of many years both in the rise and decline of the order in British Columbia. The Knights immediately introduced a programme of benevolent fraternalism and social education in the Province. By 1885 the organization was of sufficient strength and wealth to publish a very respectable journal, the *Industrial News*, which stated in the first issue:—

> . . . it will be published in the interests of the laboring classes, that is, the wage earners of the community for their social, moral and intellectual betterment. It will advocate a reduction of the hours of labor, that the toiling masses may have an opportunity to improve their minds, to beautify their homes, and to take that place in society which, from their numbers and importance, they are entitled.[9]

Although the existence of the Knights was rather short, its importance should not be underestimated; the locals fought with all the fervour of crusaders; the ideas of organization, unity, and solidarity among the working-class were greatly enhanced; and, above all, a dynamic urge was given to unionism that remained long after the Knights had vanished.

Two other innovations of the 1880's merit attention, although their influence was not great until the following decade. The first was the affiliation of many unions with the American Federation of Labour, formed in 1886 by Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire. Both in organization and in policy the American Federation of Labour differed radically from the Knights: it was organized as a loose confederation of national and local unions, whereas the latter body was one big union with subordinate assemblies; and it rejected at the outset the radical philosophy possessed by the Knights in its waning years, preferring a policy of collective bargaining to either direct or political action. Prior to 1890 the printers, shipwrights, and ironmoulders, only to mention a few, became affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. The second was the establishment of city labour councils and affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.[10] For many years, however, workmen on the Pacific Coast were not at all enthusiastic about the Congress, as both the personnel and the philosophy were furnished by Eastern Canada.[11]

During the long recession from 1887 to 1896 the labour movement slumbered and little organization took place. Nevertheless, two factors

(9) Victoria *Industrial News*, December 26, 1885.

(10) The first was established in Vancouver in 1889, and within a year Victoria and New Westminster had followed suit.

(11) However, British Columbia did make a noteworthy contribution in the person of Ralph Smith, who served as president from 1898 to 1902.

served to unify and solidify the ranks of labour. Oriental immigration, which has been discussed above, was the first cohesive element. The universal demand for the nine-hour day was the second. The "nine-hour movement," which occurred in Eastern Canada during the seventies, received little attention by the press in British Columbia, and its progress is thus difficult to follow. In fact all the Victoria *Colonist* had to report was: "Victoria Trades Unions commemorated the first anniversary of the nine-hour day of labor, yesterday, in the hope of next year celebrating the accomplishment of eight hours."[12] This hope failed of fulfilment, however, although the eight-hour movement received more publicity and public sympathy than did its predecessor. Late in 1890 a broad organization of all unions known as the British Columbia Federated Labour Congress was established to fight in concert for the eight-hour day. The movement transcended the realms of labour, and even the sanctity of the church offered no escape from the hue and cry. In fact, it was among the clergy that the matter was most strongly and consistently pressed. Bishop John Nicholas Lemmens of the Roman Catholic diocese of British Columbia and Alaska spoke with emotion to his congregation.

> Let me in conclusion exhort you to cultivate the spirit of work, to be closely united among yourselves, and to be sincerely attached to your religious duties. Labor, Union, Religion—this should be the motto of every working man. Labor will give you a proud independence, union will be your strength, and religion will be your consolation, comfort and dignity.[13]

Still another clergyman exclaimed: "Friends, let us remember that this is Christ's religion to undo heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free and that we break every yoke."[14]

By 1890 the relations of labour and management were rapidly approaching a crisis, as both parties became aware of the power of the well-organized trade-union. A strike among the Nanaimo coal-miners in 1877 was settled only when the Government dispatched a company of militia and several armed vessels to restore order.[15] Strikes were

(12) Victoria *Colonist*, May 2, 1890.

(13) *Ibid.*, July 22, 1890.

(14) *Ibid.*, July 29, 1890. The speaker was Rev. P. McF. Maclean, pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Victoria.

(15) On this incident *see* "Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly for copies of all correspondence, Orders in Council, and other documents whatsoever, in relation to the Miners' strike at Nanaimo, and to the dispatch of a body of armed volunteers, or militia, to the District of Nanaimo, in the spring of 1877," British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1878*, Victoria, 1878, pp. 525–535, and E.O.S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the earliest times to the present*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, p. 388.

numerous in the mid-eighties—the carpenters in 1884 for the nine-hour day, the employees on the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 for better conditions and higher wages, and so it went in every trade and every district. The nature of the strikes slowly changed. Union demands were agreed upon, placed before the operators by a union committee, and negotiated; strike funds were regularly collected, and if a strike became necessary, it was carried out with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency.

The increasing seriousness of the situation was evidenced by a changed attitude on the part of the Provincial Government. Hitherto, the Government had been apathetic unless it became necessary to assist the management to suppress strikes. By 1893, however, Victoria officialdom concluded that some legislative remedy was necessary, and early in the session introduced a Labour Disputes Bill.[16] This was composed of three parts: the first advocated the establishment of a Bureau of Labour Statistics, whose purpose would be the collection and dissemination of data concerning labour; the second provided for the formation of a Bureau of Conciliation; and the third recommended the organization of a Board of Arbitration, which would act if conciliation failed and if both parties agreed to submit the dispute to it.[17] Members of the Cabinet became quite enthusiastic over their own legislation, and in introducing the measure the Provincial Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel James Baker, who was also the sitting member for East Kootenay, somewhat hypocritically exclaimed:—

> In fact, sir, we have only to lift that veil of selfishness and luxury, which partially obscures the moral vision of plutocracy, and then to look out with a clear gaze upon the battle field of capital and labor; and ah! what a melancholy spectacle meets our view! We see there the dead and the dying of starvation, we hear the agonized cries of the wounded in heart, the wounded in mind and the wounded in spirit, praying to be released from a world which offers so little hope of rest and comfort to their weary souls, and beyond all these we see, yonder in the distance, some half starved ranks of labor struggling in the fight, in the hope that, perchance, they may win for themselves, what? The bare necessities of life! Shall we not stretch forth the right hand of fellowship to such as these? With God's help, I will endeavour to do so by moving sir, that this bill be read a second time, now.[18]

(16) British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly . . . 1893*, Victoria, 1894, p. 8.

(17) This Statute was entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of a Bureau of Labour Statistics, and also of Councils of Conciliation and of Arbitration for the settlement of Industrial Disputes," and forms chapter 21 of the *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1893*, Victoria, 1894, pp. 97–108.

(18) Quoted in Victoria *Colonist*, February 8, 1893.

Sustained applause followed this speech and, after the opposition members had politely asked whether an election was forthcoming, the Bill was rapidly passed.

Labour received the measure with mixed suspicion and criticism. In view of the Government's attitude in the past, many doubted its sincerity, while others criticized the failure of the Cabinet to consult organized labour. A Bureau of Labour Statistics was set up almost immediately, but many unions were reluctant to co-operate,[19] largely because no labour men were represented on the Bureau. In an attempt to secure a settlement, the Cabinet called a meeting late in 1893. The differences were apparently irreconcilable, and the legislation soon descended into the limbo which yawns for the unfit and defective.[20]

The year 1896, a date momentous in Canadian history, may be said to have marked the end of the first phase of the labour movement in British Columbia. For several decades the movement had followed a fluctuating but progressive process of evolution; strikes had been few in number and local in effect; political activity had been restricted and largely unsuccessful; and the conservative tradition of British unionism had been studiously imitated. In the decade following 1896, however, a variety of factors transformed the labour picture: American influence became predominant, socialism appeared, and direct action and political activity increased in tempo. As the shadows of the long recession lifted, the " summons of British Columbia became insistent " and American capital and labour flooded the Province.[21] These labourers brought with them their unions and their political philosophies, which, with few exceptions, were socialistic.

Socialism found virgin, yet fertile, ground in British Columbia. Conditions were extremely favourable to its birth and nourishment.

(19) The correspondence between the Government and the trade-unions in British Columbia is printed in a " Return to an Order of the House for a Return showing: 1. The names and addresses of all persons to whom the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Labour Statistics applied for such statistics, the replies and information thus obtained: 2. A detailed statement of the expenditure incurred in connection with the working of the ' Bureau of Labour Statistics and Industrial Disputes Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1893,' " in British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1894*, Victoria, 1894, Part I, pp. 1005–1012.

(20) *See* Victoria *Colonist*, November 29, 1893; Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, December 6, 1893.

(21) M. L. Hansen and J. B. Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*, Toronto, 1940, p. 236.

Trade-unions were strong and united. Workers had grown impatient with the failure of their attempts to secure remedies by both direct and political action. Above all, the sudden expansion of capitalistic enterprise and the apathy of the Government necessitated strong instruments of coercion if reforms were to be secured and maintained.

Socialism appeared first in 1895, when Kootenay miners affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners. The Western Federation of Miners, formed in Montana in 1893, was based on a militant socialistic philosophy and soon became impatient with the pacific "wages and hour" unionism of the American Federation of Labour. In 1902 Eugene Debs achieved control, and almost immediately the American Federation of Labour swung toward revolutionary action via the political method. In the same year the Western Labour Union, an auxiliary body created by the Western Federation of Miners, became the American Labour Union and soon exceeded the Western Federation of Miners in its radical outlook. The American Labour Union at once adopted the principles of the Socialist Party of America and sent agents into British Columbia—an action which resulted in a serious outburst of strikes and brought in its wake dissension in the ranks of labour. In many instances this radical unionism was opposed by the organization then in existence and did not achieve either permanent or temporary success. Frequently, however, both the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labour Union penetrated an unorganized area or overcame existing bodies and gained an immediate, although short-lived, ascendancy.[22]

With but one exception, the many strikes that took place in the first three years of the twentieth century were directly related to the presence of these American associations.[23] The majority of the strikes and walk-outs occurred among the miners where the Western Federation of Miners was secure in control. Several examples may be cited. In 1901 over one thousand men, organized as a local of the Federation at Rossland, struck for union recognition and, although strike-breakers were imported, remained off work for six months. The Western Federation of Miners moved into the Fernie area when it opened in 1902 and struck several

(22) By 1899 there was a sufficient number of W.F.M. locals to permit the formation of a district union. By 1901 there were eighteen branches. In 1902 another district was established among the coal-miners on Vancouver Island. Cf. H. A. Logan, *Trade unions in Canada—their development and functioning*, Toronto, 1948, p. 159.

(23) The exception was the strike among the Fraser River fishermen in the seasons of 1900 and 1901.

months later for union recognition. Within a month an agreement had been arranged by a committee of the British Columbia Mining Association: the union was recognized by the operators, wages were increased, and better working conditions were promised.[24] In 1903 a series of strikes began in the Vancouver Island collieries, also organized by the Western Federation of Miners. Ladysmith miners struck for recognition, Nanaimo miners refused to accept a wage reduction, the Cumberland mines closed as a result of a strike, and the Wellington local demanded union recognition. With the exception of Nanaimo, where a settlement was soon reached, the strikes were in vain; the operators imported Oriental and white strike-breakers and dismissed most of the men. As a consequence, the Western Federation of Miners suffered a decline and henceforth restricted its activities to metalliferous workers, leaving the collieries to the United Mine Workers of America, a body affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.[25]

Undoubtedly the most serious strike was that of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees in February, 1903. The Brotherhood had been formed in Oregon in 1902 and, like the Western Federation of Miners, was affiliated with the American Labour Union. For a short time the Brotherhood confined its activities to clerks, baggagemen, and other personnel previously unorganized, but soon it attempted to expand and to establish a radical unionism among all railway employees. The strike in 1903 arose ostensibly from the unfair dismissal of several employees, although the evidence is strong to support the thesis that union recognition was the fundamental reason. Negotiations with the railway officials proved to be futile, and within a week the entire transportation system was at a standstill as the longshoremen, teamsters, messengers, and other craft unions struck in sympathy. Many locals of the Western Federation of Miners, not already on strike, joined in the general protest, and for several weeks the industrial economy of the Province was immobile.

The end was almost inevitable, for the forces arrayed against the Brotherhood were too strong. The wealth of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the power and influence of the Dunsmuir interests, the open hostility

(24) "Report of the Executive Committee, Province of British Columbia," *Report of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada*, Ottawa, 1903, pp. 29–32.

(25) Canada, Department of Labour, *Report on Strikes and Lockouts in Canada, 1901–1912*, Ottawa, 1913, p. 44.

of the Federal and Provincial Governments, and the definite antagonism of many powerful non-socialistic unions and federations created an overpowering opposition. Nevertheless, the strike endured for several months and ended only after the leading agitator had been mysteriously shot, other figures jailed, and an anti-union, anti-socialistic *Report* had been presented to the Dominion Government by a Royal Commission.[26]

The Commission had been established to investigate the disastrous series of strikes in British Columbia. The Honourable Gordon Hunter, Chief Justice of British Columbia, was its head. Rev. Elliot S. Rowe, a Christian socialist who appeared to undergo a change of principle when offered the lucrative seat, completed the two-man board. The late W. L. Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour, served as secretary.

The *Report* revealed that the Commissioners did not understand the true significance nor magnitude of the working-class movement nor the nature of socialism. Lengthy testimonials showed that the penetration of socialism into the trade-unions had resulted in sharp divisions within the ranks of labour—divisions intensified by the demands of the socialists for not only direct, but also for political, action.[27] The manner in which the investigations were carried out led one prominent socialist to comment that it "was not an investigation but that the W.F. of M. and kindred international organizations were on trial,"[28] and after reading the *Report* one is inclined to agree. The Commissioners obviously supported the contentions of the managers and lectured the union leaders for imperilling the sovereignty of Canada. The general tone of the *Report* can, perhaps, best be seen in the conclusions reached by the Commissioners. They emphatically condemned the sympathetic strike and the strike for union recognition, as well as the boycott and picketing; they recommended that strikes resulting from the employment of non-union labour should be made punishable by law; they denounced all international unions and attacked unions with leftist philosophies and a programme of political action, for such bodies plotted the overthrow of the state; and, finally, they advocated the legal prohibition of socialism

(26) Canada, Parliament, *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia issued by the Department of Labour*, Ottawa, 1903. The *Minutes of Evidence* to accompany this *Report* was printed by the Department of Labour the following year.

(27) *Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia*, Ottawa, 1904, pp. 326 ff., 587 ff., 645–670.

(28) H. A. Logan, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

and all socialistic literature.[29] At one point the Commissioners remarked:—

. . . it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the legitimate desire of a body of workingmen to establish a proper union may be used as a means to forward illegal and unworthy ends by plausible leaders who are in the pay of foreign capitalists, and that a union may be persuaded into a strike by unprincipled men for no other purpose than to cripple or destroy Canadian industry for the benefit of its rivals.[30]

All in all, the complexity of the situation was much too much for the Commission. In a mood of deep pessimism the members concluded:—

. . . we feel quite free to admit that, while much good can be accomplished by wise legislation, the labour problem, so-called, is incapable of final solution, and that it will be with us as long as human nature remains what it is, and present civilization endures.[31]

Nevertheless, the general failures of 1903 marked the beginning of the end for the more radical unions in British Columbia. A reaction set in against the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labour Union, and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and all showed a sudden decline. In its report to the Trades and Labour Congress in 1903 the British Columbia executive declared that it believed that the majority of the men favoured the old-line unions but that they had " temporarily stepped aside and allowed the political socialists to run their course."[32] Although radicalism was for the time discredited, a legacy remained, which was to have its effect in a later day, as is pointed out by H. A. Logan:—

The story of their turbulent and pretentious stand in British Columbia is interesting as being the first of the radical movement finding a field of operations in the West and threatening the complacency of the main movement of Canadian unionism. While the two organizations formally withdrew, doubtless the impression left upon the labour philosophy of the province had a bearing upon subsequent radical movements that were to find favour in this section of Canada.[33]

Meanwhile, the failure of direct action was in some ways compensated for by the success of political action.

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(29) *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia,* Ottawa, 1903, *passim.*

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

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 77.

(32) *Report of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada,* Ottawa, 1903, p. 32.

(33) H. A. Logan, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

At first socialism found its chief strength among the radical unions discussed above. There had been for many years, however, a tradition of political action on the part of labour, and socialism served only to give stimulus, direction, and organization to this activity.[34] Early in 1898 the Socialist Labour Party was established by Arthur Spencer, a member of the Canadian Socialist Party, who had recently arrived in British Columbia. Both the party and its economic arm, the Socialist Trades and Labour Alliance, were ineffectual and, to quote William Bennett, the labour historian, it " never amounted to anything."[35] A year later, possibly in reaction to the Socialist Labour Party, more moderate labour elements formed the Labour Party, which advocated the eight-hour day, compulsory arbitration, public ownership of basic industries, the single tax, and Asiatic exclusion.[36]

Two incidents point to the increasing influence of the labour movement in the political sphere shortly before the nineteenth century had run its course. In 1898 Nanaimo sent Ralph Smith to the Legislative Assembly on an Independent Labour ticket.[37] During the session of 1899 the administration of Charles Semlin, under the guiding hand of Joseph Martin, passed two measures designed to placate labour. The first measure, later declared *ultra vires* by the Federal Government, prohibited Orientals from placer-mining. The second sought to limit under-

(34) As early as June 28, 1882, the Victoria *Colonist* reported that seventy-five working-men in Victoria met to select candidates for the forthcoming Dominion and Provincial elections. Four years later an attempt was made by labour to put candidates in the field in Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster. One labour leader stated: " . . . the time has come when the toiling masses should have representatives on the floor of the house of assembly " [*Ibid.*, May 28, 1886]. Labour candidates actually ran in Victoria and Nanaimo under the banner of the Workingmen's Party but met with little success. Cf. Victoria *Industrial News,* June 5, July 3 and 10, 1886.

(35) William Bennett, *Builders of British Columbia,* Vancouver, 1937, p. 135. Bennett, a native of Greenock, Scotland, was a former member of the Glasgow Independent Labour Party. He came to Canada in 1905 and allied himself with the Socialist Party of Canada. Subsequently, he became one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada and, still later, of the Labour Progressive Party. He died in Vancouver, December 31, 1949. Vancouver *Sun,* December 31, 1949; Vancouver *Province,* January 3, 1950.

(36) William Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

(37) In this election Smith defeated W. W. Walkem by a handsome majority. Since 1895 Smith had been agent at Nanaimo for the Vancouver Island Coal Miners' Union and in September, 1898, was elected president of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress at its convention held in Winnipeg.

ground work in mines to eight hours a day.[38] Both Acts, although well meant, failed in their purpose.

By 1900 a temporary split in the Socialist Labour Party had been healed, and the United Socialist Labour Party was formed. In the spring of that year, delegates from throughout the Province attended a convention in Vancouver held to select candidates and agree upon a programme for the June election. The party recognized the importance of the trade-union as a " carrier of the gospel " and called upon all socialists " to join the unions of their respective trade or calling and assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement, to educate your fellow unionists on questions of socialism and the labor movement on economic and political lines."[39] Branches were established in every part of the Province. The *Lardeau Eagle,* owned and edited by R. P. Pettipiece and published at Ferguson, became the champion of the new party and soon was regarded as the semi-official socialist journal. In 1902 Pettipiece and George Wrigley, editor of the socialistic *Citizen and Country,* published in Toronto, amalgamated their journals and issued a new paper in Vancouver, the *Canadian Socialist.*[40]

H. A. Logan, in his comprehensive history of trade-unions in Canada, has commented:—

. . . the center of political actionists during the later years of the century shifted unmistakably to the newly organized West. British Columbia, in particular, dissatisfied with the failure of the congress to get results at Ottawa, was calling at one

(38) For the correspondence relating to these Acts *see* " Return to an Order of the House for copies of correspondence between the Government, or any member thereof, and the Dominion Government, or any member thereof; also, all correspondence between the Government of British Columbia and any person or persons, miners' or mine-owners' unions, relating to the enforcement of the provisions of section 4 of an Act intituled ' Inspection of Metalliferous Mines Amendment Act, 1899,' " British Columbia *Sessional Papers . . . 1900,* Victoria, 1900, pp. 463–483; and " Report in regard to a Petition addressed to the President of the United States by certain residents of Atlin, complaining of recent mining legislation of this Province, which Petition is referred to in the Report of the Minister of Justice on chapter 50 'An Act to amend the " Placer Mining Act," ' " *ibid.,* pp. 485–486.

(39) William Bennett, *op. cit.,* p. 137.

(40) Vancouver *Western Clarion,* January 12, 1907. The *Canadian Socialist* eventually became the *Western Socialist,* and in 1903 the Nanaimo *Clarion* was merged with it to become the *Western Clarion.* Publication was suspended at the end of 1903, but revived again in January, 1905, under its former name.

time for an independent labor party, at another for a "progressive party," to be composed of labor unionists and reformers.[41]

This was truer than even Logan realized. For example, there were only six votes in the negative from British Columbia when in 1900 the Trades and Labor Congress questioned the desirability of political action. Eastern Canada, on the other hand, and particularly Quebec, stoutly and successfully opposed any such measure.[42] Two years later the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council withdrew in disgust from the Congress.[43]

Although local historians have almost unanimously agreed that the issue of the 1900 Provincial election was the alleged unconstitutional action of the Lieutenant-Governor, Dr. Thomas R. McInnes, an intensive investigation has revealed that candidates appealed to their constituents on platforms more earthy and realistic.[44] Joseph Martin, in an attempt to secure a working-class mandate, embraced a policy which ordinarily should have assured his success. His efforts failed, however, for two reasons: first, Martin was not a popular man in labour circles as a result of the unfortunate consequences of the "Eight-hour Act"; and, second, labour itself organized for the election, thus causing a split vote which inevitably resulted in the return of a conservative faction led by James Dunsmuir, the coal and railway magnate.

The United Socialist Labour Party appealed to the electorate on a broad programme which included direct legislation, such as the referendum and the recall, and extensive government ownership. In Vancouver a mass meeting of moderates led to the formation of the Independent Labour Party and the formulation of a set of principles demanding a universal eight-hour day, a wide programme of government inspection, government ownership of all extractive industries, and the abolition of property qualifications for members of the Legislative Assembly.[45] The new parties were unsuccessful, for, in the absence of party lines, all candidates were able to appeal directly to labour without compromising their colleagues. Only in Nanaimo City was a labour candidate, Ralph

(41) H. A. Logan, *The history of trade-union organization in Canada,* Chicago, 1928, p. 59.

(42) *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada,* Toronto, 1900, p. 18.

(43) N. J. Ware, *Labor in Canadian-American Relations,* Toronto, 1937, p. xviii.

(44) J. T. Saywell, "The McInnes Incident in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIV (1950), pp. 141–166.

(45) Vancouver *Province,* April 28 and May 5, 1900.

Smith, victorious; although in Nanaimo South, John Radcliffe trailed James Dunsmuir by only twenty-four votes. In Vancouver both socialist and labour contenders polled a slight but significant proportion of the total vote. Later in the year, liberal and labour elements fused in order to send Ralph Smith to Ottawa, and the vacant Provincial seat was easily won by J. H. Hawthornthwaite, an ardent, aggressive socialist.

Nevertheless, the political power, kinetic and potential, of the working-class had been seen. Martin and Hawthornthwaite never passed up an opportunity to remind many of the members that they sat in the Assembly with a pledge, largely unfulfilled, to labour. These tactics were not without success: more attention was paid to the problems of Oriental immigration; Hawthornthwaite secured the passage of a Workmen's Compensation Act;[46] and Martin shepherded a Trade-union Bill through the Assembly.[47] Political groupings weakened in the face of

(46) "An Act respecting Compensation to Workmen for Accidental Injuries suffered in the course of their Employment," *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1902,* Victoria, 1902, pp. 313–322. It is significant that this Bill passed through the successive legislative stages with considerable debate, partially as a result of the delaying tactics of the Cabinet. The third reading was carried without division. British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly . . . , 1902,* Victoria, 1902, pp. 41, 59, 72, 75, 77, 91, 92, 111, 113, 116.

(47) "An Act to amend the law relating to Trade Unions," *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . 1902,* Victoria, 1902, pp. 285–286. This Act is of extreme importance in trade-union history, not only in British Columbia, but also in Canada and the British Empire. The Statute originated from circumstances similar to those that made necessary the passage of the Trades Disputes Act in Great Britain in 1906, but it will be noted that the Provincial Statute was passed four years earlier. From July to November, 1901, about one thousand miners at Rossland, organized as a local of the Western Federation of Miners, struck for higher wages and union recognition by the Le Roi Mining Company. In October the company sued the union for damages and asked for an injunction to restrain local unions from attempting to persuade others not to work for the company; the company was particularly annoyed when members of the union succeeded in getting imported strike-breakers to cease work. The Courts awarded $12,500 and costs to the company and a receivership was established [Le Roi Mining Co. *v.* Rossland Miner's Union, 1901]. Following this decision in British Columbia, protests were made regarding the law relating to trade-unions as they were later in Britain following the *Taff Vale* decision. Martin's legislation was a direct response to these protests and in general provided simply that no trade-union was to be liable in damages for any wrongful act in connection with a labour dispute unless such act had been authorized or concurred in by the members of the union or by its officers acting within their powers under the rules of the union. Cf. Canada, Department of Labour, *Trade Union Laws in Canada,* Ottawa, 1935, pp. 75–83; *Labour Gazette,* Ottawa, 1904, Vol. V, pp. 303–306, 433.

these measures, and it is significant that they were passed by the nearly unanimous support of the representatives of mining and industrial areas. Members of the Cabinet, on the other hand, unanimously opposed both measures.

Both labourites and socialists profited by the mistakes and weaknesses revealed in the 1900 election and set about to reorganize, solidify, and enlarge their respective political parties. The Socialist Party, through the pages of the *Western Socialist,* advertised an extensive and more elaborate programme of desired socialistic aims.[48] The Independent Labour Party also attempted to achieve new vigour and more members. It became increasingly apparent, however, that if the working-class was to be successful in securing control of the government, a solid and unified front must be established. Thus in 1902, at the Kamloops convention, an effort was made to gather the scattered groups of trade-unionists, labourites, socialists, and other reformers into one political organization. Sixty-three delegates representing over fifty industrial and political organizations assembled at Kamloops in April, 1902, at the invitation of the local of the Western Federation of Miners.[49]

Although there is an absence of contemporary records, it is apparent that an undercurrent of conflict permeated the entire convention; that is, conflict between the socialists who had been intrumental in calling the meeting and anti-socialistic labour elements. The election of officers brought the question immediately to the foreground, and only after a considerable amount of jockeying were the moderate elements able to

(48) Vancouver *Western Clarion,* January 12, 1907, states the platform as follows: Direct legislation; proportional representation; abolition of property qualifications for voters and candidates in municipal elections; abolition of cash deposits for candidates at Provincial elections; adult suffrage; a minimum wage law fixing wages at not less than $2 per day for adults; the reduction of the hours of labour in all trades to forty-four hours a week; all coal mines to be owned and operated by the Government in the interests of the people; a graduated land tax similar to that in existence in New Zealand; free medical attention to all needing such; employment of unemployed labour on useful productive work; scientific and practical management of fisheries, forests, and waterways in the interests of the Province; the extension of the powers of the municipalities; the education of children under 14 years of age to be free, secular, and compulsory, with text-books, meals, and clothing to be supplied to children out of public funds when necessary; municipalization and public control of the liquor traffic; abolition of the poll and personal property tax; and no more bonusing private individuals or corporations with land grants or cash subsidies.

(49) For a good report on this convention *see* J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1902,* Toronto, 1902, pp. 86 ff.

prevent complete socialist control. The outcome of the convention was the creation of a new party, the Provincial Progressive Party, neither the Labour nor Socialist Party being considered a broad enough title.

The platform of the Progressive Party was a conglomeration of planks, which reflected its heterogeneous origin and basis.[50] Two interesting resolutions were passed by the convention: one asserted that non-payment of wages should be made a criminal offence, and the other pledged the support of the party only to those candidates who gave it a signed and undated resignation of their seats.[51] Among the policies endorsed by the party were appeals to the labourer, the artisan, the small farmer, and the farm-labourer. If this attempt to secure order out of chaos was to prove successful, there seemed little that could stand and bar the way to the marble halls and oaken desks of the legislative buildings. The press, ever wary of backing the wrong horse, doubted the power and permanency of the Progressive Party; that is, with the exception of the Sandon *Paystreak,* which triumphantly declared that the party would soon " clean up the mess that is now being made at Victoria."[52] Early in May the executive issued a manifesto describing its policy as one of progressive reform, denouncing the existing political factions and incompetent policies, and in particular condemning the past practices of handing over wholesale the natural resources of the Province to corporations and speculators.

The existence of the Provincial Progressive Party was short. Internal dissensions and external pressures soon caused it to break wide apart. Undoubtedly the conflict between socialists and moderates, then disrupting many unions themselves, was the main reason. Socialists denounced

(50) The platform ran as follows: Gradual shifting of all taxes from the producers to the land; government ownership of railways and communication systems; government establishment and operation of smelters and refineries; woman suffrage and abolition of all property qualifications; no taxation of farms, improvements, or stock; land to be held by actual settlers; 10 per cent of all public lands to be set aside for educational purposes; education to be free and secular and compulsory up to 16 years of age; compulsory arbitration of labour disputes; prohibition of Asiatic immigration; pulp-land and forest leases to contain a reforestation provision; reservation of all known coal areas for the future establishment of state-owned mines; municipal control of the liquor traffic; right to a referendum in all cases of valuable subsidies or franchises; free transportation for Judges and members of the Legislature; election-day to be a public holiday with four hours free from service for each employee.

(51) J. C. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

(52) Sandon *Paystreak*, April 19, 1902.

the platform as being too mild; others attacked it for being too radical. The attempt to make it palatable to all failed ignominiously. One by one, socialist groups left the Progressive Party, and early in 1903 these bodies coalesced to reorganize the old Socialist Party. " Labour produces all wealth and to labour it should justly belong " ran its manifesto and " in order to free the workingman from his slavery to the capitalist the wage system must be abolished and to this and other ends labour must take the reins of government away from capital."[53] An election platform was adopted demanding the transformation of all capitalist property into " the collective property of the workingman," a thorough and democratic organization and management of industry by the workers, the gradual establishment of production for use and not for profit, and the conduct of public affairs in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working-class alone.[54] Other groups continued to support the Progressive Party but remained powerless in the face of increasing disintegration.

This disintegration resulted not only from the withdrawal of the socialists, but also from the introduction of party lines into the Province at this time. For the first time in the history of British Columbia, true political parties, organized and disciplined, based on a definite philosophy and spiritual unity, became a feature of political life. As a result, many moderates in the Progressive Party were drawn into the vortex of Liberalism, while simultaneously the Socialist Party was attracting the radicals.

The year 1903 marks the end of an era and the beginning of another in British Columbia. Socialism reached a peak in that year among the trade-unions. So, too, did 1903 mark the zenith of the political activity of the Socialist Party. The Socialists chose nine constituencies in which to run, and after the smoke and din of battle had subsided, they emerged victorious in only two of them: J. H. Hawthornthwaite and Parker Williams were successful in Nanaimo and Newcastle respectively. Slocan elected an independent socialist running under a Liberal banner, William Davidson. Elsewhere throughout the Interior the Socialists polled an appreciable proportion of the vote and quite clearly proved themselves to be the second strongest group in the mining regions of the Interior.[55]

(53) J. C. Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1903,* Toronto, 1903, p. 219.

(54) *Loc. cit.*

(55) Election results can readily be found in A. J. Magurn (*ed.*), *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1905,* pp. 440–442. In Greenwood the Socialist candidate

In Vancouver, Labour and Socialist candidates together polled more votes than did the Liberal ticket, although both parties were far off the pace set by the triumphant Conservatives.

Nevertheless, despite this rather mediocre showing, the movement was not without significance. Richard McBride assumed office with but a precarious hold on the reins of government, and a somewhat anomalous situation arose when McBride found it necessary to court a few Socialists in the Legislative Assembly. Critics of McBride denounced this " labour alliance," but, distasteful as it may have been, the Premier was powerless. Furthermore, the Government was not ignorant of the promises made to labour by many members of the Legislative Assembly, Liberal and Conservative alike. In short, it was apparent that henceforth it would be political suicide to blatantly ignore the new elements that had so recently gained entrance to the political arena.

Thus within a generation a new and dynamic force had arisen in British Columbia. It has been possible to trace its evolution with a substantial, but varying, degree of accuracy and completeness. Clearly visible were the external influences, moulded and conditioned by the local setting. In the early period British influence was predominant, and only near the end of the century did the Province succumb to the almost irresistible magnetism of the United States. During the era surveyed, the Pacific Coast of Canada was in many ways a part of the North American frontier, the story of which has for so long been monopolized by American historians. Like the American frontier, from which indeed came many of its ideals and practices, British Columbia was fresh and idealistic, buoyantly self-confident and self-assertive, somewhat scornful of the older society, indifferent to its lessons, and impatient of its restraints and delays. The pronounced radicalism in British Columbia can, in part, best be explained against the background of the frontier, although one must be wary of the many limitations in the employment of this analytical instrument. Even so, the frontier hypothesis provides a meaningful clue to the origin and development of the labour movement and socialism, and perhaps the reason for their sudden, but temporary, decline, for by 1903 the first stage in frontier development had also largely passed. Yet in their wake these early movements left a tradition

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lost by a tantalizing minority of 9 votes, in Fernie by 95, and so forth. It is possible that the fact that only in Fernie and Greenwood were a large number of votes rejected was of some importance. Throughout the Province as a whole only 117 votes were rejected, 68 of them being in Fernie and Greenwood.

of radicalism and of progressivism which has become the legacy of the present generation of working-men and reformers in British Columbia.

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ARCHIBALD MENZIES' TROPHIES

Late in 1790 Archibald Menzies penned a note (now in the Sutro Library, San Francisco) to his friend and patron, Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society:—

Sir Joseph

About three o'Clock this afternoon I saw Capt. [Henry] Roberts—he told me that some new arrangements had taken place yesterday at the Treasury in consequence of which he resigned the Command of the Discovery to Captain Vancouver (formerly 1st Lieut. of her) who is to sail with her immediately—he believes before Christmas—Captain Roberts is to have another Vessel, & to go out in the Spring—but he could not say whether I was to go with him, or in the Discovery—I need not observe the necessity of obtaining this information soon, that if I go in the latter, I may have some time to equip for the voyage.

Sir Joseph Yours Sincerely
A. Menzies

14 Broad St.
Wednesd. Eveng.

It is not to be wondered that a feeling of urgency can be detected in this note. For nearly a year Menzies had been anticipating an appointment as naturalist in an expedition to be sent to the Northwest Coast of America. In 1789 the British Admiralty had projected a scientific expedition to the South Seas and the Pacific Northwest under Captain Henry Roberts, who had accompanied Captain James Cook, R.N., on his last two voyages. To this end, arrangements were made to acquire the sloop *Discovery,* then under construction, and by April, 1790, she was evidently ready for sea. But at that very time difficulties with Spain flared into prominence, largely as a result of the memorial presented to the British Parliament by John Meares. The resulting "Spanish Armament," although an impressive demonstration of British naval strength, forced the abandonment of the projected scientific expedition. Later, after the signing of a treaty with Spain on October 28, 1790, a new expedition to the Pacific Northwest was organized, the purposes of which were to "receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized, and also to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the 30th degree of north latitude north-westward toward Cook's river; and, further, to obtain every possible information that could be collected respecting the natural and

political state of that country."[1] Captain George Vancouver was appointed to the command of this expedition, and the *Discovery* was assigned to him, and Lieutenant W. R. Broughton took over command of the armed tender *Chatham.*

Menzies very carefully outlined his position at this time in an early entry in his journal:—

> At this time I had been upwards of twelve months retained by Government to go out as Naturalist on that Expedition planned for Captain Roberts, but as a state of tedious suspence was more intolerable to me, than the hardships of a long Voyage or the dangers of traversing the wildest Forests, I requested leave of the Treasury to go out as Surgeon of the Discovery, promising at the same time that my vacant hours from my professional charge, should be chiefly employed in their service, in making such collections & observations as might tend to elucidate the natural history of the Voyage, without any further pecuniary agreement than what they might conceive me entitled to, on my return—My chief objects being a desire to complete my servitude in the Royal Navy & the pleasure of exercising my profession,—and as two assistant-surgeons were allowed the Discovery, I trusted I should have time sufficient on my hands to perform my promise to their satisfaction—and by that means cheerfully devote to the service of my Country that experience I had already gained in a long circumnavigation & particularly on that Coast where those Vessels were to direct their course & perform their operations.[2]

However, Menzies did not have to sail as surgeon, for, thanks to the interest and influence of Sir Joseph Banks, he soon had his appointment as naturalist in the *Discovery.* Edward Smith, in his *Life of Sir Joseph Banks,* states that this appointment was the fulfilment of Menzies' heart's desire, although his later relations with Vancouver—terminating in his arrest by that doughty captain for "insolence and contempt"—may have cooled his enthusiasm somewhat.[3]

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(1) Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World . . . performed in the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795,* London, 1798, Vol. I, pp. x–xi. For further details on the history of this expedition *see* George Godwin, *Vancouver: A Life, 1757–1798,* New York, 1931, pp. 24–35; and C. F. Newcombe (*ed.*), *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage,* (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. V), Victoria, 1923, pp. xiii–xx.

(2) Quoted in C. F. Newcombe, *op. cit.,* p. xvi.

(3) Edward Smith, *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks,* London, 1911, p. 143. Evidently Banks had serious misgivings as to the probability of conflict developing between Menzies and Vancouver, for his last letter to Menzies, written August 10, 1791, stated: "How Captain Vancouver will behave to you is more than I can guess, unless I was to judge by his conduct toward me,—which was not such as I am used to receive from persons in his situation. . . . As it would be highly

At the request of Lord Grenville, Sir Joseph Banks furnished Menzies with his instructions, working diligently to cover every conceivable field of interest.

Soho Square 22d February 1791.

Sir,

The Business on which You are employed being of an extensive Nature, as it includes an investigation of the whole of the Natural History of the Countries you are to visit, as well as an enquiry into the present state and comparative degree of civilization of the Inhabitants you will meet with, the utmost degree of diligence & perseverance on Your part will be necessary, to enable You to do justice to your employers and gain credit to yourself. The following instructions you will consider as a guide to the outline of your conduct, but as many particulars will doubtless occur in the investigation of unknown Countries, that are not noticed in them, all such are left to your discretion and good sense, and you are hereby directed to act in them as you shall judge most likely to promote the interest of science, and contribute to the increase of human knowledge.

In all places where the Ship in which you are embarked shall touch, & the Commander shall make a sufficient stay, you are to pay a particular regard to the nature of the soil, and to note down its quality, whether clay, sand, Gravel, Loam, &c. and how it is circumstanced in regard to Water. You are to remark particularly the size of the Trees that grow upon it, whether they stand in thick close Groves, or seperate [*sic*] and distant from each other. You are to consider also, as far as You are enabled to do by the productions, the probable Climate, and whether, should it at any time hereafter be deemed expedient to send out settlers from England, the Grains, pulse, & Fruits cultivated in Europe are likely to thrive, and if not, what kind of produce would in your opinion be the most suitable.

As far as you find yourself able, you are to enumerate all the Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Grasses, Ferns, and Mosses you shall meet with in each Country you visit, by their scientific Names, as well as those used in the language of the Natives, noting particularly the places where each is found, especially those that are new or particularly curious. You are also to dry specimens of all such as you shall judge worthy of being brought Home, particularly those of which you shall procure, either living plants, or seeds, in order that the Persons who are employed in examining the Plants You furnish to His Majesty's Gardens at Kew, may be assisted in ascertaining their Names and qualities. Whenever you meet with ripe seeds of Plants, you are carefully to collect them, and having dried them properly, to put them up in paper packages, writing on the out side, or in a corresponding List, such particulars relative to the Soil & Climate where each was found, and

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imprudent in him to throw any obstacle in the way of your duty, I trust he will have too much good sense to obstruct it." *Ibid.*, p. 143. Certainly every effort was made to make Vancouver fully aware of the importance of the work being undertaken by Menzies, for the Admiralty was requested to issue specific instructions to him in this connection. *See* Draft to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated at Whitehall, February 23, 1791, *C.O. 5*, Vol. 187, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

the mode of culture in your Opinion likely to succeed with it, as you may think necessary to be communicated to His Majesty's Gardeners; and you are to forward these packages directed to me for His Majesty's use by every convenient opportunity that shall occur, dividing them, for safety's sake, into Duplicates, as often as you shall judge needfull.

When you meet with curious, or valuable plants which you do not think likely to be propagated from seeds in His Majesty's Garden, you are to dig up proper specimens of them, plant them in the glass frame provided for that purpose, and use your utmost endeavours to preserve them alive 'till your return, & you are to consider every one of them, as well as all seeds of Plants which you shall collect during the Voyage, as wholly & entirely the property of His Majesty, & on no Account whatever to part with any of them, or any cuttings, slips, or parts of any of them, for any purpose whatever but for His Majesty's use.

As soon as you shall have provided yourself with living plants, & planted them in the glass frame before-mentioned, you are at all times when the ship shall be watered to acquaint the Commanding Officer, what Quantity of Water you judge necessary for their support and preservation, by the Week or Month, in order that he may be enabled to make a competent provision of that Article for their future maintenance and nourishment.

In all your excursions on shore, you are to examine with care and attention the beds of Brooks, and Torrents, the steep sides of Cliffs and all other places where the interior strata of the earth are laid bare by Water, or otherwise; to remark the Nature of the Earth and Stones of which they are composed, and if among them you discover ores, or metals, or any mineral substances which bear a resemblance to such things; or any beds of Coals, Lime Stone, or other matters, likely in Your opinion to prove useful to Mankind. You are to collect & preserve Specimens of them carefully, noting the exact spot on which each was found, and you are also to examine the pebbles and sand brought down by the Rivers, and Brooks from the Inland Country, and to collect and bring home samples of such as you suspect to contain Mineral substances, even tho' so minute as not to be discoverable but by a Microscope.

At each place where you land, you are to inform yourself as well as you are able, what sort of Beasts, Birds and Fishes likely to prove usefull, either for Food, or in Commerce, are to be found; and pay particular attention to the various ways of catching them in traps, or otherways used by the Natives; you are to pay particular attention to every part of the Natural History of the Sea Otter, and to learn all you are able to concerning the Wild Sheep said to be found in the inland Countries, and if in your power to procure a skin of one of them for your employers, you are also to note particularly all places where Whales or Seals are found in abundance.

At all places where a friendly intercourse with the Natives is established, you are to make diligent enquiry into their manners, Customs, Language & Religion, and to obtain all the information in your power concerning their manufactures, particularly the art dyeing, in which Savages have been frequently found to excell, and if any part of their conduct, civil, or religious, should appear to you so unreasonable as not to be likely to meet with credit when related in Europe, you are if you can do it with safety & propriety, to make yourself an Eyewitness of it,

in order that the fact of its existence may be established on as firm a basis as the Nature of the enquiry will permit.

You are to keep a regular Journal of all occurrences that happen in the execution of the several Duties you are entrusted to perform, and enter in it all the observations you shall make on every subject you are employed to investigate; which Journal together with a compleat [*sic*] collections of specimens of the Animals, Vegetable and Minerals you shall have obtained, as well as such curious Articles of the Cloths, Arms, Impliments [*sic*] and manufactures of the Indians as you shall deem worthy of particular Notice, you are on your return to deliver to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, or to such Person as he shall appoint to receive them from You.

I am

&c.

Jos: Banks

Mr. Alexr. Menzies.[4]

Specific as these instructions are in certain respects, nevertheless they did leave Menzies wide discretionary power. This display of confidence on the part of Sir Joseph Banks no doubt stemmed from his personal acquaintance with Menzies, dating from 1786, when the latter sent him specimens from his botanizing activities while on the Halifax Station as surgeon in H.M.S. *Assistance*[5] and also from the fact that Menzies had already visited the Pacific Northwest in 1787 and 1788. On that occasion Menzies was serving as surgeon in the *Prince of Wales* under Captain James Colnett in a trading expedition sponsored by Richard Cadman Etches and associates.[6] Banks was quite prepared to put to advantage this previous experience, for prior to the issuance of the instructions to Menzies he had written to him for information on items suitable for the Pacific Northwest trade and had received the following reply:—

Sir Joseph

I have here subjoined agreeable to your request, a list of such articles as I think will answer best for trading on the West-coast of N. America; but any Vessel going there ought to be supplied with two Black Smiths & a Forge together with the necessary Utensils for working Iron, Copper & Brass into such forms as may best suit the fickle disposition of the Natives.

(4) Joseph Banks to Alexr. [*sic*] Menzies, February 22, 1791, enclosed in Draft to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated at Whitehall, February 23, 1791, *C.O. 5*, Vol. 187, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(5) C. F. Newcombe, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

(6) For details concerning this earlier visit of Menzies to the Pacific Northwest, *see* F. W. Howay (*ed.*), *The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791*, Toronto, 1940, pp. xi–xxii; C. F. Newcombe, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xv.

At Nootka we found Copper the article most Sought after & in this we were deficient, having little or none aboard.—At Prince William's Sound the Natives prefered [*sic*] Iron & put very little value on Copper or any thing else—they were so over stocked with Beads as to ornament their Dogs with them.—At Queen Charlotte's Isles & Banks Isles, Iron, Cloth, Beads with Brass & Copper trinkets answered best.—At Cape Edgecombe, Iron Frying-pans—Tin Kettles—Pewter basons [*sic*] and beads formed the chief articles of Trade.—Ornamental lofty caps covered with Brass or Copper would be good presents for the Chiefs & Warriors.—I have the honor to be with due respect

Sir, your most obedt. Humbl Servt
Arch. Menzies

Broad Street
April 4th 1790[7]

The list appended to the letter includes bar iron, iron rods, hoops and wires; case knives; fish-hooks, harpoons and fishing-lines; axes, adzes, and saws; nails and gimlets, brad-awls, files, rasps, scrapers, and bodkins; needles; frying-pans; tin in sheets, tin kettles, pots, jugs, etc.; tinder-boxes; pewter pots and basins; copper and brass in sheets, in medals, kettles and goblets, rods and wire, and in bracelets, earrings, and other trinkets; also buttons, thimbles, and spoons. Other items contained in the list are daggers and old bayonets; horsemen's caps, " caps in the form of Mitres externally covered with Brass or Copper & ornamented with hair or feathers of difft. colours "; Scotch tartan and parti-coloured blankets; tobacco (five casks of leaf); muskets, powder, shot and ball. Sir Joseph, not content with Menzies' list added one of his own and noted the quantities desired of each item. For example, he wished fifty soldering-irons, thirty pieces of scarlet cloth, twenty augers, 20,000 gun flints, ten grindstones, and a myriad of other trade articles.

These manuscripts, recently uncovered in the Banks Papers of the Sutro Branch, California State Library, bring researchers into closer touch with the men who first explored and exploited the Canadian Pacific littoral. Menzies, of course, spent most of his time pursuing botanical specimens, up to and including *Sequoia sempervirens*—the ageless, mammoth redwood. However, Botanist-Surgeon Menzies also acquired numerous artifacts which he knew would be of interest to Banks. One of the recently found manuscripts is a memorandum entitled *A catalogue of Curiosities & natural productions brought home in his Majesty's Sloop Discovery from the North West Coast of America & the South Sea Islands by Mr. Archibald Menzies.*

(7) MS., Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco, Calif.

From Otaheite [Tahiti]: Prai, or complete Mourning Dress; Taoma or Breast Plate; Feather Pendants of a large canoe; Stone Adzes; Basket curiously wrought of Cocoa Nut fibres; Mat of the finest kind; a Bag of Matting; a number of paterns [*sic*] of the different kind of cloth manufactured by the Natives; Bows and Arrows; A collection of shells; Lines of finely platted human Hair; Fish Hooks.

From the Sandwich Islands: Feather Helmet; Feather Tippets or small Cloaks; Feather Necklaces; A large assortment of curiously stained & painted Cloth showing the different Paterns [*sic*] & dresses worn by the Natives; Cloth-Beaters for Manufacturing the same; Bows and Arrows; Wooden War Club; Stone War Club; Spears or Javelines [*sic*]; different kinds of Fans; Fly Flaps—the handles ornamented with human bone & tortoise shell; Wooden Bowls & a quantity of Gum—from the Dooe Dooe Tree; Variegated wicker-worked Hat; Bracelet of Boar's Tusks; Anklets of Pig's Teeth; Hemp prepared from a Species of Nettle; A quantity of fishing lines made of the above Hemp; Platted Rope for rigging their Canoes—made of the same Hemp; Fish Hooks; Necklaces of Shells; Necklaces of platted Human Hair &c.; Shells worn on the women's wrists; Platted rope for lashings to their Canoes from Cocoa Nut fibres; Two small rolling stones finely polished; a large Calabash; Two curious wicker-worked Baskets—one of them lin'd with a Calibash [*sic*]; A number of fine Mats curiously variegated with different figures; plain Mats of different kinds.

From Nootka: A Dress wrought from the inner bark of the American Arbor-Vitae; Bows & Arrows; Fish Hooks; The Head and two Skins of a New Species of Mustella.

From Cross Island: A curiously wrought dress of woolen interwoven on one side with Fur; A Chief's Leather War Dress curiously ornamented with Porcupine Quills; Baskets so close worked as to contain water; A small carved Idol; Carved throwing Sticks for heaving their Darts & Harpoons.

From New Georgia: Bows & Arrows; A large bone war club inlaid & ornamented with Shells; Knives made of Silicious Stones; An Iron Knife as made by the Natives; Bone Dagger; A carved chopping Instrument; Two Skins of the Brown Tyger.

From Port Trinidad: Bows Arrows & Quiver; Fish-hooks; Tobacco Pipes; A Musical Instrument; A Head Dress curiously wrought & variegated; A feathered fillet or head band; Hemp, supposed to be the same as Indian grass; Fishing lines made of the above Hemp; Ear Ornaments; Baskets of different kinds, some curiously variegated & so closely worked as to hold water.

From Cook's Inlet: Harpoon completely furnished with Lines & different kinds of Barbs; Darts completely furnished with Lines & Barbs; Throwing Sticks for heaving their Darts &c.; Bows & Arrows; A model of their Hunting Canoe completely furnished with all the Implements for Hunting the Sea Otter; Leather Bags beautifully fringed & ornamented with Needle work; A small bunch of split Sinews as manufactured for making their different lines & ropes; Platted sinew lines curiously ornamented for their Harpoons; Platted sinew lines for their Darts; Sinew lines differently platted for their Canoes; A quantity of small sinew fishing lines; A Basket; Camlico or Frocks made from the finer Membranes of the Intestines of Marine Animals & so ingeniously put together & sewed as to keep the Natives perfectly dry in wet weather; A pair of Boots & garters curiously

ornamented—a present of a Chief at the head of the Inlet; Tusk of the Moise or Sea Cow; Leather Dagger Case ornamented with Porcupine Quills; Ornamental fringes for the Chief's War Dress; Lip Ornaments worn by the Men in their lower lip; Ivory studs worn as lip ornaments by the women; Two Skins & two Horns of the wild Mountain Sheep; Two Skin Dresses—animal unknown.

From the N W Coast of America: A Skin of a new species of Antilope [*sic*] from California; Two Skins & a Horn of an Animal supposed to be a Wild Goat with very fine wool from Lat. 52° 72′; Some of the wool of the above animal which the Natives spin & weave with Dresses; Halibut Fish-hooks; Beaver Skin—supposed variety; Two large Sea Otters preserved in Spirits; Two young Sea Otters preserved in Spirits; Different kinds of Baskets finely worked & curiously variegated from Sta. Barbara California; A netted Bag from the same place; Wooden Combs curiously carved from the Northern parts of the Coast; Wooden War Stays from Banks's Isles; A set of gambling pins from the same place; A Cake of the Bread of Columbia River; A Cake of the Bread made of the Inner Bark of the Pines from the Northern parts of the Coast; Spoons from different parts of the Coast; A Collection of Birds preserved in Spirits from California &c.; A Collection of Fishes & Reptiles preserved in Spirits.

[Miscellaneous Items]; A Box of Fossils containing 103 different kinds, mark'd & numbered from New Georgia; A Box of Fossils from the Northern parts of the Coast of America & Lavas from the Owhyhee mark'd & numbered from 1–80; A Collection of Fossils from New Zealand & New Holland; A Box of Shells from New Zealand; A small Box of Fossils from Chili—containing the Gold & Silver Oars [*sic*] of that Country; A copious collection of dry'd Plants from the different places visited during the Voyage; A Collection of live Plants from North West Coast of America, California & Chili, already sent to Kew; A large Collection of Seeds from the same places as also from the Sandwich Islands.[8]

Menzies' list of 112 items or groups of items was inspected carefully by Banks, who checked certain numbers and wrote in pencil at the end of the paper: "Specimens of as many of those marked as can be spared." He then forwarded the list to the Duke of Portland,[9] who acknowledged its receipt as follows:—

Whitehall 12th February 1796

Sir

I have had the honor to receive and lay before the King your Letter of the 3d instant inclosing Catalogue of Curiosities & natural Productions brought home in his Majesty's Sloop Discovery from the North West Coast of America & the South Sea Islands by Mr. Archibald Menzies and his Majesty has signified to me his pleasure that the said curiosities & natural productions should be deposited in the British Museum—excepting the Collections of live plants & Seeds, the former of which you mention as having been already sent to Kew—and such of the Seeds

(8) MS., Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco, Calif.

(9) William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, third Duke of Portland (1738–1809), was at this time Home Secretary.

as you may think worthy of attention, it is his Majesty's pleasure should be sent there also.

I have the honor to be, Sir
Your most obedient humble Servant
Portland

Sir Joseph Banks Bart.K.B.[10]

Archibald Menzies continued an active life in the field of medicine after retiring from maritime life and, in addition, pursued his botanical interest as a member and later as President of the Linnean Society. He lived to be 88 years of age, with probably the high point of his career being his voyage with Vancouver and his discoveries on that expedition. As can be seen from the catalogue of his collections, he was much more than a botanist or natural historian. He might well be described as a pioneer anthropologist in the study of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

RICHARD H. DILLON.

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

(10) MS., Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco, Calif.

EARLY DAYS ON SALTSPRING ISLAND

The Indians of Cowichan looked at the island, noted the knob of rock that thrust itself upward out of the massive southern elevation to dominate the near-by countryside and wove their legend around it. *Chu'an,* they called it, meaning " facing-the-sea "; and because few trees or shrubs grew on its rounded summit, they told themselves that this must be one of the resting-places of *Swa'quawa,* the Thunderbird, where he paused in his flight from the ocean to his home among the inland mountains.

In the manner of their traditional mode of thought, the Indians saw the mountain, not as an up-surge of natural forces, but as a man transformed by *Haylse,* the supernatural being who, accompanied by his associates, Raven and Mink, had roamed the earth in mythical times, altering the features of the landscape to suit his whims. In time other details were added to the legend, and the story was told of how *Chu'an* aided another man-transformed-into-a-mountain, who lived on an island to the south, in ridding the area of a sea-monster that lurked off the northern tip of the Saanich Peninsula and swallowed many unlucky Indians passing by in their canoes. The man on the island to the south threw a great rock at the monster, but overshot his mark so that the rock landed on the beach at Maple Bay. Seeing what had happened, *Chu'an* called to the other mountain to improve his aim, with the result that a second rock struck the monster squarely, breaking his jaw and rendering him no longer a menace to the coastal inhabitants.

As with so many other parts of the British Columbia coast, the history of Saltspring Island begins with a report by James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company. Unhappily this report is not available, but Douglas mentioned it in a dispatch to Archibald Barclay, secretary of the company, dated May 16, 1853.

> Many such [salt] springs exist on an island in the Canal de Arro, which I formerly examined and reported on to the Governor and Committee. . . . I shall direct Mr. Pemberton's attention to the subject as the discovery of salt on this island would be of the greatest importance and become a wealth to the country.[1]

The earliest published map of the area shows it as Chuan Island. This was merely a simple sketch made to accompany Governor Douglas's

(1) Douglas to Barclay, May 16, 1853, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

"Report of a Canoe Expedition along the East Coast of Vancouver Island." The voyage was undertaken in 1852, and the report with the accompanying map was subsequently published in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for the year 1854.[2] Joseph Despard Pemberton, Colonial Surveyor from 1851 to 1864, mentioned the island several times in his official correspondence, referring to it as "Tuan or Salt Spring Island." The altered spelling of the first name is probably due to the difficulty of accurately reproducing the Indian sound. The mountain, which was, of course, the only feature to which the Indian name applied, is marked on all Pemberton's maps as Mount Tuan.

On a map accompanying Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant's "Description of Vancouver Island," written in 1856, the name Saltspring Island appears,[3] but in 1859 this was officially changed to Admiral Island by Captain George Henry Richards, who conducted the coastal surveys from 1857 to 1863. This name, as well as that of Mount Baynes and Ganges Harbour, was given to honour Rear-Admiral Robert Lambert Baynes, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station of the Royal Navy at the time, and of his flagship, H.M.S. *Ganges*. Despite this, "Saltspring" became the popular name, and in 1906 superseded "Admiral" as the official designation.[4] As to the mountain, it suffered a further, though less noticeable, change of name. On later maps the "n" was changed to "m" and it became Mount Tuam.[5]

(2) This account was in reality a dispatch of Governor Douglas's, dated August 27, 1852, and was communcated to the Society by the Colonial Office and read at a meeting held February 28, 1853. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXIV (1854), pp. 245–249.

(3) Captain W. C. Grant, "Description of Vancouver Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXVII (1857), pp. 268–320.

(4) Captain J. T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906*, Ottawa, 1909, p. 436. The spelling "Salt Spring" frequently occurs, but according to the Geographic Board of Canada and the British Columbia Gazetteer this is incorrect and properly should be one word.

(5) How this occurred is not known, but there are two coincidences worth noting in connection with the latter name. J. D. Pemberton was an Irishman who studied engineering at Trinity College, Dublin, and became assistant engineer with the Great Southern and Western Railway of that country. [*See* H. S. Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821–93," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 111–125.] On a branch line of that road lies the busy market town of *Tuam*, the seat of an Archbishopric since 1152, chartered by James I and an important centre of retail agricultural trade. The second coincidence appears in the reminiscences of Edward Mallandaine, one of the original Saltspring Island landholders, who came to the colony at the outbreak of the

At no point did the history of Saltspring Island show even a trace of those swift surges of commercial and industrial expansion which so many communities experience at one time or another during their development and which add touches of drama and romance to what otherwise might be a prosaic recounting of mundane events, strung together in chronological order. Saltspring Island is simply the story of pioneer agricultural settlement, from the first somewhat unenthusiastic pre-emptions of unsurveyed land by would-be settlers whose limited resources would supply them with nothing better—through long years of struggle with a rugged terrain that yielded only grudgingly to the axe and plough, and an insecurity of life and livelihood that gave rise to many tensions and frictions—to an island community, self-respecting and in many ways self-sufficient. It is the story of determined farmers, in a period when contact with the outside world meant a struggle of a day or more over trackless hills to the nearest boat-landing and governmental authority was distant and not too interested in a polyglot of squabbling settlers and their problems, who seized their little parcels of land, endured solitude, sometimes privation, and not infrequently danger from animal and human enemies, and who finally established themselves in a firm agricultural security. Neither the fur trade nor the gold-rush nor the railroad boom so much as touched the shores of Saltspring Island, and the inhabitants were little affected by these events. Even the miners, those ubiquitous wanderers who have played so large a part in the development of the Province, probed only briefly and casually at the meagre mineral deposits of the island. Taken as a whole, the natural resources of the island symbolize solid mediocrity. There was a little of this and a little of that—a few minerals, a few fertile areas, a little building-stone, a little marketable timber—but no outstanding blessings that could bring rewards disproportionate to the labour involved. The story of Saltspring, like that of many another pioneer settlement, is the story of sheer hard work, redeemed only by the equable climate and the natural beauty of the island.

The gold-rush of 1858 to the Fraser River, which left so many lasting effects on the two British colonies of Vancouver Island and British

gold-rush in 1858. Describing the encampment of himself and two associates on an island in the mouth of the Fraser River he says: ". . . a friend of Thompson's, Tuam by name, an Irishman, put in an appearance with a bottle of whiskey." [Edward Mallandaine *Reminiscences,* MS., Archives of B.C.] These two items may have no bearing on the changing of Mount *Tuan* to Mount *Tuam,* but are nevertheless interesting.

Columbia, may also be held indirectly responsible for the settlement of Saltspring Island. The months following the subsidence of the gold fever saw thousands of erstwhile immigrants leave the country to return to their former homes in the United States. The boom which had followed the flood of gold-seekers, and which had turned the tiny port of Victoria from a primitive fur-trading community into a thriving town of many thousands of inhabitants, seemed due to collapse. Despite the general exodus of miners and business-men, a substantial number of persons, many in semi-indigent circumstances, remained. Britishers, Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Australians, and men from Canada and the eastern maritime colonies lingered in Victoria in the hope that by some forlorn chance they might acquire the wherewithal to take up land and become self-sufficient residents of the colony.

For most of these immigrants, the official price of land—1 pound sterling per acre with no pre-emption rights—was prohibitive, and as the winter of 1858–59 wore on, many who would willingly have remained in British Columbia if the opportunity had been offered emigrated or returned to the United States, where land could be purchased at the nominal price of $1.25 an acre or could be obtained in free grants for agricultural settlement. Nevertheless, the residual increase in population was considerable, although no one could foresee how long this would continue, and many were pessimistic over the probable complete extinction of the community at no very distant date. At best, the merchants and professional men of the town saw a retrogression to the former state of a mere trading-post unless there was immediately established a permanent agricultural population to support the newly founded business and industrial enterprises.

Thus there arose an impelling need for a more reasonable method of providing farming lands for those who wished to settle in the colony. A popular demand for land reform, unheard of since the abortive efforts of Rev. R. J. Staines in 1853,[6] was once more voiced in the press and by petition to the Government. In July, 1859, Governor Douglas wrote to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, saying:—

> . . . There has been much agitation lately at this place on the subject of the sale price of country land, which up to the present time has been maintained at the official rate of One pound sterling per Statute Acre. . . . [This price] is con-

(6) *See* G. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1950), pp. 209 *ff*.

sidered too high and has become a constant subject of complaint with the people of this colony. . . . Public meetings have lately been held at this place for the purpose of getting up petitions and bringing to bear upon the Government an influence sufficiently powerful to forward that object.[7]

In this dispatch Douglas reviewed the distressing plight of a number of immigrant petitioners who " in consequence of detentions on the way hither, and the obstacles encountered since their arrival in this colony " found they had no hope of becoming permanent residents unless they were allowed to settle on public lands free of the purchase price for at least twelve months. The petition mentioned suggested that the price of settlers' land should be reduced to $1.25 an acre, payable in four years. Douglas informed Lytton that he had rejected both suggestions but had compromised by lowering the initial instalment from 5 shillings to 1 shilling per acre, with payments to be arranged " so that the actual price of land, and the period at which the respective instalments fall due remain unaltered."[8]

Although during the earlier days of the colony Douglas had disapproved of cheap land, holding the opinion that it would create a rash of speculation and an inordinate rise in the price of labour, he later came to realize that something had to be done to encourage immigration and settlement. He was fully aware of the competition offered by the land policy of the United States, and on more than one occasion pointed out to the Colonial Office the need for radical changes in the land-disposal system in the colonies.[9] Unfortunately, the Governor was handicapped in his efforts to effect any sweeping change in the land system in so far as Vancouver Island was concerned by the fact that legal adjustments in connection with the revocation of the original grant to the Hudson's Bay Company were still in process of settlement. In November, 1859, he complained to the Duke of Newcastle:—

. . . No official announcement has been yet made to me of the revocation of the grant. I have at present therefore no power either to grant a legal Title or to make sales of Public Land, and I am in consequence placed in a position of extreme embarrassment.[10]

During the spring and summer of 1859 rural districts were being formed and surveys were being prosecuted with all practicable dispatch. Each district comprised sixteen square blocks of 1,000 acres each,

(7) Douglas to Lytton, July 20, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.
(8) *Ibid.*
(9) Douglas to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.
(10) Douglas to Newcastle, November 24, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

subdivided into 100-acre lots. In July of that year J. D. Pemberton, the Colonial Surveyor, reported to the Governor that some 80,000 acres in the Cowichan and Nanaimo districts had been subdivided at an average cost of approximately one-third of a cent per acre.[11] The first step toward the actual lowering of land prices was taken at the suggestion of Pemberton, who proposed that 200 of the 100-acre lots which could not be disposed of at the regular price and, in addition, some 20,000 acres scattered throughout the surveyed areas, but of a quality too inferior to warrant dividing into regulation lots, should be put up for auction at the upset price of 4 shillings and 2 pence per acre. In forwarding this suggestion with his approval to the Colonial Office, Governor Douglas hastened to explain that he had given his sanction to the sale of land " as a special and exceptional case, in no wise affecting the sale price of other public lands in this colony."[12]

Under the heading " Cheap Lands," the *British Colonist* made the following comments on the proposed sale:—

> . . . this concession comes with bad grace,—after the government has driven thousands of British Subjects and others who wanted land to take refuge in the United States . . . still cheap land we hail as a step in the right direction. But it does not go far enough to suit us . . . public lands ought to be open to pre-emption . . . on condition of actual residence and the cultivation of a certain number of acres with improvements; and a reasonable period allowed to pay for the land.[13]

During the following month the cry for a lower price for land and the establishment of a pre-emption system continued unabated. Governor Douglas, however, despite his avowed sympathies with the land-seekers, remained adamant on the question of making any basic change in either the price or the method of disposal of public lands.[14]

(11) Pemberton to Douglas, July 22, 1859, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(12) Douglas to Lytton, July 19, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(13) Victoria *British Colonist*, June 13, 1859. It should be pointed out that no part of Saltspring Island was included in this sale. The areas involved were North Saanich, South Saanich, Esquimalt, Metchosin, and Sooke. Victoria *Gazette*, July 16, 1859.

(14) As late as July 13, in replying to a group of immigrants who had approached him on the subject of cheaper lands and a pre-emption system, Governor Douglas stated emphatically that the price of land had been fixed by the Crown and could only be altered by the same authority; that his only power lay in modifying the instalment payments. In the matter of unsurveyed lands he was willing to exercise his authority to the extent of allowing settlers to go on the land with a reduced payment of 1 shilling per acre, no further payments to be required

About this time a group of would-be settlers nominated a committee, headed by a Victoria lawyer, John Copland,[15] to apply for permission to take up land in the Cowichan district. Claims script for that area having already been issued, the committee was offered unsurveyed lands in the Chemainus district,[16] and on July 18 a party of thirty persons set out to explore the area which included certain portions of Saltspring Island. It was soon apparent that there had been at least an unofficial change in policy, for the Government instituted a make-shift pre-emption system which allowed settlement of the unsurveyed lands at Chemainus and Saltspring Island without even an initial instalment.[17] Between July 26 and 30 settlement rights were granted to 241 persons, twenty-nine of whom sought lands on Saltspring Island. On July 26 Pemberton acknowledged an application from John Copland on behalf of these twenty-nine persons, in which he stated:—

I acknowledge to have received from you the names of 29 persons, list of whom is hereto annexed for whom you are agent and who apply through you for permission to settle on the unsurveyed lands of Tuan or Salt Spring Island, their reason being want of funds to settle on surveyed lands elsewhere in which cases an immediate installment is required. The Permission asked for I am empowered to give and am further to state distinctly that after the survey of the lands in question shall have been made, pre-emptive rights in those of the number stated, who shall have effected most improvements in the way of Buildings, fencing, or cultivation on any government section shall be recognized, and that the sections shall be laid out continuously with and as portion of the same network which

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until the land had been surveyed. This, it was expected, would not take place until the following year. Nevertheless, the inference was that unless instructions to the contrary were received from the Colonial Office, and admittedly this was expected in the near future, the price of land when surveyed would still be £1 per acre. *See* Victoria *Gazette*, July 14, 1859.

(15) John Copland was a young man of good family from Edinburgh, Scotland, where he had spent four years serving his law apprenticeship with James Duncan. Having passed his examinations at the University of Edinburgh, he left home for the colonies, spending six years in Australia before coming to Vancouver Island in 1858. Victoria *British Colonist*, December 24, 1859; July 7, 1862.

(16) *Ibid.*, July 13, 1859.

(17) Whether this was Pemberton's idea, which in view of later developments and the fact that previous changes in land-sales regulations had been made at his suggestion it seems most reasonable to assume, and whether Governor Douglas had given his approval to all the details of the scheme, is not known. Certainly the policy was never officially proclaimed, nor was its authorization sought from the Imperial Government. Moreover, later references to pre-emption measures in Douglas's letters to the Colonial Office carry an inference of his unwillingness to admit to a former scheme having been in operation.

extends over the adjoining Country at Cowichan. I am further empowered to delay the survey of that portion of Tuan Island on which these persons shall settle for [left blank] years or until requested at an earlier period to survey and issue titles by the majority of the holders at the future time alluded to. Provided that as soon as the lands are surveyed immediate payment at the rate and on the terms that shall then exist or immediate forfeiture of the same and improvements shall ensue.[18]

Further conditions prohibited the occupation of Indian lands and reserved the right of the Government to resume any portion of the lands that might be needed for public purposes. The same terms were made applicable to the 212 persons who wished to settle in the Chemainus area.[19]

During the next few months two more groups applied for pre-emption rights on Saltspring Island through John Copland. The first of these, numbering thirty-two persons, was made up largely of recent immigrants from Australia. Pemberton granted them permission to settle on the same conditions as had been laid down for the first group, stating that there were " still remaining unoccupied tracts of good land on Salt Spring Island."[20] On December 8, 1859, Copland forwarded the names of an additional fifty-six persons who desired to take up land on the island. Pemberton may have suspected that a number of these applicants were local Victoria residents with little intention of occupying their claims, who planned to make some improvements and in time, when surveys had been made, to sell at a profit. Having designed the scheme for the benefit of *bona fide* settlers, the Colonial Surveyor had no intention of permitting it to be used for speculative purposes. Consequently, in permitting the members of this larger group to claim land on the island, he added two more terms to those that had been laid down the July previous: that when occupation ceased, all title to the land should

(18) Pemberton to Copland, July 26, 1859, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. *See also* Pemberton to Messrs. Sparrow, Manly, and Wright, July 30, 1859, *ibid.*

(19) Copland's connection with the larger Vancouver Island group was severed shortly after he had applied for the twenty-nine Saltspring Island pre-emptions, owing to his disagreement with the other members of the committee and his insistence that he was the " only proper representative of the petitioners." A second public meeting by the Chemainus group appointed the other three committee members—Sparrow, Manly, and Wright—as their sole agents. Victoria *British Colonist,* August 19, 1859.

(20) Pemberton to Copland, September 19, 1859, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

cease, and that no person could sell his land without first obtaining a licence to do so.[21] By the end of 1859 some 117 persons had applied for and received permission to settle on Saltspring Island without payment of any kind, under an unofficial pre-emption system limited to unsurveyed land in the Chemainus and Saltspring Island districts.

In the rather confused circumstances of Vancouver Island affairs it may have been that Pemberton was permitted to exercise his own judgment to some extent in dealing with public insistence on a less restrictive land policy. Until December 12, 1859, there appears to have been no correspondence on the subject between the Governor and the Surveyor-General. On that date Pemberton wrote to Douglas officially suggesting certain pre-emption measures, the main points of which, in the case of Chemainus and Saltspring Island, had been in operation for nearly five months. The Governor was reminded that a good deal of inferior land containing, however, many fertile spots had been continually rejected even when offered for sale at the upset price of 4 shillings and 2 pence per acre. Pemberton went on to say:—

> . . . I would therefore earnestly and respectfully suggest that these sections . . . be thrown open to pre-emption, believing that many persons who now wish to occupy land at a distance at Saltspring Island for instance or Chemainus, would thereby be induced to seek out and occupy the fertile spots alluded to and that an impetus would be given to settle up lands which although near Victoria are too wild to sell at present.[22]

The rules of pre-emption, as contained in Pemberton's original letter, were as follows:—

1. The sale of lands as heretofore at 4s 2d per acre to be discontinued.
2. Single men allowed to pre-empt 100 acres, married men with families 200 acres in the manner and on the terms hereafter described.
3. Any person wishing to occupy a particular piece of land can easily ascertain at the Land Office whether the land has been sold or not.
4. If not, such person shall furnish to the Surveyor-General a statement in writing to the best of his ability of the boundaries and quality of his claim and on his paying a fee of 10 shillings to the Colony his statement will be filed and his name enrolled in a register to be kept at the Land Office for the purpose.
5. Priority of Registration will be prima facie evidence in favour of a settler if when the government survey is being made two or more persons shall occupy and claim one section.
6. Continued occupation from fifteen days after registration indispensable—if it shall be proved to the Surveyor-General that an improved claim shall have been

(21) Pemberton to Copland, December 8, 1859, *ibid.*

(22) Pemberton to Douglas, December 12, 1859, *ibid.*

vacated for three months, re-registration shall on application take place and the original registration be cancelled.

7. An occupier can transfer by simply effecting a fresh registration at the Land Office, paying as before a fee of 10 shillings to the Colony.

8. Payment will not be required nor the government survey made before a majority of registered claimants in any district shall apply for indentures—if they do so within two years from the date of this notice.

9. The price shall not exceed five shillings an acre payable as the authorities shall then direct.

10. These rules shall be applicable to the following districts, viz: Esquimalt; Metchosin; Sooke; Lake; N. Saanich; Highland; and to the lands not reserved for government purposes.[23]

When Douglas dispatched Pemberton's suggestions to the Colonial Office with his approval, he pointed out that the scheme was to be a provisional one only and that pre-emption was to be limited to specific categories of land. There appears to have been no attempt to obtain official authorization for the Saltspring Island and Chemainus pre-emptions. The Governor wrote:—

. . . It is further necessary for me to state for your Grace's information, that the proposed pre-emption measure is not intended for general application, and will be restricted in its operation exclusively to surveyed districts of the Colony after the valuable land of such Districts has been sold on the usual terms of £1 sterling an acre, and when the residue of the land cannot be sold on any terms.[24]

Apparently the Governor still felt that the uncertain legal circumstances surrounding land tenure in the island colony precluded the pre-emption of lands which might at some future date bring the regulation sale price. Thus Chemainus and Saltspring Island were not to be included in the scheme and remained, in a manner of speaking, beyond the pale of official policy.

The sanction of the Colonial Office was contained in two dispatches dated February 21 and June 28, 1860.[25] Although there appears to have been a mistaken idea current in the colony that the regulation sale price of land had been reduced, such was not the case. In November, 1860, J. D. Cusheon, a prominent Victoria businessman, wrote to the Surveyor-General stating that the Governor had given him permission to purchase 1,000 acres of land on Saltspring Island at $1.25 an acre. He had expended $3,300 in having the land improved, maintaining a crew of sixteen men there for four months, clearing land, cutting 3 miles

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Douglas to Newcastle, December 17, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(25) Douglas to Newcastle, April 25, 1861, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

of road to a wharf-site at Ganges Harbour, and erecting a permanent family dwelling. He was anxious to pay for the land and to receive title.[26] The reply of B. W. Pearse, the Acting Colonial Surveyor, makes it clear that, as far as Douglas was concerned, the situation regarding land sales had not altered appreciably. Cusheon was told that he could " occupy on the pre-emption system adopted in Salt Spring Island " 200 acres, but that the sale price of land which had not yet been offered for sale at public auction was still £1 an acre.[27] It was not until February, 1861, when the sale price of land in the adjacent Mainland colony of British Columbia had been reduced officially to 4 shillings and 2 pence an acre, that Douglas, accepting at its face value the former suggestion of the Colonial Office that practices adopted in one colony should be established in the other, issued a proclamation lowering the sale price of country land on Vancouver Island to the same figure. A month later, following the same line of reasoning, the pre-emption system existing on the Mainland was extended to " the whole of Vancouver Island and its dependencies."[28] Thus a full eighteen months elapsed between the first allowance of pre-emptive rights by Pemberton and the official proclamation of the new policy.

It appears that on occasion the unofficial pre-emption of land at Chemainus and Saltspring Island caused the Government some embarrassment and, in some measure, was responsible for the chaotic state of land recording found to exist there at the time Provincial surveys were made following British Columbia's union with Canada in 1871.

Shortly after the initial occupation of the Chemainus and Saltspring Island pre-emption claims a confused situation arose as to the legal status of the settlers. On October 4, 1859, during a debate in the House of Assembly concerning the period of residence required for franchise qualification, Pemberton declared that the Chemainus settlers (which included those on the island) had no legal title to the land they occupied and that they were, in effect, mere squatters—on sufferance through the kindness of the Government in allowing them to take up land without payment.[29] The issue was taken up immediately by Copland. After confronting the Surveyor-General with his own letter of July 26 setting

(26) J. D. Cusheon to Pemberton, November 20, 1860, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(27) B. W. Pearse to J. D. Cusheon, November 28, 1860, *ibid.*

(28) Douglas to Newcastle, April 25, 1861, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(29) Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, *Journals*, October 4, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

out the regulations, the lawyer was able to state in a letter to the *British Colonist*[30] that the Surveyor-General had assured him that the settlers were in legal possession of their land with the right to the franchise, providing the stipulated period of residence in the colony had been met.

That Governor Douglas was aware of the confusion which might attend the proclamation of an official pre-emption system, particularly in so far as the two special areas were concerned, is shown in a letter sent by the Colonial Secretary to Pemberton a few days after the proclamation of March 21, 1861.

> With reference to the recent Proclamation throwing open the lands of Vancouver Island to pre-emption, I have to instruct you to decline to record any claims that may be preferred to lands lying in the Districts of Salt Spring or Admiral Island and Chemainus as those lands were subject to pre-emption under a previous arrangement the claims arising out of which must be adjusted and settled before the present system can take effect.[31]

In May, 1861, Pemberton published a list of the names recorded as landholders on Saltspring Island, and signified that he would register these names as bona fide settlers under the terms of the recently proclaimed " Land Act."[32] This meant that if the land was considered to have been surveyed, the settlers would have to make an immediate payment. Sometime earlier a superficial tracing of the claims around St. Mary Lake had been made for the Government by John Tait, and a map of the north-east coast settlement had been drawn by someone for the purpose of registration. The issue appears to have revolved around the question as to whether either of these could be considered official surveys.[33]

Whether from a desire to see justice done or from a desire to embarrass Douglas and Pemberton since he was associated with the anti-Government faction of the time, Copland immediately drew up a formal protest, stating that the settlers on the island were fully authorized in their legal occupation by Pemberton's letter of July 26, 1859, and that the regulations of the new pre-emption system could not be applied nor could payment be demanded until a majority of the settlers requested and obtained proper surveys as provided for in the original regulations.[34]

(30) Victoria *British Colonist,* October 5, 1859.

(31) W. A. G. Young to Pemberton, March 28, 1861, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(32) Victoria *British Colonist,* May 18, 1861.

(33) *Ibid.,* May 24, 1861.

(34) Copland to Pemberton, July 6, 1861, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

What reply Pemberton made to this statement is not known, but that no particular steps were taken to clear up the matter is evidenced by a reference in the report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works as late as 1874.

> The position of settlers' claims upon this Island is most confusing, and in no part of the Province are surveys more urgently required.
>
> From the archives of this Department I gather that, in the early part of 1860, a number of persons settled on this Island; consequently, prior to any Land Pre-emption Proclamation in the Province. Some of these settlers were permitted to take possession of, and occupy, 200 acres; others, 150 acres; and, subsequently, others recorded 100 acres of land. Until the past summer, no regular system of surveys had been made on the Island; . . .
>
> Several disputes, and more than one law suit, have arisen out of these complications. I am so informed by Mr. Green, the gentleman who surveyed a portion of the Island this summer, that the Pre-emption Record Map, in the Land Office, shows an extensive acreage of land that has no existence, and as it is recorded by settlers, who claim that they are entitled to their acreage in that locality, it is impossible to say where these difficulties will end.[35]

From this we may infer that the Colonial Government had been only too willing to let future generations of Civil Servants untangle the ravelled skein of Saltspring Island land claims.

The early settlement on Saltspring Island presented a picture of mixed nationalities and colour. A large number of the pioneer farmers that came to the island during the first two years were negroes—a remnant of the extensive group that migrated to Vancouver Island from California and Oregon.[36] Among these were Louis Stark and his wife,

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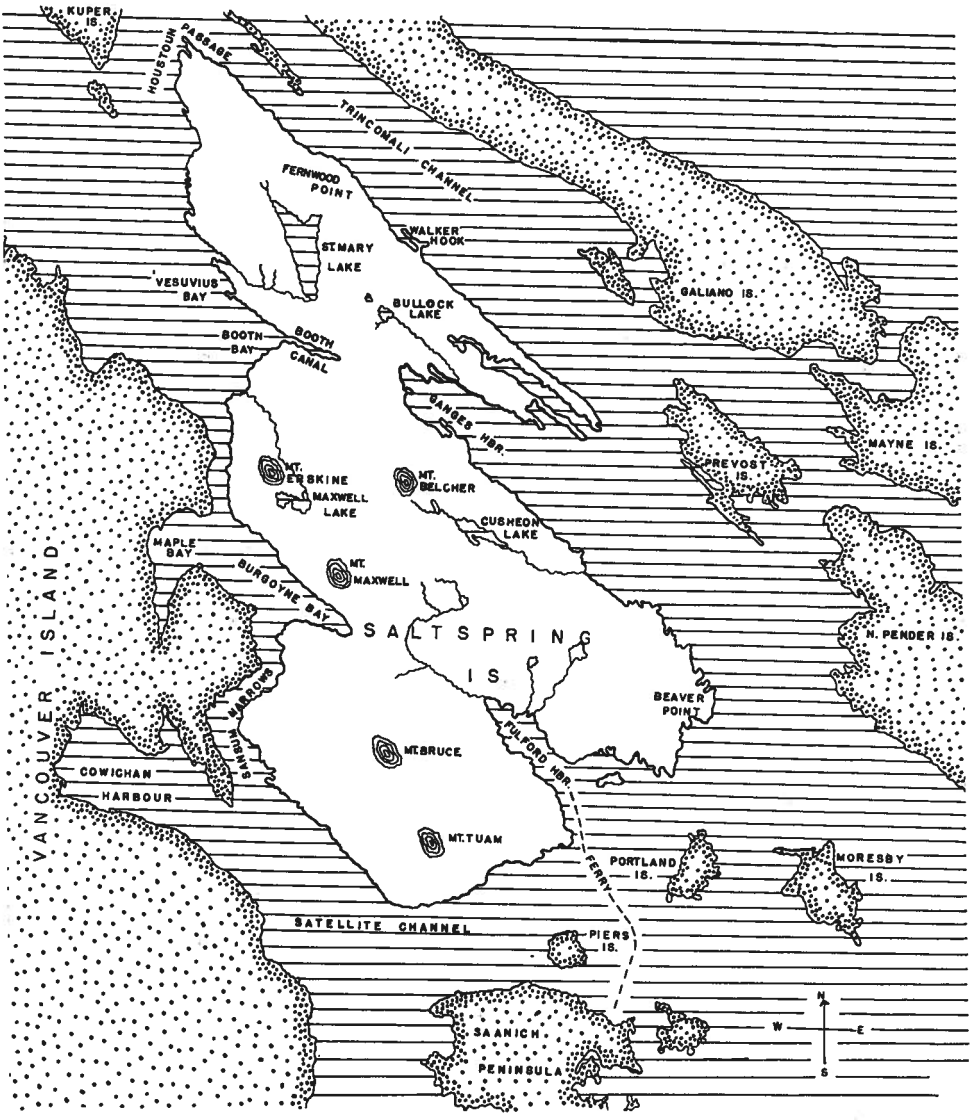
(35) *Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works of the province of British Columbia from the 1st December, 1873, to the 31st December, 1874,* Victoria, 1875, pp. 148–149. An example of the complications is to be found in the case of E. J. Bittancourt, full details of which are to be found in "Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly praying for a copy of the Petition of Estulon José Bittancourt to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, concerning a piece of land to which said E. J. Bittancourt lays claim, together with all correspondence and documents connected with and relating to said Petition," British Columbia *Sessional Papers, 1875,* pp. 657–663.

(36) This group, which has been variously estimated as numbering between four and eight hundred, came to Victoria in several contingents in the spring of 1858, just prior to and during the gold-rush immigration. The objective of the negroes, however, was not gold, but simply to escape from the racial discrimination that was appearing in California. Unfortunately, public interest in their migration was swamped in the hurly-burly of excitement attending the gold-seekers. *See* F. W. Howay, "The Negro Immigration into Vancouver Island in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* III (1939), pp. 101–113.



Sketch-map of Saltspring Island.

Sylvia, both former slaves;[37] Abraham Copeland and his son-in-law, W. L. Harrison;[38] the three Jones brothers, John, William, and Elias;[39] William Robinson, destined to be the first settler killed on the island by Indians; and Armstead Buckner. Four Portuguese—Manuel Antoine and Estalon José Bittancourt and John and Delarvo Norton—were among those that came to find new homesteads on the island. Others were English, American, and men from Canada and Australia. Edward Mallandaine, who later became well known in Victoria for his private school, and John Patton Booth, who eventually became Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, were among the first arrivals.

The early pre-emption claims were all at the north end of the island and rather widely dispersed. The Bittancourts claimed the sections in the immediate vicinity of Vesuvius Bay, while the Starks and William Robinson went a little to the north, near what is now Broadwell Mountain. Several other negroes—Copeland, Harrison, Buckner, and Jones —as well as the Portuguese Norton brothers took up claims along the eastern and southern approaches to St. Mary Lake and southward to where the fingers of Ganges Harbour and Booth Bay almost meet. John Booth's land lay to the east and south of the narrow canal that bears his name. This group of holdings later became known as Central Settlement. North of St. Mary Lake, along the sea-frontage facing Houstoun Passage, Jonathan Begg, Edward Walker, and Henry Sampson laid out adjoining farms and formed Begg's Settlement. Edward Mallandaine went farther afield to stake his land, just west of the L-shaped promontory known as Walter Hook.[40]

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(37) Louis Stark was the son of a slave master and one of his slaves. As a youth he worked as a barber on the Mississippi River steamers. Later he moved to Oregon, and from there to Victoria and later to Saltspring Island. [Victoria *British Colonist*, March 1, 1895.] Sylvia Stark was born a slave in Missouri and later moved to Oregon. [*Sidney Review and Saanich Peninsula Gazette*, November 15, 1944.]

(38) According to his grandson, E. L. Harrison, Abraham Copeland at one time owned property in Indianapolis, Indiana, where the Central Station now stands. From there he emigrated to London, Ontario, with his son-in-law, W. L. Harrison, and later came to Victoria via Panama.

(39) Mr. E. L. Harrison states that the three Jones brothers had all graduated from an eastern college in 1856. John remained on the island, but William and Elias followed the gold-rush to Barkerville.

(40) *See* Pre-emption Record Map, Saltspring Island, British Columbia, Department of Lands.

The first group of Saltspring Island settlers—seventeen in number—left Victoria on July 27, 1859. By November 22 forty settlers were reported to be on the island, many of whom had already begun to erect buildings in preparation for permanent settlement. Two weeks later an additional fifty-six persons applied for pre-emption rights, but it is doubtful whether or not all of them made immediate claims.

One of the first white women to reside on the island was Mrs. Henry Lineker, who, according to the testimony of her daughter, Mrs. Thomas Griffiths, arrived there on November 5, 1859. The widow of a Captain Cape, of Sydney, Australia, she had emigrated to San Francisco with a party of her countrymen and later moved to Victoria during the Fraser River gold-rush. There she married Henry Lineker and took up residence on his farm at Ganges Harbour. Mrs. Joseph Akerman was another of the early white women to come to the island. She arrived at Victoria on January 10, 1863, aboard the *Robert Lowe,* being one of the thirty-six immigrant girls brought out from England for domestic service in the colony. She was then Martha Clay and within a few months of her arrival in the colony she married Joseph Akerman and went with him to his holding in the valley between Burgoyne Bay and Fulford Harbour. A short time later Mrs. George Mitchell came to settle in the same area. She had come to the colony on board the Scottish barque *Kincaid* and, as in the case of Mrs. Akerman, was married within a few months of her arrival.[41]

No sooner had settlement taken place than the elections of 1860 gave the new arrivals an opportunity of showing their political colours. Considering the financial straits of many of the settlers and the illiteracy of many others, it was almost inevitable that the man who had arranged the settlement, who was himself a landholder and who had become the unofficial champion of the inhabitants, should be the first person nominated to represent the island in the House of Assembly. The *British Colonist* of December 20, 1859, carried a card addressed to John Copland, nominating him as a candidate for election. It was signed by Edward Mallandaine, Edward Walker, A. Stenhouse, John Gordon McKay, F. P. Gerry, C. Reed, J. D. Cusheon, Fielding Spott, William Brown, and W. Bond.[42]

(41) *Sidney and Islands Review,* October 7, 1926. For obituary notice concerning Mrs. Akerman, *see* Victoria *Colonist,* December 17, 1933. For reminiscences on early days and pioneers of the island generally *see* Margaret Walter, *Early Days among the Gulf Islands of British Columbia,* Victoria, 1946, pp. 16–35.

(42) Victoria *British Colonist,* December 20, 1859.

The political squabbles which were being carried on in Victoria between the group supporting the so-called " Family-Company-Compact " and the reform element led by Amor de Cosmos, owner-editor of the *British Colonist,* were reflected in the scattered settlements of Saltspring Island. Copland, who had associated himself with the anti-Government faction, was supported editorially by the *Colonist* at every opportunity. After the manner of elections in those early days the battle waxed loud and long. Many a harsh word was said on both sides, and the Government was accused of conniving at open malpractice in the setting-up of the election machinery. Actually the reason the election was handled in such an unsatisfactory manner seems more likely to be found in the muddled circumstances surrounding the settlement of the island rather than in any deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to impede the franchise.

Prior to the election a register of voters was opened at Victoria, but due to the remoteness of the island under the transportation facilities of the day and the consequent lack of postal service, only the non-resident landholders—those living in the immediate vicinity of the capital —were aware of this. When it was realized that the islanders knew nothing of the register, De Cosmos raised the cry that a local registry office should have been established.[43] As a result, the register was opened again, but according to Copland's later complaint this was done only after the official voters list had already been posted and without public notice having been given. The young lawyer claimed that this had allowed a certain amount of undercover campaigning to aid the " government candidate," J. J. Southgate, a Victoria merchant, most of whose support came from the Chemainus settlers.[44] Early in January an editorial in the *British Colonist* claimed that no opposition had been offered to Copland until it had been discovered that he had no intention of supporting the leader of the Government group, George Hunter Cary. The editorial went on to say, somewhat truthfully, but no less pretentiously:—

> If any other man than a resident there had a claim to be elected by that constituency it is Mr. Copland. But for his efforts in chartering a vessel to explore the island, getting a pre-emptive system established and securing the franchise to the settlers, there would have been no Salt Spring Island.[45]

(43) *Ibid.*, November 25, 1859.
(44) *Ibid.*, January 5, 1860.
(45) *Ibid.*, January 5, 1860.

On the other hand, Copland's handling of the settlement scheme had made him one or two enemies.[46] Several veiled threats and insinuations as to his former reputation when residing in Australia were tossed his way from the *British Colonist's* rival, the Victoria *Gazette*.[47]

There are one or two indications, if some credence is given to Copland's story, that perhaps unorthodox attempts were made to secure his defeat. The Government had appointed Jonathan Begg as Returning Officer and had set the date of the election for January 13. Copland claimed that when he approached the Colonial Secretary to make certain of the election date, he had been told that it would not be held until January 20. As late as the day the election was held, the *British Colonist* commented, evidently from information received earlier: "Although quite a number of electors live here [on the island] not a word has been dropped as to the day on which the elections would be held."[48] Considering the dispersed holdings of the settlers, the lack of communication between them, and the fact that no community centre, not even a school-house, had been established, the almost outright accusation that the Returning Officer had deliberately posted the election notice on an uninhabited shack deep in the woods only three days before the election, instead of the regulation six, does not seem quite justified.[49] Nevertheless, it is evident that Copland's desire to play the part of a " champion of the masses " on Saltspring Island did not increase his popularity with the governing clique and those supporting it.[50]

George Hunter Cary, the Attorney-General, who attended the election in support of J. J. Southgate, caused even more ill feeling by openly congratulating his man on winning the election even before it had taken place. When Henry Lineker, spokesman for the resident settlers, protested this, Cary is said to have replied with an oath that the whole affair was a mass of irregularities and illegalities; that " the bunglers in

(46) The following extract is from an undated and unsigned letter in the Archives of B.C. concerning this election: ". . . whether Messrs. Southgate and Sparrow were induced to stand by the Government we cannot of course say, but we think after the conduct of Mr. Copland in the matter of the settlement, Government will obtain great applause for putting forward any respectable man who may keep out Mr. Copland."

(47) Victoria *Gazette,* December 23, 1859; January 6, 1860.

(48) Victoria *British Colonist,* January 14, 1860.

(49) *Ibid.,* January 19, 1860.

(50) No doubt Copland's quick defence of the settlers' possessory and franchise rights the previous October had not endeared him to the governing officials.

town had done it," but that the settlers might as well stop protesting, vote for Southgate and "forget it."[51] Of the ten men who had nominated Copland, only one of them, Edward Mallandaine, was able to vote in the election owing to the muddled system of registration.[52] A protest was drawn up on the spot, signed by fifteen settlers, and handed to the Returning Officer. The protest took exception not only to the lack of notification regarding the initial opening of the voters register and its subsequent reopening, but also to the manner in which the notice of election had been given and "other informalities and illegalities."[53] The fracas drew considerable attention, partially because Copland threatened to sue G. W. Heaton, High Sheriff of Vancouver Island, for illegally opening the voters register the second time, thereby, in the lawyer's opinion, causing him to lose the election.[54] Begg, the Returning Officer, was questioned regarding the circumstances of the election in a letter from Governor Douglas and replied that he had "held the election in due form," adding, however, that the lack of regular postal communication between the island and Victoria was "sevearly [*sic*] felt" by the settlers.[55] Nothing came of the protesting. Copland's threat to sue the High Sheriff, which was largely bluff in an attempt to intimidate Heaton into an out-of-court settlement, was never carried out. J. J. Southgate entered the House of Assembly as representative of Saltspring Island, and the matter closed with the satisfied report of Governor Douglas to the Colonial Office that:—

> There was a close canvas and a keen contest in nearly every District represented, and it is gratifying to observe that the returns exhibit the names of so many of the most intelligent and respectable gentlemen in the colony.[56]

With the settlement securely established and a representative in the House of Assembly, the Saltspring Island settlers buckled down to the work of turning their wilderness acreage into profitable farms. The land was not eminently suited to agriculture, the largest part of the island being fit only for grazing purposes, but by August, 1860, there were nearly seventy resident landholders hard at work, clearing, ploughing, and fencing their properties.[57] Many of the settlers had considerable

(51) Victoria *British Colonist,* January 19, 1860.
(52) Saltspring Island Election Papers, 1860, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.
(53) Victoria *British Colonist,* January 17, 1860.
(54) Copland to Heaton, January 20, 1860, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.
(55) Jonathan Begg to Douglas, January 20, 1860, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.
(56) Douglas to Newcastle, January 25, 1860, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.
(57) Victoria *British Colonist,* August 23, 1860.

acreage planted with barley, oats, and potatoes, and were engaged in raising cattle, pigs, and other smaller stock which would be likely to find a ready sale in the Victoria market. The Salt Spring Island Agricultural Association had been formed, with Jonathan Begg, Henry Lineker, J. Elliot, Jacob Francis, John Booth, and John Ussher as directors.[58]

Nor was the island entirely lacking in commercial and industrial undertakings. Jonathan Begg had opened a store on his farm in December, 1859, and in connection with his ambitious scheme of operating a nursery of fruit-trees, ornamental shrubs, and flowers, he boldly advertised in the *Victoria Directory* of 1860:—

SALT SPRING ISLAND STORE, POSTOFFICE AND NURSERY

The subscriber will keep constantly on hand a choice stock of
Flour, Groceries and Provisions
Dry Goods, Hardware, Etc.

Which will be sold cheap for cash or exchanged for country produce. The subscriber has also commenced a Nursery of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, together with Hedgings, Roses, Flowers, etc., on his farm at Salt Spring Island where he hopes to be able to supply those favouring him with orders on the best of terms.

J. BEGG.[59]

The Saltspring Island Stone Company, which had been formed to quarry the massive beds of sandstone lying close to the shore from Vesuvius Bay north to Houstoun Passage, was another promising venture. A report in the *British Colonist* in March, 1860, stated that the stone was suitable for all building purposes, being of a dark-grey colour and easily worked. It could be laid down in Victoria at $8 per ton.[60] The company, as originally formed, consisted of five men—H. Elliot, William Senior, Robert Leech, E. Williams, and John Lee. The last named was a building mechanic who handled the sales and construction work in Victoria, while the other four operated the stone-quarry on the island.[61]

J. D. Cusheon's 1,000-acre development, previously mentioned, promised to become the largest on the island. Unfortunately, Cusheon abandoned his plans; a reference to the property in 1863 stated that it had

(58) *Ibid.*, May 8, 1860.

(59) Edward Mallandaine, *First Victoria Directory . . .* , Victoria, 1860, p. 41.

(60) Victoria *British Colonist,* March 13, 1860.

(61) Reminiscences of Edward Mallandaine, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

been unoccupied for over a year.[62] Living conditions on the island were typical of pioneer life in many parts of the Pacific Northwest. Regular and safe postal services were lacking almost entirely, making it necessary to send mail to Victoria via Nanaimo and New Westminster.[63] Until wharves were erected at Begg's Settlement and at the stone-quarry, there were no loading facilities of any kind, and, consequently, bringing in provisions, particularly during the winter, was subject to the vagaries of wind and weather. The Bittancourts ran a small schooner occasionally, sailing when they could and rowing at other times, but to reach Victoria by canoe took anywhere from one and a half to three days, depending on wind and tides. By 1861 the negro population in the Ganges Harbour area—Central Settlement—had grown considerably. Rev. Ebenezer Robson, a Methodist missionary, made his first visit to the island in February, 1861, and reported that of the twenty-one houses in the district, all but four were occupied by coloured families.[64]

The winter of 1862 gave the settlers a bad time. In December, 1861, there were twenty-two claims occupied on the north side at Begg's Settlement. With others being taken up along the narrow strip of fertile land between Burgoyne Bay and Fulford Harbour and the promise of roads to connect the communities, the future of the island appeared hopeful.[65] But in May of the following year less cheering news was reported. The severe winter had killed off nearly 100 head of cattle, and many of the settlers had been dangerously low in provisions. These conditions, combined with the inaction of the Government in the matter of postal services, had reduced the number of residents by one-third.[66]

But Government and the elements were less sinister obstacles to settlement than the threat of Indian hostility. In the decade from 1860 to 1870 a series of incidents took place which kept the settlers in a constant state of fearfulness. Besides conducting massacres amongst themselves, the Indians murdered several settlers and robbed many others. From the beginning the Cowichan tribesmen, although showing no really dangerous attitudes, repeatedly told the settlers that they had no right to be on the island. This seems to have been more particularly the case with regard to the negroes, whom the Indians insisted on

(62) Victoria *British Colonist,* April 9, 1863.

(63) *Ibid.,* May 1, 1860.

(64) Ebenezer Robson *Diaries,* February 19 and 21, 1861, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(65) Victoria *British Colonist,* August 8, 1861; February 3, 1862.

(66) *Ibid.,* May 5, 1862.

regarding as inferior to themselves, with no claim to the respect normally shown to the whites. Thus they robbed the negroes' houses and crops without compunction. The settlers, on their part, claimed that the natives had never lived on the island prior to the settlement but had established a village there afterwards solely as an argument in their claim for compensation for the land. Presumably the settlers were right, since no records or evidence of a previous permanent native occupation exist. Nevertheless, the Indians did use the island for hunting and fishing purposes and maintained that some of their people were buried there.[67]

Several disturbing incidents occurred shortly after the settlers first arrived. Some of these did not involve the local Cowichan tribes at all but arose from the threatening habits of the more aggressive northern Indians. Having spent the winter in Victoria feasting and potlatching, these people frequently raided the outlying farms that lay in the paths of their homeward journeys.

July, 1860, saw the first really terrifying incident take place. This was the famous "Ganges Harbour Battle," between a large group of Cowichans encamped at the head of the bay and some dozen or more Indians from the north. Henry Lineker, acting as spokesman for the settlers in demanding adequate protection by the Government, described the event in a letter to Governor Douglas. He told how a party of twelve or more Bella Bella Indians on their way to Victoria had brought a white settler from the north end of the island to Ganges Harbour, where they were savagely attacked by the Cowichans and all but one slaughtered or taken prisoners.[68] The incident took place so close to Lineker's house that he sent his wife and family into the woods for safety, fearing that the Cowichans in their excited mood might turn on them. Fortunately, this did not occur, and, in fact, the Indians showed no animosity toward the white people. Governor Douglas, reporting the matter to London, stated:—

> The latter [the settlers] though greatly alarmed suffered no molestation whatever from the Victorious Tribe, who, before leaving the settlement expressed the deepest regret for the affray, pleading in extenuation that they could not control their feelings, and begging that their conduct might not be represented to this government in an unfavourable light.[69]

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(67) R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, London, 1862, p. 164 *ff.*

(68) Henry Lineker to Douglas, July 9, 1860, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(69) Douglas to Newcastle, January 8, 1861, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Nevertheless, such affairs constituted something of a menace to the safety of the settlers, while the depredations of the natives going to and from their homes farther north were a constant source of friction and potential danger.

The need for a resident Justice of the Peace was raised by Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes in his report to London concerning the Ganges Harbour battle. In defence of his remissness on this point, Governor Douglas pointed out that it was his policy to appoint Justices of the Peace "from the respectable class of Settlers, in compliment to them as well as with the view to economising the Public Revenue," and to pay them a nominal fee of £1 per day while in session. In the case of Saltspring Island, however, the Governor explained "none of the resident settlers . . . having either the status or intelligence to serve the public with advantage in the capacity of local justices, no appointment was simply for that reason made."[70] The Governor went on to state that he had seen no urgent cause to pay out £500 a year on the appointment of a regular Stipendiary Magistrate for the island, nor did he feel that a mere Justice of the Peace could have had any effect in preventing the Indian battle. On the contrary, he declared, interference by a lone official might have precipitated an attack on the white settlers. Nevertheless, he agreed that as soon as a suitable person could be found, he should be appointed to the position.[71] But unfortunately two more murders and several robberies were to occur before determined efforts were made to accomplish this end.

On May 10, 1861, some twenty canoes of Haida Indians from the Queen Charlotte Islands landed near the northern settlement to camp for the night. Entering Jonathan Begg's storehouse, they stole blankets, provisions, and clothing. In the early hours of the morning they continued on their way. The gunboat H.M.S. *Forward* was ordered to seek out the ringleaders, and after a lively encounter the commander, Captain C. R. Robson, secured their arrest.[72]

Savage hostility broke out in April, 1863, when a man named Brady and his companion, Henley, were attacked on a small island near Saltspring Island. Henley survived the attack but Brady was badly wounded and died later.[73] This appeared to have been the work of the Lumal-

(70) *Ibid.*
(71) *Ibid.*
(72) Victoria *British Colonist,* May 15 and 22, 1861.
(73) *Ibid.,* April 9 and May 8, 1863.

chas, a group living on the islands immediately to the north of Saltspring. A few days later another tragedy took place. A German settler, Frederick Marks, travelling with his 15-year-old daughter, took shelter from a brief storm on Saturna Island. It was known that there were numerous canoes of Indians in the vicinity, and when the man and girl failed to appear, a search was instituted.[74] At the time the two bodies could not be found, but on the strength of information provided by other Indians, H.M.S. *Forward* was sent off in pursuit of the murderers. Their hiding-place proved to be not Saltspring Island, as many of the terrified settlers believed, but Kuper Island, still uncomfortably close on the other side of Houston Passage. There an open gun battle ensued between the *Forward* and the villagers.[75] For several weeks an uneasy atmosphere prevailed among the island settlers, but fortunately the Indians of Cowichan Bay and Chemainus took no part in the affair, and soon those encamped on Saltspring and Galiano Islands dispersed to their homes for the summer.

The murder of Marks and his daughter created a stir of indignation in Victoria and Nanaimo.[76] Governor Douglas could no longer put off the appointment of a Justice of the Peace and forthwith issued the following commission:—

To all whom these presents shall come or whom the same may concern:

GREETING

Know ye that reposing special confidence in the Integrity, Loyalty, and Ability of John Peter Mouat Biggs I do hereby constitute and appoint him the said John Peter Mouat Biggs to be Justice of the Peace in and for the District of Salt Spring Island, including the settlement of Chemainus—To have and to exercise within the District aforesaid all and every the powers appertaining and belonging to that office according to the Law during pleasure and for so doing this shall be his Commission.

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and the Public Seal of the Colony of Vancouver Island at Victoria in the said Colony this twelfth day of May A.D. 1863.[77]

Major Biggs was certainly of the class of " respectable settlers " favoured by Douglas for public appointments. A man of means and education, he had purchased land at Chemainus following his retirement from twen-

(74) *Ibid.*, April 10 and May 6, 1863.

(75) Captain J. T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906,* Ottawa, 1909, p. 298.

(76) Victoria *British Colonist,* May 13, 1863.

(77) W. A. G. Young to J. P. M. Biggs, May 12, 1863, Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

ty-five years of military service in India.[78] Within a few days of his appointment, Major Biggs arrested an Indian, ostensibly for harbouring one of the murderers of the settler Marks and his daughter, but the episode had an air of official action taken for the sake of forestalling public censure, and, besides, Biggs was not a resident of the island, where, in the eyes of the settlers, the greatest need for a law official existed.[79]

Spring after spring, when the Indians were moving from Victoria to their home villages, stopping on the way to gather roots and berries on their traditional preserves, complaints arose concerning their habit of thieving from farmers' crops.[80] But much more serious to the struggling settlers was the slaughter of their live stock. In March, 1867, John Maxwell reported five beeves missing in one month.[81] The Indians were not always the culprits in these cases, since white cattle thieves were not by any means unknown. Nevertheless, the two groups often worked hand in glove, and the cry for retribution and law enforcement was directed generally against the native population.

In March, 1868, violence flared again. William Robinson, a coloured man living on the north-west side of the island, was found shot to death. The murderer had evidently fired from close range and had then proceeded to rifle the cabin.[82] Eight months later a second murder took place in the same area. Giles Curtis, another negro, was found with a gunshot wound in his temple and his throat cut with a butcher knife.[83] The settlers, now thoroughly aroused, petitioned the Government to exercise some protective measures, pointing out that unless such incidents were stopped, it would be necessary for them to take the law into their own hands or else leave the island.[84] When a little later one of the settlers reported that while he and his family were walking around their farm, some Indians in a canoe had fired on them, the Government could no longer delay. Following a strong editorial in the Victoria *British Colonist* on April 13, 1869, John Morley, Justice of the Peace for Cowichan, arrested an Indian, presumably for the murder of William Robinson fifteen months earlier. Unfortunately, there were indications that

(78) Victoria *British Colonist*, May 13 and 22, 1863; October 24, 1864.
(79) *Ibid.*, May 22, 1863.
(80) *Ibid.*, March 12, 1864.
(81) *Ibid.*, March 27, 1867.
(82) *Ibid.*, March 24, 1868.
(83) *Ibid.*, December 21, 1868.
(84) *Ibid.*, December 25, 1868.

this again was a scapegoat arrest, and a number of protests against the man's conviction were lodged by reputable settlers and Indians.[85]

Since the death of Robinson the Saltspring Island inhabitants had continued to press for the appointment of a resident official. Not only were the settlers themselves fearful of Indian reprisals, but such hired labour as there was refused to remain in the vulnerable districts. Louis Stark, the only settler remaining in the area where Robinson and Curtis had been murdered, wrote to J. W. Trutch, explaining that because of the threat of Indian trouble he had been forced to move his family and could no longer find men to work on his farm. He requested that his pre-emption rights be transferred to a piece of land on the north-east side of Ganges Harbour.[86] But the pleas of the settlers were of little avail. It was not until 1872, following Governmental reorganization arising from the entry of the colony into Canadian Confederation, that Henry Sampson became constable of Saltspring Island.[87] By this time, however, Indian depredations were becoming less serious, and within the next decade, as white settlement extended, they disappeared entirely from the southern part of the coast.

The unauthorized pre-emption scheme under which a majority of the original settlers on Saltspring Island took up their land was certain to cause more confusion when, on March 21, 1861, the limited pre-emption regulations of the previous month were extended to " the whole of Vancouver Island and its dependencies." This gave rise to the previously mentioned instructions of Governor Douglas to the Colonial Surveyor that he should decline to record any claims on the island or in the Chemainus district until adjustments had been made. Another grievance suffered by the bona fide settlers sprang from the fact that the original rule of " no occupation—no title " had not been impartially applied.[88] Moreover, pre-emptors who had left their claims with the genuine objective of earning money to stock their farms or to carry out improvements were in danger of being dispossessed or of having their claims jumped.

In July, 1861, Jonathan Begg complained to the Colonial Surveyor that many of the persons named as registered pre-emptors on the list published the previous May had deserted their claims or had taken up

(85) *Ibid.*, June 5, 7, and 30, and July 3, 1869.

(86) Louis Stark to J. W. Trutch, November 3, 1869, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(87) Minutes of the Executive Council of British Columbia, April 22, 1872, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(88) Jonathan Begg to Pemberton, July 25, 1861, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

others and that many non-resident owners had merely erected log huts on their properties as token gestures and had left the island, contributing nothing to the community work of the settlements. Begg suggested the appointment of a resident land recorder to watch the claims and to grant permission to the owners to leave their holdings for temporary periods. He also suggested that a definite minimum acreage of land to be brought under cultivation should be established as a requisite to continued title.[89]

There was definite need for some system whereby pre-emptors could take employment elsewhere in order to earn money to improve and pay for their acreage, but at the same time any such system tended to favour those absentee owners who had no intention of settling on the land permanently. Nevertheless, the Land Proclamation of 1862, besides consolidating the three proclamations of the previous year, broadened the non-occupation clause to allow pre-emptors who wished to leave their holding to put in licensed substitutes, the only stipulation being that no pre-emptor could act as a substitute for another pre-emptor.[90] On at least one occasion official action was taken following the infraction of this rule on Saltspring Island. Jacob Francis, who owned a pre-emption near the head of Fulford Harbour, obtained a licence for a substitute occupier. The substitute, however, soon tired of his undertaking and moved back to Victoria, whereupon Francis, during the temporary absence of the Colonial Surveyor, illegally obtained another licence in favour of H. W. Robinson, a neighbouring pre-emptor. When Pemberton returned and discovered this action, he immediately cancelled Francis's claim.[91]

As the election of 1863 drew near, the settlers, recalling the previous election embroglio, sent a number of letters to the Government asking that a Court of Revision be held on the list of qualified voters. According to the *British Colonist,* this Court of Revision, due to the lack of postal facilities, was almost as farcical as the plans for the election of 1860 had been. The Court was held at the farm of J. D. Cusheon, which had been uninhabited for over a year and was "just about the most inconvenient location that could have been selected." Since few of the settlers had been notified, no one attended the Court, and hence no changes were made in the voters list.[92] When the elections were

(89) *Ibid.*

(90) Vancouver Island Land Proclamation, 1862.

(91) Pemberton to J. Francis, May 12, 1864, Correspondence of the Lands and Works Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(92) Victoria *British Colonist,* April 2 and 9, 1863.

held in July, three men were nominated—G. E. Dennes, a Victoria solicitor; J. T. Pidwell, a Victoria merchant and secretary of the Horticultural Society; and Edward Mallandaine. Both Pidwell and Mallandaine were property-owners on the island, but when the vote went in favour of Dennes, Mallandaine decided to support him.[93] Dennes continued to represent Saltspring Island for the next three years. But in 1866, having gone into bankruptcy, he lost the seat and was replaced by Pidwell.[94] In 1864 a second revision of the voters list took place under more favourable circumstances. Mallandaine and several residents attended the Court of Revision, and a number of persons to whom objections were made were struck off the list, including Pidwell and three of his supporters. As revised, the list contained thirty-nine names.[95]

By 1864 the Victoria *British Colonist* was able to report favourably on the progress of the island. The mail steamer *Fideliter* was making fairly regular runs to Vesuvius Bay; many of the settlers were having considerable success growing tobacco; the number of cattle had risen to more than 500; and two settlers by the names of Brian and Griffin reputedly possessed the largest nursery of fruit trees in the whole colony.[96]

By this time the Government had set aside 100 acres near Central Settlement for school and other public purposes, and some aid had been given whereby the settlers were able to build a school-house.[97] This had been completed and a school was being conducted on a private basis by John C. Jones, one of the educated negroes on the island who held a first-class teaching certificate from the University of Ohio. In May, 1864, the residents of Ganges Settlement appealed to Governor Kennedy through Jones and another negro, Frederick D. Lester, to have the teacher's salary paid by the Government "there being 18 children between the ages of 5 and 16 years who are destitute of any opportunity of attending day school."[98] Although the Governor's reaction to the request was favourable, it was several years before this arrangement was

(93) *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863.

(94) *Ibid.*, April 24, 1866.

(95) *Ibid.*, June 7, 1864.

(96) *Ibid.*

(97) Report of John Jessup, Superintendent of Education, to the Minister of Lands and Works, April 15, 1874, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(98) J. C. Jones and F. D. Lester to Kennedy, May 18, 1864, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

concluded. For the next five years Jones continued to operate the school privately whenever he could find time to leave his farming labours, and in order to accommodate the few children at Begg's Settlement, he divided his time, making frequent trips to that community to hold school in an abandoned log cabin.

With the mail steamer calling at Vesuvius Bay and a rough road connecting that settlement with the farms south of St. Mary Lake, the complaints from these two districts lessened considerably. But the farmers at Begg's Settlement on the north-east shore were still isolated. In the spring of 1865 Dennes, in his capacity as member in the House of Assembly, obtained an audience with the Governor on behalf of Edward Mallandaine and Jonathan Begg, who came forward with the request that the steamer *Fideliter* should call at the north-east settlement as well as at Vesuvius Bay. It was pointed out that land communication across the intervening mountainous country was extremely difficult and that the hauling of produce to the wharf at Vesuvius Bay was well nigh an impossible task.[99] The Governor referred the problem to the Vancouver Coal Company at Nanaimo, whose representative suggested that a trail be cut from Begg's Settlement across the narrow northern tip of the island to the stone-quarries on Houston Channel, where the coal company's steamer could call on her way to and from Nanaimo. Further than this the Governor could promise little help, other than attempting to arrange for an extra trip by the *Fideliter* once a fortnight during the summer months.[100]

From the beginnings of settlement the need for regular religious services had been keenly felt by many of the settlers, especially those with wives and children. From February, 1861, onward the island had been visited periodically by the Methodist missionary Rev. Ebenezer Robson. In his *diary* he gives the following interesting account of his first visit:—

Tues. 19. Left early in a canoe with 2 Indians for Salt Spring Island. Had a pleasant trip down. Was hailed when landing by a young man Graham alias Bitts one of the settlers, who invited me to spend the night in his house. (Graham, Dumbraine, Dr. Jno. Hall)

Wed. 20. Last night we supped on *clams* and potatoes and this morning breakfasted on pancakes and bread. Visited all the houses on the East side of the Island 7 in all and when through with that took canoe and went around the south point into Ganges Harbour when after dark I came to the house of Mr. Lenneker [*sic*].

(99) Victoria *British Colonist*, March 9, 1865.

(100) Henry Wakeford to Dennes, March 28, 1865, Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Department, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Thursday, 21 Feby 1861. After breakfasting at Mr L's I visited all the houses in the settlement save 3 There are in the settlement 21 houses on the same number of claims 4 of the houses are inhabited by white people and the remainder by coloured people. I preached in the house of a coloured man in the evening to about 20 persons all coloured except 3 and one of them is married to a coloured man. Went back to my lodgings after service which made about 18 miles walking during the day.

Friday 22. Left early and paddled against a strong wind till about 10½ a.m. when we rounded the southerly point and hoisted sail after about 2 hours sailing we came to an Indian house on Salt Spring Island and as our canoe was not sufficiently large to Endure the gale we hired an Indian with a large canoe and took ours in towe [*sic*]. As soon as we had started from shore the wind which was very strong carried the canoe forward with such speed that it became unmanageable—the Indians could not keep it to its course and instead of running up the channel we ran across and were obliged to come to under the shelter of an Island. After a short rest we started again. The wind was blowing in a gale the Indian in charge of the canoe became terrified his squaw began crying, the sail was carried away from the mast and finally the owner of the canoe refused absolutely to go further. This was about 8 p.m. so we went on shore in the cove of an island and camped for the night. I supped on boiled herring & potatoes and lay down to sleep on a wet mat and covered myself with a shawl during the night the rain frequently awoke me by pattering down on my head.

Sat. 23. Early in the morning we took a very plain breakfast and then started with a high wind for Nanaimo when we arrived soon after 11 a.m.[101]

The following year the Church of England added Saltspring Island to Rev. R. L. Lowe's ecclesiastical district of Saanich, and at irregular intervals this clergyman visited the island whenever the opportunity arose.[102] At such times church services were held on any opportune occasion and under any available shelter. The lack of communication between the farms prevented the settlers from forming a united congregation, and the desire was expressed for regular services at a definite place of worship. Rev. W. S. Reece, another Anglican clergyman to visit the island at a little later date, gives the following information:—

. . . held a Mission service which was well attended seeing that it occurred on a Wednesday, in the morning and with but little previous notice. There was a general expression of willingness on the part of the settlers to attend a weekday service rather than be without any at all, and many wished it were possible for the Church to take up ground on a Sunday and have some one resident among them . . . promised to visit them occasionally which I was enabled to do four times during the year.[103]

(101) Ebenezer Robson *Diaries,* February 19 to 23, 1861, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(102) *Columbia Mission Report, 1861,* London, n.d., p. 35.

(103) Report of Rev. W. S. Reece in *Columbia Mission Report, 1867,* London, n.d., p. 29.

In 1865 the Methodist Church took the matter in hand and directed Rev. Ebenezer Robson to hold services at Central Settlement schoolhouse once a month. He was followed later by Rev. Thomas Crosby and Rev. E. White. Four years later the Church of England adopted the same practice and sent Rev. W. S. Reece, resident clergyman at Cowichan, to hold monthly services on the island.[104] None of these men were residents of the island, and it was at no little inconvenience, indeed often with hardship, that they continued to minister to the religious needs of the settlers in all seasons of the year.

Under the limited communication and transportation facilities of the period, the Saltspring Island settlers were far removed from the turmoil of events that continually stirred the capital of the colony. Yet these sleepy communities, with their pioneer farmers eking out a bare livelihood on the scattered areas of fertile ground and rocky brush-covered hillsides, reflected the changing circumstances of the passing years. Their fortunes rose and fell, though less noticeably, with those of Victoria, Nanaimo, and the Fraser River towns. They felt the rush to the Cariboo and to the Big Bend on the Columbia in the desertion of their less determined inhabitants and the arrival of new immigrants to take up the abandoned claims. At one time during the Cariboo " rush " the name of the island was commemorated in Salt Spring Creek, far in the Interior, where the five men—H. Elliot, William Senior, John Lee, Robert Leech, and E. Williams—who once worked the stone-quarries at Vesuvius Bay gambled on the lure of gold.[105] The islanders felt the pinch of the depression that caught the colonies after the decline of the Cariboo diggings. Their representative followed Amor de Cosmos in favouring an immediate union with British Columbia.[106] When the times became more stringent and debate waxed hot and heavy on the subject of Confederation, they sent Mifflin W. Gibbs, the outstanding negro of the colony and a member of the executive of the Confederation League, to represent them at the Yale Convention of 1868.[107] In 1869 they gave an overwhelming majority of votes to De Cosmos in his fight against Robert Lowe on the same issue.[108]

(104) E. F. Wilson, *Salt Spring Island, British Columbia,* Victoria, 1895, p. 23.

(105) Victoria *British Colonist,* August 6, 1861.

(106) *Ibid.,* January 26, 1865.

(107) *Ibid.,* September 9, 1868. *See also* Mifflin W. Gibbs, *Shadow and light, an autobiography . . . ,* Washington, D.C., 1902, pp. 59–111 *passim.*

(108) Victoria *British Colonist,* November 17 and December 3, 1869.

Under the reorganization of the Government following Confederation, Saltspring Island became part of the Electoral District of Cowichan, to which were allotted two members. The island's first representative was John Patton Booth, one of the original settlers and one of the more vocal inhabitants. One of his first acts on behalf of his constituency was to reply to a circular letter from the Provincial Secretary asking for information as to the monetary requirements of his district. Booth's demands were modest. He asked for $1,000 " to make a road connecting the different settlements together; some portions of the inhabitants being entirely debarred from all use of the steamer as a means of conveying freight for want of a road," and another $1,000 " for school purposes, two schools being required to accommodate the children on this island."[109]

The problem of road connections had indeed been a thorn in the side of the settlers from the beginning. Booth's reply indicates that in twelve years of occupation relatively little had been accomplished toward providing the means whereby the individual holdings might have been knitted into a communal whole. Following the passage of the " Road Act " of 1860, Jonathan Begg, J. D. Cusheon, and John Tait had been appointed Road Commissioners.[110] According to the Act every male resident above 18 years of age and every person who held any landed interest within a road district—any area containing twenty-four landholders—was bound to perform six days' labour on the public highways. Residents who possessed working-horses or oxen and carts were to supply these for two days a year.[111] Complaints from the settlers indicate that the regulations had not been applied strictly to the non-resident owners. This left the burden of the work on the local farmers. Moreover, many of the less fortunate settlers were hard-pressed to make ends meet, let alone improve their holdings or to set funds aside to cover the eventual pre-emption payments. In 1862 Begg wrote to Governor Douglas pointing out that much as a few leading roads were needed, the most of the settlers were too poor to be able to devote their time to road-making, and in consequence he suggested that the Commissioners be empowered to open such roads as were most urgently required by

(109) J. P. Booth to A. Rocke Robertson, December 15, 1871, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(110) Jonathan Begg to W. A. G. Young, November 19, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(111) " Road Act, 1860," *Vancouver Island Laws.*

allowing the settlers to make payments on their land-holdings by working on the roads.[112] Six months later Begg again wrote to the Governor stating that since neither of his colleagues had been residents of the island for the past year, the Commission had not functioned and no road work had been accomplished.[113] At his suggestion, Cusheon and Tait were replaced by Edward Walker and John Booth.[114] However, his former suggestion regarding payment to the settlers for their road work seems to have been quietly ignored.

At the best of times there seems to have been a certain amount of mutual distrust between the different communities of settlers on the island, and the question of roads always brought to light diverse opinions, which increased the distrust and at times created an atmosphere of open hostility. Although racial antagonism as such did not flourish on the island, the needs of the coloured people were sometimes resented or brushed aside by the rest of the inhabitants. Some indication of this is shown in a complaint addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Land and Works, J. W. Trutch, by Louis Stark, a hard-working negro and one of the original settlers. Stark needed a road from his farm on the north-east side of Ganges Harbour to the Central Settlement schoolhouse, where he could connect with the road leading to the boat-landing at Vesuvius Bay. By his own efforts he had made a road of 2 miles, but could go no farther without permission to cross the claims of Armstead Buckner and John Norton. Another mile and a half of road would have taken him to the boat-landing.[115]

B. W. Pearse, the Acting Commissioner of Lands and Works, instructed the road foreman at Cowichan, M. M. Titus, to lay out the necessary right-of-way, making an agreement with Stark for the latter to fell the timber. This Stark did, completing the work on a Saturday. Although expressly forbidden to carry out road work on Sunday, some of the settlers, during church service, decided to proceed with the road, but instead of carrying it all the way on the agreed line, they took it only part of the way to within half a mile of the school, at which point they forsook the line and carried the road to a barn belonging to one of the

(112) Jonathan Begg to Governor Douglas, May 5, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(113) Jonathan Begg to W. A. G. Young, November 19, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(114) W. A. G. Young to Edward Walker, November 28, 1862; W. A. G. Young to Jonathan Begg, November 28, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(115) Louis Stark to B. W. Pearse, September 15, 1870, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

settlers who already had a road to his house. Stark's letter explaining the situation to Trutch strikes a pathetic note as it relates the events:—

> This Sunday bisness was all don and dated monday and now I am call on to acknolge an agreement that I had nothing to do with or loos the work that is don. This road do not come to the mouth of the boat road by fifty yeards. . . . I beg leave sir to make my gratefull acknolegement to you, and Mr. Pirce for having don that which was fair and rite so fair as you knew and if i loos my labour predgerdis and unfair play is the caus and that too bad to describe. The Sunday party road is a half moon circle from creek to the bairn that is the road that I refused to cut it would be madness in me to ask government to cut sutch a road as that. A sentral road is all that we ask for and let us make little roads and pigtrails to come to it by our own labour.[116]

Fortunately, instances such as the above occurred quite infrequently.

On the other hand, the conflict which boiled to the surface at the at the time an attempt was made to unify the island communities under a Municipal Council cut across colour lines, involving instead the prejudices and animosities of men and women, few of whom had any coherent plans for the future of their island home but who held widely divergent views as to what constituted the minimum needs of the settlements in the matter of public works. With the weight of debt lifted from the colony by its entry into Confederation, a number of the residents of Saltspring Island felt that larger things were in store for the island. In 1869 a local Board of School Trustees had been formed, consisting of John Booth, Abraham Copeland, and Thomas Griffiths. On their petition the Central Settlement school had been taken over by the Government, with an annual salary of $500 granted to John C. Jones, the coloured teacher.[117] Burgoyne Bay had become a thriving settlement, and for several years two partners—John Maxwell and James Lunney—had been shipping better than twenty head of cattle per month to Victoria.[118] As a great need existed for a loading-wharf, these two men agreed to give up 3 acres of their land for that purpose, providing that the Government would grant it to a group of trustees for the mutual benefit of the settlers. When the scheme was approved, Thomas Williams, John Maxwell, and Frederick Foord became trustees of the wharf property.[119] J. C. Sparrow had also shown his community spirit

(116) Louis Stark to J. W. Trutch, December 22, 1870, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(117) J. P. Booth and others to P. Hankin, October 26, 1869, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(118) John Maxwell and James Lunney to B. W. Pearse, June 18, 1868, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(119) Thomas Williams to B. W. Pearse, July 7, 1871, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

by giving up an acre of his land on which to erect, with Government aid, a school for the twenty-one children of the settlement.[120]

In the opinion of several of the more ambitious settlers the time had come for the island to be incorporated as a municipality, and a petition was dispatched to the Government asking that Letters Patent be issued.[121] Since the petition was endorsed by the necessary two-thirds of the male freeholders, the request was granted, and, consequently, the *Government Gazette* of January 4, 1873, carried the notice of incorporation, which read in part:—

> The said Municipality shall be called and known by the name and style of "The Corporation of the Township of Salt Spring Island."
>
> The said Municipality shall comprise all that parcel of land known as Salt Spring Island.
>
> The Council shall consist of Seven Councillors.[122]

Ten days later the municipal elections were held, with the following results:—

T. C. Parry, Warden. Frederick Foord, Treasurer.
Henry W. Robinson, Clerk. Joseph Akerman, Assessor.
Charles McDonald, Collector. J. C. Crane.
John C. Jones.[123]

The first Council meeting was held on January 30, 1873,[124] and some time later a set of municipal by-laws was drawn up.[125]

During the next year the incorporation of the island brought to light a radical division of the island residents. On the one hand, there were the typical pioneer farmers, independent, self-sufficient, and, for the most part, lacking formal education, who had no wish to be organized, preferring to cultivate their wilderness farms in relative solitude and seeking no more Government gifts than a road or two to give them access to markets. Their attitude was, to a large extent, summed up in that portion of Louis Stark's letter previously mentioned: "A sentrel road is all that we ask for and let us make little roads and pigtrails to come to it by our own labour." On the other hand, there were the more

(120) Report of John Jessup, Superintendent of Education, to the Minister of Lands and Works, April 15, 1874, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(121) Minutes of the Executive Council of British Columbia, September 18, 1872, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(122) British Columbia *Government Gazette*, January 4, 1873.

(123) Victoria *Colonist*, January 16, 1873.

(124) *Ibid.*

(125) Letters and Papers referring to Saltspring Island, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Certain of the early by-laws are reproduced in an appendix to this article.

ambitious settlers, sincere, if too hopeful, in their desire to forward the rapid development of the communities. Their plans for the future of the island included the establishment of themselves in positions of authority and local eminence.

Within a year of the proclamation of the incorporation a petition was addressed to the Legislative Assembly asking that the Letters Patent be cancelled.[126] The protest seems to have been led by two brothers, E. and H. Pimbury, who had come from England to take up a large tract of land in the vicinity of Mount Tuam, remote from the other settlements. In a letter to the Victoria *Colonist,* a " well-wisher " of the municipality accused those leading the movement for incorporation of having obtained the signatures of many of the settlers who were unable to read and who consequently were unaware of the implications of the petition.[127] This accusation does not seem to have been entirely justified, although it is true that most of the less educated settlers appear to have sided with those opposing the actions of the Municipal Council. The objections to incorporation were outlined in two other letters to the newspaper—one a anonymous contribution and the other signed by Daniel O'Connell. In the latter the Councillors were referred to as " would-be statesmen " and " New York Tweeds." The anonymous writer stated that already, within a year, the Council had incurred a debt of $300 " which must be paid by about thirty poor settlers—the remainder having little or no property to tax."[128] Daniel O'Connell's letter went on to say:—

I must allow we fear taxes, but there are seven men here who don't [presumably the Councillors], a very good reason why, for they have little or nothing to tax. If municipal laws are allowed to continue on Salt Spring it will make a bad state of affairs, for they are squandering in all directions and worse than all, they have run the island into debt . . . and as the seven say they have nothing to tax the burden must fall on the ones who have.[129]

It is difficult to tell where justifiable condemnation ends and mere jealous bickering begins. The greatest objection was directed against the action of the Councillors in passing by-laws to remunerate their own offices. E. Pimbury sent a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor in January, 1874, which included documents signed by Theodore Trage, H. Spieker-man, William Walsh, Michael Gyves, John Cairns, and John Maxwell,

(126) Victoria *Colonist,* December 25, 1873.
(127) *Ibid.,* January 17, 1874.
(128) *Ibid.,* February 5, 1874.
(129) *Ibid.,* February 15, 1874.

charging the Councillors with violating the "Municipal Act" of 1872.[130] The letter was referred to the Attorney-General, and the complainants were advised to take the matter to the Supreme Court of the Province,[131] but this course of action was evidently beyond the means of the protesting group, and for the next seven years municipal affairs on the island went on in a state of watchful hostility.

Following the municipal elections of 1881, the hostility took an active form. Some nineteen settlers from the Burgoyne Bay-Fulford Harbour district banded together and at a cost of more than $100 brought suit against Henry W. Robinson, the Council Clerk and Returning Officer, and his two associates, Charles Horrel and Henry Rogers, for malpractice during the election. It is significant that none of the defendants appeared in Court and no effort was made to contest the suit. As a result, the election was declared null and void, and the Returning Officer was charged with the costs.[132] Amidst the petty jealousies, heated tempers, and flying accusations and recriminations the protesting settlers appeared to have had the weight of justice on their side. The decision of Mr. Justice J. H. Gray in the matter of the election suit helped to place their case in a more favourable light.

One month later the nineteen settlers laid the whole affair before the Lieutenant-Governor in Council in a petition which condemned the behaviour of the Justice of the Peace, Frederick Foord, and the Clerk of the Municipal Council, Henry W. Robinson. It was claimed, among other things, that they had run the municipal affairs almost entirely by themselves; that they had kept the accounts of financial matters from the knowledge of the taxpayers; and that they had committed many irregularities during the election, including common assault.[133] Foord's report to the Lieutenant-Governor denied the accusations and stated that his position as Justice of the Peace had no connection with his position as a Councillor. He, in turn, accused the petitioners of perjury

(130) E. Pimbury to J. W. Trutch, January 15, 1874, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. The protesting settlers appear to have confused one of the disqualifying conditions referring to Municipal Councillors, i.e., "being in receipt of any allowance from the Municipality," with the legal right of the Council to pass by-laws establishing their own stipends as provided in sections 8 and 12 of the "Municipal Act" of 1872. Another complaint that the municipal area had not been divided into wards had more justification.

(131) *Ibid.*

(132) Victoria *Colonist*, April 22, 1882.

(133) *Ibid.*, May 28, 1882.

during the election suit and of not attending any of the Council meetings. Further, he claimed that the whole disturbance was the result of the settlers attempting to escape taxation, and he labelled the Pimbury brothers as the chief instigators.[134]

The Government of the day took no action in the matter, apparently hoping that the furore would subside in due course.[135] But a year later it erupted again; this time with the charges directed against the Reeve, John P. Booth, for retaining his position without election when no others were nominated to oppose him and for being a "puppet" of the Councillors who had continued to function in office despite the absolute refusal of the settlers to have anything to do with them.[136] The feelings of most of the island inhabitants were probably best expressed in a letter to the Victoria *Colonist* in February, 1883:—

> There is no doubt that we have forfeited our municipal charter by neglecting to comply with the law; and the general feeling seems to be that we are well rid of what has been a great source of trouble and ill-feeling.[137]

John Booth himself, in a letter to the Premier, William Smithe, wrote in much the same vein:—

> I believe Mrs. Booth informed you of the mess we have got into here as regards our municipal Council. . . . There seems to be an impression among some of the people here that you are going to wind the whole thing up and do away with it altogether. Should you have any such intentions and can see your way clear to do so, I do not think any one will object, providing the government take charge of and keep in order our wharves and roads. Our two wharves are in a dangerous condition at present, and if not attended to before long will probably fall. . . .

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(134) Frederick Foord to the Executive Council, n.d., "In Answer to Petition of Settlers of Burgoyne Bay"; in Letters and Papers referring to Saltspring Island, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(135) The Victoria *Colonist* seized this opportunity to denounce roundly what it evidently felt pleased to consider as Government connivance in an obviously unlawful situation, heading its news report "Reign of Terror on Salt Spring Island" and declaring editorially: ". . . Justice need not be expected from the existing government. But their time is happily growing very very short, and when the People shall have reasserted their rights, how the feathers of the birds of prey will fly!" Victoria *Colonist*, May 28, 1882.

(136) *Ibid.*, February 13 and April 10, 1883. Following Mr. Justice Gray's decision that the 1881 election was null and void, a second election had been held at which there was no contest, a majority of the settlers apparently refusing either to vote or to put up opposing candidates for the Council. The result of the fiasco was that the Reeve, John Booth, and the former Councillors continued to discharge their duties. Victoria *Standard*, April 2, 1883.

(137) Victoria *Colonist*, February 13, 1883.

Please give the matter your serious consideration as soon as possible because if we have to start things running again there is no time to lose.[138]

The impression among the people proved to be correct. On May 12, 1883, assent was given to an Act passed by the Provincial Legislature "to Annul the Letters Patent establishing a Municipality on Salt Spring Island."

Whereas it has been found that the working out of the municipal system on Salt Spring Island, under the present Letters Patent, is impracticable: And whereas no application to surrender such Letters Patent has or can be made, and it is expedient to cancel the said Letters Patent:

Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, enacts as follows:—

1. The Letters Patent bearing date the 23rd day of December, A.D. 1872, creating the Corporation of the Township of Salt Spring Island shall be and are hereby cancelled, and the said Corporation dissolved from the date of the passing of this Act. . . .[139]

Thus ended Saltspring Island's experiment in managing its own affairs. The time had not been ripe—communal unity on the island had not been sufficiently developed for such an enterprise to be successful. Lethargy, plus resentment of any local authority, on the one hand, and the overly ambitious designs of the Councillors with their impolitic disregard for the feelings of the settlers, on the other hand, had frustrated what might have been a creditable attempt at municipal independence.

A. F. FLUCKE.

TORONTO, ONT.

(138) John P. Booth to William Smithe, January 26, 1883, as reproduced in the Victoria *Colonist,* April 3, 1883, with a covering letter by the Premier indicating that he had Booth's consent to publication of the letter.

(139) Vict. 46, Chap. 22, *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia . . . , 1883,* Victoria, 1883, p. 89.

APPENDIX

A COPY OF SALT SPRING ISLAND MUNICIPAL BY LAWS[140]

Road Committee

Resolved that standing Committees on roads shall be made and their duty shall extend through the whole Municipal year, and it shall be their duty to inspect and report to the Council where money is required to be laid out, and the probable amount and one Inspector, shall be on each committee to be chosen by the Council.

Pay of Officers

And that the pay of Officers and Committee men be defined as follows, Clerk two seventy five per day, *$2.75.* Road Master two dollars seventy five cents per day, *$2.75.* Road Inspector two dollars seventy five cents per day *$2.75.* Committee men two dollars seventy five cents per day *$2.75.* Road men two dollars twenty five cents per day *$2.25.*

No road Overseer shall be entitled to more than two twenty five per day *$2.25* the same as other men when working less than four men. Or three men and team. And that a man and his team receive the amount of four dollars per day *$4.00.* And that the Council shall not be responsible for any damage.

By Law pertaining to Bulls

For the improvement of Cattle it shall not be lawful for any Bull to run at large during the Months of April May and June of each year, any person violating this By Law shall be fined five dollars for every offence.

By Laws on outside road committee

It shall be the duty of the Road Inspector from time to time to call public meetings in their respective districts ten days notice being given of such meetings at which they shall cause two persons other than members of the Council to be selected who shall, in connection with the Road Inspector, constitute a committee to determine what portions of the different roads most urgently need repair and the probable cost of the same.

The Inspector shall be exofficio Chairman of the Committee on Road Inspection and shall duly report the result of its inspection to the Council.

In case of disagreement between the Inspector and the other two Committeemen the matter in dispute shall be referred to the Council before proceeding with the work.

License By Law

No person or persons within this Municipality selling or tradeing [*sic*] with goods, wares, merchandise or vending Liquors without a License shall pay a fine of not less that ten dollars, or

(140) This undated copy is endorsed by H. W. Robinson, Clerk, and Thos. C. Parry, Warden, and bears the official seal of " Salt Spring Island Municipality," and is to be found in Letters and Papers referring to Saltspring Island, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

more than twenty five dollars, for each and every offence to be recovered in a summary way before a Justice of the Peace.

By Law on public places

There shall be Public places in this Municipality Known as Follows. Borgoyne [*sic*] Bay School House, and Borgoyne [*sic*] Bay Wharf, Central School House, and Vesuvius Bay Wharf, and at Begg Settlement School House, and that a Bulletin Board shall be placed at each Public place for to post Municipal notices. Any person or persons tearing down or defacing any public notice shall on conviction incur the penalty of not more than twenty five dollars fine, to be recovered in a summary way before a Justice of the Peace.

By Law on Horses

Resolved that Entire Horses shall be kept up any person violating this By Law shall be fined five dollars for every offence.

STATUTE LABOR BY LAW OF SALT SPRING MUNICIPALITY[141]

Whereas it is expedient that the provision for calling out the Statute Labor as provided in the municipal amendment Act of 1879 shall be put in force in the Municipality of Salt Spring Island

It is hereby enacted

Clause 1st. That every person over eighteen years of age resident within the municipality of Salt Spring Island shall be liable for two days work annually.

2nd. For the purpose of this Act the Municipality shall be divided into six districts

To Wit

A. All that portion known as the North Settlement shall form one district and be known as district No. One.

B. From the boundary of No. One to the divide on Otter Range shall form one district and be known as No. Two.

C. From the divide to the junction shall form one district and be known as district No. Three.

D. From Burgoyne Bay Wharf to Fulford Harbour shall form one district and be known as district No. Four.

E. From Fulford Harbour to Beaver Point shall form one district and be known as district No. Five.

F. All that portion of the Municipality facing Cowichan Bay having an outlet at the Wharf situated near the Messrs. Pimburys shall form one district and be known as district No. Six.

(141) This undated copy is endorsed by John P. Booth, Warden, and Henry W. Robinson, Clerk, and also bears the official seal of the municipality. *Ibid.*

Clause 3rd. On the first Saturday in May at the hour of noon all those liable to perform Statute Labor shall assemble at their respective places of Meeting and shall elect some one of their number to act as Road Master and shall also decide what portions of their respective roads it is most desirable to lay out the Statute Labor upon and also when it may be most convenient to call out statute labor Provided always that it shall be completed before the 15th. June. Immediately after his Election the Road Master shall notify the Clerk of the Council in writing of the fact of his election.

4th. A Notice posted by the Road Master at the respective places of Meeting one week previous to the day when the Statute Labor is to be performed shall be deemed sufficient notice to all persons within the district.

5th. The Road Master shall report forthwith to the Clerk of the Council all defaulters.

6th. The defaulters shall pay the sum of three dollars $3.00 to the Collector who shall Report default to the next ensueing meeting of the Council.

7th. In case any district fails to Elect a Road Master the Council at its next meeting shall appoint a Road Master for the defaulting district who shall proceed in all matters and have the same power as though he had been Elected in the district.

8th. The Places of Meeting shall be for district No. One, the School House, District No. Two, at the School House, District No. Three at Mr. Foords, for District No. Four, at the School House, District No. Five at Mr. Meinerstoffs, and for District No. Six at Messrs Pimburys.

9th. This By Law shall be known as the Statute Labor By Law.

JOHN P. BOOTH
Warden.

HENRY W. ROBINSON
Clerk.

FUR-TRADE BIOGRAPHIES

AN INDEX
to
the Biographical Sketches
Contained in the Appendices
of
Volume XXII of the Publications of the Champlain Society
and of
Volumes I to XII of the Series Issued in Both
the Publications of the Champlain Society,
Hudson's Bay Company Series
and
the Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society

Compiled by T. R. McCloy

FOREWORD

In 1934 when Dr. W. S. Wallace edited *Documents Relating to the North West Company* for the Champlain Society, he included as an appendix *A Biographical Dictionary of the Nor'Westers*. This addition to the volume proved to be a very useful one, and four years later, when the Hudson's Bay Record Society began their series of publications, they included similar biographical appendices. As a result, we have in *Documents Relating to the North West Company* and the twelve volumes issued jointly by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society a valuable but scattered group of biographical sketches relating to the early fur trade in Canada. This index has been prepared as a convenient key to these, and it is hoped it will facilitate their use.

Each entry consists of the individual's name, his approximate dates in parentheses, and a volume and page reference. The dates have been supplied for the purpose of identification, and with a few exceptions are based on information contained in the sketches. The volume reference, in roman numerals, refers to the volume numbers shown in the list of volumes indexed. For example, XXII:496 refers to XXII: *Documents Relating to the North West Company,* page 496.

T.R.M.

LIST OF VOLUMES INDEXED

The Publications of the Champlain Society

XXII. *Documents Relating to the North West Company.* Edited with introduction, notes, and appendices by W. Stewart Wallace. 1934.

The Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, and The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society

(References apply to both series.)

I. *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by Chester Martin. 1938.

II. *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822.* Edited with an introduction by E. E. Rich, assisted by R. Harvey Fleming. 1939.

III. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31.* Edited by R. Harvey Fleming, with an introduction by H. A. Innis. 1940.

IV. *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. First Series, 1825–38.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. 1941.

V. *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–1674.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by Sir John Clapham. 1942.

VI. *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. Second Series, 1839–44.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. 1943.

VII. *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. Third Series, 1844–46.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. 1944.

VIII. *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684. First Part, 1679–82.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by G. N. Clark. 1945.

IX. *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684. Second Part, 1682–84.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by G. N. Clark. 1946.

X. *Part of Dispatch from George Simpson, Esqr., Governor of Ruperts Land, to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London.* Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by W. Stewart Wallace. 1947.

XI. *Copy-book of Letters Outward &c. Begins 29th May, 1680; ends 5 July, 1687.* Edited by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnson, with an introduction by E. G. R. Taylor. 1948.

XII. *James Isham's Observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743.* Edited with an introduction by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnson. 1949.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Victoria Section

A regular meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, May 21. The speaker on that occasion was Miss Flora Burns, who spoke on *The Hon. William John Macdonald, Pioneer of '51.* The one hundredth anniversary of Macdonald's arrival in Victoria fell in the month of May, and it was particularly fitting that his granddaughter should outline his career for the meeting. Miss Burns had access to his personal diary and also to the files of the Victoria *Colonist* so was able to give an unusually well-rounded picture. W. J. Macdonald arrived on May 14, 1851, in the second annual ship from England, the *Tory*. He was then 22 years of age, and with him came the first large group of settlers to the new colony. He had come out in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and within a month was sent to the San Juan Islands to start a salmon-fishery. He performed many services for the Company, not the least of which was the organization and training of the *voltigeurs,* as the local militia were called. In 1857 he married Catherine Balfour Reed and built his first home, "Glendale Cottage," near the site of the present Union Club. With the discovery of gold, thousands of people poured into Victoria, and Macdonald had to assume many additional responsibilities—Collector of Customs, Postmaster, Gold and Road Commissioner, as well as Captain of the Militia. Frequently his wife and her sister had to assist him in the clerical work.

In 1858 he resigned from the Company's service and joined his father-in-law in business, and the following year he began his political career as the elected member in the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island for Sooke. In 1862, at the age of 33, he retired from business and devoted the rest of his life—fifty-three years—to the service of his country in civic, Provincial, and Federal fields. In 1866 he became Mayor of Victoria. At first opposed to Confederation, he later became one of its strongest advocates and was chosen as one of the first Senators from British Columbia. He was then 42 years old, and he served for forty-five years in the Upper House. He was honoured and respected by both parties and let no prejudice influence his judgment as to what he considered best for the rising young nation. He built "Armadale," a beautiful home on 30 acres overlooking the Strait of Juan de Fuca. This became a Mecca for friends and visitors for forty years, and there his three sons and three daughters grew to maturity. Senator Macdonald passed away on October 25, 1916, a beloved and honoured Canadian. Mr. B. A. McKelvie most aptly expressed to Miss Burns the appreciation of the meeting for her paper.

The centenary of the arrival of still another pioneer was commemorated by the Section on Saturday afternoon, June 23, when Wing Commander and Mrs. L. de S. Duke entertained at their home, "Molton Combe." More than 100 members of the Association and descendants of J. D. Pemberton were present on that occasion,

which was presided over by Mr. H. C. Gilliland. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, was the speaker for the event. In his address, *A Tribute to Joseph Despard Pemberton,* particular emphasis was laid upon the energy and activity of Pemberton. No sooner had he arrived but he was busily at work surveying the countryside. To accomplish this, he had to travel up and down the coast by Indian canoe and through the bush on foot. Previous to his arrival in the colony, the Governor had employed Walter Colquhoun Grant as surveyor, but his services proved completely unsatisfactory. Such was far from being the case with Pemberton, for, shortly after his arrival, surveys were under way and soon maps and plans were ready for transmittal to London, to the intense relief and pleasure of Governor Douglas. While Pemberton's qualifications as a civil engineer were of the highest order, it is a tribute to his skill that surveys he performed from 1853–55 were so accurate that years later, when rechecked by the Hydrographic Branch of the Royal Navy, they were found to be only 50 feet out in 100 miles. Pemberton journeyed from England to Vancouver Island in 1851 by way of the Isthmus of Panama and returned that way for a short visit in 1855. On his second voyage out at the end of that year he tested the Nicaragua route, making notes and comparing the relative advantages.

Pemberton was interested in, and participated in, every phase of life in the new colony with an enthusiasm that was characteristic of the man. He drew plans for churches and school-houses, visited sites for bridges and lighthouses and drew the requisite plans. When the Legislative Assembly was established in 1856, he was a representative from Victoria. While busily engaged in his multifarious activities of exploring and surveying, somehow he found time to make copious notes—country, statistical, topographical, and economic—which he assembled for publication in London in 1860 as *Facts and Figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia,* the first well-balanced account of the region. Pemberton visited England again in 1863 to secure dredging equipment for the Government and even took diving lessons in order to test properly the diving apparatus. During this visit he married Teresa Jane Grautoff, and they travelled to Vancouver Island in company with the new Governor, Arthur Edward Kennedy, and family. Shortly after his return to the colony, Pemberton retired as Surveyor-General and withdrew from public life, devoting himself to private affairs. In 1893 he died suddenly while out riding. His interest in Victoria was remembered in his will, for one of his bequests made possible the building of the Pemberton Gymnasium at Central School. Mr. R. A. Wootton extended the appreciation of the gathering to Mr. Ireland, and Mrs. H. R. Beaven, daughter of J. D. Pemberton, graciously thanked the Association for its assistance in celebrating the centenary of the arrival of her father. At the conclusion of this portion of the programme, which took place in the beautiful garden of a home located on part of the original Pemberton estate, the guests partook of a sumptuous buffet supper. Of particular interest was the presence of such a large number of descendants of Pemberton. Mrs. Beaven and Mrs. H. Deane-Drummond are his only surviving daughters, and there were a number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren also present.

The annual field-day of the Victoria Section was held on Saturday afternoon, August 25, and took the form of a basket picnic to Weir's Beach, Metchosin. It was a warm summer day, and smoke from the near-by forest fires made it relatively

simple to recapture the spirit of 100 years ago, when the first permanent settlers took up residence in the region, whose memory the meeting was to commemorate particularly. Mr. Robert A. Wootton was the speaker on the occasion and drew together much of the early history of the area and particularly of its early settlers Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Blinkhorn and their niece, Martha Cheney Ella. The name "Metchosin" is connected with pilchard-oil and may be translated as "the place of the oil," reference being presumably to the smell of the oil. After the Strait of Juan de Fuca had been penetrated, this area was a favourite stopping-place as it offered one of the first protected harbours. The Spaniard Quimper in 1790 was the first navigator to be in the vicinity, and in near-by Parry Bay there are the remains of earthen fortifications of unknown origin. Governor Douglas established his own farm, "Ferncliffe," in this region. Captain James Cooper was the first owner of land, and the first permanent settlers were the Blinkhorns, who had arrived in the colony in the *Tory* in May, 1851. Travel to and from Victoria was originally by canoe, but soon there was a cleared trail and eventually a road. The first church, St. Mary's, was built in 1873, the corner-stone having been laid on July 4. Two years earlier a school had been established. Originally the quarantine station established in 1884 was at Albert Head, but it was later removed to its present site at William Head. Robert DeVere Weir was also one of the early settlers, and his descendants were hosts to the Association. Other early settlers mentioned were the Fishers, Helgesons, Pears, and Wittys. Mr. F. H. Johnson, Vice-Chairman, expressed the thanks of the gathering to the speaker.

The first meeting of the Section in the fall season was held on Tuesday, September 25, in the Provincial Library with Mr. F. H. Johnson, Vice-Chairman, presiding. Mr. C. P. Lyons, author of *Milestones on the Mighty Fraser* and a member of the staff of the British Columbia Parks Service, gave an illustrated lecture on *Milestones in Ogopogoland.* In an informal manner he explained the coloured slides, as in imagination he took his audience from Hope to Princeton over the new highway, with side-trips to Copper Mountain and other excursions illustrating the flora and fauna and geological eccentricities of the district. The whole region from Spences Bridge through the Nicola and Similkameen Valleys to Keremeos and on to Penticton was covered, with beautiful slides of many of the scenic and historic spots. Mrs. Gwladys Welsh moved a vote of appreciation to Mr. Lyons for a most interesting and informative address.

A regular meeting of the Section was held on Thursday evening, October 18, in the Provincial Library, on which occasion Mr. W. W. Bilsland, Research Assistant in the Provincial Archives, was the guest speaker on the subject *The History of Atlin.* There have been many gold-rushes in British Columbia, but except for those to the bars of the Fraser River in 1858 and to the creeks of the Cariboo in the 1860's little is really known of the part which the gold-rushes played in the exploration and development of the Central Interior and northern extremities of the Province. As an offshoot of the Klondike excitement of 1897–98, one of British Columbia's richest and least-known goldfields—the Atlin area—came into prominence, flashed brightly for a period of approximately ten years, and then gradually settled back into an obscurity which has lifted only for a brief period in the 1930's. Solitary prospectors were in the Atlin area prior to 1898, but the first serious attempt at mining carried on by Fritz Miller and his party in the spring and summer

of 1898 led to an influx of 3,000 people to the region in the fall of that year and the appearance of several cities of tents in 1899. To-day the few people who have visited Atlin find it hard to believe that over 10,000 miners extracted $800,000 in gold in 1899 from the creeks flowing into Lake Atlin. It is also difficult to realize that by 1905 Atlin had a communal and social structure which had most of the amenities found in contemporary Vancouver or Victoria. In the history of the Atlin gold-rush it is possible to see in a space of fifty years a picture of the pattern of gold-rushes the world over: the first strike, the influx of the individual miners, the boom period, the gradual exhaustion of the shallow workings, the appearance of the large hydraulic and quartz-mining companies, the clash between the free miners and the large interests, the gradual exodus of the pioneer prospectors and miners to new fields, and the settling-down of the camp to large operations. Atlin's early development was seriously hampered by an almost incredible series of legislative and legal difficulties, by ignorance of the topography of the area prior to 1899, by a lack of adequate transportation facilities—solved only by the aeroplane in the 1930's and by a link with the Alaska Highway in 1949—and by two world wars which drastically curtailed gold-mining. To-day, however, Atlin's goldfields, almost deserted and abandoned since 1942, are again attracting the attention of large mining interests and may once more prove to be a profitable mining venture. Mrs. Henry Esson Young, widow of Atlin's first representative in the Legislature at Victoria, and herself an early resident of the town, moved a very hearty vote of thanks to the speaker, in the course of which she added several interesting and amusing personal anecdotes.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A meeting of the Vancouver Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on May 1, at which Mr. Kenneth A. Waites was the speaker on the subject *Vancouver's School Days*. Mr. Waites summarized the history of the Vancouver area up to the establishment of the first school at Moodyville in 1872. Granville School had sixteen pupils enrolled, and was close to the old Hastings Mill, from which it took its popular name. Its first teacher was Miss Georgia Sweney. The next milestone was the establishment of the Vancouver School District following the incorporation of the city in 1886. The School Board's first assignment was to find accommodation for an additional ninety-five pupils in a two-room school on Cordova Street in January, 1887, but by the end of the term the enrolment in the new school had increased to 285. From that day to this the Board has been under constant pressure to find school facilities for a rapidly expanding population. By 1940 the school system numbered 67 schools, 1,200 teachers, and 40,000 pupils. The first high school was established in 1890 on the Central School site under the principalship of Robert Law with an enrolment of thirty-one. The speaker traced the regional development of the present city, using the establishment of schools in each area to show the progress of settlement outwards from the down-town area. He also outlined the major changes in the school curriculum and paid tribute to Alexander Robinson, Superintendent of Education for the Province, who placed the educational system on a firm foundation. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to Mr. Waites by Mr. A. P. Woolacott, seconded by Mr. J. A. Byron.

The first meeting of the Section in the fall season was held on Tuesday, October 2, in the Grosvenor Hotel, on which occasion Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, was the speaker. His subject was *David Thompson's Exploration on the Columbia.* Dr. Sage stressed that only David Thompson's meticulous accuracy for mathematical detail saved him from oblivion. According to J. B. Tyrrell, he was the nineteenth century's greatest explorer and its most brilliant surveyor, and this opinion was based on a retracing of Thompson's footsteps a century later, which evoked from Tyrrell only marvel at the accuracy of his markings. The speaker touched lightly on Thompson's background in the Old Country, thus accounting for the traits which aroused the curiosity of Tyrrell and impelled him to edit Thompson's *Narrative*—a feat of no mean achievement in historical research. Thompson was born in London in 1770 of Welsh parents and orphaned soon after birth. At the age of 7 he became a charity boy at the Grey Coat School for poor children, where he remained until he was 14. Originally intended for the Royal Navy, he received training in algebra, geography, and navigation. At 14 he was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company, remaining with them thirteen years, serving first under Samuel Hearne at Fort Churchill. Thompson entered the service when rivalry with the North West Company was becoming increasingly bitter. The Hudson's Bay Company, after remaining a century on Hudson Bay and holding a monopolistic grip on trade coming to tidewater, now had to change its policy completely by setting up posts in the Interior in order to protect its lines of supply from its rivals. This called for explorers as well as traders. At the age of 17, Thompson led his first expedition and founded his first post amongst the Piegans near Calgary. There he learned their language. In 1789 he returned to Cumberland House, meeting Philip Turnor, a trained astronomer and surveyor hired by the Company at the instance of the British Government. Thompson spent the winter of 1790 studying under Turnor; thenceforward he was first and foremost a geographer and surveyor.

The Hudson's Bay Company refused to recognize Thompson's attainments, and in 1797 he threw in his lot with the North West Company. His first assignment with his new employers was to locate the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the "source of the Mississippi." Under the auspices of this Company, Thompson really started his life's work. The great question was the penetration of the Rocky Mountains. Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 had reached tide-water at Bella Coola, while a year previously Robert Grey had discovered the mouth of the Columbia. In 1805 Lewis and Clark explored the middle waters of the Columbia, going down the Snake River to the mouth of the Columbia. In 1808 Simon Fraser had descended the river bearing his name. But between the Fraser and the Middle Columbia lay a vast territory completely unexplored which the North West Company intended to claim for itself. Thompson was named senior officer for this task. In 1807 the first pass south of the Peace River was discovered and Kootenay House founded on Canal Flats. Lake Windermere country was explored to the source of the Columbia; the Kootenay River followed south to Kootenay Falls and north again to Kootenay Lake, and from thence he returned overland to Kootenay House. In 1808, after a trip to Fort William for supplies, Thompson explored part of the present State of Washington as far south as Bonner's Ferry, going from there up Clark's Fork to Lake Pend d'Oreille, establishing Salish House. In 1810 Thompson

was ordered to reach the mouth of the Columbia before John Jacob Astor, who was sending an expedition around the Horn. In order to avoid the Piegans, Thompson went north of Rocky Mountain House, finding the Athabaska Pass, near Jasper, and wintered at Big Bend in what is now British Columbia. From there he proceeded overland to Salish House and then by canoe to Kettle Falls. Below Kettle Falls he built a boat and descended the Columbia, only to find the Astorians already in possession of its mouth on his arrival on July 15, 1811. Thompson did not remain long on the coast; by September 10 he was at Arrowhead and the following day within 2 miles of Revelstoke; by September 18 he was back at Big Bend, where he wintered. The next year was spent in developing posts on the Upper Columbia, and in the summer of 1812 he was at Fort William. Never again was he to return to the Rockies. For twenty-eight years he had explored the West, twenty-five of them as a surveyor. His last act was to prepare a map for the International Boundary Commission after the War of 1812. He died in 1857 at the age of 87 in complete poverty and lay in an unmarked grave until 1927. The vote of thanks to the speaker was proposed by Mr. D. A. McGregor, seconded by Captain C. W. Cates.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in the Orange Hall, Kelowna, on May 2, with the President, Mr. J. B. Knowles, in the chair. Representatives from four of the five branch societies were present and reported on the activity of their respective organizations. Mr. Knowles stated that the material for the fifteenth *Annual Report* was being gathered and gave promise that it would be up to the usual high standard and of unusual local interest. He made an appeal for new and younger members to assist the parent organization by joining the various branches. The principal speaker was Rev. D. M. Perley, of Kelowna, whose address touched on matters relating to Okanagan Valley history.

The election of officers for 1951–52 was announced, as follows:—

Honorary Patron - - His Honour Clarence Wallace, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.
Honorary President - Hon. Grote Stirling, P.C.
President - - - - J. B. Knowles, Kelowna.
First Vice-President - D. J. Whitham, Kelowna.
Second Vice-President - Mrs. R. B. White, Penticton.
Secretary - - - Dr. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton.
Treasurer - - - - Major H. R. Denison, Vernon.
Editor - - - - Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Vancouver.
Assistant Editor - - - Mrs. R. L. Cawston, Penticton.
Directors—
North—
Burt R. Campbell, Kamloops. G. C. Tassie, Vernon.
J. G. Simms, Vernon.
Middle—
F. M. Buckland, Kelowna. Mrs. D. Gellatly, Westbank.
Jas. Goldie, Okanagan Centre.

South—
Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton. G. J. Rowland, Penticton.
H. D. Barnes, Hedley.
At large—
Mrs. G. Maisonville, Kelowna. Miss K. Ellis, Penticton.
Mr. J. H. Wilson, Armstrong. Mr. F. L. Goodman, Osoyoos.
Mr. A. K. Loyd, Kelowna.

The annual meeting of the *Kelowna Branch* of the Okanagan Historical Society was held on Friday evening, April 20, in the board room of the B.C. Tree Fruits Ltd., Kelowna. The meeting was an informal one, with much reminiscing on old times in the valley. Some discussion took place concerning the local museum. This Branch has been active throughout the year and has contributed greatly to the success of the parent organization. Officers elected for the year 1951–52 are as follows:—

President	H. C. Collett.
Vice-President	J. B. Knowles.
Secretary-Treasurer	L. L. Kerry.
Directors—	
Mrs. D. Gellatly.	Mrs. G. D. Fitzgerald.
Mrs. G. Maisonville.	Nigel Pooley.
E. M. Carruthers.	F. M. Buckland.
J. D. Whitham.	

The annual meeting of the *Penticton Branch* of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in the library of the high school on Tuesday, March 20, under the chairmanship of Mrs. R. B. White. Old-timers and comparative new-comers were regaled with some of Penticton's colourful past. Mr. A. S. Hatfield, pioneer of forty-four years' residence in Penticton, told of many of his experiences as a mail-carrier in earlier days and also in connection with customs difficulties when there was no permanent office provided. Mr. Frank McDonald recalled the days when Summerland was more important than Penticton as a cultural and sport centre. Mr. McDonald came to the area shortly after the turn of the century and was long interested in musical organizations and gave many interesting details concerning the first municipally sponsored band. The third speaker, Mr. Wallace Mutch, dealt principally with the early days of the fruit-growing industry and brought for examination by the members of the Branch the first journal and ledger kept by the South Okanagan Fruit Growers' Exchange. The officers for the 1951–52 season were elected as follows:—

President	H. H. Whitaker.
First Vice-President	R. L. Cawston.
Second Vice-President	A. S. Hatfield.
Secretary	H. E. Cochrane.
Treasurer	Captain J. B. Weeks.
Directors—	
Mrs. R. B. White.	Mrs. H. H. Whitaker.
Miss Kathleen Ellis.	

Later, at a meeting held on Wednesday, May 28, Mrs. H. H. Whitaker spoke to the Branch on her reminiscences of earlier days in Penticton. She recalled many of her impressions of the community after her arrival by boat in the early years of the century. Mr. W. Arnott, who once pre-empted the land where Kaleden now stands and later sold it for $1,000, also contributed his experiences in the early days.

The first annual meeting of the *Armstrong Branch* of the Okanagan Historical Society was held on Thursday afternoon, April 12, in the United Church Hall under the chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Wilson. At this meeting Mr. A. E. Sage, one of the first members of the parent body in the valley and Vice-President of the Branch was made an honorary member. Mr. Wilson reviewed the year's activity in his annual report and commented on contributions from the region being prepared for the forthcoming *Annual Report.* The officers elected for 1951–52 are as follows:—

President	J. H. Wilson.
Vice-President	J. E. Jamieson.
Secretary-Treasurer	Arthur Marshall.
Directors—	
Mrs. Myles MacDonald.	Mrs. D. G. Crozier.
Charles LeDuc.	H. A. Fraser.
Arthur Young.	

Other Branch Societies' officers are as follows:—

Vernon

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

Oliver-Osoyoos

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

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association, held in the City Hall on Friday evening, February 23, was the occasion of considerable justifiable congratulation, for a number of outstanding accomplishments were recorded in the various reports presented to a fairly well attended meeting. Financially the affairs of the Association reflect a healthy condition, for expenditures totalled only $313.42, whereas the revenue amounted to $651.97, including a civic grant of $200 and a donation from Mrs. J. S. Burris of $100. However, the Treasurer pointed

out that a great deal of the balance had already been committed. When it is noted that this Association during the current year had only twenty-seven active members, an increase of ten over the previous year, it is even more amazing that so much could be reported as accomplished.

The highlight of the year was the moving of the old fort building from the park to a permanent site on the museum property. This was done in May, 1950, with the active co-operation of the Public Works Department of the city. A contract for the necessary electric work was let and, when completed, the fort building was fixed up with exhibits and opened during the evenings for tourist and other visitors. This old building is said to have been built in 1821 as a fur-storage quarters at Fort Kamloops. It was originally constructed of hand-hewn squared timbers, morticed and grooved to fit, with the interstices filled with mud and moss. The original door fittings are still in use. The timbers had been rescued many years ago by the late David Powers, and in 1937, at the time of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration at Kamloops, the building was rebuilt in Riverside Park and fitted up as a museum. Later, when the Library-Museum Building was given to the city by Mrs. J. S. Burris, the exhibits were removed to the newer building. Now the old fort building has been once again fitted up as a museum on its new site and houses a great number of fascinating exhibits, including the bell and wheel from the steamer *C. R. Lamb*, a granite hand-mill made by Cariboo gold-seekers, an ox-team yoke from freight-hauling days on the Cariboo Road, to say nothing of the photographs, Indian artifacts, mineralogical and natural history specimens.

The constitution of the Association was revised to permit the addition of patrons as a new membership class. Mr. Burt R. Campbell's report on the photographic collection noted that although numerically there had not been as many additions, yet a number of very valuable collections had been donated, including the Beresford Women's Institute collection of Kamloops South District and the R. B. A. Cragg collection on Falkland and North Kamloops. The President, R. G. Pinchbeck, had made a fine contribution in identifying many of the photographs in the Carment collection. The House Committee, through its Chairman, R. B. A. Cragg, in addition to noting the moving of the old fort building and its rehabilitation, indicated many other alterations to existing facilities and reported progress in the negotiations with the Federal and Provincial Government mapping services in respect to securing air photographs of the vicinity. Many other gifts, too numerous to be detailed here, were gratefully acknowledged by the various departments of the museum. Attendance at the museum during the year increased from 1,610 to 1,951, and it was noted that more and more local residents were availing themselves of the opportunities afforded to them by this excellent Association.

Owing to an aggravated eyesight condition, Mr. Burt R. Campbell, one of the founders of the Association and a sterling supporter of it for many years, who had served for more than six terms as President, declined renomination. A resolution expressing the Association's appreciation of his long and valued service was proposed by Right Rev. Frederic Stanford, Bishop of Cariboo, and Alderman Helen J. Millward and enthusiastically endorsed by the meeting. The election of officers for the year 1951–52 resulted as follows:—

President - - - - - - R. G. Pinchbeck.
Vice-President - - - - Alderman Helen J. Millward.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - Mrs. Earl Robinson.
Committee Chairmen—
T. S. Keyes (Natural History).
R. B. A. Cragg (House).
J. J. Morse (Indian Lore and Artifacts).
Burt R. Campbell (Historical Photographs).

CARIBOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The first annual meeting of the Cariboo Historical Society was held on Saturday evening, August 25, in the cafeteria of the new high school, Quesnel. For some time there has been considerable agitation and interest evinced in the project, and on July 4 the organization was registered officially under the "Societies Act." The objects of the association are to gather together historical relics now held in private hands with the ultimate goal of a local museum in mind, to compile an authentic history of the Cariboo country, and to preserve its old documents and records. It is hoped that branch societies will be formed elsewhere in the numerous communities in the district. Mr. D. J. Whitham, first Vice-President of the Okanagan Historical Society, was present at the meeting and gave most useful advice as well as much encouragement in the new undertaking. The election of officers resulted as follows:—

Honorary Patron - - - - John A. Fraser.
Honorary Patroness - - - - Mrs. A. M. M. Earley.
President - - - - - - W. Alvin Johnston.
Vice-Presidents - - - - - George Johnston.
Robert Barlow.
J. B. Hutchcroft.
Secretary - - - - - - Mrs. W. C. Spear.
Treasurer - - - - - - Mrs. J. B. Hutchcroft.
Historian - - - - - - W. B. Morris.
Directors—
Two-year term—
Alfred Tregillus, Barkerville. W. C. Spear, Quesnel.
Mrs. W. Broughton, Alexandria.
One-year term—
W. Eric North, Wells. Dr. A. H. Bayne, Williams Lake.
A. S. Vaughan, Quesnel.

The *Quesnel Branch* of the Cariboo Historical Society held its organization meeting in the elementary-school annex late in September. Over forty interested residents of the district were in attendance, and prior to the election of officers Mr. Ralph Chetwynd showed films taken at the organizational meeting of the parent body. It was proposed that regular meetings be held at the call of the executive and, when the opportunity presented itself, that a museum should be established. Joint efforts with other branches would be made to restore and preserve such historic sites as the Barkerville cemetery and the Government

buildings at Richfield. It was also agreed that local officers of the parent body should be *ex officio* executive members of the Quesnel Branch. The officers elected are as follows:—

Honorary Presidents	J. A. Kennedy.
	Dr. G. R. Baker.
President	C. H. Allison.
Vice-President	George E. Johnston.
Secretary	Mrs. George Syder.
Treasurer	Len Rolph.
Executive Committee—	
Steve Hilborn.	Arthur Brown.
Mrs. J. A. Maclure.	Mrs. D. Madeley.

RANALD MACDONALD'S MONUMENT, TORODA CREEK, STATE OF WASHINGTON

Under the auspices of the Committee on Historical Sites of the State Parks and Recreation Commission of Washington an interesting programme was carried out on Friday and Saturday, October 26 and 27, with the official dedication and acceptance of a number of historical sites in Stevens County in Eastern Washington. On October 26 a luncheon was held at Kettle Falls, when Mrs. Ruth E. Peeler, Vice-Chairman of the State Parks and Recreation Commission, was the speaker. In the afternoon, ceremonies took place at St. Paul's Mission, with Bishop Charles D. White as principal speaker. In the evening a banquet was held at Colville, and Dr. C. S. Kingston, Department of History of the Eastern Washington College of Education, gave the main address and Dr. Louis R. Caywood, Archæologist, National Parks Service, made a report on the excavations at Spokane House. On Saturday a luncheon was held at Curlew, Ferry County, and then a dedicatory service was held in the Indian cemetery at Toroda, on the Kettle River, to mark the grave and honour the memory of Ranald MacDonald, one of the most colourful figures of the early fur-trade days, whose varied experiences took him as far afield as Japan. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. Joel E. Ferris, of Spokane, President of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society. Because of the considerable interest in Ranald MacDonald's career in this Province, Mr. Ferris' address is published in full.

RANALD MACDONALD: IN MEMORIAM

We stand to-day at the grave, so many years neglected, of an unique, colourful, and historic character, Ranald MacDonald, whose life-story is not that of a man who had wealth, political or social position or leadership, and who was not accorded recognition during his lifetime—a man who died disappointed and in poverty. Disappointed, but not embittered, that the manuscript of his life's history did not find a publisher; and in poverty because he cared little for money or comforts, he was content to pass his last years in this lovely and historic Colville country which he had known so well in his early years. He died near where we are gathered to-day to dedicate this historic marker or monument to his memory and which we believe will stand a reminder of his life, his courage, his

will to explore forbidden Japan, and of his later years of adventure and of his final years leading a gentle life in this valley. We will not have time to recount the many elements and incidents that make Ranald MacDonald one of the famous and unique characters of our great Pacific Northwest.

Born in 1824, his father was Archibald McDonald, of a famous and prominent Scottish family, at that time clerk (an important position) for the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort George, formerly Astoria, on the Columbia River where it flows into the great Pacific Ocean. Fort George was later moved and became the historic Hudson's Bay Company post, Fort Vancouver, across the Columbia from the present city of Portland, Oregon, and the centre from which the Company ruled a vast empire with its outlying trading-posts.

Archibald McDonald fell in love with the youngest daughter of Chief Com-Comly, a Chinook Indian chief, a man of great power and prestige and a great leader, the owner of hundreds of slaves and an aristocrat in his own right. Princess Raven was her name. One writer tells of her marriage as taken from Ranald's own written memoir or story:—

"Under a canopy of blue, edged by the deep green of the trees, a furry carpet had been laid. This luxurious pathway was made from sea otter and prime beaver skins. It was a royal carpet used only by Com-Comly on state occasions, and when he entertained notable paleface visitors a guard of three hundred slaves stood at attention on either side of the passage. They were picturesquely clothed in hats and coats trimmed with gold braid, but their nether portions were innocent of trousers.

"At the approach of the wedding party, which was composed of men from Fort George and the bridegroom, together with a group of Indians, preparations were hastened, and there was a noticeable commotion around that part of the lodge which was occupied by the beautiful Princess Raven.

"Robed in her bridal trappings of white buckskin, the princess emerged from the royal lodge, and then with a simple ceremony Com-Comly handed his daughter over to the waiting bridegroom, the handsome Archibald McDonald. As the young lovers joined hands they received a blessing from the Chinook Chief, who was known as a mighty warrior and whose word was law."

Princess Raven, after her marriage, took the name of Princess Sunday. On February 3, 1824, Ranald MacDonald was born, and a few months later his mother died and he was given to the care of his aunt, Carcumcum. A year later Archibald McDonald married Jane Klyne, a young Swiss girl of high character. Young Ranald's father was transferred to various posts, becoming a more important and valuable Hudson's Bay man and with increasing responsibilities, at Fort George in 1824, Fort Vancouver in 1825, Fort Langley on the Fraser River in 1828, where he was chief trader, and at Fort Colville in 1838.

His father had great pride and interest in his first-born and did not neglect Ranald for the numerous other children born by his second wife. The boy Ranald attended a school at Fort Vancouver conducted by John Ball. His father took him on many long trips to the Company posts. Ranald, in his later years, retained a clear picture of Fort Colville as it was when his father was in charge of this, the highest, post on the Columbia River. It was the centre of a large Indian trade, including the great Kootenay country and the Upper Columbia to

the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The location above Kettle Falls was a favourite resort of the Indians for salmon-fishing. Ranald thus pictured it:—

"The site of Fort Colville was a beautiful flat—about ten square miles—surrounded by mountains of moderate height, with celebrated buffalo grass and other finest herbage for cattle. The Fort, a fine one in the model of the times in the Indian country, had high wooden walls—12 to 18 feet in height; and bastions, with cannon and gallery, inside, all around, was a veritable citadel of safety.

"Here, during 4 or 5 years, with younger half brothers, under the tenderest, and best of parental care, I spent what I consider to have been the very happiest days of my life; in a world of our own; singularly isolated from the haunts of men; where only the occasional Aboriginal, with silent step, with his furs for sale, and our (the Company's own) 'Despatch' to and from the East and West in the Spring and Fall, in hurrying way, with single paddle boat (of eight for crew), with a passenger or two, broke the solitude. To this might be added the annual arrival from below, viz: Spokan, of the annual supplies . . . for the Post."

A modern writer who knew Ranald in his old age quotes him as giving this additional description:—

"The nearest court of justice was 600 miles away. There were forty servants of the Company, including all kinds of clerks, artisans, interpreters and a swarm of Indian domestics. It was a great distributing post for the smaller agencies of the Company. There were two mills, and the store houses were bristling with furs, skins and merchandise. Two brigades came in twice a year, consisting of about fifty men, bringing eight or nine boats, the supplies for the Company, and returned with furs to Vancouver . . . where they were shipped to England. Whenever these brigades journeyed, gathering up furs from the distant stations, the few travellers who were daring enough to go about in those days attached themselves to the column and received protection. The trails of the Pend d'Oreilles, Kootenais, the Flatheads, Coeur d'Alenes, Cayuses—centred in this valley, and here they came with pack-horses almost hidden under the loads of beaver, otter, mink, marten, lynx, bear, wolverine, and buffalo hides, humps and tongues, and the first salmon of the season, (which was) the royal fish, and his majesty, the governor, got it. There was no money, but beaver was the standard of value . . . twenty beavers, for a horse."

Archibald McDonald wished his son to have a more advanced education, and in 1838, when Ranald was 14, sent him to far-off Fort Garry, a long journey to the Red River at Winnipeg. Ranald, though young in years, was grown up, and his father was impatient at his school progress and at his restless nature and development. The boy, while at Fort Garry, saw the great figures of the Hudson's Bay Company who came from far-off Montreal, Quebec, Fort William on Hudson Bay, and from London. His father decided to send him to Eastern Canada for an apprenticeship in business, and at St. Thomas a friend of his father, Mr. Ermatinger, took the young Ranald in charge and in his employ. Ermatinger was a merchant, banker, and member of Parliament. Ranald rebelled at the routine of a clerk's work. He was popular among the young people of the leading families and at the Ermatinger home, where he lived. He learned the amenities of social life and was received in the fine homes of St. Thomas. He was tempted by fast

companions at times and behaved as many boys or young men of 17 do. In his heart was the spirit of adventure and exploration and a yen and a desire to see the world and to travel the high seas, so he slipped away, or ran away, and as he wrote many years later:—

"With grip sack in hand, I walked forth into the darkness of an unsympathetic world; alone . . . with barely enough scrip for the hour."

He made his way on foot and by river-boats to New Orleans and then to New York, where he sailed on a whaling-vessel, the *Tuscany*, bound for London. His life was that of a wandering sailor. He sailed the high seas; at one time in his life as a sailor he found himself on a ship where the crew mutinied, and on another ship as one of the crew of a slave-running vessel.

The great adventure in Ranald MacDonald's life, and one that makes him an historic character, was his decision to enter Japan, the Hermit Kingdom, which excluded all foreigners, an exclusion that was real and its violation invited prison, or even death. He sailed on a whaling-ship, the *Plymouth*, with the purpose of in some way carrying out this plan. Ashley Holden, long a student of Japanese history and a brilliant writer on the *Spokesman-Review*, will tell you in a few moments of that fascinating adventure and chapter in the life of Ranald MacDonald. On his release from Japan he lived a life of adventure by land and by sea; he visited London and Australia, where he worked at gold-mining. Later he found his way to Rome, to Paris, and far-off lands.

Home ties and affection and loyalty for his father drew him back to Canada. His father had prospered and retired in 1844, moving first to Montreal and then to St. Andrews on the Ottawa River, where he had a sizeable estate and was a man of prominence. Always sad at his first-born son's absence and wanderings, he died in 1853, and upon his tombstone these words were carved: "One of the Pioneers of Civilization in Oregon." Ranald came home too late to see his father, and soon his restless spirit drew him to the West—into the country where we live—which he had known as a boy. He arrived in the Cariboo country in 1859. He engaged in mining with a half-brother, undertook the building of toll-roads and operated a ferry on the Fraser River and lived an active life and finally, after many years, came to be with his cousin Angus at Fort Colville and in this historic and beautiful country passed his last years. He took up a piece of land as a homestead and eked out a meagre existence. He never married; his home was an old log cabin. For many months he occupied his time in writing a most remarkable history or chronicle of his life, and in attempting unsuccessfully to secure a publisher for it. In a letter to Malcolm McLeod, he wrote:—

"I yearn for nothing more than to live according to the whims of my nature. If I need meat for my dogs, in the foothills there is plenty of game. If it is flour that I lack, there is a store at the nearest settlement. My books furnish diversion, and in my solitude I am free to write and meditate."

Of his last days, one writer says: "The same kind Providence which had looked after Ranald throughout his adventuresome life now guided his less vigorous footsteps. He could no longer push into the unfrequented places and struggle with those who had youth and strength. Opportunities there were, plenty of them, and his discerning eyes saw and recognized each one, but he had neither the strength nor the desire to avail himself of them. Actual wealth he no longer

possessed, but he did have contentment, that elusive thing which he had never been able to possess in his active days." Another writer notes: "His life's work was nearly done, and in the evening of his years he gazed across the wide-sweeping mountains and the verdant valleys which to his dim eyes were faintly outlined against the setting sun. There were a few old retainers of the Hudson's Bay Company around Fort Colville and they ministered to Ranald's small needs. He dreamed of the days of the past, of the songs of the voyageurs, and of the sound of the wind among trees long since felled. . . . The miracle of spring awakened the hills and valleys around old Fort Colville. The aged man had thought that he might not see the resurrected world, with its carpet of bird-bills and buttercups, and the soft green leaves of the maple and the chaparral. But he enjoyed the long days of spring and, as the season advanced, he saw the hazel bushes setting their fruit. Basking in the sun, he observed the squirrels laying away their store of nuts. To himself he said: 'I alone make no provision for the coming winter. This is the end of my adventure.'"

So on August 24, 1894, his earthly life came to an end, his adventure was over, and resting in the arms of a relative he said "Sayonara"—Farewell. Here where we stand rests the body of this unique character, representing the spirit of adventure, the spirit of the pioneer. In his body, long since crumbled to dust, flowed the blood of a great Indian chief or king, and that of a long line of Scottish leaders and nobles. To Ranald MacDonald we pay tribute; we are glad his resting-place is properly marked; and to him we say on this day in October, 1951, "Sayonara."

A NOTE ON "GEORGE MASON, PRIEST AND SCHOOLMASTER"

In the preparation of his *Short History of Christ Church Cathedral* (Victoria, 1951), Major F. V. Longstaff, a keen student of the early ecclesiastical history of this Province, had occasion to search the records in the Synod Office vault in Victoria, and there he found clarification concerning the connection of Rev. George Mason with the diocese, which is of considerable interest.

"In the first *Parish Vestry and Committee Book* is to be found the record of a Vestry Meeting on April 21, 1878: 'The Bishop announced that he was intending to leave the diocese in May for a year's absence, and that he proposed to appoint the Reverend George Mason of Nanaimo as his *Locum Tenens* as *Rector* of the Cathedral (Parish), and that this would involve an increase of the amount to be contributed by the Cathedral congregation towards the stipends of officiating clergy during the coming twelve months of $250. This announcement was received with satisfaction by the meeting.'

"In the Synod Office vault there has recently come to light an old, large book or register which, for want of a better title, might be called the *Declaration Book of the Diocese* wherein are recorded the full declarations made by each clerk in Holy Orders who is constituted Dean or Archdeacon. Under date June 6, 1878, there is a long entry by Bishop Hills: '. . . Be it known unto you that on the date of the date here of George Mason clerk M.A. to be collated and instituted to the dignity of Dean of Christ Church, Victoria, within our Diocese and jurisdiction of British Columbia. . . .' There follows a separate full declaration by Mason dealing with his undertaking to use in full the services as laid down in the Book of

Common Prayer, a precaution taken, presumably, as a result of the difficulty that had just been concluded with Rev. E. Cridge. This declaration concludes with a signature as 'Assistant Minister in the parish of Christ Church Victoria, 6th June, 1878.' The next entry in this *register* under date June 26, 1880, records the resignation of Dean Mason.

"The assumption is that Mason had to have legal power to sign papers and to hold monies and that the Bishop discovered, at the last moment, that to do so Mason had to be fully collated and instituted as Dean. Normally this appointment would have been a permanent one but it is fairly clear that Mason was instituted in a temporary capacity in order that he could be in charge of the whole of the diocese during the absence of the Bishop in England.

"The *Proceedings* of the Synod for 1880 show that the Venerable G. Mason was then Archdeacon of Vancouver (Island) and Assistant Rector of the Cathedral (Parish). The same entry is given in the *Proceedings* for the Synods of 1881 and 1882. From 1860 until 1879 there were only two Archdeaconaries—Vancouver (Island) and Columbia (British). The Archdeacon of Columbia was always shown as Rector of Holy Trinity at New Westminster but that of Vancouver was given as rector of different parishes or missions, e.g. St. Johns' Church, Cowichan Mission, St. Paul's Esquimalt Church.

"It is important to remember that Bishop Hills had been his own Dean and Rector since 1875 when the Rev. Edward Cridge refused obedience for which the Bishop withdrew his license to hold the office of Dean or to preach in the diocese. Bishop W. W. Perrin was also his own Dean and Rector. The second separate and permanent Dean was Rev. A. J. Doull who was instituted on June 15, 1910."

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824–25 and 1825–26. Edited by E. E. Rich assisted by A. M. Johnson, with an introduction by Burt Brown Barker. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950. Pp. lxxix, 283.

For the first time, this volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society makes available in printed form Peter Skene Ogden's journal of his 1824–25 expedition to the Snake country. It also contains the full version of the 1825–26 journal, an abridgment of which appeared earlier under the editorship of T. C. Elliott in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Volume X, pages 335 to 365. The appendices contain the journal kept by William Kittson, who accompanied Ogden in 1824–25, letters written by Governor Simpson to Ogden in 1825 relating to the expeditions, Ogden's report on his expedition of 1825–26, letters written by Dr. John McLoughlin to Simpson and Finan McDonald, and a letter from Finan McDonald to Governor Simpson. Kittson's map of the 1824–25 expedition is included, and there is an excellent map which was prepared by Mr. Ralph Shane after Mr. Robert W. Sawyer and Forest Rangers retraced the 1825–26 route. The introduction prepared by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, as well as the notes compiled by Mr. Lewis A. McArthur and Mr. Sawyer, add considerably to the reader's understanding of the importance of the expeditions, as well as to his appreciation of the many difficulties, perplexities, and discouragements experienced by Ogden. Once again, the Hudson's Bay Record Society has produced a volume which not only excels in the art of book-making, but which is a model of precision in the matter of editorial detail and comment.

Peter Skene Ogden's Snake country expeditions took place when two systems of business enterprise were coming into conflict. The English corporation, the Hudson's Bay Company, was engaged in solving problems resulting from the merger with the North West Company. To increase its profits, it had to reduce costs of operation and find the means of employing effectively the men who had entered its ranks after the union of the companies. On the way in which it managed its affairs in the Columbia District, there depended not only the fate of fur-trading in the Oregon country, but also the political future of the area. Governor Simpson was determined that a policy of retrenchment should be followed in the Columbia District, and he was also intent on preventing "a threat on the flank of the fur trade" (p. xiv) which was developing with the penetration of American traders from St. Louis. The Company had already succeeded in buying off the Americans in the Rainy Lake District, but the contest in the Columbia District was more significant, since "it was not only a competition for furs, but . . . involving colonisation" (p. xliii). As Dr. Barker says, "The Hudson's Bay Company represented the monopoly as opposed to the free-lance, self-starting American trader, operating under unrestricted competition. The former worked under the handicap of being an English corporation and having to exercise full diplomatic restraint in order to prevent conflict; the free-wheeling Americans, under no restraint, had the advantage of thinking they were on home grounds with a sympathetic audience"

(p. xlix). The Snake country was to be the frontier outpost of the Company's interests, since it was felt that, by exhausting its fur resources, American colonization could be prevented.

Peter Skene Ogden, whose first two expeditions are described in these journals, was one of the men acquired from the North West Company. At first he was not included in the list of men to be taken over, but in 1823, after he undertook a trip to London and after representations were made on his behalf, he was recommended for the position of Chief Trader. The Council of the Northern Department subsequently appointed him to Spokane House District and instructed him to lay plans for a Snake country expedition in 1824. He had had long experience in the fur trade. Entering the North West Company as a clerk in 1810, he rose to the rank of bourgeois in 1820. After some time at Ile-a-la-Crosse, he was sent to the Columbia in 1818, and probably spent the years between 1819 and 1822 at Thompson River.

Although there had been Americans in the Snake country before this time, and there had been both North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company expeditions before Ogden undertook his, the boundaries of the Snake country were only vaguely known to him. He described them as being on the north the Columbia waters, on the south the Missouri, on the west the Spanish territories, and on the east the Saskatchewan tribes (p. 262). The country drained by the long southern tributary of the Columbia covers a vast area of over 100,000 square miles, some of it now included in the present States of Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington. At the time, it all lay within the boundaries of what was known as the Oregon country. With the boundaries so poorly defined, however, it was a difficult matter to keep from entering American territory on the eastern slope of the continental divide or Spanish territory to the south of the 42nd parallel. The 1824–25 expedition, starting out from Flathead Post, travelled through the most eastern section of the country, and was on more than one occasion on American territory (in the present State of Montana), and, farther south, nearing the vicinity of Great Salt Lake, was on Spanish territory. The second expedition concentrated its attention more on the central region, and appears only once or twice to have swung into Spanish territory.

When Ogden left Flathead Post on December 20, 1824, his party included seven Americans under the leadership of Jedediah Smith, who was employed by William Henry Ashley. These men had returned with Alexander Ross from the expedition of 1824. They remained with Ogden until March 19, 1825, but then rejoined him for a short time. He experienced no trouble with them. Early in May, however, he made contact with another party which had wintered in the country. At the time, he was south of the 42nd parallel. The American party was a large one of twenty-five persons, in addition to fourteen men who had deserted the British fur-traders. On May 23, with colours flying, Ogden tells us "they encamped within 100 yards of our encampment and lost no time in informing all hands in the Camp that they were in the United States Territories and were all free indebted or engaged and to add to this they would pay Cash for their Beaver 3½ dollars p. lb., and their goods cheap in proportion." He adds: "our Freemen in lieu of Seeking Beaver have been with the Americans no doubt plotting" (p. 51). The following day, the American leader, Gardner, "came to my Tent and after a few words of no import,

he questioned me as follows Do you know in whose Country you are? to which I made answer that I did not as it was not determined between Great Britain and America to whom it belonged, to which he made answer that it was that it had been ceded to the latter and as I had no licence to trap or trade to return from whence I came to this I made answer when we receive orders from the British Government we Shall obey, then he replied remain at your peril . . ." (p. 51). Gardner, who may or may not have known that he was not on American territory, then approached one of Ogden's freemen who was dissatisfied, and finding that he and others were willing to join the Americans, Gardner then declared "you have had these men already too long in your Service and have most Shamefully imposed on them selling them goods at high prices and giving them nothing for their Skins" (p. 52). This sentiment was echoed by the freemen—"alluding to the gentlemen he had been with in the Columbia they are Says he the greatest Villains in the World and if they were here this day I would Shoot them but as for you Sir you have dealt fair with me and with us all, but go we will we are now in a free Country and have Friends here to Support us and if every man in the Camp does not leave you they do not Seek their own interest . . ." (p. 52). The result of this first encounter with the Americans was that Ogden lost eleven men (Kittson says twelve). This loss pointed up the defects in the policy of employing freemen in such large numbers in an expedition of this nature. Once contact was made with the Americans, the temptation was great to join them and to obtain economic advantage. As Ogden later wrote to Simpson, ". . . there are three different Fur Companys and St. Louis Company with a list of Petty traders who offer and give as high as three to three and a half dollar p. lb. for the most indifferent Beaver and goods at a trifling value independent of their wishes our freemen could not resist such tempting terms compared to ours" (p. 256). It was not until 1827 that Simpson remedied the situation, although McLoughlin, acting on his own responsibility, introduced reforms in 1826.

Ogden again met the American traders during his second expedition. On April 9, 1826, a party of Americans who had wintered on Great Salt Lake arrived at Portneuf River. Accompanying them were some of the deserters of the previous year, some of whom made payments on their debts to the Company. "From what I could observe our deserters are already tired of their New Masters," wrote Ogden, "and from their manner I am of opinion will soon return to their old employers . . ." (p. 154). He added that "I cannot conceive how the Americans can afford to sell their Beaver so as to reap profit when they pay $3 per lib. for coarse or fine but such is the case and Goods proportionably cheap . . ." (p. 154). This time, none of his men deserted him.

The journals reveal Ogden's views on some of the important policies of the Company. He was not enthusiastic about the freeman outfitting system. The freemen, although patient when they were enduring hardships, were on the whole unreliable. On more than one occasion he complained of them: "there is no dependence to be placed on the freemen for yesterday they reported it impossible to proceed further the greater part do not appear over anxious to reach a Beaver Country or they would act differently" (March 29, 1825, p. 30), and again, on August 7, 1825, "many plots & plans among the Freemen to leave the Country & go to Spokane & there to Starve & be a burthen to the Company, we are afraid of

the War Tribes, Still with the exception of four not one will keep watch at night this is the third time they have attempted to leave me & tomorrow they are to Start" (p. 72). On another occasion, June 13, 1826, he wrote "Canadians in general require an alarm, every eight days otherwise they consider themselves as safe as if they were in one of the Establishments nor can any one convince them of the contrary and it would be folly to attempt it" (p. 184).

In dealing with the Indians, Ogden showed himself fair and even generous. For services given by a guide and information concerning the country about to be travelled: "I rewarded him to the amount of eight Skins Indian Tariff with this present he was highly pleased and I am of opinion had all Traders acted a little more generous towards the Indians they have been in the habit of employing the difficulty of obtaining them would not be so great as it is at present" (p. 183).

At the end of his second expedition Ogden concluded his journal with these words: "thus ends my second Trip and I am I trust thankfull for the many dangers I have escaped and returned with all my party in safety and had we not been obliged from the severity of the winter to Kill our horses for food, the success of our expedition would have yielded handsome profits, as it is, fortunately no loss will be sustained" (p. 205). A few days earlier he had written: "altho my returns are but indifferent and the privations and anxiety I have indured have been great Still I should have no objections to revisit it again provided it were to remain two years and time allowed to take the necessary precautions required—and it is my candid opinion an expedition fitted out for two years would be profitable . . ." (p. 194).

Ogden did undertake later expeditions, but they are not covered in this volume. What we have here is a picture of a warm-hearted, conscientious, brave, and honest fur-trader, carrying out his duties faithfully, but concerned about the policy of trapping the country bare and exhausting its resources, and even foreseeing a change in the economy of the country. "I started this morning to Fort Vancouver . . . no doubt ere many years a Colony will be formed on this Stream and I am of opinion it will with little care flourish and Settlers by having a sea port so near them with industry might add greatly to their Comforts also probably to their happiness . . ." (p. 205). Holding views so unorthodox for a fur-trader, it was possible that when such a development came, Ogden would be able to adapt himself as successfully to his environment as he had during his trading days.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society is to be congratulated on producing these warmly human documents, which throw abundant light on the fur trade during a period of transition.

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The History of Canada or New France by Father François Du Creux, S.J. Translated with an introduction by Percy J. Robinson; edited with notes by James B. Conacher. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951.

The Champlain Society is to be congratulated on the publication of this exceedingly rare volume which deals with the early history of New France. Father François Du Creux was a well-known historian and biographer of the Jesuit Order in the seventeenth century. He was not one of the devoted band of Jesuits that

carried the gospel to the Algonquins, Hurons, and Iroquois, but he was a close student not only of the *Jesuit Relations,* but also of Champlain's *Works.* His *History of Canada or New France (Historia Canadensis vel Novæ Franciæ)* was published in Paris in 1664 and has not previously be translated into English.

Dr. Percy J. Robinson and Dr. James B. Conacher, both of Toronto, have co-operated in the production of this volume, which deals with the period 1625–1644. The second volume, yet to appear, covers the years 1645–1656. It is perhaps unfortunate that the Latin original is not printed, in whole or in part, so that Dr. Robinson's translation might be compared with Du Creux's text, but in these days of high printing costs—and little Latin—such a procedure was evidently impossible. Dr. Conacher has most carefully worked through the translation, provided suitable foot-notes and also an admirable *editor's note* which deals with Du Creux's use of his sources. Dr. Robinson's brief *introduction* provides valuable information regarding Du Creux's literary and historical objectives in compiling his *History of Canada.* He also points out certain serious omissions in the author's narrative.

The *Relations,* sent home to France year by year by the Jesuits from New France, were duly published in French but attracted little attention in the literary world. Latin was still the universal literary language in Western Europe, and in consequence the Jesuit leaders in France decided that a Latin version, condensed from the lengthy and rather unpolished French original, should be prepared. Du Creux was selected for this task, and for over twenty years he worked at his history. Dr. Robinson sums up the result of the labours of this learned Jesuit who, incidentally, had never visited America: "The *Historia* resembles a volume of letters rather than a planned history; and is to be read rather for its value as literature than as a candid account of an epoch. The enthusiasm of the Jesuit missionaries for the conversion of the Indians and for the destiny of the new land was like the enthusiasm of Champlain, an enthusiasm that fired the imagination and took possession of those who planned for the future. Though the charm of Du Creux's erudite Latin disappears in a translation, where the familiar phrases of Vergil and Cicero can no longer delight, the atmosphere of his book is the correct medium for a just perceptive of the period that he describes. He recalls the mysticism of the Counter Reformation, the evangelical fervour and missionary enthusiasm of the Jesuits, and the humanism and intellectual awakening that culminated in the founding of the French Academy and in the literary and artistic glories of the age of Louis XIV."

The ordinary reader will, however, find the volume rather confusing and hard to follow. There is no systematic attempt to tell, in narrative form, the story of the Jesuit missions in Canada. That task was accomplished two centuries later by the American historian Francis Parkman. Fortunately, Dr. Conacher's foot-notes are most useful and provide biographical information regarding the leading Jesuits. Nonetheless the *Historia* is much more a series of edifying tales regarding the missionaries and their converts, together with vivid descriptions of the country and the natives, culled from the *Relations,* than a systematic historical work.

To British Columbians, Du Creux's *History of Canada* is valuable as a carefully prepared account of one of the great Roman Catholic missionary efforts in North America. The Jesuits have never played as important a role in Western Canada as they did in New France. To a later order, the Oblates of Mary

Immaculate, falls that great honour. Rev. Father A. G. Morice has written two volumes on the *Catholic Church in Western Canada* and Rev. Father William N. Bischoff, S.J., has dealt with *The Jesuits in Old Oregon.* Gradually the story of Christianity in Canada is being written by Protestants as well as by Roman Catholics. Some day there may be a co-operative work on the subject produced by Christians of all persuasions. The time is overripe.

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The Memoirs of an Educational Pioneer. By Alice Ravenhill. With a foreword by Norman MacKenzie. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1951. Pp. x, 241. Ports. $4.

Alice Ravenhill is the living link between the mid-Victorian and the modern world. Although she came out of a comfortable English home, she has, all her life, been in the forefront of the movements which have effected social change. Now at the age of 92, from her nursing home in Victoria she has published her *Memoirs.* Her book merits a wide-reading audience. It bears witness to the contribution a good and noble woman, without academic training for her work, was capable of making in the field of education and social welfare on both sides of the Atlantic. British Columbia owes a particular debt to her. From the moment of her arrival she has played an active part in the field of education and public affairs and made an outstanding contribution toward the preservation of the native culture of this Province.

She came to Canada in 1910. She was then 51 years of age. Already she had made a career in England for herself which had gained her prominence. To give up the work in which she had spent so much of her life meant a heavy sacrifice, as well as a painful severance of warm associations. In Victoria her ability was soon recognized. She became a leader in advancing the cause of social welfare. The Government commissioned her to write a series of pamphlets on "Food," "Child Care," and "Labour-saving Devices in the Household" for the Women's Institutes of the Province. She lectured to the Institutes throughout the Province and founded new ones. She was called to Toronto to have the honour of opening a new Women's Building at the University. She sat as a member of the group of educationists who brought about the establishment of the University of British Columbia. She was a member of the committee that organized the Queen Alexandra Solarium for crippled children at Mill Bay. She became a lecturer at the Normal School in Vancouver and a much sought-after speaker at organization meetings.

Her reputation spread beyond British Columbia. Oregon State College invited her to give a series of lectures. Then she was called upon, and carried out, a lecture tour in the United States, lecturing at the State University of Texas, the State College of Kansas, Kansas University, the University of Chicago, Western Reserve University, and Columbia University. This tour culminated in her becoming Director of Home Economics at the State College in Utah. Thus in half a dozen years Miss Ravenhill had established herself anew on this continent in her chosen work, launching out in middle life on a second career with horizons wider

than those which had been hers in England. Unfortunately her strenuous programme was too much for her health, and after two years in Utah she had, in 1919, to abandon her academic work and return to Victoria.

She was not one who could remain idle. Before long she interested herself in the native Indian crafts, which had been so sadly neglected. She threw herself into research on native design. She spoke on the subject to a number of societies, including the Victoria Arts and Crafts, without at first arousing much interest, but, as she relates, she continued to "peg away." Out of her research came her books: *The Native Tribes of British Columbia, Indian Tribal Arts in British Columbia,* and *A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture,* authoritative works. Later the interest which she thus fostered resulted in the formation of The Society for B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare. In this way she played a key part in bringing native British Columbia design to the position it now holds in the esteem of designers outside Canada, as well as here.

The range of her contacts in British Columbia is reflected in the names of persons of such a variety of interest as those of Sir Richard McBride, Miss Susan Crease, Mrs. Alfred Watt, Dr. Cyril Wace, Dean C. S. Quainton, Francis Kermode, W. A. Newcombe, Anthony Walsh, Dr. D. M. Baillie, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Dr. Clifford Carl. On June 15, 1948, the University of British Columbia recognized her work by conferring on her the degree of Doctor of Science, *honoris causa.* Fortunately the library of that institution now has Dr. Ravenhill's collection of several hundred volumes on the subjects of education, sociology, sanitation, public and household health, and home economics.

Born in England in 1859, Alice Ravenhill grew up in an atmosphere of wealth and culture. The early chapters of her *Memoirs* give charming and delightful episodes in the life of a cherished and happy child, possessing early evidence of a desire to help her less fortunate fellow-men and an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. In 1864 little girls were seen and not heard, and for little Alice self-control was sternly taught, and outbursts of temper and forwardness promptly and effectively dealt with. She recalls: "Those early years were happy, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the associated discipline; daily rides on our ponies; or walks with our hoops; or hours of play in the garden during the summer; the merry time after tea in the schoolroom at other seasons."

Her curriculum of studies was always heavy and crowded, especially during the five years she spent at a girls' residential school in St. John's Wood. Financial reverses came to her family in 1875, and she had to leave her school and map out for herself a course of studies at home. During this time she transcribed into Braille for the blind Thomas Henry Huxley's *Physiology,* as an aid to these handicapped people in their work as masseurs. In her early 30's she prepared herself for the diploma given by the National Health Society and became a County Council lecturer during 1893–1894 on Home Nursing, First Aid and Health in the Home, in rural England and Wales. The following three years she held the post as Secretary of the Royal Nurses' Association. She writes: "Committee meetings ran into hours; and correspondence on countless details reached formidable proportions, especially in the days when typewriters were only coming into common use and telephones were rare labour-saving devices." Co-operative Guild lectures on Public Health, the preparation of pamphlets for students, and

a book *On the Elements of Public Health Law* occupied the years from 1897 to 1899.

The original methods she had used to gain the interest of her audience as a County Council lecturer, and her perseverance and determination to reach the highest standard in any work she undertook, placed her in the forefront as one important to undertake the pioneering of a course in Public Health for the teachers in England. Thus in 1899 her life took a new direction, and for the next decade Alice Ravenhill became an important figure in the field of education. In 1901 she was invited by the Board of Education to go to the United States to study the methods used in teaching Home Economics, and on her return to England she prepared the groundwork for that branch of study in the schools and universities.

The years until 1910 are staggering in their breadth of activity. In addition to the courses she gave for the London and Cambridge Universities Extension Boards, at Training Colleges for teachers in London, Winchester, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, and Exeter, she addressed the Froebel Institute, the Parents National Educational Union, the Child Study Society, the Women's University Settlements, and became active in the social and educational development of such associations as the Sociological Society, the Eugenics Education Society, the John Howard Society, the Child Study Society, the Society for Physical Education and Improvement. She worked with subcommittees on School Hygiene under the Royal Sanitary Institute and the British Association, carried on personal investigations connected with child-development, deputized on requests for essential legislation and on revision of existing regulations in her field. Her personal investigations, reports, and pamphlets written in connection with child-development have been outstanding.

In these *Memoirs* high tribute is paid to those who gave their friendship and ungrudging help during these years. Many are renowned in the field of public health and education. It is inspiring to read Dr. Ravenhill's expression of appreciation: "As I look back one fact impresses me forcibly: that indomitable perseverance in the achievement of at least part of their ideals characterizes a high proportion of those men and women whose early lives have trained them to face and overcome obstacles and to press forward undaunted by difficulties." Of Alice Ravenhill it can be truly said that her life and work was in the tradition of such men and women.

VERA DRURY.

VICTORIA, B.C.

An Alaskan Gold Mine: The Story of No. 9 Above. By Leland H. Carlson. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1951. Pp. xii, 178. Maps and ills. $3.50.

Haven in the Woods: The Story of the Finns in Wisconsin. By John I. Kolehmainen and George W. Hill. Madison, Wis.: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951. Pp. ix, 177. $2.50.

To some readers it may appear incongruous that these two books should be linked together for review purposes in a journal primarily interested in the Pacific Northwest. Yet there would appear to this reviewer, at least, good reason for this

decision, despite the fact that the one volume deals with a facet in the history of the mid-western State of Wisconsin and the other with a detail in the mining history of the Territory of Alaska. There is, however, one significant common factor. Both volumes are studies of the contributions that migrating European peoples have made to the over-all fabric of American development. In this instance, two Scandinavian countries—Finland and Sweden—are involved. In an age that is witnessing once again large-scale migration from Europe, it is of more than passing interest to have analyses made of the significance of the great migrations of half a century or more ago.

Readers of this *Quarterly* will doubtlessly recall that Mr. Kolehmainen, joint author with George W. Hill of *Haven in the Woods*, had contributed several years ago an excellent article entitled "Harmony Island," dealing with the Finnish colony on Malcolm Island in British Columbia. The same careful research has gone into this more ambitious undertaking, which is, as the sub-title states, "The Story of the Finns in Wisconsin." In an undertaking of this sort, collaboration with a sociologist was essential, and the co-authorship has evidently been highly successful. Here are to be found answers to the obvious questions: why did the Finns leave their homeland? what regions did they come from? why and where did they settle in Wisconsin? what has been the effect of their coming, not only upon the State, but also upon themselves? It is an excellent study of the process of acculturation, well documented, statistically substantiated, yet far from being denatured of its inherent human interest. Not only will the volume provide a great deal of much needed background information for any investigation of the Finnish migrations into British Columbia, but it might well serve as the prototype of historico-sociological studies that are so sadly lacking in our historical literature.

An Alaskan Gold Mine does not do for Swedish Americans nor Alaska what Kolehmainen and Hill have done for Finnish Americans and Wisconsin. Rather this book is a study in minutia, though not without broader interest and significance. The great Klondike rush of 1897 and subsequent years has tended to obscure the history of other discoveries in the Alaskan peninsula, and consequently it will probably come as a surprise to many that the discoveries of gold at Nome and Anvil Creek that touched off the first stampede to the Seward Peninsula in 1898 were made by Scandinavians of Swedish origin. In 1939 Leland H. Carlson was engaged in writing *A History of North Park College*, a Swedish sectarian institution located in Chicago. His researches led him back to Alaska, and to one mine in particular from whence had come gold that built two buildings on the college campus. Intended as a chapter in a book, the story of "No. 9 Above" has become instead a book that is in reality only a chapter in the fascinating story of Alaskan gold-rushes.

Litigation in connection with mining claims is not unusual, but surely this particular instance is one of the more involved cases on record and possibly unique in that it arose from the rival pretensions of two missionaries of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America—Nels. O. Hultberg, who established a station at Cheenik on Golovnin Bay in 1893, and Peter H. Anderson, who came there as a teacher for Eskimo boys in 1897. Subsequently the Swedish Evangelical Covenant of America was to become involved by virtue of Anderson's "donation" to that body. In the end no less than eleven United States Courts heard arguments

on "No. 9 Above," during a period extending from January 21, 1904, when litigation commenced, until the final order on February 20, 1920. Dr. Carlson has obviously made a careful and detailed study of the whole controversy and, as a result, can lead his readers through the amazing labyrinth of legal argument with a minimum of confusion. Significant documents are reproduced in full, along with other useful material placed in a series of appendices. But it is in the analysis of the ramifications of this controversy and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom that the author makes his most important contribution.

The institutions sponsoring these volumes may well be proud of their publications, which are not only scholarly works but are also fine examples of bookmaking. Each has an excellent index and bears the hall-mark of careful editorial supervision.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Some Modern Historians of Britain: Essays in honour of R. L. Schuyler by some of his former students at Columbia University. Edited by Herman Ausubel, J. B. Brebner, and Erling M. Hunt. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Pp. xiv, 384. $5.

Professor Robert Livingstone Schuyler, of Columbia University, New York City, was elected President of the American Historical Association in December, 1950. To celebrate this event and to commemorate his many years of distinguished service at Columbia, twenty-two of his former students wrote essays on *Some Modern Historians of Britain* and presented them to him in September, 1951. No higher honour can be conferred upon a professor by his former students!

Of the twenty-two historians discussed in the essays, one, Elie Halevy, was a Frenchman; three, George Burton Adams, Charles McLean Andrews, and George Louis Beer, were Americans; one, L. B. Namier, a naturalized Englishman; and the others were born in the British Isles. Thomas Carlyle was a Scot and W. E. H. Lecky an Irishman. All the others were English. Nineteen of the twenty-two authors are American born; the other three are, or were, Canadians. Margaret Marion Spector is an honour graduate in history of the University of British Columbia. J. Bartlet Brebner and W. Menzies Whitelaw are honour graduates of Toronto University. Seven of the contributors are women.

The first of the historians written of, John Lingard, was born in 1771 and died in 1851. The last listed, Eileen Power, died in 1940 at the age of 41. Three of these modern historians of Britain are still living—Winston Spencer Churchill, R. H. Tawney, and L. B. Namier. The essays, therefore, deal with British historical writing in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. There are many notable omissions. Professor Schuyler has himself written on Lord Macaulay, John Richard Green, and Frederick William Maitland, and his essays will soon be published in book form. Other equally known, if not even greater, British historians are conspicuous by their absence. We look in vain for essays on Bishop Stubbs, Edward A. Freeman, Lord Acton, H. W. C. Davis, and, above all, George Macaulay Trevelyan. None of Professor Schuyler's former students had, apparently, made sufficient investigations into any of these "missing" historians.

Collectively, if the omissions noted are properly discounted, these essays throw real light on the progress of historical scholarship relating to British history from 1800 to 1950. The authors have treated their subjects in chronological order, but a reviewer may be pardoned for arranging these historians in a somewhat different sequence. John Lingard and Henry Hallam, however much they differed from each other in temperament and treatment of their subject, were pioneers of the early nineteenth century. Thomas Carlyle and James Anthony Froude were romanticists. Sir Henry Maine and Sir William Holdsworth were legal historians. Goldwin Smith and W. E. H. Lecky were primarily interested in political history. Sir George Otto Trevelyan continued the tradition of his uncle, Lord Macaulay. Sir Leslie Stephen and John Morley were men of letters whose chief historical contribution was biographical. Samuel Rawson Gardiner and Sir Charles Firth are to be classed as "scientific historians," and R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power as economic historians. A. P. Newton was primarily interested in the development of the British Empire overseas. L. B. Namier has written about political parties in the early years of George IV, but has also dealt, penetratingly and wisely, with the contemporary field. Winston S. Churchill is, of course, unique. Halevy and the Americans have viewed British history from a distance and with a certain detachment.

The essays differ greatly in quality and style, but all maintain a high standard of scholarship and writing. Perhaps the greatest tribute to Professor Schuyler's former students is their ability to sink, as far as possible, their own personalities and prejudices in the discussion of their individual subjects. Their analyses, in nearly every case, are thorough, penetrating, and critical, but also kindly and understanding.

WALTER N. SAGE.

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Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Series III, No. 6. Edited by J. A. Jackson, Gordon W. Leckie, and W. L. Morton. Winnipeg: Advocate Printers Ltd., 1951. Pp. 56. Map.

Four of the five papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba during the year 1949–50 were selected for inclusion in this number of the *Papers*. As in previous years, the result is an eminently satisfactory collection, not only in so far as the calibre of the individual papers is concerned, but also collectively in the variety of subject and period dealt with. It will be noted that the number of pages per issue has been decreasing, no doubt as a result of the advancing cost of printing. But it is greatly to be hoped that the continued publication of these *Papers* is assured, for without them Western Canadian historical literature would be considerably the poorer.

Of all the hobbies, philately has probably been responsible for directing more lay interest into historical channels than any other. Dr. Murray Campbell, a Winnipeg physician, contributed the first paper, "The Postal History of Red River, British North America," thereby giving ample proof of his competence as an authority on Canadian postal history. In this article Dr. Campbell traces the history of postal matters in the Red River Settlement down to the establishment

of the Province of Manitoba. It contains detailed information on the express routes operated by both the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies between Canada and Fort Garry through Canadian as well as American territory, and a most useful diagrammatic map is reproduced. Until 1844 letters of the people of Red River went forward in the Company expresses, but at that time Alexander Christie, Governor of Assiniboia, instituted a form of company censorship that naturally aroused opposition, and soon new private arrangements were made through Minnesota. The Council of Assiniboia failed to provide a mail service, and, as a result, the settlers themselves established an unofficial mail service about 1853. In 1858 the Canadian Post Office Department instituted a mail service between Fort William and Red River which, however, came to an end by 1860 for a variety of reasons. Many of the early postmasters are noted, and the difficulties they encountered are described. The article is well documented and reflects painstaking research.

Olive Knox is a well-known Winnipeg authoress, with several historical novels on western themes to her credit. For many years she has interested herself in the career of Louis Riel, and in her paper "The Question of Louis Riel's Insanity," she deals with one of the most controversial of the many problems provoked by this complex character. Mrs. Knox's primary interest is to discover whether or not Riel was insane at the time of the Rebellion of 1885 and during his subsequent trial, for she accepts and cites ample evidence of his "undoubted insanity" in the years 1875 to 1878. Riel, it will be recalled, rejected every attempt to use a plea of insanity during his trial, and thereby almost certainly assured his conviction and execution. Mrs. Knox's answer to her self-imposed question is: "I agreed with the government that Louis wasn't insane in 1885—neither was his cause insane. The injustice was not that an insane man went to the scaffold, but that a sincere man with a just cause was hanged for the mistakes of others" (p. 34).

The third and longest article in this series is entitled "Pioneer Protestant Ministers at Red River." Its author, Harry Shave, is a prominent Anglican layman and as Archivist of St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, was in a position to write authoritatively. Mr. Shave has done an excellent piece of work in providing in a succinct fashion considerable biographical detail on three of the great Protestant missionaries to the Red River Settlement. As would be expected, considerable attention is paid to Rev. John West, the first Protestant minister in Western Canada, who in 1820 came to Rupert's Land under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society of England. Many details of his activity as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company as well as in his capacity as missionary to the settlers and the Indians are instanced, providing ample evidence of his busy three years' sojourn in the colony. His successor was Rev. David Thomas Jones, whom Mr. Shave titles "The Evangelist of Red River Colony." Arriving in 1823, Mr. Jones remained until 1838, thus participating in much of the earlier development of the settlement. Again much useful new information is provided about some of the early church buildings as well as their incumbents. Mr. Shave does not deal in any detail with the third pioneer Anglican missionary, Rev. William Cockran, but passes instead to the first of the non-conformist clergy, Rev. John Black. It was not surprising that many of the early settlers, having come from the Highlands of Scotland, clung to the rites of the Presbyterian Church, and the

efforts of West's successors to meet their wishes by eliminating some of the Anglican ritual was both sensible and commendable. A native of Scotland, as a young man Black had emigrated to the United States and ultimately became one of the first students of Knox College, Toronto, in 1844. In 1851 he journeyed to Red River, where he continued to labour until almost the day of his death in 1882.

The final article, "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools," is the work of another specialist, for its author, Dr. Robert Fletcher, joined the Department of Education of the Manitoba Government in 1903 and served as its Deputy Minister from 1908 until 1939. It is a personal and frank appraisal of the language clause in the agreement worked out by Wilfrid Laurier and the Manitoba Government in November, 1896, and implemented by legislation in 1897 as a compromise in the highly volatile "Manitoba School Question." Originally designed for the French alone, the sweeping generalization in the Statute created totally unexpected difficulties after the turn of the century, when large numbers of European nationals came to the Prairies. Since they, too, shared in the protection afforded by this legislation, the educational system of the Province became seriously impaired by the state of confusion that inevitably arose. Much credit goes to the officials of the Department of Education like Dr. Fletcher, who laboured so diligently under frequently most trying circumstances to bring order out of the impending chaos.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

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ERRATA

Page 93, line 26: For *explanatory* read *exploratory.*
Page 112, line 20: For *Tod* read *Todd.*
Page 114, line 29: For *Joseph* read *Edward.*

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