

UNITED STATES-CANADA BOUNDARY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST



*Surveying the 49th Parallel, 1858-61*

EDITED BY HERMAN J. DEUTSCH



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## FOREWORD

ON JUNE 15, 1846, the United States and Great Britain concluded the Oregon Boundary Treaty, which provided that the line delineating the territories of the two powers in the Pacific Northwest should be the 49th parallel, extending from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the main channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland. From that point the line was to follow the main channel through the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the Pacific Ocean.

The Oregon boundary had been a topic of much dispute for years and had produced such controversy that the issue of war or peace seemed to hang in the balance. The achievement of an acceptable compromise marked the end of a long negotiation, and except for the water boundary through the San Juan Islands, it was the final climax of the boundary story.

The survey itself, however, was also something of an accomplishment. As Professor Deutsch has pointed out, the boundary was a stipulated and artificial line which had no basis in natural physiography. Furthermore, it lay for a considerable distance through a wholly unoccupied and heavily forested terrain, in country which for many years attracted no settlers at all. Because the detailed survey would be difficult and costly, and since there was no practical necessity to delimit the two jurisdictions on the ground, a full decade passed before the two governments came to the task of determining the line with markers, the precise positions of which could be accepted officially by both powers. In 1856 the legal steps were taken to put British and American survey parties in the field. The American commission reached Victoria in June, 1857; the British arrived in Esquimalt a year later. The two commissions worked separately over a period of some three years, the task of surveying being substantially completed during 1861. The granite obelisk at Point Roberts was erected the following year.

The Washington State Historical Society, acting in accordance with the provisions of the mandate given it by the legislature of the State of Washington, presents this commemorative booklet as a feature of the centennial celebration of the completion of the boundary survey one hundred years ago. The editing of the contemporary documents which have been selected is the work of Professor Herman J. Deutsch, a member of the Department of History of Washington State University and well-known authority in the field of Pacific Northwest history. The report of the ceremonies at Point Roberts, July 30, 1961, has been prepared by Miss Harriet Seely.

The documents and illustrations which are published here first appeared in the January, 1962, issue of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, the magazine of the Washington State Historical Society. They are being reprinted in order to secure wider circulation and publicity. It is the purpose of the Society to make the story of this episode in the history of the State of Washington generally available to libraries and schools and to such organizations as may have a particular interest in it. The Hawkins report with its graphic detail and its eyewitness realism portrays the scenes of a century ago with unusual vividness. It is a significant document in the history of the unfortified frontier which, to be sure, separates two nations but, in another sense, joins two friendly and neighboring peoples.

CHARLES M. GATES  
Member of the Board of Curators  
Washington State Historical Society

# A Contemporary Report on the 49° Boundary Survey

BY HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

THE PEOPLES of the world have for centuries been identified with particular spaces on the globe, but definite lines of delineation have been in vogue for only a few hundred years. Jesse S. Reeves maintained that the papal line of demarcation of 1493, dividing the non-Christian world between Portugal and Spain, was the first example of using a line to divide the territory of two sovereign jurisdictions. Prior to that time frontiers in the form of zones or strips of land, rather than fixed lines, had separated the lands of neighboring peoples.<sup>1</sup>

Even more recent than the present method of fixed lines has been the serious study of boundaries. Without attempting to classify the 49° parallel boundary which separates the United States and Canada, certain of its features deserve attention, particularly those which apply to the segment between the Rocky Mountain Divide and the Pacific Ocean. In view of the circumstances under which the division of Old Oregon was determined, the 49° line may be regarded as an antecedent boundary.<sup>2</sup> At the time it was adopted, there were scarcely any people living along its course; hence, those who subsequently settled there had to adjust themselves to the line instead of having it established to suit their needs. Furthermore, the factors which prompted the United States to insist on the 49° line were based on traditions and predilections held by Americans in the East, rather than by the practical implications the boundary might have had for those who would ultimately be required to cope with it. There seems to be no word which precisely describes political decisions or developments with respect to one locality when they have been determined by factors attaining in another, generally a sort of home base area. "Derived" seems the most suitable adjective suggested to date.<sup>3</sup>

Antecedent boundaries conditioned by derived

factors have frequently been the products of ignorance about the geography of the territory to be delineated. Such was the case when the Oregon treaty of 1846 was being negotiated. Many vital decisions made by federal authorities with respect to frontier matters, conspicuously those in the Pacific Northwest, were conceived in ignorance and derived from eastern tradition and self-interest.<sup>4</sup>

Another feature of the international boundary west of the Lake of the Woods is the fact that it is an astronomical line. From the standpoint of the topography of the area through which such a line runs, it is regarded as "artificial" rather than "natural." Whenever a boundary has not divided the area so as to effect a physical separation between areas along the line, it has tended to be regarded as "unnatural," unrealistic, or unfavorable. The predilections and misconceptions born of such assumptions have recently been brought under scrutiny, and efforts have been made to avoid categorical conclusions as to which types of boundaries are sound or unsound.<sup>5</sup>

Public and academic approval or disapproval of a particular boundary has actually depended more upon the experiences of the people politically divided by international demarcation than by abstract postulates. Furthermore, the wholesome functioning of a boundary apparently has been determined more by the statesmanship of the countries neighboring along that boundary than upon the alleged scientific or technical

<sup>1</sup> Jesse S. Reeves, "International Boundaries," *American Journal of International Law*, XXXVIII (1944), 539-41.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen B. Jones, "The Cordilleran Section of the Canada-United States Borderland," *Geographical Journal*, LXXXIX (1937), 439-50.

<sup>3</sup> Herman J. Deutsch, "The Evolution of the International Boundary in the Inland Empire of the Pacific Northwest," *PNQ*, LI (1960), 63-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*; also Deutsch, "The Evolution of Territorial and State Boundaries in the Inland Empire of the Pacific Northwest," *PNQ*, LI (1960), 115-31.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Whittemore Boggs, *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems* (New York, 1940), *passim* (esp. 71-73); Stephen B. Jones, *Boundary-Making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors, and Boundary Commissioners* (Washington, D.C., 1945), 3 and Chap. VI (esp. 132).

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soundness of the demarcation. Statesmanship and fortunate experience account for the happy condition described by the terms "Unguarded Boundary" or "Unguarded Frontier" that have been bestowed upon the international boundary between Canada and the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Both the matter of antecedency and the alleged unnatural character of the 49° parallel boundary created problems for the commissions assigned to mark the line accurately both on the ground and upon the map. New developments coming shortly after the treaty of 1846 intensified the antecedent element as to the functioning of the international boundary. The rapid settlement of the Cowlitz-Puget trough, but more particularly the influx of prospectors into the mineral lands of the interior, brought demands<sup>7</sup> (especially from officials of Washington Territory) for prompt and appropriate measures to assure the drawing of the line between American and British jurisdictions.<sup>8</sup> Ten years after the signing of the treaty that specified the division of Old Oregon, the United States and Great Britain acted concurrently in creating commissions to effect the demarcation. The law of Congress provided for the American body,<sup>9</sup> and the British staff was commissioned by the Queen.<sup>10</sup>

Archibald Campbell was appointed on February 14, 1857, to head the American commission; Lieutenant John G. Parke was named the chief astronomer and surveyor.<sup>11</sup> Two subordinates later achieved some distinction: Joseph S. Harris, assistant astronomer and naturalist, became president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad;<sup>12</sup> and George Gibbs, geologist and inter-

preter, left the stamp of his scientific work on Oregon history.<sup>13</sup> The artist assigned to the commission, James M. Alden, achieved fame after his paintings and sketches became known.<sup>14</sup>

The British appointed separate survey parties for the maritime and the land surveys respectively. The latter was in charge of Captain John Summerfield Hawkins, Royal Engineers, who was made a lieutenant colonel before the project was completed. Captain Robert Walsely Haig, Royal Artillery, was the senior astronomer,<sup>15</sup> and Lieutenant Charles W. Wilson, the secretary. Wilson later enjoyed a long and distinguished career in the British government and was knighted for his service.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to a professional staff of engineers, astronomers, geologists, and naturalists, permanent and temporary personnel included guides, laborers, carpenters and stone masons, axemen and sappers, packers and expressmen, boatmen, blacksmiths, cooks, stewards, and men of several other vocations.<sup>17</sup>

Campbell and his staff left New York on April 20, 1857, traveling by way of the Isthmus of Panama and San Francisco; they reached Victoria, British Columbia, on June 22.<sup>18</sup> The British party assigned to work on the water boundary had arrived ten days earlier, but the land party did not appear until the following year.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the Americans began independent land operations between Point Roberts and the Cascades.<sup>20</sup>

Captain Hawkins' entourage arrived at Esquimalt on July 12, 1858, and met with his American collaborators at Semiahmoo Bay on August 13, 1858. In view of the extremely difficult

terrain and the obviously high cost of making a complete demarcation of the line, a protocol dated August 14, 1858, stated:

It was therefore agreed to ascertain points on the line by the determination of astronomical points at convenient intervals on or near the boundary, and to mark such astronomical stations or points fixed on the parallel forming the boundary by cutting a track of not less than 20 feet in width on each side for the distance of half a mile or more, according to circumstances. Further, that the boundary be determined and similarly marked where it crosses streams of any size, permanent trails, or any striking natural features of the country. In the vicinity of settlements on or near the line, it is deemed advisable to cut the track for a greater distance and to mark it in a manner to be determined hereafter.<sup>21</sup>

From the records, but particularly from Hawkins' dispatches from the field, it is quite apparent that the heads of the two commissions did not see eye to eye on several matters and that Hawkins, who favored a more extensive and detailed demarcation than was undertaken, considered Campbell stubborn and inflexible, almost bordering on the perverse. The Britisher, determined that there be no friction, claimed that he had on several occasions yielded against his better judgment only to assure sustained harmony and cooperation.<sup>22</sup> Relations seemed to have relaxed for a time even to the point of cordiality,<sup>23</sup> although after field work was completed and reports and maps were in preparation, Hawkins again complained that Campbell was almost peremptory in rejecting some of his suggestions.<sup>24</sup>

Working separately, the Americans completed their survey between the Skagit and the Columbia rivers,<sup>25</sup> while the British, after they reached

the crest of the Cascades, established stations between there and the Roche River.<sup>26</sup> Most of the Yankee field work on the entire boundary had been finished in 1860, although some laborers were kept on the job until almost the end of 1861.<sup>27</sup> What John Bull's men accomplished was related in Hawkins' Dispatches Numbers 12 to 19, excerpts from which constitute the document herein presented.<sup>28</sup>

#### HAWKINS DISPATCHES

[No. 12. Lt. Col. Hawkins to Secretary of State, Dalles, Oregon, May 29, 1860]

MY LORD: With reference to my letter, No. 9, of the 21st inst., detailing the proceedings of the North American Boundary Commission during the season 1859-60, I have now the honour to submit to your lordship some remarks on the arrangements made for prosecuting this year's operations, and on the course that will probably be taken in execution of the duties entrusted to the Commission.

2. On arriving at Vancouver Island on the 28th March, on my return from England, I found that Capt. [Robert Walsely] Haig [R.A., chief astronomer] proposed to start with the Commission for the boundary between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains by the route of the Columbia River as early as the 6th April or thereabouts. The spring was a late one, and from what I had been able to ascertain respecting the probable condition of trails, grass for the pack animals, &c., I was of the opinion that the date fixed upon was too early. Moreover,

it is in the Klotz papers with a personal note on the flyleaf and because it was used by Klotz in his researches. The Klotz papers, including over nineteen volumes of diaries, are in the Public Archives of Canada.

In editing this document, Hawkins' spelling of place names has been retained, but if current spelling or a modern place name differs from the text, the variations have been noted in brackets. Brackets also have been used to designate latitude (north is always understood) and longitude (always west). The British figures have been used unless otherwise designated.

References not cited in the footnotes but useful in the study of the international boundary as it concerns this segment west of the Rocky Mountains are: Charles M. Watson, *Life of Major General Sir Charles Wilson* (London, 1909); Reginald Aldworth Daly, *Geology of the North American Cordillera at the Forty-ninth Parallel*, Canada, Dept. of Mines, Geological Survey, *Memoir No. 38*, in 3 parts (Ottawa, 1912); George Gibbs, "Physical Geography of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States," *American Geographical Society Journal*, IV (1869), 298-392, V (1869), 134-57; Otto Klotz, *Boundaries of Canada* (Berlin, Ontario, 1914); Max Saville, "The Forty-Ninth Degree of North Latitude as an International Boundary, 1719," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1957), 183-201; J. Neilson Barry, "Oregon Boundaries," *OHQ*, XXXIII (1932), 259-67; T. C. Elliott, "The Northwest Boundaries," *OHQ*, XX (1919), 331-44.

<sup>6</sup> John W. Davis, "The Unguarded Boundary," *Geographical Review*, XII (1922), 585-601; C. P. Stacey, "The Myth of the Unguarded Frontier, 1815-1871," *AHR*, LVI (1950), 1-18; Reeves, "International Boundaries," 544; Jones, *Boundary-Making*, 33.

<sup>7</sup> The British seemed most eager for action with respect to a survey. John F. Crampton to James Buchanan, Washington, Jan. 13, 1848, in William Ray Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States-Canadian Relations, 1784-1860* (Washington, D.C., 1940-45), III, 1125-31; Crampton to Marcy, April 9, 1856, *ibid.*, IV, 656-57. President Polk did not seem to view the matter as urgent. Lester Burrell Shippee, "Federal Relations of Oregon, Part VII," *OHQ*, XX (1919), 390. Presidents Fillmore and Pierce referred to the problem on at least two occasions each. James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of Presidents* (1911), IV, 2655, 2741.

<sup>8</sup> Charles M. Gates, ed., *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889* (Seattle, 1940), 5-6, 51, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Public [Law] L [50]-An Act to provide for carrying into effect the First Article of the Treaty between the United States and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of the fifteenth day of June, eighteen hundred and forty-six. Approved, August 11, 1856. 34th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Globe* (1856), Appendix, 15.

<sup>10</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 3-5, post, n. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Marcus Baker, *Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861*, U.S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 174 (Washington, D.C., 1900), 13-15; "Northwest Boundary Commission," 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., *House Executive Document* (1869), No. 86, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1886, 1888), II, 104.

<sup>14</sup> Originally his name was designated on the list of disbursements as "Purser's steward" on a per diem basis, June 11 to Sept. 30, 1857. He was listed as T. M. Alden, Artist, for the period July 1 to Dec. 1, 1861, and by his correct name Jan. 1 to Dec. 1, 1860, and for Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, 1861. During this latter employment as artist, he received the regular stipend of \$100 per month. "Northwest Boundary Commission," 2, 14, 17, 19. For a short appreciation of Alden's work and two color prints of his paintings, see James Berton Rhoads, "When the Wild Northern Boundary Stretched to the Sea, a Government Artist Recorded the Rugged Surveying Job," *American Heritage*, VIII (June, 1957), 14-17. Copies of the Alden prints from the originals in the National Archives are in the library of the University of Washington.

<sup>15</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Idem*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2nd supplement (New York, 1912), III, 687-89.

<sup>17</sup> "Northwest Boundary Commission," 2-22; *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 15-16.

<sup>18</sup> Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 14-15.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*; *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Archibald Campbell, Report, Feb. 3, 1869, in Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, Appendix C; "Northwest Boundary Commission," 93-96; *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 16-17; Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 16-17, 20-23, 25-27, 41.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 52, 63-65.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 81-82, 84-87.

<sup>25</sup> Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 15-16; *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 7.

<sup>26</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 39-40.

<sup>27</sup> "Northwest Boundary Commission," 18-19.

<sup>28</sup> The document, of which the following edited section is an excerpt, is *Foreign Office Correspondence; Forty-ninth Parallel West of the Summit of the Rocky Mountains, 1856-1871* (Washington, D.C., 1902) [annotated as *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71]. This in turn is the American edition of Otto Klotz, *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office and of the Hudson's Bay Company*, copied from original documents, London, 1898. Department of the Interior / Office of Chief Astronomer / November, 1899 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1899). The particular copy of the American 1902 edition was used because



the pack train for the previous year—always too weak in numbers, and now reduced by casualties—would be of but little use until very materially reinforced by the animals which Mr. J. K. Lord,<sup>29</sup> assistant naturalist and veterinary surgeon, had been sent to procure in California. I met this gentleman in San Francisco in the latter part of March, he having arrived there only a few days before me on the above errand, and as the animals purchased by him were to be driven by land to the Columbia River, a distance of about 1,000 miles, to meet the Commission at the Dalles and assist in the transport of stores to the boundary or its neighborhood, it was evident they *could not* be there so soon, especially as they would be subject to the same causes of delay from bad trails, want of grass, &c., that I anticipated for ourselves. I thought fit therefore to postpone the departure of the Commission from Vancouver Island; but the whole force was employed in completing our travelling arrangements, preparing equipment of all kinds, and on numerous other duties, and I was myself busily engaged attending to accounts, &c., which had unavoidably fallen into arrears during my absence.

3. The pack train of last year (77 horses and mules) with a small party of the detachment of Royal Engineers and the muleteers and packers who had been in charge of the train during the winter, were sent under charge of Capt. [C. J.] Darrah [R. E., assistant astronomer] from the Fraser River to Nisqually,<sup>30</sup> at the head of Puget Sound, in the H. B. C. steamer "Otter" on the 22nd April, to be driven thence to Fort Vancouver<sup>31</sup> on the Columbia River. The body of the Commission, with a large quantity of stores and provisions—in fact, with the whole equipment of the Commission, as *nothing* was left behind in Vancouver Island, excepting a few surplus or useless articles for sale—embarked in the "Otter," which had been chartered for the purpose on the 28th April, and arrived at Fort

Vancouver on the 1st May. The mules, &c., from Nisqually arrived on the same day. As nothing was heard of Mr. Lord we delayed at Fort Vancouver for some little time, but the pack train, with Capt. Darrah, Lieut. [Samuel] Anderson [R. E.], and part of the Royal Engineers and hired men were sent up to this place, to have the animals shod in preparation for their journey, and stores and provisions were sent by steamer to "Dalles City" [The Dalles], consigned to persons with whom I had entered into arrangements for their transport to Fort Colville.<sup>32</sup> On the 17th May the Commission were reassembled here.

4. Mr. Lord arrived here on the 25th instant, and the new train of 77 mules and one horse, with their attendants, came in on the following day, in excellent order. Mr. Lord had a very long and adventurous journey, during which two mules were lost by straying, which it is hoped will have been recovered and sold on account of the Commission, and two were stolen by the Indians at Klamath Lake, where they threatened the whole train in great force, and it was only by the greatest care and watchfulness that the loss was so small. Capt. Haig, the chief astronomer, and Lt. Anderson, and a proportion of the Royal Engineers and hired axemen, will immediately start with a mule train conveying his equipment, stores, and two months' provisions, for the neighborhood of the Similkameen River, to take up the work in connection with the easternmost point reached last year at Roche River.<sup>33</sup> Capt. Haig will work eastward, towards the Columbia River, as rapidly as possible. Lieut. Anderson will, I regret to say, have first to undertake an expensive piece of resurveying between Chilukweyuk [Chilliwack] Lake and the Skagit River, which was performed last year by Mr. [Duncan George Forbes] Macdonald,<sup>34</sup> an engaged surveyor, which turned out worthless. Dr. [David] Lyall [M.D.],<sup>35</sup> the surgeon and naturalist, and Mr.

<sup>29</sup> He published two books on his experiences in British Columbia: *A Naturalist in Vancouver's Island and British Columbia* (London, 1866), and *At Home in the Wilderness* (London, 1867).

<sup>30</sup> Fort Nisqually was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833 and transferred to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, the subsidiary formed in 1839. John A. Hussey, *History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure* (n.p., n.d.), 78. With the expiration of the charter of the subsidiary on Dec. 8, 1859, the Surveyor General of the Washington territorial land office held that this circumstance had invalidated the Company's land title. Gates, *Messages*, 84. During 1860, the Company, therefore, had to resist settlers' claims and the efforts of Lewis County officials to assess taxes against its properties. The commission to determine the value of Hudson's Bay Company properties upheld the subsidiary's rights. Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington* (New York, 1909), IV, 185-92.

<sup>31</sup> Fort Vancouver, built in 1825, was being vacated during 1860, and the United States Army, which had taken it over as a military post, was dismantling the establishment. The salmon house had been retained for the use of the British boundary commission, but there is no record to the effect that it had been used. After the Company finally abandoned Fort Vancouver in June, 1860, the building was destroyed. Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, 222-23.

<sup>32</sup> This undoubtedly referred to the Hudson's Bay Company fur post built in 1825. The British commission established headquarters a few miles north of this, and upon the abandonment of the site, Marcus Oppenheimer purchased the barracks for his mercantile enterprises. Thomas I. Oakshott, *Colville, City of a Proud Heritage* (Colville, 1960); Joel E. Ferris, "Life in Colville—Spokane Country, 1858-62: Diary of Boundary Surveyor . . .," *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, magazine section, Nov. 17, 1957, pp. 7-9. The Ferris article is based upon the diary and



National Archives & Records Service

Alden Sketch of Chelemta Depot

[H.] Banerman [Bauerman],<sup>36</sup> the geologist, will accompany Capt. Haig's party for the purpose of visiting the line of country to the east of the mountain divide between Chilukweyuk [Chilliwack] and Skagit rivers, beyond which, the weakness of our means of transport did not enable them to penetrate last year—they will probably rejoin headquarters as soon as their objects are accomplished; and I hope to afford them every possible opportunity to pursue their peculiar avocations during the season. . . .

9. *Everything* has to be provided at Fort Colville, and I have consequently purchased or ordered a supply of provisions for about 125 men for 15 months, great part of which in addition to other stores in excess of what our pack trains will be able to carry, will have to be conveyed to Fort Colville by hired transport, for which I have made arrangements with experienced and reliable contractors. I regret to say that the cost of this will be *enormous*, but it is quite unavoidable.

records of Charles William Wilson, R.N., the first secretary of the British commission. The originals are in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Typescripts Nos. 89-96, May 1 to June 11, 1860, and pages 1-94, June 12, 1860, to July 14, 1862, were placed in the manuscript collection of Washington State University by courtesy of Mr. Ferris.

The military post built under the direction of Major Pinckney Lougenbeel in 1859 about eight miles northeast of the present city of Colville was initially called "Harney's Depot" but was officially designated as Fort Colville, Nov. 1, 1860. Oakshott, *Colville* [p. 24]. Hawkins once called it "Harney Depot." *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 55.

<sup>33</sup> Hawkins treated this stream as the west fork of the upper Similkameen. *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 39. Baker regarded it as a branch of the Pasayten. *Northwestern Boundary*, 60.

able. The charges for transport in this year's accounts will probably not fall much, if at all, short of £10,000. I can assure your lordship that I have used every effort to attend to and lessen so great an expenditure, and that it is a subject which gives me never ceasing anxiety. Those only who know the circumstances of the country can be aware of the demands and difficulties to be encountered at every turn, and of the impossibility of moving and maintaining a large party without lavish outlay. I make these few remarks as I would wish your lordship to believe that so serious a subject is one always pressing upon my attention, and, as I said above, causing me the greatest anxiety. I have on several occasions notified both to you [the Foreign Minister], and to the secretary for war in whose department the details are conducted, that the cost of the Commission would probably be excessive and much beyond any anticipation entertained on its organization.

<sup>34</sup> He published a book, *British Columbia and Vancouver's Island* (London, 1862), of which the *Victoria Colonist* said, "a greater collection of lies was never put together." Memorandum to letter, Inez Mitchell, Assistant Provincial Archivist, Provincial Archives, B.C., to Charles M. Gates, Victoria, B.C., Oct. 31, 1961.

<sup>35</sup> A medical doctor in the Royal Navy, he had been with Belcher on the arctic expedition of 1850-54. He seemed to have been invalidated while with the boundary commission. Memorandum, Mitchell to Gates. See obituary, *London Times*, March 2, 1895, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> His findings were not published until 1884. H. Bauerman, F.G.S., *Report on the Geology of the Country near the Forty-ninth Parallel of North Latitude West of the Rocky Mountains from Observations made 1859-61*, Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada (Montreal, 1884).



3. As stated in paragraph 4 of my letter No. 12, Mr. Lord arrived at The Dalles on the 25th May with the mule train from California. On the same day and previous to Mr. Lord's arrival, Captn. Haig, the chief astronomer, with the party to accompany him to resume the work of the boundary from the most easterly point to which it had been carried in the previous year, and his stores, provisions, &c., had moved to the north side of the Columbia and encamped on a small stream about 8 miles from The Dalles, in readiness to start as soon as his means of conveyance could be completed. Some days were necessarily devoted to fitting the pack equipment of the newly arrived mules, and on the 4th June Captn. Haig proceeded on his march to the Similkameen River and thence to the point on the 49th parallel, where his work was to begin. The party consisted of 4 officers, 20 noncommissioned officers and sappers, the pack master who had accompanied Mr. Lord from California, 20 packers, and 12 axemen. The stores, &c., consisted of the astronomical and surveying instruments and the books, camp equipments, and personal baggage, provisions for about two months, and a supply of forage for the animals of the surveying party to be sent to Chilukweyuk [Chilliwack] Lake, on the road to which a sufficiency of grass is not to be obtained, to carry which there were 90 pack mules, and 30 horses and mules were provided for the officers, packers, and some others of the party whom it was considered desirable to mount. The cavalcade was further increased by a few horses belonging to some of the men who preferred riding to marching under a hot sun over a dry and sandy country. Captn. Haig also took with him 12 head of cattle to furnish an occasional supply of fresh meat during the season. Dr. Lyall, the surgeon and naturalist, and Mr. Banerman [Bauerman], the geologist, accompanied Captn. Haig to avail themselves of the opportunity of pursuing their scientific researches in the part of the country they would thus be enabled to visit, and for the benefit of medical treatment a sick man had to be sent with the party. Lieut. Anderson was placed under Captn. Haig's orders for the purpose of performing such surveying and reconnoitring duties as were necessary. The route followed was by the U.S. military road from The Dalles to Fort Simcoe,<sup>37</sup> thence along and across the basin of the Yakima and up the right or west bank of the Columbia and Okanagan rivers to Lake Osoyoos, which is cut by the 49th parallel. This

route is essentially mountainous between the Columbia River at The Dalles and the point where it is again struck at the mouth of the Wenatchee (150 miles), starting from a level above the sea of about 200 feet at The Dalles, crossing the eastern spurs of the Cascade Mountains which form the lateral valleys on the western side of the Yakima Basin at altitudes of 2,500, 3,500, 4,000, and 5,800 feet, and falling to 750 feet at the confluence of the Columbia and Wenatchee. The journey between The Dalles and Lake Osoyoos, 280 miles in length, occupied the time between the 4th and 28th June, and in its course seven rivers were ferried, either with the assistance of Indians and their canoes, by rafting, or by hewing out canoes on the spot, which operations caused a delay in the actual travelling of six or seven days. The trail was in many places difficult and even dangerous, causing risk to the animals and the loss of some stores by the falling of the mules. Having reached Lake Osoyoos, where the road eastward forks, Captn. Haig sent a portion of the pack train under charge of the pack master to Fort Colville for a further supply of provisions, and continued his journey westward with a reduced number of mules, which somewhat retarded him for a few days from being unable to move all the baggage in one trip. By the evening of the 3d July the baggage was ferried across the Similkameen River, 30 miles from Lake Osoyoos, and 5 miles below the confluence of the Ashtnolaon up the valley of which the trail from the Chilukweyuk [Chilliwack] Lake used by the U.S. Commission in the previous year proceeds, and in which valley it was Captn. Haig's intention to establish a station. The camp having remained on the left bank of the river, on proceeding to cross over on the following morning the two conoes [*sic*] (made on the spot) which were lashed together and used for ferrying unfortunately swamped, owing to a high wind and the rapid current, and the people crossing at the time not keeping quiet, and three Mexican packers were drowned. This melancholy occurrence prevented any movement for that day. In about three hours two of the bodies were found by Indians upwards of two miles below the spot where the accident had happened, which were buried by Captn. Haig that

<sup>37</sup> This military post was established on Simcoe Creek in the Yakima Valley in 1856. It was officially evacuated May 22, 1859. H. Dean Guie, *Bugles in the Valley* (Yakima, 1956), 131. It was taken over by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the first agent arrived in 1860. Helga Anderson Travis, *Mool Mool: The Story of Fort Simcoe* (Kennebec, 1953), 10-11.

evening. The third body was not recovered for many weeks, when Captn. Haig rewarded some Indians for burying it. On the 5th July the march was resumed up the valley of the Ashtnolaon. The distance from the mouth of that river to the astronomical station [Nais-nu-le—Lat. 48° 57' 53.9"—Long. 120° 00' 15.8"] selected by Captn. Haig, on its smaller or eastern fork, was only about 22 miles; but the difficulties of the route were so great owing to the swollen state of the river which the trail crosses and recrosses, and especially from having to cut a new trail for about 12 miles from the point of divergence from the main stream which the existing trail follows for some miles further, over rough ground covered in many places with a perfect network of dry dead timber, that it was not until the 26th July that the boundary was reached. By the 5th August the necessary observations and computations at the station were completed, and the marking of the boundary across the valley was proceeded with. The line was cleared of timber for a distance of 1¾ miles, of which ½ a mile was to the west and the remainder to the east of the observatory; and three pyramidal piles of stone were erected on the most prominent places in the cutting. A greater length of line was cleared at this place than, under the agreement with the U.S. Commissioner, the mountainous and impracticable nature of the ground demanded, owing to the movement of the party eastward being retarded for some days by the whole of the mules having been sent to Fort Colville for provisions, and to have their shoeing attended to, as their feet had begun to suffer from the very rough ground they had been traveling over. While the boundary line was being cut, Captain Haig proceeded as far as Roche River, which was the easternmost point he had reached in the previous year; and he found that Lieutenant Anderson, who had been detached on the 13th July with a surveying party had made great progress from the Chilukweyuk [Chilliwack] Lake eastward. The work up the Ashtnolaon being completed, Captain Haig, with his party, moved eastward, and by the 27th August reached Lake Osoyoos, on the eastern side of which he established an astronomical station [Lat. 49° 00' 09.9"—Long. 119° 24' 12.0"], the observations and computations

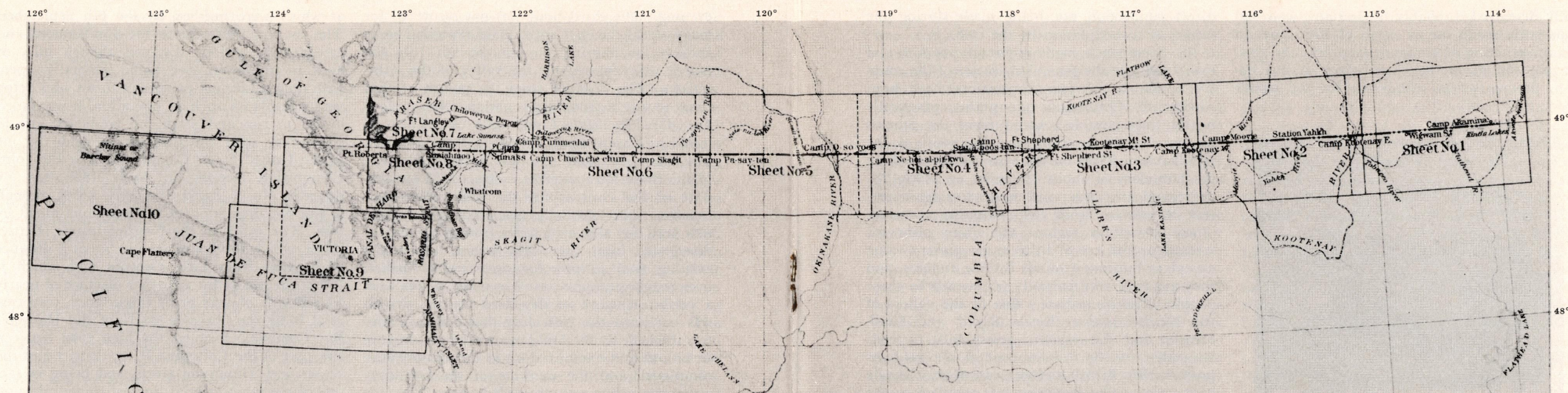
<sup>38</sup> This boom had begun in 1860 but had subsided by 1861. George J. Fraser, *Story of Osoyoos, September 1811 to December 1952* (n.p., n.d.), 96.

<sup>39</sup> In the previous paragraph (5), Hawkins had described the transport of goods, animals, and men from The Dalles to the Hudson's Bay Company post, where he used Company warehouses until his own quarters were completed. See Ferris, "Life in Colville."

at which were finished by the 6th September. The country westward to the Similkameen and eastward for a long distance, though hilly or even mountainous, yet being generally open, with only occasional patches of forest, and being very suitable for such an operation, it was determined to run and mark the boundary line in conformity with the proposition made by me to the United States Commissioner at the Joint Commission meeting in April, 1859 (see my despatch No. 6, dated 31st May, 1859), though it was not then adopted or even entertained by him. The valley of the Newhoialpitkw [Kettle] River, which the boundary reaches at a distance of 9 miles from Lake Osoyoos and which it follows generally for a further distance of nearly 50 miles, is of very great importance, traversed as it is by the "brigade trail" of the Hudson's Bay Company, forming the high road between this part of the Columbia River district and the Fraser and Thompson rivers, and being in fact one of the main arterial lines of communication in the country, in use probably by the Indians for ages. The mining settlement of Rock Creek,<sup>38</sup> at the junction of that tributary with the main stream [Kettle River] (itself a tributary of the Columbia, into which it flows 2 miles above Fort Colville), has recently been formed on the banks of the river, and a wagon road leads to it from The Dalles by the valleys of the Columbia and Okanagan Rivers, by which route goods are introduced into British Columbia. Other auriferous streams near the boundary have also been more or less worked within British and United States territory. Furthermore, the valley contains a large extent of grazing land, which is available also, though perhaps it may not be very suitable, for agricultural purposes; and settlers are beginning to appear, though their permanency is probably dependent on the market offered to them by the uncertain wants of an erratic gold-seeking population. From these considerations it would appear that, if the actual boundary was to be defined by the Joint Commission in any part of the space intervening between the waters of the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains, the interval between the Similkameen and the Columbia rivers is not only of as much importance as, if it be not of greater importance than, any other part of the line; but it also presented greater facilities for the performance of the necessary operations, while it embraces about a fourth of the whole extent of land boundary comprehended in the treaty under which the Commission was appointed. . . .

6. The next step<sup>39</sup> necessary was to despatch





Baker, Northwestern Boundary (1900)

From Index Map Showing the Limits of the Detailed Sheets of the U.S. Northwestern Boundary Survey

Captn. Darrah with an astronomical and surveying party to proceed with the work of the boundary eastward from the intersection of the Columbia River by the 49th parallel. Here again some delay occurred, owing to the irregular arrival from below of some necessary articles, and it was not until the 26th July that Captn. Darrah was on the move. His party consisted of 12 non-commissioned officers and sappers and 9 axemen, with a train of 87 riding and pack animals and the usual proportion of packers. Having to cross to the right bank of the Columbia, 400 yards wide at this place, and knowing that frequent communication would be necessary throughout the season, I purchased a ferryboat which had been built in the previous year principally for the use of the U.S. Commission. I should have preferred to build one, as being probably the most economical plan, but there was not time to do so, and the first day's use of it went a long way towards saving its cost. Captn. Darrah proceeded with all possible dispatch to occupy an astronomical station at the intersection by the parallel of the "Pend d'Oreille River" [Lat. 49° 00' 03.5"—Long. 117° 21' 52.9"], or Clark's Fork. Having to recross the Columbia between the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Shepherd<sup>40</sup> and the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille, about 40 miles from Fort Colville and just above the boundary, somewhat later in the year I built a ferryboat at this

spot to facilitate communication and the keeping up of supplies. While a bridge was being made over the Salmon River<sup>41</sup> and some miles of trail cut, Captn. Darrah undertook a reconnaissance between the Columbia and Kootenay rivers for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the country in which the work had to be performed. This occupied him sixteen days. The result was not very encouraging, the intervening space being mountainous and extremely rugged; and as it presented no facilities whatever for the formation of a trail in the general direction of the boundary, it was determined to make one in as straight a course as it was possible for pack animals to travel over. Having visited the stone pyramid and cutting, marking the determination of the U.S. Commission of the boundary, at the western<sup>42</sup> intersection of the Kootenay, Captn. Darrah returned by way of the Kootenay Lake and the Kootenay and Columbia rivers. Between the 27th August and the 14th September the necessary observations and computations at the astronomical station on the Pend d'Oreille

<sup>40</sup> Fort Shepherd was built for the Company by Angus McDonald between the summer of 1856 and the spring of 1859. It was closed in 1870 and destroyed by fire in November, 1872. Clara Graham, *Fur and Gold in the Kootenay* (Vancouver, B.C., 1945), 101-109.

<sup>41</sup> This Salmon River flows into the Pend Oreille River just before the latter stream flows into the Columbia River. This stream should not be confused with White Salmon

[Lat. 49° 00' 03.5"—Long. 117° 21' 52.9"] were completed; but it was not until the 13th October that observations at the second station [Kootenay Mountain—Lat. 49° 00' 12.8"—Long. 117° 10' 48.4"] at the western base of the divide between the Pend d'Oreille and Kootenay rivers were commenced, owing to Captain Darrah's reports to the extreme difficulty of opening a trail into what under other circumstances would be considered a thoroughly impracticable and impenetrable country, and that, too, with a very limited working party, though the distance by trail from the Pend d'Oreille is only 12¼ miles, or 8½ miles along the parallel. Captn. Darrah was occupied at this station from the 12th to the 21st October, and he then moved further eastward. The trail, which was surveyed throughout the Columbia for the connection of the astronomical determinations of the boundary, was continued to the summit of the divide, a further distance of 10 miles, or 7¾ miles along the parallel; this point was reached by the 31st October. Snow had now begun to fall and was indeed about two feet in depth on the summit,

Creek (Salmon River) which flows into the Okanogan from the west. Also it should not be confused with the Salmon River ("River of No Return") which divides Idaho and flows into the Snake River.

<sup>42</sup> Distinguish between Camp Kootenay West located at Lat. 48° 59' 55"—Long. 116° 31' 16.2" and Camp Kootenay East at Lat. 48° 59' 44.6"—Long. 115° 11' 19.2".

and the surface of the ground was frozen so that side cutting for advancing the trail became impossible; upon which Captn. Darrah thought it necessary to fall back. He therefore returned to his second station, where he marked the boundary by 1¼ miles of cutting in the valley as the western foot of the water shed, and with a pyramid of stones at the eastern end of the cutting. Even from this place his departure was hastened by the increasing depth of snow on the lower ground, as with such trails in such a country it would have been dangerous to have risked been snowed up; and on the 17th November the party fell further back to the station on the Pend d'Oreille River [Lat. 49° 00' 03.5"—Long. 117° 21' 52.9"], which was also marked by a cutting of one and one-quarter miles carried up the hills on each side of the river, and by a stone pyramid 8 feet square at bottom and 12 feet high on each bank. On the 30th November, an astronomical station [British—Lat. 49° 00' 00.0"—Long. 117° 37' 41.8"] was occupied on the left or eastern bank of the Columbia for the purpose of ascertaining the point of intersection of that river by the 49th parallel. The U.S. Commission had in the previous season made observations on the right bank [Camp Columbia—Lat. 48° 59' 49.1"—Long. 117° 37' 41.8"], and marked the determination by a cairn and cutting. This cairn was found to be already par-



tially destroyed, probably by Indians, who had apparently made use of some of the stones in the construction of a marten trap near the spot. Having completed the observations at this station, the party was withdrawn for the winter



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Monument and Cutting along  
the 49° Boundary

and reached headquarters on the 16th December. Besides the survey along the trail from the Columbia to the summit of the divide between the Pend d'Oreille and Kootenay rivers, surveys were made by a detached party southward down the Columbia, and thence up the valley of the Newhoialpitkw [Kettle River], closing on Capt. Haig's work at Statapoosten [Lat. 49° 00' 10.8"—Long. 118° 16' 16.6"]. These surveys comprised a distance of about 72 miles, and were intended to form connection with *this* place (nearly opposite the confluence of the Columbia and Newhoialpitkw [Kettle River]) where observations for latitude and longitude have been made during the winter, and between Capt. Haig and Darrah's work in the event of the

direct connection not being made during the season as turned out to be the case. . . .

10. Some marks made in paragraphs 3, 4, and 6 will indicate the general character of the country in which the years' operations have been conducted. Continuous mountains, practically nearly impenetrable, extend from the Sumass prairies on the west [of the Cascades] to the Similkameen River on the east, a distance along the boundary of about 110 miles or nearly 2½ degrees of longitude; and mountains again present themselves from the Columbia eastward. These mountain regions are quite unfit for settlement and are of little or no present value except as hunting grounds for the Indians, and they are even very partially penetrated by those people. The immediate value of the valleys of the Newhoialpitkw [Kettle River] and Similkameen and the adjacent grassy hills depends altogether on the development of the gold deposits within British territory east of the Cascade Mountains. The extension of population, the grazing capabilities of the country, and such inducements for agriculture as local requirements might present, though the soil generally is of a very indifferent character, might lead to partial settlement, the permanence of which would probably be altogether dependent on the continuous production of gold. The only extensive openings into British territory northward are the valleys of the Columbia and Okanagan rivers. The former is represented to be very sterile, and it does not seem to support any large number of Indians. The latter is more populous. Its southern end was visited by Lieut. Anderson, who stated that he received very favorable accounts of it from the Indians. It is of considerable width, open and grassy, and a large proportion of its bottom is occupied by very extensive shallow lakes. The great lake [Okanagan] is reported to be 90 or 100 miles in length. A trail follows its course throughout, and was much used by gold seekers on their way to Thompson and Fraser rivers in 1858-59, the divide between the Fraser and Okanagan basins at about the upper end of the lake not being more than 10 or 15 miles in width. It is said that snow does not exceed a few inches in depth in winter, thus offering facilities for the keeping of stock, and the same character is given to some spots in the Newhoialpitkw [Kettle River] Valley.

11. All the members of the Commission hav-

<sup>43</sup> There seemed to have been a temporary station in the area of Schweltza [American spelling, Swehlthcha] Lake, later Cultus Lake, and the Sweltzer River. *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 33, 35, 38, 39. Also see Baker, *Northwestern*

ing assembled at this place [British Headquarters, Colville] by the middle of December, throughout the winter the reduction of the observations, surveys, &c., made during the season, plotting the work, &c., have been actively in progress; drawing and computing offices having been at once established, and as many of the men having been employed on those duties, under the supervision of the several officers, as were required or were competent to undertake them. An observatory having been erected amongst the other buildings, Capt. Haig and Darrah have been engaged making numerous observations for the determination of the absolute longitude of this place, and also for its latitude, for the purpose of referring the results to the map produced by astronomical and surveying operations on the boundary. Preparations for resuming the work in the coming season have also been in active progress throughout the winter, in the complete repair of the tents, equipments of all sorts, pack-gear, &c., &c.; and every effort has been made to keep the men usefully employed, and to get everything into readiness for taking the field effectually by the earliest date that travelling becomes practicable.

[No. 15. Lt. Col. Hawkins to Secretary of State, Colville, Washington Territory, April 12, 1861]

6. In paragraph 9 my letter No. 14 of the 28th ultimo I stated that the boundary so carefully and completely defined and marked by Capt. Haig and Lieut. Anderson in the past season between the Similkameen and the western intersection of the Newhoialpitkw [Kettle River] at Statapoosten would require revision. This necessity arises from the connections made between the various British and American points on the boundary derived from the astronomical operations at the several stations showing great and unexpected discrepancies in the latitude of the points. The results of the astronomical operations by both commissions seem to be in the highest degree satisfactory; the points on the 49th parallel derived from those results are not liable to errors which can be detected at the stations themselves; the country through which the connections have been made is of a generally favourable character, and the method of connection does not permit of errors at all ap-

*Boundary*, 61. The nearest permanent station was Sumass, Lat. 49° 01' 25.8"—Long. 122° 11' 52.8".

<sup>44</sup> He was subsequently knighted. He held the post of royal astronomer from 1835 to 1881. *DNB*, ed. by Sidney Lee, Supplement (New York, 1920), I, 22-25.

proaching in magnitude the discrepancies found to exist. There seems to be no way of explaining these discrepancies except by attributing them principally to local causes affecting the astronomical observations similar to those vitiating the determinations at Schweltza<sup>43</sup> alluded to in paragraph 16 of my despatch No. 9 dated 21st May, 1860, and which probably affect more of [*sic*] less every station between the sea and the Rocky Mountains. Two ways of dealing with this difficulty presented themselves—either to connect the adjacent stations by curves representing and having the properties of the 49th parallel (there being on [*sic*] apparent reason for preferring or rejecting the determination of any one of the stations), which might have been the preferable method had there been grounds for suspecting the accuracy of the manner of making the connections, and which will be followed in revising the line between Semiahmoo [bay of Strait of Georgia] and Sumass, or to adopt a mean parallel from the continuation of the several astronomical results and their connections, from that mean to correct the result obtained at each station and to run and mark a parallel coinciding with those corrections. There are two British and three U. S. determinations of latitude in the space of nearly 65 miles from between the Similkameen River and Osoyoos Lake to Statapoosten [Lat. 49° 00' 10.8"—Long. 118° 16' 16.6"]; the greatest discrepancy is between the British [*sic*] station at Osoyoos [Lat. 49° 00' 09.9"—Long. 119° 24' 12.0"] and the U. S. station at Statapoosten, which differ about 860 ft., and none of the stations agree within less than about 180 ft., which is the difference between Statapoosten and the British station at Inshwintum [Lat. 48° 59' 58.5"—Long. 118° 28' 12.8"]. In this case the first plan would certainly not produce a *parallel* of latitude, and thus would knowingly fail to fulfil the provisions of the treaty; the second plan would result in a parallel which would probably be the nearest approach to an accurate determination of the 49th parallel that any but a very elaborate and extended course of observation could arrive at. Capt. Haig has written at length to Mr. [George Biddell] Airy,<sup>44</sup> the astronomer royal, on the subject of these unwelcome and very unexpected discrepancies and on the method of dealing with them. At a meeting at this place on the 4th March, attended by Lieut. [John G.] Parke, the U. S. chief astronomer, in the absence of the Commissioner, Mr. J. S. Harris, one of the U. S. assistant astronomers, Capt. Haig, and myself, the above question and the plan of this year's operations were discussed,



and it was agreed that a mean parallel should be adopted and a new line run and marked from the Similkameen to Statapoosten. This Lieut. Parke has undertaken to do on the part of the U.S. Commission, on satisfying himself as to the existence and amount of the alleged discrepancies. . . .

[No. 18. Lt. Col. Hawkins to Secretary of State, Sinyakwa-teen, Pend d'Oreille River, Aug. 26, 1861]

5. As the British and United States Commissions have very seldom been working in close proximity, few or no opportunities have been afforded of ascertaining the strength employed by the U.S. Commission; and from the very different position occupied by their military escort to that of the detachment of royal engineers attached to this Commission, even with greater knowledge of the details of their proceedings it would be difficult to institute a comparison of the relative strength employed by the two Commissions. It has always been my opinion that the proceedings of the U.S. Commission were conducted with energy and ability, and that nothing was allowed to be wanting in their organization and arrangements. Their staff of officers was certainly larger than that of the British Commission—their train of animals was at least equal to if not larger than ours (they had, I believe, many more mules, but fewer horses), besides the separate train for the supply and transport of their escort, and being always a season in advance of us, the amount of trail making, bridging, &c., performed by the U.S. Commission was much in excess of what we had done of that description; while we have always unavoidably benefited more or less by their labours thus in advance, and this year we have done so to a very great extent. They have certainly undertaken less cutting on the boundary, but even that has been more equalized by their having undertaken the revision of the line between the Similkameen River and Statapoosten (vide paragraph 6 of my letter No. 15, 12th April, 1861) this year, which has just been brought to a very satisfactory conclusion. I have no reason whatever to think that the expenditures of the U.S. Commission will not bear comparison as to its gross amount with that of the British, and in some details it might be so to my advantage, as they have had many facilities in agencies, the assistance afforded them by the military and other authorities, their dealing with their own countrymen, and greater knowledge of their character, &c., from which I

was debarred. The iron monuments for marking the boundary beteen [*sic*] Semiahmoo and Schweltza have been provided by Her Majesty's Government, and I have undertaken the erection of the proposed small stone obelisk on the western face of Point Roberts (of the probable cost of which I am not yet informed) without making any proposition about dividing the expense, which, under certain circumstances of previous non-accordance with the U.S. Commissioner which I reported at the time to your lordship, I felt to be a somewhat delicate question, which might be raised, if necessary, at some future time should any comparison of expenditure be made; but these items are likely to bear a very small and insignificant proportion to the general expenditure, and perhaps even to the difference in the total outlay of the two Commissions. If H. M. Water Boundary Commissioner had consented to the U.S. Commissioner's proposition for the erection of a monument at the initial point at Point Roberts at the time it was first made, as the headquarters of the U.S. Commission were then established at Semiahmoo, I have no doubt that Mr. [Archibald] Campbell was prepared to undertake the work, though I cannot suggest whether or not he would have proposed to share the expense.

6. With reference to the inquiry whether, so far as the boundary has been marked, it is admitted by the American Commissioner, as well as by myself, I had very great satisfaction in informing your lordship in paragraph 8 of my letter No. 14, of the 28th March, of the concordant result of the last meeting of the Joint Commission in the beginning of November, 1860, prior to the departure of the U.S. Commissioner to Washington, at which meeting a general acknowledgment of the separate operations of the Commissions was made.

The U.S. Commissioner consented to the demarcation by iron pillars of the boundary from Point Roberts as far eastward as it was found reasonably practicable so to define it, including the two points on the eastern face of Point Roberts and on the eastern shore of Semiahmoo Bay, at which he had at first wished to erect monuments similar, but inferior in size, to that proposed for what he designated the "initial point" on the western face of Point Roberts. It was also then arranged that the U.S. Commission should undertake the revision of the line from the Similkameen River to Statapoosten, rendered necessary by the discrepancies in the several latitude determinations in that interval detected by Captn. Haig in the course of his

operations last year. The manner of performing this revision was agreed upon at a subsequent meeting with the U.S. chief astronomer, reported to your lordship in paragraph 6 of my letter No. 15, and that work has just been completed, Lieut. Parke having, moreover, stated to me that "the adjustment of the discrepancies was most satisfactory" to the U.S. Commission, and that "the agreement between the two results of the two Commissions, for latitude obtained at the same station, and the several azimuthal determinations, is most satisfactory." By agreement, if found practicable, this portion of actually defined boundary is to be produced to the Columbia, although the interval between Statapoosten and that river is occupied by lofty mountains; and, as previously stated in paragraph 4, Captn. Haig is no doubt on the way to take up that work. The examination of the results of the latitude determinations at the mountain stations was deferred, though had any system of marking it been proposed we were in a position to have produced the British results, which up to that time had been arrived at. There is, however, no reason whatever to doubt that such mutual examination will eventually prove perfectly satisfactory to the Commissions. I may here mention that at the eastern terminus of the boundary at the Rocky Mountains, Captn. Haig only differed from the American result by 38 ft., entailing a change in the position of the terminal monument of only 19 feet; at the crossing of the Columbia, Captn. Darrah differed from the American result (on the opposite bank) by a little more than one second, or by, I think, about 113 feet, and at Lake Osoyoos, where the U.S. astronomers have made very careful observations in consequence of the alleged discrepancies in the Similkameen [Lat. 48° 59' 12.1"—Long. 119° 54' 53.2"]—Statapoosten determinations, they differed from Captn. Haig by not 2/3rds. of a second, or by about 64 feet. A portion even of these small discrepancies is most probably due to the different season of the year at which the observations were made and the different stars observed; as during the winter Captn. Haig obtained a set of observations for latitude at the U.S. Commission observatory at the adjacent military post [Fort Colville], using his own instrument, but as nearly as possible the same stars that were observed at that point by the U.S. astronomers for the purpose of comparison, and the results were almost identical, differing, I think, by only 15 feet. On the scale that the nature of the surveys will admit of the maps being laid down,

there is little likelihood of any disagreement of any importance in producing a joint map from the independent surveys of the two Commissions. None but simple practical questions can arise, which can, I think, be easily practically solved. At present I know of nothing under this head of enquiry in which the two Commissions are not in entire accord—a state of things I confess I did not anticipate not many months ago. . . .

[9.] It is also intended to define the western terminus of the land boundary on the western face of Point Roberts, a point common to the water and land boundary Commissions, by a small stone obelisk about 20 feet high. About half of the portion of boundary between the Similkameen and Statapoosten passes over rolling grassy country, with occasional patches of forest, and the other half is rugged and mostly thickly wooded. During last season cuttings were made throughout the forest occurring in this interval, excepting in the bottoms of some of the deep valleys on the mountainous chord crossing the southern bend of the Newhoial-pitkw [Kettle River], in consequence of the work having been interrupted by snow, and in the space of about 70 miles 54 stone beacons were erected at the most prominent or otherwise important points, besides there being 3 or 4 others placed by the U.S. Commission in the previous year. From some points on this portion of the line 8 or 10 beacons can be seen and the boundary can be traced for many miles. In revising the line this year by the adoption of a mean parallel between the discrepant latitude determinations, the U.S. Commission have replaced all the beacons (which are "square pyramidal piles of stone carefully laid, six feet square at base and six feet high"), and added one more, so that this important portion of the boundary is marked throughout by nearly 60 monuments. I am further informed by the U.S. chief astronomer that on the revised line "the timber has been cut out at all the monuments, crossings of valleys, trails, and ridges, in all smooth rolling country and mountain slopes, where the old vistas already existed and were visible from routes to travel," and that "the old monuments were all taken down, and in many cases the stones removed." It is intended to continue the demarcation of this portion of line from Statapoosten to the Columbia, but even should Captn. Haig find that the necessary cuttings are not reasonably practicable, I have no doubt that from his connecting survey he will be enabled to determine the position of a sufficient





Alden  
Sketch  
of the  
Moyee  
River

National Archives & Records Service

number of beacons to define the line satisfactorily and permanently. The above are the most important cuttings that have been made, and the longest portions of the boundary that have been or are proposed to be marked. Last season the U.S. Commission made good cuttings for 5 miles on each side of the river at the eastern crossing of the Kootenay and for about 7 miles between the Kishenehu [branch of the Flathead] and [North Fork of the] Flathead rivers; but in my opinion these considerable distances are very insufficiently marked by monuments, there being according to my observation only three at each place. This, I have no doubt, was owing to stone not being procurable on the spot, and to the difficulty there would have been and delay that would have occurred in conveying it to suitable points. At the numerous mountain or other stations, the points on the boundary are marked by short cuttings and by one or more stone beacons, and nothing intermediate between such points has been considered practicable, the connecting surveys having been carried along the trails by which the line of operations has been traversed. The eastern terminus of the boundary on the watershed of the Rocky Mountains is defined by an ordinary beacon, placed on a low, short, and narrow saddle, with precipitous sides, lying between two rugged mountains which rise abruptly from it, a secure spot where the monument is very little likely to be disturbed by man or even animals, though in that bleak

region it may not be spared by the elements. The saddle itself, which runs nearly north and south, will always define the position of the boundary within an inconsiderable limit.

With regard to the remark made by the lords of the treasury, that the cutting of a forest vista would seem to their lordships at once costly and wanting in permanence, I beg permission to observe that in laying out a continuous line of boundary through forest I hardly see *how* it could be done without cutting such a vista. It would hardly be practically possible to determine satisfactorily the points to be permanently marked without the assistance of such an opening; and even if it could be done, it might be said that the points intended to define the line would be lost in the forest without having any connection with each other. I would have abstained from these cuttings had I considered it practicable to do the work without them; and the two chief astronomers at the Joint Commission meeting in April, 1859, gave most positive opinions that if a continuous line was to be marked the cutting could not be dispensed with. The cuttings on this have, I believe, been very

<sup>45</sup> A depot on the right bank of Clark Fork of the Columbia. Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 53; Ferris, "Life in Colville."

<sup>46</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 80-81.

<sup>47</sup> Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 17-19.

<sup>48</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 81-83. The Marcus Baker compilation referred to in these annotations is the closest approximation to a final report among American records. *Post*, 16.

different from those on the New Brunswick and Maine boundary, some being through timber of the heaviest description, and the openings are likely to be identified for many years to come; but I still consider that monuments of a more permanent character and defining the actual *line* were required. On the close of the Joint Commission and final authoritative adoption of the boundary, it appears to me that it will be necessary to place the monuments under the particular charge of the land departments on either side of the frontier, for the purpose of identifying them from time to time, and of preserving them, by bestowing that degree of attention upon them that they may be found to require; and I think, also, that as facilities increase, the beacons of dry stone should be replaced by similar erections of solid masonry—the result of such labor and expense should not be lost for want of future care; and even the accessible cuttings might be preserved at no great cost by a little timely attention to them at intervals.

10. \* \* \*

11. \* \* \*

I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient humble servant, J. S. Hawkins, Lieut. Colonel Rl. Engrs., H. M. Commissioner. The Right Honble. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. (Endorsed:) H. M. Boundary Commission, Sinyakwateen,<sup>45</sup> Pend d'Oreille rivers, August 26th, 1861. Lieut. Col. Hawkins, R. E. Despatch No. 18. Report on the operations of the Commission called for by despatch No. 1. F. O. 29th April, 1861.

[No. 19. Lt. Col. J. S. Hawkins to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, New Westminster, British Columbia, Oct. 15, 1861]

MY LORD:

I enclose a sketch of the proposed obelisk, which, as your lordship may observe, is to be of comparatively small size for the purpose intended, having been so designed solely on the ground of economy. It will stand retired a few yards from the edge of a steep bank upwards of 150 feet high, and will be dwarfed in appear-

<sup>49</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 98-99, 104-106; Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 19-26.

<sup>50</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 44, 56-71, 46, 66-67, 89-91; A. O. Wheeler, *Selkirk Range* (Ottawa, 1905), II, 186.

<sup>51</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 66, 90; *International Boundary Commission Joint Report upon the Survey and Demarcation of the Boundary between the Gulf of Georgia to the Northwesternmost Point on the Lake of the Woods* (Washington, D.C., 1937), 213.

ance by the lofty pines around it, while it is desirable that it should be conspicuously visible from the sea, a shoal extending off the coast of Point Roberts preventing the approach of vessels to within a mile or two of the shore. On the western face of the obelisk it is intended to place the title and date of the treaty as shown on the sketch; on the eastern, the latitude and longitude of the point and the date of erection; and at the suggestion of Mr. Campbell, on the north and south faces, the names of the commissioners.

Owing to the existing state of things in these colonies the cost of the work will not fall far short of £1,500, a sum probably representing from twice to three and four times that for which it might be performed in most other parts of the world. The obelisk is to be of solid cut granite of the weight of about 40 tons, in stones varying from 1 to 2¼ tons each. As before said it will stand on the top of a rugged bank upwards of 150 feet in height which rises abruptly from a shingle beach not more than 10 or 15 yards in width above high-water mark. Up this bank every article has to be hoisted, for which purpose a strong wooden tramway has been laid, under Captain Gosset's superintendence.

BRITISH FIELD WORK was not completed until early in 1862.<sup>46</sup> The American staff returned to Washington, D.C., late in 1861 and set up offices to process materials and prepare a map. Most of the individual scientific reports were finished by the end of 1862, but computations and drafting of maps continued until 1865-66. It was not until October, 1869, that the commission declared its assignment complete and terminated its tenure.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, Hawkins (now a lieutenant colonel) had visited Washington in June, 1862, and had urged collaboration on the interpretation of data for the final report and maps. He had also proposed that the operations of the two commissions be concluded by a supplementary convention to the treaty of June 15, 1846. The response was negative, which spelled separate reports to the American and British governments.<sup>48</sup> The official treaty maps of the survey, thirteen in number, represented a joint effort, but only in the last stages.<sup>49</sup> During this later review and comparison of data, discrepancies in calculations were discovered;<sup>50</sup> and these were reconciled at places by adopting a mean line.<sup>51</sup> This inadequate remedy only served to compound the confusion which was certain to develop when the area concerned was settled and



when private titles as well as jurisdictional lines were to become involved.<sup>52</sup>

The nature of the complexities and incongruities resulting from the discrepancies in astronomical calculations between the two parties in the field should be apparent in the document here presented. Magnetic forces which could not be offset by the available instruments seem to have caused most of the divergent figures.<sup>53</sup> Hawkins appeared to be less disturbed by the discrepancies than he was about the matter of stable markers. From the outset he had favored iron monuments, but Campbell regarded them as too expensive.<sup>54</sup> It was finally agreed that iron monuments would be used on the section between Point Roberts and the crest of the Cascades. Stone beacons were to be erected to mark the remainder of the line.<sup>55</sup> The British commissioner's misgivings seem to have been justified, since some monuments were damaged during the interval between their erection by one party and their discovery by another.<sup>56</sup> For this reason Hawkins had urged not merely the use of iron posts, but also a system of sustained inspection and repair of the monuments.<sup>57</sup>

Settlers later felt the full impact of the lack of stability and certainty of the demarcations on the 49° parallel line. Whereas trouble had initially been anticipated largely in the Okanogan country,<sup>58</sup> it proved most serious in the so-called "Boundary Country" in the Kettle River Valley. Occasionally there were three parallel tracks and two sets of markers. In the rugged stretch between the Moyie Valley and the Rocky Mountain Divide, mining claims became shrouded in uncertainty as to the proper jurisdiction. Corrections were made by the Canadian government in response to local complaints,<sup>59</sup> but it was not until the complete resurvey agreed to in 1908 that vistas were cut the entire length of the boundary where it passed through forest coun-

try.<sup>60</sup> Equally, if not more, important was the establishment in 1925 of a permanent border patrol which assured orderly functioning of the boundary.<sup>61</sup>

Weird spirits not only hovered over the boundary; their kin infested the disposition of the records of the two commissions, so that in view of the resulting confusion, there has never been a complete recovery of all the findings of the commissions, much less an adequate summation. Economy was the factor which prevented prompt publication of the American records. As the result of the absence of proper archives custody, the various documents were scattered among the several government agencies, and some went completely astray. In 1900 Marcus Baker, cartographer for the United States Geological Survey, made a reconnaissance of American materials extant and published a compilation and summary.<sup>62</sup>

The British papers vanished and remained hidden for more than a quarter of a century. Their discovery in 1898 at the Greenwich observatory library by Otto Klotz, astronomer for the Canadian government,<sup>63</sup> has become a most exciting tale of a happy heuristic accident in modern history.<sup>64</sup> It merits telling in the discoverer's own words:

The finding of the two green boxes with the 19 volumes was rather singular. I espied on the top of the high shelves two boxes and the printed letters B.N.A. caught my eye, and like a flash I interpreted them "British North America." I asked Mr. [William Henry Mahoney] Christie what they contained. He did not know; they had been there a long time. By request the janitor was called with step ladder; the boxes were brought down, the dust removed as well as the lid, and there lay before my bulging eyes the records of the 49° parallel west of the Rockies mountains—the records that had been looked for the past 30 years! A happy man was I.<sup>65</sup>

Most of the significant data about all surveys of the international boundary between the

United States and Canada were made available in a final report of 1937. It must be acknowledged that the fortunate history of the 49° parallel line developed despite and not because of inadequate technical performance in the matter of surveys and of improper records custody. It

has been in keeping with the general tenor of Anglo-American relations that good will and a spirit of equity should have offset technical imperfections and the impact of unorthodox procedures in the determination and administration of boundaries.

## Boundary Centennial Celebration

BY HARRIET SEELY

IN 1961 the State of Washington and the Province of British Columbia commemorated the centennial of the boundary survey of the 49th parallel. A joint resolution of the Washington state legislature (House Joint Resolution No. 28) was sponsored in the House by Miss Ann O'Donnell of Seattle, Dick J. Kink of Bellingham, and August P. Mardesich of Everett, and in the Senate by Homer Nunemaker of Bellingham. The Washington State Historical Society was directed to plan for suitable ceremonies. Bruce Le Roy, director of the Society, made the arrangements, in coöperation with Willard Ireland, Provincial Archivist of British Columbia. Governor Albert Rosellini named a centennial commission, and the people of Point Roberts selected a local committee under the leadership of William Olson, Andrew Smith, and Mrs. Rosemary Dugan.

It was decided that the celebration should have its focus in a meeting at Point Roberts, July 30, 1961. Preceding the meeting, Point Roberts held its annual salmon barbecue, which thus became a part of the celebration. It was fitting that the festivities should be held at this location, for the commissioners who had surveyed the boundary in 1861 had erected a granite obelisk on the bluff 300 feet above the shore, where, the American

Commissioner Archibald Campbell remarked, "the 49th parallel meets the sea."

Sunday, July 30, 1961, was a clear, beautiful day. The sunlight danced across the waters of the Strait of Georgia, and a gentle breeze from the sea stirred the foliage of the trees near the boundary monument. Strains of music by the Bellingham Symphonic Band signaled the beginning of the centennial program.

Those who gathered there were acutely conscious of the historical significance of the occasion, which not only honored the arduous labors of the surveyors, but also denoted a century of peaceful neighborliness on the part of the two great nations. This was the keynote in the greetings exchanged by the consular officials of the United States and Canada and in the addresses of the honored speakers, Governor Albert Rosellini and Canadian Attorney General Robert Bonner. An exchange of flags and a flag-raising ceremony concluded the celebration.

Visitors enjoyed the special hospitality of the residents of Point Roberts. The ladies of the Grange served the luncheon, and Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Stephens, whose home is near the monument, showed the group every courtesy. Following the formal ceremony, Mr. and Mrs. Gus Ivorsen entertained at a garden party. The beautiful views of the Strait of Georgia and the Gulf Islands enhanced the pleasures of the occasion.

HARRIET SEELY is a member of the Governor's State Committee on the Boundary Survey Centennial.

<sup>52</sup> Wheeler, *Selkirk Range*, I, 233; Otto Klotz, "The History of the 49° Parallel Survey West of the Rocky Mountains," *Geographical Review*, III (1917), 382-85; Klotz, *Diary*, Aug. 3, 1901, XVIII, 62-64, 74-76; Klotz Papers, Public Archives of Canada; Letter, D.M.I. to Hon. T. Mayne Daly, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, April 21, 1896 [copy of a copy], File No. 403876, Public Archives of Canada, Dept. of the Interior, Dominion Lands, Gen. Cor. 4, R.G. 15 B-1a.

<sup>53</sup> *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71, 36, 38-39, 66, 69-71, 77.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 13, 14, 17-21, 24-26, 41.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 41, 56.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 45, 51, 66-68, 106-107.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 21, 66-68, 92-93.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>59</sup> *Ante*, n. 7; also "Copy of a report of a committee of the Honorable, the Executive Council approved by His Honor, the Lieutenant Governor on the 15th day of Nov. 1892," File No. 1584, and "Extract from a Report of the Honorable the Privy Council approved by His Excellency on the 5th of Jan., 1901 [transmitted minutes, Privy Coun-

cil, British Columbia, Oct. 16, 1900]," File No. 611540, Public Archives of Canada.

<sup>60</sup> *International Boundary Commission* (1937), 1-10; Boggs, *International Boundaries*, 62.

<sup>61</sup> *International Boundary Commission* (1937), 11-15; Boggs, *International Boundaries*, 62-63; Jones, *Boundary-Making*, 223-24.

<sup>62</sup> Baker, *Northwestern Boundary*, 9-13.

<sup>63</sup> Otto Klotz told of this discovery in several places: *Diary*, Monday, June 11, 1898, XVI; note on flyleaf of *For. Off. Cor.*, 1856-71; "History of the 49° Parallel Survey."

<sup>64</sup> Otto Tittman, Superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, expressed the opinion that the discovery of the papers avoided the need for duplicating much of the work done in 1857-61. "Geodesy—Our Northern Boundaries," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, IV (1914), 42.

<sup>65</sup> Klotz, *Diary*, July 11, 1898, XVI. Mr. Christie succeeded Sir George Airy in 1881. Christie was also knighted. *DNB*, 1922-1933 (London, 1937), 184-85.



### Cover Illustration

THE AVAILABILITY of contemporary source materials for history may depend upon the forethought of an earlier generation or it may be largely a matter of chance. In the case of the boundary survey between Canada and the United States, we may say it was luck and good management. Through a turn of fortune we must look to the British commissioners for contemporary reports of the day-to-day activities of the survey parties. For a full pictorial record of the survey, however, we have a substantial collection of watercolors painted by an American artist who was assigned to the survey for that purpose. James M. Alden, the artist attached to the American commission during the years 1860-61, proved himself an industrious and talented painter. His sketches, which depict many scenes along the boundary line from the Gulf of Georgia to the Rocky Mountains, are therefore a rich pictorial source from which we can form an impression of terrain and visualize the camps which the commission established. The originals are in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The cover illustration shows Camp Sumass on Sumass Prairie, not far from the Gulf of Georgia.

THE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM of the Washington State Historical Society is designed to promote an intelligent and informed interest in Pacific Northwest history on the part of all citizens of the State. The pamphlet series, in which this present publication is included, brings to the general reader selected short research studies and basic source materials which otherwise could only be published in periodicals of limited circulation. The series thus provides a popular, low-cost medium through which significant historical contributions are made available to the general public.

### Washington State Historical Society Publications

*1841, Fourth of July, 1906; Commemorative Celebration at Sequim Lake, Pierce County, Washington, July 5th, 1906* (1906)

*Washington State Historical Society Publications, Volume II, 1907-1914* (1915)

*Building a State: Washington, 1889-1939*, edited by Charles Miles and O. B. Sperlin (1940)

*The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure*, by John A. Hussey (1958)

*Guns of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, by Ruby El Hult (1960)

*H. M. Chittenden: A Western Epic*, edited by Bruce Le Roy (1961)

*Surveying the 49th Parallel, 1858-61*, edited by Herman J. Deutsch (1962)

Publications which have appeared 1958-62 are currently available.