

EARLY B.C. BOOKS

AN OVERVIEW OF TRADE BOOK PUBLISHING  
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA IN THE 1800s  
WITH CHECKLISTS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
RELATED TO BRITISH COLUMBIANA

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a history of trade books published in the area that is now British Columbia during the frontier years 1858 through 1899, and gives a narrative overview of the regional history of the book publishing industry. It provides, for the first time in a collected form, an overview of the basic information about a relatively unexplored, fledgling-but-flourishing industry.

During this period, regional publishers brought out 110 "trade books" -- books intended specifically for sale to the general public. In view of the information generally available in the literature, this is an unexpected and surprisingly large total. The main body of the study identifies these books and, using historiographic methods, draws on a wide variety of archival sources and literature searches to provide basic information about the books, their authors and the publishers. It then analyzes this information and draws conclusions about the publishers and their reasons for launching regional publishing enterprises.

The study shows that regional historical studies can yield valuable information applicable to contemporary Communications concerns. In particular, the study has implications for the examination of central versus regional publishing industries today. It also suggests that the

interplay of available media (books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers and public meetings in the past compared with books, newspapers, radio and television today) needs to be explored much more fully. As well, it illustrates that aspects of some basic Communications theories, such as those of Harold Adams Innis concerning centre/hinterland relationships, have application to early publishing concerns.

However, the thesis suggests that regional communications links were strong and vital. It argues that the regional publishing links in B.C., as shown by the trade books, were certainly stronger and more vital than is credited in the "conventional wisdom" expressed in the majority of today's literature. The thesis concludes with recommendations for further studies and suggestions for further specific research.

"The circulation of truth can be useful..."

-- Alfred Penderill Waddington,

1858

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The information about book publishing in British Columbia is not readily available and must be extracted, bit by bit, from primary sources. This could prove a life's work. In finding out some of the information that is brought together here for the first time I have often been lucky.

As well, I am indebted to many individuals who provided assistance and guidance along the way. Some were mines of information; others passed along small nuggets of information; others passed on rumors about information that led to fascinating searches in unlikely areas, with interesting and sometimes unexpected results.

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I would also like to add, as did Stephen Leacock in his Preface to Montreal: Seaport and City:

"Acknowledging all these debts, I feel also that I owe a great deal of this book to my own industry and effort."

I trust that the result will at least provide a starting place for many others who will fill in its gaps and pursue parallel studies in other areas so that someday a full picture of the value and importance of the book publishing industry in Canada can be understood and appreciated.

Glennis Zilm

Crescent Beach, April 1981

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## EARLY B.C. BOOKS

### Introduction

Most studies of the publishing industry in Canada have tended to concentrate on "literary" publishing and on "cultural" reasons why publishers should be supported. Volumes have been written about the need for a "Canadian identity" and on "support for the arts," meaning fiction, drama, poetry and, more recently, children's literature, and why these should be subsidized.

However, in my readings about Canadian publishing, I was concerned about the general lack of information about the history of book publishing and about book publishers in this country. What studies there were seemed sketchy and mainly concentrated on the happenings in the industry since the 1950s. Furthermore, little information was available about regional publishing, especially the early days of book publishing in Western Canada. Although I considered myself fairly knowledgeable in the publishing field, I certainly subscribed to the "conventional wisdom" that book publishing in British Columbia was a recent phenomenon and that only a few books had been published in this area before the mid-twentieth century.

This was most strongly emphasized in readings about Canadian literature. Even the most complete study, the three-volume Literary History of Canada,<sup>1</sup> mentions only one or two B.C. authors. The overall impression left by these studies (perhaps unintentionally) was that they were mentioning whatever there was -- and there was not much.

For this thesis, therefore, I set out at first to examine the history of book publishing in British Columbia. I fully expected to cover the years until the 1950s rapidly and background reading at first supported this view. For example, H. Pearson Gundy is considered one of the best sources on book publishers and publishing in early Canada. His monograph Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada Before 1900, published in 1965 for the Bibliographic Society of Canada, contains only 1 1/2 pages on western Canada and mentions only the first two books printed on the coast and one imprint from the Cariboo.<sup>2</sup> In Klinck, the references to early publishing in the West are not much broader.<sup>3</sup> Other historical researchers, such as Douglas McMurtrie, have tended to concentrate only on the first book printed in any area.<sup>4, 5</sup> More recent studies have tended to rely on these references and have failed to pursue any historical research or seek primary data.

This, then, was the field as I began my research. Even with some fairly wide reading, several discussions with people who might have been expected to know of early B.C. books, and exposure to current thinking, I was not prepared for what I would find.

In only a few months of preliminary study, I found I would have to limit the area for my research if it were to be practical. I first believed that I might limit the thesis to 100 years of British Columbia Publishing -- from 1858 through 1957; the opening date was the year the first book was published in B.C. and 1957 was the year that the federal government began making substantial subsidies to Canadian literature through the Canada Council. I was therefore planning to study a certain economic period.

A bit more research led to further restrictions. Book publishing in British Columbia is by no means a small subject even during its first century. Furthermore, the amount of original research that was needed just to identify what books had been published, and by whom, and why became astounding. This is a major area for research, not the subject for one thesis.

I therefore decided to limit the study to book publishing in British Columbia in the 1800s -- that is, to the period 1858-1899. This, too, has proven too ambitious a study, although one I was reluctant to give up. It became increasingly obvious that books could be divided, and should be divided for purposes of deeper research, into those published by the churches, by the governments, by private enterprises, by individuals. The kinds of books -- fiction, poetry, textbooks, travel books, provincial or local history and so on -- all seemed further divisions that perhaps should be made. I was reluctant

to make those divisions. Instead, I elected to keep to a broader study -- to provide an overview of the books published in that period. Therefore, this work should be viewed only as an introductory study for an area that is rich in material for further detailed research.

### Definition of Terms

This study, then, examines "books" that were designed for sale to the general public. The term "book," as used in this study, needs defining, however.

Nearly everyone over the age of three can define a "book." Unfortunately, official definitions vary. The Oxford English Dictionary devotes two large, full pages of fine print to the term. Perhaps the most useful official definition today is the one issued by UNESCO and adopted for world use in 1964:

Book -- A non-periodical literary publication containing 49 or more pages not counting covers.<sup>6</sup>

Although this definition is ideal for books now being published, it would exclude many of the publications issued in the 19th century. These would now be classed as pamphlets. However, many of these deserve the designation "book," partly because the changing technology has contributed to the modern definition. The economics of publishing also have changed; for example, during the early years of publishing



the commitment, effort and investment involved in publishing a 16-page document may have been greater than that for a 160-page document today. For that reason, the following definitions are given to help the reader appreciate the terms used in this thesis.

Book -- a printed document of several pages fastened together (bound) in such a way as to constitute a whole, with a separate printed cover, and not part of a serial publication (such as a magazine).

Trade book -- a book defined above issued to be sold to the general public through retail outlets. This definition separates trade books from government publications intended only for archival or legal uses, legal documents, educational books (texts) intended only for use in schools or colleges, religious books distributed through the church, special technical books (medical, nursing and others written specifically for the specialist), and publications intended for a specific association or agency (regulations and bylaws, for example).

Publisher -- A person, group or agency (including a government) that finances and controls the publication of a book. A publisher pays for the production (including search for manuscript, editing, designing, typesetting, printing and binding) of a book and arranges its distribution.

Canadian publisher -- A publisher with main headquarters in Canada and at least 50 per cent owned by Canadians.

British Columbia publisher -- A publisher with main headquarters in British Columbia and for which either the owner(s) resides in British Columbia or British Columbians own at least 50 per cent of the company.

Branch-plant publisher -- A publisher for which the main headquarters are located outside Canada (or British Columbia, in the case of B.C. publishers) but for which there is a local office that arranges publishing within that region.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this thesis lies in the fact that it establishes just how broad and important the book publishing industry in this region was during the 1800s. This thesis will show book publishing did not, as many literary writers would have us believe, come after the establishment of a culture; it is a part of the development of the cultural identity of British Columbia. In other studies, some recognition has been given to the part newspapers play as a community develops and becomes a political entity. This study indicates that books are equally as important as newspapers and were often produced as adjuncts to newspapers, although they have had stronger and more enduring effects in many instances.

### Focus of the Study

The more I uncovered about the early days of publishing in British Columbia, the more obvious it became that, during the period under

study, books were a vital communications link, rivalling the importance of newspapers. Books, during the early days of British Columbia, seemed as important a part of the factors for forming public opinion as radio and television are today.

This study therefore focusses on the historical function of books as cultural documentary records rather than only on their literary function. The books themselves and the background information on the publishers and printers who brought them out constitute the major portion of the material in this study. The examination of the contents reveal varied and numerous pressures on the writers and publishers of the period, on the choice of subject matters and on the techniques. The biographies and the bibliographies included in this study are, therefore, important new contributions to the history of Canadian publishing.

Unfortunately, the limits inherent in preparation of a master's thesis meant that the study was restricted to a period of only 42 years and prevented a more detailed overview. This means that there can be only a few main conclusions drawn from the material. The simple fact is that not enough material is yet available on which to base learned theories and draw final conclusions. However, this study does draw a number of conclusions and suggest several areas in which further study must be pursued.

In the field of communications theory and the theory behind the establishment of communications policy today, it would be important

to know just how important the regional publication of books is in the area of opinion-making. This study suggests that regional publishing plays an enormously important role.

As Harold Innis, one of Canada's most important scholars, has pointed out, "Canadians will find it necessary to work out the economic history of each industry, especially in technique and capital organization."<sup>7</sup> He has further noted that a study of a region must include the historic, political (including military), social, economic, religious, educational and cultural implications.<sup>8</sup> Most studies concentrate only on one of these. This is what makes a communications study so important, because it cuts across all these areas. This is certainly true in the study of book publishing, as will be seen, and this thesis on the books of British Columbia tries to touch all of these aspects.

#### Search of the Literature and Method of Procedure

A search of the literature related to book publishing generally was made through various reference sources and through examination of the catalogues and documents of several libraries and the Provincial Archives. The literature thus identified was scrutinized for relevant material on regional book publishing, book publishing in Canada and, particularly, book publishing in British Columbia. The books identified as useful are given in the Bibliography.

It was soon apparent, however, that relatively little information about books published in British Columbia, their publishers or even their authors was available. It was therefore necessary to go to primary sources -- the books themselves, and to information about them in archival sources and in newspapers and documents of the time. Unfortunately, much information related to the publishing industry has been lost.

The information in the first five chapters of this thesis represents historical research that has attempted to pull together information from a variety of archival sources and provide the base on which further research can be done.

The most important secondary source is Barbara J. Lowther's Bibliography of British Columbia: Vol. I -- Laying the Foundations 1848-1899.<sup>9</sup> This represented a two-year, well-funded, full-time search by two qualified historical and bibliographical researchers. Its value as a basic source cannot be over-emphasized. This enormously useful reference provided the main starting point for most of the work done in the archives for this thesis. In addition, however, I attempted to re-examine some of the ground, mainly to increase the information about the publishers, printers and binders of this region, because Lowther does not emphasize these in her study. In doing so, I was fortunate to be able to add some small new information to that available in Lowther.

The main part of this research was carried out in the Provincial Archives in Victoria, the Northwest Collection of the Vancouver Public Library, the Victoria Public Library, the Special Collections of the University of British Columbia Library, the New Westminster Public Library and the Vancouver City Archives. The vertical files and documents collections are most useful because some attempts in the past have been made to keep vertical files with information on individuals; this information was examined at length with the hope that any tidbits of value might emerge.

A page-by-page search of all the magazines published in this area during the 1800s and available in any of the above collections was also made. This offered considerable background, not indexed in other sources, on individuals and on books. Unfortunately, time did not permit a full examination of the complete files of all the newspapers published in British Columbia during the period for any references to books; this should be done at some future date. However, the indexes for the early newspapers kept in the Provincial Archives were checked against names of all individuals identified in this study, the books already identified and other possible subject headings (printing, newsprint production, printers, pulp and paper, typographical terms and so on). This provided much new and valuable background information.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study developed out of the preliminary research rather than out of a predetermined theoretical perspective. The original idea, to examine the history of book publishing in British Columbia to see if it offered information that could be used in the development of general communications theory, has had to be refined because of the massive amounts of information to be obtained.

The purpose now might be stated:

*To explore and define the history of book publishing in British Columbia during the 1800s and to see, through this period, if the study of a regional publishing industry can provide information useful to the general body of theory about communications.*

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## Chapter I

### 1858-1871: Colony to Province -- Pre-confederation

In the spring of 1858, the small British outposts on the west coast of North America suddenly boomed with the influx of miners on their way from California to the Fraser River gold fields. Before the year was out, more than 25,000 had poured into the colonies, arriving mainly by ship. The sleepy little fort of Victoria, on Vancouver's Island, suddenly was transformed into a new commercial centre that was both outpost of and rival to San Francisco.

Public buildings were needed and began springing up. Homes, businesses and warehouses mushroomed overnight. Within six weeks, from May through June, more than 200 new stores had opened.

Those who liked to read -- and there were many among the permanent settlers as well as among the miners -- had at first been dependent on newspapers and books imported by ship and sold through the one bookstore, Kierski's. By December, Victoria readers had seen the launching of four local newspapers, the growth of a bookstore business and the publication of two books. That was the start of the book publishing industry in what is now British Columbia.

The honor of the first known book in the little colony belongs to a government document. The Order in Council Constituting the Superior Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island was prepared under the auspices of the British Privy Council, but was published in Victoria on the presses of the Victoria Gazette, one of the four newspapers started that year. The 74-page text, plus prefaces and appendix, in a binding roughly 14 by 8 inches (36 x 20 cm), was a set of rules and information on the operation of justice in the colonies. Although basically a government and legal document, it was advertised in the Gazette and was available to the general public.

Already "in press" when this document appeared was the first non-government trade book published in what is now British Columbia, The Fraser Mines Vindicated; or The History of Four Months. This 49-page book was written by Alfred Penderill Waddington, perhaps best described as an adventurer who had established a successful merchant's business in California following the famous '49 gold rush there and who now had moved to Victoria for similar reasons. Victoria quickly became his home and the British colony his love. In later years, he became well-known in public affairs in Victoria and wrote several more books, including some staunchly supporting a transcontinental railway from Canada to the British colonies on the West Coast.

Despite a few major finds, 1858 had not been a great year for the influx of Fraser River miners. Summertime flooding had wiped out or

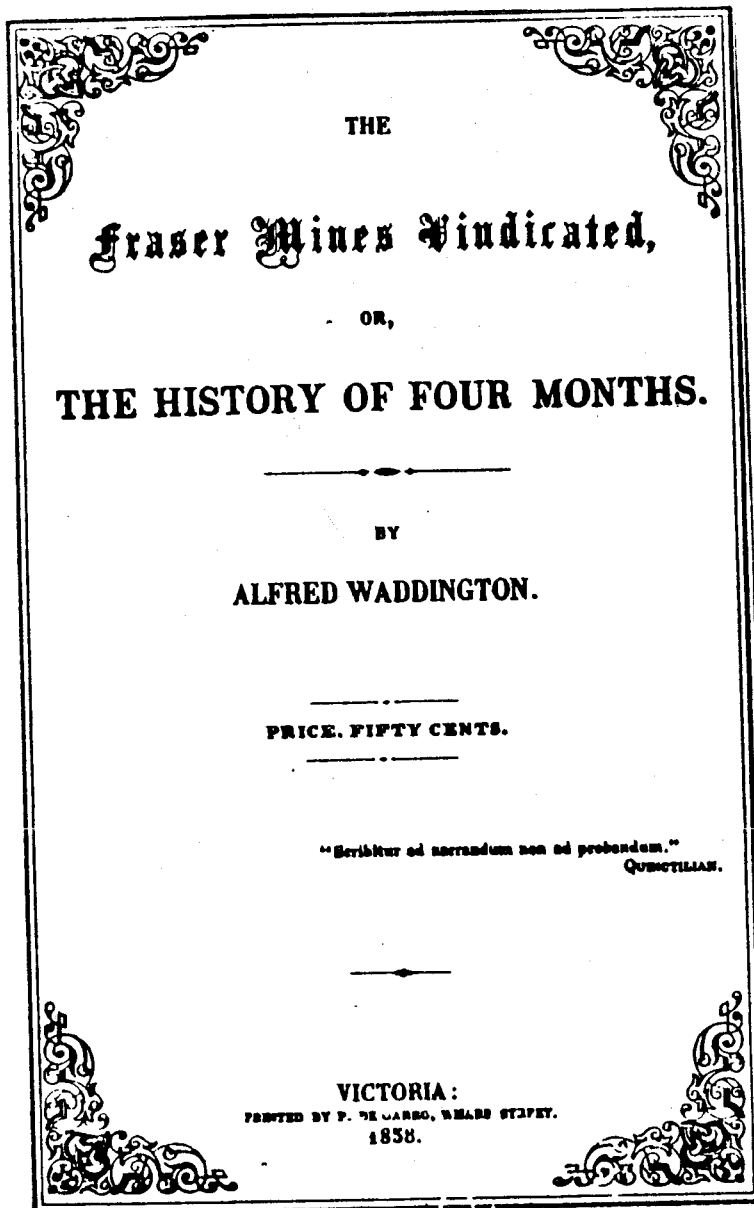


Figure 1: Title page from the first non-government trade book published in British Columbia.

To My Fellow Pioneers, Friends  
and Acquaintance.

**I** OFFER you the first book published on Vancouver Island,\* and I recommend it to you. Not for its own merit, which I value at no more than what it has cost me, that is to say a few days scribbling at spare hours; but on account of its object. The circulation of truth can be useful; so I invite each of you to buy a copy, which shall be carefully put down to your account of patriotism, and also to that of the printer.

ALFRED WADDINGTON.

VICTORIA, Nov. 15, 1858.

---

\*When the above was written Judge Cameron's Book of Practice had not appeared.

Figure 2: The author's note from The Fraser Mines Vindicated.

hidden many of the best gold locations and changed some of the physical areas. California merchants, hurt by the loss of miners' business to the new West Coast area, were quick to circulate rumors that the Fraser River mines were a bust.

Waddington's book was, as he says in the title, a vindication of the mines, elaborating on the finds and explaining the problems. A history, geography and guide to the new area, it offered sound advice on the best trails to the gold fields, tips on equipment and clothing and information on climate, people and places. Miners passing through Victoria eagerly picked up the book with the rest of their equipment and it soon sold out. Almost a pocket-size book (roughly 6 3/4-by-4 3/4 inches or 17 x 12 cm), it had a dark grey cover in paper heavier than the main portion of the book and it looked the typical publication of its time. It is not known exactly how many copies were printed, although it is possible at least a thousand could have sold. Only about 11 copies are known to exist today.

The publisher was Paul de Garro, a French-born jack-of-all trades, who had turned up in the colony a few years earlier. He set himself up as a printer and began printing handbills and advertisements. Among his ventures was a newspaper, in French, Le Courrier de la Nouveau Calédonie, which he had started earlier in 1858; it had lasted only about eight issues. New Caledonia was the earliest name used for the mainland of British Columbia.

For his newspaper and now for his book, de Garro used an old Columbia hand-press that had been donated to the Roman Catholic mission of Bishop Modeste Demers. The well-used press, already some 100 years old, had been given to the mission by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A font of French type also had been supplied. No record of the arrival of this press in Victoria is available although it may have arrived with a large shipment of goods for the Bishop in 1856. It may have been used before de Garro began his publishing projects although no reports were found of any church or other documents. This same press also was used to launch the British Colonist, the first issue of which, on December 11, 1858, offered a review of Waddington's book on the front page. This newspaper, with a variety of minor changes in its name and under several different owners, has continued to exist and merged in 1980 with the Victoria Times. The first Colonist, was the undertaking of Amor De Cosmos, who as plain Bill Smith had left his Nova Scotia home first for the California gold fields and now for Victoria.

De Garro also was associated with the founding of the Colonist, apparently as a pressman, but soon had a falling out with De Cosmos. Cecil Clark, in a 1966 newspaper article on the first press, says de Garro may have suffered from "that occupational hazard ... mal de potu, a sort of 26 ounce fever that struck down the best of them."<sup>1</sup> W. Kaye Lamb reports that de Garro then returned to bill posting,<sup>2</sup> a printing occupation he had been involved with in 1858. In 1861, de Garro left

for the Cariboo, but was one of the passengers killed in the explosion of a boiler on the steamer Cariboo on which he had sailed.

Both these first books, especially the non-government book, were unique for their time in that they seem more closely allied with today's publishing than most others of the period. For example, they contained no advertisements, were marked as produced by an independent publisher and were not sold before printing by a "subscription list" in one of the bookstores of the time. All these practices were common in the later books produced in the area.

Nevertheless, these two books, especially the trade book, illustrate just how closely book publishing is tied with the political, social and economic climate of the time and the place -- factors often ignored in studies about book publishing.

### Historical Background

Before going on to describe the early history of book publishing, a brief review of the history of the area will help set the stage.

The North West Coast of North America had been explored by Russian, Spanish, Portuguese and British explorers during the 1700s. Most of the exploration was done after 1750 as the various countries sought, from the west, a North-West passage through North America that would permit more direct trade between Europe and the Orient. Not until Captain James Cook actually charted the coast line in 1778 and

his journals were published in 1784 was it recognized no such easy passage was available.

Meantime, these explorers had traded for furs with the native Indians of the coast and the fabulous pelts of the sea-otter had become a lucrative business in themselves. A trans-Pacific fur trade with China made the exploitation of this staple profitable.

Hostilities between Britain and Spain, accentuated by conflicts over fur trading in the Queen Charlotte regions, culminated in a treaty in 1790 that gave possession of the North American coast to Britain. From 1792 to 1795, Captain George Vancouver charted the area and he established the British flag. Except for the marine fur traders, however, there was little white commerce or concern for the area.

Around the same period, fur traders from the centre of the continent began to weigh the possibilities of western-flowing rivers that could link with a year-round sea port for sea transportation of their furs. The North West Company, in particular, which was blocked by the Hudson's Bay Company from trade through Hudson Bay, now was looking west of the mountains. In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie made the first cross-country trek to the Pacific. In 1803, Simon Fraser began establishing fur trading posts for the North West Company in an area he called New Caledonia in the central interior of what is now B.C. In 1808, he travelled down the Fraser River to its mouth -- a disappointment to him as he was searching for the mouth of Columbia River, which had been earlier identified as a prime seaport by Captain Vancouver.



In 1811, both David Thompson for the North West Company and John Jacob Astor and his American company set out to establish a base at the mouth of the Columbia River. Astor succeeded, but the North West Company gained control through negotiations in 1814 and for a seven-year period it dominated the western fur trade via the Columbia.

During this period Great Britain and the United States had negotiated a boundary from the east through to the Rockies; the title to the territory west of the mountains remained unsettled, however, and citizens of both countries were granted the right of free entry for a period of 10 years, after which negotiations on a boundary were to resume.

The North West Company had remained in charge of the main fort at Astoria, although economic problems were looming large. In 1821, with the company near bankruptcy, the Hudson's Bay Company negotiated a coalition and, in reality, took over. All trading posts in New Caledonia and in the disputed Oregon Territory came under its control. It was, says B.C. Historian Margaret Ormsby, "a victory for monopoly," and "also a victory for English capital, for English manufacturers and for English business organization."<sup>3</sup>

Although the Hudson's Bay Company had the economic control of the area, the entire west of what is now Canada, called Rupert's Land, was under the political control of the British government and administered by Governor George Simpson.

Simpson, anxious to establish a strong British presence between pinchers from the Russians from the north and the Americans from the south, sought a site for a stronghold on the Fraser River as well as at the mouth of the Columbia. Under his directions, Fort Langley was established in 1826. Meantime, the negotiations over the Columbia River area continued and Simpson urged diversification for the forts, suggesting salmon and lumber trade with California and with the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii). In addition, he recommended some settlement and agriculture around the forts. To assist, he supplied the little trading steamer Beaver, which plied the coast and explored a new natural harbor at the south end of Vancouver's Island (now Victoria) where coal deposits had been found. In 1843, the new Hudson's Bay Company factor, James Douglas, selected that site for a new depot and named it after his Queen.

Despite the growth of its forts on the west coast and in New Caledonia, the company had not kept pace with the American peddlers to the south. The company had continued to tie its commerce to its traditional market -- London -- and had ignored the Pacific trade that was developing through California. Further, there was no railway that could tie the British northern points to the east-coast centres as was the case in the American-controlled southern areas. When during the middle 1840s the markets for furs declined, the company began cutting back support for its posts. The timing could not have been worse for British interests; it appeared the area now would come under American domination.

Furthermore, settlers were pouring into the Oregon Territory and Chief Factor James Douglas and Governor Sir George Simpson anxiously pressed for resolution of the boundary, fearing the British would lose control. In 1846, through the Treaty of Washington, the boundary was settled at the 49th parallel through to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, then south around the tip of Vancouver Island. It was a compromise, but extension of American Sovereignty to 54° 40' had been prevented.

The next 10 or so years were a quiet time for the little "outposts of Empire," as Ormsby calls them, at Fort Victoria, Fort Langley and the few other Company bases. True, there was some tension over appointment of a Colonial Governor for the area who might be considered in opposition to the Company's interests, but in 1851 Chief Factor James Douglas was made the Governor as well. By 1856 a representative government was established on Vancouver Island and the first House of Assembly met. New colonists arrived, some small mining and lumbering was tried and schools were opened, but the area generally remained a sleepy backwater of some 400 or so adults.

Then suddenly all was changed. Late in 1857, gold was discovered in the North Thompson, then in the Fraser and in many creeks and bars of the mainland. By the year's end, a "rush" was impending. Sure enough, by March of 1858, more than 450 miners had poured into and through Victoria and a sleepy little colonial town was about to boom. With the boom came the beginnings of publishing and the ups and downs of that vital but often fragile industry: book publishing.

### The "Directory" Business

The two books published in British Columbia in 1858 had not, of course, been the first books published about the Colonies. James Edward Fitzgerald, who wanted to establish a colony somewhat in the manner of Lord Selkirk's colony in Manitoba, to mine coal on Vancouver Island, had written several treatises dating back to 1847. He was particularly concerned with the dangers of leaving such an important area under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. Robert Carmichael Smyth and others during the 1840s and early 1850s had published books on the need for a "great national railway from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to the mouth of Frazer's [sic] River, New Caledonia." Handbooks and guides to the new gold fields had been rushed into print early in 1858.

The common factor of all these was that they had been published elsewhere. The three common locations for publications pertaining to the area were California, London and Edinburgh. Only very occasionally before 1858 was the west coast of Canada discussed in publications published in the eastern areas of this continent, naturally enough, as this was before the discovery of gold, the settlement of the prairies and other factors that led eastern Canadian politicians to cast covetous eyes at the sparsely-settled hinterland or west coast. Furthermore, California was by far the "nearest" centre, both geographically and through transportation routes of the time. Other sea-going traffic was with the major centres of Britain, including London, of course, and

Edinburgh, with its major shipping interests. Canada was not yet a centre, the transport was by sea, and the new west coast colonies were almost as remote from Canada as Australia and New Zealand. Nevertheless, once the little publishing industry was launched, it did indeed compete in certain areas with the larger and earlier-settled centres in Canada, especially for items of local interest.

After the first two books in 1858, almost nothing was published, either by government or local publishers, during 1859. Then, in 1860, another kind of publishing began. Only two years after the first books had been printed in what is now B.C., a young Victoria architect named Edward Mallandaine set up his own publishing house to produce The First Victoria Directory.

Actually, the "correct" title, as would be listed in library catalogues, was much longer: First Victoria Directory; Comprising a general directory of citizens, also, an official list, list of voters, postal arrangements and notices of trades and professions; Preceded by a preface and synopsis of the commercial progress of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Although The Fraser Mines Vindicated, the first trade book to be published in the area, had not followed this long-winded style, long titles were typical of the times. Printers of the mid-1800s usually did not waste the expensive paper of the title page by using a short title and much white space. Instead, they used the title to do much of what is done on the blurb on the back cover of books today -- to tell about the contents and, sometimes, to

FIRST  
VICTORIA DIRECTORY;

COMPRISING

A GENERAL DIRECTORY OF CITIZENS,

ALSO,

An Official List, List of Voters, Postal Arrangements

AND

NOTICES OF TRADES AND PROFESSIONS;

PRECEDED BY

A PREFACE and SYNOPSIS of THE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS

OF THE

Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

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ILLUSTRATED.

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BY EDW. MALLANDAINE,

ARCHITECT.

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VICTORIA, V. I.

PUBLISHED BY EDW. MALLANDAINE & CO.

HIBBEN & GARDNER, AND J. F. HEARRE, AGENTS, VICTORIA, V. I.  
J. I. LECOUNT, BOOKSELLER, AGENT, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

MARCH, 1860.

Figure 3: Title page of Edward Mallandaine's First Victoria Directory.

extoll the virtues of the authors and sponsors, if any. As well, the printer usually made it an excuse for showing off all the varieties of type face he used in his printing works, from the plain to the ornate. Title pages were sometimes rather like works of art.

Directories were typical business publications of the day (and still are at present). The first directory in Canada had been published in 1790, by William Moore in Quebec City. These guides to a city and its residents were precursors of the modern telephone books, with additional information of course, and were eagerly purchased.

The First Victoria Directory was typical of its day, with seven pages of advertisements in the front and several other advertising pages scattered throughout. After the eight unnumbered pages of advertisements there was an 84-page section on Victoria with advertisements from that city, including those for local saloons and for liquor. A second 57-page section and three additional advertising pages were bound in with the first to make a directory of businesses in San Francisco. This American city was the main trading partner and nearest large centre for the little colony. To business men, the directory with the San Francisco portion was indispensable and, in some ways, the book served as a forerunner of catalogues, for many of the business firms accepted mail orders.

The introduction in the 9-by-6-inch (23 x 15.5 cm) book provided a "synopsis of the commercial progress of the colonies of Vancouver

Island and British Columbia" as well as a glowing description of Victoria itself. This was followed by a general listing of citizens and an official list of voters.

Mallandaine, the publisher, had the printing of the Directory done in San Francisco where he could take advantage of the latest technology of the day, a steam driven press that also could supply a better quality of wood cuts and engraved drawings for the illustrations in a few of the advertisements. The book was protected under California copyright.

Under the publisher's imprint on the title page was a list of three booksellers who may also have had a hand in the financing of the book and who were to carry out its sales. These were Hibben & Carswell and J.F. Herre of Victoria and J.J. Lecount of San Francisco.

Mallandaine was a son of a former governor of Singapore and had come to Victoria from San Francisco in 1858. Trained as an architect, he turned his hand at a variety of trades in Victoria. As well as becoming a publisher of directories, in 1860 he also opened a school (first a boarding school, later the colony's first night school) and also arranged to do copying and writing for hire. For a time he was the city tax collector and registrar of voters. He married in Victoria -- to one of the young English ladies who came to Vancouver Island on the Tynehead, which has often been called B.C.'s Bride Ship. The family became one of the mainstays of Victoria.



## WELLS, FARGO & CO., EXPRESS AND EXCHANGE CO.,

[ORGANIZED MAY 1852. CAPITAL, \$600,000.]

### SEND EXPRESS BY EVERY STEAMER

IN charge of regular Messengers, to Oregon and Washington Territories and San Francisco, there connecting with our Interior Express to all parts of California, and all parts of the United States and Canada, via Panama, Tehuantepec and Southern Overland Routes.

Unsurpassed facilities for dispatching Freight and Packages to all parts of Europe. Shipments direct from England, via Southampton and Aspinwall. Treasure shipped and insured at lowest rates. Packages and letters received up to latest hour. Checks on our office in San Francisco.

Exchange on all the principal cities in the United States and Canada. Also, on UNION BANK LONDON, and ROYAL BANK DUBLIN.

Receive Deposits, general and special; Buy Gold Dust, Land Warrants, Treasury Warrants, Bills on London and Certificates on San Francisco Banks; Advances made on Gold Dust.

Purchase tickets of every description; Execute Commissions of all kinds, and make Collections at any point in the United States, Canada or Europe.

OFFICE—YATES STREET, BET. WHARF AND GOVERNMENT.

C. C. PENDERGAST, Agent.

## G. HUSTON'S ARMORY.

Yates Street, below Wells, Fargo & Co's Express.

G. HUSTON, begs to inform the inhabitants of this Colony and British Columbia, that he Manufactures all kinds of

**FIRE**  **ARMS,**

Rifles, Guns, Pistols, Pocket Pistols, &c. &c.

Constantly on hand and for sale all kinds of Ammunition; Powder of the best quality, Shot and Balls of every description, and Percussion Caps.

N. B.—Arms of all kinds repaired, Cutlery for Sale, Grinding and Sharpening.

Groceries and Provisions at Wholesale and Retail

**T. PHELAN,**

Corner of Yates and Government Streets,

Respectfully calls the attention of the citizens of Victoria and its vicinity to the choice selection of

Groceries, Provisions, Crochery and Glass-Ware,

Which he now offers to the public at the Most Reasonable Prices, For Cash.

English Sheritt, in 10 lb tins; English Sauces, Jams, and Jellies; Mustard, Vinegar, Pickles, Pie Fruit, and Potted Beef and Ham, put up by Messrs A. Co., London. Black and Green Tea; Crushed Sugar, in half barrels; Carolina and China Rice, Boston Syrup, Sandwich Island Molasses; Golden Gate Mill Flour; Extra Clear Pork, in half barrels; No. 1. China Sugar; Sandwich Island Sugar, in half barrels; Extra Clear Bacon; No. 1. Java Coffee, whole and ground; Adamantus Candles, Lamp Oil; Natural Leaf and Peach brand Tobacco, Fresh Corn Meal; Buckwheat Flour, both made in Chili Beans. Constantly receiving by every Steamer from California and Oregon supplies of

**FRESH BUTTER AND CHEESE.**

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**LANGLEY BROS.,**  
YATES STREET, VICTORIA, V. I.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

**DRUGS,**

—AND DEALERS IN—

**Paints, Oils, Window Glass,**  
**VARNISHES, CAMPHENE, ETC.**

Orders promptly executed at San Francisco Wholesale Rates.

---

**C. & A. J. LANGLEY,**

—WHOLESALE DEALERS IN—

**DRUGS, CHEMICALS, PERFUMERY,**

**PATENT MEDICINES, ETC.**

Commercial Street,

**SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.**



**M. PRAG.**

GOVERNMENT STREET, EAST SIDE,



WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

**Hardware, Agricultural Implements, Bar Iron and Steel,**  
**IRONMONGERY,**

**STOVES AND TINWARE, OF EVERY DESCRIPTION,**

**Glass and Crockery Ware, Wood and Willow Ware, Etc.,**

Begs to inform the public that he has the largest assortment of the above articles  
on this island which he offers for sale at the **LOWEST RATES.**

---

**MR. E. MALLANDAINE,**

**Law and Ornamental**

**WRITING & COPYING.**

OFFICE—BROAD STREET, NEAR YATES,

**VICTORIA, V. I.**

Figure 5: Another page of advertising from the First Victoria Directory showing advertisement for another of Mallandaine's enterprises.

In 1863, another firm entered the lucrative field of directory publishing. Frederick P. Howard and George Barnett formed the "Office of the British Columbian and Victoria Directory" and brought out The British Columbian and Victoria Guide and Directory for 1863. This 216-page volume was simply bursting with advertisements and covered other centres than just Victoria, such as Nanaimo, Yale and New Westminster. It, too, was printed and bound in San Francisco.

In 1867, a San Francisco firm published a directory for the whole west coast, including Vancouver Island and British Columbia. However, it apparently did not sell well in the local bookstores and could not compete with the local ones or with later editions put out by Mallandaine in 1868, 1869, 1871 and 1874.

#### Books from the Newspaper People

Brief mention has already been made of the Colonist, a newspaper launched by Amor De Cosmos in 1858. Like other newspapers of this time, the paper was more than willing to do a little book publishing on the side, both to augment income and as a service to the community. During 1859, therefore, the Colonist began publication of "letters" outlining the stand of some local citizen on the issues of the day. It is not clear whether some of these were distributed free -- and so

should not figure in this history of trade books -- but at least some are known to have been sold through the local bookstores. Some were undoubtedly commissioned by the authors, and therefore represent the beginning of vanity presses in this part of the world.

The first such letter, in 1859, was Alfred Waddington's The Necessity of Reform; A tract for the times, addressed to the colonists of Vancouver Island by one of the people, a 12-page, 11 3/4-by-8-inch (30 x 20 cm) document that would today be classed as a pamphlet. Although there is no indication of price, this was stocked and sold in bookstores.

In 1860, the Colonist published another such letter: Facts and Acts: What has been done and what is going on in British Columbia; A letter to the people of British Columbia, by one of themselves. This one is attributed to J.H. Batterton and reference books yield no additional material about him other than the title page gives. In 16 pages of tiny, six-point type, he lambastes government policy. The 7-by-5 inch (18 x 13 cm) publication sold for 25 cents, but no record of sales was found.

By 1860, business was flourishing for the neophyte newspaper printers of Victoria as businessmen took advantage of local firms to have prospectuses, constitutions and bylaws, general reports and company backgrounds all readied for circulation. One such was the Act

of Incorporation of the British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, Limited, an 11-page prospectus and brochure ordered and circulated by the company and printed by the British Colonist Office. Another was an announcement of the consecration of a new church "in the Diocese of Columbia and Vancouver, 1860." Its printer was George E. Nias and Co., of Victoria. Nias was proprietor and editor of The Victoria Gazette, a newspaper that, despite government contracts, was often on the brink of financial disaster about this time. These printing contracts no doubt helped keep his paper solvent.

Other examples of the early printing work were the constitutions and bylaws, such as an eight-page one for The Dashaway Association (Victoria, Printed by Amor De Cosmos at the Colonist Office). Then there were brochures, such as that for the Victoria Select School run by Edward Mallandaine, the publisher of the First Victoria Directory in 1860.

There also was some need, by 1864, for laymen's explanations of legal terms, especially related to mining. Thus an important early "trade book" was Joseph Park's A Practical View of the Mining Laws of British Columbia.

Park was a controversial barrister-at-law, but his book, in clear basic English, aided miners who needed to understand the legalities behind their claims. Park, who several times tried for a seat in the

Legislative Council, moved around the gold field areas, although for the latter part of his 49 years he lived and worked in Barkerville. On his death in 1877, the outspoken obituary notice in the Colonist summarized his problem: "His unfortunate tendency to stimulant prevented Mr. Park attaining to a high position in British Columbia."<sup>4</sup> Many of the miners who read his book, however, had reason to praise him highly when it came to disputes over claims.

Printed by the British Colonist Office, this miner's handbook was a 6-by-4-inch booklet, the size fixed to fit into a miner's pocket. It had yellow paper covers and was filled with advertisements, including something new locally in the technology of publishing: tipped-in advertisements. These were printed on colored (in this case, yellow) paper and could be added after a book was bound. A bit of paste was run down the side and the new page laid in, usually just inside the covers. One wonders just how much this practice pleased the printer or publisher because tipping-in could be and often was done in the bookseller's establishment.

Another early government-produced trade book to come out, this one in 1865, was Vancouver Island: Exploration 1864. The author was Robert Brown, who was the government agent and surveyor, and who also wrote many other government reports and pamphlets. He was also an amateur naturalist and had several articles published in journals in Britain. The book is a report of a survey by a joint

government-business expedition looking for gold or other minerals or suitable farmland. Lowther says it led to the development of coal and copper mines and to the discovery of gold on the Leech River.<sup>5</sup> Although only 28 pages and with a soft cover, the book was sold in the bookstores.

This also represents the first publishing venture under the short-lived imprint of Harries and Company. Walford Arbouin Harries was a lawyer who came from England to Victoria around 1862 or '63 with his brother Julian B. Harries. He formed a syndicate with W.L. Mitchell, William Oughton, John Laurie and David McKenzie, which in 1864 bought the Victoria Colonist newspaper from Amor De Cosmos. This company also printed the Vancouver Island Gazette and had many government contracts for printing services.

Two years later, Harries sold the Colonist to Higgins, Long & Company and soon this latter imprint began appearing on books, including a 22-page softcover document by Alfred Waddington in 1867. Waddington, who now was a member of the Legislative Council, wrote Overland Communication by Land and Water through British North America to expouse the cause for a railway from the Canadas to the west through the Yellow Head Pass. Although the subject had been discussed widely and newspapers often advocated railway construction, this is the first major printed document in the newly joined colony of British Columbia to advocate this.

Views on a railway across Canada to the British Colony also had been published in London, and some of this work was later reprinted in Toronto. Interestingly, there had been no books or major pamphlets commenting on the joining of the two small colonies, which passed in the British parliament in mid-1866.

The Higgins & Long imprint also appears on a book published in 1868: Legh Harnett's Two Lectures on British Columbia. This 50-page, 7 1/2-by-6-inch (20 x 15 cm) book had a soft grey paper cover and is a written version of two lectures that Harnett had delivered at public meetings in Victoria on "the future of British Columbia." Harnett was vastly impressed by the mineral and other resources of the area and predicted a strong and powerful economic future. He advocated confederation with Canada.

It is possible this theme on confederation led to the publishing venture with Higgins and Long. David W. Higgins was an outspoken advocate of confederation and was, in fact, one of the supporters who negotiated with Sir John A. Macdonald for the extension of the Dominion to the west coast. Higgins had been born in Halifax, of English parents, but had been educated in Brooklyn and had served an apprenticeship to a printer there. In 1852 he heeded the urge to go West and went to California, where he worked as a journalist and printer. In 1856 he and four others founded the San Francisco Call, a notorious "cut-rate" newspaper that came out and undersold its



established competitors forcing a price war that dropped newspaper prices from "three bits" (37 1/2 cents) down to "one bit" a week.

In 1858, after having disposed of his interest in the Call, Higgins was sent as a reporter for the Call to write about the Fraser River gold fields. He settled first at Yale and worked in various sales ventures until he met Amor De Cosmos in 1860 and accepted a job in Victoria with the Colonist. In 1862, after a falling out with De Cosmos, he joined with J.E. McMillan and set up the Victoria Daily Chronicle, in opposition to his former employer. He and McMillan continued with the Chronicle through the years. Later when Harries and his associates had taken over the Colonist from De Cosmos, Higgins bought out that as well and in 1866 merged the two.

Higgins was editor and publisher of the Colonist for more than 20 years, until his full-time entry into politics in 1886, where his political career gave him even greater lustre than his journalistic one. Always one to back a cause célèbre, he was usually involved with publication of any book that caught the public interest, such as the 12-page book by Rev. Edward Cridge, "Spiritualism"; or, Modern Necromancy.... Higgins was, therefore, an important factor in the early book publishing scene as well as one of the province's most distinguished journalists. Later, he became a nationally-known author of fiction.

Higgins' sometime partner before he bought out the Colonist, J.E. McMillan, also became involved with book publishing during this Pre-Confederation period.

Another newspaper involved in the book publishing market was the short-lived Mainland Guardian of New Westminster, published by L.K. Suter, a young printer who had apprenticed in Victoria. In 1870, the Mainland Guardian printed "Gold, its properties, modes of extraction, value & , & ," by Francis George Claudet, the first Chief Assayer in the colonies. He arrived in Victoria in 1860 at the behest of the British Colonial Office, which wanted an office in New Westminster so gold would not have to be sent to San Francisco for assay. The 34-page book produced by Claudet probably was subsidized by the government office at first although it was priced at 50 cents and should have returned well on its investment. A small book, about 6 by 3 3/4 inches (15 x 9.5 cm), it provided sound background information for miners. In addition to his assay work, Claudet also planned and set up a mint for the colony. Although a few specimen coins were produced in 1862 and exhibited in London, the mint never received approval from the British Government and Claudet was ordered to dismantle and store it. Claudet returned to England in 1873 when the government-sponsored assay office was closed because private concerns located closer to the gold fields had taken over most of the business. In England, he continued to work

as an assayer and as a photographer. His father had worked with Daguerre and Claudet had a good knowledge of photography. He had taken many photographs in the colonies and he exhibited these in England when he returned.

This involvement of newspaper proprietors in book publishing was typical of the time the world over. In B.C. these early publishers fall into two groups: the rolling stones or adventurers who stayed briefly and sometimes memorably then moved on to new frontiers, and the dedicated business types who stayed, becoming important and respected members of the community. Involvement was the key word for both groups, however. The first group included such early printer/publishers as Paul de Garro, the foot-loose son of a Count; Walford Harries, who roamed on to South Africa and became interested in diamond mining; and George Nias, who went to Australia. Those who stayed included Amor De Cosmos and David Higgins, who are among the leading lights of early B.C. politicians and statesmen.

#### The First Dictionary -- and First Best-Seller

The first dictionary to be published in British Columbia made its appearance in 1862, just four years after the first books and newspapers were published in the small colony of Vancouver Island.

100 - 7

DICTIONARY  
OF  
INDIAN TONGUES,  
CONTAINING  
MOST OF THE WORDS AND TERMS  
USED IN THE  
TSHIMPSEAN, HYDAH, & CHINOOK,  
WITH THEIR MEANING OR EQUIVALENT  
IN THE  
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

---

PUBLISHED BY  
HIBBEN & CARSWELL,  
VICTORIA, V. I.

---

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE DAILY CHRONICLE,  
GOVERNMENT STREET.

1862.

Figure 6: The cover page from the first dictionary to be published in the area, 1862.

It was titled Dictionary of Indian Tongues, containing most of the words used in the 'Tshimpsean, Hydah, & Chinook, with their meaning or equivalent in the English Language. A 7 1/2-by-5-inch (19 x 12.5 cm) booklet, it contained 16 pages (15 of them printed) stitched into a grey-paper cover. The book was simply a list of Indian-language words and short phrases (Telk u an = plenty of rain) with English equivalents. There are about 160 Hydah (now generally spelled Haida) words, 700 or so 'Tshimpsean, and about 375 Chinook. The imprint read: "Victoria, V.I., Hibben & Carswell." It was printed at the office of The Daily Chronicle.

The little dictionary appears to have been a huge success, especially with the thousands of miners still pouring through Victoria, because in 1865 it went into a second edition. This one was smaller (6 1/4 by 4 1/4 inches; 16 x 11 cm) and was retypeset and printed by the Daily Colonist. Close examination reveals some "typos": "heart" in the 1862 edition becomes "hear" in the 1865 version, for example. The second edition was also 16 pages (with only 14 in print) again with a separate, heavy grey-paper cover.

Both editions carry an advertisement for Hibben & Carswell, Booksellers and Stationers on the outside back cover.

T.H. Hibben and James Carswell, the publishers, were owners of a bookstore and, like booksellers of the time the world over, they

became publishers on the side. The firm went on to publish several other books over the years as well as becoming one of the most important bookstores and businesses in the city.

T.N. Hibben is a major name in the early publishing history of B.C. With a succession of partners after Carswell, Hibben continued to publish books. In 1871, he brought out the 29-page A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon; Lowther reports that at least 12 printings of this one were done between 1875 and 1906. It was also issued in a revised version in 1931 and that one was reprinted in 1951. That Chinook Jargon dictionary also was included in a huge Guide to the Province of British Columbia 1877-78 published by T.N. Hibben & Co. in 1877 and printed by the Victoria printer Alex Rose.

Other Indian-language dictionaries were being produced in other places, of course. For example, Bishop Modiste Demers had a 68-page Chinook Dictionary, Catechism, Prayers and Hymns published in 1871 in Montreal. As well, publishers in San Francisco and Portland were publishing dictionaries of Indian tongues, but the one produced by Hibben continued to be the most important local one for the trade.

### Government Printers and Trade Books

As was the case in any new area from the start of printing in the new world, early printers had to depend on support of the major buyer

of print work in the area: the government. From the earliest times on Vancouver Island and in the mainland colony of British Columbia, government printing contracts have been important to any business with aspirations of producing books locally as well.

Government involvement in publishing comes in two main ways. First, the government buys printing, thus giving financial support with which printers can pay bills and perhaps back other new publishing ventures or finance new, more modern equipment. Second, the government itself becomes printer and publisher. In the two new colonies and later in the combined province of British Columbia both these methods were used -- and, in fact, still are.

Most government printing work is notices, announcements and legal documents needed to make a bureaucracy run; most of it has little interest to the general reader and so has a limited circulation and must be highly subsidized. Some, however, is highly saleable and this raises cries of "unfair competition" from commercial publishers.

From the beginning, much government printing work was contracted out, first to the local newspapers in the colony, particularly the Victoria Gazette and the Colonist. However, late in 1858, a special official gazette made its appearance and this led to considerable ill-feeling, shouted in editorials, from the local printers. The official gazette soon stopped.

Because those print shops with government contracts had their problems and were generally short-lived enterprises, about 1860 the government began contracting work to the press of the Royal Engineers at their headquarters in New Westminster. The government under James Douglas was highly pleased with the quality of the work done by the Royal Engineers. When the Engineers were disbanded in 1863, Corporal Richard Wolfenden, who had been in charge of the press, was appointed superintendent of a Government Printing Office, located then in New Westminster. The office remained there until 1868, when Victoria was named capital of the united colonies. Wolfenden remained in charge of the Government Printing for 48 years altogether, until his death in 1911. Under his direction, printing of all government legal documents, the necessary speeches and the gazettes was done. Most of the work that had any commercial value, however, was still contracted out.

A few government documents did have a general market. For example, the government had issued legislation governing the gold fields in 1859 -- the Gold Field Act -- and the rules and regulations were gazetted in 1860. Apparently the demand for copies was considerable and, in February of 1863, a 12-page commercial edition, with explanatory headings, entitled The Rules and Regulations Issued in Conformity with the Gold Field Act, 1859, was printed at the British Colonist Office.



One of the colonial government's first real ventures into "trade publishing" was a search for two "Prize Essays," one each from Vancouver's Island and from British Columbia. A contest was held and the essays were published, undoubtedly with the aim of attracting new settlers to the areas.

The first of these was Prize Essay: Vancouver Island; Its resources and capabilities as a colony, by Charles Forbes, published by the Colonial Government in 1862 and printed at the Daily Press Office in Victoria. The 7 1/2-by-5-inch (19 x 13 cm) book contained 63 pages of text plus 18 pages of appendices and gave complete details on the history, geography, climate and government of the area as well as notes and advice for prospective settlers. The author was a surgeon on the Royal Navy Ship Topaze stationed at Esquimalt from March 1860 to June 1863. Forbes was a prolific author, writing many articles on the plants and animals of the coast for publication in British journals, such as the Royal Geographical Society Journal. According to items in the Colonist, he also gave lectures in the colony and was a most popular and sought after speaker.

The second of these prize essays, published at the beginning of 1863, was more simply titled, British Columbia: An Essay. It was published in New Westminster and imprinted "Printed at the Royal Engineer Press," the first book to bear this imprint and apparently the first book to be printed on the new press brought into the colony for

# PRIZE ESSAY.



## VANCOUVER ISLAND:

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### RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES, AS A COLONY.

BY

CHARLES FORBES, Esq., M. D., M. R. C. S., ENG.,

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—~~~~~  
"Est in conspectu 'Americæ' notissima terra  
Insula; dives opum."  
~~~~~

PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT,

MDCCLXXIII. 4

L. G.

WITHDRAWN FROM CIRCULATION

Figure 7: Title page of the first of two government-sponsored prize essays -- the government's first real venture into trade publishing.

# VANCOUVER'S ISLAND.

NW  
371/3  
F60v  
C-2-1

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,  
29th October, 1861.

**A** PREMIUM OF FIFTY POUNDS STERLING WILL BE GIVEN BY THE Government of Vancouver's Island for an Essay which shall be adjudged to set forth in the clearest and most comprehensive manner the capabilities, resources and advantages of Vancouver's Island as a Colony for settlement.

The following rules will govern the award:—

1. Competitors must send their Essays in a SEALED COVER, directed to the Colonial Secretary of Vancouver's Island, on or before the 1st of January, 1860.
2. No name or mark is to be attached whereby the writer can be known by his Essay; but some distinctive motto is to be affixed.
3. A duplicate of the chosen motto is to be sent to the Colonial Secretary, marked on the outside of a sealed envelope, upon the inside of which is to be given the name of the writer of the Essay bearing such corresponding motto.
4. The Essay will be submitted for award to a Board composed of the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to act on the occasion:  
The Rev. C. T. Woods, M. A.  
William F. Tolmie, Esq., M. D.  
Gilbert M. Sproat, Esq.
5. After the Board has arrived at its decision, and signified the same to the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Secretary will forward to it the SEALED Envelope, bearing the motto corresponding to that of the chosen Essay. The Envelope will be OPENED BY THE BOARD, and the name found therein signified to the Colonial Secretary.

Envelopes of unsuccessful competitors will be returned unopened, if desired; but all the Essays will remain the property of the Government.

An award of Ten Pounds will be made for the second best Essay.

By order of the Governor.

WILLIAM A. G. YOUNG.

[In accordance with the foregoing announcement, a number of Essays were sent in to the Committee, who after a careful examination, awarded the prize to the Essay here produced.]

Wm A G Young

Figure 8: Copy of the announcement for the government competition as it appeared in the first Prize Essay.

the Engineers by Col. R.C. Moody. It was similar to Forbes' book, but seems slightly more readable today. The author, Robert Christopher Lundin Brown, was an early missionary in the colony and at the time the book came out was minister of St. Mary's in Lillooet. Similar in size to Forbes', the book also contained 64 pages of text and 33 pages of appendices, with the separate soft paper cover of the time, this one of a dark blue.

The authors of both essays received 50 Pounds from the government, but nothing could be found about the numbers of books published, the possible sales or the royalty or other arrangements made with the authors.

Brown's essay led to a great deal of controversy. Apparently, he had been critical of the government in the original essay and Governor James Douglas had disapproved. Brown was persuaded to allow changes for the printed version. The British Columbian newspaper in New Westminster had obtained the originals, printed comparisons of the two and lambasted Brown for allowing the changes.

Of the clergyman who for the paltry sum of 50 Pounds was found willing to betray his country and sacrifice a good conscience we dare hardly trust ourselves to write.<sup>6</sup>

By 1870 the Government Printing Office, under Wolfenden, was going well. In that year Wolfenden even reprinted another government document for sale, Debate on the Subject of Confederation with Canada,

a 160-page reprint of the regular assembly debates. The topic was a hot one and local residents wanted to see just what was said. Furthermore, the issue had sales in the Canadas, where politicians also were anxious to know just what British Columbia politicians were saying.

The Debate had been published in March in the normal government Gazette, but it was re-issued in May in a red, leather-bound edition, roughly 10 by 8 inches (26 x 20 cm), with flowered endpapers and gilt lettering on the cover. The inside was not so exciting to look at, using the small type sizes and cramped pages of the day.

Another, cheaper edition was also issued on this important and controversial topic, indicating just how wide the interest was. This edition had cardboard-type "boards" with a marbled paper for its covers. It is marked "Reprinted from the Government Gazette Extraordinary of March, 1870," and appears to have been a quick reprinting of the relevant sections for public use -- in other words, a bound version of the ordinary Gazette prepared for public distribution. A tipped-in page showing corrections for typesetting errors is placed between pages two and three of the debates.

However, the Government Printing Office was growing and, by 1871, the year of Confederation with Canada, it was turning out some large-size books and documents, such as the new, 650-page Laws of British Columbia; these were, however, definitely not trade books.

### Publishing and the Churches

Without the press donated to the mission of Bishop Demers, the history of publishing in what is now British Columbia would have been quite different. But just what other role do the churches and their publications play in the story of book publishing?

No records exist of any church publications on Bishop Demers' press; in fact, it appears to have been used only for secular documents. Possibly the Bishop and other church staff in the colony just did not know how to use the press.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s, publications from and about the missions in the two colonies were published abroad, mainly in London and Paris. The main publisher was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which brought out many new pamphlets, books and bibles for use in overseas missions.

The first church documents known to have been printed in the colony of Vancouver Island were from the Church of England about 1860. A 12-page pamphlet with the title Form of Consecration of a new church in the Diocese of Columbia and Vancouver, 1860 was printed by the Victoria printer George E. Nias & Co. A second seven-page pamphlet, Office to be used in laying the corner-stone of a Church, is believed to come from the same printer at around the same time. These first publications, however, were for limited church circulation and are not included in the trade books studied here.

Later in 1860, the new Bishop of the Church of England Mission of Columbia, George Hills, Issued an "Occasional Paper," which was printed at the British Colonist Office. This was addressed to the Rev. Edward Cridge and to Bishop Demers and offers explanations of an earlier paper published in London about the new mission and about some supposedly disparaging remarks about the Roman Catholic Mission's work.

This led to another "Occasional Paper," this one a satirical letter purportedly from Lady Lavinia Skewton, a pseudonym, commenting on the other. As this seven-page letter was intended for free distribution, it also is not included in the list of trade books. It, too, was published at the Office of the British Colonist and possibly was inspired and written by Higgins.

Occasionally other documents were issued by the local church, such as sermons, trust deeds or appeals for funds, but no other important church documents really appeared until about 1870. In that year Rev. Cridge, a Church of England minister who had come to Victoria when it was still a Hudson's Bay post in 1854, began a series of disputes with Bishop Hills. The two simply did not get along and the rift grew wider and wider, especially after Cridge issued his 12-page publication commonly called "Spiritualism": or, Modern Necromancy. This publication, marked "Printed by Higgins," sparked a major dispute between Bishop Hills and Rev. Cridge, which later led to an ecclesiastical trial and a civil case.

Meantime, the Anglican Bishop had filed a judgment to try to restrain Rev. Cridge from preaching under the banner of the Church of England. The judgment, handed down by Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, supported the Church's stand, but many more pamphlets, letters and, finally, in 1875, a book were to come. Cridge protested vigorously; the Church was equally vehement. At least one of these deserves to be listed as a trade book, the 70-page summary by Cridge himself, Trial of the Very Reverend Edward Cridge. Printed at the Victoria Standard Office in 1875, this was issued in two editions; the second had a slightly longer title and a few more pages in the appendix. Roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm), both had bright yellow paper covers. After this book came out Cridge was forced to leave the Anglican Church. He then established a new one, the Reform Episcopal Church, of which he became a bishop. He remained in Victoria as a popular clergyman until his death, age 97, in 1913.

### Role of the Military

As in any history of publishing in a colonial area, the military played a role. For instance, the first book published in the mainland colony was written by Lieut. Edward Charles Sparshott of the Royal Marines, stationed on the San Juan Islands. In 1861, he wrote A Military Manual of Infantry Drill, with 103 pages of text on training volunteer forces.



▲  
**MILITARY MANUAL**

OF

**INFANTRY DRILL:**

INCLUDING THE

**MANUAL AND PLATOON EXERCISES.**

---

DESIGNED

FOR THE USE OF THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED  
OFFICERS, AND PRIVATES

OF THE

**VOLUNTEER FORCES**

OF  
**VANCOUVER ISLAND AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.**

COMPILED BY

**1ST LIEUT. E. C. SPARSHOTT,**

**ROYAL MARINE, (LT. INFANTRY.)**

---

PRINTED FOR THE COMPILER,  
1861.

Figure 9: Title page of the first book to be published by the military in what is now B.C.

The technology to print diagrams or other illustrations to show the manoeuvres he was describing apparently was not available at the time from the New Westminster printer who did the printing job. The book, therefore, is filled with wordy descriptions of, for example, how a marching group makes a left turn. One picture definitely would be worth a thousand words here!

The book is believed to have been printed in New Westminster, either on the Royal Engineer's press or on the press of the British Columbian. It is marked "Printed for the Compiler," indicating either Sparshott or the Royal Marines financed the publication.

Little information could be found about Sparshott but he appears to have been second-in-command of the Royal Marine base on San Juan Island. This was the largest of a group of islands in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and were disputed territory between the United States and Britain after the Treaty of Washington in 1846 had established the 49th parallel as the boundary up to the Strait. In 1859, the United States had established a base on the southern part of the Island. After protests and some negotiations, it was agreed the British also would set up a military camp there until a final settlement was reached. In March 1860, therefore, a detachment of Royal Marines landed. Sparshott was there about three years, and during the time in this isolated spot he compiled this manual to assist volunteers should the "undefended boundary" need defending. The Royal Marines left in 1872 after the

German Emperor had arbitrated a boundary that put that main island into U.S. possession.

From about 1860 on, the Royal Engineers, settled at New Westminster, had had a press. Col. R.C. Moody had acquisitioned this press (initially a small Columbia press and a few cases of type and accessories worth some 50 Pounds) from London in 1859.

The Royal Engineers were the publishers of one of the most exciting and original of the early books published in the colony: The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle, first published in 1863. This book was a printed version of 17 manuscript "newspapers" that had been put out during the voyage of the detachment of Royal Engineers from England to Victoria.

The Royal Engineers' nearly-six-month voyage was aboard the Thames City, and the two officers, one staff assistant surgeon, 118 non-commissioned officers and men and their 31 wives and 34 children actually treated their ship as though it were a small city. A four-page "gazette" documented the happenings of the voyage with articles, notes on the "natural history" (birds sighted, winds, climate and so on), and reports of births (the first babe born less than two weeks out) and deaths (a young boy was the first, just five weeks out). Each paper also contained riddles, word plays, conundrums and songs so popular with the Victorians. As well, there were advertisements for the "balls" and "theatre performances" put on by the emigrants during the voyage.

The book, like the newspapers, was edited by Second-corporal Charles Sinnett and was printed in New Westminster at the offices of the British Columbian newspaper by publisher John Robson. It ran 68 pages, folio size, and was illustrated with cuts showing a sailing ship on each masthead. This is an example of one of the earliest uses of engravings, other than in advertisements, in a book printed in the colonies.

The original 1863 edition was printed mainly so those who had been on the voyage could send copies to friends and relatives overseas. Former Provincial Archivist John Forsyth said in an article in 1933 that the printing of the book was done at the men's expense and that only a limited number were printed.<sup>7</sup> Only a rare few are known to exist today. The book was a well-printed document with a soft blue paper cover and contained a fold-out map showing the route of the voyage around Cape Horn. It was reprinted in a "souvenir" edition in 1907 by Richard Wolfenden in the Government Printing Office. That edition included some use of color and is bound in hardcover. It also is rare.

The Royal Engineers' Press also was used for the publication of other, essentially scientific, reports on work carried out for the government by the detachment. Among these are two reports of Lieutenant Henry Spencer Palmer, who led most of the survey parties and helped survey the roads through the province. Palmer's reports

generally ran for 25 or 30 pages and they contained some of the first maps to be published in the colonies, especially showing newly explored areas and proposed road constructions.

Palmer's Report of a Journey of Survey from Victoria to Fort Alexander, via North Bentinck Arm was printed by the Royal Engineers Press in New Westminster in 1863. This 30-page report, with its three tables and two carefully detailed folding maps, did not support a proposal by some Victoria businessmen for an alternate route to the main wagon road built by way of the Fraser and Thompson canyons. The proposed route established New Westminster as an important terminus and threatened Victoria's leading economic status. The Victoria merchants had rallied to the support of two companies, the Bentinck Arm Company and the Bute Inlet Company. The later was headed by Alfred Waddington. Waddington had been supervising the start of an alternate route from the coast to the upper Fraser gold fields that would have been more beneficial to Victoria and Vancouver Island trade than through the lower Fraser and New Westminster. His proposal would have seen steamers carrying goods to the top of Bute Inlet. Palmer's report made it clear that the road being constructed by way of the lower Fraser was the best route to the gold fields, with the fewest problems of elevation and the advantage of affording some pasture in the areas it passes.

Palmer's other report, also published by the Royal Engineers Press in 1863, was British Columbia: Williams Lake and the Cariboo; Report on portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts, and on the Fraser River from Fort Alexander to Fort George. After four pages of foreward matter, it contained 25 pages and had three maps, two of them folding maps, plus various diagrams and tables. A second issue of the same report, slightly smaller in size than the first, was also issued in 1863. The growth of the area and the concern about routes for proposed roads and eventually railroads made these reports of considerable public interest both locally and in Great Britain.

The British Admiralty also played a minor part in military publications in the new colony. In 1863, the 73 pages of station regulations and port orders for the Pacific Squadron were issued and printed in Victoria at the British Colonist office. These likely were not for sale, but they indicate the support the military can give by using a local press.

### Early Booksellers and Libraries

Many of the early colonists were well-educated and informed and apparently liked to read. The early Hudson's Bay post had had books available for its employees, but once Victoria started to expand in 1858 the demand for books generally exceeded the supply.

The first bookstore in Victoria was Kierski's. Little is known about Kierski's and only a little more about one of its competitors in 1858, W.F. Herre & Co. Herre's was apparently the larger of the two and had a Reading Room, which could be seen as a precursor to the present-day library. For a fee, a patron could come to the reading room and read the latest newspapers and books.

Kierski's was the first local bookstore to be featured in an advertisement in an early issue of the Victoria Weekly Gazette, the colony's first newspaper, on July 24, 1858 (p.2). Interestingly, the main portion of the ad was for "P. Garro -- Bill Poster" and the ad went on to say he could be reached at Kierski's. The advertisements, which ran in the July editions of the Gazette, often emphasized that the store was the main outlet for sales of the paper, probably indicating the bookstore either got its announcement for a reduced amount or as "contra" for stocking the papers. Herre also advertised in the Gazette.

The notices for the local bookstores were outshone in these first newspapers by the advertisements for bookstores in San Francisco. Noisy Carrier of San Francisco had advertised in the very first issue of the Victoria Gazette, as did Lee and Carl and Whitton & Towne. The Whitton & Towne advertisement was by far the most imposing, not surprisingly as the Towne concerned was the same J.W. Towne who had left the business in San Francisco and moved to Victoria to launch the newspaper. The third issue of the Gazette, on July 3, 1858, carried

**JUST PUBLISHED!**

**THE FRASER MINES VINDICATED;**  
**Or, The History of Four Months.**

By ALFRED WASHINGTON.

For sale by W. E. Hesse, Yates street, and by all  
the Book stores. d18-3

**NOTICE.**

The VICTORIA GAZETTE can always be procured  
(In wrappers for mailing if desired) at the News  
Depot of L. KERNICK, on Yates street, south side,  
near the office of Wells, Fargo, & Co.

**P. GARRO,**  
**BILL POSTER,**  
(APPLICATOR.)

**Carrier for Handbills.**

[[T Orders left at Kernick & Co.'s Book and  
Stationery Store, Yates street, near Wells, Fargo  
& Co.'s Express, will be promptly attended to.  
j)24-1m\*

Figure 10: Advertisements for early books and booksellers from the  
Gazette, 1858.



the first advertisement for a book -- The Giant Judge, published by Whitton & Towne in California.

The bookstore that was to become famous in Victoria and which lasted until well into the 1900s was T.N. Hibben & Co. Thomas Napier Hibben came to Victoria in 1858 from San Francisco especially to open such a store. He had worked with H.H. Bancroft, also a stationer and bookseller and later an historian and one of the earliest collectors of western North American books. Hibben and a partner, James Carswell, bought out Kierski. In 1859, the firm moved to new, modern and larger premises in a brick building of their own, one of the most prepossessing in the town. Carswell died soon after. By about 1884, the firm expanded again. Hibben took in C.W. Kammamerer and W.H. Bone, who had been, respectively, bookkeeper and salesman for the firm for a number of years. After Hibben's death in 1890, the firm carried on with Hibben's sons and the two partners and moved to new and larger quarters in 1904.

This interest in booksellers in a history of publishing is most appropriate because of the close relationships between the two. Early publishers usually were combination printers and/or booksellers, as is the case with Hibben, Towne and many others. Booksellers were in an excellent position to know the tastes of their patrons and to choose books that suited. Many of the early booksellers also ran reading rooms, but these declined as the various centres set up public libraries.

The forerunners to the public libraries were local societies formed for the advancement of reading and social discourse on literary subjects. These usually were established by one of the trade groups and had traditionally been known as Mechanics Literary Institutes around the world. Possibly the first to be set up in the two west coast colonies was one in Nanaimo in 1863. The following year literary institutes were established in both Victoria and Camerontown (a booming gold mining community that later was absorbed by nearby Barkerville when findings there proved larger and more enduring). Generally, these Literary Institutes set up reading rooms where books were stored and were available on loan to members. Regular meetings were held to discuss new books and also to encourage local individuals to write. Prize-winning entries sometimes were published, as was the case in 1868 when the Victoria Literary Institute arranged to have a prize essay and poem published.

The resulting publication, Prize Essay and Poem of the Literary Institute, Victoria, V.I., on the Beauties of the Scenery Surveyed from Beacon Hill, was printed by J.E. McMillan of the Morning News Office. Unfortunately, the Provincial Archives copy of this rare book has been lost. The Department of Rare Books at McGill University has kindly supplied information about its copy. In this collection, the pamphlet has been bound with a copy of Forbes' prize-winning government-sponsored essay, Vancouver Island: Its Resources and Capabilities as a Colony.



Figure 11: Early photograph of the main street of Barkerville, circa 1868, showing the Library. John Bowron, who had been the first librarian in Camerontown, is shown in the library doorway. (Photo courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.)

The Literary Institute's prize-winner apparently was a 16-page pamphlet, roughly 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (21.3 x 14.3 cm), with the title page on the first of the 16-page gathering. It may have had paper wrappers, which would have been removed when the copy was bound into the present library binding, but it is also possible that no wrappers were used.

The author of the essay was Edmund Thomas Coleman, who was also librarian for the Mechanics' Literary Institute of Victoria and likely one of its founding members. He had come to Victoria in 1863 and was a painter, mountaineer and naturalist. As a mountain climber, he was rather famous and was on the first climbs on both Mount Ranier and Mount Baker. He also wrote many articles and a couple of books, published in London, on the beauties and adventures on the West Coast. He left Victoria around 1869-70.

Much less is known about the author of the prize poem, one W.H. Parsons. No one of that name is listed in the local directories of the time.

Parsons, however, was not the first poet to be published in British Columbia. Nor was the Literary Institute's book the first major literary work of the province.

### B.C.'s First Poet and First Literary Work

Newspapers had been springing up during the 1860s in centres other than Victoria and New Westminster, and one of the first to be

involved in trade publishing was the Cariboo Sentinel, a newspaper in the gold-rush boom-town of Barkerville in Central B.C. Barkerville at the time was a booming metropolis that boasted the largest Opera Hall west of Chicago and where touring acting companies from San Francisco called regularly. On July 30, 1866, the Sentinel ran an advertisement for a collection of the poetry that it had published under the title of Sawney's Letters. These "Letters" had been extremely popular and the publication would be considered for sending to friends and relatives overseas. No copy of this first edition of the "Letters" is available, but it may have been on a sheet suitable for mailing.

In 1868, a second version, Sawney's Letter's, or Cariboo Rhymes 1864-1868 was brought out. It is only four 9-by-7-inch (23 x 18 cm) pages, but definitely represents a trade publication, and is considered the first literary publication in British Columbia.<sup>8</sup> Only a few copies are known to exist as well; a disastrous fire ravaged Barkerville soon after it was printed and most of the copies were destroyed.

In 1869, another edition was brought out. This one, 24 pages long and about 6 1/2 by 4 inches in size, also is rare now, but it was printed in large quantities and picked up by the miners to send "back home."

The book, like the Cariboo Sentinel, was printed on the old press that had been brought out by Bishop Demers. The press had been used to print the first issues of the Victoria Colonist but it was eventually

sold in favor of a newer technology, a cylinder press brought in by De Cosmos in 1862.

James Anderson, the author of Sawney's Letters, is generally recognized as B.C.'s first poet. He was a young Scotsman who had come to the Cariboo in 1863 to seek his fortune in the goldfields, leaving a wife and infant son at home in Perth. Fortune eluded him, but he soon achieved fame in the Barkerville area for his pleasant singing voice, attractive personality and unique gift for expressing, in rhyme and verses, the joys and tribulations of the miners.

In 1865, soon after the Sentinel began publication, Anderson began submitting his poetry regularly. These poems won immediate acclaim, especially the long narrative poems supposedly written to a friend at home and entitled "Sawney's Letters." These combine something of the style and dialect of Robbie Burns with the style and subjects that were to become much more famous some 35 years later in the work of Robert Service. Anderson's style can be seen, for example, in this small bit of "Letter no. 1":

Noo for claims;  
 And first a word about their names.  
 Some folks were sae oppressed wi' wit,  
 They ca' their claim by name "Coo ----,"  
  
 And tho' they struck the dirt by name,  
 They ne'er struck pay dirt in their claim.  
 Some ithers made a gae fine joke  
 And christen'd their bit ground "Dead Broke."  
 While some, to fix their fate at ance,  
 Ca'd their location "The Last Chance;"  
 There's "Tinker," "Grizzly" -- losh, what names--  
 There's "Prince o' Wales" -- the best o' claims,  
 There's "Beauregard" and "Never Sweat,"  
 And scores o' ithers I forget....

Part of the reason Anderson's works are little known today is that they have had little attention from publishers outside the province. W.S. Johnson & Co'y of Toronto issued an edition in 1895, a mimeographed edition was published by the Bibliographical Society of Canada in Toronto, and in 1962 a small "souvenir" edition was published by the Barkerville Restoration Advisory Committee to be sold in Barkerville.

Anderson left the Cariboo in 1871 to return to Scotland, thus ending the brief reign of B.C.'s first "poet laureate."

His departure coincided with another milestone, for in 1871, the united colony joined the Dominion of Canada -- and so opens a new chapter, too, in the history of trade-book publishing.

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## Chapter II

### 1871-1887: Waiting for the Trains

British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada based on the promise of a transcontinental railway that would link all parts of British North America and give the western colonies trade and commerce with eastern Canada. In the flush of economic prosperity based on its gold, no doubt the province and its statesmen saw the Canadian west much as California was in the United States at the time -- a strong and vital, if junior, partner with the east.

Not all the colonists were enthusiastic about a union with Canada, but, as Ormsby says, "external forces ... were drawing them into the Canadian orbit."<sup>1</sup> The growing strength of Russia and France and, with the Alaskan purchase by the United States, of the United States in the Pacific and especially on the western coast, led Britain to value its western North American colony. As well, the future of the colony was of utmost importance to English capitalists who had invested heavily in metals and coal mining in other businesses in the area. Britain, however, was facing troubles at home and suggestions that Canada might want to assume responsibility for British Columbia were welcomed as sound.

The Colonial Office, therefore approached Ottawa -- and the nationalistic ambitions of the new Canadian government led it to embrace the idea. In Britain, the Liberals under Gladstone pushed for union with Canada and the new Governor of the B.C. colony, Anthony Musgrave, was urged to promote the idea both in Victoria and in Ottawa.<sup>2</sup>

A B.C. delegation, chosen by Musgrave, went to Ottawa to sound out the federal government on the idea -- and the delegation was most warmly received by the Ottawa representatives. The offer of immediate construction of a railway was considered an "amazing success" for the delegation.<sup>3</sup> However, as soon as the B.C. delegation had returned home and drafted their constitutional bill, trouble began. Joseph William Trutch, who had led the first delegation to Ottawa, found on his return visit that the federal parliament in Ottawa was not wholly behind the idea. The government spokesman negotiated a "go slow" deal with Trutch, who was not to press for immediate construction, but not all the B.C. politicians agreed with this stand.<sup>4</sup>

In the ensuing dispute, the British government, through the Colonial Secretary, was drawn in to arbitrate. British Columbians had not forgotten the pressures from the Imperial authorities to have the colony within Canada. However, the new government in Ottawa had many concerns of its own and simply could not meet the promised deadlines. With the repeated negotiations as the federal government tried to raise money for railway construction through various sources, the British Columbians were left waiting for the train.

What happens when a train is late? In many instances, individuals spend the waiting time reading. Perhaps that was true of British Columbians during 1871 to 1887, for the local publishers began providing larger numbers of books. The lack of the rail link gave the printers and publishers of British Columbia a period when they could consolidate and establish themselves. It also gave them a focus -- books that either promoted or decried confederation and, later, lambasted the Dominion for its slowness in extending the railways West.

The first trade book to be published once British Columbia had agreed to join Confederation was, once again, a book released by the government. It was titled The Dominion at the West: A brief description of the province of British Columbia, its climate and resources. Its imprint reads: Victoria, Printed by Richard Wolfenden, Government Printer, 1872.

This book, like two others ten years previously, was a government-sponsored Prize Essay. It resembled the first prize essays in appearance, too, with a blue, soft paper cover, size about 8 1/4-by-5-inches (21 x 13 cm), with a four-page preface, 112 pages of text and a 42 page appendix. It contained a brief history and a detailed description of the new province and was generally a book to promote the province.

Its author was Alexander Caulfield Anderson, a Calcutta-born Englishman who had come to Canada as a youth to work for the Hudson's

Bay Company and who had worked for many years as a fur trader in the west, becoming a Chief Factor for the Company in 1846. He had settled in Victoria and, when the Bay's influence position had decreased, became the first collector of customs, later postmaster and eventually Commissioner of Indian land settlements and Fisheries Commissioner. A prolific writer, as many of the early adventurers were, he had put out handbooks on the Frazer [sic] and Thompson Rivers and had had a guide to the gold regions published in San Francisco during the gold rush. He described the province as prosperous.

#### Criticism of Mining Laws

Not all was as smooth and rosy as Anderson's book would have had us believe. The next year (1873) brought a trade book that was strongly critical of the provincial government's mining laws and that tried to drum up public support for change.

The author was Charles C. Lane, about whom little is known now except that he was strongly opposed to the mining laws based on the ordinances of 1865 and wanted more liberal laws passed similar to those in California and other countries. The book was published by the British Colonist Office. It is exceedingly rare now. Even the Provincial Archives has only a photocopy of it, so it is impossible to tell just what color the cover was, but the finished product was roughly 9 by 6 inches and was only 14 pages.

In 1874, the first book really critical of the eastern position was published in the west. Titled The Dominion of Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway, the book supported confederation but showed annoyance at the slowness of eastern politicians in bringing the railway west. The title page does not show an author, but he is identified in the preface as William Wilson. None of the references provides any additional information on him.

The book contained 42 pages and was roughly 9 by 6 inches and stitched. Some covers were yellow paper, although it was also bound with the white paper used on the regular pages. Use of different colored cover papers, now being market-tested by the huge international paperback companies around the world, was common practice in the 1870s and 1880s; most printers published several different colored covers, as will be noted about other books of the time. A few of the books would have been separated and special leather covers used for the author's copy and a few others, perhaps the presentation copies. As well, a few may have been bound with "boards," or specially-produced thick composition paper board, the forerunner to cardboard. These would have been covered with cloth, producing the typical "library" copy of the time.

The imprint for Wilson's book is Rose and Pottinger of Victoria, a book and job printing shop on Fort Street. Little is available now about this firm, although it had imprints on a number of publications

throughout the period. The files at the Provincial Archives do show some information about two young printers who worked for the Colonist about this time and possibly they ran a job-printing house on the side. James Pottinger was born in Scotland in 1849 and came to Victoria in 1864. He spent two years in the Cariboo from 1868-1870, then returned to Victoria in 1864. He spent six years in the Oregon Territory, from 1878-1884, then came back again to Victoria, working all his life as a printer.

Alexander Rose, who was apparently the more settled of the two, remained most of his life in Victoria. His imprint shows on many commercial printing jobs for about 20 years.

The imprint of Alex. Rose, which usually is shown with the abbreviated name and period, also appears on an eight-page pamphlet printed in 1875, which indicated some of the interest in local poetry. The pamphlet was a folded and cut copy, pasted rather than stitched or stapled, with the front page used as a cover. Although it cannot be classed as a "book" for this study, it is, nevertheless, an interesting item with relevance to the reading habits of the time.

The poem was the "Prize Poem" of the Victoria Mechanics' Literary Institute for 1875. Winner of that year's award was Reverend George Mason for his poem Lo! The Poor Indian. Mason was rector of St. Paul's in Nanaimo and apparently a dedicated amateur poet. His work was submitted to and occasionally published in the newspapers of the day.

As well as the publication of Lo! The Poor Indian, Mason also had another poem published. This one was a four-page small pamphlet (therefore not included in the books to study) titled Ode of the Loss of the Steamship "Pacific," November 4th, 1875. The imprint reads: Nanaimo, Printed by Geo. Norris, Free Press Office, 1875.

George Norris had been born in London but came to Victoria with his parents in 1863 at about age 13. Very early, he went to work for the Chronicle, the previously-mentioned newspaper published briefly by D.W. Higgins and J.E. McMillan. In 1874, at age 24, he moved to the little community of Nanaimo, soon to thrive with its coal-based economy, to start a weekly newspaper himself. He launched the Nanaimo Free Press, which ran successfully, becoming a daily in 1888. Norris remained its editor and publisher until his death in 1902.

### Cries for Action

By 1877 British Columbians had been waiting six years for the Canadian Pacific Railway to live up to its middle name. Books published that year and the next were preoccupied with the railway and one was bitterly outspoken, even stronger than Wilson's three years earlier.

The first to appear was a 12-page, 8-by-5-inch booklet in soft, blue wrappers issued by the Victoria newspaper, The Standard, and titled Opinions of the English Press on the British Columbia Railway Question.

Using reprints from London newspapers, the book reported what was being said in Britain, which was, to British Columbians, much more to the point than what was being said in Ottawa.

William Fraser Tolmie, in an optimistic mood, wrote about the advantages of two possible routes for the railway when it finally was to reach the coast. His book was titled Canadian Pacific Railway Routes: The Bute Inlet and Esquimalt Route No. 6 and the Fraser Valley and Burrard Inlet Route No. 2, compared as to the the advantages afforded by each to the Dominion and to the Empire. Tolmie recognized just what the Burrard Inlet route would mean to Vancouver Island; relatively speaking it would lose its advantage as an economic link and the mainland would prosper. Naturally enough, most Victorians preferred the Bute Inlet route.

Tolmie, who was a physician and fur trader, had been one of the earliest settlers in the area. A prolific writer, he was also a scholar of note, a mountain climber and, at that time, the member of the legislature for Victoria. His book consisted mainly of his letters to the editor of the Colonist over a six-month period. It was published by the Colonist, with the imprint noting the newest technology to be added: Victoria, Colonist Steam Presses, 1877.

Roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm), the book contained 16 pages of text in small type, with a preface page and a blank page at the back, something not often found in the books of the time as printers were



reluctant to waste expensive paper. It also was graced with a most hideous purple paper cover that would, no doubt, have made it stand out among the other paper-covered books of its time in the local stores!

The most outspoken of these three publications on the railway question was that of Reginald Nuttall, called British Columbia, its present condition and future policy. Only 13 pages of text, it nevertheless was a blunt demand that British Columbia should withdraw from Confederation if the railway was not rushed through immediately. He advocated stronger relationships with the U.S. The imprint read Victoria, M'Millan [sic] & Son, Printers, Fort Street, 1878 and the 13-page text portion actually was contained on a 16-page signature, again indicating that printers were now a little more likely to leave blank portions within a book as well as showing that the technological changes were effecting the use of the now-common sixteen-page or eight-page folds. The overall size also is settling into a standard; the book was 8 by 5 1/2 inches and was stitched before the soft green cover or "wrapper" was pasted on. The cover also is distinguished by a decorative border, a style change that marks much of the work of the firm, which sometimes used M'Millan and sometimes McMillan in spelling in the imprints. The copy available in the Provincial Archives has a hand-written note on its cover: "May be had from the Stationers for 25 cents."

James Eliphalet McMillan was born in 1825 in Ontario and took his apprenticeship in printing in Toronto. He worked on several Ontario newspapers before he moved to Victoria in 1859. There he worked as a printer and editor with the Colonist, then went to New Westminster where he worked for two years with John Robson at the Columbian. McMillan became a partner with David Higgins in the Daily Chronicle from 1862 to 1865, when he sold out to T.H. Long. He next set up as a job printer and sought work as the Government Printer, unsuccessfully. He then moved again to New Westminster where he bought a half interest in the British Columbian, but returned to Victoria after a short stay and established the Morning News (later the Evening News).

He became an advocate for annexation to the United States, a move that brought him into conflict with most other newspaper proprietors of the time and with many of the colonists. In 1870, he tried running for office, but was defeated in the elections, likely because of his anti-Confederation stand. He did run successfully in the city elections and was mayor of Victoria for 1872 and 1873. In 1876, he became Immigration Agent and held a number of political appointments, including that of Sheriff for Victoria from 1884 until 1901. He died in 1907, age 82.

His son, R.H. McMillan, was born in 1858 and at first worked with his father in his printing business, then later more steadily in the Victoria newspapers. He was foreman of the printing plant with the Victoria Times during the latter half of his life until his death at age 66 in 1924.

The imprints of McMillan appear at various times through these early years, and it is likely because of his strong beliefs that the economic future of British Columbia lay with a liaison with the United States that led to the publication of the Nuttall book. Reginald Chute Nuttall was a land and commission agent who had been around the Victoria area for several years. No other writings have been found attributed to him. He died in Victoria in 1888.

When the book came out it was reviewed in the Colonist, one of the first local instances of a real review (as opposed to an announcement) of a B.C. book. The author of the review disagreed with Nuttall's prophecies about increasing land values and with the general tenor of the book, which is not surprising considering the Colonist's pro-Confederation position. Nevertheless, the review recommends purchase of the book.

### Guides and Dictionaries

The only other book to appear in 1877, aside from the ones related to the railway issues, was a Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-78. This was a major production in the book line, the first "real" book aside from the directories that had appeared and it ran more than 450 pages. The imprint read: Victoria, T.N. Hibben & Co., publisher, 1877. This truly represents a publishing venture, for the printer was entirely different; it was printed by Alex. Rose of Victoria.

The Guide thus represents some marked difference from most of the books of the time and indicates as well the awareness of T.N. Hibben of what would sell, and sell well, throughout the province. By this time, Hibben had expanded into what would become a chain of bookstores, including at least one other outlet, that one in New Westminster, which he had bought in 1863. As well, he was a general supplier for other bookstores around the province, in Yale, for example, and in other rising locations. He also advertised in papers throughout the province and did a mail-order business.

Hibben arranged for a 9-by-6-inch (23 x 15.5 cm), thick board-bound book with a 12-page preface then a main section of 408 pages, which included numerous pages of advertising that would probably pay most of the printing costs at least.

Although it is useful as a guide for tourists who were beginning to come, it contained invaluable data that would be helpful for anyone moving to or considering setting up a business anywhere in the province. Full reports on mines, businesses, government, laws, proposed railway routes and so on all were included. Hibben definitely seems to have been planning to take full advantage of the economic boom that would result with the arrival of the railway.

The book also contained the full Dictionary of Indian Tongues, which Hibben had originally published in 1862. He had re-issued it in 1865 and 1871 and it had proved a tried and true best-seller in his stores.

By now, others were interested in Indian grammars and dictionaries but most of this work was done by the churches. Only one deserves a mention in the history of trade books; this is A Vocabulary and Outlines of Grammar for the Nitlaka-pamuk, or Thompson Tongue (the Indian language spoken between Yale, Lillooet, Cache Creek and Nicola Lake) together with a phonetic Chinook Dictionary, adapted for use in the Province of British Columbia. It was the work of John Booth Good, an English-born missionary who had been sent out first to Nova Scotia, then to San Francisco and then in 1861 to Nanaimo and in 1866 on to the interior of British Columbia where he remained for 35 years. Good, who was a Greek, Latin and Syrian language scholar, became fascinated by the beauties of the Indian languages of B.C. and wrote numerous articles and books on them (published in England). He also prepared translations of Church materials into the Indian languages for use in the B.C. missions. Most of these were published in the missions and many are extremely rough copies and limited editions. Many of them have, however, been collected and are kept in special collections.

Good's Vocabulary and Outlines of Grammar was, however, intended for a slightly wider audience and appears to have been sold through all the booksellers in B.C. of the time. A 48-page book, it had 46 pages of text and the 8 1/4-by-5 1/2-inch signatures were stitched together before the colored paper cover was applied. At least two colors were used for the cover as copies examined had pink and blue bindings.

The imprint reads: Victoria, Printed at the St. Paul's Mission Press (S.P.C.K.) Collegiate School, 1880. The initials stand for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, an English-based international group that funded missionary publications around the world.

### Other Church Publications

According to H. Pearson Gundy, the first missionary or church press in Western Canada was that of Bishop Demers.<sup>5</sup> Gundy then says this was followed by that of Oblate Father R.P. Grouard at Deer Lake in the Northwest Territories in 1877 and, some time later, in the Peace River Country (either Alberta or B.C.).<sup>6</sup> Gundy makes no mention of the St Paul's Mission Press in Victoria, which issued its first book in 1878. That book was The Office for the Holy Communion, a Church of England Liturgy and Ritual that was translated into the Neklakapamuk tongue for the use of the Indians at the St. Paul's Mission at Lytton. Only the title page and pages 35-46 from this book are known to exist. It, too, was translated by John Booth Good. The St. Paul Mission Press issued many other Church documents during the next few years, although these were strictly for use within the church and can not be classed as trade publications and studied in this thesis.

Nor does Gundy make mention of the press of the French Oblate missionary, Father Jean-Marie Raphael Le Jeune (1855-1930), who came to B.C. in 1879 and who issued a 16-page Indian dictionary from his Kamloops headquarters in 1886. This booklet, Practical Chinook Vocabulary, comprising all & the only usual words of that wonderful language arranged in a most advantageous order for the speedily learning of the same, was only the first of many publications put out by Father Le Jeune. Most of these were issued in Duployan shorthand, a system of phonetic writing developed for Indian dialects. Father Le Jeune mastered many Indian tongues and was a firm believer that Church doctrine should be taught to the various Native groups in their own languages.

Father Audrian Gabriel Morice (1859-1938) was another of the French Oblate missionaries to come to B.C. and who became noted as an anthropologist, linguist and historian. He came to B.C. in 1880 and worked in the Chilcotin districts. He issued several works using Dene syllabics produced on his own printing press at the Mission du Lac Stuart. One of these, Le petit catechisme a l'usage des sauvages Porteurs, ran to 144 pages and was in both French and the Carrier language of the district, usually with the translations on facing pages.

During the 1880s and the early 1890s many other church publications were produced in these local missions, including many under the direction of Right Reverend Bishop Paul Durieu, who was

appointed the first Bishop of New Westminster in 1890. In addition to these locally-produced texts and church documents, some books were sent to the area through the offices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), including prayer books in Kwaliutl [sic] and other coast Indian languages. All these books, however, were intended strictly for use in the missions and are only of passing interest in this history of trade books.

#### Directories Once Again

No new directories had been issued since Mallandaine had issued his latest edition, his fifth in the series, in 1874. Then in 1882, R.T. Williams entered the directory field. His British Columbia Directory for the Years 1882-83 was the start of a well-known and relatively regular series.

Williams was a book-binder by trade. He had been born in New York of English parents, but came to Victoria in 1859 as a schoolboy. He may have worked with Charles Otto, who had opened a bindery in Victoria in 1862; at any rate he purchased the flourishing business from Otto in 1871 (some sources say 1873). The main work of the bindery was the printing and making of stationery, envelopes and so on, but Williams expanded and enlarged the business, according to newspaper articles of the time.



In 1882, Williams had purchased some new equipment and had increased his staff to seven persons. Then he decided to bring out the Directory and, according to the Colonist (Aug. 27, 1882), increased the staff to 13, probably mainly through addition of salesmen to sell space and collect the names and addresses for the listings.

The Directory 1882-83 contained 36 pages of ads at the front followed by 402 numbered pages of text in the body, interspersed with ads, then a 26-page appendix on British Columbia that was written by Alexander Caulfield Anderson.

This 26-page appendix was published separately early the following year, also by "R.T. Williams, Publisher," as A Brief Account of the Province of British Columbia, its Climate and Resources. The separate edition was, like its mother publication, 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm), and stitched. It had a brown paper cover, with the brown paper looking like the old-fashioned, almost-striped wrapping paper still seen occasionally. A large, 18-by-12-inch (46 x 30 cm), fold-out map was tipped into the back, and this was in color with a route for the CPR marked in red ink. No printer is given for the map. Tipped into the front of the Provincial Archives' copy is an ad on orange paper for T.N. Hibben & Co., but it is possible that this could have been added in the bookstore. The note in Lowther says that some copies of this edition have plates (photographic reproductions done on separate sheets then tipped into the book) but the copy in the Archives does not have these.

The "mother copy" or full directory was sold with a grey paper cover that also contained a number of advertisements. As well, some pages within the book are on colored paper and had either been tipped in or added by being wrapped around a signature before the stitching was done. Williams made good use of his book-binding knowledge to take advantage of every advertising possibility.

The book came out in December of 1882 and, according to the Colonist report in August, 2,000 copies were printed, which gives some idea of the popularity of these books at the time. Another edition was published in 1884-85.

In 1887 Mallandaine joined forces with Williams and the directory that year is listed as published by the two of them with Mallandaine's name appearing on the cover. Apparently they continued a fairly regular partnership although the ones published after 1889 have only Williams' name on the cloth-bound copies.

### Poetry and Vanity Printing

Although some poetry had earlier been published and sold in British Columbia, such as the works of the Bard of British Columbia, James Anderson, or by the Rev. George Mason through the Literary Institutes, a bound copy of a book of poetry was not produced in B.C. until 1880. In that year, Eustance Alvanley Jenns produced his Evening to Morning and Other Poems, a 40-page, beautifully-bound collection of relatively innocuous poetry. The imprint reads: Victoria, Published by T.N. Hibben & Co., MDCCLXXX.

Jenns had been born in 1860 and was brought to Victoria by his father at age five. He was educated in a church school in Victoria and early showed a strong literary and poetic bent. When he had a fair collection, encouraged by his old schoolmaster, he decided to publish his work.

A delightful, unsigned manuscript article in the files at the Provincial Archives tells the story of this publication based on interviews with Jenns in his later years. This article advises that young Jenns went to work for T.N. Hibben and under his direction and that of R.T. Williams learned to typeset, print and bind his works.

Jenns elected to print 500 copies, with 33 pages of text, and two of prefatory matter and two for appendix. Most of the books were printed with paper covers, but some were bound in cloth, either red, green or blue. A few were bound in leather. The Vancouver Public Library has one of the cloth-bound editions, in blue with navy end-papers and reflecting the best of papers used in books of the time. Two copies in the University of B.C. Special Collection are in green, with black end-papers and gold embossing. One copy is bound in red leather, with several decorative gold borders and an embossed spine.

Our unknown interviewer goes on in his history to reveal that the books were placed for sale through T.N. Hibben's stores, but sales proved few and far between. In fact, when Jenns took all the copies back some time later, only one sale had been recorded. Not an auspicious start for the poet.

Several years later, the book was mentioned in "The Library" column of the weekly magazine, The Province (Aug. 3, 1895), where it was damned with faint praise.

Jenns eventually moved to Vancouver where he became the librarian at the Court House from 1900 to 1930. Undaunted by the poor reception of his first ventures into print, he arranged another privately-printed book of poetry in 1910, called Orpheus and Eurydice. This one has been reviewed and commented on in various works on Canadian literature.

Perhaps a word or two about "vanity publishing" should be included at this point. The term is in ill repute today, mainly because many "vanity publishers" have sprung up whose main function is to exploit authors. The term arises because the publisher charges the authors for the publishing and printing services for their works rather than accepting the risks by taking a book, bearing the costs of publication and later paying the author a royalty.

Today, such vanity publishers charge exorbitant rates for their services and give little in return, usually charging several thousand dollars and doing little in the way of promotion or distribution; they bear no risk and the author must do all the promotion and often, after a few months, any distribution as well. The publisher ships home to the author any remaining books that were not ordered by the bookstores (with little or no publicity or sales promotion to the retailers, likely no books were taken by bookstores); the author usually ends up with the entire "run" in his basement or attic.

However, the custom of the author acting as his own publisher or at least putting up a major portion of the money was not frowned upon in the 1800s. Many early authors did so, including Washington Irving at about this same time in London. In the preface to The Sketch Book, Irving tells of making arrangements to publish himself and to arrange for sales through a bookstore chain. This is much the same route followed by Jenns and by many of the others we have described, perhaps such as Cridge and Anderson. It is certainly likely that this was the arrangement for the book we will look at next.

### Chitterton's Travels

In 1882, the first guide aimed specifically at "tourists" -- rather than settlers as well as visitors -- was published in British Columbia. Of course, many books had been published elsewhere extolling the virtues of this wild western land, and the various directories and guides had offered much information that would be helpful to the visitor. Now, with some work actually started on the railway and with a promised influx of visitors including the Governor General and Princess Louisa, there appeared a new market for guide books.

The Settlers, Prospectors, and Tourists Guide, or Travels through British Columbia was written and, likely, financially backed by Newton H. Chitterton in 1882. No printer is given, but the work appears to be

that of the Colonist and the newspaper has an ad among the fairly numerous ads within the book, the only printing house to do so. As well, the Colonist reviewed the book in its December 28, 1882, edition, calling it "on the whole a very credible production" and recommending it to "old residents as well as new."

The book had a soft blue paper cover and was roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15.5 cm). A major portion of this work also appeared in Settlers, Miners, and Tourists Guide: From Ocean to Ocean by the C.P.R., a 112-page book published in Ottawa by James Hope & Co., in 1885.

Chitterton was an American, a lawyer and former Union cavalry officer, and he travelled widely in B.C. as well as later around the world. He wrote extensively and lectured often on his travels and apparently stayed a few years in B.C. where he collected Indian artifacts that he later exhibited in London, Antwerp and San Francisco.

During 1884 he also carried out an extensive exploration in the Queen Charlotte Islands for the government of British Columbia. Excerpts from this report appeared in serial form in a new monthly journal, The Resources of British Columbia: Illustrated, which had been started in Victoria in 1883 and which showed something of the technological advances of the time. When the expedition was complete, the government published an Official Report of the Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which was sold in bookstores.

One of the first "illustrated," and one of the most dramatic, was The Colonist Annual for the Year 1885: Illustrated. The inside title page went on to note the 24-page book has "Genuine Illustrations on Wood, chiefly by Darley, Morgan, Gibson, Schell, Hogan, and other celebrated American Artists." The quality of these is unbelievably fine and astonishes anyone who tends to think of wood-cut engravings as rather crude and inartistic.

The woodcut on the cover, a pastoral scene with sheep grazing at the front of a water-run, stone mill was in color; the size was roughly 7 3/4 by 4 3/4 inches. The book contained 24 pages, with ads for local merchants, including one for William's new Directory prominently displayed.

The imprint read: Victoria, British Columbia, Published by D.W. Higgins. The book may have been distributed free to Colonist buyers, but it also would have been put on sale. It was, in fact, an almanac and included calendars, recipes, notes on holidays and observations on the movements of the stars. Among the ads inside were several for the Colonist, including one on the Colonist's Job Printing House, noting that color was available. In other words, the book itself was an advertisement for the work that could be done.

The Colonist was not the only printing house of the time that had made the move to color. Munroe Miller, Book and Job Printer, Johnson Street, of Victoria, also had expanded his presses and was able to prepare illustrated and colored printing work, including embossing.

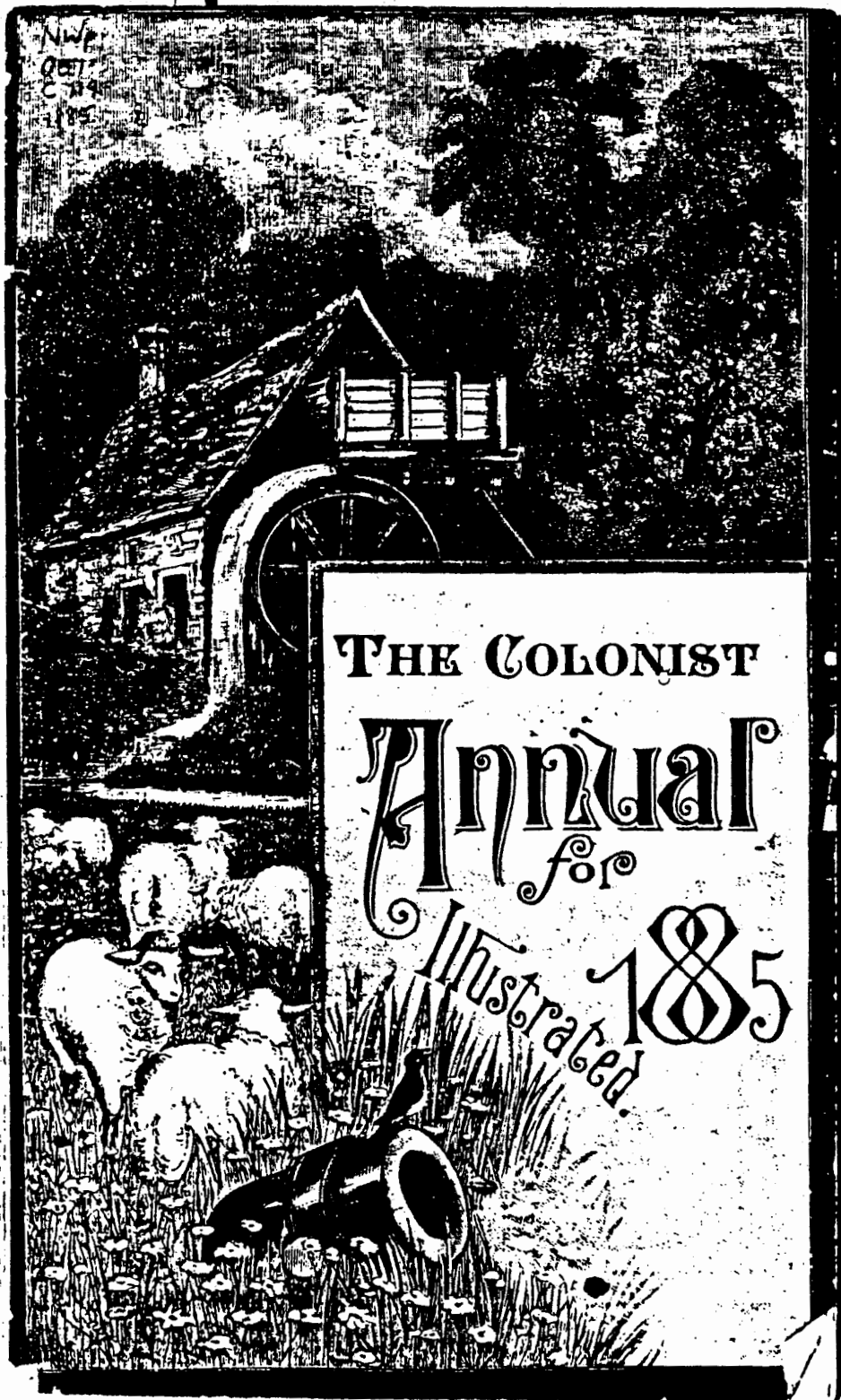


Figure 12: Cover of The Colonist Annual for 1885, showing the use of illustrations of the period. The cover also was colored.





THE VILLAGE BEAUTY.—After Rudau.

Figure 13: Photocopy of a woodcut engraving from The Colonist Annual for 1885.

During this period no color work from this establishment was done in books. However, Miller did place an ad for his establishment in an 1884 issue of The Resources of British Columbia: Illustrated that showed what his presses could do. That ad, about two inches square and centred on a large, glossy-paper sheet is in yellows, greens and gold and looks like the embossed work done on cigar bands. Miller apparently did a good business in labels for locally-produced goods.

Munroe Miller's imprints begin appearing on books in 1885, but he had been working in Victoria for some time. Born in Texas in 1847 to a family following the gold trail, James Munroe Miller came via California to B.C. where his father tried mining for gold on the Fraser. At age 15 (1862) he became a news carrier for the Colonist, but David Higgins, at that time the editor and publisher, encouraged him to become an apprentice printer. After he became qualified he went to the United States and for a time worked with Mark Twain in Nevada, then on to Boston and San Francisco, always finding work as a printer.

In 1881 he returned to Victoria with his family and set up a print shop. In September of 1883, he bought out the flourishing Resources of British Columbia magazine from A.A. McArthur, who had launched it in March of that year. He continued its policy of illustrations and improved the magazine enormously.

The Resources magazine folded in July 1885 after the advertising that had kept it alive and flourishing dwindled. Although imprints by Munroe (sometimes spelled Munro) Miller appear occasionally for the

next few years, Miller eventually went into politics. In 1894, he was elected alderman for Victoria and in 1896 he became deputy registrar of births for the provincial government, a job in which he stayed for 25 years, retiring at age 74 in 1921. He died in 1932.

At one time the Provincial Archives apparently had ledgers and order books from Miller's printing house but they could not be found during the summer of 1979. These would have yielded valuable information about printing costs, average print runs and so on.

Among the Munroe Miller imprints was one in 1885 that would be classed as a trade book although it has only about nine pages of text. This is Utilization of the Indians of British Columbia, by William Fraser Tolmie, the same Tolmie mentioned earlier for his book on railway routes.

Utilization of the Indians had appeared in part in the Resources magazine, but was expanded for the book form. Dr. Tolmie expressed concerns about health and social conditions of the Indians, especially the high death rate, and describes the better treatment of the Indians in the Washington Territory. He advocates some changes in B.C. Roughly 8 by 5 inches (20 x 13 cm), the book had a green paper cover and contained 14 newsprint pages on an eight-page signature, a four-page signature and a tipped-in sheet. The whole was pasted rather than stitched or stapled, indicating that it was a time-consuming job, and possibly done in a small edition.

### Books and the Lecture Circuit

During 1884 and 1885, several trade books appeared that were based on "lectures" given either by local or visiting speakers. One was a publication of the Mechanics' Literary Institute of Victoria, but it differs from their earlier "literary" ones. The book was titled A Lecture on the Subject of "Current Events," by W.K. Bull; the lecture had been given at an Institute meeting and then was printed for the Institute by R.H. McMillan, Book and Job Printer. This Richard Henry McMillan was the son of J.E. McMillan mentioned earlier.

The book, roughly 7 1/2 by 5 inches and stitched, contained 20 pages (19 of them covered with small print), plus covers. The pale aqua-blue cover was a striped, waxy paper and it contained a decorative border around the title information.

The author, William King Bull, was an auctioneer who had come to Victoria in 1864 and was a noted and prolific "speaker" at various public functions as well as an inveterate writer of letters-to-the-editor. His work seems to indicate he was outspoken, but he seemed well thought of by the Mechanics' Literary Institute.

Another book based on a lecture is Scotland and Scotsmen, by Henry George. The imprint reads: Victoria, Anti-Poverty Club. Lowther and various other sources indicate the date as 1884. Little information is available about the Anti-Poverty Club other than a box number listed for Victoria.

The book itself contained 28 pages within a heavy grey paper cover roughly 7 1/4 by 5 inches (18.5 x 13 cm). A portrait of the author is on the front cover and the price is printed: "Ten Cents a Copy." On the inside front cover, the back covers and the last two pages of the book are advertisements for other Anti-Poverty Club publications, also using the Victoria address. These books were not from any known local printers.

Henry George was a well-known American economist and author who had learned the printing trade and who travelled around the country lecturing and selling his works. He was the author of Progress and Poverty, published in the United States in 1879, which advocated a new social creed. The Victoria book is more of a travelogue than an economic work; those advertised on the covers are mostly poetry.

Another book based on a lecture was Eady Stevenson's Religion and Rum: or, The Influence of Religion on the Use of Alcoholic Liquors as a Beverage. This 38-page book was published by Cohen & Salmon of Victoria in 1885. The book actually contained 40 pages (five eight-page signatures) with a separate brown paper cover and was roughly 6 1/2 by 4 1/2 inches (17 x 12 cm). The cover had the printed cost information: "Price, 25 Cents."

Dr. Stevenson was a homeopathic surgeon who travelled about giving speaking engagements and who stayed for a time in Victoria. The Colonist described him after his lecture as one who "wears the blue ribbon but does not practice temperance intemperantly."<sup>7</sup>

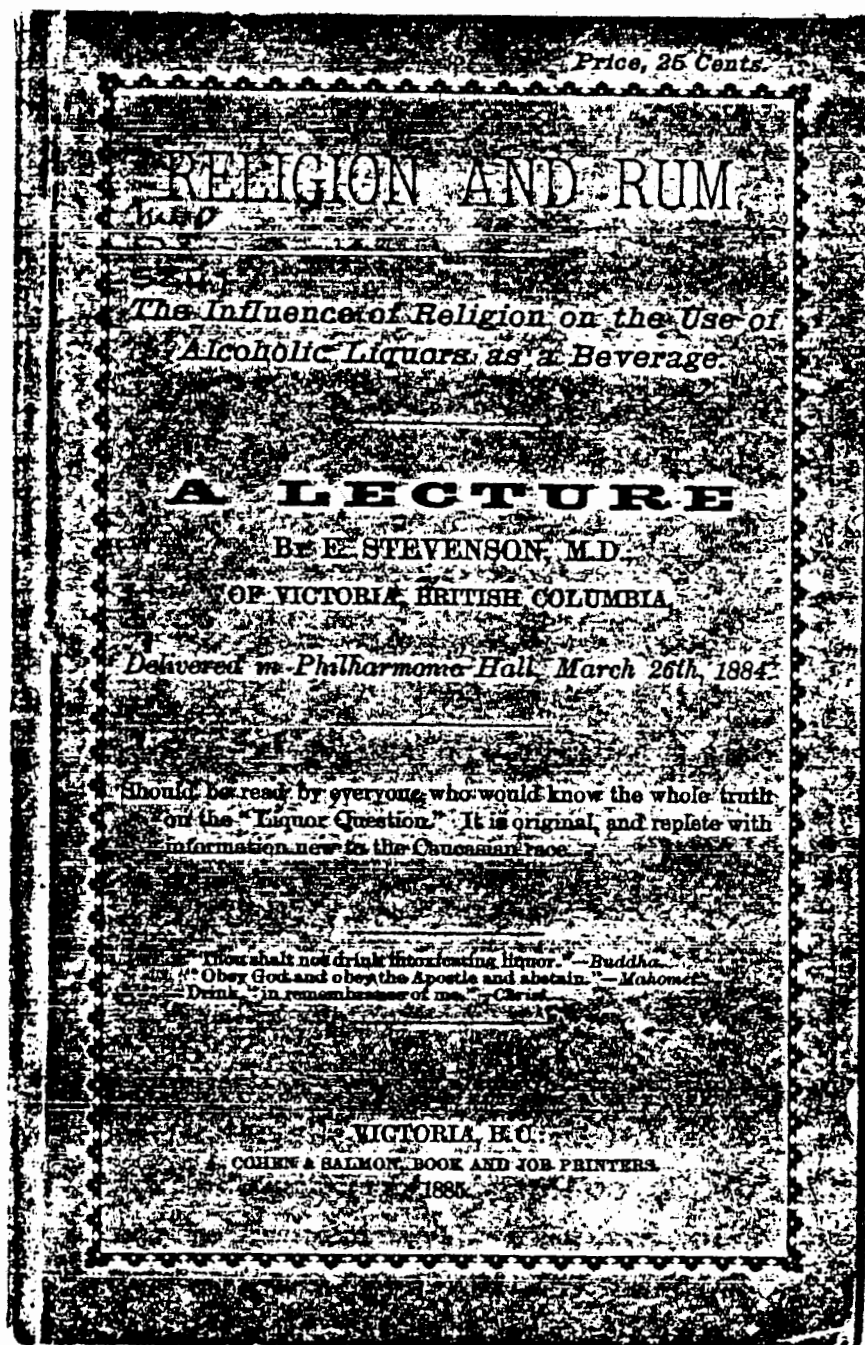


Figure 14: Cover of Religion and Rum, showing the kinds of information readers would be given on a typical cover of the time.

Cohen & Salmon was a relative newcomer on the printing scene in Victoria and the firm may have been hired only as a job printer for the printing of the Stevenson lecture. James A. Cohen had been born in Holland and nothing indicates when he first came to Victoria. However, his imprint does not appear before 1884 and then only occasionally with Salmon. No background on the partner could be found at all. An advertisement in 1887 indicates that Cohen and McMillan were joining printing plants.

#### Court Cases, Constitutions and "Come-Ons"

During this period a major source of income for printers was publication of court cases. Quite literally dozens of these were printed up during the last quarter of the century, covering court cases such as murders or spectacular cases against large companies.

The Cridge case, already mentioned, and perhaps some others may have sold an odd copy through book stores, but it is most likely that these were printed entirely for the record. The Checklist of B.C. Imprints (Appendix I) shows 11 such cases between 1871 and 1887, some as many as 82 pages long.

Printers were also doing a good business in the printing of constitutions and by-laws for various firms and agencies, some of these also running book length. At least 22 of these were published during this period.

Another source of income for print shops large enough to publish books was from the printing of prospectuses for various firms or from various areas of the province. New areas were opening, such as the Kootenay district. The "Townsite of Farwell," for instance, published a prospectus for the area predicting Farwell as the future "chief city" of the Interior. This far-fetched scheme to reclaim a flood plain and name a city there after a certain A.S. Farwell, a government official, never quite got off the ground and no such place ever existed.

Another such prospectus was one aimed to stimulate interest in B.C. railway investment. In addition to these apparently lucrative contracts, however, many B.C. printers continued to publish books as shown in the lists in the Appendix.

#### Farming and Prospecting: "How to" Books

Once R.T. Williams had entered the book-publishing, as opposed to merely the book-binding, business, he continued fairly regularly. During 1886, he published two books that might be labelled today as "how to" books.

One was a book called Model Farming: A Science, by J. Sharpe. The subtitles on the cover, like many of those of the period, goes on and on, noting that "A nation's prosperity much depends on her agricultural progress" and that this book "is the first one published in British Columbia on the 'model farm and soiling system,' with a



balance sheet, and a rotation plan of cropping the fields of the farm for three consecutive seasons."

The book contained 28 pages of text and tables and was roughly 8 1/2 by 5 3/4 inches. The cover was a soft mauvish paper and there is a decorative border. The book is composed of two- and four-page signatures. The opening page is a dedication to Noah Shakespeare, a member of the legislature and president of the B.C. Agricultural Society.

No information could be found on the author, not even a first name, and directories of the period do not yield any certain information. From the text, it would appear Sharpe was an Englishman with considerable experience in farming in Britain. He takes a scientific approach to his subject and seems well versed in what might grow in the Vancouver Island area especially and the book seems to have been a good farming guide. The directories do reveal that a T.A. Sharpe was superintendent of the Dominion Government's 300-acre experimental farm at Agassiz, but any relationships between the two would be pure conjecture.

The other book, almost certainly brought out by Williams, was the Prospectors' Manual: Being a full and complete history and description of the newly discovered mines on Granite Creek, etc., by P.L. Trout. The book contained 64 pages of text plus six pages in the front and two in the back of advertising, as well as ads on all covers except the grey-green paper front cover. A tipped-in ad that was caught in the

stitching right in the centre of the book is for R.T. Williams, Printer, indicating that Williams almost certainly printed the book even if Trout financed it himself.

The book contains large-scale outline maps of the various areas discussed in the text; although this was by no means a new technique locally (having been used by the Royal Engineers during the 1860s), it was somewhat more expensive in use of paper and engraving than was usually the case at this time.

The author, Peter Laird Trout, was a prospector, spending some 40 years of his life in the search for gold. He had come out to B.C. from Ontario in 1875 and was active in working gold fields in the Granite Creek area. Later, he was among the first to head for the Yukon-Klondike goldfields. He died in Victoria in 1925.

### Toot! Toot! The Train Arrives

Finally, in 1887, the trains at last reached a truly Pacific terminus, the upstart new city called Vancouver.

Actually, trains had been following the track as far as rail-end for a couple of years. The Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had worked hard to hold B.C. in Canada, had revisited Victoria in 1885, coming by rail to just east of Revelstoke. A passenger train from Montreal reached Port Moody, the originally planned terminus, on July 4, 1886. However, the C.P.R. head office wanted

a deep-water terminus so they could connect their "Queen's Highway" with ocean-going vessels and create a commercial link to the Orient.

The city of Vancouver had been incorporated by special charter in 1886, much to the wrath of the merchants and speculators of Port Moody and Victoria. Less than three months later, the booming new city had been levelled by fire. Fierce determination and pride launched the city once again and by the time the trains arrived on May 23, 1887, the city was ready with even a book to welcome the train.

The book was City of Vancouver, Terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, subtitled British Columbia Hand Book. The book was compiled by M. Picken and the imprint reads: Vancouver, Daily News Office, 1887. No information on the author has come to light, although the British Columbia Directory for the time lists an M. Pickens, giving his occupation as "agent," although it is not clear whether this might mean "realtor" or "C.P.R. employee."

The Daily News and the Advertiser were the city's first newspapers although the flamboyant and fitful Moodyville Tickler had served the nearby area during the late 1870s. The News and the Advertiser later amalgamated. One cannot be certain whether Picken or the News actually financed the Hand Book, as it is commonly called; at any rate, advertising likely paid the printing costs completely and sales would have been profit.

Pages 65-through-88 of the 88-page interior of the roughly 8 1/2-by-5 1/2-inch (21.5 x 14 cm) book are ads. As well, there are ads on

CITY OF  
VANCOUVER

TERMINUS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

---

BRITISH COLUMBIA

HAND BOOK

COMPILED BY M. PICKEN.

---

VANCOUVER, B. C.

PUBLISHED AND PRINTED AT THE DAILY NEWS OFFICE.  
1887.

Figure 15: Title page of the City of Vancouver Hand Book, the first book to be published in Vancouver, in 1887.

three of the four shocking-pink paper covers, plus a small ad on the bottom of the front cover itself. Tipped into the front of the book is a folded map showing the railway route through B.C.; this map was printed in Victoria by T.N. Hibben & Co.

Picken's Hand Book combines a directory of residents and businesses and a general guide to the city. Four booksellers are listed in the new metropolis, including S.T. Tilley, on Cordova Street, a book firm that also had an outlet in New Westminster and which was apparently the main competitor to T.N. Hibben in the lower Mainland area.

Victoria's printers who had dared to try the book publishing field were rather quiet during 1887. Certainly, they did not celebrate in print the arrival of the trains. The only major book-type publication to be brought out that year was an advertising brochure celebrating Victoria's Jubilee, 1837-1887. This 38-page booklet is little more than an advertising catalogue; a long-winded story of Queen Victoria's life fills the right-hand pages with small print while ads crowd the left-hand pages. The only remarkable item about it is the use of red ink on the separate brown-paper covers.

Perhaps that use of red ink on a book published in Victoria was prophetic.

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## Chapter III

## 1888-1899: Closing the Century with a "Rush"

After the hustle and bustle of waiting for the trains and the excitement of their arrival, a period of relative calm followed for the next couple of years, at least as it was reflected by the book publishing business. Vancouver was busy identifying which of its various newspaper enterprises would survive and prosper; Victoria was tightening its belt and watching to see whether the mainland terminus for the railway would make a great difference to its fortunes.

The first signs of the inter-city rivalry in the publishing world appeared in the directories. In 1888, R.T. Williams had issued a Vancouver City Directory, which had been compiled for the Victoria book-binder by Thomas Draper. The book, 84 pages in total, was bound in green, heavy-paper covers which were covered again with "boards" also with many ads. Roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15), the book contained 24 pages of ads, then 48 pages of text, a four-page fold of colored paper with ads and eight more pages of ads. A few of the ads were actually photographs printed on coated paper on which some printing was over-laid; in most instances this was not well done as the type-set print intruded on the photograph. The imprint reads Victoria and it is possible that the printing was done at the Colonist offices.

Meantime, Williams was to have competition. Leonard G. Henderson, a partner, with James Henderson, in the firm of Henderson's Business Directories established in Winnipeg in 1879, moved to Victoria and began collecting information for a B.C. directory. In 1888, he issued a Vancouver City Directory, which contained street listings, with residences or businesses identified, for the city and adjoining districts as well as alphabetical listings of residents. Firms, companies and professional people also were listed in separate sections. All these were differences from -- and intended as improvements over -- Williams' directories. The book was 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm), which has become the "standard" size for directories, with a grey-green cover and many pages of ads.

In 1889, he issued Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory, which contained full and complete new listings for Vancouver Victoria and New Westminster as well as the most detailed information so far for most of the other cities, towns and municipalities. This book ran to 366 pages, including the heavy gray-green paper covers (which Henderson included in his numbering system) and had 32 pages of colored paper with advertising at the front as well as advertising related to the various centres interspersed throughout the book.

In his preface, L.G. Henderson issues an indirect challenge to Williams, stressing that the preparation and publication of directories "is our exclusive business" and that it therefore would be better done by Henderson's than by others "who do it as a mere 'SIDE issue'."



Williams also produced a British Columbia directory in 1889, although only photocopies of this could be found for examination.

In 1890, both companies again issued B.C. directories, but a close examination reveals that Henderson's is the superior.

Williams' had a new compiler, W.M. Halliday, was printed by the Colonist using the most advanced technologies and was some 100 pages longer than the previous year's, according to the preface, although "the price remains the same." The preface went on to say that the publication "will be sold largely in the East" and that it "is one means of advertising the country, that businessmen of the province will appreciate." The pages were not numbered consecutively and the book appears to be mainly a compilation of various directories bound into one. For example, it included a new Victoria and Nanaimo Directory that Williams also published as a separate volume that year. It totalled 704 pages, again in the standard size of roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm) and was 2 1/2 inches deep. It contained a tipped-in, fold-out, two-color ad in the front, and the photographs and engravings used in the general ads were much better done than previously.

Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory for 1890 sold for \$3 and had 643 pages plus grey-green paper covers and was roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm). Henderson had begun using ads along the top and bottom of each page as well as interspersed between sections and using colored papers to mark the sections. In the rear section the book also contained a colored ad for the Montreal Lithograph Company --

naturally, beautifully printed -- on a coated stock and both the front and back were printed in color. There is no doubt that L.G. Henderson was going after the local business once held by Williams.

Despite the competition between the two firms, apparently enough business was available to support the two on an irregular basis for the next few years. Henderson continued to publish annually and, after about 1895, Williams' showed a decrease in advertising. Unfortunately, records can not be found about the financial positions and statements of the firms. The books then were selling at \$5 each.

What is known, however, is that Williams' Official British Columbia Directory for 1900 was incorporated into the Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory for 1900-1901, the seventh volume of Henderson's, and that thereafter only Henderson's appears.

Henderson's directories have appeared for all four western provinces throughout the years and current directories still are generally referred to in libraries as "Henderson's" despite the fact that other firms have either entered partnerships or bought out most of the Henderson's directories today. Current B.C. directories, supported almost wholly by advertising and sold only to specialized buyers such as libraries, associations and public agencies, are produced by R.L. Polk and Co. Ltd.

It is also apparent that by 1900 the directories were already going to specialized audiences. They were becoming large, expensive

and too detailed for the average book-buyer; besides, they were being superceded in general usefulness by a new item -- telephone lists. From 1880 on, then, they are no longer classed as "trade books" for this study. The first local telephone list, a single sheet, was published in May 1880. The Victoria and Esquimalt Telephone Company, Limited, issued its list of subscribers on a 7-by-4 1/2-inch (18 x 11.5 cm) sheet mounted on heavy paper board.

#### Vancouver as a Book-Publishing Centre

As in Victoria 30 years earlier, the first books to be produced in Vancouver were brought out on newspaper presses, such as Picken's Hand Book. The next imprints in the new centre also were from newspaper publishers and read: Vancouver, News-Advertiser.

The News-Advertiser, had been formed through the amalgamation of the Advertiser, founded in 1886 by F.L. Carter-Cotton, and the News, founded in 1886 by J.W. Ross. The 1888 directories list the proprietors of the News-Advertiser as Carter-Cotton and Gordon, although Carter-Cotton was certainly the active partner and managed and edited the paper. R.W. Gordon, the partner, a Scotsman "of large means,"<sup>1</sup> is not mentioned in most Vancouver histories, and is not listed in the directories of the time; it is likely that he was a silent partner mainly interested in investment and perhaps lived elsewhere.

At any rate, the News-Advertiser was publisher of the next two books issued in Vancouver. The first, in 1889 was The Mineral Resources of British Columbia: Practical Hints for Capitalists and Intending Settlers. Its author was David Oppenheimer, mayor of Vancouver. The News-Advertiser also had published, in 1888, a pamphlet by Oppenheimer, titled Vancouver, Its Progress and Industries: A Record Unparalleled in the History of Canada. This 16 page, uncovered folder was Oppenheimer's inaugural mayoralty speech. Apparently it also formed a part of a 64-page book, also with a News-Advertiser imprint, titled Vancouver City, Its Progress and Industries, with Practical Hints for Capitalists and Intending Settlers; Lowther mentions this, but the only copy, with its title a curious mix of Oppenheimer's two other publications, is available only in the Canadian Archives in Ottawa. Whether it was ever sold or was prepared solely for a limited political audience is unknown.

The Mineral Resources of British Columbia, also a 64-page book, with 52 pages of text and 10 pages of ads in the back, had some pink and some mauve paper covers. All bear the City of Vancouver seal on the cover and on the title page. Roughly 8 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 15 cm), its full imprint is longer than most used at the time: Vancouver, B.C.: News-Advertiser Manufacturing Stationers, Printers and Bookbinders, Cambie Street, 1889.

The imprint on the firm's next book was shorter: Vancouver, News-Advertiser Printing and Publishing Company, 1890. This was on

R. Edward Gosnell's British Columbia; A Digest of Reliable Information Regarding its Natural Resources and Industrial Possibilities.

The directories for that year list Gosnell as the city editor for the News-Advertiser. Born in 1860, Gosnell had been a teacher and journalist in Ontario before coming to B.C. in 1888. A prolific writer, he submitted articles to various journals and newspapers. In 1893 he became provincial librarian and secretary of the Bureau of Provincial Information. He was also the first provincial archivist, from 1908-1910, and held various government positions until 1917, when he moved to Ottawa. He is also, as we will see, the author of several other B.C. books in the next few years.

His first book had 48 pages (47 of them with text) plus pale pink paper covers. An ad for the C.P.R. was on the back cover, but no other advertising was used.

Biographical Dictionary

One major book that carried a Vancouver imprint during the 1890s is the Biographical Dictionary of Well-known British Columbians, with Historical Sketch. Written by John Blaine Kerr, it was published by Kerr and Begg and was a thick, beautiful book. After 36 pages of preface and introductory materials, there was 326 pages of main text, including a brief history and then a Who's Who type of biographical listing.

These were interspersed with 42 plates showing head-and-shoulders, studio-type portraits of distinguished B.C. residents and currently prominent businessmen from James Douglas to Richard Wolfenden.

The imprint "Kerr and Begg" appears only on this one book although both men were involved in other bookselling or printing enterprises during the next 15 or so years.

John Blaine Kerr came to B.C. about 1888 and was employed by the News-Advertiser about this time. A roving reporter, he worked for other Vancouver papers as well. Kerr's partner in the publishing enterprise was Roderick Begg, a son of Alexander Begg, author of the History of British Columbia. In 1887, Roderick Begg came to Victoria via Alberta from Ontario. Letters in the Provincial Archives files reveal that he was, for a time, advertising manager and news reporter for the Colonist. He also went into partnership with Kerr and set up a booksellers and stationers store on Government Street in Victoria. The book, however, carries the imprint: "Vancouver, Kerr and Begg, 1890". Probably this was because the News-Advertiser actually did the printing, as a note behind the title page makes clear. This was the only book to bear the imprint of Kerr and Begg and Begg's letters in the Archives make it clear he is not associated with other publishers/printers, such as Begg and Lynch or Begg and Hoare.

The Biographical Dictionary stands out as an excellent example of publishing for the period, with quality both in its content and its appearance. It remains an important historical reference.

Another Language Dictionary

In 1889, in Victoria, another book-seller began publishing. Bookseller T.N. Hibben, of course, had proved successful since 1862 with the various editions of his Indian-language dictionaries; perhaps it was because of this success that M.W. Waitt & Co., a Victoria book-seller, decided to try publishing such a dictionary. However, although Waitt's imprint appears on other stationery and job printing items, this is the only real publishing venture under that imprint.

Chinook as spoken by the Indians of Washington Territory, British Columbia and Alaska: For the use of Traders, Tourists and Others who have Business Intercourse with the Indians was compiled by the Reverend Charles Montgomery Tate, a Methodist missionary who had come to B.C. to work among the Indians. This pocket-size (6 1/2 by 4 inches; 16 x 10 cm) book contained 48 pages bound into a heavier white paper cover. It contained quite a bit of advertising, with even the border around the cover blocked with ads. The printer was Jas. A. Cohen of Victoria and the book is dated inside as May 17, 1889. It is also referred to as a "revised dictionary," although it is not made clear if it were revised from an earlier church document; this is most likely because no other similar early dictionaries are listed in the reference sources.

The dictionary apparently was a reasonable success; it was re-issued in 1914 under the imprint of Thos. R. Cusack, and in 1931 by Diggon's Limited.

It should be mentioned that much other anthropological work was being carried out in British Columbia about this time. Of particular interest was the work of Franz Boas and Charles Hill-tout; their work, however, was published elsewhere, including London and Washington. If works were to be published in British Columbia, they must of necessity prove economically viable and so it was mainly dictionaries that would attract miners, businessmen and tourists rather than cultural studies that appeared. It is only in 1979 that Hill-tout's work has been published by a B.C. publisher.

#### Illustrateds -- with and without pictures

Now that the use of illustration through lithographs made from photographs was common in B.C. newspapers and magazines, a number of illustrated books were prepared. Among these was Victoria Illustrated, a large-size (12 by 9 inches; 30 x 23 cm), 96-page book covered with black-cloth "board" covers that bear the title Victoria: the Queen City.

The imprint reads: Published by Ellis & Co., "The Colonist," Victoria, B.C., 1891. Ellis and Company were the current owners of the Colonist. The title page also advises that it was published under the auspices of the City of Victoria.

Basically, it was a tourist-type book, with lots of pictures showing views of the city and well-written, if somewhat over-flattering, copy about the city and its growth. The final 16 pages of the book contained notes on prominent business enterprises and their owners.



This book was apparently successful, and it may therefore have offered a number of opportunities for exploitation of other business enterprises. The following year another version of Victoria Illustrated was brought out, this one published in Toronto. Everett T. Thomson is identified as the editor. The Toronto edition has brown paper-covered board covers filled with ads, then a colored paper ad tipped inside in front of the title page. Roughly the same format and size, it contained only 32 pages, but there were several pages of ads included within that. The quality of neither printing nor paper was equal to that of the previous edition. Furthermore, 24 of its 32 pages were devoted to notes on businesses, but most likely this space was sold to the merchants rather than reported upon fairly.

Another illustrated book was planned and notations on it appear in bibliographies on B.C. as if it were completed. This book is The Tourists' Pictorial Guide and Hand Book to British Columbia and the Shores of the Northern Pacific Waters 1890. Robert H. MacManus, an English-born soldier and journalist who retired to B.C. when he was in his fifties, was the author. The book was published under the imprint of "The Tourists' Pictorial Guide" Publishing Co., Victoria. The copies examined for this study, however, were not complete and appear to be author's proofs or partially completed copies that may have been used to help pre-sell the book before publication.

The Provincial Archives copy is roughly 7 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (19 x 14 cm ) and has 48 pages bound into a grey paper cover. The cover is printed in black, but stamped across the front in red ink is:

"Un-revised copy, Parts I and II." The table of contents in the book calls for a part III, but this is not included in the book. Nor are there any pictures -- strange in a book titled a "Pictorial guide." The Vancouver Public Library edition is the same. Inside, just before the introduction, is a copy of a letter from Thos. A. Cook Ltd. advising that the book could be sold in the firm's offices around the world. As well, the book contains one ad -- for Thos. A. Cook Ltd.

Unfortunately, the present bibliographies on British Columbia books do not advise on all sources, although none of the major libraries in B.C. contain a complete edition. It is impossible to say here just whether this book ever appeared in a finished form, but it is unlikely and it is not included in the Checklist (Appendix II) for this reason.

One other illustrated book of 1891 can be mentioned: Papers and Communications read before the Natural History Society of British Columbia. This may not have been intended to be a book, but the start of a regular periodical from the Society; it is labelled Vol. 1, No. 1. No other issues appeared, however, and I have therefore treated it as a book in this study.

The 49-page, 8 1/2-by-5 1/2-inch (22 x 14 cm) publication illustrates with its pictures something new in the technology of the time in B.C. The book, with a heavy grey-paper cover decorated with a border around the titles, contained several papers on the flora and fauna of B.C. that had been presented at meetings of the Society.

Some of the papers had called for illustrations, but costs of preparing photographs into lithographs and printing these would have been prohibitive for any local work of such limited interest. The Society therefore arranged for cyanotypes of the pictures; these are photographically prepared sheets that look a little like today's blueprints but which could be prepared relatively inexpensively. These were printed, three of them, and bound into the book at appropriate places, the only instance in the 1800s of the use of these cyanotypes in B.C.

The book was reviewed in The Province weekly magazine, although not until nearly three years later (Mar. 3, 1894, p. 9-10). The book apparently still was on sale at T.N. Hibben.

### Politically Inspired Works

The government printing office in Victoria also issued a book during 1891, a book inspired by a political desire to attract more settlers to the province. Titled British Columbia as a Field for Emigration and Investment, it was a production of the Provincial Government and printed by the Government Printer, Richard Wolfenden. Its 60 pages were enclosed in vivid pink covers; that color obviously was a fashion of the 1880s and 1890s. Size was roughly 8 1/2 by 5 inches (22 x 14 cm) and the price, as noted on a slip from the Provincial Legislative Library copy now in the Archives, was 50 cents.

A particularly interesting thing about this book is the use of a "blurb," an announcement of the book and its contents in generally flattering terms, on the back cover. This almost resembles the blurbs used today, combining information about the contents of the book with a direct appeal to buyers. The announcement, bordered and set with good use of spaces, lists groups of possible buyers with a note on the contents that would appeal to each.

Books had not been published in New Westminster for several years, but 1891 also saw one issued in that city. It, too, was a book with a political motive. Walter James Walker, a British-born accountant, notary public and local politician, issued Some Thoughts and Suggestions on Municipal Reform in British Columbia. Only 16 pages, plus a light, blue-grey paper cover with waxy lines, it was roughly 9 by 6 inches (22.5 x 15 cm) and was stitched. Two columns of type were used on each page, rather than the page-width type common at the time, and two sizes of type were used throughout the text. No price was given.

In the book Walker called for reform of the municipal system of government throughout the province. At the time he was an alderman in New Westminster and chairman of the school board and seemingly most familiar with municipal systems of government.

Lewis and Greig, Book and Job Printers, New Westminster, did the printing, although it is unlikely that they actually were publishers in the true sense of the word. This is the only trade book in which this imprint appears and no information about the partners could be found.

### More Vanity Printing

Two other works obviously sponsored by the authors appeared in 1891, both likely printed in Victoria although no printer's name is given and no publisher's name appeared.

One of these, by George H. Turner and titled Before the Council, or Social Life in Victoria, was definitely intended for sale and had its price printed on the cover: 25 Cents. Turner was a member of the Temperance and Moral Reform Association that had recently been formed in Victoria and the text of the book was based on a presentation to the Victoria City Council. The work decries the evils flourishing in the city, especially prostitution and drunkenness. The 72 pages, plus two illustrations, are on 16- and eight-page signatures stitched together then pasted into a soft, green, printed paper wrapper. The size was roughly 6 1/4 by 4 1/2 inches (16 x 11 cm). The two plates are lithographs of religious scenes commonly used in many religious tracts of the times all through Britain and North America.

The other privately published work was Roderick Finlayson's Biography, which is really an autobiography. Finlayson had been an employee and later senior officer for the Hudson's Bay Company and had come to the northwest with James Douglas in 1843. He had been in Victoria from its founding and had stayed with the Company until retirement in 1872. The book is bound in black cloth on board covers and then pressed to give it a mock crocodile appearance. Flowered yellow endpapers in high quality paper surround the 32-page signature

SOME  
THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS  
- O N -  
MUNICIPAL REFORM  
- I N -  
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

BY ALDERMAN W. J. WALKER,

*Chairman of the School Board of New Westminster, B. C., and a Member of the  
Institute of Chartered Accountants, Ont., Etc.*

NEW WESTMINSTER:  
LEWIS & GREIG, BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS.  
1891.

Figure 16: Photocopy of the tile from the cover of Some Thoughts on  
Municipal Reform, published in New Westminster in 1891.

that contains 27 pages of text of a rather undistinguished style.

Trade books everywhere at this time were changing in appearance and local work reflected this.

### Rival Sea Voyages

Two of the most popular B.C. books to appear in 1891 were reports written by seamen about their experiences on the sailing ships of the day. One was published in Victoria and one in Vancouver and both were fairly popular records.

William Harry Palmer's book, Cruise of H.M.S. Warspite: Pages from a Seaman's Log, was the shorter of the two and, apparently, the first to appear. The title page describes the book as "Being the first 18 months of the cruise of the H.M.S. Warspite in the Pacific."

Palmer was a signalman aboard the Warspite and the book is packed with details about life aboard ship during those days. It lacks literary style but offers many fascinating details for the historian and likely would rank in its day as good as much of the biographical non-fiction churned out by many of today's politicians and sailors.

The book had green-paper-covered, pressed-board bindings. The cover title, with a decorative border, reads Cruise of the H.M.S. Warspite; inside, this title is not repeated and the title page is headed Pages from a Seaman's Log. This "double titling" seems fairly

common in B.C. books of the day, although the accepted practice is for the cover and the title page to coincide, although the title page may also contain a subtitle.

The book was small, just 6 1/4 by 4 1/2 inches (16 x 11 cm), but a 9-by-15-inch illustration folds out from just behind the title page. This is a lithograph of a pencil sketch of various ships at rest in the harbor. It was done by the Victoria Litho. Co., and is not dated. The book contains 64 pages, all with type, plus endpapers.

The imprint reads: Victoria, Munroe Miller, Printer, Johnson Street, 1891. It seems this is an instance of true publication, with the author not having to finance publication but receiving either payment or royalties instead. However, it would be so valuable to have such conjecture proved through ledgers and order books.

A second, similar book appeared the same year in Vancouver. Written by Harry Forester, it was titled Ocean Jottings from England to British Columbia. This likely appeared only a few months later. It bears the imprint of the "Telegram Printing and Publishing Company," the Telegram being one of the Vancouver newspapers of the time. It was a short-lived enterprise set up by Mayor Oppenheimer and others to counter attacks on city council policies by the World. Possibly the company saw the publication of the book as an additional source of income. Whatever, this is the only book with the Telegram's imprint and the newspaper lasted only about two years.



This book was apparently Forester's sole literary effort and we know little about him other than he was a seaman.

His book was longer than Palmer's, being 111 pages, and slightly bigger, being 8 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches (22 x 16 cm). It also had slightly more political import, as its subtitle suggests: "Being a record of a voyage from Liverpool to Vancouver's Island via the Straits of Magellan [in] the steamship 'West Indian,' and embracing scenes and incidents of the Chilean Revolution."

### Controversy and the Sea

Pacific Coast politicians of the time were aware of the importance of the fisheries and the trade with the North and South American coast, although there is no real indication that eastern politicians yet appreciated the value of an economically strong western coast. Then, during the early 1890s, one of the most important international decisions affecting the west coast proceeded -- and news of its happenings was eagerly desired by Victoria and Vancouver residents.

This was the Behring Sea controversy, the equivalent in its time of the furor today over fishing rights and who has control over which waters and whether these extend to 200 miles. The international squabbles of the 1890s were over jurisdictional rights and preservation of seals. Sealing vessels were the boats seized and in waters up to 115 miles out from the Alaskan coast.

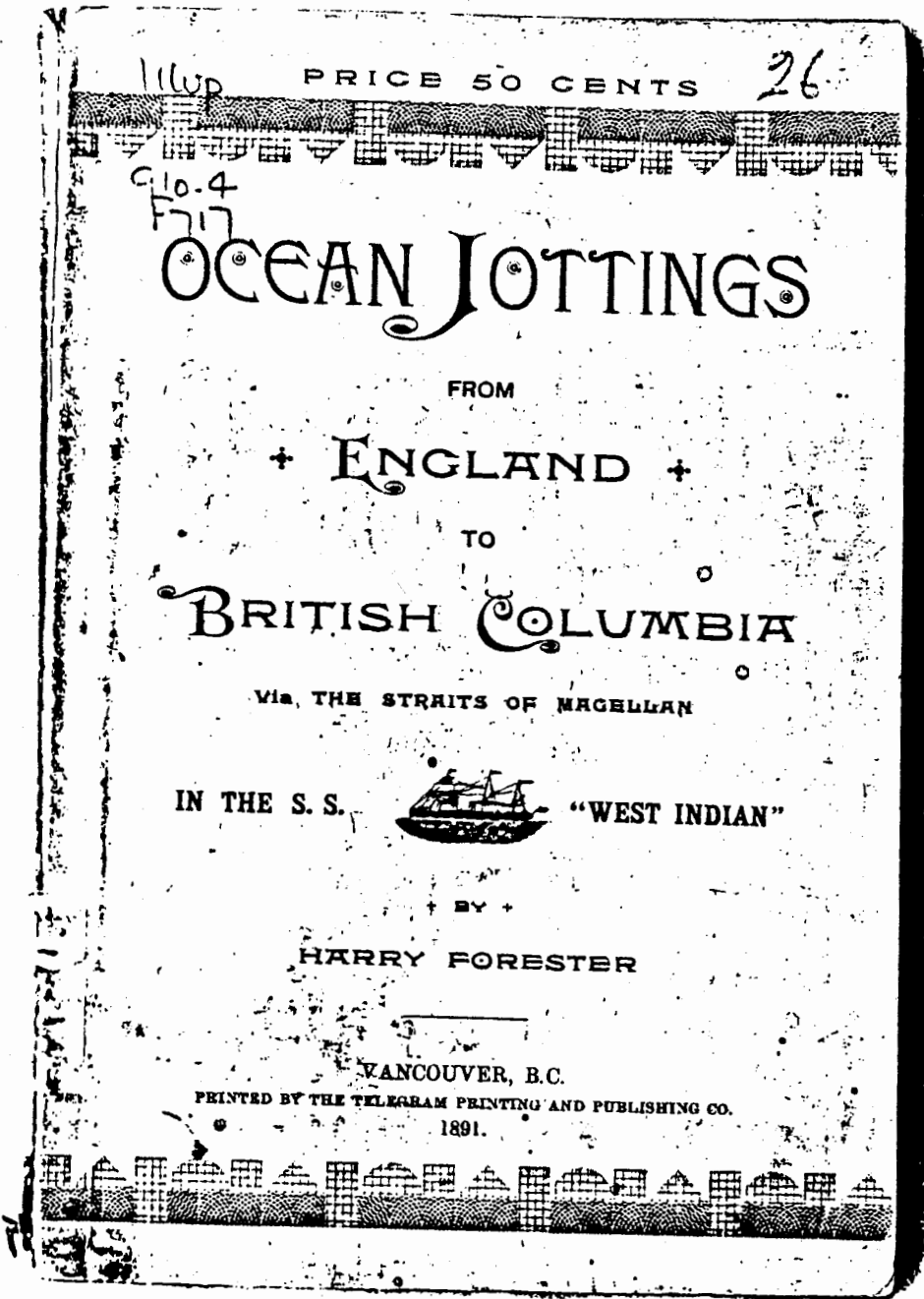


Figure 17: Cover of Harry Forrester's Ocean Jottings (1891), a successful local "travel book".

Victoria had become a major port in this profitable new fur hunt and the Esquimalt dry-dock was involved in the building of 65 new sealing vessels to augment those built in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland which were already plying the coast.

It is interesting that few contemporary Canadian and British Columbia histories give attention to this matter. The British, American and French documents on the commissions, legal cases and, finally, settlements fill many a bookshelf. The news itself was front page items, particularly in the Vancouver Island newspapers of the time. Yet even Ormsby's definitive British Columbia: A History mentions it only in passing,

The Behring Sea arbitrations dealt with the rights to international waters -- and the nations involved in negotiations were not Canada and the United States, but Britain and the United States, with the final arbitration being carried out in Paris -- and watched by all sea-going nations of the world (except perhaps eastern Canada).

Among the books about this controversy is even one that bears a B.C. imprint. It is a relatively brief summary of the results, The Behring Sea Arbitration: Letters to The Times by its special correspondents, together with the Award. This book was 88 pages long, on six stitched signatures bound into an aqua-blue paper cover. It was roughly 7 1/4 by 5 1/4 inches (18.5 x 13.5 cm) and there was an ad for the London Times on the back cover, but no other advertising.

255 THE  
BEHRING SEA ARBITRATION.

*Letters to The Times by its Special  
Correspondent:*

TOGETHER WITH THE AWARD.

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE PROPRIETORS.

PRICE HALF-A-CROWN.

LONDON:

WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS, LIMITED, 27, FLEET STREET.

TORONTO: THE CARSWELL CO., LIMITED.

VICTORIA, B.C.: T. N. HIBBEN & CO.

AND

Times PUBLISHING OFFICE, PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, LONDON.

1893.

Figure 18: Copy of the cover of The Behring Sea Arbitration Letters, an early example of "joint publishing."

Lowther attributes the writing to Henri Georges Stephane Adolphe Opper de Blowitz, an Austrian journalist and author who had been teaching German in French universities and who became involved in French politics. He was the correspondent in Paris for the Times and used telegraph services to report to his paper on the proceedings of the arbitration commission hearings. However, the title suggests more than one correspondent was involved; none of the articles are signed.

The imprint on this interesting publication reads, in total:

London: William Clowes & Sons, Limited, 27, Fleet Street. Toronto: The Carswell Co. Ltd. Victoria, B.C.: T.N. Hibben & Co., and The Times Publishing Office, Printing House Square, London. 1893.

Such a co-operative publishing venture was uncommon in B.C. at the time and this was the first major such trade-book venture in which a B.C. publisher/book-seller had been involved. In 1886, a Railway and Navigation Guide for Puget Sound and British Columbia had been done by William C. Hayward & Co., who had offices in both Seattle, Washington Territory, and Victoria, B.C. The imprint on these regularly issued timetables apparently was aimed at pleasing merchants in both centres.

Nevertheless, the arrangements between a large British publisher and a smaller local Canadian publisher had started in eastern Canada following the changes in the Copyright Act in 1891. T.N. Hibben, possibly tied into the relationships with the eastern Carswells through his earlier partner, was also the most logical choice for a co-sponsor in Victoria where he was the largest bookseller as well. Again,

it is sad that documents related to these early business arrangements have not yet been found to give us insight into the ways these decisions were made.

Co-publishing practices at this time were often combined with another method -- the sale of books by subscription before publication. The B.C. Archives contains a splendid example of how this method was carried out for Alexander Begg's History of British Columbia, the definitive history of the province published in Toronto by William Briggs in 1894. After Briggs' imprint, the list continues: Victoria, B.C.: T.N. Hibben & Co.; Montreal: C.W. Coates; Halifax: S.F. Huestis. All those listed were the most influential book-sellers of their respective provinces. The collection in the Provincial Archives also contains a slim, beautifully-bound pre-publication sample copy. This thin, leather-bound sample contains a leather strip just inside the cover that shows the width the finished copy was expected to be, and at the back are two alternative samples of bindings, in cloth and leather, which could also be ordered.

The title page is reproduced, plus the frontispiece with a photograph of Begg, then a "Prefatory Note" is given in the place of the planned Preface; this explains:

The following specimen pages of the forthcoming History of British Columbia will serve to show the size of the volume, its typography, its style of execution, illustrations, etc. From that portion of its contents presented herewith, and the extracts given, a tolerably good idea can be formed of the book, the information it will contain, and of its probable value to the public."<sup>2</sup>

After a description of its contents, an Introduction, some Synopses of chapters and pages showing the illustrations that will be used, the book ends with an ad giving precise terms of publication and prices. This was followed by some ruled ledger pages on which subscribers could enter their names, addresses, the style of binding desired; the ledger also contained a final column in which the bookseller could note the delivery date.

This method of selling important books was apparently common at the time, although not many of these sample copies exist. The method persists somewhat to this day, for publishers' representatives meet regularly before publication with booksellers; for example, at "Canadian Day" in Vancouver in Spring and Fall, B.C. booksellers place their orders for books to come in the following season. Publishers then determine just how many copies of a book will be printed based on these preliminary sales figures, thus dating back to the kind of pre-publication subscription system used in the 1890s for Alexander Begg's book.

Begg's History of British Columbia indicates another trend in the history of B.C.'s book publishing industry: the "big books" were going to eastern Canadian publishers. This had been true of fiction and major travel books for some time, although a great many also went to British and American publishers. Thus, the fiction of Clive Phillipps-Wolley, an Englishman who had settled in Victoria and who wrote many adventure stories set in B.C.'s gold-rush days, was sold to major publishers in London, and Morley Roberts, another Englishman who

lived for a while in Victoria, had his novel The Mate of The Vancouver published in London and New York. Nevertheless, Begg's book marks the first real interest from eastern Canada for a book written in the western province.

The provincial government, however, did contribute toward publication of this work. Two grants, of \$500 and \$600 respectively, were given to Begg "as aid toward cost of publishing History of British Columbia in consideration of 200 copies of the work."<sup>3</sup> This was a substantial sum for this time, but indicates the importance the province gave to a history to be available in eastern Canada.

It should be mentioned here that this Alexander Begg, who often signed himself Alexander Begg, C.C., was the father of Roderick Begg, the bookseller, newspaper reporter, and publisher of the Biographical Dictionary mentioned earlier. A second Alexander Begg (1839-1897) appears in this study later on and the two are often confused in general studies. This latter Begg wrote many reports for the provincial government, including several reports on the Alaska Boundary Question, that are better described as "government documents" than trade books.

### More on the Sea

It is likely that Palmer's and Forester's books about their experiences at sea had proved to be "good sellers" locally, for in 1894 another book about sea-going on the Pacific Coast appeared.



This was the History of the SS. "Beaver" compiled by Charles W. McCain. The Beaver was the first steam vessel on the North Pacific and had arrived on the west coast in 1836. Owned and operated by the Hudson's Bay Company, she had played an important role in the development of the colony and in the surveys of the coast. In 1874, she had been sold for service as a towboat and was a major workhorse on the coast until she was wrecked on the rocks near Vancouver in 1888.

The book also gives a history of the Hudson's Bay Company and information on the happenings in British Columbia including the gold rush. It also reviews important developments in steam shipping from its inception in 1769.

The 6 1/2-by-5-inch (16.5 x 13.5 cm) book was cloth-bound and available in either red or blue, with flowered endpapers. Its 100 pages were stapled and then bound -- most such books of this size in B.C. were stitched -- with additional glossy pages in the front and back. The plates inside are interesting as they are printed in a sort of sepia color and are done from engravings from photographs and sketches from various sources over the years.

The title page bears no publisher's imprint, but the back of the title page provides the information that Evans & Hastings of Vancouver were the printers and the book was copyright through the department of agriculture in Ottawa. Evans and Hastings was a short-lived job-printing outfit that existed in Vancouver at this time.

That these sea-going books had local popular appeal is supported by the fact that yet another appeared in 1895.

= HISTORY =

— OF THE —

SS. "BEAVER"

Being a Graphic and Vivid Sketch of this Noted  
Pioneer Steamer and her Romantic Cruise  
for over Half a Century on the Placid  
Island-Dotted Waters of  
the North Pacific.

— ALSO CONTAINING —

A Description of the Hudson's Bay Company from its formation  
in 1670, down to the present time. Biography of Captain  
McNeill. The Narrative of a Fraser River Prospector of  
1859. Historical Moments of the Beaver's Copper Remains.  
The sad ending of the Author's last trip in search of old-  
time Naval Relics. Important Developments in Steam since  
its Introduction in 1769, Etc.

— COMPILED BY —

CHARLES W. McCAIN.

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED.

Vancouver, B. C., 1894.

Figure 19: Title page from the History of the SS. "Beaver," an example of private enterprise publishing.

This one was called A Sealer's Journal; or, A Cruise of the Schooner "Umbrina," and it was written by William George. George was a cabin boy on the sealing vessel "Umbrina" and his book, although less tutored than the other two, gives a splendid immediacy about the life at sea of the time. It has a brown paper cover but uses yellow end-papers inside. It, too, suggested changes in technology were coming, for it used brown ink on the cover and there were illustrations both front and back and more decoration used throughout. Of the four similar publications, it is the most pleasant just to look at. The text ran 132 pages in 136 bound pages. The size was 7 by 5 inches (18 x 12 cm).

#### Other Kinds of Travel

The early 1890s were apparently good years to be publishing books. At least one Vancouver individual sponsored his own book about his own kind of travel, a rather unique one. Henry Thomas Palmer wrote, and most likely financed, A Marvellous Experience, containing Light and Food for Christians, Sceptics and Worldlings. This was based on his "experiences" in leaving his body and travelling to other worlds and on his conversations with God.

This imprint reads Vancouver, Trythall City Printing Works, but this is the only book imprint from this job printing house although various business pamphlets bear the imprint as well as the imprint Trythall & Son.

This book appeared in 1893, according to the date on the preface. It was a 218-page narrative bound into white endpapers and covered with a blue-cloth-covered boards. Gilt was used in the lettering on the cover. It was 7 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (19.5 x 14 cm).

### B.C.'s First Textbook

Although it may not seem to fit into the category of trade book, it is important to mention the first textbook to be written and published in British Columbia. It was sold, although not likely in great numbers through the bookstores of the day because some of the copies show prices or other sales information.

The book was History of British Columbia, Adapted for the Use of Schools. It was written by Oliver H. Cogswell, who was a school teacher in the Victoria area schools at the time. Cogswell had been born in Nova Scotia and trained as a teacher there. He came to Victoria in 1890, at age 33, and taught in B.C. for eight years. He later became a Canada Customs official and was transferred to Ottawa, although he later retired to Victoria.

Strong anti-American feeling in Ontario in the 1840s had led to the use of an "authorized" list of texts and a strong push for Canadian textbooks. Ontario's move had been followed in the Atlantic provinces. British Columbia schools also had followed the Ontario lists since soon after the province had joined Confederation. However, there was a need

for a history of B.C. for school use, as the preface to Cogswell's book shows, for none of the eastern Canadian lists included such an item. The book apparently had some government support and was financed in part by the department of education, but farmed out to a local printer rather than through the government shop. The imprint thus reads: Victoria, The "Colonist" Presses, 1893.

The book had a soft grey-paper cover and was 6 3/4 by 4 3/4 inches (17 x 12 cm). It contained 101 pages of text on 104 pages bound in signatures then stitched. It has an excellent, clear table of contents that outlines the history at a glance as well as a chronology at the back. It would appear to be a most useful history for the schools of the time.

The book was reviewed in The Province in "The Library" column, on September 15, 1894. This weekly magazine, which is a direct ancestor of the daily newspaper of the same name in Vancouver today, was started in Victoria as a weekly journal in March 1894. Owned by Hewitt Bostock who was to become a figure of some importance in political circles, the magazine was edited by Arthur Hodgkin Scaife and Archer Martin, who was later a chief justice. Bostock, an exceedingly well-to-do young Englishman who wanted to enter politics later, provided the money. Walter Cameron Nicol, who followed Scaife as editor, became a partner with Bostock. Nichol, who had come to B.C. from Toronto where he had helped to launch the magazine Saturday Night, provided journalistic and business sense. The magazine was issued under the Province Publishing Company imprint but the actual printing for at

least a part of its three-year history was done by Jas. A. Cohen. This printing house is apparently the former firm of Cohen and Salmon, Job Printers; various business imprints suggest it had in 1893 converted to electricity, a technological advance that would make it the logical local printer for the magazine. James Cohen died in 1895 and the use of the imprint does not appear later.

The Province was a literary and political journal of some impact at the time and definitely deserves some mention here. Most of its reviews were of contemporary books of international note, such as those by Rudyard Kipling or R.L. Stevenson, but attention was given to some of the publishing done in B.C. as well. The review of Cogswell's History was brief and does not refer to it as a textbook, but does encourage readers to buy it, noting only that the addition of an index would have been appreciated.

### First Fiction

The Province magazine is important to a history of trade-book publishing for reasons other than reviews; it was the publisher of the first books of fiction to be produced in B.C.

The first B.C.-published book of fiction appeared in 1894. It was called Three Letters of Credit and Other Stories and was attributed to "Kim Bilir," a pseudonym for Arthur Hodgkin Scaife. Published in a paper-covered edition in the late fall of 1894, it contained five stories that had previously run in installments in The Province.

The book had green paper covers and was roughly 7 by 5 1/2 inches (18 x 14 cm) and contained eight pages of preface materials then 124 pages of the main text. It was priced at 25 cents. One of the copies examined in the Provincial Archives is Archer Martin's, and it is that one on which a handwritten note attributes the work to Scaife. Most references support this attribution.

The book contains five stories, of which the title one is the longest. The other stories are "The Seventieth Times Seven," "How Greek Met Greek," and two very short stories, "An Old String Re-Strung" and "How's That." The stories seem typical of much English and eastern Canadian magazine writing of the time. They generally are not set in B.C., but rather reflect the international background of their author.

Scaife was a roving Englishman who had spent some time in India and the Far East before coming to British Columbia. Little information is available about him in general sources now, but it is known that a suit for contempt was brought against him by an irate reader of The Province in 1896. He left for England in October 1897 "to rest and recover his shattered health," says an article in The Colonist of October 8, 1897; it also reported on a dinner in his honor and states that The Province's employees had given him a 1 1/2-ounce gold brick as a parting gift.

A clipping pasted into a copy of one of the "Bilir" books in the Special Collections department at U.B.C. reveals that he was still

living in London in 1927 and writing poetry. From time to time after he left, short stories from him had appeared in various B.C. publications.

Three Letters of Credit was not the only book from Scaife's pen to appear as a B.C. publication. In 1895, two more works of fiction appeared under a Province Publishing Company imprint. These were As It Was in the Fifties and Gemini and Lesser Lights, both bearing the pseudonym "Kim Bilir" and both previously serialized in The Province. As It Was in the Fifties can be classified as a novel about the Cariboo goldrush days. It ran 287 pages of story, with the introductory information and some blank pages bound into the total 298 pages plus the green, heavy-paper covers. Gemini and Lesser Lights marks a return to short stories, 17 of them, running 187 printed pages bound in roughly 200 pages in the same green, heavy-paper cover. Both books were roughly 9 by 6 inches (22 x 15 cm), and although they are slightly larger than the first book, they form a compact set.

These works of fiction were backed by a popular magazine and so may have sold well throughout the province. Possibly the success of the first one played a part in leading to the publication of the first novel produced in Vancouver.

The first fiction to be published in Vancouver was Fables of the Nechaco: A complete novel of one of the most remarkable and romantic districts on the American Continent, by "Slivers." This book contains the imprint "Vancouver, Produced by the Dominion Stock and Bond Corporation."



No date is given, but various sources, including Lowther, suggest the year was 1895. Whether or not it was "the first B.C. novel" or whether that designation belongs to As It Was in the Fifties needs further research.

No information about the real name of the author is available, and few sources even mention the book now, although a few rare copies are available. Directories for the period yield no mention of a "Dominion Stock and Bond Company," although the word "Dominion" appears in many company names during this period.

The book itself is rather different in appearance from the others of this period published in the area. Roughly 8 by 6 inches (21 x 15 cm), it had an illustrated paper cover, with that illustration in colors, and several other illustrations throughout. These, according to the masthead on the opening page of the text, were the work of P.G. Bundy, but no information on the illustrator is available either.

Printing of the work was done by "Linguistic Press, Vancouver, B.C.", according to a printer's logo in the back. Type on the pages is set in two columns and in narrow columns around the illustrations, an uncommon practice in other similar-sized B.C. books of this period.

The story falls far short of the literary quality of Scaife's work, but nevertheless represents something of the style of the popular "penny dreadfuls" or "shilling shockers" of that time -- or even of the romances or science fiction thrillers of today. Filled with clichéd situations, it would catch the popular demand for excitement and fantasy combined with an interesting and unique setting.

It would add considerably to the background of B.C. writing to be able to fill out the record on these early works of fiction with much more information and such detailed research is much needed.

### Provincial Poetry

The Province published one other book before it packed its bags and moved to Vancouver in 1898 to become a daily newspaper. This final book also came out in 1895, likely under the push of Scaife.

It was a book of poetry, entitled The Lions' Gate and Other Verses, by Lily Alice Lefevre. The imprint reads Victoria, Province Publishing Company, 1895.

The book had a pale blue cloth cover (over pressed cardboard) with silvered printing. The endpapers were a flowered blue and the book contained 96 pages within the end-papers and was roughly 6 by 4 3/4 inches (15 x 12 cm). It contained 29 poems of various lengths, including the title poem describing those mountains in Vancouver that now are popularly known as "The Lions."

Lefevre, nee Cooke, was born in Kingston in 1858, but had lived for some time in Vancouver before her poems appeared. According to The Province (April 14, 1894), she had had work published in various Canadian magazines and newspapers, but this was her first book. The title poem, especially, became very popular locally. It was published again soon after in an eight-page folder in a separate cover with a drawing of the mountains, also apparently done by Lefevre.

As well, "The Lions' Gate" and one other poem appeared in a magnificent, limited edition, photograph album with many studio-type pictures of Vancouver scenery. This publication is titled The Lions' Gate and The Beaver to The Empress and was published in Vancouver apparently sometime later by Thompson Printers, although no date is given. These souvenir photograph albums were an especially popular item of the late 1890s, often sold at the railway stations and on the trains. Other similar albums were published in many Canadian centres then and during the first few years of the 1900s.

Lefevre also had a book of her poetry published in London by A.L. Humphreys in 1921 and this was also released by a Toronto publisher in 1922. Despite this, knowledge of her work is not common today even among students of B.C. literature.

### An Odd Couple

During the 1890s two rather unusual books were published in Vancouver by the J.M. MacGregor Publishing Company. Considerable research in a variety of places had led to dead ends in my efforts to find out more information about these books, which show the excellent quality of publishing that could be done during this period. Directories of the time give an address for J.M. MacGregor Publishing Company and there is a residence also for such a name, but further information could not be found.

Yet this firm was involved in publishing, in about 1893 and 1898, two massive, beautifully-bound, high-quality books that were intended for primary sales in the United States and probably did not sell more than a few copies locally.

The first of these was America's Wonderlands: A Pictorial and Descriptive History of Our Country's Scenic Marvels as Delinated by Pen and Camera, by James William Buel. The main portion of this book consisted of 503 printed pages, with four pages of front matter and a couple of blank sheets at the end.

The 9-by-12-inch (23 x 30 cm) book was bound in leather with an embossed, gilt-lettered cover and spine and heavy, marbled endpapers. The cut edges of the pages were gilded. The book contained more than 500 photographs and the whole book was printed on coated paper of exceptional quality. None of the pictures, which included such famous scenes as the Grand Canyon and mountain views in the Sierras, were taken in British Columbia and little of the text is devoted to the Canadian portion of Buel's trips around America -- trips on which the book is based.

The author is described on the title page as "The Famous Traveller and America's most eloquent descriptive writer." Among his other works is a biography of Wild Bill Hickock published in Chicago in 1880 and one on famous American outlaws from a St. Louis publisher.

The imprint of J.W. MacGregor of Vancouver also appears on a Pictorial History of Our War with Spain for Cuba's Freedom, by Trumbull

White. This elegant 560-page book was bound in green cloth with a black leather spine binding embossed with American emblems. Gilt lettering is used to decorate the 9 3/4-by-7 1/2-inch (25 x 19 cm) cover. The endpapers are marbled and the book is profusely illustrated, with portraits of the U.S. President and cabinet members in the front as well as 80 other pages of photographs, many of these with several portraits to a page, scattered throughout the text.

Trumbull White was a well-known American explorer, travel writer and editor (he became editor of Red Book magazine from 1903-1906) and is described on the title page as "the well known and popular author, historian and war correspondent."

Local librarians, archivists and researchers could offer no advice on why such major books should have been published in Vancouver by a firm that apparently did no other printing. A Vancouver rare book dealer suggested it was not unusual for the printing of such books to be offered out for bids and said that many such books were printed in relatively small cities in various parts of the United States during that period. Nancy Stuart-Stubbs, reference librarian in the North West Collection of the Vancouver Public Library, advises that the Library of Congress listings shows that Buel's book was listed as issued by several different publishers during 1893, including publishers in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco as well as Vancouver and White's book is listed under a slightly different title as published in Chicago and Philadelphia, although no Vancouver listing is given.

Correspondence with the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., revealed that it has two copies of America's Wonderland, identical except for the publisher's imprints. James Gilreath, reference specialist, writes that he suspects that, although the books are listed as published in various cities, they were all printed in one place, likely in one of the major American centres. This would then be rather similar to the Hibben & Co. co-publishing venture discussed earlier. Gilreath believes the MacGregor company need not have been much more than a warehouse used to distribute the books for sale in western Canada. This method of listing a mere office in an area as though it were the publishing centre was to become much more common in the early 1900s and has implications in modern publishing and distribution practices. This, then, was a first indication of things to come.

#### Almanacs and Year Books

The first B.C. almanac to use that word in its title came out in Victoria in 1895. The British Columbia Almanac, Specially Compiled for This Province, with Other Information, was put out by the Colonist Printing and Publishing Company, the same house that had brought out an annual containing almanac information back in 1884. The 1895 B.C. Almanac was the start of a four-year series. Strictly speaking, it was not a trade book, for its primary purpose was for distribution to the newspaper's subscribers. However, it apparently was given away in areas where the Colonist was not widely distributed, such as in Vancouver.

The book contains some ads, most prominently the two-colored (red and black) one on the back cover for "Langley's Balsam of Aniseed." During its first two years, the cover was marked "Compliments of the Colonist," but during 1897 and 1898, this is changed to "Compliments of Langley & Henderson Bros., Wholesale Druggists," the makers of the Balsam.

Roughly 8 1/2 by 6 inches (21 x 16 cm), the books vary from 12 pages the first year to 52 pages in the last year. The extra pages each year were mainly advertisements, so the enterprise most likely was self-supporting. Each had a stiff brown-paper cover with printing in red and black inks and the covers are identical from year to year except for the dates and the "complimentary" lines.

The first issue was reviewed in The Province on January 26, 1895, in "The Library" column. The reviewer noted that such publications provided helpful information, although he implied that it was not up to the quality of almanacs published elsewhere and he mentioned two specific errors.

The first almanacs in Canada date back to 1780 in Quebec City and had been exceedingly popular items, containing a great variety of valuable information as well as short stories, illustrations, puzzles and entertainment. Many a child learned to read from these annual publications, taught round the cookstove by the woman of the house. Recently, a Canadian edition of an almanac had been revived and is produced by an American parent firm that publishes the 163-year-old Farmers' Almanac.

However, the current Home and Farm Almanac, Canadian Edition does not contain the local information about weather statistics, average temperatures, tide charts or planting hints that made the old almanacs indispensable items for the householders of earlier days who had not the weather forecasting, past annual statistics and modern aids to farming, fishing and gardening.

Another series of books that reflected the need for greater regional information was started in 1897; these were the Year Book publications of the Government printing office, which was still under the direction of Richard Wolfenden when the series began.

The title of the first one, and there are only minor changes in those published thereafter, was Year Book of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information 1897. The author was R. Edward Gosnell, who was mentioned earlier. In 1897, he had become the Librarian of the Legislative Assembly and the Secretary of the Bureau of Statistics, so was obviously in the ideal situation to supervise the production of the year books.

The first, 8 1/2-by-5-inch (22 x 13 cm) book contained 500 pages and was bound with wine-colored cloth-over-boards with a leather spine binding. This first edition contained a few ads at the front and the back of the book, but all later series were free of ads. Bindings remained similar throughout the series. Illustrations were used fairly extensively throughout, including plates of Queen Victoria on the dedication of the early ones.



A shorter edition, apparently intended for more general sales through bookstores, also was published in 1897. The Year Book of British Columbia Compendium contained only 285 pages and was slightly larger (9 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches or 24 x 16.5 cm) and with a paper cover. It contained fewer tables and statistical information but generally the same articles. A Compendium also was published for the 1901 edition of the Year Book and contained 215 pages, sized as the 1897 version.

Five editions of these early B.C. Year Books appeared: the 1897 one; an 1897-1901 version containing 406 pages; and a 1911-1914 version with 406 pages. The 1903 and 1911 editions have considerable decoration pressed into the cover front-boards; these have the general appearance of old-fashioned school books, rather than the plain covers of most trade books of the period.

After the first, extremely large edition, the later ones concentrated mainly on up-dating the information and so were somewhat shorter and more to the point. As well, it may have been that the shorter compendium version had proved more useful and the author and publisher saw certain advantages to combining the two. Again, much more research into this area would be useful. Unfortunately, it appears that much of this kind of information simply is not available without years of research.

### A Mining Boom

During the 1890s, economic conditions outside British Columbia

combined with the discovery of major mineral resources in the B.C. interior led to the growth of a new area -- the Kootenay and Boundary regions. An abundance of copper, lead, zinc, silver and other minerals had been discovered since 1864 and by the 1890s B.C. was on its way to becoming the leading mineral-producing province in Canada and a major mineral producer for the British Empire. Towns arose almost overnight, flourished, and sometimes died within a few years. Along with the first business enterprises in the new towns came newspapers -- and many of these also began producing books as a sideline.

The Nelson Miner was one of the first of these newspapers in the interior to try book publishing. Charles St. Barbe, who had learned his writing as a reporter with the London Times before he took to roving the world in the 1880s, had settled in Nelson and was a partner in the Miner as well as in various real estate and other business enterprises in Nelson. He was the editor and main writer of a 26-page book titled The Kootenay Mines: A sketch of their progress and condition today, which was published by "The Miner Print. and Pub. Co." in 1895.

The text was packed into the 26 pages, indicating that the Miner's book-printing was of an earlier type that encouraged the use of single sheets within the signatures rather than the four-, eight-, or 16-page folded signatures that were fast becoming fixtures in Victoria and Vancouver.

The book was roughly 9 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 15 cm), stitched, and with a pale, aqua-colored paper cover. A fold-out map, supplied by the CPR, was tipped in and there were ads, including one for the railway, on the inside and outside back covers.

St. Barbe was also the author of the First History of Nelson, B.C.; With sketches of some of its prominent citizens, firms and corporations, a 24-page, magazine-size book that was published in Nelson around 1897. This was the first of several local histories that appeared in the interior cities during the 1890s, and the start in B.C. of the regular publication of local histories of various cities, towns, regions and associations. Like the first one, which is printed on the cover with its price -- "Fifty Cents" -- these continue to be published as a matter of local pride and, often, as a fund-raising proposition.

St. Barbe's history had a plain, grey paper cover. The interior also was plain, with three rather narrow columns to each 12-by-9-inch (30 x 22 cm) page and no pictures. It is quite likely that the "sketches" that formed the main text of the book may have appeared first in the Miner. The history of the area is given first and this is followed

by a long letter commenting on the history and offering some "corrections," which also supports the belief that the material had been published earlier and was collected in this form.

The publisher's name, given on the cover, is "C.A. Rohrabacher & Son," which was a Nelson-based firm during the late 1890s; this is the only publication bearing that imprint.

This book on Kootenay mines likely was offered for sale in Vancouver and Victoria and, because of the interest in the interior, printers in these cities may have seen this as a profitable enterprise. In 1896, the Trail area was considered the most important new development and this is reflected by a book published in Victoria about the area. The Trail Creek Mines, British Columbia: Their history and development carries no author's name and no publisher's imprint. The 56-page book most likely was printed by the Colonist Presses, but careful examination indicates it was most likely "published," or at least sponsored, by T.N. Hibben & Co. The decorative border on the 9-by-6-inch (22 x 16 cm) green paper cover is surrounded by small block advertisements for the Hibben bookstores.

The book contained other advertisements on the back covers and for six pages at the front of the book as well as interspersed on left-hand pages throughout. These advertisements would likely have covered the cost of the printing and other costs; sales would have all been profit. A tip-in map (9 by 15 inches) follows page 2 and all pages contain printing, but show the use of small tip-ins as well as larger signatures.

The Trail Board of Trade was not long in promoting its own region through a book published in its own city. A Land of Gold! Trail Creek, B.C.: The best and cheapest route to the towns and mines of Trail Creek was issued in 1896 by the board of trade and printed by the local newspaper, the Trail News. Only 5 by 3 inches (13 x 8 cm) and 16 pages including covers, it used colored paper to make its impact. One

copy is all in shocking pink; another has a green paper cover with white newsprint pages. It was given away free and is really a promotion brochure and likely not distributed much outside of the local area.

Other interior towns were not long in following these trends. In 1897, the Kamloops firm of Baillie & Bennet, which was a major real estate promoter, published British Columbia: Kamloops Mining Camp, a much more expensive and ambitious undertaking than Trail's.

This used an 11 3/4-by-8 1/2-inch (30 x 22 cm) format, the size of most magazines today, and had "coated stock", paper with a shiny, glossy finish suitable for the printing of photographs. The high-quality printing job was done by a Toronto firm, as were the engravings of the photographs. Each left-hand page had a photograph in its centre, with the typed material arranged around it. The cover was a pale blue, in heavy coated paper, with blue-and-gold type. It also contained biographical material and photographs on the important men of the region.

The book ran 64 pages altogether, with a section of ads on pages 41 to 56 as well as on three covers. The final eight pages were on newsprint, rather than coated stock, and contained a summary of the mining laws of the province. It was, especially for its time, an extremely classy publication.

Another fine-looking book of the time was put out in Sandon, a flourishing town of some 1,500 population in 1898 although today it is a ghost town and not even shown on the large-size B.C. road maps.

Sandon was a major centre of the Slocan mining district and in 1898 the mines in the townsite shipped out silver ore worth more than \$2.5 million (at the prices of the day).

The Slocan District, British Columbia; Its Resources and Opportunities for Investment was an 88-page, illustrated, paper-covered book written by Charles Cliffe and published and printed by Cliffe's own The Mining Review, a weekly newspaper in Sandon. The 9-by-7-inch (23 x 18 cm) publication had a green paper cover printed with red and green inks. The ads on the covers also were printed with the colored inks. Illustrations from photographs are used extensively throughout.

The exact date of publication is not known, although it was likely early 1899. Charles Cliffe published the Sandon Mining Review for five years from 1897 until fire destroyed the property in 1902. A well-known Canadian journalist, he was the owner, at various times, of some eight newspapers in Canada, including the Brandon, Manitoba, Mail. A former teacher, lawyer and politician, he had opposed Clifford Sifton in one of the Manitoba elections (Sifton later entered federal politics). In 1897, Cliffe moved to British Columbia. His book reflected his enthusiasm for the silver-and-lead district.

Rossland, near Trail, was another of the important mining towns of the Kootenay areas, a town known in mining circles the world over. It, too, used promotion-type books to spread the "good word" about its natural beauties and resources as far and wide as possible.

The first of the books to appear with a Rossland imprint was the First History of Rossland, B.C.; with sketches of some of its

prominent citizens, firms and corporations. Rather obviously, this was modelled on St. Barbe's history of Nelson and it may be that St. Barbe was involved in this venture as well, although his name does not appear. Once again, deeper research into these early interior publications would be a rewarding venture and deserves to be done.

The Rossland history was similar in size and format to the Nelson one. The history portion was written by Harold Kingsmill, an Ontario-born, well-educated miner who came as a young man to the Slocan area in the early 1890s and worked as manager of one of the mines. He later travelled the world working for some of the mining companies that had gotten their starts in the B.C. interior and rose to president of one of the world's largest copper-silver producers during the 1930s. He died in 1945.

Publisher of the Rossland history was a local firm in the district, Stunden & Perine. Stunden ran a printing establishment and likely did the printing, although there was also a newspaper in Rossland at this time.

Another publication of roughly the same period also bears a Rossland imprint, but is of interest because this is a joint imprint: "Rossland, B.C., and Calgary, Alta., Young & Luxton, 1898." This was The Kooteney Guide, subtitled A Guide to the Mining Camps of British Columbia and the Klondike. This 6 1/4-by-4 1/2-inch (16 x 11.5 cm) publication was published monthly (and so is not considered a "trade book" in this study). It first came out in 1897 and usually contained about 80 pages within a beige cover printed with red ink.

The price was 10 cents each or a subscription cost \$1 a year. Most of the material was of a rather standard nature and repeated regularly, however, with only monthly updates in the list of working mines and timetables and price lists for local trains and ferries. It appears the book was intended more for single purchase through the stores and supply shops of the area. Newcomers to the region would no doubt have found it useful.

The combination of Calgary and Rossland apparently worked very well; Calgary merchants had an interest in seeing that the main route to the Klondike would be through Rossland rather than through the rising new city of Edmonton.

One other book was published in Rossland during this period, a special illustrated edition of a regular monthly periodical called the Kootenay Mining Standard. No copies of the monthly issue were found, but most large archival collections in B.C. have a copy of the Kootenay Mining Standard July Annual 1899: An Illustrated Journal Showing the Beauties and Resources of the Kootenays. This 112-page, magazine-size book was printed in London for the Standard Publishing Company of Rossland. It contained photographs of the flourishing towns, composite photographs reflecting the latest in printing technologies, and well-written (although extremely flattering) copy about the mines and businesses of the area.

Kaslo was another of the towns that had a special, illustrated book prepared about its rise to fame.



Kaslo, British Columbia, The Mineral Metropolis of the World was the modest label bestowed by this 100-page, 6-by-8 3/4-inch (15 x 21 cm) illustrated book sponsored and published by the local Board of Trade. Copies are rare, with none available in local archival collections, but descriptions in Lowther say it contains illustrations and portfolios, likely of prominent businessmen of the area.

Taken together, these illustrated books about these thriving towns suggest just how important a world area the Kootenays had become. Many of these publications would rival in quality anything that could be produced in these communities today. The Kootenays represented possibly the single most important economic region in Canada of the time.

#### Closing the Century with a "Rush"

A new region was soon discovered, however -- one that rang with the magic words of "Gold! Gold!" In the 1870s, prospectors had begun searching the rivers and creeks in the Yukon Territory for gold. Then on August 17, 1896, three miners known only as George Carmack, Skookum Jim and Tagish Charlie made the famous strike on Bonanza Creek that started the Yukon Gold Rush. Less than a year later, in July 1897, two steamships brought out more than three tons of the precious metal, bringing to world-wide attention one of the greatest and richest goldfields ever discovered. During that first year, more than \$5.5 million worth of gold (at the prices of the time) had been discovered

on Bonanza and nearby Eldorado Creeks alone.<sup>4</sup> The Klondike -- with a wide variety in its spelling, such as Clondike, Klondyke, Clondyke -- was the place to go.

Naturally, B.C. printers and publishers wanted in on this gold rush as well. For them the best way was through the publication of books for the, quite literally, thousands of miners that flocked through the various centres on the way to the fields.

We have already seen how Rossland (and Calgary) had taken note of the rush to the Klondike in their 1898 publication. However, books had been appearing the previous year.

The first B.C.-published books about the Klondike strikes appeared in 1897 and were concerned with routes to the gold fields via B.C. centres. They were all rather similar. The first one was:

Yukon Gold Fields: Map showing routes from Victoria, B.C., to the various mining camps on the Yukon River and its branches; Mining regulations of the Dominion Government, and forms of application, together with table of distances, extracts from Mr. Ogilvie's reports, and other information. Victoria, Published by Chas. H. Lugin, 1897 (Printed by The Colonist Printing and Publishing Company). Apparently, long titles were back in fashion.

Another edition of this publication with changes only one or two sections on routes and in the title is mentioned in Lowther. I did not examine this one, but it would appear to have been called: Klondyke Gold Fields, Yukon District; Map of Routes from Vancouver, B.C., to the various mining camps.... Vancouver, Published by A.E. Goodman, 1898.

Both of these contained 32 pages and had a tipped-in-fold-out map. They were 9-by-6 1/2-inch (23 x 17 cm) books and had numerous ads both at the front and back and interspersed among the small-print text portions.

The Vancouver Routes to the Yukon; Vancouver the Best Point of Departure for the Yukon also appeared in 1897. No imprint appears on the title page, but this was a production of the "News-Advertiser" of Vancouver. It, too had 32 pages and was roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 16 cm ). It had an illustrated cover on a beige paper and used red, green and black inks. It concentrated mainly on the Steamship Routes and likely was sold by the C.P.R.

The interior mining district had no intention of being left out; it published its own guidebook and map: The Inland Route to the Yukon: "The Standard" map showing the proposed route from Spokane to Alaska via Kamloops, Cariboo, and Cassiar, with explanatory notes. "Published under authority of the Government of the Province of British Columbia" continued the title page, followed by the printer's mark: "Kamloops, Kamloops Printing and Publishing Co., 1897." This book was also roughly 9 by 6 inches (23 x 16 cm), but contained only 28 pages of text, including 14 pages of ads. The covers were pink, of a rather brittle paper, and used blue ink for the printing. Inside, there were pink decorative borders on the pages and green ink for printing the text, making it a rather colorful publication. As with the others, a fold-out map was included, this one 18 inches (45 cm) square, and was of a much better quality than the book itself; it also was printed by the Kamloops printing firm.

As many current travel advertisements suggest "Getting there is half the fun"; in those days by whichever route the trip was long and exceedingly hazardous and the descriptions of the routes in all these books are poor and details are sketchy at best.

The next year brought more publications, however, such as G.F. Henley's Guide to the Yukon-Klondike Mines: Full information of outfit, climate, Dawson City; with notes on alluvial and metalliferous prospecting; routes described in detail; report of Wm. Ogilvie, F.R.G.S., and diary of the late Archbishop Seghers (murdered on the Yukon). This book appears to have been of as much interest to those who stayed at home as those who were planning to go -- and is written in a more narrative style. It was published in Victoria and Vancouver, by the Province Publishing Company, which had recently moved to the mainland city and started its newspaper enterprises. The book had 71 printed pages, with ads on pages 64-71, and was roughly 7 3/4 by 6 inches (19 x 15 cm). The covers were of yellow paper, which rather resembles the construction paper used in elementary schools today. This paper definitely was one of the "new", non-rag papers that were being used by printers of the 1890s; it is already showing much more deterioration than most of the other books published in B.C. before the 1890s.

The Graphic Publishing Company of Victoria also released a book, titled Klondyke Mining Laws: The Canadian gold fields, how to get there, where to purchase supplies.

A colophon behind the title page shows the book was printed by the G.S.R. Co., Printers, of Victoria. This appears to have been the current name of the old firm started by Salmon and Rose of Victoria, which had undergone many changes in ownership through the years. This book was more of a shirt-pocket size (6 by 4 inches; 15 x 10 cm) and contained 32 pages plus covers and was stapled. The covers and pages 1 and 2, and 30-32, contained ads. Various colored papers were used for the covers, including yellow and shocking pink and a few copies even had newsprint paper covers.

The G.S.R. Print. Co. also did the work for another Klondike book, this one called Facts for Klondyke and Alaska Seekers: Experiences of some of the most noted miners, Joe Ladue, Jas. McMann (Jimmy the Diver), Clarence Berry, Alex Orr, and C.J. Mullins; authentic accounts of different trails, boat-building, etc.... The imprint, from the title page, is The Yukon and Alaska Publishing Co. Again, no information was found to identify this company and it is possible that the G.S.R. Printing Co. could have arranged special financing for this book under such an imprint that would have existed for that one book. This also was a small-size, shirt-pocket type of book (6 by 4 inches; 15 x 10 cm). It contained 64 pages, plus covers, however, although it, too, like the other G.S.R. Printing Co. book, was stapled. The price -- "10 Cents" -- was given on the cover. Most of the ads are on left-hand pages, with the text on the right, a practice that gives more emphasis to the advertising than to the book content.

However, it may have been that the ads would have been more important anyway to miners stopping in Victoria and stocking up for the trip to the goldfields.

Lowther lists a Kamloops publication which is now exceedingly rare with only the Library of Parliament in Ottawa known to have a copy. This was Hints to Intending Klondikers, written by "Goldseeker," a pseudonym that has not yet been penetrated. The book has 28 pages and was published in Kamloops by the Kamloops Publishing Company in 1898.

Vancouver also had its own book, perhaps the most complete and accurate of all the "advice-to-miners" type of book. Gold Dust: How to find it and how to mine it; An elementary treatise on the methods and appliances used by miners on the frontier, with other useful information was published by the Thomson Stationary Company of Vancouver, about 1898. Thomson's Stationary Company, like Hibben and Waite, reflects the advantages of joint bookselling/publishing ventures and Thomson's becomes an important name on the scene during the next few years.

Gold Dust was a most handy vest-pocket (6 by 4 inches, 15 x 10 cm) book on all the various ways to mine gold, plus invaluable tips on numerous other matters, such as cures for ailments, how to pitch a camp and camp cooking, including recipes. The book also contained an interesting price list showing all the books carried by Thomson's Stationary.

The text was divided into two sections of 43 and 21 pages respectively, and it carried some advertisements, although not as many as some of the other books.

The copy I examined was only a photocopy and the cover was missing, so descriptive information is missing. However, the list books shows that Hibben's Chinook Dictionary was still selling -- at 25 cents a copy. The list also mentions a Chinese-English Phrase Book (at \$2); it would be fascinating to know whether this was a local publication (it could have come from San Francisco, however) because it is not mentioned in reference bibliographies nor could I find a trace of it. In all the lists and references I have examined, there are no mentions of Chinese-language publications. Yet in the 1901 census, the Chinese population of British Columbia was 17,043 out of a B.C. population of 178,657. Chinese newspapers were published in Vancouver and Victoria and research should be done to discover whether books were printed in British Columbia.

### The End of an Era

The 1800s closed with a rush -- a mining and gold rush that had put British Columbia on world maps in large letters. The centre of power in Ottawa had become acutely aware of "the West" once again. The huge territories that had been so dominated by the fur-trading monopolies soon were to be divided into three large prairie provinces.

The great railroad that had joined British Columbia to the rest of Canada during Confederation was expanded with small spurs to various mining areas in the interior and to the logging and timber areas of the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island.

Vancouver was growing into an international port and was the centre of the exporting and economic boom. At the close of the century, then, British Columbia seemed poised on the verge of massive development, rapid expansion and population growth.



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## Chapter IV

### Printing Technology and B.C. Books

From 1858 to 1900, printing technology in all the then-developed nations progressed at a rapid rate. This rapid technological change also occurred in the western outpost-colony-province as well and these changes mirror those in the larger centres. A brief overview of the changes in technology might help to appreciate just how these changes occurred.

By the 1850s, the technology associated with book publishing had advanced considerably since Johann Gutenberg's introduction of moveable type some 400 years before. As S.H. Steinberg has shown in Five Hundred Years of Printing, one of the outstanding overviews of printing history, 1450-1530 had been "the creative century"; it saw the invention of almost every single piece of equipment or printing feature that would last until the 20th century.<sup>1</sup> The period from 1550 to 1800 Steinberg calls "the era of consolidation, which developed and refined the achievements of the preceding period in a predominantly conservative fashion."<sup>2</sup>

As Harold Innis also has pointed out, that first 100 years saw not only the introduction of presses but also their spread to all the larger centres of Europe, including English centres, and the expansion of the

industry not only in books, but also in pamphlets, gazettes and broadsides.<sup>3</sup> This introduction of books was closely tied to the decline in the power of the churches during the first years. Religious documents were among the first to be widely spread and studied and Wilfred Eggleston notes that political leaders learned rapidly that these had adverse effects on church doctrine. They introduced censorship, licensing and monopoly, enforced by severe penalties, but during the next period (1550-1800) most of these were breached here and there and "the emergence of a free press as an influential agency in popular government is a substantial theme in the history of western civilization."<sup>4</sup>

Newspapers first appeared in the 1500s, but these "conantos" were first mainly extensions of private letters.<sup>5</sup> The first true newspaper in English was the Oxford Gazette in 1665<sup>6</sup> and the first daily appeared in 1702 in London.<sup>7</sup> The first newspaper in the new world appeared in Boston in 1704 and Canada's first appeared from the print shop of John Bushnell in Halifax in 1754.<sup>8</sup>

The first printing presses in the new world made their main income from their newspapers, but they augmented this with money from private printing jobs, stationary and, almost as soon as they opened, with books or pamphlets. This was inevitably the pattern as new centres opened across Canada and the United States from East to West. It was also the rule in the new colony on Vancouver Island. Although the first press there had been brought into Victoria in 1856 for use by the Roman Catholic Mission, church officers apparently did not know how to use it;

it remained for Paul de Garro to use it to bring out a newspaper, in French, to compete with other newspapers set up in the colony during 1858.

It is important to remember that with the spread of printing during the 1600s and 1700s had come an increasing emphasis on literacy and education. While literacy was by no means widespread among the working classes and the poor, it was almost universal among the upper and upper-middle classes and by the time of the gold rushes of the 1840s in California and the 1850s in British Columbia, most of those who came were at least able to read.

Steinberg notes that during the 1700s the commercial classes and women had acquired reading and by the mid 1800s some schooling for even the lower and working classes was fairly common.<sup>9</sup> During the 1830s to 1860s, compulsory schooling was being introduced into Britain and in the eastern and southern American States. The first day school had opened in Victoria in 1849 and most of the relatively few white children in the colonies would have been expected to attend by the the time our "book publishing history" began.<sup>10</sup>

The leaders of the two British colonies were highly literate people, often with university backgrounds and well used to newspapers and periodicals. Books were considered part of the daily life of every educated person and bookstores were among the first to open in any new frontier town during the 1850s.

### What Was Read

Libraries, literary institutions and reading rooms were popular and it is interesting to see the kinds of books, periodicals and newspapers that were available in the colony's main centres. For example, in November 1859, the Anglican mission at Hope, the main stopover for miners on their way to the gold fields, had established the "Fort Hope Reading Room and Library." In their book British Columbia Chronicle 1847-1871: Gold & Colonists, G.V.P. and Helen B. Akrigg report:

Books ranged from the Waverley novels in twenty-four volumes to Bennett's Poultry Book, and from "Youatt on Cattle" to Longfellow's poems. Newspapers included, besides those published in the twin colonies, the Illustrated London News, Punch, the Athenaeum, the New York Tribune, and the Alta California Bulletin.<sup>11</sup>

Most of those resident in the colonies, as well as many of the miners passing through, would have been familiar with the names of the major books and authors of the day, possibly even with the poets. Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) had succeeded William Wordsworth (1770-1850) as poet laureate in England in 1850 and had published vast volumes of his works, including many of his most-successful and best-known poems, such as "In Memoriam," "Morte d'Arthur," and "Ulysses." By 1858, he had written "The Ode" on the death of Wellington and "The Charge of the Light Brigade" on the famous battle of the Crimean War.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) had graduated from the ranks of reporter and columnist (under the pseudonym Boz) to novelist and he was enormously popular both in England and in "America." He had published many of his best-known novels, such as A Christmas Carol (1843), Dombey

and Son (1848) and Little Dorrit (1857) and was a noted public lecturer and popular figure. He was editor of a popular magazine called Household Words and was at work on A Tale of Two Cities, which would appear in 1859.

Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810-1865) was at the height of her popularity for novels such as Cranford, which had been serialized in Household Words in 1851-1853 and published in 1853. Currently My Lady Ludlow was running in the magazine and earning criticism from the upper classes for its outspoken comments on working conditions and exploitation of workers. Dickens and others also were using books and popular magazines in this way and it in no way diminished their popularity with the mass of readers. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1802-1882) and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) were popular in the United States and well-known in Britain. The novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) also had gained a fair following and he had been appointed American counsel to Liverpool and now was travelling in Italy.

Britain and other European nations were at the height of their imperialistic expansion and every major nation had scientific expeditions charting the seas and reporting on the natural features of the various new worlds. Books on the voyage of exploration were sought by publishers and eagerly followed by the reading public of the time. The excitement, adventure and romance of the sea had been depicted by the American novelist Herman Melville in his first five novels, starting with Typee in 1846, and he had further captured the interest of the reading public with his popular Moby Dick in 1851.

Scientific works were relatively popular and the publishing houses of Oxford and Cambridge were turning out volumes related to advances in medicine, physics, geometry and all the old established sciences. Works of theology and philosophy were not far behind those of the physical sciences as the book publishers of the 1800s lived up to a reputation for controversial scientific investigation and rational deduction. Charles Darwin (1809-1882) had completed his voyages on the HMS Beagle (1831-1836) and had published four books related to his observations and views. He was at work on his On the Origin of the Species by Natural Selection, which would appear in 1859. Drawing from a variety of sources, he was forming the nucleus of his soon-to-be-controversial theories on evolution. Karl Marx (1818-1883) had been expelled from Cologne, Paris and, again, Cologne for his views. He had settled in London and his works were widely circulated and discussed in English.

These books, along with the classics of William Shakespeare, John Milton, Jane Austen and Walter Scott, were those that the colonist would find in his bookstores and reading rooms along with the ephemeral and popular works of current and passing interest. These might included such works as those of Major Robert Carmichael-Smyth and others who were proposing a British colonial railway from Halifax or the Lakehead to the mouth of Frazer's [sic] River in New Caledonia. As well, there were at least a half dozen books on the newly-found gold regions of the Frazer [sic] and Thompson Rivers; these were published in San Francisco, New York and London and likely would have been among those available in Kierski's Book Store when the colony began in 1858.

### Printing Technology of the 1800s

The methods of producing these books had not changed much from the days of the early 1500s. Basically, the books were still produced on flatbed presses whereby paper is inserted between two flat "beds," with the bottom one containing the type form. A system of levers had replaced the time-consuming screw-down mechanisms that had applied the pressure on the earliest presses and iron had replaced wood in the manufacture of presses. Type was still cast mainly by hand, but was metal rather than wood in most cases and although the type design had seen many changes it was still basically the same as in the early period. Each line of type was set by hand as well, from whatever kinds of type the printer had on hand.

Around 1800, a newer system of presses had appeared -- the cylinder presses where a rolling cylinder both carries the paper and presses it against the type-bed surface; on the return journey, the cylinder is raised slightly above the typebed and an inked roller is lowered instead to re-ink the surface in preparation for the next sheet to be fed across the type-face.

The first books printed in the colonies were done on flatbed presses, with the type hand-set into a heavy form for the bottom "bed."

The Order in Council, which had been printed by the Victoria Gazette, was likely done on an Adams power platen press, which had replaced the original No. 4 press brought to Victoria to print the first newspaper in June 1858. The Order in Council was printed under the aegis of Abel Whitton, who had purchased the Gazette from James W. Towne in September



Henry C. Williston and Columbus Bartlett, who had come to Victoria with Towne in June to act as editors and printers, had remained with Whitton, who had also been a partner with Towne in Whitton, Towne and Company in San Francisco.<sup>12</sup>

Waddington's book, The Fraser Mines Vindicated, was printed on the antique Columbia hand-press that had been donated to the Roman Catholic Mission and brought to the Island in 1856. This press is a relatively small and lightweight affair, with the bed measuring only 11 by 18 inches; it weighed only a few hundred pounds.<sup>13</sup> George Bartley, a pioneer member of the Vancouver Typographical Union, told several anecdotes related to the press in an article for the 85th convention of the union in 1941. Among these, he describes an interview with D.W. Higgins, the pioneer journalist and later publisher, who had worked for the Colonist when it was printed on the Bishop Demers' old press. Higgins had described the old press as one of the quaintest he had ever seen, especially the French type that had come with the press to the mission. Higgins had said that, originally, the French-made type had had accents, but a tramp printer from San Francisco had one day spent his time cutting these off. When the Bishop had remonstrated with the printer, the printer explained he did not see the use of "them horns."<sup>14</sup> The first issues of the Colonist had also been printed with the French-made type, but soon after a more modern form had been purchased and the old French type discarded.

A Columbia press was also the press purchased in London in 1859 for the use of the Royal Engineers in New Westminster. The Engineers' outfit consisted of the latest model of the Columbia press, a No. 857 model manufactured by Harold & Son of Farrington St., London. The press, a few cases of type and some accessories cost 50 pounds and was to be the basis of the Government printing outfit for the two colonies.<sup>15</sup> It was used to print the weekly issues of the government's The British Columbia Gazette, starting in Jan. 1863. It was also used to print the Royal Engineers reports, such as those of Lieut. H.S. Palmer.

In 1862, the Colonist installed a cylinder press, the first in the colonies, and a major advance in the technology of the time. In 1876, the Colonist had another first when it began using steam power to turn its cylinder presses, another major technological breakthrough. Possibly related to the use of the newer and faster cylinder press, much of the pamphlet and book work went to the Colonist printing shop from about 1863 to 1866, when the Colonist and the Chronicle newspapers and print shops were amalgamated. Other than the odd business prospectus, the first B.C. book to be printed using the new steam-driven presses was William Fraser Tolmie's book on the Canadian Pacific Railway Routes. Printed in 1877 by the Colonist, it was one of the cries for action on the Railway after the new province had consented to join confederation.

Introduction of any technological change often inspires an industry to grow by leaps and bounds. Leaps and bounds is a vivid and correct metaphor, because the introduction of a new technology, such as a

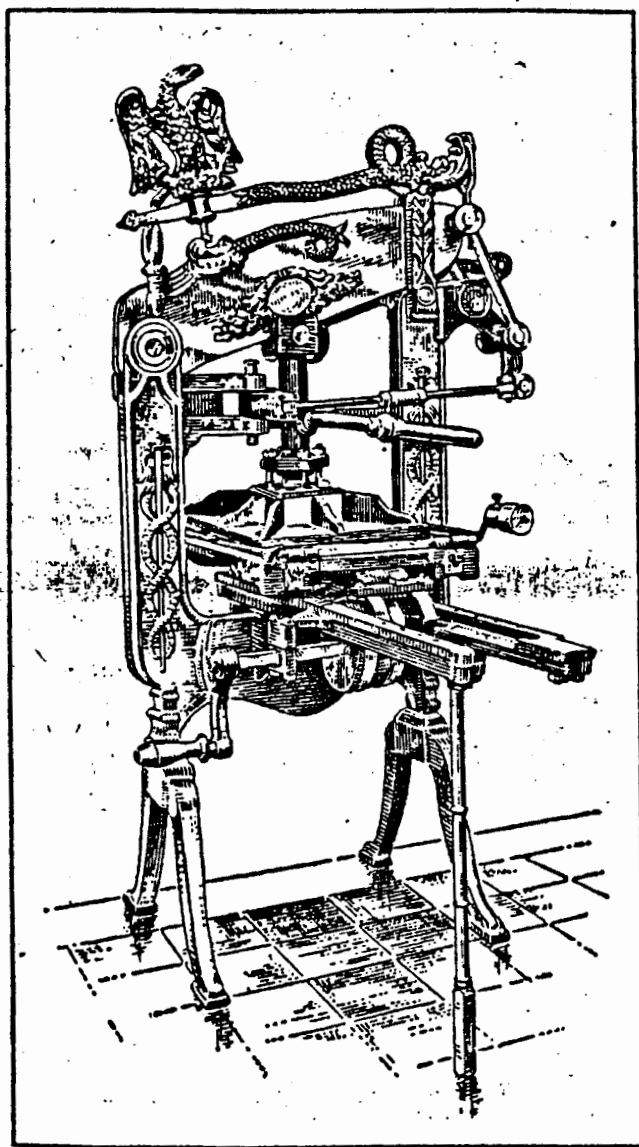


Figure 20: Photocopy of woodcut showing a Columbia press, the press brought out to New Westminster by the Royal Engineers in 1859.

cylinder press, would put pressure on other competing houses to introduce another change, bringing in the next newest technology. The old printing plants would be sold to some newer centre opening up, where it would be the established technology until some new competitor with later and newer equipment would come along.

Thus it was when the Colonist obtained its new cylinder press in 1863, the old flatbed press, which had been obtained originally from Bishop Demers, was sold once again. It was taken by packhorse up the Fraser River trails to Barkerville and became the outfit of the Cariboo Sentinel. It was thus the press that printed Sawney's Letters by James Anderson, a work generally considered the first important major literary effort in the colony.<sup>16</sup>

Around 1889, another major first in the printing technology occurred in Canada -- the introduction of typesetting machines.<sup>17</sup> The News-Advertiser in Vancouver and the Times in Victoria were the first plants in B.C. to acquire the type-setting machines that cut down the time required to set type.<sup>18</sup> Instead of a person lifting each letter at a time from a type case and arranging it in a line, the new machines did this work, and at much faster rates. One machine was said to do the work of 20 men. The News-Advertiser and Times introduced their machines about 1899.

Even earlier, in 1888, the typesetters of Vancouver had formed a union, the Vancouver local of the International Typographical Union, Number 226. They launched a small strike for a few days in protest of

the new technologies, but non-union personnel continued to bring out the newspapers. The unions were not strong when they were first formed and the depression of 1894 in the B.C. area was keenly felt by Vancouver and Victoria printers as well as by the publishing businesses. The history of the Typographical Union makes special reference to these problems, but notes a revival of business in 1895. When the new machine-typesetting units were being introduced into the newspaper offices in 1899, the union again tried to prevent changes that would affect their members and asked for compensation and job assurances.<sup>19</sup>

#### Distinction between Printer and Publisher

The growth of the union was just one indication of how the publishing business progressed from a simple operation to a more complex one during the last half of the 1800s. Even when B.C. book publishing began in 1858, the complexities of the process of book production had advanced from the early times.

From Gutenberg's time, the central figure in the early book-trade had been the printer. He had the equipment, and it was he who found and chose the manuscripts to be printed, determined the number of copies, carried out any editing, chose the paper and style of design to be used in the book, arranged the printing, bound the copies and arranged for their distribution for sale.<sup>20</sup>

In the earliest days, the printer had also been the bookseller and stationer as well, but this concept was changing at the opening of the industry in British Columbia. The concept of a separate publisher as the one who arranged all these aspects and raised the money to back the venture was just beginning to appear. We can follow some of the early changes as they happen in B.C.

As books had become more popular and populations had become more literate, the need for bookstores separated from the printing establishments, sometimes in other cities many miles distant, had arisen. Libraries, or reading rooms as they were called then, also were becoming popular, based on the successes of the availability of newspapers and pamphlets in the early 16th century coffee houses. Then, too, as printing became more and more popular, and more and more complex technologically, there arose the need for a separate financial backer -- who was sometimes the author.

In the B.C. colonies, there were both booksellers and libraries before there was any printing done locally. Keirski's was the first bookstore in the area and the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria had run a reading room for its employees even before the establishing of the colony.

The first printer in the area likely was Paul de Garro, who advertised in first newspapers about his services for handbill posting and it appears that he was using Bishop Demers' press for this business even when J.W. Towne arrived to start the Victoria Gazette. Towne had been a major printer, publisher and bookseller in San Francisco, but

in the colony he was involved only in newspaper publishing and did not try to set up a bookstore during that period. Towne brought with him to work on the paper two men who would serve as editors, reporters and printers -- showing how divisions of function had already begun when the industry was started in B.C.

Towne also brought S.F. Baker to Victoria to become the first engraver in the colonies and to provide artwork and illustration for the papers. Little is known about Baker, except that he came from California and apparently left Victoria in a few months when Towne sold his plant to Whitton. Baker had already contributed engravings to the pictorial Wild West, a journal published in California. At least one picture of Victoria was published in the Gazette and many others were "in preparation" when the paper went out of publication.

Incidentally, maps also were being produced for sale through bookstores about his time. One of the original such maps was that of Gustavus Epner, which was published by Hibben & Carswell, the bookstore proprietors and early publishers, in 1862. However, the map was lithographed in San Francisco, by Britton & Co., to take advantage of the new technology of lithographing, which was not yet available in the area.

Although the printers of the colonies did show some division of labor within the shop, the process of bookbinding was part of their

operation, in a general sense. If one examines the early books published in the colonies, we find that these were published with paper covers (or "wrappers," as they are called) and do not represent the more complex processes required for more permanent bindings.

A few books may have been specially hand-bound, either in leather or in "boards," which was a thick composition-like cardboard often covered with paper or with cloth similar to the appearance of "hard-cover" or "case-bound" books of today. The first directories, which were the first books from a B.C. publisher to have hard bindings, were printed and bound in California. Some government documents were bound, but probably through a special shipment to a separate binding establishment.

The first real bindery in the colonies was opened in 1862 in Victoria by Charles Otto. It is likely that R.T. Williams, who published the Directories from about 1882, had been apprenticed to Otto. We know that Williams purchased Otto's business about 1871; his first Directory appeared in 1882.

The regular appearance of hardcover trade books (other than Directories or government documents) in the colonies began in 1877 with the publication of the Guide to the Province of British Columbia 1877-78. This was published by T.N. Hibben, the bookseller who was instrumental in separating the functions of the publisher and printer in the colony; his imprint appeared in 1862 on the Dictionary of Indian Tongues, which was printed by the Daily Chronicle. The functions were still interwoven, but the beginning of separation functions can be seen.



Certainly, from the 1880s on, books that appeared with "hard" covers were likely printed and bound in separate establishments, which again suggests the increasing separation between printer and binder and the need for a publisher as the one who arranges all the various steps. Jenn's book of poetry, published in 1880, was also hardbound, but this vanity edition was a special case. The books written by the seamen about their adventures off the B.C. coast on warships or sealers were also typical of the "mass produced" bindings of the time. Palmer's Pages from a Seaman's Log and Forester's Ocean Jottings from England to British Columbia, both published in 1891, had the paper-covered-"boards" for covers, with some decoration on the covers and highly decorated endpapers. During the 1890s several trade books published in the colonies achieved the appearance of the beautiful leather- and cloth-covered volumes found in the fine library collections of the time. The Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians, published in 1890, is the best B.C. example of the quality of work that could be done during the 1800s.

Other books published during this period also reveal the advances in technology, the increased money available for publishing because of increasing sales and the fashions of the times that were current in other parts of North America.

### Paper and Ink

Today B.C. has obtained a reputation as one of the great paper-

producing areas of the world. Despite the massive forests, the papers used for books and newspapers in B.C. during the 1800s came from outside the province. The paper used at the time publishing began in Victoria was the typical "rag" paper of the 1800s. The idea of a paper made entirely from wood-pulp had been suggested as early as 1719,<sup>21</sup> but it was not put into production until 1843. Then use of wood-pulp paper spread rapidly and was in wide commercial use by the 1860s. Generally speaking, however, the use of rag papers was still recommended for books because the wood-pulp papers deteriorated rapidly.

Throughout the 1800s, then, the paper used for book production in B.C. was imported, either from San Francisco or London during the colonial period or mainly from eastern Canada after the railway link was completed in 1877.

The first pulp mill in B.C., on the Somass River near Alberni, opened in 1894 after a three-year period of damming the river and building the plant.<sup>22,23</sup> The original mill was backed by British capital, but it was considered a shoe-string operation from the first. The mill used imported rags for stock, and a way to obtain an adequate supply of rags became a difficult proposition. Authorities now suggest that inexperience on the part of the British owners and managers, coupled with a lack of understanding about conditions in B.C., contributed to situations that kept the paper company "in the red" almost from the beginning. This mill had no immediate plans for making paper for newspapers or books; wrapping paper was its chief product and it also produced small lots of toilet paper, blotting paper and building paper. It ran for two years,

although it rarely reached a full daily capacity because of tidal water and other problems. It produced some five tons a day during the peak periods during the two years, but closed in 1896 because of financial difficulties.

Although the provincial government authorities were keen to see development of some sort of forestry industry on the coast, and there was considerable pressure on the Legislature to "do something," no other paper mills opened in British Columbia during the 1890s. The province was suffering through a mild recession, and no capital was available.

As with paper, inks used for the printing processes in B.C. were all imported during the 1800s. The local use of colored inks in books began in Victoria in 1885. The use of colored ink to print whole pages was fairly common and was an innovation in the province at the time, although it was crudely done by today's standards.

### Illustration in Books

Some use of metal engravings to provide illustrations in books had been tried as early as 1477<sup>24</sup> but these were not widely used until the 1800s; at first the metal plates did not stand up as well in the printing presses as the wood-cuts or wood engravings. Lithography, whereby an absorbant stone is used, combined with the antipathy of oil and water, was introduced during the 1790s, but was not widely used until after 1840 when photography was introduced. Soon after, thin metal

plates were used for the lithograph process and it became widespread, although wood-cuts and wood engravings were widely used in B.C. throughout the 1800s.

The first book published in B.C. to contain an illustration was the Emigrant Soldier's Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle, which had been published for the Royal Engineers in 1863. The book contained an engraving of a ship on a decorative "masthead" for the top of each imitation "newspaper" that had chronicled the voyage. As well, it contained a fold-out map.

Maps were almost the only item that warranted the expense of metal engraving in the earliest books printed in the colony during the first period -- except for advertisements, of course, which contained all the latest engraving techniques. By 1882, the use of two and even sometimes three colors was appearing, usually on maps, to mark routes.

By 1878, decorative borders were appearing, such as that on the cover of Reginald Nutall's British Columbia, Its present condition and future policy. These decorative borders were set by type, but marked the use of the current technology of the time even in the western-most "outpost." About this same time, the use of brightly-colored paper for the wrappers also was appearing in B.C.

Engravings from photographs began appearing in B.C.-published books in 1885, in Newton H. Chitterton's Settlers, Miners, and Tourists Guide. The photographs were taken by a local photographer, Hannah Maynard, but, engraver S.F. Baker having left years before, the making

of the engravings was done in New York by the Moss Engraving Company. It is impossible to tell just what kind of plates were used and no references could be found with this kind of information, but it is possible that the ones used in Chitterton's book were done on metal plates. However, much of the illustrations used in the books -- and newspapers and magazines -- of the 1880s were still wood engravings, which gave beautifully detailed work. Some of the best examples of the wood engravings in B.C. books were those used in The Colonist Annual for the Year 1885: Illustrated. These wood-cut blocks would have been offered for sale to printers throughout the continent and they included some from the best-known American illustrators of the day, including Charles Dana Gibson (originator of the famous "Gibson Girls") and Frederick B. Schell.

The introduction of photography had other effects, too; several of the books that appeared in the late 1880s and 1890s contained photographs within them. John Blaine Kerr's Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians contained 42 plates with head-and-shoulders studio-quality photos of these "well-known" personages.

The illustrated books of the 1890s used engravings and examination of these illustrates the kind of progress that was being made in technological reproductions. Detail is sharper and clearer and the use of the thin metal plates mounted on the wooden blocks to raise them to the height of the type could be seen to improve issue by issue. As well, the use of "coated stock," a glossy, shiny, hard paper that allows every fine detail to show, helped in reproduction of these illustrations.

Mention should also be made of the use of the cyanotypes in Papers and Communications read before the Natural History Society, which was published in 1891. The scientists wanted to use photographs and settled for the use of the cyanotypes, which were blue-print-like reproductions that could be produced locally in fair quantities cheaply.

During this period, then, the technologies in printing, paper, inks, illustration, book design and publishing generally were undergoing rapid change. Most importantly, the functions of printer, binder and bookseller came to be separate and distinct, although any one of these still might fill the role of publisher. Printing and its associated matters, however, had remained the key area in B.C. book publishing during the 1800s.

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## Chapter V

### Analysis of Trends in Publishing

As is seen in the earlier chapters, the growth of the printing and publishing industries in British Columbia during the last half of the 19th century reflects similar events elsewhere in the world. The technology was a few years behind the main European countries, but the fledgling industry had gained a fair foothold and was supported locally.

Nevertheless, most publishing ventures during this period (1858-1899) would not be considered economically viable, or would be considered marginal at best. The total population ranged from a mere handful (certainly less than 1,000) of permanent, literate settlers during the first years to a high of 178,657 total population based on the 1901 census for the province. So, why did the local industry exist? Surely, if paper and ink had to be imported, as they did during this whole period, and if books published in other centres, especially London, New York, Toronto and San Francisco, were available through local bookstores, why then were 110 trade books published in the area? These questions have implications for present-day understanding of regional publishing and its economic viability. This study shows that

the need for and the desire for a regional publishing industry is something more than a concern over mere economics. It also suggests that support for a regional book publishing industry comes from a variety of sources and for a variety of reasons. These will be summarized in this chapter.

Various sources (mainly Lowther) have led to the identification of 543 imprints published in British Columbia from the time the first printing press was brought into the colony in 1858 through to 1899 (see Appendix I). These imprints include all kinds of non-periodical publishing, from single-sheet broadsides, to advertising brochures, to free pamphlets handed out by the churches, to military manuals and regulations, to government documents preserved for posterity, through to publications designed for sale to the general public. Many small broadsides and advertising materials and the small free hand-outs have probably vanished and may never be unearthed, but archival sources likely have identified most of the larger documents accurately.

Of these 543, a total 110 books designed for sale to the general public, the "trade books" of the period, were identified, and these are listed in Appendix II. The general trend of book publishing is closely tied to the amount of printing generally done during any one year. A comparison of numbers of imprints against numbers of trade books published shows just how close is the relationship between printing and publishing (see graph).

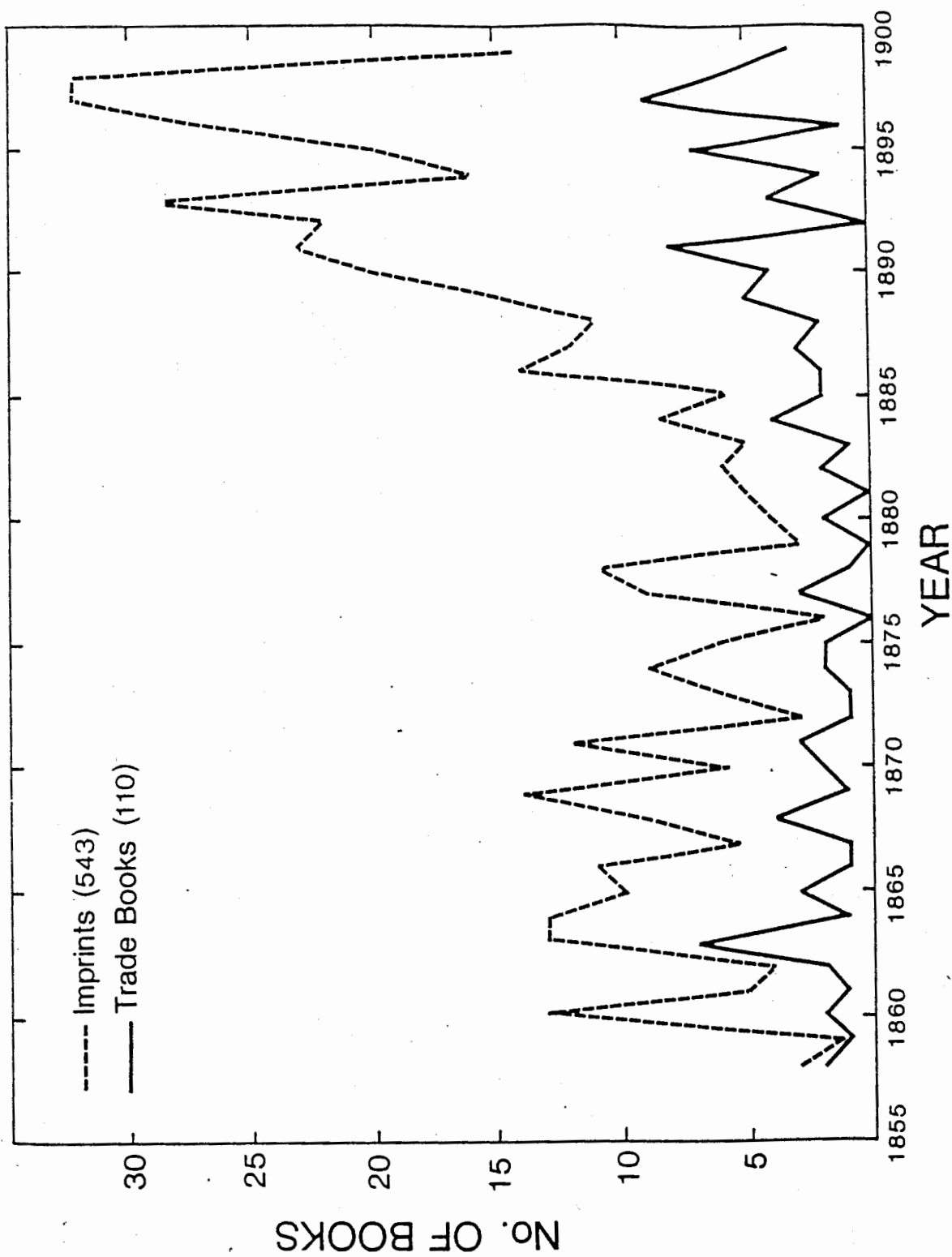


Figure 21: Graph showing relationships between Imprints and Trade Books publishing in the B.C. region during the 1800s.

The trade books range from tiny, paper-bound, early publications through to the thick, well-written, beautifully-bound volumes that were produced by the end of the century. It covers a wide range of publications, including those published under the auspices of the churches, the military and the government as well as those produced by private enterprises.

Not all the published book-like documents are listed, only those that warranted enough public interest so that they would have been sold in the stores of the time. Some church, government and military books were prepared for free distribution or to form a part of the official record; a few of these generated enough public interest that special sales were made through retail book outlets. However, a majority of the books, even from the earliest times, were books specially planned for sale -- and to make money for private concerns. These form perhaps the most interesting group from a contemporary viewpoint as we look into the various reasons for book publishing. This section, therefore, examines the books described in detail earlier and attempts to identify the publishers into categories for further analysis.

#### Pre-Confederation Trends: 1858-1871

During the 13-year, pre-confederation publishing period, from 1858-1871, at least 31 "trade books" were published and sold in British Columbia (See Appendix II, Part A). Of these, 18 represent trade books

published by private individuals or firms similar to modern publishing houses; seven are government-sponsored publishing endeavors; two were sponsored by the military; three could be considered joint military and government, although government initiated; and one could be classed as a church-sponsored document.

The 18 privately-sponsored books include such works as Waddington's The Fraser Mines Vindicated, Batterton's Facts and Acts (criticizing the government of the day), the Directories of Mallandaine and Howard & Barnett, the three Indian-language dictionaries published by Hibben, Parks' A Practical View of the Mining Laws and Claudet's "Gold", both of which offered sound local advice to miners, and the literary works of James Anderson (in separate editions) and E.T. Coleman.

These poetry books represent the beginnings of literary publishing in the regions, and they come so soon after the introduction of printing in the colonies and were published when the populations were so small that they deserve some special comment. Many authors, especially Eggleston,<sup>1</sup> believe that cultural or literary publishing occurs relatively late in the history of a region, when leisure time is greater. However, as is noted earlier, reading was an important pastime among many in the colonies during this time, with reading rooms, literary institutes and bookstores being an important part of the community right from the beginning. The fact that the Literary Institute, which probably sponsored the publication of Coleman's Essay, and the Cariboo Sentinel, which published Anderson's

poetry, took the risks of publishing literary work locally deserves some further study and comparisons with other regions. Just how soon, and for what reasons did early publishers decide to take the risks?

The seven main works issued with government backing during this period include the Order in Council, the first book published in the colony (and which may have had a following just for that reason), and the two Prize Essays, which likely were intended for distribution to possible immigrants as well as for sale locally. This kind of government-sponsored printing is still carried out today.

The two trade books published by the military include Sparshott's Military Manual, and the Royal Engineer's special edition of the Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette. Neither of these likely would have been economically viable without military sponsorship, but that support also provided work for the fledgling printing industry in the colony and helped it to get started. That, too, may have been a factor in the decision to publish locally.

The three survey reports, by Palmer, represent a joint effort of the military and government. The government financed the ventures, but the skill of the Royal Engineers was essential.

The one work that I have identified as a church-sponsored publication among this list of trade books is Cridge's "Spiritualism." Cridge, who later broke with the main body of the Church, apparently recognized the value of publishing as a means of reaching a wider audience than he could command from the pulpit.

### Trends in the Early Confederation Years: 1871-1887

During the 16-year period between the time British Columbia joined Confederation and the arrival in Vancouver of the train that had been promised in that agreement, 26 "trade books" were published in British Columbia (see Appendix II, Part B). Although this is a slightly smaller number than during the pre-confederation years, the publishing and binding business appears to have become fairly well established.

Support for the fledgling industry came in a number of ways. For example, numerous government documents intended for limited circulation were being published, and a number of legal documents were produced, although not likely for distribution and sale to the general public. For example, the proceedings of all court cases heard before the Supreme Court of British Columbia were printed and bound for the record; J.E. McMillan of Victoria and The Colonist Steam Presses did a great deal of this work, and grew into firmly established printing firms during this period.

Many new organizations and associations, such as the British Columbia Mainland Pioneer and Benevolent Society, the New Westminster Board of Trade and the Victoria Amateur Orchestral Society, were formed; all of these had constitutions and bylaws printed. Several magazines were established during this period and flourished with considerable successes.

Businesses were becoming established, too, and they used advertising and circulation of information which helped support the printing industry. For example, the Victoria and Esquimalt Telephone

Company was established and in 1881 published its Rules, regulations, stations, etc. for the guidance of subscribers. Printers, booksellers, binders and even the vestiges of publishers as we now know them were springing up.

Even a brief examination of the dates of publication can reveal something of the economic ups and downs of the new province, however. During the first five years after Confederation, the province was in a rather depressed economic period and relatively few trade books appeared. In 1884, however, the province was in an economic upturn, and this is reflected both in numbers of advertising and business publishing and in the numbers of trade books. In 1884, for instance, four of these trade books appeared, including the books on the various lectures given in the area by visitors and the relatively more expensive-to-produce illustrated books such as the Colonist Annual and the Report of the Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Of the 26 trade books produced during this period, 23 were published by private individuals, firms or groups without any government subsidies or support; only two books can be considered government-sponsored publishing endeavors, and only one is a church-sponsored "trade book."

It has to be repeated here that both the government and the churches produced other books, some of them large substantial volumes, but these were distributed free to small groups and were not intended for sale to the general public. It was during this period, however, that many liturgies, hymnals and religious books were produced in the



local Indian languages. Some of these are still available and form valuable archival materials although they were often produced in extremely limited editions of only 100 copies or so. They would, however, have stimulated interest in books. The one church-sponsored book included in this list is John Good's Vocabulary and Outlines of Grammar for the ... Thompson Tongue.

The lack of government sponsorship for trade books during this period is interesting and opens a wide field for speculation. Did the rise of a new central power, in Ottawa, mean that a certain amount of publishing that was necessary in a relatively remote, independent colony now fall into the hands of the central government in Ottawa? It is interesting to examine the lists of publications and speculate on the amount of new publishing that went to the printers and publishers of Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal rather than to the smaller and less-technically-sophisticated printers and publishers of Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Barkerville.

One of the two government publications was the Prize Essay for 1872, Alexander Anderson's The Dominion at the West. It would also be a fruitful, although difficult, search to find out whether this publication was distributed for sale in Ontario, Quebec and the new Maritime provinces or whether the problems of distribution from the hinterland to the central area, described in recent Communications theory,<sup>2</sup> held true during the 1870s and 1880s.

The other government-sponsored trade book was the Report of the Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands by Newton H. Chittenden.

This book had appeared first as progress reports in a Victoria monthly magazine. Chittenden was an established author and speaker and may have pressed the government for its publication rather than this being a government-initiated publishing venture.

No military-sponsored publications appeared; this is not surprising as the military presence was considerably reduced when the province joined Canada and the British government was no longer required to support the colony against the United States. The kind of publication previously done by the military now came under either the government of Canada or the provincial legislature; the Chittenden Report described above is an example of one that might previously have been the type of trade-book issued under military sponsorship.

The 23 trade books that represent the work of private enterprise range from critiques of the governments in Victoria and Ottawa (there were seven of these, mainly commenting on Ottawa's failure to act at once on the construction of the railway), to the books published by Edward Cridge about his split with the establishment in his church, to books that were published to fill some sort of business need. These latter included P.L. Trout's Prospector's Manual, which would have been an invaluable aid to any miner heading toward the gold fields, N.H. Chittenden's Settlers, Prospectors and Tourists Guide, which also was valuable to businessmen and miners, and M. Picken's book on the City of Vancouver. These books were aimed specifically at sales. Also in this group could be included Hibben's still-flourishing Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon and the various Directories.

Interestingly, only one "literary" book was published during this period -- E.A. Jenns' Evening to Morning and Other Poems. According to records in the Provincial Archives described earlier in this study, it sold very slowly.

#### A Booming End to the Century: 1887-1899

During the final dozen years of the century, the province continued to grow in population and importance. Despite some economic setbacks, especially at the beginning of the 1890s, and despite the increasing competition with the publishing and printing centres in eastern Canada, those industries in B.C. continued to grow and for a certain portion of this period to begin to produce literary works as well as business publishing.

During this period, 51 books deserve the designation of "trade book" (see Appendix II, part C) and possibly a case could be made for including more than I have done here. This was an exceedingly busy period for the presses of the various churches for instance, and most missions throughout the province were producing books for use among their constituents. Possibly some of these were sold, although most were in various Indian dialects.

As well, there was a growing number of legal publications appearing and certainly some of the more celebrated court cases may have had some public interest. However, as earlier, I have elected to consider all these latter works as documents prepared for the courts and not as trade books.

During this period a number of quality periodicals appeared, some of which would certainly have been sold in bookstores. One of these, The Directory of Mines, under the direction of and with most of the writing done by Alexander Begg, was a quarterly magazine of roughly 130 pages that sold at 50 cents a copy. However, it did appear as a regular periodical and I have not included it among the books. Similarly, I have not included the four annual volumes of The British Columbia Almanac, especially compiled for this province with other information. This was published in Victoria from 1895 to 1898 by The Colonist Printing and Publishing Company. Certainly the first one could be considered a "trade book," although its stiff brown-beige paper covers also contained ads for Langley's Balsam of Aniseed, and Langley later became the sole publisher. However, the Almanacs were used to promote both the printing firm and Langley's Balsam and appear to have been distributed very widely as free handouts, so I have not included them. However, the first one was reviewed as a book in The Province on January 26, 1895.

Nor have all the promotion-like materials for the various cities been included as books; some, as indicated by an examination of the book definitely were "trade books," however. Among these are The Kootenay Mining Standard Annual July 1899: An Illustrated Journal and the First History of Rossland and the First History of Nelson. On the other hand, The Kootenay Guide: A guide to the mining camps of British Columbia and Klondike (Rossland, B.C., and Calgary, Alta., Young and

Luxton, 1898), and marked for individual sale at "10¢" is not included, mainly because it was re-issued with only a little new information and several new ads on the fifteenth of every month for about a year. The Trail Board of Trade's publication "A Land of Gold!" is not included because I judged it would have been distributed without cost. A more definitive listing of the publications of this period should be made when it is possible to obtain further historical detail. In the meantime, the listing of "trade books" for this period is somewhat arbitrary and open to discussion.

An examination of the 51 trade books published in this final part of the century shows 37 would be considered money-making "free enterprise" publications, published by firms or individuals not as vanity printing but to make money. Among these would be books such as the biographies of the Seamen Harry Forster, Wm. Harry Palmer and William George, as well as the directories, digests and dictionaries, the "travel" books from J.G. MacGregor Publishing, and the various "routes and maps" books designed to appeal to the mass of travelling miners on their ways to the Klondike. Also among these "private enterprise" kinds of publications, I have included the "literary" works that appeared during this time, including the three books of fiction by "Kim Bilir" published by the Province, Lefevre's book of poetry by the Province, and the "penny dreadful" novel written by "Sivers." These books were certainly all produced with the main intention that they should make money through their sales. The widespread use of advertising would also help make some publishing enterprises viable.

During this period, I would classify eight of the books as government-sponsored publications. There is, however, a further distinction that can be made in this period. Government now not only includes the province but also the city or town councils. Thus the book Victoria Illustrated, which was produced by the City of Victoria, would be included here. As well, Kaslo, British Columbia, The Mineral Metropolis of the World, published under the direction of the Kaslo Board of Trade, can be considered in this category. Perhaps others of similar vein might have been backed by the local councils, such as the First History of Rossland or the First History of Nelson, although I could find no such records of such financial support in the materials reviewed for this overview.

The books sponsored by the provincial government included the two Year Books written by R.E. Gosnell, the History of British Columbia, Adapted for the Use of Schools, by O.H. Cogswell and the province's own publication, British Columbia as a Field for Emigration and Investment.

Three books really appear to be published mainly for the benefit of a private individual -- as was noted earlier, a kind of vanity press, because the sales of the books would be unlikely to bring back the money needed to launch them. Among these would be Finalyson's Biography, W.J. Walker's Some Thoughts on Municipal Reform in British Columbia, and H.T. Palmer's A Marvellous Experience, about his extracorporeal experiences.

Two others I have included in this category would have had the backing of a small private group, but likely could not have been seen

as commercial-level enterprises. These would be George Turner's Before the Council, funded by the Temperance and Moral Reform Association, and the Papers and Communications of the Natural History Society of British Columbia.

One book that is defined as a church-sponsored "trade book" is H. Eummelen's Sick Room Altar Manual. This was written by a Roman Catholic priest who later became the Rt. Monseigneur in Vancouver in 1896, only a year after the book appeared. Unfortunately, the only known copy of this book is in the National Library in Ottawa and to date I have not been able to review the copy to determine definitely whether it had support from the church.

### Five Main Groups

In this section five main groups or categories emerge as the book publishers during the early years of the area:

|             |                         |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| governments | private enterprises     |
| military    | private individuals     |
| churches    | (for "vanity" reasons). |

Government publishing was crucial. In publishing, the government had two roles during this early period; either it acted as its own printer (through a form of Queen's or King's Printer) to sponsor necessary-but-uneconomical publishing ventures or it brought its printing from local printers. In this later role it indirectly provided

subsidies because it enabled local printers to finance equipment that eventually to bring out their own books during slack periods.

The military role was closely tied to the colonial enterprises of Great Britain during the early years. However, the military provided the colony with a number of individuals with the expertise and experience needed for publishing ventures. Richard Wolfenden, the Royal Engineers printer, settled permanently in the colony and became Queen's Printer after Confederation. The ties between government and military are fairly obvious ones. However, the distinction should be recognized.

In many new frontier areas, the church groups or missions, who have long recognized the value of a local publishing concern, are among the first to bring in printing presses. While the church presses did not contribute greatly to the numbers of trade books published, they had a role in increasing literacy and in supplying authors and material for other presses.

Among the most interesting in the early times were the privately-sponsored books. Whether they were a single-time "vanity" publishings (such as the poetry of Jenns) or whether they were private enterprises similar to the houses of today (Williams' Press for the Directories, The Province's books or T.N. Hibben's publishing ventures).

Interestingly, those who were involved with books and newspapers in the early days of the area also became important individuals in the political and economic circles of the colony/province. One has to be



careful about stating whether they became powerful because the wide dispersion of their views helped them to gain fame or notoriety. However, there certainly is a correlation between those who publish and those who are or who become powerful. In several instances in this study it would certainly seem that the use of the books was valuable in furthering the careers; this would certainly apply to Alfred Waddington, David Higgins and A.C. Caulfield and possibly to Amor De Cosmos.

Further in analysing the trends in publishing in British Columbia during the 1800s, it is reasonable to say that books were produced for four main reasons:

books as necessities

books as a service to the community

books as vanity measures

books to make money

Each of these needs elaboration.

Books as necessities. Books must be considered as necessities -- as essential information suppliers -- rather than as luxuries in the middle-class and upper-middle-class homes of the colony and new province. As with these later media, books and newspapers became part of the normal household goods; they were purchased routinely.

In the frontier areas, books, along with newspapers and magazines, were the main sources of information and they helped fill the information-supply role that has expanded today with radio and television.

Most of the leaders in any town, even frontier towns, would be readers. It would appear, from the information about reading rooms and libraries mentioned earlier in this study, that many miners and early settlers were both literate and ambitious and needed books about the area. The influence of the information within books would have been spread by word-of-mouth; even those who had not read a certain book might have heard about the contents from those who had. Books were "opinion-makers" then, as now. This is why it is essential that more information about the circulation of the locally-produced books be searched for -- and why the loss of the information in archival records is deplored.

Books as a Service to the Community. The local publishing industry supplied books that, even if they did not make money for their publishers, filled certain community needs, such as the directories, guidebooks, legal reports, political commentaries, dictionaries, and so on. These books probably did not have a large number of readers, but they supplied a form of permanent record, or provided a kind of formal, permanently recorded information that was required by only a few in the colony.

The government, churches and military were particularly involved in supplying these permanent records as a service to the community. Private enterprise might also be involved, because a local printer considered the book in the public interest, such as a book on the value of the railway. Private individuals, as well, might supply books they considered a service to the community, such as temperance tracts.

Books as Vanity Measures. A certain amount of publishing in the early days of the colony obviously was done merely to satisfy the ego of the writer, something similar to the "vanity presses" of today. This is true not only of the collections of poetry or fiction, such as Jenn's poetry, but this particular sop to the vain man may also have played a great role, as described earlier, in the publishing of Edward Cridge, *Amor De Cosmos* and perhaps even Alfred Waddington, the author of the very first non-government book produced in the colony.

Books to Make Money. There is no doubt that the profit motive played a part in the publication of a majority of books released in the region in the 1800s. Printers and booksellers in particular were interested in turning out a best-seller and would have been interested in making money on any of their productions.

As well as direct income from a well-selling book, however, printers would also have been interested in promoting the publication of books to help pay for their presses and to make the introduction of new technology viable. To do this, they would have to rent their presses out, especially for the printing of government-backed books, an early form of government subsidy. As well, the prestige of publishing a good book would be helpful as a kind of advertising measure, which combines both the profit motive with the vanity of the publisher.

In fact, although at various times and for various books one of these might predominate, probably more than one and sometimes all of these reasons would be instrumental in the publication of almost every book on the list.

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## Chapter VI

### Conclusions

During the developing years of what is now British Columbia, regional trade book publishing was a vital industry; it is also one that has been largely ignored in studies either of the region or of the industry. This study has shown that local publishing filled special needs in the area, some of them economic, social or business ones and some of them private and individual ones but all contributing to the overall community.

Most studies on the book publishing industry, including three Royal commissions during the last quarter century,<sup>1,2,3</sup> have concentrated on "literary" publishing and stressed "cultural reasons" why the publishing industry in Canada needs and deserves support. However, this study provides evidence of the important economic and communications reasons why a regional book publishing industry existed. It also suggests that these needs continue today and that support for the basic printing and publishing industry may be as important as support for the creative or "literary" side of the industry.

Its main conclusion is that an examination of regional book publishing in British Columbia in the 1800s reveals material that is widely applicable in contemporary communications studies.

Books, as many literary critics<sup>4,5,6,7</sup> and several government studies<sup>8,9,10</sup> have noted, provide mirrors in which society is reflected; these learned reports stress the need for an indigenous publishing industry and lament its lack. Yet this study shows that during the early years of British Columbia just such an indigenous industry existed. This study suggests this may also be true of other regional areas during the early days. Almost as soon as any new frontier opened, some sort of printing establishment was set up and that establishment, within a few months, was used to bring out a local book.

Although few of these early books in this study stand as major "literary" efforts, they nevertheless give important views of the time -- mirror the society -- and they provide valuable insights in the economic, political and social mores and happenings. The need for a viable regional printing industry seems to be a factor in the development of books -- and this may be an important finding to keep in mind in examining the industry today.

As shown in the previous chapter, books were necessities that provided basic information needed in the community. Although their publishers also hoped to make money, or at least to break even, they also brought out books for political, social, business and "vanity" reasons even when they were not certain of economic success. Support came from government, churches, the military, private enterprises and individuals. When the industry is in place it also supports creative or purely literary endeavors.

During the 1800s, among the print communications, books had a special role: they offered a relatively inexpensive way to present a long and reasoned argument on a subject to a reasonably wide local audience. Even newspapers were within the means of an entrepreneurial individual, who could buy a press, often second-hand, and set up a printing establishment. Once that was available, more locals with money to back their convictions could purchase the spare time of the press to produce books; this appears to be the way Alfred Penderill Waddington's The Fraser Mines Vindicated was brought out. Local publishing houses meant that locals could speak out on local issues, and they were especially important in the early one-newspaper towns. The proprietor of the local paper would even rent out his services to an individual or group who wanted the opportunity to present "the other side" of an argument that he had taken up in his paper. Books, therefore, were one of the most important means of communication in that time.

For all these reasons, the second basic conclusion of this study is that regional trade book publishing was a strong, viable industry in early B.C. and played a vital role in the establishment of the new area during the 1800s.

A third major conclusion from the study is that early regional trade book publishers provided information that could not be obtained from other sources or other centres.

Although books could be imported from other centres, such as San Francisco, London, New York and eventually Toronto and Montreal, these books would not and did not meet the local needs. Because there were relatively small audiences, those books that dealt purely with local issues, such as directories or dictionaries related to trade with native groups, would be of no interest to publishers in other centres. The views of those in other centres also would differ from the views of local groups. The most splendid example of this arises with the first privately produced trade book brought out in the colony in 1858, Alfred Waddington's The Fraser Mines Vindicated. It would be in the economic interest of the merchants of San Francisco to downplay the value of the Fraser River finds and various newspapers in California were attempting to do just that. Waddington's vindication served to put forth the view of the locals and to strengthen the economic position of the small Vancouver Island community.

This aspect of regional publishing is tied closely to modern communications concerns. Certainly aspects of this "need" for regional publishing and its role in establishing the identity of a region needs to be examined much more closely. The theories of Harold Adams Innis on the relationships between centres and their hinterlands could be used to examine this area.<sup>11</sup>

In the relationships between centre and hinterland, the flow of dominating influences is from the centre to the hinterland, with the staples of the hinterland being taken back to the centre and used to its main benefit. With British Columbia, the main staple had been



furs, but with the change to gold as the top export from the region there were other social, political and economic changes.

Until 1857, the dominance had been under the British Empire and the fur trade required few people in the area other than the natives. With the gold rush and the sudden flood of miners and settlers into the area, the whole "hinterland" changed, and the relationship with the various centres also changed. As the nearest "centres," San Francisco and the the United States had the possibility of becoming major influences. The first books, particularly, reflect the changes.

Although the ups and downs of the local publishing industry are tied to economic ups and downs of the region, the effects of this centre-hinterland relationship before and after confederation can also be seen in this study. The centre always did supply books to the hinterland, but these were based on the centre's views of needs and requirements, not on local views. Nor would the publishing houses of the centre be likely to supply comment on strictly local issues. The further the centre from the hinterland, the more likely the hinterland would be to have its own local publishing industry. This is particularly true with the British Columbia region. During the administration of the area as colonies of Great Britain, publishers in Victoria brought out books that were needed and which could not be supplied from Great Britain. Among the first things ordered in the new colony were government printing presses -- and with the presses came the chances of establishing even greater independence.

As Innis has argued, the unity of a confederated Canada was not tied to geography, but to political and economic considerations. If geography were to have played a part, then British Columbia should have followed its trading links with California and become a part of the west coast of the United States. That it did not do so had less to do with geography and the shipping routes of the 1860s than with the control of newspapers and books in the colony. A further examination of the local publications and of their publishers during this period is indicated based on the preliminary findings in this study.

The decision to join Canada, however, meant that the shipping links along the West Coast were weakened, and greater control came from the new "centre" in eastern Canada. Once B.C. joined confederation, its trade and shipping links with the west coast ports of the United States and with Australia, the Orient and Great Britain were jeopardized. First, there was the lack of knowledge about Pacific trade in Ottawa and Toronto. Second, eastern Canadian centres needed to monopolize and exploit the western markets for themselves.

Because the links established through confederation were based on proposed communication and political ties to eastern Canada and Great Britain, the former B.C. colonies, which had begun to establish trading links with Australia and the Orient, came more under the control of the developing eastern Canadian centres which could not tolerate competition from the western hinterland. By joining Canada, the B.C. area exchanged a weak colonial independence for provincial dependence on the smaller eastern Canadian centres.

As well, the new ties with Canada meant that there was greater domination, and a greater need for domination, of the local publishers by the publishing concerns in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa. Regional publishers in Victoria had never offered any threat to the large houses in London, Edinburgh or New York. However, regional publishing was a threat to the smaller publishers in Canada's centres. As well, when British Columbia joined confederation, it offered a new market for the Canadian publishers. With the coming of the railway, it also offered a quicker, easier and cheaper way of reaching that market. The effects on publishing in British Columbia during the latter part of the century are apparent. Regional book publishing grew less rapidly and a greater number of writers sought publication in the larger Canadian houses. The local publishers did not have the same access to eastern markets.

William Westfall, writing in a new communications text Culture, Communication and Dependency, makes reference to this particular point:

While the Innis inheritance has been associated with the "discovery" of the geographical unity of Canada, his [Innis'] work in fact provides many important insights into the structure of Canadian regionalism. It is especially valuable in the area in which the new regionalism is quite weak -- the historical relationship between the regions of Canada and the Canadian nation-state. The unity of Canada, Innis argued, was not tied to the physical features of the land, but to a way certain features of landscape could be used in relation to an economic enterprise. Other types of enterprise could lead to different "geographical" configurations. Boundaries -- whether national or regional -- were not "in the land" but rather tied to

the character of a staple production. Furthermore, Innis stressed the way economic and social systems developed in relation to metropolitan centres of capital and enterprise, and how the metropolitan centres were able to control the character of the social, political, and economic development in their hinterlands."<sup>12</sup>

Liora Salter has also stressed this point. Distribution systems facilitated the control of the centre over a new hinterland. In her article "The Underpinnings of Bias: Content and Control in Media Systems," she elaborates on how this applies to communication systems, especially relating this to the mass communication systems and radio and television.<sup>13</sup> That this was also true with books and newspapers is of significance in the development of communications theory and the study of early systems and their effects needs to be more closely examined.

A fourth major conclusion of this study is that the publishers themselves deserve special attention in the examination of the publishing industry. Some attention has been paid to this in recent studies and in the emphasis on the need for a national industry rather than a branch-plant industry. This study provides further support for that theory, but it also suggests that the particular biases and emphasis of particular individuals who have control of communications industries can strongly influence history.

An examination of the books and publishers of the time (and of the suggestions that there are inter-relationships between books, magazines and newspapers in the time) shows that the individuals involved were

powerful influences socially and politically. Several of the publishers examined in this thesis either were or became powerful political figures. Several publishers were influential in the decision to join or not join confederation. The interplay of whether they were powerful because they controlled the presses or whether they controlled the presses because they were powerful deserves more study.

The thesis can only touch on the whole role of publishers as "gate-keepers." Few histories of any Canadian publishing houses exist, with the exception of an overview of The Ryerson Press done in 1954<sup>14</sup> and an autobiography by John Morgan Gray, a former head of Macmillan of Canada, done in 1979.<sup>15</sup> This study offers a few suggestions on why publishers bring out the books they choose to bring out, although this is often considered to be a highly personal decision. It also shows that publishers often support books that are not economically viable, and this would have implications for contemporary communications studies and for the support of Canadian literature.

The role of "gate-keepers" is gaining some attention and some studies are being made in this area in other fields in contemporary communications studies, such as the influence of the Thompsons or the Southams on the newspaper chains, of John Bassett on various media and sports enterprises, and of Ted Rogers or Jim Pattison on the broadcasting and cablevision industries. A careful examination of the influences of publishers in the past might reveal some patterns that would be useful in examining the roles of power in the various communications industries today.

This study indicates that the individuals involved in the early newspaper and book publishing circles in early British Columbia -- David Higgins, Amor De Cosmos, Alfred Waddington, to name only a few -- were also enormously powerful within the colony and were also elected to the colonial and provincial, and even to the national, governing bodies. The relationship between their powerful roles and their control over a part of the communications industry deserves more study.

The final conclusion of this study is that this examination of regional publishing in its early days offers a fruitful field for relevant further studies. It suggests several areas where more research should be done. For example:

1. If there is a dearth of studies into Canadian publishing and publishers, then there is even less on publishing in the regions, and these should be done. Some information on the early days of book publishing in the Maritimes, which is the cradle of all Canadian publishing, is available, but except for information about the "first book" in a region the general information there is also sketchy in the extreme. Studies on publishing on the Prairies and, until now, in British Columbia, are non-existent.

2. Certainly, the role of regionally published books as one of the main sources of information in 19th-century British Columbia was enormously important. Few communications texts seem to grant this. This study suggests there is a counter-balancing role of books and newspapers on major issues -- both in the past and in the present. Interestingly, a publisher, such as David Higgins of the Colonist, might be responsible

for printing a book that opposed a stand taken by himself and his newspaper. In this overview, I did not find enough material to suggest the reasons behind the decision to spread not only his own view but that of his opponents; several reasons suggest themselves, such as the economic, the desire to please powerful potential supporters who might not see eye to eye with him in his stand or an innate belief that if people knew both sides of a question they would still support his views. This would be another good area for research.

3. Certain aspects of regional publishing are economically viable and assist in the development of printing, binding and other associated industries. The "spin-off" from the publication of books in terms of benefits to these other industries needs a great deal of further research. It is not possible to make a definite conclusion from the material available in this thesis because virtually no information could be uncovered about the actual costs of producing, distributing and paying royalties on any of the books described. However, further historical research could be done on individual publishers. As well, this kind of study should be carried into the present day.

4. Publishing was important in British Columbia during the 1800s for other than economic reasons. Some of these, which vary from book to book as was seen in the earlier chapters, include political, social or personal reasons. General reading suggests that this conclusion may also be valid in terms of today's publishers as well as of those in the 19th century and this would be an area for further research.

5. Certain regional happenings are reported only in the regional media and commented upon in depth only in regionally published books. The history of the province in a textbook for schools, such as that published by Cogswell in 1893, is one major example. Another is the special interest in the Behring Sea Arbitrations, a matter that was of almost complete indifference to the central Canadian government, but the subject of considerable regional interest -- and a couple of regional books. General reading suggests that this deserves further study in the present day. For example, recently British Columbia publishers issued books on the voyages of Captain James Cook and especially on his visits to this western coast. It is unlikely that publishers in central Canada would be interested in bringing out these books, although they apparently did well in nation-wide sales. These aspects as well as those mentioned in the thesis reveal a need for much further study in the area.

6. Books served a role as a competitive media to newspapers during the 19th century. While several instances of this are noted in the earlier chapters of this thesis, this would seem an area where further research is essential and where those concerned about the role of inter-related media today might find profitable precedents.

7. The influence of books on political leaders and their effects on election campaigns and referenda -- both past and present -- is another area for fruitful study suggested by this thesis. As well, an examination of the interplay between various media (newspapers,



magazines, books, pamphlets and, later, radio and television) as a system of checks and balances is needed. Is it of such importance that a city have several newspapers when it has a variety of independent radio and television stations also available locally? Did a strong regional printing industry allow the publication of books that would serve once again as a balance in a one-newspaper town? Do books play a similar role today? Do books serve as a means to focus attention on a problem area?

8. This study covered only 42 years, the period from 1858 until the end of the century. The same kind of material should be collected for the next period, from 1900 onward, and the conclusions that are suggested here tested in light of further data.

This study illustrates that an examination of all books as a means of communication in an area is essential, not just the literary ones or the best-sellers. Regional book publishing's essential role in the history of communications has not been adequately explored.

Major studies now are needed on publishing in other provinces or regions of Canada to show how the rise of regional publishing is tied to economic growth, how it interacts with local politics, how it serves as a focus for community action, and so on and on. The history of book publishing could provide some important background to the whole question of regional versus national identity. Furthermore, the field of book publishing, perhaps more than the field of newspapers, seems to shed some interesting light on the whole area of centre-hinterland relations.

The main contribution of this study must be the accumulation of information about the early books and the beginning of a collection of facts about the B.C. publishing industry. Much more needs to be done, of course. However, this thesis shows that a study of regional publishing can provide information valuable to the general body of knowledge about communications.

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## Appendix I

## A Checklist of B.C. Imprints

1858-1899  
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This chronological checklist of imprints from British Columbia (including the former colonies of Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia) books, pamphlets and documents is excerpted and adapted mainly from A Bibliography of British Columbia: Vol. I -- Laying the Foundations 1848-1899, by Barbara J. Lowther (Victoria, University of Victoria, 1968). In addition, a few other imprints have been added and some alterations made in some listings based on examination of original sources and other documents. Those marked with an asterisk are identified in Appendix II as "trade book;" they are not always listed there in same form or order.

Proclamation by His Excellency James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver's Island, and its Dependencies; Vice Admiral of the Same, etc., etc., etc. Victoria, Printed at the Vancouver Island Gazette Office, 1858.

- \* Order in Council Constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island and Rules of Practice and Forms to be used therein. Victoria, Victoria Gazette, 1858.
- \* Waddington, Alfred. The Fraser Mines Vindicated; or, The History of Four Months. Victoria, Printed by P. de Garro, 1858.
- \* [Waddington, Alfred Penderill.] The Necessity of Reform: A tract for the times, addressed to the colonists of Vancouver Island by one of the people. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1859.
- \* [Batterton, J.H.] Facts and Acts: What has been done and what is going on in British Columbia; a letter to the people of British Columbia, by one of themselves. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.

Act of Incorporation of the British Columbia and Victoria Steam Navigation Company, Limited, incorporated February 1860.  
Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.

Church of England. Form of Consecration of a New Church in the Diocese of Columbia and Vancouver, 1860. Victoria, Printed by George E. Nias & Co. [n.d.]

The Dashaway Association No. 15 (Victoria). Constitution and By-laws. Victoria, Printed by Amor de Cosmos at the Colonist Office. [1860?]

- \* Mallandaine, Edward. First Victoria Directory; Comprising a general directory of citizens, also an official list, list of voters, postal arrangements and notices of trades and professions, preceded by a synopsis of the commercial progress of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Victoria, E. Mallandaine & Co., 1860. Also new editions 1868, 1869, 1871, 1874.
- Freemasons. By-laws of Victoria Lodge No. 1085, English Registry, F. and A.M. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.
- [Gosset, William Driscoll.] Elementary Rules for the Guidance of Officers entrusted with Expenditure of Public Money. [New Westminster, Royal Engineers' Press, 1860?]
- [Hills, George.] The "Occasional Paper"; two letters from the Bishop of Columbia to the Rev. E. Cridge and Bishop Demers. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.
- New Westminster. By-laws of the Municipal Council of the City of New Westminster. New Westminster, Printed at the Office of the "New Westminster Times," 1860.
- Pearse, B.J. General Report on the Country round Nanaimo. [Victoria? 1860?]
- Skewton, Lady Lavinia. [Pseud.] The "Occasional Paper"; one letter from the Honorable Lady Lavinia Skewton, London, to the Lord Bishop of Columbia. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860.
- Waddington, Alfred. Judicial Murder. [Victoria, 1860.]
- Wells, Oliver. General Report on the Cowichan Valley. [Victoria? 1860.]
- Gosset, W. Driscoll. Industrial Exhibition; circular addressed to the inhabitants of British Columbia. New Westminster, Printed at the R.E. Camp by Corporal R. Wolfenden, 1861.
- \* Sparshott, E.C. A Military Manual of Infantry Drill, including the manual and platoon exercises, designed for the use of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the volunteer forces of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. [New Westminster?] Printed for the compiler, 1861.

Victoria. Tiger Engine Company No. 2. Constitution and By-laws.  
Victoria, Printed for the Company, 1861.

[Rules and Regulations of the] Victoria, V.I. Jockey Club. Victoria,  
Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1861.

Constitution of the Victoria Literary Institute. Victoria, Printed at  
the Office of the "Daily Press," 1861.

Bentinck Arm and Fraser River Road Company, Limited. Prospectus.  
Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1862.

\* Dictionary of Indian Tongues, containing most of the words and terms  
used in the Tshimpsean, Hydah, & Chinook, with their meaning or  
equivalent in the English language. Victoria, Published by Hibben  
& Carswell, 1862. Also new edition 1865.

\* Forbes, Charles. Prize Essay; Vancouver Island, its resources and  
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## Appendix II

"Trade Books" Published in British Columbia: 1858-1899

The following is a chronological, annotated list of early B.C.-published works identified as "trade books" for this thesis. (See Appendix I for full list of British Columbia imprints.)

A. Pre-Confederation Period: 1858-1870

Great Britain. Privy Council. Order in Council Constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island and rules of practice and forms to be used therein. Victoria, Victoria Gazette, 1858. vii, 74, v pp. 14 by 8 inches (36 x 20 cm.) Paper wrappers. [Not available.]

This 86-page government document was the first book produced in what is now the province of British Columbia. It was advertised for sale. Copies of this first edition are not available, but another edition was produced in 1865. (See also 1865 note.)

Waddington, Alfred [Penderill]. The Fraser Mines Vindicated: or, The History of Four Months. Victoria, Printed by P. de Garro, 1858. 49 pp. on 50 pp. 6 3/4 by 4 3/4 inches (17 x 12 cm.). Dark grey paper covers. 50 Cents.

The first non-government trade book published in the colony and therefore considered by some to be the first "true" book from the colony. Lowther notes that two issues were printed, judging from errata notes attached; it is possible, however, that corrections were made and noted during the "run."

[Waddington, Alfred Penderill.] The Necessity of Reform: A tract for the times, addressed to the colonists of Vancouver Island by one of the people. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1859. 12 pp. 11 3/4 by 8 inches (30 x 20 cm.). White [?] paper wrappers [photocopy seen].

Only 12 pages, this was nevertheless a critique of government comparable to many contemporary books.

[Batterton, J. H.] Facts and Acts: What has been done and what is going on in British Columbia; A letter to the people of British Columbia,

by one of themselves. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860. 16 pp. 7 by 5 inches (17 x 12.5 cm.). Paper wrappers. 25 Cents.

Although only 16 pages, this would surely constitute a trade book of the period; it was sold through the bookstores.

Mallandaine, Edward. First Victoria Directory; Comprising a general directory of citizens, also an official list, list of voters, postal arrangements and notices of trades and professions, preceded by a synopsis of the commercial progress of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Victoria, E. Mallandaine & Co., March 1860. (Printed on the Steam Presses of the Commercial Printing Establishment, 129 Sansome St., San Francisco.) viii, 84, 57 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15.5 cm.). Pale pink paper wrappers. Advertising on covers and next six pages. Title page is the first white page.

This was the first of several regular directories and was a commercial directory. The first 84 pages of text (also interspersed with ads) were on the British colonies; the final 57 pages on San Francisco, which was the nearest trading partner. Hibben and Carswell and J.F. Herre, booksellers, Victoria, and J.J. Lecount, bookseller, San Francisco, are listed below the publisher on the title page. The book was copyright in California. Advertisements abounded. Final pages of ads are on green and yellow paper. (See also 1868, 1869, 1871, 1874.)

Sparshott, E.C. A Military Manual of Infantry Drill, including the manual and platoon exercises, designed for the use of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the volunteer forces of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. [New Westminster?] Printed for the compiler, 1861. viii, 103 pp. 7 1/4 by 4 3/4 inches (18 x 12 cm.). Paper covers.

A military book and probably the first book published in the mainland colony of British Columbia.

Dictionary of Indian Tongues, containing most of the words and terms used in the Tshimpsean, Hydah, & Chinook, with their meaning or equivalent in the English language. Victoria, Published by Hibben & Carswell, 1862. 15 pp. on 16 pp. 7 1/2 by 5 inches (19 x 15 cm.). Grey-paper cover. 1 advertisement.

The first "dictionary" produced in the area. This highly successful book was reproduced and reprinted many times. (See also 1865, 1871 and 1887.)

Forbes, Charles. Prize Essay; Vancouver Island, its resources and capabilities as a new colony. [Victoria.] The Colonial

Government, 1862. [Printed at the "Daily Press Office," Victoria, Vancouver Island.] 81 pp. text on 82 pp. 7 1/2 by 5 inches (19 x 13 cm.). Dark blue, soft paper covers.

This was a government-produced document intended for sale and general distribution partly to encourage immigration and settlement; it was essentially to promote the colony. It was a prize essay and the prize offered for the winning manuscript was 50 Pounds.

[British Columbia. Governor.] Rules and Regulations issued in conformity with the Gold Field Act, 1859. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1860 [i.e. 1863] 12 pp. 5 1/4 by 4 inches (13 x 10 cm.). Paper covers.

This was a commercial edition of a government document; it was issued because such information was generally sought by miners and others and is dated on the final page February 24, 1863.

Brown, R.C. Lundin. British Columbia: An Essay. New Westminster, Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, 1863. 97 pp. text on 98 pp. 7 3/4 by 5 1/4 inches (20 x 14 cm.). Dark blue, soft paper covers.

This was the winning essay for the mainland colony and was similar to the Forbes essay issued on the Island in 1862. It, too, was a government document, but intended for some trade sales.

Howard, Frederick P. and Barnett, George. The British Columbian and Victoria Guide and Directory for 1863. Victoria, Office of the British Columbian and Victoria Directory, [No. 23, Yates Street] 1863. (Printed in San Francisco). 216 pp. 9 by 6 inches (24 x 15 cm.). Paper covers. First 46 pp. are advertisements, then ads are spaced throughout with the final 9 pp. ads also.

Another directory similar to Mallandaine's, this one contained many more pages of advertising. Directories would have proven to be economically viable.

Palmer, H. Spencer. British Columbia: Williams Lake and Cariboo: Report on portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts, and on the Fraser River from Fort Alexander to Fort George. New Westminster, Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, 1863. iv, 25 pp. with 3 maps inc. 2 folding maps. 9 1/2 inches by 6 inches (25 x 15 cm.). White paper [?] wrappers [photocopy examined].

This government/military document likely was of public interest and apparently was sold as well as distributed. These areas were of concern because of the proposed roads, eventual railroads and growth of the areas. A second issue was made the same year (see next item).

Palmer, H. Spencer. British Columbia: Williams Lake and Cariboo: Report on portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts, and on the Fraser River from Fort Alexander to Fort George. New Westminster, Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, 1863. iv, 25 pp. with 3 folding maps. Slightly smaller in size than the previous issue. See previous note.

Palmer, H. Spencer. Report of a journey of survey from Victoria to Fort Alexander, via the North Bentinck Arm. New Westminster, Printed at the Royal Engineer Press, 1863. 30 pp. with 2 folding maps. 9 1/4 by 6 inches (25 x 15 cm.). White paper [?] wrappers. [Photocopy seen.]

Again, this report was of great public interest. It determined the route to the Cariboo. [Some sources cite another issue with only one map, but this change may have had to do with binding.]

Sinnett, Charles, and Palmer, H.S. (eds.). The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle. New Westminster, Printed by John Robson at the office of the "British Columbian," 1863. 68 pp. Illustrated (fold-out map; engravings). 12 by 9 inches (30 x 21 cm.). Blue paper covers.

This book was printed in a limited edition mainly for the soldiers of the Royal Engineers and their families. The original had been hand-written and read out on the voyage out from England. The last page is a fold-out map.

Park, Joseph. A Practical View of the Mining Laws of British Columbia. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1864. xii, 64, 1xv-1xx pp. 6 by 4 inches (10 x 15 cm.). Yellow paper covers. Advertisements, including some tipped-in ad inserts.

An important trade book, non-fiction, that would have been of considerable interest to miners and others.

[Brown, Robert.] Vancouver Island: Exploration, 1864. Victoria, Vancouver Island, Printed by authority of the Government, by Harries and Company, [1865]. [Title taken from cover; opening page uses the title Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition 1864, but this is not a title page.] 28 pp. plus wrappers. Roughly 9 by 5 1/2 inches (23 x 14.5 cm.). Apparently white paper wrappers of same quality as text pages [Xerox copy examined.]

Brown (1842-1895) was a government agent who led a government-sponsored expedition into the interior and north of Vancouver Island in the hope of finding suitable farmland for settlement and possible gold location. The report of the 12-man expedition is a descriptive narrative of the trip, but it contained information that led to gold mining on the Leech River (named after Peter John Leech, astronomer and second-in-command to Brown on the expedition). It was a document of much local and political interest at the time.

Dictionary of Indian Tongues, containing most of the words and terms used in the Tshimpsean, Hydah, & Chinook, with their meaning or equivalent in the English language. Victoria, Published by Hibben & Carswell, 1865. 14 pp. 6 1/4 by 4 1/4 inches (16 x 11 cm.). Grey paper cover. 1 advertisement on back cover.

A re-arrangement of the material that appeared in the 1862 edition.

Great Britain. Privy Council. Order in Council constituting the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island and rules of practice and forms to be used Therein. [2nd edition]. Victoria, Vancouver Printing and Publishing Company, 1865. vi, 90, v pp. 7 by 5 inches (17.5 x 12.5 cm.). Paper wrappers.

A second printing, with additional material (essentially a second edition) of the first book (government document) produced in the colony. (See 1858 notes.)

Anderson, James. Sawney's Letters; or, Cariboo Rhymes. [Barkerville, Cariboo Sentinel, 1866.] 1 p. "letter-size" sheet [?] [Not available.]

This very first edition of what is recognized as B.C.'s first literary work was published as a broadside for miners to mail home. It was advertised in the Sentinel, July 30, 1866. No copies are known to exist.

Waddington, Alfred [Penderill]. Overland Communication by Land and Water through British North America; June 1867. Victoria, Higgins, Long & Co., printers, 1867. 22 pp. 8 1/4 by 4 1/4 inches (21 x 11 cm.). White paper wrappers.

This was the first of several books published in B.C. to advocate a railway across Canada. It recommended use of the Yellowhead Pass and a westerly terminus at the head of Bute Inlet, which would have been a better terminus for an eventual bridge between the BC mainland and the Island. Waddington later brought out two Ottawa editions (1869 and 1871) of similar sketches for proposed cross-Canada lines.

Anderson, James. Sawney's Letters; or, Cariboo Rhymes, from 1864-1868. [Barkerville, Cariboo Sentinel,] 1868. A 4-page folder. 9 inches by 7 inches (23 x 18 cm.) Folded newsprint.

This is generally considered the first piece of literary work produced in B.C. Note that this 1868 edition is the second of Sawney's Letters. Even this second edition (1868) is rare. A fire in the Sentinel offices destroyed most copies. The copy in the Provincial Archives has a hand-sewn linen cover, apparently applied by the first owner. See also 1869.



Coleman, E.T. Prize Essay and Poem of the Literary Institute, Victoria, V.I., on the Beauties of the Scenery Surveyed from Beacon Hill. Victoria, J.E. McMillan, printer, Morning News Office, 1868. 15 pp. in 16 pp. signature. 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (21 x 14 cm.). Paper covers [?] [Only known copy does not have covers.]

Coleman was the librarian for the Mechanics Literary Institute.

Harnett, Legh. Two Lectures on British Columbia. Victoria, Higgins & Long, 1868. 50 pp. 7 1/2 by 6 inches (20 x 15 cm.). Soft grey-paper cover.

Legh Harnett is listed in the 1868 Victoria Directory as "sub-editor, British Colonist." These apparently were speeches delivered locally.

Malandaine, Edward. First Victoria Directory, Second Issue, and British Columbia Guide. Comprising a General Directory of Business-Men and Householders in Victoria and the Districts with full lists of Every Important District in the Colony, Also an Official List, & c., & c., with Prefatory Remarks on the Commercial and Political Prospects of the Colony. Victoria, V. I., Published by E. Mallandaine, April MDCCCLXVIII. [Note below publisher: "To be obtained of T.N. Hibben & Co., and D. Spencer, Victoria, U.I.; A. Roman & Co., Bookseller, Agent, Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Cal., and all Booksellers."] 82, ii pp. [back 2 pp ads for San Francisco merchants.] Only Microfilm copy available. Size roughly 8 1/2 by 5 inches (22 x 13 cm.).

Anderson, James. Sawney's Letters, or Cariboo Rhymes. [Barkerville, Cariboo Sentinel, 1869.] 24 pp., 6 1/2 by 4 inches (16 x 10 cm.). Apparently had paper wrapper, but cover is missing on the copy in the Provincial Archives and a special leather binding has been applied, probably at a later date.

This third new edition of this volume indicates that popularity of such works produced locally. Apparently most copies were purchased in Barkerville by miners and sent to their home areas. This edition also very rare. [See also 1868.] A 49-page edition was produced in Toronto in 1895.

British Columbia. Legislative Council. Debate on the Subject of Confederation with Canada. (Reprint from the Government Gazette Extraordinary of March, 1870.) Victoria, Printed by Richard Wolfenden, Government Printer, at the Government Printing Office, James' Bay, [n.d.]. 160 pp. 10 by 8 inches (25 x 20 cm.). Some Red leather bound; others with cardboard and marbled paper. Cover title: Debates on Confederation, 1870, Legislative Council.

Flowered endpapers. Apparently issued May, 1870.

This was first printed as part of the regular government printing of documents, but was printed for public sale and use after the topic became of great public interest. This same edition was also reprinted in 1912. The copies contain a small erratum sheet tipped in between pages 2 and 3 of the second debate.

Other copies bound in red leather with flowered endpapers are available in some collections. These may have been specially bound by the government printer or they may be specially bound now for the collections of which they form a part.

Cridge, Edward. "Spiritualism", or, Modern Necromancy: A sermon with preface and notes. Victoria, Printed by Higgins, 1870. 12 pp.

This special little pamphlet may have been commissioned by Cridge himself or by the Church. It was apparently sold through stores. Cridge is an important figure and one who used the publication of his ideas to inform widely.

Claudet, F[rancis]. G[eorge]. "Gold, its properties, modes of extraction, value &, &." New Westminster, Printed at the office of the "Mainland Guardian," 1871. 32, ii pp. 6 by 3 3/4 inches (9 x 15 cm.). Brown, stiff paper wrappers with decorative border. 50 cents.

This was an important book prepared by the official government assayer and would have been most useful to miners.

A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon; or Indian trade language of the North Pacific Coast. Victoria, "Published by T. N. Hibben & Co.," [1871]. 29 pp. 8 1/4 by 5 1/4 inches (21 x 13 cm.). Grey paper cover. Advertisements on back covers.

A new edition of the highly successful book that had been in print since 1862. This was a new edition of the earlier Hibben dictionary (see 1862) that had proved itself so valuable and such a good seller. Lowther says that at least 12 other printings of this book were done between 1875 and 1906. A full study on just this book should be made, but at least one other separate edition was printed and is included separately in this list (see 1887).]

Mallandaine, Edward. First Victoria Directory Third Issue and British Columbia Guide Comprising a General Directory of Business-Men and Householders in Victoria and the Districts with full lists of Every Important District in the Colony, Also an Official List &c., & c., with Preface and Statistics 1871. Victoria, V. I., Published by E. Mallandaine, MDCCCLXXI. [Note below publisher reads: "To be obtained of T.N. Hibben & Co., and D. Spencer, Victoria, V.I., and

Booksellers in Toronto and Montreal."]  
vi, x, 96, iv pp. 8 1/2 by 5 inches (21 x 13 cm.). ? Covers may  
be missing. White paper wrappers. [no color sheets].  
Advertisements.

Note: Vancouver Public Library copy has note that this should have  
been the 4th issue.

B. Early Confederation Years: 1871-1887

Anderson, Alexander Caulfield. The Dominion at the West: A brief description of the Province of British Columbia, its climate & resources. Victoria, Printed by Richard Wolfenden, Government Printer, 1872. iv, 112, xlii pp. 8 1/4 by 5 inches (21 x 13 cm.) Soft blue paper wrappers.

This was the government prize essay for the combined province published in 1872. Anderson, who was a prolific writer, had been a fur trader and scholar and was then a justice of the peace. This, like the earlier government essays, was awarded after a competition and would have been used to attract settlers as well as being sold in the new province and, possibly, in other parts of Canada.

Lane, Charles C. The mining laws of British Columbia contrasted with those of other countries. Victoria, Printed at the British Colonist Office, 1873. 13 pp. 8 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 14.5 cm.). Grey(?) paper wrappers [Xerox copy examined].

This was likely a privately-sponsored publication. Lane wanted the "Gold Mining Ordinance of 1865" repealed and a new, more liberal law passed in its place.

[Wilson, Wm.] The Dominion of Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Victoria, Rose & Pottinger, 1874. 42 pp. & covers. 8 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 14.5 cm.). Yellow paper wrappers, also some white wrappers.

A private enterprise book supporting confederation but angry at the failure of the federal government to press for the railway's completion.

Mallandaine, Edward. First Victoria Directory, Fifth Issue, and British Columbia Guide, Comprising a General Directory of Business Men and Householders in Victoria with full lists of every important distinction the Province, Also an Official List, & c., & c., with Preface and Statistics 1874. Victoria, B.C., Published by E. Mallandaine, MDCCCLXXIV. [Note below publisher: "To be obtained of T.N. Hibben & Co., and All Booksellers."] viii, [ads] xii [preface notes], iv [ads], 104, vi [ads, inc. tipped-in color sheet] pp. 8 1/2 by 5 inches (22 x 13 cm.). White paper wrappers with ads. Title page way in. May have been rebound. Index pasted onto back of title page. Many ads.

This was the last of the Victoria Directories in this series. (See 1860, 1868, 1869, 1871.)

Cridge, Edward. Trial of the Very Reverend Edward Cridge, Rector and Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria; documents, evidence,

correspondence, and judgements, as used and given in the Bishop's Court, and in the Supreme Court of the province before the Hon. Chief Justice Begbie. Victoria, Printed at the Victoria Standard Office, 1875. 61, viii [1] pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Yellow paper wrappers.

Cridge was a popular churchman who had been active in the life of the colony from its earliest days and who was a prolific writer and speaker. He had a falling out with his superiors in the Church and was being forced out. This was a report on the public "trial" during which Cridge was accused of "spiritualism" and the Church asked that he be prohibited from preaching. This then went to a second printing later the same year (see immediately below).

Cridge, Edward. Trial of the Very Reverend Edward Cridge, Rector and Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria; documents, evidence, - correspondence and judgments, as used and given in the Bishop's Court, and in the Supreme Court of the province, before the Hon. Chief Justice Begbie, an application [sic] for injunction on 24th Oct. 1874, and final judgment of Mr. Justice Gray on 18 May 1875. [Second edition] Victoria, Printed at the Victoria Standard Office, 1875. 61, viii, 9 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Yellow paper wrappers.

This edition had the slightly longer title and the addenda showing Mr. Justice Gray's comments.

Guide to the province of British Columbia for 1877-78. Victoria, T.N. Hibben & Co., publisher, 1877. xii, 410 pp. (with illustrated adverts pages 375-410) 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (22 x 14 cm.). Apparently green leather/bound board binding originally [Copy seen has been re-bound.] Tipped-in correction of partial list of names between pp. 316-317.

This large volume was a very complete guide book to the province and would certainly have been valuable to anyone planning to move to the new province, especially if the person wished to set up a business. It offered full reports on the mines operating at the time, on all the business and on many of the laws. This edition also offered Hibben's most recent edition of the Dictionary of Chinook Jargon (pp. 222-249) plus an example of "The Lord's Prayer in Jargon." (p. 150) and directory information.

Opinions of the English Press on the British Columbia Railway Question. Victoria, Victoria "Standard" Print, 1877. 12 pp. 8 by 5 1/4 inches (20 x 13 cm.). Soft blue paper wrappers.

These were reprints of articles from the British newspapers mainly showing support for the Railway. It was probably issued by the Standard newspaper and would have offered additional comment on a political question, just as contemporary books do.

Tolmie, Wm. Fraser. Canadian Pacific Railway Routes; the Bute Inlet and Esquimalt Route No. 6 and the Fraser Valley and Burrard Inlet Route No. 2, compared as to the advantages afforded by each to the Dominion and to the Empire. Victoria, Colonist Steam Presses, 1877. ii, 16 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Purple paper wrappers.

This book was mainly a reprint of his letters to the Colonist on the CPR routes over the preceding six months. Tolmie was a well-known Victoria scholar, doctor and political figure.

Nuttall, Reginald. British Columbia; its present condition and future policy. Victoria, M'Millan & Son, Printers, Fort Street, 1878. 13 pp. in 16 pp. signature. 8 by 5 1/2 inches (20 x 13 cm.). Green, soft-paper wrappers with decorative border. Copy in Provincial Archives marked, "May be had from the Stationers for 25 Cents."

This was another of the publications advocating withdrawal from Confederation if construction on the Railway did not proceed immediately. Reviewed in the Victoria Colonist Sept. 2, 1878 (p.2); the reviewer disagreed with some of Nuttall's comments but advocated purchase. Nuttall was a land and commission agent in the Victoria area.

Good, J.B. A Vocabulary and Outlines of Grammar for the Nitalakapamuk, or Thompson tongue (the Indian language spoken between Yale, Lillooet, Cache Creek and Nicola Lake) together with a phonetic Chinook dictionary, adapted for use in the province of British Columbia. Victoria, Printed at the St. Paul's Mission Press (S.P.C.K.) Collegiate School, 1880. 46 pp. 8 1/4 by 5 1/2 inches (21 x 14 cm.). Pink or blue paper wrappers.

This Church document was likely intended mainly for Mission use but was also sold. The sales likely would have raised funds for the Mission, but the work would also have been of use to traders, miners or others living in the area and working with the Indians. The book was also an important historical and archival record of the languages of the time, and these linguistic matters were gaining scholarly importance in European centres.

Jenns, E.A. Evening to Morning and Other Poems. Victoria, Published by T.N. Hibben & Co., MDCCCLXXX. ii, 33, iii pp. 6 by 4 inches (15 x 10 cm.). Various covers: blue or green hardcover, or red leather, with gold decoration, various colored endpapers.

This collection of poetry was the first major literary collection (other than that by Anderson) produced in British Columbia. Jenns worked on the production himself. It was reviewed in 1895 in The Province (magazine) and was apparently still then available in stores.

The British Columbia Directory for the Years 1882-83. Victoria, B.C., R.T. Williams, Publisher, 1882. xxxvi (ads), 402 pp. (main), 26 pp. (Anderson's Appendix). 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Grey covers with advertising.

A first volume of an annual directory that continues to this day. Various titles were used for these. Williams issued nine volumes in all before a new publisher became involved.

Chittenden, Newton H. Settlers, prospectors, and tourists guide, or Travels through British Columbia. Victoria, [n.p.], 1882. 84 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Blue paper wrappers. Advertisements on inside covers, back cover and page one, plus a few inside the text portion. [Printing appears to be work of The Colonist.]

Chittenden was a traveller and lecturer who stayed a while in the area. The book was reviewed in the Daily Colonist, Dec. 28, 1882, in which the reviewer called it "on the whole a very credible production" and recommended it "for old residents as well a new."

Anderson, Alexander Caulfield. A brief account of the province of British Columbia, its climate and resources. An appendix to the British Columbia directory, 1882-83. Victoria, Published by R.T. Williams, 1883. iii, 33 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Stitched. Folding map (18 by 12 inches) tipped in. Some copies contain plates. Brown paper cover. Orange ad for T.N. Hibben pasted into copies in Provincial Archives [may have been done in the Hibben store].

This was a separately-published copy of material that was also included in the British Columbia Directory (mentioned above). This would likely have enjoyed a wider sale than the whole directory for it would be useful for newcomers to the area, particularly those intending to go into business during the booming years in anticipation of the Railway. The large fold-out map uses color, with a proposed route for the Railway marked in red and the note "Railway Under Construction" added to the map.

Chittenden, Newton H. Official Report of the Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands for the Government of British Columbia. Victoria, Printed by Authority of the Government, 1884. 32 pp. 9 1/2 by 7 inches (24 x 17 cm.). Illustrated. Contains eight engravings from photographs, which have been tipped in. Green paper cover -- no ads.  
[NOT IN LOWTHER.]

Chittenden (see above) was commissioned by the Provincial Government to carry out an expedition into the Queen Charlottes. The report, which was intended for sale to the public, is an

excellent and interesting descriptive book. Exerpts of the material in the book appeared as Progress Reports in the magazine Resources of British Columbia (June 1, 1884, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 7-9, and September 1, 1884, Vol. 2, No. 7, pp. 4-6). The photographs were taken by Hannah Maynard; these were done into engravings by Moss Engraving Co. in New York from the photographs.

This is among the first, if not the first British Columbia book to contain such illustration (the previously mentioned Directory contained some, but this Report may have appeared earlier in the year); local magazines had been "illustrated" since the preceeding year.

The Colonist Annual for the Year 1885 with Genuine Illustrations on Wood, Chiefly by Darley, Moran, Gibson, Schell, Hogan, and other celebrated American artists. Victoria, British Columbia. Published by D. W. Higgins, [1884?] 24 pp. 7 3/4 by 5 inches (20 x 13 cm.) Heavy, white paper cover with color lithography on the front cover.

[NOT IN LOWTHER]

This beautifully-done little book was apparently intended to show the advances in technology of the Colonist's new presses. The use woodcuts was disappearing about this time with the recent advances in metal engravings, but these were done with wood, and the detail is amazing. No information could be gathered for this thesis on how the woodcuts were obtained, but they may have been loaned from one newspaper to another around the country. The impressions for the Colonist Annual in the Provincial Archives do not show wear on the woodcuts.

Bull, William K[ing]. A lecture on the subject of "Current Events," delivered at the Mechanics' Literary Institute of Victoria, British Columbia, December 11th, 1883. Victoria, B.C., R.H. McMillan, Book and Job Printer, 1884. 19 pp. in 20 pp. signatures. 7 1/2 by 5 inches (19 x 12.5 cm.). Pale aqua paper wrappers, decorated border on cover, stitched.

Bull was an adventurer and rover who settled in Victoria for a time as a storekeeper, sometime auctioneer, and businessman. He was a prolific writer of letters-to-the-editors of local newspapers (of the John Bull variety) and was a figure in the local Mechanics Literary Institute. This collection may have been a joint effort of the Literary Institute, the local printer and Bull.

George, Henry. Scotland and Scotsmen. Victoria, Anti-Poverty Club. [1884?] 28 pp. including covers. 7 1/4 by 5 inches (18.5 x 13 cm.). Grey paper wrappers with portrait of author on cover. Stapled. Price on cover: "Ten Cents a Copy." Ads on inside front cover and last 4 pages.



Henry George was an American economist and travelling speaker who would have sold his publications to help raise money for his tours. The ads were mainly for publications of the "Anti-Poverty Club", which is listed as P.O. Box 1457, Victoria, B.C., Canada, but no other information could be found on this association.

Stevenson, E[ady]. Religion and Rum; or, The influence of religion on the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage. Victoria, Cohen & Salmon, 1885. 38 pp. 6 3/4 by 4 1/4 inches (17 x 10 cm.). Brown paper cover, separate. Price, 25¢.

This was a reprint of a lecture. Dr. Stevenson was a homeopathic surgeon; he and others might have financed this book as a "public service" pointing out the values of temperence.

Tolmie, William Fraser. Utilization of the Indians of British Columbia. Victoria, Munroe Miller, 1885. 9 pp. on 12 pp. Roughly 8 by 5 inches (20 x 13 cm.). Green paper cover with decorative border. The book was made with an 8-page folded signature with 4 pages tipped in, then covers added and stapled.

This was an expanded article on the health and social conditions of Indians in British Columbia; Tolmie was especially concerned with the high death rates. He describes better conditions of the Indians in the Washington Territory and calls for reforms. Portions of this also appeared in the monthly magazine The Resources of British Columbia (March 1883, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 2-4). A printer's imprint in the book reads: Victoria, B.C., Munroe Miller, Book and Job Printer, Johnson Street, 1885. Cover title varies slightly from this one from the title page.

Sharpe, J. Model Farming: A Science. [Victoria,] R.T. Williams, 1886. 28 pp. and covers. 8 1/2 by 5 3/4 inches (21.5 x 15 cm.). Mauve soft paper cover stitched 2- and 4-page signatures. Ads on inside front cover and back corner, also last two pages.

A book that describes improved farming and agriculture methods for the British Columbia area, particularly the Fraser Valley and the Victoria areas. Apparently privately arranged. No information available on Sharp.

Trout, P[eter] L[aird]. Prospector's Manual; being a full and complete history and description of the newly discovered mines on Granite Creek, etc. [Victoria, R.T. Williams], 1886. vi, 64, ii pp. plus ads on tip-ins. 8 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 14.5 cm.) Grey-green paper cover. Ads on all covers except front. Stitched.

A good example of the locally-produced books of the day. The publication was probably initiated by the author and/or a local

bookseller. The ads are all directed to miners. There is an ad by R.T. Williams tipped-in and Williams was likely the printer. Trout was a prospector for some 40 years and was one of the first into the Yukon for that gold rush.

Hibben, T.N. (ed.) A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon; or Indian Trade Language of the North Pacific Coast. Victoria, B.C. Stationery Co., Publishers, Government Street, 1887. 29 pp. on 32 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Beige heavy paper cover.

This was a new edition and printing of the earlier-mentioned Dictionary (see 1871). Note that Hibben now is listed as the editor and that the stationery store now is the publisher.

Picken, M. City of Vancouver, Terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway: British Columbia Hand Book. Vancouver, Daily News Office, (Feb.) 1887. 88 pp. 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (22 x 14 cm.). Pink paper cover. Fold-out map tipped in. Advertisements on bottom of cover and on pages 65 to 88.

This was probably the first book printed in Vancouver. It was a directory and guide to the city. Picken is listed in the B.C. Directory for 1887 as "an agent," although whether this is a land developer or a CPR agent is not clear.

The British Columbia Directory, containing a general directory of businessmen and householders in the principal cities and every important district, with provincial and dominion officials and general information about the province, 1887. Victoria, E. Mallandaine and R.T. Williams, 1887. x, 308 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.) [Has been rebound, cover unknown.] Advertisements throughout.

This represents the joining of forces by Mallandaine and Williams in the directory business.

C. A Booming End to the Century: 1888-1899

Henderson's Vancouver City Directory 1888. Vancouver, Henderson Directory Co., 1888. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Grey-green paper covers. Advertisements throughout, including covers.

This was the first of a series of editions from a new firm, Henderson's business directories. It contained a number of "improvements" over the previous directories, and eventually this firm took over the business from the others.

Vancouver City Directory 1888: Compiled for R.T. Williams, by Thomas Draper ... Victoria, R.T. Williams, Publisher, 1888. 84 pp plus ads. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Green Heavy paper covers. Advertisements throughout, including covers.

The beginning of the inter-city rivalry for directory business.

Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory ... 1889.

Victoria, Published by L.G. Henderson, 1889. 366 pp. 32 pp. Colored-paper ads at front. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). [Cover color unknown.] Advertisements throughout including covers.

Henderson expands to cover the province.

Oppenheimer, D. The Mineral Resources of British Columbia; Practical hints for capitalists and intending settlers ... Vancouver, News-Advertiser, 1889. 51 pp. plus 10 pp. ads. Paper wrappers in pink and mauve. City of Vancouver seal on cover and title page. 8 3/4 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 15 cm.). Imprint: "Vancouver, B.C.: News-Advertiser Manufacturing Stationers, Printers and Bookbinders, Cambie Street, 1889."

This book incorporated a 16-page pamphlet that had been published a year earlier based on Oppenheimer's inaugural address as mayor of Vancouver. This book also bears some relationship to the following:

Oppenheimer, D. Vancouver City, Its Progress and Industries, with Practical Capitalists and Intending Settlers. Vancouver, News-Advertiser, 1889. 64 pp. (inc. ads). Available only from Public Archives, Ottawa. Not seen.

Tate, Rev. C.M. Chinook as Spoken By the Indians of Washington Territory, British Columbia and Alaska ... Victoria, M.W. Waitt & Co., 1889. 47 pp. in 48 pp. signature. 6 1/2 by 4 inches (16 x 10 cm.). [shirt-pocket size]. Heavy white paper wrappers with

advertising on covers, including a border of advertising on the front cover. Stitched inside. Imprint shows: "Victoria, Jas. A. Cohen."

Waitt & Co. was a Victoria bookseller apparently trying to duplicate the success of Hibben's dictionaries. This is a true instance of a "publisher" rather than a printer. The book was apparently successful and was reprinted in Victoria by Thos. R. Cusack in 1914 and by Diggon's Ltd. in 1931.

Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer 1890 ... Vancouver, Victoria.  
Henderson Publishing Company, 1889. 643 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Grey-green paper covers. price: \$3.00.

From here on, Henderson's directories were published annually. In 1900, the two firms, Henderson's & Williams' become a joint production and these directories continue, under new owners however, to the present.

Gosnell, R.E. British Columbia: A digest of reliable information regarding its natural resources and industrial possibilities.  
Vancouver, News-Advertiser Printing and Publishing Company, 1890. 47 pp. in 48 pp. Pink paper wrappers. 8 by 5 inches (20 x 12 cm.). Ad for CPR on back cover but no other advertising.

Gosnell was a prolific writer, although mainly in journals. At the time of the publication of this book he was city editor for the News Advertiser. The book was an introduction to the city, with much information that would be valuable to commercial interests in the new city.

Kerr, J.B. Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians; With a historical sketch. Vancouver, Kerr & Begg, 1890. xxx, 326 pp. with 42 portraits. 8 1/2 by 5 inches] (22 x 13 cm.). Cover is leather-bound boards with gilt lettering. Blue end papers. Imprint advises "Printed and Bound by the News-Advertiser Printing and Publishing Co., Vancouver, B.C."

Both Kerr and Begg were involved in bookselling and printing enterprises mainly in Victoria, although the imprint for this book says Vancouver. This is one of the most beautiful of the books published in B.C. during this period.

Williams' British Columbia Directory 1891 ... compiled for R.T. Williams, Publisher ... by W.M. Halliday, Victoria, B.C. Victoria, B.C., Ellis & Co., "The Colonists," Printers and Publishers, 1890. 704 pp. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.).

Williams tries to keep up with the competition.

Williams' Victoria and Nanaimo Directory 1890. compiled for R.T. Williams, publisher, by Thomas Draper. Victoria, "The Colonist" Steam Printing House, 1890. 328 pp.

A smaller, local edition.

NOTE: From this time on, the directories become of less importance in the history of trade book publishing and I have stopped listing them as trade books as such. A new resource, the telephone lists, were appealing to the general public and the directories become more for a specialized business audience.

Corporation of the City of Victoria. Victoria Illustrated. Victoria, Ellis & Co., "The Colonist," 1891. 96 pp. illustrated. 12 by 9 1/2 inches (30 x 23 cm.). Black, cloth-covered board covers with silver printing on cover. Title on cover: Victoria: The Queen City. [Cover may have been applied later.]

This was an interesting commercial book, giving notes on businesses and local personalities. The next year a similar book was published in Toronto but was obviously a collection of advertisements for businesses and published solely to make money from the subscriptions from the businesses included rather than as a book for sale.

Finlayson, Roderick. Biography. [Victoria, n.p., 1891.] 27 pp. of text in 32 pp. signature, bound in thin, black, cloth-covered, mock-crocodile boards with yellow, flowered endpapers. 9 by 6 inches (22 x 15 cm.).

This is the life story of a senior officer of the Hudson Bay Company who worked Victoria from 1843 to his retirement in 1872. This appears to have been a privately printed and financed book. Little information is available about it.

Forester, Harry. Ocean Jottings from England to British Columbia, Being a record of a voyage from Liverpool to Vancouver's Island via the Straits of Magellan [in] the steamship "West Indian," and embracing scenes and incidents of the Chilean Revolution. Vancouver, Printed by the Telegram Printing and Publishing Co., 1891. 111 pp. in 116 pp. Beige paper wrappers. Approx. 8 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches (22 x 16 cm.). Contains some ads.

A "private enterprise" book, with the Telegram hoping to profit from one of the kinds of book that was popular that year. (See also W.H. Palmer and Wm. George below).

Natural History Society of British Columbia. Papers and Communications Read before the Natural History Society of British Columbia. Victoria, Jas. A. Cohen, 1891. 49 pp. text in 50 pp. illustrated. 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches (22 x 14 cm.). Grey paper wrappers with decorative border.

This may have been intended to be the first one of a regular serial publication but no others appeared, possibly because of cost factors. The book was put out by the History Society. Of particular interest is the inclusion of three tipped in sheets containing the illustrations; these were "Cyanotypes," a relatively inexpensive kind of photography that would allow the society to show scientific illustration. This is the only B.C. book of the 1800s to contain such illustrations. Reviewed in book column in The Province (magazine) in 1894.

Palmer, Wm. Harry. Pages from a Seaman's Log, Being the first 18 months of the cruise of the HMS Warspite in the Pacific. Victoria, Munroe Miller, Printer, Johnson Street, 1891. 64 pp., illus. 6 1/4 by 4 1/2 inches (16 x 11 cm.). Green paper-covered board covers with decorative borders. Flowered endpapers. Fold-out 9-by-15-inch (22.5 x 39 cm) illustration of a pencil sketch of various ships in harbour. Illus. done by Victoria Litho. Co., not dated. Lowther indicates some copies contain maps, but UBC copy does not show these. Cover title Cruise of the H.M.S. Warspite.

One of three books on sea-faring to come out in roughly the same period. Munroe Miller as printer/publisher was aiming at a (local) best-seller.

[Province of British Columbia.] British Columbia as a Field for Emigration and Investment. Victoria, Printed by Richard Wolfenden, 1891. 60 pp. in shocking pink paper wrappers. 8 1/2 by 5 inches (22 by 14 cm.). Back cover contains a "blurb" about the book itself, in the manner of today's books. Price 50 cents, according to note.

A government-sponsored document designed to promote settlement.

Turner, George H. Before the Council; or Social Life in Victoria. [Victoria, n.p.,] February 1891. 72 pp. illustrated (plates tipped in). 6 1/4 by 4 1/2 inches (16 x 11 cm.). Green paper wrappers.

Contained three signatures with a plate tipped in before the first and second signatures. Title page also separate. Price, on cover, 25 Cents.

Walker, W.J. Some Thoughts and Suggestions on Municipal Reform in British Columbia. New Westminster, Lewis & Greig, Book and Job

Printers, 1891. 16 pp. plus light grey wrappers (used a wrapping-type paper different from most wrappers). Cover had decorative border. 9 by 6 inches (22.5 x 15 cm.). Stitched. Uses two columns of text on pages and uses two sizes of type (small and crowded).

This appears to be a privately published book aimed mainly at promoting some government reforms and informing local citizens. Walker was a chartered accountant in New Westminster and chairman of the school board.

The Behring Sea Arbitration; Letters to The Times by its special correspondent, together with the Award. London: Wm. Clowes & Sons, Limited, 27, Fleet Street. Toronto: The Carswell Co. Ltd. Victoria, B.C.: T.N. Hibben & Co., and The Times Publishing Office, Printing House Square, London, 1893. 87 pp. text in 88 pp in six stitched signatures. 7 1/4 by 5 1/4 inches (18.5 x 13.5 cm.). Aqua-blue paper covers. Ad for The Times on back cover.

This is an interesting joint publishing venture, showing the world interest in the matter and the fact that local bookseller/publisher T.N. Hibben was involved in bringing it out. The main movement for publication probably came from London, with Hibben agreeing to take a certain number of copies.

Buel, J.W. America's Wonderlands; A pictorial and descriptive history of our country's scenic marvels as delineated by pen and camera. Vancouver, J.W. MacGregor Pubg. co., [1893]. 503 pp. in 520 illustrated pp. 12 by 9 inches (30 by 23 cm.). Leather boards with embossed cover and spine. Copyright in the USA in 1893. More than 500 illustrations, mainly from photographs. No Canadian content.

This is an example of another kind of "co-publishing" venture of the time. No information is available on J.M. MacGregor Pubg. Co., but it was likely only a local supplier who may possibly have stayed in the Vancouver/Victoria area only a short time. This may not truly belong among the "B.C. Books," but indicates the emphasis placed on a local contact; the book lists no other publisher although copies exist showing several various imprints.

Cogswell, O.H. History of British Columbia, Accepted for the use of schools. Victoria, The "Colonist" Presses, 1893. 101 pp. text in 104 pp. in six stitched signatures. 6 3/4 by 4 3/4 inches (17 x 12 cm.). Grey, soft paper cover.

This was the first textbook published in British Columbia and had at least tacit government support even if not totally government-sponsored. The book was also sold in bookstores and was reviewed in The Province (magazine) later.

Palmer, H.T. A Marvellous Experience; Containing light and food for Christians, sceptics, and worldlings. Vancouver, Trythall City Printing Works [1893]. 218 pp. in Blue cloth-covered boards with gilt lettering. Stitched. 7 3/4 by 5 1/2 inches (19.5 x 14cm.).

Undoubtedly a privately printed book in which Palmer describes his experiences in leaving his body behind and travelling to other worlds and his communiations with God.

Bilir, Kim [Pseud.]. Three Letters of Credit and Other Stories.

Victoria, Province Publishing Co., 1894. viii, 124 pp. Green paper covers. 7 by 5 1/2 inches (18 x 14 cm.). Price 25 cents.

This was the first book of fiction to be published in B.C. Published by The Province magazine; the stories included in the book (five in all) also appeared in the magazine. Author of the tales was Arthur Hodgins Scaife, then editor of The Province. (See other works below.)

McCain, Charles W. (Compiler). History of the SS. "Beaver."

Vancouver, [Evans & Hastings,] 1894. 99 pp. text in 100 pp. stapled. Illustrated. Red or blue cloth-covered boards with flowered endpapers. Photographs and engravings on tipped in plates. 6 1/2 by 5 inches (16.5 x 13.5 cm.).

McCain was an entrepreneur who made souvenirs from various parts of the Beaver, and who probably financed the book himself as an adjunct to his other business interests. Non-fiction.

Bilir, Kim [Pseud.] As It Was in the Fifties. Victoria, The Province Publishing Company, 1895. viii, 287, iii pp. bound in green heavy paper covers. 8 1/2 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 15 cm.) (Roughly a match to the previous Bilir book mentioned above.)

Fiction about the Cariboo Gold Rush Days. (See above and below.)

Bilir, Kim [Pseud.] Gemini and Lesser Lights. Victoria, Province Publishing Company, 1895. x, 187, i pp. Bound in green heavy paper covers with endpapers. Copyright in Ottawa. Roughly 9 by 6 inches (22 x 15 cm.) and a near match with the other two Bilir books except for size discrepancies.

Short fiction, containing 17 stories.

Eummelen, H. Sick Room Altar Manual; With prayers, formulas, instructions in administering the sacraments, and a complete course of instructions to nurses in attending the sick. Vancouver, [n.p.,] 1895. 89 pp. text, illus.

Not seen. Available only in National Library, Ottawa.

George, William. A Sealer's Journal; or, A cruise of the schooner "Umbrina." Victoria, H.G. Waterson, printer, 1895. 136 pp. plus



brown paper wrappers and yellow endpapers. Brown ink used on front cover and an illustration used of a sailing ship used on both front and back covers; other decoration used. 7 by 5 inches (18 x 12 cm.).

Journal of daily happenings by a cabin boy on a Victoria-based sealing ship.

Lefevre, Lily Alice. The Lions' Gate and Other Verses. Victoria, Province Publishing Co., 1895. 96 pp. bound in pale blue, cloth-covered boards with silver printing and blue-flowered endpapers. Roughly 6 by 4 3/4 inches (16 x 12 cm.). Contains 29 poems.

The Province was indeed interested in promoting "literary" publications during this period and this collection of poetry from a Vancouver woman who had had a number of poems published in central Canada was a beginning. Some of these works, especially the title poem, were reprinted and circulated in different editions in the 1900s.

Slivers [Pseud.]. Fables of the Nechaco; A complete novel of one of the most remarkable and romantic districts on the American continent. Vancouver, Produced by the Dominion Stock and Bond Corporation, [n.d. ? 1895]. 48 pp. in heavy beige printed wrappers with colored cover illustration. Illustrated throughout by P.G. Bundy. 8 by 6 inches (21 x 15 cm.).

This remarkable book deserves considerable study. It was aimed at a popular mass market and resembles the "Romances" of today in late Victorian form. Information about the real author, or the publisher is virtually non-existent.

St. Barbe, Charles (ed.), The Kootenay Mines: A sketch of their progress and condition today. Nelson, The Miner Print. & Pub. Co., 1895. 26 pp. plus map and covers, stitched. Pale aqua blue paper cover. Ads on inside covers and outside back cover. Roughly 9 by 5 3/4 inches (22 x 15 cm.).

Publishing spreads to the booming interior mining towns. This contained history and commercial information as well as information on the mines. Would be used for promotion of the town's interests as well as for sale itself.

The Trail Creek Mines, British Columbia: Their history and development. [Victoria, Colonist Presses, 1896.] [More likely should read: Victoria, T.N. Hibben & Co., 1896.] 56 pp. of which 54 pp. in type plus tipped in 9 by 15-inch map, folded. Green pressed paper wrappers. Ads on covers and several front pages; ad on front cover for T.N. Hibben. Also issued in 1897.

This gave a history of mining in the "Kootenais" since 1864 through the 1890s and described the new smelter in the booming area. Likely initiated for sale by Hibben, but also a promotional piece for the area.

British Columbia: Kamloops Mining Camp. Kamloops, Baillie & Bennett, 1897. 64 pp. plus covers. Pale Blue coated stock paper wrappers with blue and gold type. 11 3/4 by 8 1/2 inches (magazine size) (29 x 21.5 cm.). Many lithographs plus fold-out maps tipped in to show mining locations and claims. Picture in centre of every page, typical of "illustrated magazines" of the time. Ads on covers and pp. 41-56. Coated stock except for last 8 pages, which was a summary of the mining laws of the time.

This "glossy," magazine-type book would possibly be a money-maker paid for both by the advertisements and by sales. Reflects the boom era in the area.

First History of Rossland, B.C.; With sketches of some of its prominent citizens, firms and corporations. Rossland, B.C., Studen & Perine [1897]. 24 pp. cover. 12 by 8 1/2 inches (30 x 22 cm.). Illustrated. Some ads. Coated stock. Grey paper covers.

Similar to other area publications.

Gosnell, R.E. Year Book of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information 1897. Victoria, King's Printer, 1897. 500 pp. Wine red covers in cloth and 1/2 leather over boards. 8 by 5 1/2 inches (22 x 15 cm.). Ads at front and back.

A government-issued yearbook somewhat similar to those issued today. The first of a series to be followed in 1901, 1903, 1911 and 1914.

Gosnell, R.E. The Year Book of British Columbia. Compendium. Victoria, [King's Printer,] 1897. 285 pp. in 296 pp. 9 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches (24 x 16.5 cm.). with blue paper cover. [A shorter version of the Year Book above.]

This shorter version contained the same information as the above but in a re-ordered and cheaper format. No publisher is given for this one but most likely was also published by the government.

St. Barbe, Charles. First History of Nelson, B.C.; With sketches of some of its prominent citizens, firms and corporations. [Nelson,] C.A. Rohrabacher & Son [1897?]. 24 pp. 12 by 9 inches (30 x 23 cm.). Grey paper wrappers. 3 cols. type per page; no pictures; no ads. Price, Fifty Cents."

Information appears to have been taken directly from the local newspaper stories of the time. St. Barbe obviously recognized a

good thing and local firms seemed interested in underwriting costs which would likely be recovered.

The Inland Route to the Yukon: "The Standard" map showing the proposed route from Spokane to Alaska via Kampllops, Cariboo, and Cassiar, with explanatory notes. Published under authority of the government of the province of British Columbia. Kamloops, The Kamloops Printing and Publishing Co., 1897. 28 pp. (inc. 14 pp. of ads.), plus a tipped-in, fold-out 18-by-18 inch map. Pink, paper wrappers printed with blue ink. Use of pink ink for decorative borders and green ink for printing inside. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.).

Commercial effort to attract Yukon miners through the area. (See also below.)

The Vancouver Routes to the Yukon; Vancouver City the best point of departure for the Yukon. [Vancouver, "News-Advertiser printers," n.d., likely 1897.] 32 pp. plus tipped-in map and covers. Cover illustrated and red, green and black inks used. 9 by 6 inches (23 x 15 cm.). Likely sold by and through the CPR; steamships routes marked.

Another of the series of maps outlining the "best" routes to the gold rush in the Yukon and aimed at the passing miners.

Yukon Gold Fields; Map showing routes from Victoria, B.C., to the various mining camps on the Yukon River and its branches; mining regulations of the Dominion government and forms of application, together with table of distances, extracts from Mr. Ogilvie's reports and other information. Victoria, Published by Chas. H. Lugrin, 1897. (Printed by The Colonist Printing and Publishing Co.) 32 pp. plus a fold-out map.

Klondyke Gold Fields' Yukon District; Map showing routes from Vancouver, B.C., to the various mining camps on the Yukon River and its branches; mining regulations of the Dominion government and forms of applications, together with a table of distances, extracts from Mr. Ogilvie's reports and other information. Vancouver, Published by A.E. Goodman, 1897. 32 pp. plus fold out map.

Both these publications were compiled by Charles Henry Lugrin and the two were identical except for the maps and for the final chapter on outfitting and transportation. Like the ones above, these were intended for use by miners passing through a city and outfitting themselves.

Facts for Klondyke and Alaska Seekers; Experience of some of the most noted miners Joe Ladue, Jas McMann (Jimmy, the Diver) Clarence Berry, Alex Orr, and C.J. Mullins; authentic accounts of different

trails, boatbuilding, etc. [Victoria,] The Yukon and Alaska Publishing Co., [1898]. (Colophone reads; Victoria, G.S.R. Print Co., 1898.) 64 pp. stapled, plus green paper wrappers. 6 by 4 inches (15 x 10 cm.). "Price, 10 Cents."  
Ads on left hand pages, text on right.

Likely a privately-arranged commercial enterprise with the money coming from the ads. Sold through T.N. Hibben, which had an ad on cover. May have been of interest to locals as well as to miners passing through because of the "tales" of the various miners, but basically for miners.

Gold Dust: How to find it and how to mine it; An elementary treatise on the methods and appliances used by miners on the frontier, with other useful information. Vancouver, Thomson Stationery Co., [c. 1898]. 43, 21 pp. Grey (?) cover. 6 by 4 inches (15 by 10 cm.). Ads for Thomson only. [Photocopy seen.]

One of the more informative books for actual and potential miners.

Goldseeker [Pseud.]. Hints to Intending Klondikers. Kamloops, Kamloops Publishing Company, 1898. 28 pp. Not seen.

Henley, G.F. Guide to the Yukon-Klondike Mines; Full information of outfit, climate, Dawson City; with notes on alluvial and metalliferous prospecting; routes described in detail; report of Wm. Ogilvie, F.R.G.S., and diary of the late Archbishop Seghers (murdered on the Yukon). [Victoria and Vancouver, Province Publishing Co., 1898.] 72 pp. inc. ads pp. 64-71. with illustrations. Yellow paper wrappers with decorative borders, ads on back cover. 7 3/4 by 6 inches (20 x 15 cm.).

Although the Province did the printing, it is more likely that Henley backed it as a commercial enterprise along the lines of the other books mentioned above. The Province name does not appear prominently.

Klondyke Mining Laws: The Canadian gold fields, how to get there, where to purchase supplies. [Victoria?] Graphic Publishing Company [1898]. (Colophon: Victoria, G.S.R. Co., printers.) 32 pp. plus covers. Various colored paper wrappers printed including yellow and shocking pink. 6 by 4 inches (15 x 10 cm.). Ads on covers, except front and on pp. 1 and 2 and 30-32.

Similar to above.

White, Trumbull, Pictorial History of our War with Spain for Cuba's Freedom. Vancouver, J.M. MacGregor Publishing Co. [c. 1898]. 562 pp. of text with plates and portraits. Covers in green cloth and 1/2 leather over boards with gilt lettering and back embossed with

American eagle symbol. 9 3/4 by 7 1/2 inches (25 x 19 cm.). 81 pages of pictures scattered throughout with many of these groups of portraits of well-known Americans.

This is similar to the Buel book published by J.M. MacGregor in 1893 and probably done on the same basis -- a local distributor who arranged for a local imprint.

Cliffe, C. The Slocan District, British Columbia: Its resources and opportunities for investment. Sandon, B.C., The Mining Review [1899]. 87 pp. of text in 88 pp. plus green paper wrappers with red and green ink used on covers. 9 by 7 inches (23 x 18 cm.). Ads on three covers (in color) and on final page.

Sandon was a big silver and lead mining area shipping out more than \$2.5 million worth of ore in 1898; now it is a ghost town.

Kaslo. Board of Trade. Kaslo, British Columbia, the Mineral Metropolis of the World. Kaslo, Board of Trade, 1899. 64, 33 pp., with illustrations and portraits. Not seen.

Kootenay Mining Standard: July Annual 1899; An Illustrated Journal showing the Beauties and Resources of the Kootenays. Rossland, The Standard Publishing Co., 1899. 112 pp., illustrated, plus covers. Glossy paper covers. 12 by 9 inches (30 x 23 cm.).

A special book put out in July 1899 for sale elsewhere elaborating the glories of the Kootenays. Pictures of most of the businesses of the time and a full, informative text.

Appendix IIIList of Book Publishers Imprints used in B.C. during 1858-1899

A chronological list of publisher imprints that have appeared on at least one book. The year is that for the first book published under that imprint.

When the name of the firm changed, but the owners remained substantially the same, the new name and the year the new imprint was used is indicated by (also).

| <u>Place</u>    | <u>Imprint</u>                                                        | <u>Year Began</u> | <u>"Trade Books"</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Victoria        | "Victoria Gazette"                                                    | 1858              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | P. de Garro                                                           | 1858              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Printed at the British<br>Colonist Office                             | 1859              | 5                    |
| (also)          | Colonist Steam Presses                                                | 1877              | 3                    |
| (also)          | The Colonist Printers                                                 | 1890              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Edward Mallandaine,<br>architect                                      | 1860              | 6                    |
| Victoria        | Hibben & Carswell                                                     | 1862              | 2                    |
| (also)          | T.N.Hibben & Co.                                                      | 1871              | 5                    |
| New Westminster | Royal Engineers Press                                                 | 1863              | 4                    |
| Victoria        | Office of the British<br>Columbian and Victoria<br>Directory          | 1863              | 1                    |
| New Westminster | Printed by John Robson<br>at the office of the<br>"British Columbian" | 1863              | 1                    |

| <u>Place</u>    | <u>Imprint</u>                                         | <u>Year Began</u> | <u>"Trade Books"</u> |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Victoria        | Harries & Co.                                          | c.1864            | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Vancouver Printing and<br>Publishing Co.               | 1865              | 1                    |
| Barkerville     | Cariboo Sentinel                                       | 1866              | 3                    |
| Victoria        | Higgins, Long & Co.,<br>Printers                       | 1867              | 1                    |
| (also)          | Higgins & Long                                         | 1868              | 1                    |
| (also)          | David W. Higgins                                       | 1869              | 1                    |
| (also)          | D.W. Higgins                                           | 1873              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | J.E. McMillan, Printer,<br>Morning News Office         | 1868              | 1                    |
| (also)          | R.H. McMillan,<br>Book and Job Printer                 | 1884              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Printed by Richard<br>Wolfenden,<br>Government Printer | 1870              | 3                    |
| (also)          | "The Government Printer"                               | 1884              | 3                    |
| (also)          | King's Printer                                         | 1897              | 2                    |
| New Westminster | Printed at the Office<br>of the "Mainland<br>Guardian  | 1871              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Rose & Pottinger                                       | 1874              | 1                    |
| (also)          | Alex. Rose                                             | 1875              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | Printed at the Victoria<br>Standard Office             | 1875              | 1                    |
| (also)          | Victoria "Standard" Print                              | 1877              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | St. Paul's Mission Press                               | 1878              | 1                    |
| Victoria        | R.T. Williams                                          | 1883              | 5                    |
| Victoria        | Anti-Poverty Club                                      | 1884              | 1                    |

| <u>Place</u>         | <u>Imprint</u>                          | <u>Year Began</u> | <u>"Trade Books"</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Victoria             | Cohen & Salmon                          | 1885              | 1                    |
| Victoria             | Munroe Miller                           | 1885              | 2                    |
| Victoria             | B.C. Stationery Co.<br>Publishers       | 1887              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Daily News Office                       | 1887              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Henderson Directory Co.                 | 1888              | 3                    |
| Vancouver            | News-Advertiser                         | 1889              | 2                    |
| (also)               | News-Advertiser Printing                |                   | 2                    |
| Victoria             | M.W. Waitt & Co.                        | 1889              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Kerr & Begg                             | 1890              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Telegram Printing &<br>Publishing Co.   | 1891              | 1                    |
| New Westminster      | Lewis & Greig, Book<br>and Job Printers | 1891              | 1                    |
| Victoria             | Ellis & Co.                             | 1891              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | J.W. MacGregor Pubg. Co.                | 1893              | 2                    |
| Vancouver            | Evans & Hastings,<br>printers           | 1893              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Trythall City Printing<br>Works         | 1893              | 1                    |
| Victoria             | Province Publishing Co.                 | 1894              | 4                    |
| (also)               |                                         |                   |                      |
| Victoria & Vancouver | "                                       | 1898              | 1                    |
| Victoria             | H.G. Waterson, Printer                  | 1895              | 1                    |
| Vancouver            | Dominion Stock and<br>Bond Corporation  | 1895              | 1                    |
| Nelson               | The Miner Print &<br>Publishing Co.     | 1895              | 1                    |



| <u>Place</u>                   | <u>Imprint</u>                              | <u>Year Began</u> | <u>"Trade Books"</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Kamloops                       | Baillie & Bennett                           | 1897              | 1                    |
| Rossland                       | Studen & Perine                             | 1897              | 1                    |
| Nelson                         | C.A. Rohrabacher & Son                      | 1897              | 1                    |
| Kamloops                       | The Kamloops Printing<br>and Publishing Co. | 1897              | 2                    |
| Victoria                       | Chas. H. Lugin                              | 1897              | 1                    |
| Vancouver                      | A.E. Goodman                                | 1897              | 1                    |
| Victoria                       | GSR Co., Print                              | 1897              | 1                    |
| (also)                         | Graphic Publishing<br>Company               | 1898              | 1                    |
| Vancouver                      | Thomson Stationery Co.                      | c.1898            | 1                    |
| Sandon                         | The Mining Review                           | 1899              | 1                    |
| Kaslo                          | Board of Trade                              | 1899              | 1                    |
| Rossland                       | The Standard Publishing<br>Co.              | 1899              | 1                    |
| (No publishers given or found) |                                             |                   | 7                    |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

This bibliography shows the kind of general search of the literature that was made for any material relevant to Canadian publishers and publishing both past and present. Not all books contained material that was immediately relevant for this study, but they were examined and could have value in future studies. As an important finding/recommendation of this study is that future studies can and should be done, and because it is intended that this work will provide assistance in launching such studies, the whole survey of the literature is given.

Books particularly relevant to the thesis are marked with an asterisk. See also References within Chapters.

In addition, all the books listed in Appendix II: "Trade Books" Published in British Columbia should be considered as sources. These were examined in various libraries and contributed much background to the thesis.

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Newspaper Stories

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