POLITICAL GROUPS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1883 - 1898

by
Eleanor Brown Mercer

University of British Columbia
April, 1937
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PREFACE

This thesis does not pretend to be an authoritative political history of British Columbia, and a glance at the bibliography will show the reason. Because the period concerned is relatively recent, the correspondence and private papers of such men as Smithe, Robson, Theodore Davie and Turner, are not available; and without these documents as a background, newspapers are poor sources.

However, until such time as more serious work is possible, this incomplete survey of the period will perhaps serve as a guide to a subject which is at once significant and highly entertaining.
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CHAPTER I.

The 'Fight Canada' Period.

British Columbia history is too often studied in a spasmodic
fashion—the epochs of discovery, colonial settlement, federation, and
modern progress are stressed, with little thought for the intervening
stages. True, such historians as Judge Howay, Mr. Gosnell and Mr.
Scholefield, have given a sustained narrative of events, but the average
layman still knows only a few romantic tales of British Columbia's past,
without attempting to form any connecting link. He will readily tell you
that British Columbia joined confederation in 1871; but he has no idea
of the years of dispute and negotiation which led up to that event, no
appreciation of the political manoeuvres that followed it. Likewise he
will tell you that Sir Richard McBride introduced party lines into the
provincial government in 1903, leaving the impression that the former
system was absolutely non-partisan. Yet nothing could be further from
the truth; for party groupings had existed in British Columbia since the
beginning of popular government, and they certainly ruled the province
after federation.

The term 'party' has been defined many times since Burke's
famous apology in his "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents".

(1) Howay, F. W., and Scholefield, E. O. S., British Columbia from the
earliest times to the present (Vancouver, 1914), vol. II.
(2) Scholefield, E. O. S., and Gosnell, R. E., A history of British
Columbia (Vancouver, 1913), part II.
(3) cf. Sage, W. N., "The critical period of British Columbia history"
One of the clearest explanations is given by Professor Leacock:

By a political party we mean a more or less organised group of citizens who act together as a political unit. They share, or profess to share, the same opinions on public questions, and by exercising their voting power towards a common end, seek to obtain control of the government.

Thus in a self-governing state, parties naturally come into existence when a major issue arises.

In British Columbia responsible government was set up in 1871 after union with the dominion. Even at the first session Premier McCreight roused sectional opposition when he chose two cabinet ministers from the island and only one from the mainland, and he antagonised all members when he refused to raise the sessional allowance; but he was saved from defeat by the public's desire to give him time to establish the groundwork of the government. McCreight's real sin had been his failure to support the early movement for responsible government; on these grounds John Robson, Amor De Cosmos and T. B. Humphreys opposed him in the house, but they had no policy of their own.

This lack of a real difference between the two groups was made evident when De Cosmos became premier in 1873, for he inaugurated no radical changes. Humphreys had turned McCreight out on a non-confidence motion, but neither he nor Robson obtained a seat in the cabinet; and G. A. Walkem, who had been a member of the late ministry, entered the new one with the blessing of McCreight, and in 1874 he assumed the premiership (with the same cabinet—Beaven, Armstrong and Ash) when De Cosmos preferred to retain his seat at Ottawa.

But a strong opposition was growing up, condemning the deficits

(a) Although the period of this chapter extends only from 1873 to 1888, I have chosen to sketch in the background the events from 1871 to 1882.
(the province had turned over its debts to the dominion under the union terms, but the ministers could not keep the slate clean) and the 'Fight Canada' policy. In 1876 Humphreys again defeated the government, censoring the practice of borrowing from the dominion when the union terms were yet unfulfilled by Ottawa.

The Elliott government placated the citizens by attempting to settle the railway dispute; but the ministry roused indignation by once more failing to balance the budget, despite higher taxes and a $150,000 loan bill, and after two years of power Elliott gave way to Walkem.

Walkem and Beaven, instead of remedying the financial muddle, made it worse by their policy of antagonising the dominion government, and their mismanagement of provincial public works. In the end they were replaced by Smithe, who had been a member of the Elliott administration, and who was the first of a party 'line which held power for 15 years.

Thus even before 1883, British Columbia had her first taste of party politics. True, the groups bore no specific names, other than 'government' or 'opposition', nor were they definitely allied with the federal parties; granted, they did not impose strict discipline upon their members, nor did they have extensive propaganda organisations outside of the legislature; nevertheless they were groups in which the members worked together, seeking to obtain or to maintain political power. Consequently Sir Richard McBride's introduction of federal party lines into provincial politics brought no revolutionary change in the British Columbia political system; rather it effected the

(6) v. infra, p. 4.
(7) This account was taken from Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., pp. 327-411; and Johns, Harold P., British Columbia's campaign for better terms, 1871-1907 (University of British Columbia thesis, 1935)
culmination of a steady movement by associating the local groups with the wider and more powerful national organisations.

This thesis will attempt to recount part of that movement by bridging the gap between two stormy periods—the 'Fight Canada' era and the few years of deadlock immediately preceding 1903. Although the years 1883 to 1898, which saw a continuous chain of interlocking ministries and the settlement of many differences with the dominion, were relatively quiet ones, yet the two groups were as quarrelsome as before; in the absence of any real public issues they turned to personal and local ones—the party machinery had been established firmly enough to prevent a break-up into weak coalitions.

The victory of the Smithe opposition in the 1883 elections brought to a peaceful end the 'Fight Canada' period in British Columbia's history. This belligerent policy had been inaugurated by the De Cosmos government, in protesting against the dominion's failure to build the transcontinental railway as provided in the terms of union; it was heightened by Premier Walkem's rejection in 1874 of federal overtures made through Mr. Edgar. Then, not content with local protests, the provincial representatives invaded London with memorials to the queen. The Carnarvon terms of November 1874 would have brought compromise, but for the refusal of the senate to ratify the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway bill of 1876. The Elliott ministry, which had defeated the Walkem government of 1876, was the forerunner of the conciliatory governments which were to hold office between 1883 and 1898. Among Elliott's colleagues were William Smithe, next leader of the harmony group; F. G. Vernon, later chief commissioner of lands and works under Robson; and
A. E. B. Davie, later attorney-general and premier. While Lord Dufferin's visit did much to allay the ever-rising bitterness against the dominion, yet local politics were far from peaceful. The Walkem opposition 'party,' in a minority of two, carried on a petty but effective obstruction policy which led to the complete overthrow of the government in the 1878 elections.

With the Walkem-Beaven 'restoration' came further appeals to London, even secession resolutions. The conflict now was over the island railway, for which the federal government disclaimed all responsibility; work on the mainland was progressing rapidly, bringing content there, and renewed bitterness on the island. The government, controlled by the island members, appointed Amor De Cosmos in 1880 as special agent to persuade the dominion government to carry out its 'obligation' to build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway. When Macdonald definitely established Port Moody as the terminus of the C.P.R., De Cosmos was sent on to London to press the provincial claims— but with little success. Walkem then attempted to provide for the construction by incorporating the Clements company, but these American financiers made no pretense at construction, and their grant lapsed.

Not content with favoring the island by pushing this small railway, the government further aroused mainland opposition by its mishandling of the Esquimalt graving dock. This project had been commenced in 1875 with the aid of dominion and imperial grants, but the actual construction did not begin until 1880. The real trouble arose over the cement, which, according to the contract, the government was to supply. The amount required was believed to be very small, and Walkem assured the legislature that the dock would not cost British Columbia a
cent more than the grants received. But the members learned that the province was sinking over $300,000 into the work; they appointed a committee to investigate, and severely censured the government. Yet Smith's want-of-confidence motion was defeated by one vote due to a sudden change of heart by Donald McGillvray, and the dissolution found the government still in power.

But this was election year. How could a ministry be returned which had barely managed to pass its measures in the face of inexhaustible opposition among the voters? To make matters worse, Walkem further reduced the numbers and prestige of the government by accepting a judgeship in May, 1882. The motives behind such decisions are always difficult to ascertain; but it seems evident that the premier, seeing defeat ahead, took the first chance to escape. Of course, he may have acted merely upon the desire for a less strenuous occupation than politics; but any man as able and experienced as G. A. Walkem was must surely have realised what his resignation would mean to a government with a doubtful majority of one!

Furthermore the premier had been the only lawyer in the government, and he now left his successor Robert Beaven without an attorney-general. Even W. N. Bole, later to become Beaven's right-hand man, refused to join this cabinet; finally, however, J. Roland Hett (the new premier's cousin) took office. Beaven himself remained minister of finance and also became president of the council and chief commissioner of lands and works, as well as premier; the only other cabinet member was the capricious Thomas Basil Humphreys, provincial secretary and minister of mines.

The election of July 1882 was a complete victory for the
opposition, who had caught public favor by their promise to come to terms with the federal government, to replace extravagant expenditures by much-needed public works, and to open up the province for settlement. Beaven, the only cabinet minister returned, had but eight followers in a house of 25 members.

Nevertheless the premier did not resign. The government newspapers, blithely referring to the election as a victory for the ministry, said: "Within the province nothing remarkable of a political nature has occurred." Such blissful optimism, (or political strategy?) that sees 'nothing remarkable' in a cabinet of one which no one else will join! And it is hardly usual for a government to refuse to call the legislature in response to demands by the newly-elected representatives. This Beaven did refuse, until the lieutenant-governor, petitioned by three-fifths of the members, ordered the house to meet.

Therefore on January 25th, 1883, Beaven met a house largely hostile, met it with a ministry of two since the addition of W. J. Armstrong as provincial secretary. By this time even the MAINLAND GUARDIAN (New Westminster government organ) was suggesting to the premier:

It would reflect the greatest credit upon Mr. Beaven if he waived all party scruples and accepted a portfolio from his soi disant political opponents ... Such an arrangement ... would secure to the opposition a long lease of power; it would be convincing proof to the public that they desired governmental efficiency rather than political supremacy.

(8) Hett was elected for Esquimalt, but was replaced on an election trial by Pooley. B.C. Journals, 1883, p. 4.
(9) v. infra, Appendix I, p. i.
(10) STANDARD, Jan. 1, 1883, p. 2.
(11) COLONIST, Jan. 27, 1883, p. 2.
(12) Armstrong had originally supported the Walkem government, but had opposed them in the last session.
(13) MAINLAND GUARDIAN, Jan. 6, 1883, p. 2.
The COLONIST saw this article as a Beaven-inspired plea for a salaried cabinet post in the inevitable new government; but the other government journal, the STANDARD, replied that the Smithe group was making the advances, that Beaven would carry on for many years to come. Apparently Beaven thought so himself, for he calmly proceeded to present the customary reports and the public accounts to the house.

The first setback which the government received was the election as speaker of John A. Mara of Yale, a Smithe supporter; also serious was the fact that Simeon Duck of Victoria, formerly a follower of Walkem and Beaven, made the motion. True, Duck had been elected in 1882 as an independent, and he soon opposed the new government; but this was his first step on his path towards the ministry of finance under Smithe.

On the second day of the session, January 26th, Beaven and Armstrong made the routine motion that the speech from the throne be considered. But here the government met its Waterloo; William Smithe and James Orr moved a want-of-confidence amendment which defeated the government easily. Strong opposition was voiced by various members to the mishandling of the island railway and the dock, to the neglect of mines and agriculture, and to the unconstitutional procedure of Beaven in maintaining a minority government. Beaven's only reply was a denunciation of Smithe's actions in the Elliott administration, hardly a

(14) COLONIST, Jan. 9, 1883, p. 2.
(15) STANDARD, Jan. 10, 1883, p. 2.
(16) B. C. Journals, Jan. 25, 1883, p. 5.
(17) ibid., p. 1.
(18) infra, p. 52.
strong point. The amendment passed 16 - 8 on the following 'party' division:

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Smithe
Davie, T.
Orr
Drake
John
Pooley
Semlin
Dunsmuir

On January 27th the ministry resigned, and Smithe was called to form a government. The new cabinet consisted of the following members: premier, chief commissioner of lands and works, William Smithe; attorney-general, A. E. B. Davie; provincial secretary, minister of finance, education and agriculture, John Robson; president of council, M. W. Tyrwhitt-Drake.

Any government which comes into power on a policy of innovation soon finds that election promises are difficult to fulfill; the new ministers, who while in opposition were ever-ready to criticize, now discover that many things are more easily said than done. But when a government takes office as did the Smithe group, on a definite pledge to rectify the obvious mistakes of its predecessors, it is faced with almost insuperable obstacles; it finds the country in a state of chaos, and is bound to restore order.

Notice Duck's opposition; he wavers until 1885.
Orr: turns against the Smithe government on squatters' claims and Coal Harbor agreement, 1885.
Semlin: had formerly supported Beaven, and soon turned back again.
Dingwall and Raybould: temporarily to opposition after the Settlement Act.
Cowan: turned to the government.

(20) COLONIST, Jan. 30, 1883, p. 2.
The ministers who were sworn in at Victoria in 1883 had, first of all, to settle the quarrel with the dominion over the island railway and the graving dock, for this was the essential foundation of prosperity and expansion. The financial condition of the province, almost ruined by the Walkem-Beaven belligerence and corruption, had to be corrected; the lands of the province, locked up in dominion railway reserves, had to be opened for settlers, and railways and roads had to be built to open the long neglected mining districts of the interior. Dominion legislation was necessary to restrict the importation of Chinese labor, for local standards of living were falling; and more definite understanding with the dominion on Indian control was imperative. For the native riots were becoming serious. These problems, together with others that arose later, made the task of governing British Columbia no easy one, and the new ministry would need great ability to 'rejuvenate' the province. Perhaps there was a 'deus ex machina' hovering over James Bay; at any rate, all these difficulties were settled—some after many long years, others quickly but only temporarily—yet at least British Columbia was saved from further decay under the Walkem-Beaven administration.

And the men chiefly concerned with these new policies; how were they equipped for their tasks? The premier, Hon. William Smithe, member for Cowichan since 1872, had been minister of finance and agriculture in the short-lived Elliott government of 1876-1879. He was a quiet, unassuming farmer, strong in debate but poor in delivery, yet he brought to his position the essential qualities of prudence and sound experience which were needed to guide the legislature back onto the right

Hon. John Robson, provincial secretary and minister of finance and agriculture, was a real British Columbia pioneer, having arrived in British Columbia in 1859, and established the COLUMBIAN in New Westminster in 1861; he later became editor of the Victoria COLONIST, then paymaster of the C. P. R. surveys until that office was abolished in 1879, when he returned to New Westminster to publish the BRITISH COLUMBIAN. Very soon after his arrival in the province, he became active in provincial affairs, and sat in the legislative council from 1866 to 1870, and in the legislature from 1872 to 1875 and 1882 to his death in 1892. He was one of the fathers of responsible government in B. C., and of union with the dominion; the columns of his papers were his pulpit, and they did extremely valuable work in arousing the public to a desire for the new scheme. During the later period with which this study is concerned, Robson was 'blessed' with an aggressive temper—no doubt encouraged by his journalistic activities—a temper which in debate often passed the bounds of decency and which made for him many enemies. Nevertheless, he was an essential member of the cabinet, as a strong speaker was often needed to quell the opposition; and moreover he was a shrewd administrator and financier (though perhaps sometimes more sharp than honest).

Hon. Alexander Edmund Batson Davie, attorney-general, though only 35 when he entered the cabinet in 1883, had already had a brief

(22) This account was taken from Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., pp. 456-457. I may seem to have given too much attention to Robson, but his early services to the province certainly merit recognition, especially when his later period of office was not so heroic.
legislative experience as member for Cariboo 1875-1877. Although he was to succeed Smithe as premier in 1887, he did not thrust himself into the political limelight; he was content to maintain his position as an extremely able lawyer and an honest citizen.

Among the private members Theodore Davie, a younger brother of the attorney-general, was prominent. He also was a gifted lawyer, who later was attorney-general and premier himself; but he resembled Robson rather than his own brother, in that he sometimes became too personal in debate. Furthermore, although as usual it is difficult to make definite accusations, his integrity was less unquestionable than that of his honorable brother.

Another prominent member of the government party was Robert Dunsmuir of Nanaimo, who, arriving at the coast in 1851, had made a fortune in the first successful coal mines in British Columbia, and who was soon to build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway. This was his first session as a member, and it is possible that his entry into politics resulted from a desire to look after his own personal interests regarding the railway grants. Apart from that however, he did bring to the government a solid business experience which his predecessors had sorely lacked.

Among the greatly reduced ranks of the opposition, Hon. Robert Beaven was still the party leader. He had been a strong supporter of confederation, and had sat for Victoria since 1871--no matter how

(23) He accepted office May, 1877 as provincial secretary under Elliott, but was defeated in the by-election.
Gosnell, R. E., The Year Book of British Columbia (Victoria, 1897), p. 115.
(24) Beaven's accusations on Davie's acceptance of fees from Chinese clients were not fully denied; and Davie's connection with the Nakusp and Slocan affair was not less unsavory. v. infra, p. 47.
personally unpopular he was, he maintained a hold upon the electors. While in office he had proved corrupt and incapable, yet he was to be a dreaded force in opposition; he caused much worry to the ministry by his masterly obstruction tactics and his thorough knowledge of parliamentary procedure, which he never hesitated to use in criticising government practices. He it was who usually managed to work John Robson or Theodore Davie to such a point of fury that they lost their dignity; he did it by means of veiled accusations which prompted the fiery government men to burst forth in reply, and to overstep themselves.

These were the men who would govern British Columbia for a great many years; their successes and failures form the chronicle of British Columbia's politics during the next 15 years.

(25) As in the debate with Theodore Davie on Chinese fees. He also accused Robson of hiring Chinese. STANDARD, Jan. 16, 1884, p. 3.
CHAPTER II.

The Settlement Act, 1883-1884.

As we have seen above, the first task facing the new government was the ending of the local crisis by effecting an agreement with the dominion. Beaven had brought the province to the point of ruin by his aggression and mismanagement, and his successors had no alternative but to adopt a conciliatory policy. Smithe and his followers had been elected on their promises to end the dispute with Ottawa, and they lost no time in carrying out their pledge.

Even before the legislature resumed its sessions after the change of ministry, the British Columbia government opened negotiations. They asked the dominion to take over the graving dock, either to build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway at once or to give the province adequate compensation for delay; they offered the dominion a choice of more valuable lands in lieu of the useless ones in the 40-mile strip through the Fraser Canyon, and they asked that the mainland railway lands be opened for settlement.

Further negotiations with Sir John A. Macdonald were carried on by telegraph until, after long delays, Sir Joseph Trutch, Dominion agent in British Columbia, arrived at Victoria. Then followed more delays

(1) On January 27th Smithe formed his government, and the house then adjourned until February 19th to give the new ministry an opportunity to organise the work of the session. B. C. Journals, Jan. 27, 1883, p. 7.

with the legislature adjourning from day to day, awaiting the federal ratification of the negotiations, and with the public still ignorant of the terms demanded. The STANDARD seized upon the postponements as evidence of the government's weakness, maintaining that the excuse of no despatches from Ottawa was too transparent to cover the fact that Smithe had made no definite proposals to the dominion: "... the present government is the most incapable that had handled the reins since the date of Confederation." Smithe replied that he had made an offer, that the Ottawa decision was delayed by the illness of Sir Charles Tupper, minister of railways.

And oddly enough, within a very few days of this statement came the dominion proposals, offering to give a cash grant to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway, to buy the graving dock and to finish it, and to sell the lands in the railway belt—in return for a provincial grant of land to be given to the island railway, and for three and one half million acres in the Peace River district (in lieu of the Fraser Canyon strip). The document continued: "The government of Canada submit these proposals upon the further stipulation that should they be approved by the government of British Columbia, such acceptance shall be ratified by Act of the Legislature of British Columbia as in full of all claims whatsoever of the Government of British Columbia against the Government of Canada."

The local government, weary of the delay, accepted the dominion offer, although not without the complaint that the province still did not

(3) STANDARD, May 1, 1883, p. 2.
get enough compensation for delay in the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway. Nor did Smithe fall into the trap set by Macdonald; the dominion stipulation regarding the finality of the settlement could "... only fairly mean in respect of the premises to date, and in that sense the committee recommend its acceptance." But the final act did promise that British Columbia would take this agreement in full of all claims up to this date by the province against the dominion, in respect to the CPR delay, the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway, and of all claims by the dominion against the province for added lands under the terms of union. Present day leaders of the 'Better Terms' movement seem to have forgotten this section of the Settlement Act, or to have discarded it as not being final.

On May 7th Hon. William Smithe introduced to the house Bill 48, intituled 'An Act relating to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock, and Railway Lands of the Province', and by May 10th it had passed the third reading. The journals of the house give a bare record of the hasty proceedings, which were wedged in among budget discussions; these official records, beyond noting the unsuccessful amendments, give no glimpse of the lengthy and bitter debates. However the newspapers of the period show that the Beaven party, though small in numbers, was not ready to lie down in defeat.

The government members, admitting that the province still did not get enough compensation, maintained that the settlement was the only solution of the problem. Hon. William Tyrrwhit-Drake, president of the

(5) Smithe to Trutch, May 8, 1883; sending the provincial Order in Council of May 7, 1883. loc. cit., p. 459.
(7) B. C. Journals, May 7, 1883, p. 75.
(8) loc. cit., May 9, 10, 1883, pp. 75, 78-80, 87.
council, neatly put the blame on the opposition: "If the late government had moderated their demands there would have been no occasion for the passage of this bill." Hon. A. E. B. Davie also reminded the opposition that the present agreement on the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway gave the province a better bargain than the Clements scheme of 1882 had done—that act had given to the bogus company a much larger grant of land (section 4 of the Settlement Act reserves to the province a large tract to the north of the old grant), and the lands were not left open to sale as in section (f) of the Settlement Act.

W. J. Armstrong opened fire for the opposition by denouncing the huge land grant to the dominion, which was far more valuable than the concession received by the province. Beaven vehemently defended the Clements agreement, and condemned the sacrifice of the graving dock; from 'inside information' he was able to state that the imperial government would have given a further subsidy of $150,000 if asked—yet he himself had not attempted such a request! Beaven then moved, without success, an amendment providing "ample security for the fulfillment of any obligation assumed by the dominion government" and guarding against any further claims by the dominion government for extending the railway to Fort Simpson. He also moved that a clause be added to prevent employment of Chinese in the works concerned. This, the first in his long campaign of anti-Chinese amendments, was ruled out

(9) COLONIST, May 10, 1883, p. 3.
(10) ibid.
(11) ibid.
(12) ibid.
(13) B.C. Journals, May 9, 1883, p. 78.
(14) ibid., p. 79.
of order; the government doubtless was too anxious to get the business
over, to delay on a point which would injure one of its strongest
followers, interested in one of the major works concerned.

As soon as Bill 48 had been rushed through the house, the
legislature completed the vote of supplies and prorogued on May 12th,
thoroughly satisfied with the great work it had done. The majority of
the electors also were content; mainland citizens were to get much-needed
public works and the opening of the railway lands, and islanders were to
get the completion of the dry dock and the construction of the Esquimalt
and Nanaimo railway. And nearly all voters, whatever their constituencies,
were glad to see the end of useless government expenditures. The COLONIST,
after caustically summing up the many failures of the late governments
to bring Canada to terms, eulogized the settlement thus: "Every member
has made large personal sacrifices to secure the great end, and the
future historian will award the meed of praise to the first session of
the fourth parliament as the most useful and beneficial of any since the
(16) date of confederation." This statement was too sweeping of course, but
it typifies the governmental self-satisfaction.

Unfortunately this sentiment was not unanimous. Certainly
the opposition 'party' would not admit defeat on the question. The STANDARD
(17) called the agreement 'better terms for the dominion', whereby Ottawa made
her terms and the weak British Columbia government accepted them. Later
the De Cosmos organ accused the ministry of passing the railway act as a
means of keeping power: by spending in their constituencies monies

(15) Dunsmuir, who employed Orientals in his mines and on the railroad.
(16) COLONIST, May 12, 1883, p. 2.
(17) STANDARD, May 8, 1883, p. 2.
obtained through the relinquishment of provincial lands.

The New Westminster GUARDIAN, stout opposition journal and bitter opponent of Robson, claimed: "There can be but little doubt but that a few unscrupulous men had formed the audacious plan of sacrificing the Province with the object of making fortunes out of it." Some of these men were interested in the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo: "... a railroad which would be about as useful to this Province as the fifth wheel would be to a coach, and which, if really built, will not, for 50 years to come, pay for the grease upon the axles of its rolling stock ... The cost of its construction will be money into the hands of certain greedy people in the city of Victoria."

These statements are evidence of the lack of any real basis for opposition arguments; in the face of public approval of an act which, with all its faults, was at least a temporary solution to the chaos caused by the tactics of the late administration, the opposition had to descend to thinly-veiled personal accusations.

Yet despite these ministerial raptures, the Settlement Act was not satisfactory to the dominion government. Because of the great haste in the province, necessitating negotiations largely by telegraph, two slight misunderstandings arose. The British Columbia act altered the agreement by providing that the dominion government should build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo, instead of guaranteeing a private company to do so; the act also set the price of lands in the island railway belt at the usual one dollar per acre, while the dominion did not wish to set a

(18) STANDARD, May 11, 1883, p. 2.
(19) GUARDIAN, May 16, 1883, p. 2.
(20) loc. cit., May 19, 1883, p. 2. Even this is a mistake; it was due more to Dunsmuir's greediness for the coal lands.
maximum price without the consent of the company. Because of these small errors the federal government could not ratify the British Columbia act at the session of 1883, but sent Sir Alexander Campbell, minister of justice, to negotiate fully with the provincial government. So that there would be as little delay as possible, Campbell was to make preparations for the construction of the railway, for the completion of the graving dock, and for the selection of a new railway belt on the mainland, and he was also to settle the dispute over the residences of judges.

The dominion minister arrived at Victoria late in July, and at once set about his tasks. He persuaded the provincial government to consent to a change in the railway belt, due to the alteration in the route of the Canadian Pacific railway, and he instructed Sir Joseph Trutch to carry out the understanding at once.

The affair of the judicial districts had really been settled shortly before by the Supreme Court of Canada, but Campbell carried out the necessary duty of re-arranging the districts. A provincial Judicial District Act of 1879 had provided that supreme court judges be assigned to several districts by the dominion secretary of state; but when Mr. Justice Gray was transferred to New Westminster in 1881, he refused to leave Victoria, claiming that the act of 1879 was ultra vires.

(22) "Report of Sir Alexander Campbell, Minister of Justice, on his visit to British Columbia." Canadian Sessional Papers, 1884, no. 15, pp. 7-8.
that a supreme court judge had jurisdiction all over the province. In the 'Thrasher case', which tested the power of the provincial government to interfere with the B.C. Supreme Court, that body threw out the 1879 act; and the judges continued to reside in Victoria, despite the vigorous protests from mainland districts. But in 1883 the Canadian Supreme Court decided in favor of the provincial acts, and Sir Alexander was able to induce the judges to take up their duties on the mainland. The case becomes more interesting when it is remembered that Hon. G. A. Walkem, premier when the acts were passed, was now one of the litigants; whether his reluctance was due to a preference for the more comfortable life in Victoria, is uncertain—but certainly his prestige was not raised thereby.

What was more important to the minister's mission was the execution of a provisional contract for the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway, with the Dunsmuir group. This contract was deposited with Sir Joseph Trutch, and would come into effect as soon as parliament and the local assembly would give the necessary legislative authority; in other words, there would be no delay, once the amended Settlement Act was passed.

(23) J. H. Gray to the lieutenant-governor, Aug. 17, 1881. "Return ... correspondence between the Attorney-General and the Dominion Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court, relating to the appointment of a Judge of the Supreme Court, to reside within the District of New Westminster." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1882, p. 354.

(a) Thrasher case: This case arose out of the suit of Sewell vs. the B.C. Towing Co. for recovery of damages received when the coal ship 'Thrasher' was lost as a result of the alleged mismanagement of the defendant. The Chief Justice returned a verdict for the defendant in June, 1881; but when the lieutenant-governor-in-council ordered a sitting of the full court in Victoria for a further hearing, the chief justices ruled the recent provincial acts ultra vires. B. C. Law Reports, vol. 1, part 1, 1882, pp. 153-244.


(25) "Memorandum of an arrangement made at Victoria, the twentieth day of August, 1883, relative to the various points remaining unsettled between the Government of the Dominion and that of the Province of British Columbia." ibid., p. 7.
The last 'bête noir' was also disposed of in Campbell's instructions to Trutch to take over the graving dock for the dominion, even though the final settlement had not yet been made.

Finally on August 20th an agreement was signed by Campbell and Smithe, touching all the above points. The British Columbia government promised to amend the 1883 act, and a draft bill was drawn up to incorporate the changes. The assent of the contractor was obtained to the clause providing that the province administer the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway lands until the completion of the road. The dominion government promised to take over the graving dock and to complete it when parliamentary sanction was obtained, according to the original act of 1883, and the dominion also promised to open the mainland railway lands as soon as possible.

Government supporters of course hailed the agreement as a complete success of their policy:

The Dominion and the province have shook (sic) hands for the first time since confederation, and peace reigns where there was formerly discontent and discord ... Without hesitation we say that no government could have done more than the present government have accomplished under most disadvantageous circumstances ... The motto of the late government was 'Stagnation!' That of the present government is 'Progress!'

The opposition, on the other hand, attempted to take advantage

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(27) "Memorandum ..." ibid., pp. 7, 8.
(29) ibid., p. 21.
(30) COLONIST, Oct. 6, 1883, p. 2. Mr. Johns, in his thesis, pp. 35-36, quotes Robson to show that the government realized the settlement was not perfect; I admit that, but they were also highly satisfied that they had achieved a compromise at all.
of the slight hitch by demanding an immediate election:

The bungling political children at present in office are absolutely incompetent to deal with any question of moment to the Province, and hence we have a deadlock not only in the construction of the Graving Dock, but in every other work which should now be in active progress from Comox to Cariboo ... To the most casual observer it must be painfully apparent that the present Government, entrusted in an unfortunate moment with the reins of power, is no longer useful and the day has come when it must account for its stewardship or acknowledge its inability. Just on the dawn of an era of prosperity the Government placed in office with a grand flourish of trumpets, has shown how utterly incapable it is to follow in the well prepared and wise political course which had been marked. Failure has stamped the every course of the Government, and now, just when the Province should insist upon better terms and adhere tenaciously to her rights we find the James Bay quartette vacillating and oscillating, willing to yield everything, anxious to alienate their powers, and by tacit consent admitting their emptiness. Under such circumstances can there be any good reason why the electors should not have an opportunity of selecting ministers more capable of obeying the popular behest and advancing the interests of the country? It is apparent that this present quartette is imbecile politically and useless practically.

At least there was no lack of optimism in the Beaven group. That any news organ, much less that of Amor De Cosmos, one of the late government's boodlers, should attempt to cast ridicule upon Smith for not following in the 'well prepared and wise political course' of Beaven and Walkem, is nonsensical to say the least. The opposition apparently hoped, by forcing an election, to regain power; and this in the fact of an overwhelming satisfaction with the settlement! True, their complaints that the province was giving up its rights had some foundation, but even then this condition of affairs was vastly preferable to the former chaos under Beaven!.

The final step in the negotiations came with the passage by

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(31) STANDARD, July 7, 1883, p. 2.
(32) His 'missions' were the cause of a long dispute, and his expenses were never fully paid. Although he is regarded by many as a hero because of his part in introducing responsible government and confederation, his later career was less pleasant. cf. Ross, Margaret, Amor De Cosmos, a British Columbia reformer (University of British Columbia thesis, 1931).
the legislature and the parliament of the amended Settlement Act on December 18th, 1883 and March 28th, 1884, respectively.

The debates in the local legislature were as heated as those of the previous session, but few new arguments were advanced by either group. There was less talk of land give-aways, and more of the government's position in relation to the dominion. Hon. William Smithe, although in ill health, opened the discussion with the flat statement that the ministry was prepared to stand or fall by the bill. Hon. M. W. Tyrrwhit-Drake continued with a warning that, if the negotiations were to fall with the dominion through British Columbia's failure to ratify the settlement, "the dominion will not in future consent to equally favorable ones and we shall not be able to help ourselves."

The first move of the opposition was to attack the provisional contract with the Dunsmuir group. Beaven, moving to have the contract laid before the house, declared that the government was using high-handed methods in keeping from the public the exact terms of the contract. The premier replied that the contract had been made in confidence, that it was still the property of the dominion government. In the meantime, any member of the legislature might read the contract, but it would be impossible to bring it down as a sessional paper. Smithe begged Beaven to withdraw the motion, but that veteran refused. Finally the government

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(33) B. C. Journals, Dec. 18, 1883, p. 23.
(34) Commons Debates, Mar. 28, 1884, p. 1176.
Journals of the Canadian Senate, Apr. 4, 1884, p. 252.
(35) STANDARD, Dec. 13, 1883, p. 3.
(36) loc. cit., Dec. 14, 1883, p. 3.
(37) B. C. Journals, Dec. 5, 1883, p. 11.
(38) STANDARD, Dec. 7, 1883, p. 2.
(39) Not to be executed until both governments passed the bill. v. supra, p. 22.
(40) COLONIST, Dec. 6, 1883, p. 3.
wired for Campbell's permission and brought down the contract on December 10th.

If the government members had had clear consciences about the terms of the contract, they would not have made such strenuous efforts to prevent the publication of the document before the passage of the bill. True, the contract was confidential, but apparently it was not difficult to obtain Ottawa's consent to its release; why make such a fuss? Either Robert Dunsmuir, not wishing public disapproval, asked Smithe to suppress the contract, or the government itself feared that its widespread condemnation would endanger the passage of the Settlement Act. Either supposition points to unfairness in the contract.

Simeon Duck, soon to be minister of finance, but as yet 'independent', blamed the British Columbia 'defeat' on the want of coherency among local politicians, who waste their strength in petty disputes instead of presenting a united front against the dominion. He condemned the government's 'peace policy': "The present government accused their predecessors of incapacity but what had they (the present government) done?"—and he continued with the usual tirade against the surrender of lands and rights.

Sectional interest was brought into the debate by the representatives of Nanaimo and Comox, William Raybould and William Dingwall. These men, both of whom had voted for the Smithe non-confidence amendment of January, 1883, now stated that they were instructed by their constituents to oppose the bill. The trouble was that

(41) B. C. Journals, Dec. 10, 1883, p. 15.
   STANDARD, Dec. 11, 1883, p. 3.
(43) v. supra, p. 7.
(44) STANDARD, Dec. 14, 1883, p. 2.
the people of these districts disliked the coal monopoly given to Dunsmuir, even though they were gaining a railway; they felt that their land was being sacrificed to benefit a private company. For some time after this, these two members supported the opposition group, and Dunsmuir, the other representative of Nanaimo, became increasingly unpopular with the electors.

With the exception of W. J. Armstrong of New Westminster, R. L. T. Galbraith of Kootenay, John Grant of Cassiar and Robert McLeese of Cariboo, all hardened opponents of the government, the mainland members supported the bill in order to get rid of the graving dock expense: George Cowan of Cariboo, who had defeated A. E. B. Davie in the 1877 by-election and had voted for Beaven in January, 1883, changed his allegiance on this bill; and C. A. Semlin of Cache Creek, who had wavered from Beaven to Smithe, now came down temporarily on the government side of the fence.

The vote on the second reading was carried 15 - 7 on the following division:

Yeas: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Smithe</th>
<th>Pooley</th>
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<tr>
<td>Davie, A.E.B.</td>
<td>Duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robson</td>
<td>Davie, T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drake</td>
<td>Orr</td>
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<td>Martin</td>
<td>McTavish</td>
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<td>Allen</td>
<td>Cowan</td>
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<td>Wilson</td>
<td>John</td>
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<td>Semlin</td>
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Nays: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beaven</th>
<th>Armstrong</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davie, T.</td>
<td>Galbraith</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orr</td>
<td>Helgesen</td>
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<tr>
<td>McTavish</td>
<td>Raybould</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cowan</td>
<td>McLeese</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Dingwall</td>
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(45) A requisition, signed by over one half of the electors, called on him to resign at once. STANDARD, Nov. 29, 1883, p. 3.

(46) v. supra, p. 7.

(47) B. C. Journals, Dec. 14, 1883, pp. 21-22. Attention should be given to Duck, who had spoken so harshly of the government. Dunsmuir and Grant did not vote.
But the Beaven group still did not give up. W. J. Armstrong proposed an amendment calling for an election on the issue of this alteration of the terms of union. The brief debate brought out the strange instability of Duck. After having censured the government policy at only the previous sitting, he now felt that the defeat of the bill would retard the province, and he threw all his weight against the amendment. His own statement that a majority of his constituents were in favor of the bill betrays the reason for this about-face. At any rate, he was soon well on his way to being an ardent government supporter, even a cabinet minister. In the division on this amendment Grant at last came forth from his hiding to vote with the opposition. Semlin and Dingwall were absent, but otherwise the vote was the same as for the second reading.

Thus after the act had been ratified at Ottawa, the Settlement Bill became law. 47 Victoria, chapter 14 recited and ratified the agreement of August 20th: the mainland railway grant was altered to suit the new location of the line; the province gave to the dominion 3,500,000 acres in the Peace River district in lieu of waste land in the Fraser Canyon belt; Canada gave to the company to be incorporated by British Columbia to build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway a cash bonus of $750,000 as well as the land (including all mining rights) turned over by the Province; the dominion took over the graving dock, paying British Columbia $250,000 and the amount already spent on the dock; and the dominion promised to open (with all convenient speed) the mainland railway

(49) STANDARD, Dec. 18, 1883, p. 3.
(50) ibid.
(51) B. C. Journals, Dec. 17, 1883, p. 22.
(52) B. C. Statutes, 1884, pp. 51-58.
Appendix IV., pp. viii-xv.
lands for settlement.

Naturally the opposition's criticism of this act was not unfounded, for the weak position of the British Columbia government made it inevitable that the dominion should reap the greatest gain. However the alteration of the mainland railway belt, though condemned by some, was quite justifiable; the route of the Canadian Pacific railway was to be changed, and it was only reasonable that the land grant should follow the line.

The grant of the Peace River block was quite another matter. Sir John A. Macdonald explained that the railway belt through the Fraser Canyon was largely mountainous and unfit for agricultural purposes, that much of the arable valley had been pre-empted, and that the terms of union provided that any deficiency in the lands lying along the railway should be made up by contiguous lands. "In order to make up the deficiency, and render it an inducement for the Dominion Government to enter into the fullest, these arrangements for taking the graving dock off the hands of the British Columbia Government, it was agreed to supplement the land grant along the railway." This statement bears out Gosnell's claim that the lands were given to the dominion as compensation for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway and the graving dock, rather than for the wild lands of the Fraser Canyon.

At the time, of course, the Peace River block was inaccessible from British Columbia and hence valueless. It was across the Rockies, and therefore more easily governed by the dominion in connection with the

(53) Commons Debates, May 25, 1883, p. 1392.
(54) Scholefield and Gosnell, A history of British Columbia, (Vancouver, 1913), part II, p. 129.
prairies. The members of the local ministry were confident that they were making a good bargain by exchanging this block for the Yale lands, and naturally gave little thought to the future. Even the opposition's claims that the district contained excellent farming land and could be sold at cash for stock ranges, was probably insincere. Even if the government had known the value of the lands, of what use would they have been without the settlement? Certainly the impoverished province could never have developed them.

The grant of the coal lands on Vancouver Island to the Esquimalt and Nansaimo Railway Company raised even stronger opposition, especially among the local residents. They suspected, with a great deal of truth, that the Dunsmuir group was merely building the road in order to get possession of the coal lands. In this case no one could plead ignorance of the value of the grant, for it was at the time the only known coal bed in the province; but the railway was necessary to make it accessible to markets, and the Dunsmuir were the first to make a bona fide attempt to develop them. The Clements company, incorporated in 1882, had received a larger grant, but had had no real financial backing, and had forfeited their privileges. The argument that the Dunsmuir company was granted a virtual monopoly of the coal of the province held good for only a few years, as important fields were later developed near the Crow's Nest Pass, and smaller ones in the Nicola valley, the Telkwa

(55) Smithe, in the second reading debate. STANDARD, Dec. 13, 1883, p. 3.
(56) loc. cit., June 25, 1883, p. 2.
(57) v. supra, pp. 25-26.
(58) Mr. Joseph Roberts says that he has found no proof of this, but he is certain that it is true.
district, the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Yukon.

But aside from all that, the provincial government was prepared to go to any length to secure the building of the railway. It had been the bogy of dominion-provincial relations for so long that it could not now be dropped, and it certainly was of great benefit to the development of the island. Despite the claims of the opposition, the actions of Walkem had relieved the dominion of all responsibility for its construction; and the province could never borrow money to build the railway themselves; the only course left was to give the land bonus, valuable though it was.

Yet the government must have had a guilty conscience on the matter; for in 1884 a committee appointed to investigate the value of the lands, asked to be discharged: "... owing to the difficulty and probable expense of obtaining the witnesses asked for and to the fact that the lands referred to have ceased to be provincial property, (we) consider that it is not desirable for the Province to incur the expense of such inquiry." Yet the fact that the lands were no longer provincial property was the very reason for the investigation!

There was greater unanimity on the dominion's taking over the graving dock. This work should never have been undertaken by the province in the first place, as it was really a national responsibility, for use by the navy; this was evidenced by the dominion and imperial subsidies for construction. The cost was far beyond provincial resources.

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Canada; Department of the Interior, Map of the Dominion of Canada indicating the main natural resources (Ottawa, 1930).

(60) "Report ... value of the lands under the Settlement Bill." B. C. Journals, 1884, Appendix, p. 87.
even under competent direction, for the dominion spent on it before its opening in 1887 over one million dollars. Even if the dock had been presented to the province as a gift the local government could not have supported it. Very seldom did the revenues exceed the maintenance cost, and these figures do not include the construction, 1920-1926, of a huge new dock, nor the maintenance of the dockyard for strictly naval purposes. Truly, this would have been a 'sink-hole' for provincial funds, for it could never have been completed; and the money otherwise released for more vital public works in opening up the province, would have been wasted. If the settlement with the dominion had failed at this time, any subsequent one would have set harsher terms, for the province would have been much weaker, and willing to accept any solution.

The graving dock refund was the cause of an interesting development in New Westminster, where the opposition forces attempted to make political capital of the government's failure to keep its 'promise' to spend the dock refund on mainland public works. At a public meeting held shortly after the agreement between Campbell and Smithe, W. J. Armstrong and W. N. Bole (elected 1886, a rabid opponent of the government) charged that the mainland would not get enough benefit from the refund, that the island would get some of that money as well as the Esquimalt and Nanaimo expenditure. James Orr and Hon. John Robson, members for New Westminster district, maintained that the cabinet had

(61) Canada: Public Works report, Canadian Sessional Papers, 1888, no.9, p. cxiv.
(63) COLONIST, Sept. 5, 1883, p. 2.
definitely decided to spend the money on the mainland. This time the
opposition had done the government a good turn, for they gave public
expression to a policy which helped to gain mainland support for the bill.
Yet Beaven was shrewd enough to turn even this against the ministry,
and in the debate on the amended act he maintained that the "purity of
Parliament had been infringed." This statement was probably quite true,
for the Smithe government was never above all faults; but the late
premier had been himself hardly blameless.

The final point in the bill was the section dealing with the
mainland railway lands; the dominion here promised to offer them for
sale 'with all convenient speed'. This was obviously an evasion, and
gave rise to a long period of friction; for the dominion naturally
found haste very inconvenient, and did not open the lands for many years.

The general value of the Settlement Act has been a subject
of controversy ever since the measure was passed. Its opponents claim,
and rightfully, that British Columbia was forced into giving away
valuable lands, in return for a short railway and the dominion's belated
acceptance of responsibility for the graving dock. But on the other hand
the province's own politicians were to blame for her weak position;
they had pursued, under De Cosmos, Walkem and Beaven, a senseless policy
of corruption and of tilting at Ottawa windmills, and they had bequeathed
to Smith a legacy of debts and prejudices. Indeed, the dominion
government and the Dunsmuir group would have been foolish not to take
advantage of the golden opportunities offered.

(64) COLUMBIAN, Sept. 8, 1883, p. 2.
(65) STANDARD, Dec. 19, 1883, p. 2.
(66) v. infra, p. 107.
(67) Miss Ormsby agrees.
On the other hand the settlement brought comparative prosperity to British Columbia; relieved of expenditures on the island railway and the graving dock, the government could now turn its attention to opening the valuable hinterlands of the province. The payrolls of the railway and the dock gave employment to a large number of men, and commerce and real estate improved both on the mainland and the island.

British Columbia could not have held out against the dominion much longer; and in the inevitable settlement she undoubtedly would have received much stern treatment. Indeed the province was fortunate to escape her troubles so easily, for she certainly had been the enfant terrible of the dominion family; and now her sacrifice was small, compared with her gains. And yet the 'injustice' of the Settlement Act is a strong point in the arguments of 'Better Terms' enthusiasts!
CHAPTER III.

The Smithe Ministry, 1883-1887.

With the passage of the Settlement Act the Smithe government solved the major problem which had faced the province on the fall of Beaven; there remained the improvement of finances, the opening up of the hinterlands with roads and railways, and the restriction of Chinese labor.

At the 1885 session several railways were incorporated, with the Columbia and Kootenay bill taking precedence. The opponents of the measure, while admitting the need of an outlet for the rich mining districts, maintained that this bill did not give the province enough security against default by the company. However several amendments remedied matters; the land grant was cut in half, miners were given full rights in the reserved area, and the company was to pay the cost of surveys. The INLAND SENTINEL and all residents of the districts concerned hailed with delight the prospect of the road, with increased markets and growth of settlement. Despite the protests of the GUARDIAN (2) that the bill was the forerunner of annexation by the United States, the bill was third reading passed on a non-party division, in which even Beaven and Armstrong voted yea.

(1) INLAND SENTINEL, April 12, 1885, p. 2.
(2) GUARDIAN, April 14, 1885, p. 2. The Ainsworth brothers and Blasdel, the promoters, were San Francisco capitalists. This is an interesting example of the annexation bogey which had long been prominent in B. C., and which was used in the dominion field to defeat liberal trade theories.
(3) B. C. Journals, April 25, 1883, p. 69.
At least some government supporters benefitted from the act, for Theodore Davie and C. E. Pooley were appointed solicitors. However no suspicion of corruption can rest upon the Smith party as a whole, for many of its supporters voted against the bill. There is no doubt but that the company had the best of intentions, for Sir Alexander Campbell later had little difficulty in obtaining their consent to amendments protecting the Canadian Pacific Railway. Yet when the dominion took the only possible course in disallowing the act because it would provide American competition to the Canadian Pacific, the STANDARD maintained that the local government had been "snubbed for passing it against the will of the people". The amendment was easily passed at the 1884 session. But in the end the company failed to build the road, and a new arrangement was necessary.

Two other acts, incorporating the boundary railways, met a less pleasant fate. When Sir Alexander Campbell told New Westminster residents that the bills would be disallowed because the railways would divert trade to American roads from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the COLUMBIAN maintained that the same objection applied to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo; but the COLONIST replied that the island railway was essential to the prosperity of the Canadian Pacific Railway; such modesty is incredible! An interesting point in this connection is John Grant's

(4) B. C. Journals, April 25, 1883, p. 69.
(5) INLAND SENTINEL, Aug. 16, 1883, p. 2.
(6) STANDARD, Dec. 10, 1883, p. 2.
(7) B. C. Journals, Jan. 15, 1884, p. 33.
(8) v. infra, pp. 140-142, 144.
defence of the bills. Although his name does not appear on the list of the provisional directors, he probably had some financial connection with the mainland; his later efforts to champion the cause of Vancouver were also rather strange, for a Victoria citizen.

Both parties were adept at laying charges of corruption. The Smithe group, following the age-old policy of resurrecting the mistakes of the past government, showed that Beaven had used the sinking fund, and had even borrowed $60,000 without authority. Certainly the settlement was needed, for such tactics could not have continued long!

The 'Clemitson scandal' involved the suppression of sessional papers. The report of a committee to enquire into the dismissal in 1878 of the deputy superintendent of education had been adopted and ordered printed by the Beaven government in 1882. The clerk of the house had been induced to change the wording to "read and received, ordered printed", and Hon. T. B. Humphreys, provincial secretary, had not even printed it in the sessional papers. That a government should go to such lengths to avoid the payment of a $250 claim seems odd, to say the least.

But the new administration was not itself free from attack, for the 'Port Simpson grab' offered the opposition a golden opportunity.

(10) COLONIST, Mar. 22, 1883, p. 3.
(11) v. infra, p. 5?
(12) He was originally from Cassiar, but moved to Victoria.
(13) COLONIST, Mar. 14, 1883, p. 2.
(14) Clemitson had been deputy superintendent of education; when the Elliott government abolished that office in April 1878 they promised to pay him until June. The Walkem government did not reimburse him.
(15) It appears thus in B. C. Journals, Apr. 20, 1882, p. 32.
(16) He also omitted the drydock report, which appeared in B. C. Journals, 1883, Appendix, pp. 47-72.
to raise the corruption cry. A reserve placed on these lands in 1879 by the Walkem government to provide for a possible C. P. R. terminus had been lifted by Smithe on March 30, 1883; but by an oversight this minute of council had not been advertised in the GAZETTE until May 10 (three days after the committee was appointed). The opposition charged that Mr. Ralph and Mr. Work, who applied for lands in this reserve, were in the confidence of the government, but the committee exonerated Smithe entirely. However in the budget debate of the next session, Beaven and Armstrong moved an amendment censuring the premier for his corruption in the affair. In the division which defeated the amendment Simeon Duck and C. A. Semlin again voted with the opposition, while William Dingwall of Comox and William Raybould of Nanaimo forgot the Settlement Bill long enough to support the government.

The only other important event of the session was the budget debate. Despite the fact that the house had been adjourning from day to day awaiting the settlement terms from Ottawa, the estimates were not brought down until May 8th, the very day that the railway and dock bill was introduced. The budget was not startling, except for a slight increase in civil service salaries, which the necessities of the late government had cut to the bone.

Finally on May 12, 1883 the legislature was prorogued after the longest session since confederation. But the battle was not yet won, for the opposition seized upon the dominion's failure to ratify the

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(18) ibid.
(19) B. C. Journals, Feb. 12, 1884, p. 60.
(20) loc. cit., May 8, 1883, p. 75.
(22) B. C. Journals, May 12, 1883, p. 92.
Settlement Act. They compared the local government to Micawber, who was "forever waiting for something to turn up." The GUARDIAN ran the gamut of abuse, in its demand for an election:

... These men in power are a real danger and hindrance to the country, and must be got rid of by some means. We think if the people were properly appealed to by men of even medium talent, that petitions could be obtained in every town and district to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, asking their immediated dismissal and the calling of a general election for the early fall, to provide intelligent men to replace them.

The miners' strike at Wellington raised a more serious matter than such vain complaints. In August, after the failure of their demand for higher wages, the men stopped work. The real trouble arose when the attorney-general, at the request of Dunsmuir, sent a police squad to prevent riots, and when a Nanaimo meeting protested against this government interference in protection of private interests. The COLUMBIAN maintained that Davie had acted without the knowledge of the rest of the cabinet, and was therefore himself responsible. Although this article was a front page unsigned leader, the opposition papers attributed it to Hon. John Robson, former editor of the COLUMBIAN, and at the time visiting New Westminster in the company of Smithe. The GUARDIAN joyfully anticipated a split in the cabinet through this censure of one minister by another, and jumped at the opportunity to condemn the provincial secretary:

It may be well to remember that honest John Robson is beyond all public opinion. He has neither scruples, conscience or reputation ... he has completely enthralled the present Premier--no difficult thing to do--and is absolutely running the government himself.

(23) STANDARD, July 11, 1883, p. 2.
(24) GUARDIAN, July 18, 1883, p. 2.
(25) STANDARD, Oct. 4, 1883, p. 3.
(27) GUARDIAN, Oct. 17, 1883, p. 2.
Truly that was a golden age for journalism! There was a grain of truth in the statement that Smithe was not the real leader; but Robson was not the only strong man left.

In order to hasten the passing of the amended Settlement Act, the second session of the legislature met in December, 1883, instead of in January. The speech from the throne was justifiably complacent in recording the increased land holding and commerce; but the STANDARD, as usual, reported that its 'platitudes' were poorly received, and this opposition journal even went so far as to claim that the settlement had been the work of the Walkem government!

Apart from the Settlement Act amendment, the attempts of the 1884 session to restrict Chinese immigration were most important. The Orientals had begun to arrive in British Columbia some years before to work on the C. P. R., and were still coming in such numbers that they feared that the standard of living of the province, British Columbia, was the only place on the Pacific Coast where the Chinese could land at will, and as early as 1882 the province asked the dominion for restrictive legislation. When these resolutions failed the legislature proceeded to pass three acts of its own, regulating the Chinese population of British Columbia, preventing the immigration of Chinese, and preventing them from acquiring crown lands. The second act was clearly beyond the power of the province, and was promptly disallowed by the dominion. The

(29) STANDARD, Dec. 4, 1883, p. 2.
(31) 47 Vict., ch. 4. B. C. Statutes, 1884, pp. 7-10
(32) 47 Vict., ch. 3. loc. cit., pp. 5, 6.
(33) 47 Vict., ch. 2. loc. cit., p. 3.
(34) "Correspondence regarding the acts passed by the Legislature of the Province of British Columbia, during the session of 1884." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1885, p. 464.
attorney-general admitted that it was *ultra vires*, but maintained that the acts should be passed repeatedly until an impression was made on Ottawa. Dunsmuir, in his position as a large employer of Chinese, pleaded that cheap labor was essential for competition with American manufacturers, but he got little support. Evidently the force of public opinion was stronger than the influence of big business, for government members did not hesitate to chastise Dunsmuir on this occasion.

Hon. Mr. Davie's hopes were partially realized during the same summer; for Ottawa, though still refusing to enact legislation at once, did send a royal commission to investigate Chinese conditions in the province. Although the report was too pro-Chinese to suit British Columbia enthusiasts, it led to a federal act, which placed a $50 tax on all Chinese entering Canada, and restricted the number to be carried on any one ship.

But this was not enough for the local members; at the 1885 session they re-enacted the disallowed prevention act, with an extra exemption to Chinese temporarily absent at the time. This too was disallowed. Henceforth Oriental immigration was limited only by the dominion act, and it continued for many years to be a cause of bitterness, even of riots. White citizens resented the competition of cheap Chinese labor, and feared the resultant lower standard of living.

(35) STANDARD, Jan. 25, 1884, p. 3.
(36) *loc. cit.*, Jan. 22, 1884, p. 3.
(37) "Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration." Canadian Sessional Papers, 1885, no. 54(a).
(38) 48-49 Vict., chap. 71. Canadian Statutes, 1884-1885, pp. 207-212.
(39) 48 Vict., ch. 15. B. C. Statutes, 1885, pp. 75-76.
(40) "Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly for copies of the following papers referring to an "Act to prevent the Immigration of Chinese", 47 Vict., ch. 3, 1884, and ... 48 Vict., ch. 13, 1885." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1885, pp. 351-354.
This unanimous sentiment extended even to the legislature, with the exception of Mr. Dunsmuir and other large employers. Yet shortly before the introduction of the Chinese bills in the 1884 session, opinion had not been so solid; the government had quashed Raybould's amendment to the Coal Mines Act, excluding Chinese from remaining coal mining positions. During the debate an interesting clash between Robson and Beaven gave a foretaste of opposition methods. The provincial secretary had bluntly accused Beaven of hiring Chinese on his Port Moody lands, whereupon the latter replied with insinuations (unproven) about Robson. When 'honest John' rose to the bait by losing his temper, Beaven was able to complain of his unparliamentary language. Neither disputant was blameless, but the leader of the opposition was the shrewder; he deliberately led Robson on to lose his dignity in the house. Politics were never monotonous in those cruder days, when a man (unhampered by the presence of lady members) spoke his mind, and when newspapers, seemingly unfettered by libel laws, made free use of slanderous gossip. The session of 1884 also saw the passing of a new land law which attempted to prevent undue speculation by limiting each man's purchase, and by requiring continuous occupation of pre-emptions. Although this was a direct blow to the lands administration of the late government, which had been notably corrupt, the act passed 17 - 1. Messrs. McLeese, Semlin, Raybould and Helgesen opposed certain sections

(41) STANDARD, Jan. 16, 1884, p. 2. The amendment was withdrawn: B. C. Journals, Jan. 14, 1884, p. 32.
(42) STANDARD, Jan. 16, 1884, p. 3.
of the bill, but voted for the second reading. The sole dissenting vote
was that of Hon. Robert Beaven, to whom Edward Allen applied the phrase,
"Always and ever, no!" The COLONIST seized the opportunity for a curtain
lecture:

The leader of the opposition is determined to see no good in any
measure that may emanate from the government affecting any subject
upon which he may have previously legislated ... with the leader
of the opposition there is no improvement. If he does not retrograde
he does not advance.

However Beaven could hardly be expected to censure his own acts; he
therefore put himself upon record as opposing the new act, which really
was a step forward.

But he did not gain much ground in his 'investigation' into the
public accounts for the year ending June 30, 1883. True, the government
was forced to admit an overdraft at the bank of $170,000; but this was
explained as quite customary, in order to charge bills to the period in
which they came due instead of to the ensuing year. At least the
creditors were paid, which had not been usual in the Beaven régime.

Beaven also attempted to stir up the old mainland versus
island resentment in his resolution for a committee to enquire into the
Robson statement that all dock money would be spent on the mainland.
However this failed on a party division. The STANDARD attempted to
distort the facts by accusing Theodore Davie and Drake of voting "to have

(44) B. C. Journals, Jan. 24, 1884, p. 41.
(45) COLONIST, Jan. 26, 1884, p. 2.
(46) ibid.
(47) "Report of the select standing committee on public accounts."
   B. C. Journals, 1884, pp. 89-91 (minority report, p. 92).
(48) STANDARD, Jan. 30, 1884, pp. 2, 3. The government had spent
   so much on the graving dock that Beaven had to use the sinking fund.
(49) B. C. Journals, Feb. 5, 1884, p. 51.
the Graving Dock refund expended exclusively on the Mainland". Such an act would of course have been base treachery on the part of the two loyal Victorians, but the opposition journal had deliberately misstated the question. True, an enquiry probably would have given proof that Robson had made the statement, but that is no reason why the STANDARD should draw such erroneous conclusions.

In the second session the government did not continue its policy of railway encouragement; it killed the Okanagan and Shuswap bill after passing the second reading on a non-party division, it voted a six-months' hoist to the Cariboo-Kamloops bill, and it obtained the withdrawal of the Similkameen and Thompson bill.

Hon. John Robson began at this session his progressive education policy by passing a schools act amendment which more clearly defined teachers' qualifications and certification, and regulated the elections of trustees. On the second reading Dingwall, McLeese, Semlin and Raybould voted with the government, while Simeon Duck, despite his approaching entry into the cabinet, opposed the bill. Oddly enough, Duck also voted against the bill of indemnity which restored to ministers the $400 sessional allowance as well as the regular salary.

Immediately after the legislature had prorogued, Premier Smith...
left for Ottawa on several matters of dominion-provincial importance.

The question of the eastern boundary of British Columbia, made significant by the influx of railway workmen and miners into the Kicking Horse region, was referred to the imperial government; the crown lands west of Port Moody were returned to the province, as the government portion of the railway had stopped short of Burrard Inlet; the dominion government promised to restrict Chinese immigration, to send a magistrate to Metlakahtla, and to consider the surveying of coastal banks in lieu of British Columbia's participation in the Halifax fishery award money.

Despite these important accomplishments, the opposition at home protested; they said that the present government had condemned the 'missions' of Amor De Cosmos (which had cost far more, and had succeeded only in antagonizing the dominion government), yet it not sent the premier to Ottawa to write long-winded letters to Sir John A. Macdonald which could as well have been sent from Victoria.

But the GUARDIAN did strike a responsive chord when it asserted that the real purpose of Smithe's visit had been to consult with Van Horne about the C. P. R. extension to Burrard Inlet. There is no doubt but that a meeting between the two men resulted in a tentative agreement, for the premier in a letter written to Van Horne shortly after

(60) v. infra, p. 66, note (176).
(61) Under the Washington Treaty of 1877 the U. S. was to pay Canada for the use of fishing privileges for 12 years because they had gotten superior value in fishing privileges by the 1871 treaty.
(62) GUARDIAN, Jan. 17, 1885, p. 2.
(63) loc. cit., Aug. 5, 1885, p. 2.
the former's return to Victoria, speaks of a promise given at Montreal regarding the disposal of the Port Moody lands, and speaks of Van Horne's expected visit to settle the matter. The railway executive finally came, negotiated with the local government, made preparations for the extension to Coal Harbor, and named the new village Vancouver.

Besides the pushing of the C. P. R. construction, the island railway was in progress, employing several hundred men, the drydock contract had been let, and agriculture was advancing due to the influx of settlers. The government had worked a great change in two years.

Thus the important work had been done, and the legislature settled down to routine business. In the third session, opening January 12th, 1885, James Cunningham replaced W. J. Armstrong for New Westminster city. Armstrong no doubt saw that he had made a mistake in his recent political affiliation, and was only too willing to accept the secure position offered him as sheriff of New Westminster. The chief significance of the change was the fact that the opposition lost a strong man, and the government gained another supporter.

The further weakening of the opposition by the illness of Hon. Robert Beaven helped to make the session less eventful than usual. The leader's lieutenant—Galbraith—lacked the ability of Beaven, and allowed the speech from the throne to pass with only mild criticism of

(64) Smithe to Van Horne, May 23, 1884. "Correspondence relative to the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1885, p. 129.
(65) v. infra, pp. 44-47, for a fuller discussion of the political implications of the affair.
(66) B. C. Journals, Jan. 12, 1885, p. 4.
(67) His entrance into the Beaven cabinet in 1883. v. supra, p. 7.
(68) COLONIST, Jan. 15, 1885, p. 3. He was a mild-mannered man.
the government's policy.

In the division on the Coal Mines Regulation Act, Galbraith (69) even voted with the government! Raybould had introduced this bill to provide monthly inspection of mines and to allow the miners instead of the owners to select the fireman; in short, the bill promised better working conditions. Dunsmuir naturally opposed the measure, maintaining that the owners were perfectly competent; C. E. Pooley, solicitor for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo, deplored the fact that the bill was taking (70) control from the mine owners. Evidently this 'back-stairs' influence prevailed, for the proposed six-months' hoist, moved by Theodore Davie (71) (who said he really favored the bill) was carried easily. All the ministerialists except Cowan, who represented a mining district, voted for the motion, and Grant and Galbraith also supported it. (72)

The debate on the Coal Harbor agreement disclosed charges of a nature even more serious; accusations of profiteering. As early as 1883 the GUARDIAN, with true home-town loyalty, complained of the 'Coal Harbor Ring' which was even then trying to get the C. P. R. (73) extended beyond Port Moody; and a year later this same journal openly (74) named 'honest John' as leader of the group. The Port Moody GAZETTE put it even stronger: "Port Moody must be ... crushed if possible in order (75) that a market might be created for the Provincial Secretary's land."

(69) B. C. Journals, Jan. 28, 1885, p. 22.
(70) COLONIST, Jan. 29, 1885, p. 2.
(71) ibid.
(72) B. C. Journals, Jan. 28, 1885, p. 22.
(73) GUARDIAN, Feb. 17, 1883, p. 2.
(74) loc. cit., Jan. 23, 1884, p. 2.
(75) Port Moody GAZETTE, Nov. 15, 1884, p. 2.
In 1884 Smith had visited Van Horne in Montreal, then the latter had concluded the arrangements in Victoria. The only published records of these negotiations give no grounds for suspicion, for they recount merely the terms asked and decided upon. They begin only with Smith's letters of protest at Van Horne's delay in coming to British Columbia, and they leave a gap of the verbal discussions which took place during that visit. Therefore they paint a very agreeable picture of the province cutting down the land grant to the railway from 11,000 to 6,000 acres, and of the pressure put upon the C. P. R. directors to accept these terms.

But these records do not show whether the railway company or the provincial government took the first step in asking for the extension. We do know of course that it was merely Ottawa's thrift that had stopped the government section of the C.P.R. at Port Moody, content to reach tidewater there. But as early as 1873 Marcus Smith, engineer-in-chief in British Columbia for the company, had recommended Burrard Inlet as the terminus. And in 1878 H. J. Cambie had included in his surveys the extension to Coal Harbor.

Smith had touched upon the real reason for the extension: the terminus should never have been at Port Moody in the first place,

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(76) v. supra, p. 47.
(79) Canadian Pacific Railway Company: Reports and documents in reference to the location of the line and a western terminal harbour, 1878. (Ottawa, 1878), p. 35. This was made while they were considering the Bute Inlet route.
for navigation is dangerous up the inlet, especially at the Second Narrows, and there is no room on the shore for a large city. For the C. P. R. wanted not only a railway terminus, but a point of connection with their steamship service to the Orient; and they found near old Granville the ideal site for 'Vancouver'.

But these facts do not absolve the government of all blame. Apart from the residents of Granville townsite, the railway company was itself to receive the greatest benefit from the change of terminus, and should have needed little encouragement. Yet the provincial government was so anxious for the extension that it calmly gave to the company 6,000 acres of land which were certain to be very valuable in a few years. The ministers argued that this grant had originally been set aside for (80) dominion railway purposes, that it was no more than had been given to the C. P. R. all through the western provinces, and that the company needed help in financing their operations. But the other grants had included a great deal of agricultural and wild land, and this one contained the best part of a growing townsite. In short, the C. P. R. would have come to Coal Harbor eventually; why did the government meddle with land grants?

This question points strong suspicion at several members and associates of the government, and especially at Robson. That worthy minister of the crown admitted in the house that he had for some time owned land at Coal Harbor, but he attempted to justify himself by maintaining that he had bought the lands before the terminus was settled.

(80) It was part of the 40-mile belt relinquished by the dominion in May, 1884. Van Horne to Smithe, Sept. 9, 1884. "Correspondence relative to the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway." B.C. Sessional Papers, 1885, p. 131.
and with his own money. This was probably quite true, but he did not deny that his championship of the new terminus had been influenced by his holdings there. Yet no definite charges can be made against him, for, as we have seen, no complete official records are available; we can only wonder why the government was so anxious to make doubly sure of the inevitable extension that it should give away almost the whole townsite.

The debate on these terms was delayed to dispose of the embarrassing report submitted by the squatters' committee. This enquiry arose out of the claims of 19 settlers for the right to buy lots in the old Granville Townsite; these men had applied to purchase the lots after the reserve was lifted in 1884, but the C. P. R. had ruled that they were not bona fide locatees, and not entitled to the land at the agreed price of $200. The report found that the squatters had been 'misled as to their right to locate' by the immigration agent; even the COLONIST admitted that it would, if accepted by the government, be regarded as the defeat of the ministry. But George A. McTavish and James C. Cunningham rescued the government by moving to have the report referred back, although the motion passed with a majority of only three. Duck, Grant and Raybould voted with the ministry: Duck on the path to the Treasury office, Grant apparently interested in Vancouver (the TIMES always supported the new terminus against the tirades of the COLONIST), and Raybould definitely in the government fold again. On the other hand, James Orr now entered the opposition ranks, for he was himself one of the squatters claiming compensation. The new report, although still

(81) COLONIST, Feb. 21, 1885, p. 3.
(82) loc. cit., Feb. 10, 1885, p. 2.
(83) B. C. Journals, Feb. 11, 1885, p. 33.
recommending compensation for most of the settlers, yet saved the face of the government by intimating forgery by some of the claimants. With this difficult matter settled and the government secure again, the house proceeded to a vote on the Coal Harbor agreement. One humane note entered into the debate when Hon. Robert Beaven, still in poor health, could not attend a night session. Despite Drake's offer to pair with him, Beaven wished to speak on the subject; so the house adjourned to meet on Saturday afternoon. Evidently the sense of generosity had not been dulled by the animosity which Beaven could so easily arouse.

The agreement was ratified by a majority of 16 - 7 on a division very similar to that referring the squatters' report back to the committee, the only exception being the return to government ranks of Cowan, Dingwall and Wilson. Charles Wilson, a member of the committee, had naturally been against the reconsideration of the report; that over, he now resumed his party allegiance. Dingwall and Raybould apparently wished revenge on the mainland members for the passing of the Settlement Act. Galbraith was the acting leader of the opposition, and had to vote against the government. James Orr of New Westminster District, aside from his part in the squatters' claims, was in the same position as the Nanaimo and Comox members had been on the Settlement act: he opposed the huge land grant; but while they returned to support of Smithe, Orr did not— he became one of the government's most bitter critics.

(84) "Report ... claims to land proposed to be transferred to the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate." B. C. Journals, 1885, Appendix, p. 80. A later commission declared the document on which Greer based his claim to be a forgery.

(85) COLONIST, Feb. 21, 1885, p. 3.

(86) B. C. Journals, Feb. 21, 1885, p. 43.
Very little other business was done during this third session. The Similkameen and Thompson railway bill was withdrawn according to a rule established the year before that the government must assent to such a measure before it comes to the house; two other bills, to incorporate the New Westminster Southern railway and the Fraser Valley railway companies, were killed.

A beginning was made in the redistribution of legislative seats by allowing an additional member each to Cowichan and New Westminster district. This left the mainland still with one extra member in 27, hardly proportionate to the difference in population; island members were still too strong in the house and in the councils of the government to permit any real change.

The end of the session found the government still in a fairly strong position despite the trouble caused by the Coal Harbor agreement. Indeed, the premier felt secure enough to take a new salaried member into the cabinet. Hon. M. W. Tyrrwhit-Drake, president of the council, had resigned his cabinet post the preceding October when he was appointed dominion counsel in the railway belt minerals dispute. Drake explained in the house (he still retained his seat) that he had only accepted the presidency temporarily and under great pressure; and now

(87) COLONIST, Mar. 6, 1885, p. 2.
(88) B. C. Journals, Mar. 7, 1885, pp. 71, 72. The New Westminster Southern was defeated on the speaker's casting vote. These bills were turned down because they threatened to injure the Canadian Pacific Railway by providing American competition.
(90) STANDARD, Oct. 6, 1884, p. 2. B. C. claimed the timber and minerals in the 40-mile belt from the coast to the eastern boundary, and protested when the dominion government offered the lands for sale.
that the major problems had been disposed of he wished to withdraw from the ministerial responsibility and to resume his private practice. But he did not mention the mineral dispute, nor the fact that he was the C. P. R. counsel in the Coal Harbor negotiations.

There was very little criticism of Drake's action, no rumor of a cabinet split; the most important question was, who would succeed him? The answer came only after the 1885 session, when Premier Smith appointed Simeon Duck as minister of finance and agriculture. This addition relieved Hon. John Robson of a heavy burden and restored cabinet representation to Victoria. The policy was to balance the representation between island and mainland, with one member always from the capital city. It is interesting to note that Duck was preferred to Theodore Davie, the only other available Victoria member.

But Duck's political sympathies had been doubtful ever since 1882. Elected then as an independent, he had opposed most of the important government measures: Smith's non-confidence motion, the Settlement Act, the education act of 1884, and had voted for the appointment of a committee to enquire into Robson's statement about the expenditure of the dock money on the mainland. On the other hand, his first act in the legislature was to nominate John A. Mara as speaker,

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(91) COLONIST, Jan. 15, 1885, p. 3.
(92) "Return ... correspondence ... respecting the proposed extension of the railway from Port Moody to Coal Harbor and English Bay ..." B.C. Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 470.
(93) COLONIST, Mar. 22, 1885, p. 2.
(94) Robson had been minister of finance and agriculture and provincial secretary (which included education).
(95) COLONIST, June 29, 1882, p. 3: he condemns Beaven's handling of the island railway.
(96) v. supra, p. 39.
(97) v. supra, p. 25, but he voted for it in the end, p. 26.
(98) v. supra, p. 43.
(100) STANDARD, Jan. 26, 1883, p. 3.
in opposition to the Beaven government; and he had supported the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1885, the reconsideration of the squatters' report, and the Coal Harbor agreement.

We must believe therefore that Duck's appointment was a matter of expediency and that his acceptance was one of self-interest. He was not as capable a minister as his predecessor, but whether or not he was merely a figurehead is still uncertain.

In the by-election the new minister was returned with the slim majority of seven, only one third of the electors having voted. His opponent was R. T. Williams, government binder, who hitherto had taken very little part in politics. The COLONIST deplored the fact that an honest man should have chosen such poor company, and wondered why some of the real opposition stalwarts--Hett, De Cosmos, or Humphreys--did not stand. But when Williams was defeated, his binding business at once fell off; the government patronage was transferred to Munroe Miller, who doubtless knew better than to oppose his benefactors. Surely this was party politics!

Despite the comparative barrenness of the third session, the year 1885 saw great progress in the province. The C. P. R. was finished to Port Moody, the Esquimalt and Nanaimo construction continued, and the graving dock pushed forward; the white population had increased by 50% to 30,000, with large settlements on government lands and with the discovery of a new gold field at Granite Creek. But these improvements

(101) B. C. Journals, Jan. 28, 1885, p. 22.
(102) V. supra, p. 449.
(103) V. supra, pp. 50-51. B.C. Journals, Feb. 21, 1885, p. 43.
(104) COLONIST, April 16, 1885, p. 2.
(105) loc. cit., April 11, 1885, p. 2.
were outside the political realm; hence the petty controversies.

The fourth session was hardly more fruitful than the one before. The main feature of this last pre-election legislative meeting was Beaven's repeated attempts to get a non-confidence vote against the government, to discredit the ministry in the eyes of the electors.

Beaven's first step was to move an amendment to the throne speech reply, censuring the government for not prohibiting Chinese labor on the E. and N. and on the dock. However, after an adjourned debate, the amendment was defeated 18 - 6.

Beaven next asked for printed copies of the detailed accounts for the last six months of 1885. This was an unreasonable request, for although the accounts for the fiscal year July 1, 1885 - June 30, 1886 would not be presented until the 1887 session, yet the pay sheets were available to the members at any time; the fact that the recent accounts were printed for a few years following this, does not alter the point—and the practice was soon discontinued. What the opposition wanted was an opportunity to accuse the government of suppressing embarrassing facts. If Beaven wanted definite information placed before the house, he needed only to put a question upon the order paper.

Next Beaven resurrected the Canadian Pacific Railway extension, and asked for all papers on the matter. Here he really had some basis for accusations: for Smithe had made a new agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway, promising that the British Columbia government would

(108) ibid.
(110) B. C. Journals, 1886-1896, passim. Mr. E.D. Barrow, M.L.A., is authority for my judgement on the value of printing the recent accounts.
indemnify the company for prior claims brought against the lands in the
grant.

This agreement made a distinct alteration in the original one
which the legislature had passed in 1885. Clause 9 of the first
agreement, which read: "The grant shall also be subject to such rights,
if any, as may legally exist in favour of third parties", was
supplemented by the promise of indemnification.

Smithe made this change on his own initiative, in response
to the C. P. R. protests that they could not risk squatters' claims.
True, he believed that there were no legal claims against the land,
but he had no power to commit the government without its consent to these
indemnities. Yet when Galbraith moved an amendment to the motion for
supply, an amendment which would have censured Smithe by refusing to
ratify the new agreement, the government members turned out in force to
defeat the opposition easily.

On the same day that he called for the extension papers,
Beaven moved for a return of all correspondence and orders in council
respecting the recent land sale at English Bay. The opposition maintained

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(112) "(draft?) Agreement between William Smithe, Chief Commissioner
of Lands and Works, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company,
Nov. 23, 1885." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 469.
This is signed by Smithe only, but it must have been duly
executed because the correspondence goes on about the bond.
Probably the C. P. R. has the final agreement.

(113) "Agreement between the Government of British Columbia and the
Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Feb. 23, 1885." loc. cit.,
pp. 460, 461. This clause was the basis for the squatters' claims,
as it provided that all settlers should be allowed to purchase
their land.

(114) Van Horne to Smithe, Mar. 13, 1885. loc. cit., p. 461.


(116) loc. cit., April 1, 1886, pp. 72, 73. Orr votes with the
government; this is just after the incorporation of Vancouver.

that this territory was part of a naval reserve, that the lots had been sold illegally. In reply to Beaven's resolution of censure, Smithe (118) claimed to have obtained authority to survey and sell the land. The (119) legislative report does not print any such authorization, but it does show that no definite records had been kept of the early naval reserves, that the lands considered as reserves had not been encroached upon, (120) apart from a 16-acre timber lease made by Walkem in 1878. Thus Beaven had raised a point which was as embarrassing to the former government as to the present one, and he lost his resolution on the same division (121) as before. Considering the evidence available, it is fairly certain that the government had sold the lots quite legally; and if Beaven wanted to arouse resentment against Smithe he failed, for Vancouver people were anxious to have the lots sold, and others were indifferent.

But the leader of the opposition did strike home when he showed that James Cunningham was making great profits from government contracts. That astute member, a hardware dealer of New Westminster, had, since his election, supplied to the government goods worth $2,098.27--

(118) COLONIST, Mar. 5, 1886, p. 2.
(119) "Return ... for copies of all correspondence, Orders in Council, maps, and papers, between the Crown Colony Government, or the Provincial Government and the Admiralty, the Dominion Government, or any person in their behalf, in respect to the Government or Naval Reserve at English Bay, together with a copy of the lease or license granted to Jeremiah Rogers, for the purpose of cutting timber on said reserve." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 425-435.
(120) Lieutenant-Governor to Rear-Admiral Seymour, Feb. 5, 1886. "Return ... correspondence ... in respect to the Government or Naval Reserve at English Bay ..." loc. cit., p. 433.
(121) B. C. Journals, Mar. 4, 1886, p. 41. Orr voted with the government again because he was interested in the English Bay lots, and wanted Vancouver to expand; but he remained a bitter oppositionist on other questions.
principally for the asylum and the new gaol erected in that city; such procedure was of course quite illegal and unnecessary. But Beaven had raised more trouble for his own party; a further return, requested by Theodore Davie, showed that every member of the opposition except the leader himself and James Orr, had also accepted government contracts. These other transactions were all smaller, and concerned inland repairs and supplies; and in most cases the members were the only available local merchants or contractors. But there was no excuse for Cunningham; New Westminster was large enough and close enough to other cities to provide outside sources of supply; and apparently the culprit himself admitted his guilt, for he did not stand again for election. This time the opposition truly had embarrassed the government by showing up the dishonesty of one of its strong supporters. Like all experienced politicians, Beaven had chosen the psychological moment for his disclosures, the eve of an election; and as usual the 'victims' attempted to turn the tables, but this time they failed.

Naturally, in a session which had time for such petty

(122) "Return showing all correspondence and public business transactions between the Government of British Columbia ... and James Cunningham, Esq., M.P.P., since he was elected a member of this Assembly ..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 439-440. There were intimations that Cunningham had been forced to resign from the Commons on a similar charge, but these were not proved.

(123) "Return ... showing the public business transacted from the date of the last general election, between the Government of British Columbia, and R. L. T. Galbraith, Esq., M. P. P., or Galbraith Bros., of Kootenay; John Grant, Esq., M. P. P., or Callbreath, Grant and Cook, or Fletcher and Company, of Cassiar; and R. McLeese, Esq., M. P. P., of Cariboo, or any other member of the House ..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 477-480. Mara, Helgesen and Semlin were included in the return.
obstructions, there was very little constructive legislation. The usual ineffective resolutions to the dominion to open the mainland railway (124) lands and to settle the Alaska boundary, were passed; the Victoria (125) and Saanich railway was incorporated and given a subsidy, and a bonus (126) was authorized to encourage a smelting works.

The incorporation of the city of Vancouver raised a great deal of opposition from island members, who disliked the usurpation of their name; and we actually find Beaven and Theodore Davie agreeing on this point. Robson's vehement defence of the bill roused the ire of his island colleagues, and one wonders why he was so anxious to have the wishes of Van Horne carried out. The bill was finally passed, and the troubled emotions of the new city's residents subsided for a time.

James Orr aroused more sectionalism when he introduced a resolution to have the provincial capital removed to the mainland. New Westminster citizens had never recovered from the change to Victoria in 1868, and Orr now maintained that a mainland site would be more central. This time he got very little support; even Robson said that the resolution defeated Vancouver's own ends by causing bitterness in Victoria, and Wilson called it "the emanation of a disordered intellect". (131)

When the government introduced its first loan bill, the opposition had an excellent opportunity for criticism. They drew attention to the fact that the province was supposedly prosperous; what was the need

(124) B. C. Journals, Feb. 17, 1886, p. 25.
(125) loc. cit., April 3, 1886, pp. 85, 86.
(126) 49 Vict., ch. 29. B. C. Statutes, 1886, pp. 145-149.
(127) 49 Vict., ch. 16. loc. cit., p. 55.
(128) 49 Vict., ch. 18. loc. cit., p. 59.
(129) COLONIST, Mar. 20, 1886, p. 1.
(130) B. C. Journals, April 2, 1886, p. 82.
(131) COLONIST, April 3, 1886, p. 1.
(132) 49 Vict., ch. 11. B. C. Statutes, 1886, pp. 31-33.
for this loan? The ministry, attempting to save its face, replied that this was intended to replace the overdraft system which had been used for so long. The truth was that, despite (or because of) the great increase in wealth and settlement in the province, the government was beginning to have large deficits each year. The growth of mining in the interior and of agriculture near the coast were important enough to demand many public works, yet not developed enough to pay for them. Consequently the provincial treasury, still low after the Walkem-Beaven chaos, was now drained dry. The loans increased each year, until in 1887 the debt had risen to over $1,500,000.

On April 6th, 1886, the fourth parliament was dissolved. While the work of the last two sessions had been comparatively unimportant, that of the first two had wrought a great change in the province, a change which the opposition had maintained was against the wishes of the voters. Thus the approaching election was to be a test of the 'new deal' legislation, an opportunity for the opposition to regain strength.

In Victoria city the government candidates were Hon. Simeon Duck, Theodore Davie, J. H. Turner, and Col. E. G. Prior; Drake did not stand. With the probable exception of Duck, this was a strong slate, practically sure of election. The opposition, on the other hand, put up only one dangerous man, Beaven. The others, R. T. Williams, Councillor Lipsett and Joseph Wriglesworth, were unknown in the political world,

(133) "Public Accounts for the fiscal year ended Je. 30, 1887 (shows the deficits), B. C. Sessional Papers, 1888, p. 24.
Public Accounts ... 1898, tables no. 1, 2; comparative statement of receipts and expenditures of B.C., 1871-1898. B. C. Sessional Papers, 1899, pp. 516(a), (b).

(134) B. C. Journals, April 6, 1886, p. 92.

(135) COLONIST, June 15, 1886, p. 2.

(136) v. supra, p. 53.

(137) COLONIST, June 15, 1886, p. 2.
and never did become prominent.

This year the situation was further complicated by the action of the labor group. The COLONIST stated that the opposition had made an agreement with the workers whereby each group should nominate two candidates; when Beaven put up four followers, the workers nominated a full ticket also. Yet the TIMES accused the government of bringing out the workers to split the opposition vote. It is indicative of the weakness of the labor group that the other parties used them merely as a buffer, without any realization that the workers might have some ideas of their own.

This third party was of course defeated in the election, as was also the opposition. Beaven and Col. Prior tied at the head of the poll, followed by Turner and Davie. Duck lost out by the same number of votes as had been his majority the year before.

The workers also put up two candidates in Nanaimo to oppose Dunsmuir and Raybould; but, although they did have a definite platform condemning the Esquimalt and Nanaimo give-away and the use of Chinese labor, they were no more successful than in Victoria.

In Victoria district the government was also successful in electing both of its nominees, R. F. John and G. W. Anderson. Hon. Thomas Basil Humphreys made his political reappearance in this district, but was soundly defeated, despite his criticism of the governmental financial policy.

The ministry gained a supporter in Esquimalt when D. W. Higgins, 

(138) COLONIST, June 17, 1886, p. 2.
(139) TIMES, July 8, 1886. This was after the election.
(140) COLONIST, July 8, 1886, p. 3.
(141) ibid. p. 2.
(142) ibid.
(143) loc. cit., Feb. 11, 1886, p. 3.
editor of the COLONIST, defeated Hans Helgesen, one of the founders of
the TIMES. C. E. Pooley was of course returned to the other seat.
The COLONIST had always been the official organ of the Smithe group, and
even now after Higgins sold it to Ellis and Company, it continued its
strong editorials in favor of the government.

New Westminster district returned but one government man, Hon.
John Robson; W. H. Ladner and James Orr were both oppositionists. In the
city also, a Beaven man was elected: W. N. Bole, soon to become strong
in the party. Indeed the New Westminster correspondent of the Toronto
GLOBE named him as the 'leading opponent of the government', completely
overlooking poor Beaven; the COLONIST thereupon hailed Bole as the
'new Moses'.

The same proportion as before was maintained in Cariboo,
although Joseph Mason replaced Charles Wilson for the government. In
Cassiar John Grant's two-to-one majority of 1882 was reduced to three,
over a dark horse opponent. In Kootenay Lt. Col. Baker, governmental
supporter, was elected to the seat of R. L. T. Galbraith, who had declined
to stand.

When all the returns were in, the government had obtained
17 seats in the 27, or approximately the same strength as before.

(144) COLONIST, July 9, 1886, p. 2.
(146) loc. cit., July 10, 1886, p. 3.
(147) loc. cit., July 16, 1886, p. 2.
(148) loc. cit., July 11, 1886, p. 3.
(149) loc. cit., Aug. 29, 1886, p. 2.
(151) For the official list of members, see B. C. Journals,
1886, p. xv. On Dec. 13, 1886, George Thomson was
elected to replace Raybould, deceased.
The members divided as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Opposition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Croft</td>
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<tr>
<td>Davie, A.E.B.</td>
<td>Allen</td>
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<td>Robson</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
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<td>Prior</td>
<td>John</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Mason</td>
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<td>Davie, T.</td>
<td>Cowan</td>
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<td>Pooley</td>
<td>Dunsmuir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higgins</td>
<td>Raybould</td>
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<td>Martin</td>
<td>Vernon</td>
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<td>Baker</td>
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|                  |                  |
| Beaven           | Stenhouse        |
|                  | Ladner           |
|                  | Orr              |
|                  | Bole             |
|                  | McLeese          |
|                  | Semlin           |
|                  | Grant            |

While enough new blood had been added to both parties to promise interesting debates in future, yet the government still had too large a majority to be defeated; in other words, they were entrenched behind the Settlement Act, and were not to be dislodged until other issues had arisen.

Despite their defeat in the election the opposition were not daunted. At the opening of the new parliament Beaven, lacking power to elect a speaker of his own group, nominated J. H. Turner to stand against C. E. Pooley. However Turner, himself a strong ministerialist, declined the honor, and Beaven was left to cast the sole dissenting vote against Pooley.

In the divisions on the reply address, the opposition fared no better. The most bitter debate was over the C. P. R. bonus, when W. N. Bole moved an amendment of censure on the government for its failure to obtain ample security from the company. The injunctions of Port Moody property owners had delayed the extension to Vancouver, and the company had forfeited the bond. The opposition now claimed that this

bond was worthless, that the land grant should be cancelled. The debate was merely an attempt to discredit the government and to air sectional views; Beaven this time openly accused Robson of influencing the transaction because of personal interests. However the division was on straight party lines; even D. W. Higgins, who usually made a point of opposing Vancouver, fell into line on the vote.

Beaven next introduced a petty claim that in the recent election his name had deliberately been 'obliterated' from the ballot. The committee, appointed on a government motion, definitely stated that the line which in some cases showed through Beaven's name from the back of the ballot, was "not the result of intention or design". The government was too strong to need to stoop to such obvious devices, and Beaven's weak position was made the more evident by his seizure upon such a trifling detail.

However the opposition did bring a really serious charge against Robson: that of election bribery. At his election meetings of the previous summer, he had asked the people to state, in order of preference, what public works they wanted, promising that the government would then carry out these works in order until the appropriation was exhausted. He explained that, owing to the illness of his deputy, he had not been able to leave Victoria earlier to complete this routine; so he combined it with his campaign meetings. The Orr-Ladner motion of censure accused Robson of actually having the money paid out for the works,

(155) Vancouver NEWS, Feb. 5, 1887, p. 2.
(156) B. C. Journals, Feb. 1, 1887, p. 3.
(157) COLONIST, Feb. 15, 1887, p. 1.
(159) COLUMBIAN, June 26, 1886, p. 2.
(160) B. C. Journals, Mar. 10, 1887, p. 43.
and a great furore arose. Even if the provincial secretary was innocent of encroaching upon the powers of the chief commissioner and thereby bribing the voters, yet he must have stretched his conscience in thus attracting crowds to his election meetings.

Despite the protest of the Maple Ridge council that Robson (161) had used no undue influence in that district, and despite the claims of the COLONIST that the whole question arose merely out of the personal animosity of Orr and Ladner, yet there is little doubt that Robson deliberately made such election promises. The vote on the motion was, (163) of course, defeated on a straight 'party' division. A similar motion censuring the whole government for using the annual supply as an instrument of corruption, was also defeated.

Bitter resentment in Vancouver was aroused by the declaration (165) of martial law there to put down the anti-Chinese 'riots'. Although the residents of the new city claimed that the disturbances were not serious enough to warrant the expense of the special constables sent from the capital, yet the government's alarm was well-founded; for some time the citizens had been protesting against the presence of Oriental laborers, and the demonstration, if not checked, probably would have gotten beyond control. The main result was an even wider gulf of enmity between Vancouver and Victoria, due to the supposed discrimination against the new terminus. It is interesting to note that, in the division defeating Orr's motion for repeal of the martial law, D. W. Higgins did

(161) COLUMBIAN, Mar. 26, 1887, p. 2. (correspondence)
(162) COLONIST, Mar. 11, 1887, p. 4.
(163) B. C. Journals, Mar. 10, 1887, p. 43.
(164) loc. cit., Mar. 17, 1887, p. 49.
(165) loc. cit., Feb. 28, 1887, pp. 32, 33.
50 Vict., ch. 33. B. C. Statutes, 1887, pp. 121-123.
not vote; he could not reconcile his hatred of Vancouver with his support of the government.

The former editor of the COLONIST gave further evidence of his insularity when he moved a resolution urging that the dominion and imperial governments insert in every trans-Pacific mail contract a clause requiring the ships to call at Victoria on both the inward and outward trips. The trouble was that Vancouver had a much better port than Victoria, and that the new city was also the terminus of the C. P. R.—Victoria was becoming isolated, was losing trade and prestige. And despite Higgins' attempts to discredit her, Vancouver steadily forged ahead.

Besides the usual resolution of the Alaska boundary, the session did find time to incorporate and subsidize several railways. It urged the dominion to extend the Esquimalt and Nanaimo to the north end of the island, it incorporated the Delta, the New Westminster Southern, and the Kootenay and Athabasca railways; and it gave a land grant to the latter and a subsidy to the Shuswap and Okanagan. British Columbia had now entered the railway era, when much of her best land was given away, for lack of cash grants. It is true that transportation was needed to open up the interior, but many of the railways built were unnecessary, and the future treasury was robbed of much-needed revenues. Even this year, the loan bill was increased to $1,000,000, as against

(166) B. C. Journals, Mar. 8, 1887, p. 39.
(167) loc. cit., Feb. 23, 1887, p. 28.
(168) loc. cit., Feb. 24, 1887, p. 29.
(169) 50 Vict., ch. 34. B. C. Statutes, 1887, pp. 127-130.
(170) 50 Vict., ch. 36. loc. cit., pp. 137-142.
(killed in 1885; v. supra, p. 57.
(171) 50 Vict., ch. 35. loc. cit., pp. 131-136.
(172) 50 Vict., ch. 25. loc. cit., pp. 77, 78.
(173) 50 Vict., ch. 26. loc. cit., p. 79.
$300,000 of the year before.

But the Smithe period was over. The young premier, (age 45), who had been too ill to sit in the house more than twice during the session, died on March 28th. His health had been very poor during the previous summer, had revived after an autumn trip to the Kootenay, but had sunk again through the premier's overwork. During the past few weeks he had suffered intensely, but had carried on the affairs of state from his bed: he even received at his home a delegation of Fort Simpson Indians. Hon William Smithe died as he had lived: neither brilliant nor forceful, but faithful and honest.

The Smithe government's strongest claim to distinction was its passage of the Settlement Act and the consequent blessings of increased trade and industry. While the treasury had already begun to spend more than it received, yet the province at least had hopes of progress to replace the stagnation under Walkem and Beaven. True, the government was not always above suspicion, but politics, especially on the eve of a boom period, are a breeding ground of greed and corruption. Most of the charges made by the opposition members (themselves untrustworthy men)

(175) COLONIST, Mar. 29, 1887, p. 4.
(176) There had been a dispute at Metlakahtla between the Indians belonging to the party of Reverend William Duncan, Anglican missionary, and those following Bishop Ridley, who took charge of the mission for the missionary board. Land troubles followed. A provincial commission failed to settle the riots, and finally the Duncan party moved to Douglas Island. This particular delegation was of a different tribe, who had been aroused by the land claims of the Metlakahtlans to ask for larger reserves. "Report of Conferences between the provincial government and Indian delegates from Fort Simpson and the Naas River." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1887, p. 253.
were never definitely proved, and are therefore not to be taken too seriously. On the whole the Smith government served the province well by providing for settlement, for railways, for sane administration.
CHAPTER IV.

The A. E. B. Davie Ministry, 1887-1889.

The A. E. B. Davie government, a continuation of the Smithe administration, formed a transition between the two phases of the period 1883-1898, a gradual change from reform ideals to mere place-holding. With the honest, cautious Davie as premier, the administration was assured of respectability and prestige, but with the aggressive Robson as real leader, it showed signs of the approaching decay. For Davie (1) was in very poor health, was even absent for the whole session of 1888; and Robson held the real power.

The new cabinet was a direct successor of the old: Hon. A. E. B. Davie merely added the portfolio of premier to that of attorney-general, and Robson remained provincial secretary. Hon. F. G. Vernon, the new chief commissioner of lands and works, had held that office under the Elliott government. Later Davie appointed J. H. Turner as minister of finance and agriculture, and Robert Dunsmuir as president of the council.

The summer and fall of this year were taken up with by-elections, of which the first was Yale, necessitated by the appointment of Vernon. The new minister was opposed by Thomas Roadley, but his constituents were

(1) v. infra, p. 72.
(2) Gosnell, R. E., Year book of British Columbia (Victoria, 1897), p. 148.
(3) COLONIST, Aug. 9, 1887, p. 2.
wise enough not to kill the goose that laid the golden egg of patronage.

There was more discussion over the Victoria by-election confirming the choice of J. H. Turner as minister of finance. The TIMES admitted that Turner was clever enough to hold the office, and rejoiced that at last the island had its share of cabinet representation; but the editor could not refrain from a dig at his arch enemy, intimating that D. W. Higgins had expected the portfolio, but was 'too heavy a load to carry'. Higgins of course denied this statement, claiming that he himself had recommended Turner for the office. There probably was a great deal of truth in the TIMES statement, for Higgins' paper had long been the subservient government organ, and he was not the type to let his good works pass unnoticed. However, he did not withdraw his support as a result of Turner's appointment.

At the eleventh hour opposition to Turner developed in the person of Hon. T. B. Humphreys, professional politician par excellence. But despite the fact that this surprise nomination caught the government organisation napping, the COLONIST's exhortation to Victoria citizens to aid their own prosperity by supporting the minister was heeded by a comfortable majority.

In the Cowichan campaign to replace the former premier, there were three candidates: Sutton, a government supporter, Fry, a profess
government supporter, and Evans, an open oppositionist. The COLONIST, after denouncing Fry for attempting to split the government vote, was much embarrassed at his election; but the editor retrieved himself by promising to support the new member 'as long as he is on the side of good government' (in other words, as long as Fry votes with the administration).

The Comox election, brought on by the resignation of A. M. Stenhouse, opposition, to join the Mormon colony, was very hotly contested. Immediately after this announcement, and long before the election proclamation, Humphreys made it known that he would stand again as an oppositionist.

The COLONIST, supporting William Dingwall, accused Stenhouse of duplicity in allowing Humphreys to canvass privately before the member's formal resignation. The imputation that Stenhouse used the Mormon faith as a blind was unfair, for he soon was elevated to the Aaronic Priesthood at the Cardston settlement. Unbecoming also was the COLONIST's suggestion of a split in the opposition group, merely on the foundation of a STANDARD article condemning Beaven for not going to Comox to campaign for Humphreys. The STANDARD by this time had ceased to be of any importance politically and De Cosmos' brother, the editor, probably was only sulking.

(10) COLONIST, April 29, 1887, p. 2.
(13) loc. cit., Oct. 16, 1887, p. 4.
(14) loc. cit., Oct. 18, 1887, p. 2.
(15) ibid.
(16) loc. cit., Nov. 27, 1887, p. 2.
(18) COLONIST, Nov. 5, 1887, p. 2.
(19) Because the TIMES had supplanted the STANDARD as the opposition organ.
But the action of the opposition in accusing Turner of disloyalty was strictly dishonorable. The TIMES printed a testimonial signed by Turner in November, 1886, which had been given to the Indian Missionary Duncan to aid him in moving his settlement to Alaska, "... a refuge ... from grievous wrongs." This matter had nothing to do with the Comox election, and very little to do with Turner's acceptance of office, as the letter had been written long before; its publication was an unscrupulous attempt to discredit the new administration, which failed in the long run.

However the election, held after long delays and loud protests by the opposition, who had hoped for a surprise contest, resulted in an opposition victory; Humphreys was at last a member of the legislature again, by virtue of a vote of 85 - 68. Thus the stage was set for the session of 1888; a period of little legislation and of shabby obstruction tactics which were mainly directed by Humphreys himself.

The early weeks of the new year saw still another vacancy, caused by the resignation of Col. Prior, Victoria city, who went to the house of commons. This time an opposition split threatened, when W. A. Robertson was set aside in favor of R. T. Williams. However Robertson's last-minute withdrawal was not enough to defeat the government candidate, Simeon Duck. That remarkable personage, who had once sold himself for a cabinet position, was now returned by a large majority; but he was no greater success than before.

(20) TIMES, Oct. 12, 1887, p. 2. v. supra, p. 56, note 176.
(21) COLONIST, Jan. 4, 1888, p. 4.
(22) loc. cit., Jan. 8, 1888, p. 2.
(23) v. supra, p. 52.
(24) COLONIST, Jan. 26, 1888, p. 4. The vote was 607 - 365, a majority of 242.
(25) v. infra, pp. 74-77.
The assembly opened without the premier, who was in California for his health. Hon. John Robson assumed the duties of leader and Theodore Davie joined the executive council as temporary attorney-general, without salary. The session was to be particularly barren of useful legislation, largely due to the wasteful obstruction manoeuvres of the opposition.

After the usual ineffective censure amendments to the address, Humphreys began his campaign of attack by accusing the government of illegal expenditure. As the accounts committee majority report showed, the sum involved was only $700, and was used in an emergency case, to permit a report on the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway Company in order to hasten the incorporation act. Grant and Beaven maintained in a minority report that the expenditure was illegal in every way, and they later moved a resolution of censure.

While this affair may have been based on the principle of legislative control of expenditures, there certainly was no excuse for Humphreys' personal attack on the loyalty of Hon. Robert Dunsmuir. Immediately after the opening of the session he gave notice of a motion accusing the president of the council of wishing annexation to the United

(26) COLONIST, Jan. 8, 1888, p. 2.
(27) Censuring high agricultural taxation, high interest on the million dollar loan, the ministerial blunder causing the railway belt minerals dispute, the failure to pass Raybould's bill protecting coal miners, and the failure to send a representative to the Quebec inter-provincial conference.
B. C. Journals, Feb. 8, 9, 1888, pp. 9-11.
States, thereby enriching the Dunsmuir group. Humphreys knew he could not substantiate his charges, and asked leave to withdraw the motion; but the government was determined to expose him, and demanded an investigation. When Humphreys finally did bring up his motion, Davie carried an amendment asking for a committee to enquire into the statements of the member for Comox. But Humphreys did not see fit to appear before the committee when called, with the petty excuse that the prefix 'Honorable' had been omitted from the letter requesting his presence. Consequently the committee asked to be discharged, and the affair was dropped.

Humphreys' motive was personal spite rather than civic loyalty. In the Comox election he had accused Dunsmuir of unfairly demanding from him the payment of a loan, which charge had proven false, and now he was determined to harass the member for Nanaimo out of the house. He may even have intended to use the motion as an instrument of blackmail, but there is no evidence to show this.

Although Hon. Mr. Humphreys was at times too malicious even for the opposition, yet he was not the only member to attack the government. Beaven, in asking for the authority under which Robson acted

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(32) COLONIST, Jan. 29, 1888, p. 2.
(34) B. C. Journals, Feb. 20, 1888, pp. 25, 27.
(35) COLONIST, Feb. 23, 1888, p. 1. The title had been specially conferred for life on those who had held it before confederation.
(37) COLONIST, Jan. 28, 1888, p. 2.
(38) He criticized Bole's county courts bill, and was subjected to the severe condemnation of the member for New Westminster city, who could always hold his own in personal attacks. loc. cit., Feb. 29, 1888, p. 4.
as premier and Theodore Davie as attorney-general, claimed that the administration was unconstitutional, and even repeated the disloyalty accusations against Turner and Dunsmuir. Strange to state, the return gave only the lieutenant-governor's approval of the Davie appointment, gave no authority for Robson's assumption of the leadership; but Beaven's motion of censure failed 15 - 7, on a straight party vote. When the opposition leader moved for a return on the papers and the correspondence with A. E. B. Davie on the postponement of the session opening in 1888, Robson carried an amendment calling for the papers on a similar postponement in 1880; the return was brought down shortly after, but is not printed in the Sessional Papers. However we must not judge the government too harshly on such slim evidence, as the premier was probably too ill to give Robson the formal authority to assume what was undoubtedly his rightful position as leader; and the reason for the postponement of the legislature's meeting to February was to see if Davie could return; when he did not, the session was called earlier.

Beaven also resurrected the Turner letter, but Col. Baker carried an amendment to the effect that the finance minister had been returned in a by-election since the time of the letter, that his seat therefore was not prejudiced. The crux of the opposition argument was

(40) "Return ... copies of the Orders in Council under which the Honourable John Robson acts as Premier, and the Honourable Theodore Davie represents the Attorney-General's Department; together with copies of the public notice that the Statute requires should be given when the powers and duties of an Executive Councillor are assigned and transferred to another member of the Council." B.C. Sessional Papers, 1888, p. 325.
(41) B. C. Journals, Mar. 8, 1888, pp. 49, 50. (Fry with the government.)
that the legislature had resolved that the Indians had been wilfully misled; yet here was a minister of the crown saying that they had been grievously oppressed! Of course this was another tempest in a teapot, as Turner had merely asked that Duncan be given the usual courtesies in his visit to the United States. It is worthy of note that Fry, of whose allegiance the COLONIST had been fearful, here made his maiden speech, administering a sound drubbing to Hon. Mr. Humphreys for his obstructionist tactics.

The motion to enter the committee of supply gave rise to more censure amendments, which were less important. Robert McLeese attempted to condemn the government for not protecting the interests of miners on Indian reserves, but Col. Baker replied that the mining committee had already considered the matter and would consult the dominion government. Humphreys proposed an amendment censuring the ministers for not bonussing artesian wells, which even Orr opposed. Semlin's motion condemning the failure to carry out the exchange of lands in Peace River for the present railway belt, had some foundation; but even it was defeated on a straight party division.

Other than this petty bickering, there was very little accomplished at the session. The Granville squatters' claims were finally settled by submission to arbitration, but Samuel Creer's petition for compensation was ruled out of order. One measure that did

(45) B. C. Journals, Feb. 23, 1888, pp. 33, 34.
(47) B. C. Journals, April 10, 1888, p. 81.
(48) COLONIST, April 11, 1888, p. 1.
(49) B. C. Journals, April 12, 1888, p. 85.
(50) loc. cit., April 26, 1888, p. 111.
(52) B. C. Journals, April 10, 1888, p. 79.
denote some progress was the school act which compelled Victoria, New
Westminster, Vancouver and Nanaimo to pay one third of their teachers’
(53) salaries. But this step toward equalisation of school costs was
(54) vigorously opposed, and Victoria and Nanaimo even refused to pay.
However the courts decided that the tax was constitutional, and the
(55) cities were forced to contribute their share.

Even railway matters were quiet this year. The only dispute
was over the land grant to the new Kootenay company; D. W. Higgins and
his paper opposed this subsidy to a group which had not fulfilled its
(56) promises of six years before, but the measure passed easily. The
Esquimalt and Nanaimo was given a right-of-way for the construction of a
(58) branch to Beecher Bay, and the Crow’s Nest and Kootenay Lake company
(59) was incorporated.

Finally after one of the longest sessions of its career, the
legislature prorogued. Humphreys and Beaven had done their best to
discredit the cabinet, but had succeeded only in making themselves
ridiculous. In the words of the COLONIST: "Hairsplitting, meaningless
(60) technicalities, bluster and braggadocio, these were the weapons of the
'stantwart' portion of the opposition."

Shortly after the close of the session R. F. John resigned his
seat in Victoria district to become warden of the provincial gaol. He
had never been important in the house, and his brother had recently been

(54) FREE PRESS, July 30, 1889, p. 2.
(55) COLONIST, Jan. 30, 1890, p. 2.
(56) loc. cit., April 4, 1888, p. 4 (correspondence).
(57) B. C. Journals, April 26, 1888, p. 115.
(58) 51 Vict., ch. 28. B. C. Statutes, 1888, pp. 87-88.
(59) 51 Vict., ch. 27. loc. cit., pp. 85-86.
(60) COLONIST, April 29, 1888, p. 2.
involved in an unsavory court case which brought against Robson
(61) accusations of deliberate miscarriage of justice; probably this
resignation was the easiest way out of the difficulty. James Tolmie,
government supporter, was elected to replace John, defeating Mcllmoyle,
(62) a former member. In a leader entitled "Money Again Wins," the TIMES
charged that the government had bribed the constituents by threatening
to cut the district's appropriations unless Tolmie were elected. The
ministerial supporters had, of course, used the old cry of a solid
government representation for best results, which was subtle bribery;
but nothing came of the matter.

In Cariboo McLeese resigned to stand for the Commons, and was
(64) defeated by Frank Barnard. I. B. Nason, government, was elected to the
(65) provincial seat, defeating A. Barlow of Quesnel.

The only other disturbance of the year centered around Simeon
Duck, who seems to have had a penchant for getting himself into
difficult situations. John Grant, mayor of Victoria, member for Cassiar
and publisher of the TIMES, conceived the notion that Duck had not time
(66) to fulfill the dual position of member for Victoria and city treasurer.
Duck, despite the fact that he no longer had the leisure to serve on
(67) legislative committees, was loth to give up either position. Finally
(68) the city dismissed him as treasurer, and he was free to pursue his duties

(61) The Radford - John rape trial. TIMES, May 19, 1887, p. 2.
The TIMES retracted the statement, but the GUARDIAN did not, and
Robson got $1,000 damages.
(62) COLONIST, July 1, 1888, p. 2.
(63) TIMES, July 3, 1888, p. 2.
(64) loc. cit., Nov. 28, 1888, p. 2. v. infra, p.
... B. C. Journals, Jan. 31, 1889, p. 2: certificate of election.
(67) COLONIST, Feb. 7, 1889, p. 3; he asked to be removed from the
quartz development committee.
(68) TIMES, Feb. 14, 1889, p. 2.
in the assembly. The real trouble was that he had voted for the 1888
school act, which imposed the much-maligned tax; and then as city
treasurer, he had to refuse the payment! Apart from the lack of time,
he had no right to expect to represent two opposing groups; he should
voluntarily have resigned one of the positions.

The stormy, barren year of 1888 faded into the more productive
session of 1889; perhaps the more pleasant tone of the meetings was due
to the influence of the returned premier. However, the opposition
members had not altogether given up their obstruction ideas. Beaven
moved a vote of censure on the government for not carrying out the
recommendations of a select committee, after having adopted its report.
The reports referred to, those of the committees enquiring into the claims
of Reverend George Ditcham, of the Gold brothers, and of Samuel Greer,
had recommended that these claims to Coal Harbor lands be settled, but
the government had not done so.

In the debate, ministerialists rehashed the Clemitson scandal
and put forth the weak argument that the committees had only recommended
that the settlement of the claims be considered. Of course the government
was not legally bound to compensate the claimants, but the committees had
in each case demonstrated that the men were bona fide locatees holding

(69) TIMES, Jan. 2, 1889, p. 2. No division is recorded in the
journals.
(71) "Report of select committee appointed to enquire into the
claims of the Rev. George Ditcham to certain land in the
vicinity of Coal Harbor." B. C. Journals, 1888, Appendix,
p. lxix.
"Report of select committee. Claims of Louis and Edward
Gold to certain land . . ." loc. cit., p. cxix.
"Report of select committee. Claim of Samuel Greer to
certain lands at English Bay." loc. cit., p. cxiii.
(72) v. supra, p. 36.
(73) COLONIST, Mar. 2, 1889, p. 2.
undeniable rights to the land. However Beaven's censure motion failed when Martin carried, 17 - 7, an amendment to the effect that there was no instance of failure to carry out the recommendations of an adopted report. The opposition had a sound basis for criticism in this case, but they were defeated by sheer force of numbers.

The Granville lots were brought up again when Mr. Orr moved for a committee to investigate the 1870 survey and the subsequent disposition of the lands; but Simeon Duck justified his existence as a government supporter by carrying an amendment to the effect that the government should consider the matter; an easy way of shelving it. But Orr successfully revived it when he moved for a committee to enquire into the ownership of certain designated lots in the township of Granville.

This resolution was carried without a division; yet there is no further record of the matter; not even of the presentation of the report! It is unfair to decide any question on circumstantial evidence, but the government's evasions on this question of the Granville lots certainly point to a guilty conscience.

Beaven attempted to expose a government split when he moved to substitute D. W. Higgins for Theodore Davie on the public accounts committee. He professed great sympathy for the publisher who had formerly been on the committee, but had been dropped this session. But Higgins

(74) Reports ... B. C. Journals, 1888;
The Greer report was referred back to the committee and the clause which asserted the validity of Preston's pre-emption was deleted. But the committee maintained that Greer's claim was bona fide, and should be settled.
(76) loc. cit., Mar. 8, 1889, p. 37.
(77) loc. cit., Mar. 20, 1889, p. 52.
himself defeated the little game by maintaining that he was not hurt by
the omission of his name; Davie, not to be outdone, offered to resign
in favor of Higgins, and even voted for Beaven's unsuccessful motion.

Unlike the previous session, that of 1889 produced much
valuable legislation. The Columbia and Kootenay railway scheme, which
had failed in 1887, was revived this year in the form of a huge land
grant to aid in the construction of a railway from Nelson to the
Columbia River. Despite the violent opposition of Mr. Higgins, who
saw possible harm to his pet scheme of the Canadian Western, the subsidy
passed with only three dissenting votes: Semlin, Beaven, and Orr.
The railway was completed in 1891, and with a steamer line on Kootenay
lake and the Columbia River, it made possible the development of the
valuable Kootenay mining region.

The Canadian Western Central Railway was a reincarnation of
the original C. P. R. Bute Inlet route; it was to connect the Esquimalt
and Nanaimo directly with the eastern boundary of the province and thus
to give Victoria a transcontinental outlet. But if Higgins succeeded
temporarily in this, he failed in two other measures: the extension of the
Esquimalt and Nanaimo to the northern end of the island, and the very
reasonable proposal of an act defining a railway policy for the province
which was ruled out of order.

(78) B. C. Journals, Mar. 1, 1889, p. 3.
(80) 52 Vict., ch. 21, ch. 35. B. C. Statutes, 1889,
    pp. 121-124, 255-258.
(81) B. C. Journals, Mar. 29, 1889, p. 72.
(82) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., vol. II., p. 448.
(83) 52 Vict., ch. 34. B. C. Statutes, 1889, pp. 245-254.
(84) COLONIST, Mar. 19, 1889, p. 4.
(85) B. C. Journals, Mar. 29, 1889, p. 59.
Finally after passing several minor acts, the house prorogued on April 6th. The NEWS-ADVERTISER, which had strenuously opposed the Canadian Western as an attempt to injure the C. P. R. and thereby Vancouver, waxed sarcastic: "The members concluded their labours by singing 'God save the Queen'; their constituents will reverently respond, 'and British Columbia!'"

Shortly after the close of the session, the COLONIST began a significant discussion on the advisability of exchanging Peace River lands for the mountain section of the C. P. R. belt. Two years before the cabinet had proposed this exchange, and now the COLONIST came out strongly in favor of its execution. But an opponent of the idea appeared—none other than Higgins himself—who entered into a long correspondence with the editor of his own former paper; his strongest argument was that the Peace River lands were too valuable to be given away thus. At the next session Beaven asked Robson if the rumored exchange would be carried out; the new premier replied that no decision had yet been made, that the newspaper discussion had been a surprise to the government. Of course there never was any exchange; Robson probably had inspired the public debate to sound out the opinion of the electors, and then had

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(86) B. C. Journals, April 6, 1889, p. 81.
(87) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 6, 1889, p. 4.
(88) Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council, ... the 17th day of December, 1887, "Return ... copies of all Orders in Council, letters, and correspondence between this Government and the Government of the Dominion of Canada, ... in relation to the proposed exchange of lands in the Peace River country for the lands known as the Railway Belt on the Mainland of the Province."
B. C. Sessional Papers, 1890, p. 401.
(89) COLONIST, May 7, 1889, p. 2.
(90) loc. cit., May 19, 1889, p. 3.
(91) TIMES, Mar. 7, 1890, p. 3.
withdrawn the proposition. Although there is no definite evidence for this supposition, the fact that the COLONIST used so much space to deny statements of its patron and ideal, is very suspicious.

In 1889 the government lost two of its most prominent members. (92) The sudden death of Hon. Robert Dunsmuir on April 12th came only a week after he had taken part in a legislative debate. Although his vast wealth had given him more power in business and in the house than many approved, yet his canny Scotch methods were of great use to the legislature. His successor in the Nanaimo seat, Andrew Haslam, an influential saw-mill operator, was also a government supporter.

But the greatest blow came on August 1st, when the premier succumbed to consumption. Although he had been fighting the disease for years, he had stuck manfully to his post. Months before, the TIMES (95) had paid him a significant compliment:

The opposition invariably receives courteous attention from the attorney-general, which is one of the features which distinguish this session from last. At that time the honourable gentleman was absent in California. Of the government members he always relies most on reason and the merits of his case and least on the brute force of a majority which is always ready when the government wish to use them.

That is the keynote of Davie's success against the rising opposition, and of Robson's: Davie was a quiet, cautious man, whose integrity was never questioned; Robson, much more brilliant as a debater and tactician, was too intolerant, and never free from corruption accusations. With the death of Davie, the Smithe line began to lose its 'strangle hold' on British Columbia politics.

(92) COLONIST, April 13, 1889, p. 2.
(93) loc. cit., April 6, 1889, p. 1.
(94) FREE PRESS, June 8, 1889, p. 2.
(95) TIMES, Feb. 23, 1889, p. 2.
CHAPTER V.

The Robson Ministry, 1889-1892.

Immediately after the death of Hon. A. E. B. Davie, the lieutenant-governor called upon Hon. John Robson to form a ministry. As Robson had been a member of the cabinet since 1883, and had acted as premier in the absence of Davie, he was the logical successor. He retained the portfolios of provincial secretary and minister of mines, while Hon. F. G. Vernon returned as chief commissioner of lands and works, and Hon. J. H. Turner as minister of finance and agriculture. The new members were Theodore Davie as attorney-general and C. E. Pooley as président of the council.

The TIMES editor, although he had given due praise to the late premier, now turned his spleen against the new government:

By an unfortunate train of circumstances, including two deaths, the Provincial Secretary has inherited a position which he could not have acquired in any other way than by having it 'thrust upon him'... John Robson is now in a position to do great harm, and his continuance in power for even one session ... will unquestionably prove a great disaster to the province.

Nor was Theodore Davie given any better treatment:

A worse selection than Theo Davie for the important office of Attorney General could not be made. His only claim upon the position is that he was the brother of the late premier. Excepting that he is a lawyer by profession he has none of the qualifications that the chief law officer of the crown should possess. He is a trading politician and a vindictive partisan.

(1) COLONIST, Aug. 4, 1889, p. 2.
(2) TIMES, Aug. 5, 1889, p. 2.
For the early career of Robson, v. supra, p. 11.
(3) TIMES, Aug. 5, 1889, p. 2.
True, Davie was an aggressive debater and made many enemies (including John Grant); but he was also a brilliant lawyer and an able politician, and was the natural choice for the position. The late premier had not deliberately crossed the opposition, and his memory was revered: but both Robson and Theodore Davie had frequently done so, and they were accused of all manner of sins.

Because most of the cabinet members were carried over from the former government, only two by-elections were necessary: Victoria city, to ratify the appointment of Davie, and Lillooet to replace the late premier. The post of president of the council paid no salary and therefore did not entail an election.

The new attorney-general was opposed by Dr. G. L. Milne, who was to be more successful at the next year's general election. Davie's platform was unqualified support of the Canadian Western railway, even if it meant an increased land grant. This had nothing to do with his qualifications for the cabinet position, and was deliberately chosen to gain the support of the Victoria citizens who hoped to benefit by the railway; in other words, he placed Victoria's interests and his own before those of the province at large. By so doing, he pledged the government to a ruinous and useless grant, and aroused mainland opposition. Dr. Milne did not dare to oppose the railway, but he reasonably assumed that the matter had already been settled. However Davie gained his immediate objective; he was returned with a comfortable majority.

In Lillooet A. W. Smith, government, easily defeated John Saul.

(4) COLONIST, Aug. 9, 1889, p. 2.
(5) v. infra, p. 79.
(6) TIMES, Aug. 7, 1889, p. 2.
Neither man had had legislative experience, both were popular; but the electors again heeded the COLONIST cry for a united front, and the Robson party won. The attitude of the NEWS-ADVERTISER is interesting in this case; when the TIMES twitted the Lillooet citizens about the number of 'good things' they were to enjoy for having been so loyal to the government, the Vancouver daily remarked that the opposition itself was not above making election promises.

The election in New Westminster city to replace W. N. Bole, who had accepted a judgeship, swelled the ranks of the government; for both candidates were Robson men, and Bole had been an oppositionist. In the contest, which was necessarily fought on personal issues, Thomas Cunningham defeated G. E. Corbould by a small majority. He was a brother of James Cunningham, who had represented Westminster district from 1884 to 1886. The New Westminster TRUTH and the TIMES, unable to forgive the Royal City's desertion from the opposition cause, sought the answer in a bribery charge. In 1888 the government had voted $10,000 for a new court house in New Westminster, but had delayed construction to allow the erection of a $45,000 asylum in 1889. The opposition charged that this had been done deliberately in order to bribe the electors when necessary, with the promise of completion of the court house. This may have been so, but the citizens knew they would get the building soon anyway; probably a more powerful motive for the change of politics was a...

(9) COLONIST, Sept. 6, 1889, p. 2.
(10) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Sept. 26, 1889, p. 4.
(12) COLONIST, Nov. 26, 1889, p. 1.
(13) Says his nephew, Dr. J. H. White; the Cunninghams married twin sisters.
(14) TIMES, Nov. 20, 1889, p. 2.
desire to be in the good graces of the government when the much-
heralded redistribution was made.

The year 1890 formed the focal point of the Robson administra-
tion; at this session a definite railway policy was inaugurated, the
redistribution was effected, and the general election resulted in the
appearance of a new party, largely opposed to the government. No longer
was the Smithe line the 'party' of reform; its men had been in power long
enough to give cause for genuine opposition, and the Beaven group
discarded its petty obstruction tactics in favor of definite demands for
improvement in the education system, in the administration of public works,
and in lawyers' qualifications.

More than once during this session the government got itself
into difficulties. The new recruit, Thomas Cunningham, revived the
Greer case by calling an 'anti-Chinese' meeting in New Westminster, to
test the attitude of his constituents. He was a strong protagonist of
Greer's claim, yet he did not dare to oppose the government on the
question. In the end it was James Orr who moved for a committee to
ascertain what action the executive had taken on the report of 1888.
The committee, composed of four government supporters and one oppositionist,
stated that Vernon refused to give the cabinet's reasons for not acting
on the 1888 report; therefore they found no reasons why Greer was not
entitled to the land, and recommended that the claim be settled. This

(15) TIMES, Mar. 24, 1890, p. 2.
(17) B. C. Journals, Mar. 4, 1890, p. 47.
(18) ibid.
(19) "Report of Select Committee appointed to ascertain what action
the government has taken respecting the Reports of the 'Select
Committee appointed to enquire into the claim of Samuel Greer
to certain land in the vicinity of English Bay', adopted on the
27th day of April, 1888." B.C. Journals, 1890, Appendix, pp. xix-xx.
document was received and ordered printed, but was later ruled out of order. Cunningham countered with a definite question why the 1888 report was not carried out. This time, Vernon gave a lengthy answer, to the effect that the cabinet had considered the claim and had decided that it was unfounded.

The government finally disposed of the question by rushing through the Quieting Titles Act, which provided that claimants might petition the Supreme Court for investigation of their titles; in other words, the executive shifted the responsibility elsewhere, and considered themselves free of this delicate matter. Greer undoubtedly was a public nuisance, and he never did get compensation; but there must have been some justice in his claim when legislative committees repeatedly favored its settlement. The whole affair hints at C. P. R. influence on the government.

The public accounts report also fell foul of the government. Turner and Davie moved that the report, which made vague insinuations against the attorney-general and the provincial secretary, be referred back to the committee; the motion was carried 17 - 5 on a straight party division, in which even the three ministerialist members of the committee (Duck, Mason and Martin) voted yea. The opposition of course made much of the fact that the committee had condemned government corruption, while Davie attempted to show that the three men had not

(20) B. C. Journals, Mar. 17, 1890, p. 65.
(22) loc. cit., Mar. 27, 1890, pp. 90-91.
(23) 53 Vict., ch. 38, sec. 2. B. C. Statutes, 1890, pp. 151-159.
(24) The C. P. R. wanted the land, and got it, for the English Bay extension (which was never built).
(25) B. C. Journals, 1890, Appendix, pp. lxxxix-xc.
(26) B. C. Journals, April 14, 1890, p. 104. Grant and Beaven were the other members.
realized the nature of the insinuations made in the report, that Beaven had deliberately inveigled them into signing it. In the end, of course, a second majority report cleared the good name of the government, and apparently all was well. There is no evidence to prove which report was correct, but it does seem odd that three such veteran legislators as Duck, Mason and Martin should not have realized the significance of the document which they first signed.

The education system came in for a great deal of pre-election criticism at this session. Beaven accused Robson of making the department a political machine by wrongfully using his power to obtain the cancellation of teachers' certificates. A committee investigated the case of J. N. Muir who had been dismissed for insubordination, and found that the cancellation of his certificate had been the only possible course. There is little doubt that the matter was purely departmental; Muir had taken no part in politics, had conducted an insolent correspondence with the superintendent of education that quite unfitted him for further service. And like Sam Greer Muir ruined his own cause by his continued vindictiveness in circulating libellous dodgers among the teachers of the province.

The Legal Professions Amendment Act showed a direct change in Davie's policy. At the previous session D. W. Higgins had proposed

(27) TIMES, April 15, 1890, p. 2.
(28) "Second report of the select standing committee on public accounts." B. C. Journals, 1890, Appendix, p. cxlv. Grant and Beaven in the minority report would not alter the original statements. loc. cit., p. cxlvii.
(29) COLONIST, Jan. 29, 1890, p. 1.
to abolish the twelve months' residence requirement for practising lawyers, (32) but the speaker's casting vote had defeated the motion. Now, in 1890, the attorney-general himself revived the amendment which he had opposed (33) in 1889. The point was that the new bill would allow lawyers from other provinces to begin practice in British Columbia without having to establish a one-year residence; the legal profession had up to this time been a 'close corporation', and had strongly opposed any attempts to break the monopoly. Although the second reading of the amendment bill passed with- (34) out a division, Beaven could not resist the opportunity for criticism offered by Davie's application of the term 'foreigners' to lawyers from other provinces. This was a petty pre-election manoeuvre intended to discredit Davie among laymen, which served only to make Beaven himself ridiculous.

At this session too, railway policy was greatly improved by (35) the passing of the British Columbia Railway Act, which laid down a definite form of incorporation and rules of operation to be followed by all railway bills. This act was a decided step forward, as it would prevent favoritism in railway bills and would save the legislators a great deal of time otherwise wasted in fruitless debates on incorporation terms.

When the government changed the cash subsidy given in 1887 (36) to the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway to a guarantee of interest, the opposition raised a great cry of election bribery; they claimed that only the year before the cabinet had refused to consider the guarantee, that

(33) TIMES, Jan. 25, 1890, p. 2.
(34) COLONIST, Feb. 1, 1890, p. 1.
now the alteration was made only to gain votes. That may have been quite true, but the change of premiers may also have influenced the cabinet decision. At any rate the road was completed in 1892, and gave C. P. R. connection to a fertile district round Vernon.

The Columbia and Kootenay Railway, which was to be part of the C. P. R. system, (Revelstoke to the Lower Kootenay River) was given a new land grant, and Harry Abbott promised immediate construction. However it was only partly completed and under different arrangements.

Abbott was also a director of the Ashcroft and Cariboo Railway, which was intended to be the C. P. R.'s reply to the Canadian Western. It was included in the companies benefitting by the Railways Aid Act, the others being the Crow's Nest and Kootenay Lake Railway, the Okanagan and Kootenay Railway, and the C. P. R. (a branch from Farwell—now Revelstoke—to the Lower Kootenay River.) Although the bill was passed without a division, the clause which granted to the railway companies a mine royalty on all ores shipped from mines in the land grants, was greatly criticized during the election campaign. It was repealed in 1891.

The great event of the 1890 session which dwarfed all others was the Redistribution Act. At that time the house was composed of 27 members: 14 from the mainland and 13 from the island, and the representation was out of all proportion to population. Residents of

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(37) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Mar. 27, 1890, p. 4.
(38) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., p. 451
(39) 53 Vict., ch. 41. B. C. Statutes, 1890, pp. 221-224.
(40) COLONIST, Mar. 28, 1890, p. 1.
(42) TIMES, Feb. 26, 1890, p. 2.
(44) B. C. Journals, April 17, 1890, pp. 118-119.
(45) 54 Vict., ch. 43, B. C. Statutes, 1891, p. 289.
(46) v. supra, p. 57.
the lower mainland, who considered themselves particularly wronged, began in the fall of 1889 a deliberate move to get every voter on the list, and the island soon followed suit. Vancouver citizens, determined to bring on the redistribution measure at once, formed a Mainland Association "to assist the legislature in giving proper representation to all parts of the Country." New Westminster set up a similar body, and the two worked together to elaborate a definite policy of action and to organize the whole lower mainland.

But, alas, the administration would not be forced into introducing the measure at once. James Orr's resolution that the act be brought forward at once was easily defeated on a straight party division. The TIMES intimated that the government had already formulated its policy, but that it had not yet converted the caucus. This may have been true, but political strategy was more probably the real cause of the delay; for Robson and every other politician knew that if such a controversial measure were brought down too early the house would never finish its regular business.

Finally on April 15th Robson introduced the bill; Beaven's attempt to delay the second reading by a fortnight failed on a party division (with the exception of Cunningham, whose 'loyalty' to his district forced him to oppose the government.) The new Constitution Act

(47) FREE PRESS, Oct. 22, 1889, p. 2.
(49) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Jan. 19, 1890, p. 4.
(50) loc. cit., Jan. 25, 1890, p. 4.
COLUMBIAN, Feb. 17, 1890, p. 2.
(51) B. C. Journals, Jan. 30, 1890, p. 11.
(52) TIMES, Jan. 31, 1890, p. 3.
(53) B. C. Journals, April 15, 1890, p. 111.
(54) ibid.
(55) 53 Vict., ch. 7. B.C. Statutes, 1890, pp. 29-38.
made no change in the balance of power; it gave to Vancouver city two members, (Vancouver had formerly been included in New Westminster district) and to Kootenay an extra representative; but it also gave another member to Nanaimo and created the new districts of Alberni and the Gulf Islands.

Naturally the measure raised a storm of abuse on the mainland. The NEWS-ADVERTISER, which up to this time had been strictly independent, (the most reasonable of all British Columbia papers, except in its war with the COLONIST) now turned violently against Robson, claiming that he had ruined his own political career. The COLUMBIAN, which had always been a strong government advocate, was most bitter against the 'island sectionalism' which controlled the cabinet.

The COLONIST, of course, supported the bill loyally; and generously repeated all the government's excuses. The Nanaimo FREE PRESS was even jubilant at the extra representation given that district. The attitude of the TIMES is most amusing; at first the bill was 'a puerile creature', but soon it was the necessary temporary measure.

In the house, Robson attempted to justify his position by explaining that a complete reorganisation was impossible until after the 1891 census, and that the present bill was the result of a cabinet compromise. He realized that his own constituency was entitled to more consideration, but he could not force his opinion upon his colleagues.
The COLUMBIAN thought that the compromise had all been on one side, while the NEWS-ADVERTISER attributed the arrangement to fear of the coming election.

Beaven claimed that the bill had been patched up so that it would pass the house, and blamed Robson for not carrying his views in the cabinet. But Turner quashed this argument by showing that it was unnecessary for a premier to carry his own opinion to the extremity of resigning. The opposition had always condemned Robson for his high-handed methods, and now they criticized him for giving in!

Some of the members found decision difficult: Cunningham, torn between loyalty to his constituents (with the election only a few weeks away) and to his leader, pleaded with Robson not to force him to vote against the government on the bill. John Grant, representative of Cassiar and mayor of Victoria, thought that Vancouver city, New Westminster city, and Yale should each have an additional member. But when Davie bluntly asked him and Beaven whether or not they favored increased representation of the mainland over the island, they did not answer.

Grant had given notice of a non-confidence motion on the redistribution measure and on several other government 'failures', but he did not appear on the appointed day; when he did put the motion it was defeated 16 - 4, with Mr. Cunningham absent.

(63) COLUMBIAN, April 22, 1890, p. 2.
(64) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 19, 1890, p. 4.
(65) COLONIST, April 20, 1890, p. 3.
(66) Ibid.
(67) Loc. cit., April 23, 1890, p. 3.
(68) Loc. cit., April 19, 1890, p. 4.
(69) Loc. cit., April 20, 1890, p. 3.
(70) Loc. cit., April 22, 1890, p. 3.
(71) B. C. Journals, April 22, 1890, p. 123.
The redistribution bill passed of course, with a majority of 10. Apart from Cunningham's opposition, the division was on straight party lines. Grant, still on the fence, was absent.

The bill of course was a temporary measure. Robson was quite right in saying that there could be no radical change until after the census, for the ten-year-old figures would have been useless. The whole question was political dynamite, forced upon the government just before the election by the insistence of the mainland voters. Every cabinet member except Robson was at heart an island man, and none of these would allow any concessions to the mainland until statistical returns made it absolutely necessary. If only they had not created the two unnecessary island seats, they would have saved themselves much grief.

For the lower mainland was in arms. The Mainland Association immediately sent a strong delegation headed by its president, Mayor J. C. Brown of New Westminster, to the capital to protest against the act. But naturally the deputation accomplished nothing, for the session was now over. And, oddly enough, when the premier asked Mayor Brown for an alternative distribution system, that worthy replied that it was not his place to dictate to the government.

Yet the reckoning day was at hand. The mainlanders brought out a third party with 'fair distribution' as its cry. In New Westminster district the premier was the only government man returned; the others were T. E. Kitchen and James Punch, independents. The other

(72) B. C. Journals, April 18, 1890, p. 121.
(73) COLONIST, April 25, 1890, p. 3.
(74) ibid.
(75) loc. cit., June 14, 1890, p. 1. Note that these independents were the third party.
candidates were newcomers to politics, while Kitchen was reeve of Chilliwack and Punch, reeve of Surrey, was a prominent member of the Mainland Association. But strange to relate, it was the much-maligned Robson himself who headed the poll! Evidently his strong personality and his 'good works' were enough to overcome the distribution obstacle.

Yet Robson must have feared defeat, for he ran and was elected in Cariboo as well. This practice, even then, was uncommon enough to attract comment. The main problem was, which seat would he retain? He chose the harder course in resigning from New Westminster district, when he knew it would be impossible to elect another supporter there. In his place was returned C. B. Sword, independent, who had barely lost out at the regular election. Indeed the government did not put up a man of its own, but supported, of all persons, William Ladner, who had been a strong oppositionist.

In New Westminster city, Mayor Brown defeated Thomas Cunningham. Brown's main plank was of course his activity in the Mainland Association, and he made the most of poor Cunningham's indecision in the house.

Vancouver also returned a straight independent ticket of Cotton and Horne. Francis L. Carter-Cotton, editor and publisher of the NEWS-ADVERTISER, was the recognized prophet of the mainland

(76) Chilliwack PROGRESS, April 16, 1891, p. 1.
(77) COLONIST, April 25, 1890, p. 3.
(78) loc. cit., June 14, 1890, p. 1.
(79) B. C. Journals, 1891, p. xv.
(80) TIMES, Oct. 10, 1890, p. 4.
(81) COLONIST, Nov. 9, 1890, p. 1.
(82) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Oct. 24, 1890, p. 4.
(83) COLONIST, June 14, 1890, p. 1.
(84) Says Dr. White, who heard him at an election meeting.
(85) B. C. Journals, 1891, p. xv.
independents. Apparently Horne was not persona grata with the Mainland Association group, for the NEWS-ADVERTISER spoke of him as representing 'the City Hall clique and Robson', and intimated that he called himself an independent merely to gain votes. It is interesting to note that James Orr, the stout oppositionist whose every thought had been for the interests of his beloved terminus (even to the point of ridiculous obstruction), and Sam Greer, who regarded "our present stop-jack Premier as unworthy of public confidence, and the instigator of injustice to the city," both lost their deposits. Surely the laird o' Kitsilano had in mind a more personal injustice!

Other independents elected were: J. C. Keith in Nanaimo city, by acclamation, and Thomas Forster in Nanaimo district; these men worked in the house with their mainland brethren, but were concerned with labor problems rather than with redistribution. C. C. McKenzie, elected also in the district as an oppositionist, ran as a farmer's nominee; but he was really more interested in personal revenge against the education department.

In Victoria city the government put up a mediocre slate of Turner, Duck, Captain John Irving, and William Dalby. Turner, the only strong one of the four, was elected; Duck could hardly expect to succeed after his recent meanderings, and Captain Irving (of the Canadian Pacific

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(86) NEWS-ADVERTISER, June 14, 1890, p. 4. He soon joined the government.
(87) loc. cit., May 15, 1890, p. 4. This his election card!
(88) B. C. Sessional Papers, 1891, p. 313.
(89) COLONIST, June 14, 1890, p. 1.
(90) FREE PRESS, May 31, 1890, p. 4.
(91) ibid.
(92) v. infra, pp. 101-102. He revived the Muir case.
(93) COLONIST, May 10, 1890, p. 2.
(94) B. C. Journals, 1891, p. xv.
Navigation Company) and Dalby were new to the political arena. Charles Wilson perturbed the government stalwarts not a little when, just failing to get their nomination, he ran as an independent. Wilson had formerly supported the government as member for Cariboo, and had been prominent in the recent formation of a liberal-conservative association in Victoria. His excuse that the nomination meeting was contrary to the constitution of that association was puerile; for the candidates were nominated as government supporters, not as party men. Perhaps if Wilson had succeeded at the nomination, his conscience might not have been so sharp. It is significant too that his bill for the consolidation of the statutes had not yet been paid by the government; however it transpired that Wilson was on two voters' lists, at Cariboo and at Victoria, and he was therefore disqualified. The opposition did well at the Victoria poll, winning three out of the four seats; John Grant, Hon. Robert Beaven and Dr. G. L. Milne were the successful ones.

Theodore Davie 'deserted' his old constituency of Victoria city to be elected in Cowichan with Henry Croft, also a government supporter. Davie's explanation was logical; one cabinet member from Victoria was enough. But Turner was the newer man; why did he not change? Cowichan, which did not put up a single opposition nor independent

(95) COLONIST, May 10, 1890, p. 2.
(96) loc. cit., May 22, 1890, p. 8.
(97) v. supra, p. 49.
(98) COLONIST, May 22, 1890, p. 8.
(99) ibid.
(100) "Return ... copies of all Orders in Council, letters, and documents relating to the consolidation of the Statutes of 1888, and payment of the commissioners therefore." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1890, pp. 735, 739, 748.
(101) COLONIST, June 14, 1890, p. 1.
(102) B. C. Journals, 1891, p. xv.
candidate, was a much safer risk for the attorney-general who so easily
made enemies.

In Esquimalt only one oppositionist (Helgesen) was nominated, (104)
and Higgins and Pooley were easily returned. The new Islands and
Alberni districts, duly grateful for favors received, elected John P. (105)
Booth and Thomas Fletcher, ministerialists.

When the smoke had died down, it was seen that Robson was
still in control, but on a less sure foundation than before. The new (106)
members divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government:</th>
<th>Independent:</th>
<th>Opposition:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Sword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooley</td>
<td>Eberts</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
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<td>Higgins</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>Punch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dave</td>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>Kellie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croft</td>
<td>Booth</td>
<td>Keith</td>
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<td>Hall</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td>Brown</td>
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<td>Mason (a)</td>
<td>Baker</td>
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<td>Rogers</td>
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<td>Robson</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Horne</td>
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<td>Vernon</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
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The administration still had a majority over both the other groups, but
it was much slimmer than before; Robson would have more difficulty in
overriding the opposition by force of numbers.

An anti-climax to the heated campaign was the death of Hon.
T. B. Humphreys. He had been ill for some time, and had seldom attended the recent session; therefore he had not taken part in the election, which was the less acrimonious for his absence.

In December Joseph Mason of Cariboo passed away; he was replaced by I. B. Nason, who had represented the district in 1889 and 1890, and the party standing was unchanged.

At the new parliament the greatest interest centred round the independents and their future affiliations. In the debate on the address they proved that they were a solid body; Thomas Forster spoke for the whole group in saying that the independents would take no part in unnecessary debates, thereby leaving the opposition to carry the weight of the criticism.

Dr. Milne attempted to lure the new men into the opposition fold when he moved an amendment to the address censuring the government for passing the royalty clause. Condemnation of this part of the Railway Aid Act had been a strong point among the independents; Beaven knew that he could not yet make an issue of redistribution, and therefore he used this bait to trap Cotton and his followers. The group met and decided to vote against the amendment, for although they wanted repeal of the obnoxious clause, they believed the government would do it in due time. This fact of the members making a solemn concerted decision shows that, at first at least, they were a solid group. The oppositionists, realizing that they had forced the newcomers into the

(108) TIMES, Aug. 26, 1890, p. 8.
(110) B. C. Journals, Jan. 26, 1891, p. 10.
(111) COLONIST, Jan. 21, 1891, p. 3.
(112) B. C. Journals, Jan. 21, 1891, p. 5. v. supra, p. 70.
(113) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Jan. 23, 1891, p. 4.
arms of the government, attempted to withdraw the amendment, but leave was refused. The censure failed 22 - 5, on a straight government-
independent coalition versus opposition division:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Coalition</th>
<th>Opposition</th>
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<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Semlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robson</td>
<td>Grant</td>
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<td>Davie</td>
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<td>Eberts</td>
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<td>Stoddart</td>
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<td>Booth</td>
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<td>Pooley</td>
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<td>Turner</td>
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<td>Anderson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fletcher</td>
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</tbody>
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But the independents were not willing to merge with the government. Most of them supported Beaven's unsuccessful resolution for an eight-hour day on provincial works, and Keith asked for an enquiry on the Wellington strike.

The Dunsmuirs may have been good business men, but they never could handle their employees. In May, 1890, the men struck for shorter hours, and in July the company proceeded to evict them from their homes.

The affair developed into a first-class war with organised labor, and the

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(114) B. C. Journals, Jan. 22, 1891, p. 5. The coalition grouping is my own. Punch does not appear in the house for some time.


(117) FREE PRESS, July 22, 1890, p. 4.
troops were again sent in: this time on the requisition of three Victoria justices of the peace. The opposition of course made political capital of this interference, and of the so-called 'intimidation' of the trial prosecution, as carried on by Davie and Pooley. In the midst of the committee's deliberations, fresh riots broke out, culminating in an attack on the funeral procession of a strike-breaker. Neither the report originally called for, nor the one now required on the new disturbance, made any definite statements of a political nature, and the affair dropped.

Keith's part in this enquiry and Brown's introduction of a mechanic's lien bill, were both part of the independent program to aid the laborer. The new law, which was passed without a single division, gave the employee assurance that his full wages would be paid. It is interesting to note that neither of the other parties dared to oppose the bill, for labor was represented at last in the house.

If the independents brought a change in legislative methods, at least the oppositionists were not idle. C. C. McKenzie revived the Muir case in his motion for a return on the 1890 teachers' examination. This resurrection again made education affairs a political football, but it was defeated easily, most of the independents voting with the government.

(118) FREE PRESS, Aug. 6, 1890, p. 4.
(119) TIMES, Oct. 2, 1890, p. 4.
(120) COLONIST, Mar. 17, 1891, p. 2.
(121) "Report of Select Committee. Wellington Strike."
B. C. Journals, 1891, Appendix, p. ccxii.
(122) "Report ... Attack on Funeral Procession of Ellice Roberts."
loc. cit., p. lxv.
(125) B. C. Journals, 1891, passim.
(127) loc. cit., Feb. 9, 1891, p. 28. All except Kellie, Forster and Keith.
But McKenzie's motive was personal also; he had been dismissed as superintendent of education in 1884 when he aspired to the Bar, and he merely used the Muir case as a means of revenge on Robson and on his own successor, S. D. Pope. It was very unfortunate that the education department should have been the scene of so many petty disputes, especially when Robson was doing his best to modernize the system.

Beaven also caused much governmental apprehension with his libel amendment bill. In 1889 Higgins had attempted to change the law which required the offending publisher to prove his innocence, but Dunsmuir had carried a six-months hoist to the 'monstrous bill'. Then in 1891 Theodore Davie and Beaven each introduced amendment bills; Beaven's, similar to Higgins', was defeated 17 - 13, despite the support of all newspapers. Davie's bill, which was much harder on the publisher, would have given the defendant no opportunity to avoid prosecution by apologizing; but when it met the committee of the whole, it was liberally amended.

The newspapers of course had supported the Beaven bill, as they resented the hardships placed upon them: "As matters stand at present it is simply dangerous to discuss with any degree of particularity, subjects of public interest, to expose wrong-doing, or seek to elevate the tone

(129) COLONIST, Mar. 18, 1889, p. 2.
(131) B. C. Journals, Feb. 5, 1891, p. 22.
(132) loc. cit., Feb. 10, 1891, p. 30. Most of the independents, except Horne, supported it with the opposition.
(133) COLONIST, Feb. 7, 1891, p. 6.
of public and private morality." Yet the strange part of the whole affair is that the newspapers had always managed to be so malicious; on the very same page which uttered the above complaint, appeared a direct inference that the teachers were under Robson's political control when they approved of daily marking. Indeed journalistic slanders, which were often beyond all reason, were a daily feature of the period.

The assessment bill, which exempted C. P. R. property from taxation, also raised strong opposition from the Beaven camp. Although Semlin's amendment protesting against this clause was defeated 21 - 3, yet the government dropped the bill and passed a new one without the obnoxious provision.

Beaven also chose this year to revive his anti-Chinese amendments. Early in the session he proposed that such a clause be included in all franchise bills, but Speaker Higgins ruled the resolution out of order. Thereupon the opposition leader proceeded to move an anti-Chinese amendment to every private franchise bill that came up, with only one success. In the other cases, the independents divided: Cotton at first was the only one to support the amendments, but soon Kitchen, Kellie, Brown and Keith also turned. Probably this was Beaven's real objective.

(135) TIMES, Mar. 6, 1889, p. 2.
(136) ibid.
(137) ibid.
(138) ibid.
(139) B. C. Journals, Mar. 13, 1891, p. 78. Independents all with the government.
(140) 54 Vict., ch. 45. B. C. Statutes, 1891, pp. 379-382.
(143) loc. cit., passim.
(144) B. C. Dying and Improvement Company. loc. cit., Apr. 18, 1891, p. 145. (no division)
(146) loc. cit., Mar. 9, 1891, p. 69.
Col. Baker, who heartily approved of Oriental competition, asked for a court judgement on the constitutionality of the anti-Chinese clauses, but withdrew his motion after Beaven had moved an amendment to the effect that Chinese should be excluded from the province. The independent resolution asking the dominion to raise the Chinese head tax to $200 was also unsuccessful.

The government itself was no laggard in proposing new legislation. The mineral bill, while it made no radical changes, made more understandable the procedure to be followed by the prospector. But the payment of the commission responsible for the drafting of the bill was another matter. Messrs. Cotton and Sword joined Beaven in opposing the remuneration of a member of the legislature (Kellie), as a violation of the independence of parliament. Robson of course had to face accusations of bribing the independent member, but he explained that Kellie was a practical miner and an invaluable member of the commission; Hunter claimed that they had told Kellie they could not pay him, and that therefore this special compensation act was quite legal. Undoubtedly this affair was quite above board, for Kellie had suffered heavy expenses during the three months of the commission's sittings, and certainly deserved payment.

At any rate Kellie did not hesitate to vote against his
benefactors on the repeal of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, annulling
the measure which had placed restrictions on Chinese working under-
ground.

The new school bill may sincerely have been intended as an advance, but it proved otherwise. The clause which provided that of
the seven city trustees, three should be appointed by the government
and four by the city council was carrying the centralization too far.
It led to another dispute in Victoria, that city which never seemed to
be able to carry out government acts; one of the government appointees
resigned when he did not get a free hand. At the next session the
clause was repealed, and all was temporarily serene again.

The new land act was a further attempt to prevent speculation in crown grants, by allowing only bona fide settlers to purchase. It was the logical sequel to the withdrawal of crown lands from sale during the previous summer.

1891 was another great year for railways: 11 new railway companies and four tramway companies were incorporated. Several of the new companies were unnecessary ones, on the lower mainland; but the Nelson and Fort Sheppard, and the Crow's Nest and Kootenay Lake extension both opened up rich mining districts. The growth of the

(153) B. C. Journals, April 14, 1891, p. 128.
(154) COLCNIIST, April 15, 1891, p. 2. Killed in Committee of the whole. loc. cit., April 17, 1891, p. 143.
(156) TIMES, Nov. 3, 1891, p. 4.
(158) 54 Vict., ch. 15. B. C. Statutes, 1891, pp. 49-54.
(159) B. C. Gazette, July 31, 1890, p. 667.
(162) 54 Vict., ch. 56. loc. cit., pp. 461-462.
interior was also evidenced in the incorporation of two telephone (163) companies: the Kootenay Lake and the Vernon and Nelson. Interior (164) residents were further gladdened by the repeal of the royalty clause, when the government saw the error of its ways (or perhaps when the fear of an independent-opposition coalition opened its eyes.)

But the budget was less satisfactory; Mr. Turner's refreshing briefness did not conceal the fact that he expected a deficit of (166) $150,000, and the NEWS-ADVERTISER was promptly ready with suggestions (167) of a new taxation system and more efficient collection. It is interesting to note, however, that the COLUMBIAN, stout independent organ, succumbed to sectionalism in its satisfaction at the increase in (168) the appropriations for New Westminster, and in its excuses for the (169) decreased revenue.

Turner did receive wide support on his proposal to borrow (170) $700,000 in order to consolidate the public debt—although Cotton disapproved of the method of borrowing.

Finally the session closed April 20th, after a tense but (171) fruitful session in which the government, although forced to alter its policy, had been sustained throughout. As the NEWS-ADVERTISER put it, (172) "Official inertia is yielding to popular pressure."

After a very quiet recess the legislature opened again upon

(163) 54 Vict., ch. 65. B. C. Statutes, 1891, pp. 511-516.
(164) 54 Vict., ch. 67. loc. cit., pp. 519-524.
(165) 54 Vict., ch. 34. loc. cit., p. 289.
(167) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Mar. 31, 1891, p. 4.
(168) COLUMBIAN, Mar. 28, 1891, p. 2.
(169) loc. cit., April 4, 1891, p. 2.
(170) COLONIST, April 12, 1891, p. 2.
(171) B. C. Journals, April 20, 1891, p. 150.
(172) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 21, 1891, p. 4.
a stormy session. The government in 1890 seemed to have reached the limit in concessions to the other parties, for the speech from the throne indicated little new legislation other than amendments. To this the independents, pledged to reform made vehement objections.

The independents thought the time had come for the realisation of their Utopian redistribution. Despite the fact that the 1891 census returns would not be complete for some months, C. B. Sword proposed an amendment to the motion for supply, demanding redistribution. In the division which defeated the amendment 18 - 11, J. W. Horne of Vancouver was the only independent who voted with the administration. John Grant and Thomas Forster of Nanaimo were absent.

Kitchen and Brown asked for a committee to investigate the cancellation of J. D. McLeod's teaching certificate, but Robson objected to the inclusion of C. C. McKenzie on the committee. However his amendment substituting the name of R. H. Hall, government, was declared out of order, and the original motion was defeated. In the end a reasonable committee of three government men and two independents was appointed.

The majority report found McLeod guilty of insubordination in his dispute over the marking of certain Latin papers; even the minority report of Cotton and Kitchen blamed the teacher, but it also suggested

(174) COLONIST, Feb. 2, 1892, p. 8.
(175) B. C. Journals, April 20, 1892, p. 128.
(176) ibid.
(179) ibid.
(180) ibid.
(181) loc. cit., Feb. 8, 1892, p. 10.
irregularities in the education department, and thought that McLeod (183) should have been suspended only temporarily. In this case the independents probably did not use the cancellation for political ends, but it is indeed unfortunate that educational matters should so constantly have been aired in the house; for questions of departmental discipline should be settled by the officers responsible, not by politicians who have little knowledge of the facts concerned.

The government's land policy was another problem which seemed always to bring corruption accusations. During the recess, the TIMES had launched a broadside against Vernon for his mishandling of the Port Simpson lands, accusing him of attempting to give grants illegally to (184) his friends. Despite the fact that the chief commissioner won a libel (185) suit against the TIMES for these statements, the matter was not (186) settled; Beaven, failing to get a committee of investigation, got a (187) full return of the correspondence. This evidence shows that, as the TIMES had stated, a group of men had been refused grants to land at Port Simpson on the basis of previous, but incomplete applications by F. Barnard, R. Cunningham, and J. Davies. After many protests, Vernon had held an investigation in his own office, and had refused the grants (188) to either group; still later, he withdrew the land altogether from sale. Undoubtedly there was some irregularity; even if Vernon had not deliberated done anything illegal, then he had neglected to check the

(183) "Minority report ..." B. C. Journals, 1892, Appendix, pp. cxxvii- cxxviii.
(184) TIMES, July 21, 1891, p. 5.
(185) loc. cit., Oct. 1, 1891, p. 4.
(188) "Port Simpson ..." ibid.
first applications; in other words, the lands department was either corrupt or inefficient.

Residents of the Nelson district were highly indignant at Vernon's action in reserving the Slocan Lake lands, ostensibly to protect them from speculators. Kellie, far from being a bribed slave of the government, moved for a return on the transactions in this matter; but the independents were disappointed when the documents confirmed the action of the government.

The new land act made a further attempt to hinder speculation by prohibiting the sale of unsurveyed lands, but allowing pre-emption by settlers; and by reserving townsite lands.

The usual resolution asking for the opening of the dominion railway lands was introduced this time by the independents. At last there was some action, for Robson announced that the minister of the interior had promised to open all lands in the Kamloops agency.

Bills 61 and 62, which proposed to develop British Columbia's deep-sea fisheries by giving a land grant to a commercial company to bring fishermen-colonists to settle on the coast, also roused the ire of the independents and the opposition. They maintained that the terms of the bill were too vague; that the company would get the grant and

(189) TIMES, Jan. 23, 1892, p. 4.
(190) v. supra, p. 104.
(192) "Return ... correspondence ... relative to the reserve placed on certain lands at or near Slocan Lake, or to the refusal of the application of any person or persons to take up land at or near Slocan Lake, or to the allowance of any such applications." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 623-636.
(193) 55 Vict., ch. 2. B. C. Statutes, 1892, pp. 73-78.
(194) E. C. Journals, Mar. 9, 1892, p. 46. v. supra, p. 32.
(195) COLONIST, Mar. 10, 1892, p. 6.
never fulfill its obligations. The bills passed easily, but when
Gladstone came into power in Britain the imperial support was withdrawn
and the scheme dropped; therefore we do not know how it would have
worked out, whether it was really a bona fide proposal.

Railway development was relatively quiet this year; the
Canadian Northern Railway (the new transcontinental) combined with
the Canadian Western, getting the land grant of the latter; the Kaslo
and Slocan and the Nelson and Fort Sheppard obtained grants, and
several others were incorporated. Kellie's bill, which proposed a
general railway bill for all private franchises, was again defeated.

The great event of the session was the Kennedy libel case.
It arose out of a leader in the COLUMBIAN of March 17th, entitled
"Outrageous Presumption." Speaking of Davie's action in appearing
before the private bills committee to strangle the Twin Cities bill, the
article called it: "a scandal and an outrage on free institutions and
pure government ...; and the acme of rottenness and impudence was
reached on Tuesday last, when the Private Bills Committee reported to
the House that they had decided not to grant the petition of the Twin
Cities Railway and Telephone Company."

Robson and Davie carried a motion that the Kennedy brothers
be called before the house on March 29th to account for their actions;

(197) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 6, 1892, p. 4.
(198) B. C. Journals, April 4, 1892, pp. 90-91.
(199) Scholefield and Gosnell, op. cit., part II., p. 140.
(200) 55 Vict., ch. 36. B. C. Statutes, 1892, pp. 219-222.
(201) 55 Vict., ch. 37. loc. cit., pp. 223-225.
(203) 55 Vict., chs. 48, 52, 65. loc. cit., pp. 293-306, 323-327,
431-434.
(204) COLONIST, Feb. 24, 1892, p. 4.
(205) B. C. Journals, April 12, 1892, p. 120.
(206) COLUMBIAN, Mar. 17, 1892, p. 2.
the Sword-Kitchen amendment for a select committee to investigate the matter was defeated 21 - 8. In the debate J. C. Brown of New Westminster was the only member to attempt a defence of the editors, while Beaven contented himself with condemning the summons as irregular, the government, before it went too far in its prosecution, had the sympathy of the majority, regardless of party. Yet even so early as this the COLONIST thought that the legislature should ignore the affair, rather than make an example of the Kennedys.

The editors, determined to defend the dignity of the press against the 'honor' of the house, did not appear on March 29th; then the government solemnly appointed a select committee, after having denied one only a week before.

The next step of the government was to fortify its position behind a hasty Legislative Assembly Privileges Act, giving itself power to imprison the libellers. But the Kennedys were not daunted by "the Attorney General's iron-clad, brass-mounted and steel-shod press gag act, ... which was suggested by the embarrassment of the government in dealing with the recent COLUMBIAN case."

Thus when the committee recommended that the house proceed against the offenders, Davie had a basis for his motion to call the
men before the house on April 12th.

Messrs. Kennedy, forewarned, were not at home to callers on the day that the official summons arrived, but the speaker's warrant finally did bring them to the bar of the house. There their only excuse for their conduct was that the legislature was over-stepping its powers, that the Legislative Privileges Act was not retroactive. They were handed over to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms for the remainder of the session. But the house prorogued the next day, and the prisoners were free.

The whole affair formed another step on the downward path of the Smithe dynasty; for, although the COLUMBIAN was undoubtedly a bitter and unfair critic of the government and deserved to be punished, yet the administration only turned the tables on itself. If Robson had not allowed his personal spleen to carry the matter beyond a point of privilege in the house, the Kennedys probably would have quieted down. No doubt the opposition and independents had a hand in advising the editors' refusal to appear; if so, it was a superb political move which earned rich gains.

At the end of May Col. James Baker became minister of education and immigration. Just what his qualifications were, a Cambridge M. A., a military career and the authorship of a popular volume entitled "Turkey in Europe", was not made clear; probably the
facts that he had loyally supported the government and that Robson lacked a more suitable alternative, were more important in governing his appointment. The COLUMBIAN, ever caustic, remarked: "It seems almost too bad that a Bureau of War could not be tacked on to the honourable gent's (sic) duties and titles." His greatest claim to fame in the house was the following priceless ditty, recited during the budget debate of 1890:

... The history of the opposition reminds me forcibly of the well known song about the little nigger boys, for at the last general election

They went 'to the country' to look for their fate,
And when they came back
They found they were eight.

(a)

Then a member for Cariboo—weighing twenty eleven,
He went to the country—and then there were seven.

(b)

New Westminster city they next tried to fix,
And when they came back, Why! then they were six!

Now by logical sequence if they go on to strive
They may come to this House with the number of five.

And what is far worse, Sir, the future in store
May leave them a total of the number of four.

And I think I may say, Sir (between you and me),
That this rule of reduction might bring them to three.

(c)

And 'a young man from the country' will look very blue
If he comes to this House to make one out of two.

And only to think, Sir, why, oh gracious Heaven!
If nothing's left of them but good Mr. Beaven!

If such is the case, Sir, I venture to say
He'll give up in disgust and leave nothing but ... 'MAY'.

(222) COLUMBIAN, May 30, 1892, p. 2.
(223) COLONIST, Mar. 22, 1890, p. 3.
(a) McLeese, who resigned to run for the Commons.
(b) Bole, who resigned to take a judgeship.
(c) Probably Grant, or Semlin.
(d) Beaven was always quoting May's work on parliamentary procedure.
But this addition to the cabinet could not compensate for the loss of the premier; Hon. John Robson died of blood poisoning in London on June 29th.

A real B. C. pioneer, Robson had been prominent in politics since his arrival in 1859. There is no doubt that, in the words of his arch enemy, George Kennedy, he had been "the most experienced, astute and able politician and parliamentarian in the Provincial Assembly and the ablest debater." Yet we must not allow obituary eulogies to obscure the fact that his administration began the decay of the Smith dynasty, and that he himself was not beyond the reach of his opponents' corruption accusations. His period of office had seen many advances in legislation and in the opening up of the province, but these were largely due to the advent of the new opposition group in 1890, rather than to his own reform ideals.

The TIMES statement has so far proven true:

'The Honourable John Robson (when he came into power) would see to it that the future historian of British Columbia, if he judged his actions aright, would not have it in his power to pronounce upon Honest John Macaulay's epigrammatic judgement on the great Duke of Marlborough—that he was a man who was at once 'rich and infamous'." And that is just the difficulty; undoubtedly many of the rumors about him were merely the result of deliberate oppositionist lies, but there exists as yet no evidence to clear him of the great majority of suspicions which seem to be well grounded. At any rate, famous or infamous, his name will not soon be forgotten.

(224) COLONIST, June 30, 1892, p. 1.
(225) COLUMBIAN, June 30, 1892, p. 2.
(226) TIMES, Oct. 4, 1890, p. 4.
CHAPTER VI.

The Theodore Davie Ministry, 1892-1895.

Under Robson the Smithe dynasty had turned into the slippery path of decay; under Theodore Davie, instead of climbing back to the highroad, it only gathered momentum in its downward journey. The late premier had at least been the rightful leader of his party, but his successor was called only after other men had refused the honor.

For even the WORLD, staunch government organ, admitted that Hon. C. E. Pooley had declined to form a ministry. (1) The TIMES suggestion that Pooley's withdrawal was due not to his reluctance to leave the practice of law, but to Davie's refusal to co-operate, is based on circumstantial evidence only; but it is quite plausible, when Davie's aggressive character is considered. Pooley would have made an honest, cautious leader, but he would not have been strong enough to maintain control; probably, like A. E. B. Davie, he would have been premier in name only, and the course of events would not have been changed.

At any rate Theodore Davie became premier, and he continued in office even after a general election, despite

(1) WORLD, July 2, 1892, p. 2.
(2) TIMES, July 2, 1892, p. 4.
the prediction of the TIMES:

We feel that the accession of Mr. Theodore Davie to the leadership of a government in British Columbia is a public calamity, a disgrace to the intelligence of our people. As a politician and as a minister he has been a conspicuous failure. The position to which he had already attained was achieved by a ferocious pertinacity rather than ability; by scheming and inheritance and not by promotion. His spurs have not been won—they have been torn by intrigue from the feet of the dead, while better men have been forced to stand aside. In no sense is he a 'leader'...He was a dangerous man as Attorney-General; he will, as Premier, be still more powerful for evil. The only silver lining to the cloud that we can discern is the general election two years hence. The present House may condone the election of Mr. Theodore Davie as First Minister, but the people of the province will never be guilty of such stupendous folly.

Like most news articles of that day, this diatribe was a gross exaggeration based upon a slim foundation of truth: Theodore Davie did have a great deal of that 'ferocious pertinacity' which the TIMES editor condemned, and he probably was not above using sly scheming to gain personal advancement. But the slur on his ability as a lawyer and a politician is inexcusable, for he proved strong enough to force upon the province the parliament buildings construction—a very difficult task—and his government was returned at the next election with a working majority. In a word, Theodore Davie was not the ideal premier, nor was he the perfect villain.

The cabinet personnel remained the same as before, with Davie as premier, attorney-general and temporary provincial secretary. Only a few months before a fifth minister

(3) TIMES, July 4, 1892, p. 4.
(4) B. C. Gazette, July 7, 1892, pp. 719-720.
had been necessary in order to distribute the executive burden, but now four men were enough. Perhaps a fifth could not be found, for in September the provincial secretary's duties were transferred to Col. Baker.

The only by-election, that in Cariboo to replace the late premier, was won by Dr. Watt of Victoria, a government supporter.

The recess was very quiet, the only disturbance centering round the smallpox epidemic in Victoria and Vancouver. Party politics held a minor role in the dispute, for the Victoria council under Hon. Robert Beaven as mayor, staunchly opposed government control of the disease; and Dr. Milne, oppositionist municipal health officer of Victoria, was dismissed by the government for failure to co-operate with the provincial health officer, Dr. J. C. Davie—brother of the premier. However the government control proved efficient, the epidemic was stamped out, and the indignation subsided.

Even the session of 1893 promised to be peaceful. The throne speech, which forecast school and labor reforms and redistribution, went unchallenged; Beaven, its sole critic, had no real basis for his scoldings, and the independents were silent.

(5) *v. supra*, p. 1112.
(6) *B. C. Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1892, p. 989.
(7) *TIMES*, Oct. 12, 1892, p. 4.
(8) *COLONIST*, July 20, 1892, p. 4.
(10) *COLONIST*, Jan. 31, 1893, p. 4.
When the bills themselves were introduced the government's opponents had little more to say. The school bill, which gave full local control of education to the city trustees, was well received; and the independents actually congratulated Col. Baker on the labor disputes bill. The public health act, which provided for a centralized health control over the whole province, was opposed only by J. C. Brown and the COLUMBIAN, as an infringement upon municipal rights; otherwise it was very popular.

But these three acts were not measures of policy; the school and labor bills carried out ideas which had long been advocated by the opposition and the independents, and the government could claim no real credit for them; and the health act was the result of the recent smallpox epidemic, which had demonstrated to everyone the need for efficient control.

Although the opposition had less need now for petty obstruction devices, yet these were not wanting. Beaven had revived the Kennedy case in the charge that the speaker and every member of the house were liable to action for damages as a result of their 'illegal' action of the previous session. When Davie presented a copy of the opinion

(12) COLONIST, Feb. 8, 1893, p. 6.
(14) 56 Vict., ch.15. loc. cit., pp. 47-74.
(15) COLUMBIAN, Mar. 2, 1893, p. 2.
(16) COLONIST, Feb. 16, 1893, p. 6.
given by Dr. Bourinot of Ottawa, in which that authority on constitutional law suggested that British Columbia's legislation must be amended so as to give the legislature power to punish offenders against the orders of the house, the oppositionists criticized the attorney-general for spending $100 on an outside opinion and then passing the special act before that opinion was received.

Even the budget debate was a tame affair. Although it lasted for several days, yet the opposition had few real criticisms to make; they kept wandering from the points at issue to the more live one of the new parliament buildings.

But such calm could not last. The premier brought upon his head the fury of all mainland residents when he introduced a bill providing for the erection of new parliament buildings in Victoria. In the debates on the bill the sectional character of the house was demonstrated. The mainlanders claimed of course that it was a scheme to keep the

(17) "Return...copy of the opinion given by Dr. J. G. Bourinot, as to the powers and privileges of the Legislative Assembly." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1893, p. 569. Sir John Bourinot, from 1880 until his death in 1902 the chief clerk of the Canadian House of Commons, is still regarded as a foremost authority on Canadian constitutional law and history. He published several books on parliamentary procedure and government in Canada; he was the first secretary (1882) and later the president (1892) of the Royal Society of Canada.

(18) TIMES, Feb. 27, 1893, p. 4. The opinion was dated April 9th, and could not reach Victoria for a week; the Legislative Assembly Powers Act was passed on April 8.

(19) COLONIST, Mar. 14, 1893, p. 4.

(20) 56 Vict., ch. 34. B. C. Statutes, 1893, pp. 161-162.
capital on the island instead of removing it to its logical location in the centre of commerce and industry; Sämlin voiced the arguments of many members when he stated that the bill would mean a large increase in taxation at a time when the people could ill afford to pay, and G. B. Martin, soon to be a cabinet minister, protested that the money should be spent in opening up the province. Even J. W. Horne of Vancouver, erstwhile independent who had joined the government ranks, condemned the bill as premature; new offices for the lands and works department and the registry records would have been sufficient.

The government denied the expediency charge with the statement that the capital would never be moved, that any 'anchorage' was therefore unnecessary. It was merely a 'business proposition', the replacement of old buildings which were unheatable fire-traps; moreover, the annual carrying charges on the $600,000 expenditure could be met out of the current revenue without any increase in taxation. And here we have the amazing spectacle of bitter oppositionists supporting the government for sectional reasons; even Beaven, although he admitted that he had condemned Turner's deficits, now maintained that the province could easily afford the new buildings, and denied that an election should be held on the

(21) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Mar. 26, 1893, p. 4.
(22) COLONIST, Mar. 21, 1893, p. 6.
(24) Ibid.
The bill passed its second reading on the following division:

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21 11

The citizens of Vancouver and New Westminster, who had secretly hoped some day to get the capital, held mass meetings to protest against the outrage, but with no effect; the bill had already passed. Even the WORLD condemned the government's action, and the Vernon NEWS aptly wondered why the administration suddenly found the country rich enough to support the new project, when it could not afford to build much-needed roads to open up the mining districts. But the Vancouver PEOPLE'S JOURNAL, in a parody of an auction sale advertisement, gave the best expression to the mainland feeling:

(26) COLONIST, Mar. 22, 1893, p. 6.
(27) B. C. Journals, Mar. 21, 1893, pp. 79-80. Kellie and Nason of the interior stand by the government, but Stoddart and Martin oppose the bill. The island oppositionists also vote for it.
(28) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Mar. 19, 1893, p. 4.
(29) WORLD, Mar. 9, 1893, p. 4.
DESIRABLE INVESTMENT!

To be sold by auction not later than April 1st, 1893, at

VICTORIA, B. C.,

in liquidation for a bill of sale for

$600,000

As a Going Concern,

all that portion of the province of British Columbia, known as

THE MAINLAND

Situated opposite and east of Vancouver Island, and separated from it by the Gulf of Georgia; together with all the live stock, consisting of men, women and children.

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Descriptive Particulars

This property offers a rare opportunity to gentlemen with sufficient legal knowledge to explain that stealing is no robbery, and that bribery is not corruption, and that the people on this property merely exist to promote the material interests of the landlord.

Any intending purchaser will meet no opposition in collecting the extreme rack rents. These have lately been raised and arrangements have been made at our establishment at St. James' Bay to still further increase them, when they will reach about fifty-three dollars per head; but such is the discipline in which the tenants have been kept, that they received the announcement cheerfully, and are determined to work hard to supply their masters with the needful.

We can assure the future owners that they need have no apprehension that the slightest resistance will be met with to any treatment they may choose to impose. The people have been so thoroughly trained in unquestioned submission.
the idea of resistance will never occur to them. Moreover, this property is capable of great improvement, and might be made to pay much better than it does at present by a comparatively small expenditure on roads, bridges, wharves, etc.

Anything not sufficiently understood in this advertisement, or of a 'nebulous' nature, will be explained by dropping a post-card to the vendors at St. James' Bay.

No auction fees. A lump sum charged on the whole lot.

Private proposals will be received by

Knavey, Vera-non and Company,
(Unlimited) Vendors.

This agitation might have died down, had it not been aggravated by Davie's delay of the redistribution bill. The opposition of course made a great deal of the fact that the throne speech had definitely recognized the need of a new measure, that the government was now going back on its promise, and they discarded the excuse of mistakes in the dominion census as a blind for Davie's fear of losing his 'pocket borough' supporters.

The government papers had very few arguments to advance; merely that the census returns for British Columbia were inaccurate, and could not yet be used as a basis of redistribution, and that the delay was only for a year. The Nanaimo FREE PRESS, representing one of the much-maligned pocket boroughs, claimed that the measure was not necessary

(32) COLONIST, Mar. 31, 1893, p. 8.
(33) TIMES, April 1, 1893, p. 4.
(34) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Apr. 2, 1893, p. 4. It turned out later that Davie's excuse was very thin. v. infra, p.128
(35) COLONIST, Mar. 31, 1893, p. 8.
until the next year anyway, when the general election would be held. The WORLD, which had been independent enough to oppose the parliament buildings bill, now returned to the government fold with a long dissertation upon the census errors, and the need of readjusting the figures.

In the house, Cotton and Keith moved a non-confidence vote censuring the government for neglecting to bring down a redistribution bill; of course they had no hope of defeating the administration, but they did wish an opportunity to place their protest upon record. The most interesting feature of the debate was John Grant's defence of the delay. He said that two years before he would have supported Cotton's motion, but not now; the independents had voted with the government to get patronage, but now they were seizing a flimsy excuse to defeat the ministry, and he refused to assist them. This change of heart is rather astonishing in one who had never been backward in moving similar censures; perhaps Grant represented the growing power of the 'independent' oppositionists.

But the defeat of Cotton's motion did not end the matter, for the old Mainland Association of 1890 was revived. Even before the opening of the session, Messrs. Brown and Cotton had called a public meeting in Vancouver to demand redistribution, and now they formed the Constitutional League.

(36) Nanaimo FREE PRESS, April 1, 1893, p. 4.
(37) WORLD, April 10, 1893, p. 4.
(38) COLONIST, April 8, 1893, p. 6.
(39) B. C. Journals, April 7, 1893, p. 117.
(40) WORLD, Jan. 28, 1893, p. 3.
At another mass meeting in Vancouver, Reverend G. R. Maxwell read the manifesto demanding just representation, condemning the government's extravagance, and intimating separation:

Serious as it is to contemplate the erection of the Mainland into a self-governing Province of the Dominion, let every man consider whether it be or not by far less serious than remaining as at present, until the 36,000 people of the Island legislate the 60,000 people of the Mainland into financial ruin. As a distinct Province the Mainland would have fair representation, impartial legislation, the full benefit of her own revenue applied in opening up the country and a progress which would eclipse the past both in volume and rapidity.

The meeting passed a resolution organising the Constitutional League "for the purpose of defending our political rights", and named a committee to act with similar bodies from other parts of the province.

The central committee, led by General Twigge and William Templeton, distributed copies of the manifesto throughout the mainland constituencies and organised committees to secure signatures for a petition to the governor-general, asking him to veto the parliament buildings bill. Thomas E. Kitchen of Chilliwack did a good missionary work (with expenses paid) by carrying the petitions to the interior districts.

Then the premier, not to be outdone, himself invaded the enemy's camp. He toured the mainland attempting to

(41) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 16, 1893, p. 1.
(42) ibid.
(43) loc. cit., Sept. 24, 1893, p. 1. From Twigge's account given at the Kamloops convention.
explain the government's conduct, but the newspaper reports are so contradictory that we cannot judge of his success.

The death of I. B. Nason, who had suffered from cancer for years, necessitated a by-election in Cariboo, and this was to be a test of the government's strength. Davie of course extended his tour to this territory, and Kitchen and Brown followed him. The TIMES charged that Davie favored Denis Murphy (now the Hon. Mr. Justice Murphy) rather than William Adams, because the latter had said that, had he been in the house, he would have voted against the parliament buildings if the government majority were not imperilled. But Adams, the winner, proved very amenable to party discipline once he entered the legislature.

The opposition made great capital of the charge that Davie was bribing the interior newspapers. The INLAND SENTINEL of Kamloops changed hands in November, and became a strong government supporter. The former editor, Hugh McCutcheon, stood as an opposition candidate in the 1894 election, and made open accusations against Davie of backing the three Vancouver men who had purchased the paper. The

(44) WORLD, July 7, 1893, p. 2.
(45) loc. cit., May 11, 1893, p. 4, calls the New Westminster meeting a triumph; NEWS-ADVERTISER, May 11, 1893, p. 4, says that Davie attempted an impossibility.
(46) COLONIST, May 28, 1893, p. 4.
(49) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Sept. 5, 1893, p. 4.
(51) INLAND SENTINEL, Nov. 4, 1893, p. 4.
(52) loc. cit., July 6, 1894, p. 3.
Vernon NEWS also was forced to deny hints of Davie control, claiming to be strictly independent. While there is no direct evidence against the premier, yet in view of the sudden change in tone of the two papers, it is quite probable that the charges were true; if so Davie was merely following out a general practice of the day—for it was an extraordinary journal indeed that did not have some personal interest in politics.

The Constitutional League's agitation was to reach a climax at the Kamloops convention, to be attended by representatives from every mainland constituency; but it was more of an anti-climax. For by this time the people had come to see the folly of the petition to the governor-general; and even the NEWS-ADVERTISER had repudiated the desire for separation, substituting the aim of thorough organisation at the coming election.

The meeting itself was unimportant, with very few delegates—a 'non-representative convention'; even Chilliwack, stronghold of Thomas Kitchen, refused to send anyone to Kamloops. At the convention a committee met in camera to formulate several harmless resolutions demanding redistribution and condemning Davie's sectionalism, eliminating secession altogether; then the open meeting passed these

(53) Vernon NEWS, Nov. 16, 1893, p. 4.
(54) TIMES, Aug. 31, 1893, p. 4.
(55) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Sept. 24, 1893, p. 1
(56) COLONIST, Oct. 12, 1893, p. 4.
(57) WORLD, Oct. 9, 1893, p. 4.
without debate, and the Constitutional League was no more.

The mainlanders certainly had a sound basis for their indignation; there really was no need for the huge expenditure on the parliament buildings at that time, other than Davie's own determination to keep the capital on the island; for even if there were no immediate danger of its removal, he knew that sooner or later the more thickly populated and prosperous mainland would demand the erection of a new seat of government in a more central location. True, the old buildings were crowded and difficult to heat; but even apart from the capital 'anchorage', a gradual expenditure on new offices for the lands and works and other important departments would have filled the bill. For it was impracticable to attempt to house the whole provincial administration under one roof, and the new building was soon too small.

The redistribution withdrawal was also unfair. The census figures were wrong, of course, but the readjustment made only a very small difference; and it took the government an amazingly long time to discover that the faults were so serious. The most curious thing is why Davie even

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(59) WORLD, Oct. 11, 1893, p. 4.
(60) Dr. R. L. Reid confirms this theory.
(61) "Papers relating to the population of British Columbia..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1892, pp. 411-415. These show an under-estimation in the 1891 census of Victoria's population; and this is long before the 1893 session! The revised returns add only about 6,000 to the total population of the province: "Return...results of the revised census..." ibid., 1894, pp. 1587-1589.
promised the bill at this session; for although an alteration in the representation does not automatically entail a general election, yet it is of little use without; and the house would not dissolve until 1894! But the fact remains that the throne speech did recognise the need for redistribution, and that the government calmly withheld the measure upon a petty excuse. It seems almost certain that the representatives of the smaller constituencies, who would be eliminated under the new system, had refused to support the bill, and that Davie concluded that a year's postponement would allow the buildings agitation to die down and would give him firmer backing.

Yes, Twigge, Maxwell, Brown and Kitchen had a good foundation of indignation to work upon, but they misjudged the temper of the people and went too far in their secession talk; thus they lost the sympathy of the very men they professed to be helping, and the following dwindled away. Every revolutionary movement is led by a group of 'radicals' whose ideas are far beyond those of their disciples; in some cases these leaders are able to sway the whole group and to force out the moderates; in others they fail and must drop out of sight. In this mainland 'separation' movement the organisers did not gain their avowed objective, for the governor-general took no action on the petitions, and the mainland did not secede; but the group did perfect a political organisation which stood them in good stead the next year, and they united

the three-year-old 'independent' party with the regular oppositionists.

Indeed the real goal of the leaders probably was to gain support for a new opposition party, to oust the government. Even here they did not succeed, for they put the island more solidly behind Davie, and they also alienated many moderate 'conservative' mainlanders by their inflammatory talk; they gained very few seats in 1894.

With such an agitation just passed and with a general election just ahead, members could not hope for a quiet session in 1894. Although the opposition (Beavenites and independents) made little real criticism of the throne speech, yet they soon began their pre-election censure motions.

Cotton first attacked Hon. C. E. Pooley for appearing in court against the government in a dispute over the island railway belt mines. Pooley had for years been counsel for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company, and was merely carrying out part of his duties; he had been elected twice since his appointment as legal advisor, and did not feel himself to be in any way a traitor to the government; his post as president of the council paid no salary, and he did not even accept travelling expenses. The oppositionists in thus attacking a man whose integrity was as yet unquestioned;

(63) *infra*, p. 142.
(64) *Colonist*, Jan. 23, 1894, p. 4.
(65) *loc. cit.*, Feb. 6, 1894, p. 6.
(66) *loc. cit.*, Feb. 21, 1894, p. 7.
(67) But he got into trouble later; *infra*, p. 169.
true, they had a technical basis for their accusations, but they could not yet prove to the electors that Pooley was corrupt.

But, determined to injure the cabinet in some way, Beaven moved a resolution of censure against Col. Baker for his part in the promotion of the Cranbrook Estate, a 1500-acre townsite in the east Kootenay. The provincial secretary, while in England, had distributed copies of a prospectus in which his name appeared as a vendor, with all his official titles. By some unknown means the TIMES had obtained a copy and had printed it in full, although the original was plainly marked "for private distribution only". While Col. Baker's reputation was not untarnished, yet no blame should be attached to him in this case; he had a perfect right to use his titles on the prospectus as an evidence of the good faith of the company.

Premier Davie was the next man favored with the attention of the 'muckrakers'. He had agreed to give to the Nakusp and Slocan Railway Company a grant of $25,000 per mile, which the opposition claimed was $7,500 per mile more than the construction would cost; the inference was that the government members were to share the difference. Long and heated debates brought no result, until Thomas Forster let

(68) B. C. Journals, Feb. 8, 1894, p. 32.
(69) COLONIST, Feb. 9, 1894, p. 3.
(70) TIMES, Jan. 29, 1894, p. 3.
(71) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Mar. 15, 1894, p. 4.
slip a direct accusation that Davie was a member of the company. The premier at once moved for a royal commission to investigate the truth of the statement, and was soon exonerated of all blame. Yet there must have been some truth in the charges, for the grant was reduced to $17,500 per mile.

The next discussion arose out of alleged misstatements in a government report, which had claimed that the votes polled for government candidates in the 1890 election had equalled those cast for the opposition and independent candidates combined. Kitchen and Sword moved a resolution regretting this false statement and showed that the government's figures were based on the votes polled for the independents who had since joined the government; in reality there was a majority against the government of 3,938. After a long discussion as to the rightful places of J. W. Horne, J. M. Kellie and James Punch the resolution was defeated, but not before both sides had indulged in a great deal of strong language; Horne claimed that he had left the independents because of the bumptiousness of J. C. Brown, and Kellie put his reason even more forcefully.

But Kitchen had not yet finished. He introduced a non-confidence amendment to the motion to enter the supply

(72) TIMES, April 7, 1894, p. 3.
(73) B. C. Journals, April 9, 1894, pp. 146-148.
(74) 57 Vict., ch. 43. B.C. Statutes, 1894, pp. 233-234.
(77) COLONIST, Feb. 6, 1894, p. 7.
committee, censuring the government for attempting to conceal the state of the provincial finances. He charged that the expenditure had greatly exceeded the revenue, and that many payments had been made by special warrant which were not provided for in the supply resolutions; furthermore, the expenditure planned for the coming year would necessitate an increase of taxation, which fact, he said, the cabinet did not intend to reveal until after the general election.

The government quashed discussion by the simple expedient of making no reply to the motion, and Beaven, waiting for a cabinet member to defend the ministry, was prevented from speaking by the ringing of the division bell; the amendment was of course defeated, with Grant still supporting the government.

But the greatest struggle was yet to come, the supply obstruction. When the government attempted to rush the votes through, the opposition delayed them at every turn, until the climax was reached in a 23-hour all-night sitting. The immediate cause of the disturbance was Kitchen's objection to resolution 9 which provided for the salary of a separate minister of education, when that portfolio was held by Col.

(79) B. C. Journals, Feb. 20, 1894, pp. 44, 45.
(80) TIMES, Feb. 22, 1894, p. 4.
(81) ibid.
(82) B. C. Journals, Feb. 21, 1894, p. 46. But they did reply when Beaven moved a vote of censure on the same question; and Grant actually defended the government. COLONIST, Feb. 28, 1894, p. 7.
(83) loc. cit., Feb. 25, 1894, p. 4.
(84) Ibid.
(85) B. C. Journals, Feb. 23, 1894, p. 63.
Baker. Kitchen claimed that if another minister was necessary, one should be appointed; if not, the vote should not be passed. A dispute arose with acting chairman R. H. Hall as to Kitchen's right to the floor, but it was soon settled when G. B. Marting returned to the chair, and the vote was passed. The government refused to adjourn until all the votes had been put through, thereby cutting short the discussions.

Despite all the time wasted on these pre-election bickerings, much valuable legislation was enacted at this session. The growing influence of agriculture was recognised, through the influence of Hon. J. H. Turner, by an act for the regulation of the department of agriculture, and an act to encourage co-operative dairying. An important measure for historians was that establishing the legislative library and bureau of statistics, which later expanded into the excellent provincial library and archives, our storehouse of materials on local history.

The legislature did not take any important steps in the transportation field, but it gave a larger grant to the New Westminster bridge, allowed the Kaslo and Slocan company to use a narrow gauge line, gave the Nelson and Port Sheppard company an extension of time, consolidated the various acts

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(86) COLONIST, Feb. 25, 1894, p. 4.
(87) B. C. Journals, Feb. 23, 1894, p. 63.
(88) 57 Vict., ch 1. B. C. Statutes, 1894, pp. 3-5.
(90) 57 Vict., ch. 27. loc. cit., pp. 137-139.
(91) 57 Vict., ch. 16. loc. cit., pp. 73-76.
(92) 57 Vict., ch. 41. loc. cit., pp. 219-220.
(93) 57 Vict., ch. 42. loc. cit., pp. 221-222.
concerning the Crow's Nest and Kootenay Lake company under the title of the British Columbia Southern, made the Ashcroft and Cariboo company (a Canadian Pacific branch) the Cariboo company under amended conditions, and incorporated a few new companies.

But the pièce de résistance was the redistribution bill, introduced early in the session. The new act retained the old number of seats—33—but re-arranged the districts so that the mainland had 19 members and the island 14, divided several large districts into ridings, and gave an extra member each to Vancouver, West Kootenay and New Westminster district. This made the regional representation as nearly equal as possible, and the old mainland versus island question was at last buried. There was no great agitation against this bill as there had been in 1890, for the simple reason that it met the needs of the province as nearly as possible; and apparently Davie had been able to override the demands of his 'pocket borough' supporters. The opposition did make mild accusations of gerry-mandering in the choice of districts to be divided into ridings and in the undue representation given to rural districts, but on the whole the bill was well received. At

(94) 57 Vict., ch. 53. B. C. Statutes, 1894, pp. 305-313.
(95) 57 Vict., ch. 55. loc. cit., pp. 319-325.
(96) 57 Vict., chs. 56-59, 63, 64. loc. cit., pp. 327-359, 373-396.
(98) TIMES, Feb. 17, 1894, p. 2.
(99) Nanaimo FREE PRESS, Feb. 19, 1894, p. 4.
last the Davie government had done something to counteract the indignation of the previous year, and to gain favor with the voters!

If the new measure was governed by selfish motives it was successful, for the ministry was returned at the general election which followed immediately. Yet the Smith dynasty was at last strictly on the defensive against opposition charges of extravagance and corruption, and the party machine, though temporarily renewed by this polling, showed serious signs of the inevitable breakdown. If the activities of the Constitutional League and of a few members of the independent section of the new opposition coalition had not aroused such antagonism among the more moderate electors, probably the government would have had a much smaller majority. Davie had a live, well-controlled organisation, while the opposition had not even a real leader; in other words the administration won the election by virtue of its political skill, not because of a whole-hearted approval of its actions in office.

Yet the result of the mainland separation movement showed clearly in the fact that all the opposition candidates were elected in the districts where the Constitutional League organisation had been perfected, with not a single representative from the island; they sent a solid slate from the lower mainland and several members from the interior mining districts.
In New Westminster district, which had been divided into four ridings, interest centred mainly round the contest at Chilliwack. Kitchen was unpopular because of his injury to local interests by continued snarling at the government, and he probably would have been defeated had not a split occurred in the government ranks. Donald McGillvray, selected by a majority of one to oppose Kitchen, was later forced to retire as candidate in favor of Samuel Cawley, reeve of the municipality. As a result, Kitchen was returned with a majority of 22.

In Dewdney C. B. Sword was more fortunate. The government, lacking a local man, put up Dr. Lefevre of Vancouver; the candidate was a good man, but an outsider could not hope to turn the farmers against Sword, who was one of themselves. Sword headed the poll by a comfortable margin.

An old-time resident, Thomas Kidd, also carried Richmond for the opposition. Charles S. Douglas, the government candidate, had been a member of the Manitoba legislature and was a councillor of South Vancouver, but Kidd gained a large majority.

It was the opposition who 'imported' a candidate in Delta, where Thomas Forster of Nanaimo easily defeated the

(100) COLONIST, Feb. 8, 1894, p. 4.
(101) Chilliwack PROGRESS, April 19, 1894, p. 4.
(102) loc. cit., April 25, 1894, p. 4.
(104) ibid.
(105) WORLD, May 22, 1894, p. 4.
sitting member, James Punch. In this case the natural anti-
pathy to an outsider was overcome by hatred of the government,
and by the fact that Forster had been a much more active mem-
er of the legislature than Punch. Moreover the successful
candidate had, despite his island associations, opposed the
parliament buildings bill; thus he had endeared himself to the
mainlanders and injured his prospects on the island; probably
this was the real reason for his move to Delta.

The main feature of the contest in New Westminster
city was the retirement from politics of J. C. Brown by re-
quest of the post-office department, of which he was an em-
ployee. His friends of course charged that Davie had used his
influence at Ottawa to obtain the postmaster-general's order
that employees could not hold public office; but this was a
general rule for the whole dominion. If Brown had had faith
in his political future, he would have resigned from the civil
service, for he probably would have been re-elected. But the
opposition was well rid of him, for he was a loud-mouthed
mediocrity who demanded the centre of the stage and who could
not work with his colleagues. In his stead J. B. Kennedy,

(107) Gemmill, op. cit., p. 379.
(108) v. supra, p. 121.
(109) COLONIST, April 24, 1894, p. 4.
(110) Dr. Reid, who later worked with Brown on the New West-
minster city council, says that Brown had a really cre-
ative mind, but was a poor administrator; he admits
that Brown was a virulent debater. I have found no ev-
dence of any creative work that Brown accomplished in
the provincial field other than the Mainland Association
and the Constitutional league, which are hardly to his
credit.
prominent saw-mill operator (no relation the proprietors of the COLUMBIAN), narrowly defeated David Curtis, the mayor who had refused to call a secession meeting in 1893.

In Vancouver city the opposition again returned their full ticket of Adolphus Williams, Robert MacPherson and F. L. Carter-Cotton, easily defeating the government ticket of Mayor Anderson, Capt. Tatlow and E. Odlum (who replaced J. W. Horne). Samuel Greer also stood, but was never a factor in the campaign. During the election Cotton, usually exempt from corruption charges, was imprisoned for refusing to disclose to his judgement creditor the names of the persons who had purchased $20,000 of stock in the NEWS-ADVERTISER. Although this pointed to the fact that his paper was subsidized by the opposition, yet it did little harm to Cotton's cause; Vancouver, antagonized by the Victoria clique, had long been an opposition stronghold.

The interior districts, although in the long run preferring the government candidates, yet elected a few
oppositionists. The administration carried East and West Kootenay, re-electing Col. Baker (opposed by Nicolai Schou, (118) reeve of Burnaby) and J. M. Kellie; but in the south riding J. F. Hume of Nelson, with a platform opposing the Nakusp and (120) Slocan railway scheme, defeated G. O. Buchanan of Kaslo. The only cabinet defeat was in East Yale, where Donald Graham e- (122) liminated Hon. F. G. Vernon; in North Yale Martin easily de- (123) feated McCutcheon, former editor of the Vernon NEWS. C. A. Semlin, opposition veteran, was returned for West Yale, and J. D. Prentice, new recruit, won for the opposition in East (125) Lillooet. The administration carried all the other interior (126) seats: Cariboo, Cassiar, and Lillooet West.

The island, grateful for the parliament buildings (127) and anxious for the British Pacific railway, went solidly for the government. For the first since he had been elected in 1871 Hon. Robert Beaven was defeated in Victoria city, even (128) losing his deposit; the successful candidates were R. P. (129) Rithet, Hon. J. H. Turner, H. D. Helmcken and John Braden, (130) nominees of the Victoria Political Association. J. P. Booth

(118) COLONIST, June 27, 1894, p. 4.
(119) Gemmill, op. cit., p. 379.
(120) TIMES, April 21, 1894, p. 4.
(121) Gemmill, op. cit., p. 379.
(122) ibid.
(123) ibid.
(124) v. supra, p. 126.
(125) Gemmill, op. cit., p. 380.
(126) ibid.
(127) v. infra, pp. 153-154.
(128) COLONIST, July 8, 1894, p. 1.
(129) Gemmill, op. cit., p. 380.
(130) COLONIST, March 22, 1894, p. 5.
won in Victoria North and D. M. Eberts, soon to be attorney-general, in the south riding, while four others were elected by acclamation: Hon. Theodore Davie and J. M. Mutter in Cowichan-Alberni and Hon. C. E. Pooley and Hon. D. W. Higgins in Esquimalt.

In Comox there was much discussion as to the real affiliations of Mr. Scharschmidt, opponent of Joseph Hunter; both sides claimed that Scharschmidt, who called himself a government supporter, was really an oppositionist in disguise. However the victory of Hunter put an end to the necessity for such dispute. Thomas Keith, the sitting member for Nanaimo city who had worked so hard for the rights of laborers and for Chinese restriction, was narrowly defeated by James McGregor, while John Bryden and Dr. W. W. Walkem were victorious in the north and south ridings.

When the results were all in, it was seen the the opposition had gained a few seats, but that Davie still had a good working majority of nine:

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(131) v. infra, p. 149.
(132) Gemmell, op. cit., p. 379.
(133) Courtenay NEWS, June 20, 1894, p. 2.
(134) Gemmell, op. cit., p. 380.
(135) ibid.
(136) As before, this is my own arrangement; it is based this time upon Gemmell, op. cit., pp. 379-380. Dr. Walkem opposed the government in 1897, but returned in 1898; Higgins and Kellie definitely joined the opposition after the session of 1897. Kitchen died in 1897 and was replaced by Adam S. Veddar, also opposition.
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There were several protests against the election results, the most important being in East Lillooet and in Chilliwack. J. D. Prentice, winner in the former constituency, was charged with allowing his agents to use 'undue influence' in the campaign— in other words, bribery; by a compromise, Prentice kept his seat during the 1895 session, after which he was defeated at a by-election by D. A. Stoddart; thus the government gained another supporter.

In Chilliwack it was the successful candidate, Kitchen, who lodged complaint. A ballot box had been tampered with, and Kitchen claimed that some Cawley supporter had committed the offense; but he soon dropped the charge for lack of evidence. Then he brought action against the returning officer, Mr. Paisley, for alleged irregularities in the voters' lists.

(137) COLUMBIAN, Sept. 4, 1894, p. 2.
(138) WORLD, June 4, 1895, p. 4.
(139) PROGRESS, July 18, 1894, p. 2.
(140)
list; he took the case to court at Mission City instead of at home, and won $250 in damages, but the supreme court reversed the decision. But even yet Kitchen was not satisfied, for at the new session he made an unsuccessful attempt to get a committee of investigation. This affair is typical of Kitchen's pettiness; he often pursued a similar course in the house, and he never had any real contribution to make for the province's welfare.

Since the defeat of Beaven, the opposition lacked even a nominal leader; therefore the members met in Vancouver and elected Semlin. Undoubtedly most persons expected Cotton to be chosen, but Semlin was probably a compromise selection, more able to bind together the interior and coast members.

The only other event of the recess was the election by acclamation of George Bohun Martin, North Yale, after his appointment as chief commissioner of lands and works, replacing F. G. Vernon.

But there was not long to wait, for the first session of the new parliament was called together in November. The government gave as its reason the necessity for large expenditures on account of the recent disastrous flood in the Fraser Valley, but the opposition saw the early meeting as a

(140) PROGRESS, Oct. 3, 1894, p. 2.
(141) loc. cit., Nov. 7, 1894, p. 3.
(142) COLONIST, Dec. 7, 1894, p. 6.
(143) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Sept. 11, 1894, p. 4.
(144) COLONIST, Oct. 18, 1894, p. 4.
(146) B.C. Journals, Nov. 12, 1894, p. 1.
(147) COLONIST, Sept. 28, 1894, p. 4.
mere excuse to refill the treasury, emptied by needless ex-
travagance; both theories were partially correct.

The throne speech, which stressed the recent de-
pression and forecast several minor bills, elicited little
real debate; Semlin ranted again on the Nakusp and Slocan
affair, and Forster and Prentice on the deficit, but there was
no other criticism.

Immediately after this Semlin returned to the fray
with a motion for the correspondence on the Nakusp and Slocan
railway, but he failed. The road had by this time been com-
pleted, but opposition to the grant given to the company had
not yet died down. The Victoria PROVINCE, a new journal based
on the lines of the scholarly English magazines, but in reality
as vindictive as the old MAINLAND GUARDIAN or TRUTH had been,
said of the agreement:

...if it prove unsuccessful British Columbia stands the
loss, and if successful somebody else takes the profit.
Seldom has the old but fascinating game of "heads I win,
tails you lose," been played to better advantage than in
the instance of the Nakusp and Slocan Railway.

And indeed there must have been something to conceal, for
Davie and Vernon pleaded that the letters were confidential
and should not be published; and the motion was defeated by
the government's mechanical majority.

(148) TIMES, Sept. 7, 1894, p. 4.
(149) B. C. Journals, Nov. 12, 1894, p. 1.
(150) COLONIST, Nov. 16, 1894, p. 6.
(151) B. C. Journals, Dec. 3, 1894, pp. 21, 22.
(152) PROVINCE, Dec. 8, 1894, p. 575.
(153) COLONIST, Dec. 4, 1894, p. 6.
The budget, too, brought trouble to the government. Poor Turner sees to have developed the unfortunate habit of overestimating the revenue, and then of paying for government services by special warrant. In the past nine months these had amounted to $188,524.71, causing an alarming situation. However a $2,000,000 loan act, passed after much gleeful criticism by the opposition, eased the worry somewhat; but it added another row of bricks to the province's wall of debt. Of course this was a difficult period of world-wide depression, and the government had been forced to expend a great deal in flood relief; but the fact remains that even in good times Turner could not balance the budget; probably he might have been able to lower the deficit even now, had he kept a close hand on the purse strings.

The parliament buildings contract was brought into the debates when a select committee reported that the architect had permitted the cheapening of construction in some particulars and had ordered extra expenditures in others. Davie, incensed at this charge, moved that the report be referred back to the committee, although prorogation was soon due. Realizing that the committee would not have time to

(155) "Statement of special warrants...between the 1st March, 1894, and the 30th November, 1894..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1894-5, pp. 583-584.
(157) COLONIST, Jan. 10, 1895, p. 6.
(158) loc. cit., Feb. 15, 1895, p. 3. B. C. Journals, Feb. 8, 1895, p. 106; the report was received and ordered printed, but I do not find it in the bound volumes.
(159) B. C. Journals, Feb. 14, 1895, p. 123.
take further evidence, he later moved that its members be constituted a royal commission; the resolution carried only on the speaker's casting vote.

Although many minor acts were passed which tended to improve the laws of mining, agriculture and commerce, the only important one was that establishing a bureau of mines.

In the transportation field no new companies were incorporated, but the Columbia and Kootenay railway, by this time controlled by the Canadian Pacific, was given an extension of time. A heated debate arose over the bill proposing to grant a similar privilege to the Red Mountain railway, which would have connected Trail Creek with the Spokane and Northern Railway. Although the line was to be built without any government aid whatever, the house threw out the bill on the grounds that the road would divert Kootenay ores from Canadian smelters to American ones. The truth was that, owing to the Canadian Pacific's refusal to open up these districts, the American outlet was necessary; but the corporation still had enough friends in the house to prevent effective competition.

However the Canadian Western charter was again

(160) B. C. Journals, Feb. 20, 1895, p. 144.
(161) 58 Vict., ch. 3. B. C. Statutes, 1895, pp. 9-11.
(162) Sage, W. N., MSS.
(163) 58 Vict., ch. 60: B. C. Statutes, 1895, pp. 269-270.
(164) TIMES, Jan. 3, 1895, p. 4.
(165) B. C. Journals, Jan. 22, 1895, p. 83.
(166) TIMES, Jan. 22, 1895, p. 4.
extended, despite mainland objections that the scheme was impractical. But the friends of the project were now so strong, and the island electors so expectant, that the extension request could not be denied.

Immediately after the close of the session the expected happened; Premier Davie resigned to accept the chief justiceship made vacant by the death of Begbie. The newspapers of both parties had been predicting this move for some time, and it is certain that Davie deliberately waited until the session's business was completed. Gosnell attempts to explain this move on the grounds that the new chief justice needed a more stable income and that his health was poor; but Davie's own brother had stuck to his post through much greater pain, and at a time when his resignation would have done little harm to the government cause.

However, despite the fact that one is led to suspect that Theodore Davie had deserted his decaying party, there is as usual no definite foundation for such a belief. We can only regret that he decided to resign at a time when no strong successor was available, and when the government was

(169) COLONIST, Feb. 16, 1895, p. 6.
(170) 52 Vict., ch. 34. B. C. Statutes, 1889, p. 245: Rithet, Earle, Barnard, Prior and Senator Reid were directors of the original company and still held stock.
(171) COLONIST, Feb. 23, 1895, p. 4.
(172) TIMES, Feb. 9, 1895, p. 4.
(174) v. supra, p. 82.
(175) Dr. Reid says that Davie was a born fighter and loved nothing better than a good 'scrap', but that the chief justiceship is the goal of every good lawyer.
being bitterly criticized for actions which were largely the result of Davie's own impulsive and domineering qualities.

And yet we must remember that Davie's government had done its part in developing the province; that the premier had been a clever politician and a strong leader; and, finally, that he had been only once accused of personal dishonesty, which is more than can be said of most of the other prominent politicians of the period. For this relatively clean record, at least, his name should be long sung.

(176) v. supra, p. 131.
CHAPTER VII.

The Turner Ministry, 1895-1898.

When Davie's impending resignation became known, men wondered who would succeed him. Pooley had refused before and Higgins probably would accept, but could not hold the mainland members; there was left only J. H. Turner, minister of finance; and he was the lieutenant-governor's choice.

The cabinet was the same as before, with the addition of D. M. Eberts as attorney-general, who was returned by acclamation. The TIMES, which had so strongly criticized other cabinets, was fairly kind to Turner; although he lacked the necessary aggressiveness and originality of a good leader, "nevertheless, we believe that Mr. Turner is actuated by one feeling, the welfare (sic) of the province."

Shortly after his appointment, Turner left for England to float the provincial loan; although the NEWS-ADVERTISER could not refrain from an attempt to hinder his mission by articles condemning the huge debt, yet the trip was successful.

Nevertheless the keynote of the 1896 session was financial difficulty. Even the speech from the throne

(1) B. C. Gazette, Mar. 7, 1895, p. 171.
(2) COLONIST, Mar. 17, 1895, p. 4.
(3) TIMES, Mar. 4, 1895, p. 4.
(4) Weekly NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 17, 1895, p. 4.
admitted that the revenue had fallen far below the estimates, and the opposition members were not slow to seize upon this opportunity for criticism.

The first attempt made by the government to remedy the situation was the introduction of a school lands bill, which proposed to provide a fund for educational purposes by the sale of public lands. As the opposition immediately pointed out, the school fund was merely a blind to fill the treasury. After long debates and many amendments the government withdrew the bill and substituted an amendment to the land act which opened up the unsurveyed lands, closed since the act of 1892. The opposition of course condemned this reversal of policy which would bring a return to the old land speculation; Cotton threatened to keep the house in session as long as necessary to prevent the bill from passing, but he failed. The act raised great indignation in the interior districts which had already suffered spoliation at the hands of speculators; Turner, in attempting to prevent financial

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(6) COLONIST, Jan. 28, 1896, p. 6; Semlin in the address debate.
(8) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Feb. 18, 1896, p. 4.
(9) B. C. Journals, April 7, 1896, p. 123.
(11) 55 Vict., ch. 25, sec. 5. B.C. Statutes, 1892, p. 74. They could be sold at auction upon the authority of the cabinet.
(12) COLONIST, April 14, 1896, p. 6; this is just before prorogation.
ruin, was losing what little support he did command.

But this addition to the provincial revenue was not enough; the assessment bill increased the rates of real estate, personal property and income taxes, and added a royalty on mines and minerals. Apparently the ordinary taxes were accepted, but the Kootenay rose in arms against the mineral tax; the citizens there claimed that the free miners, on whom the province's prosperity depended, were being hampered just when they should be helped. In the end this tax was reduced, and the miners, who agreed that they had a right to pay something into the exchequer, were placated.

Turner's budget speech was a model apology for the fact that the revenue was $262,000 less than he had estimated, and that the expenditure ran $430,000 more than the votes had provided. The depression had caused a decline in land sales and a great deal of delinquency in the payment of taxes, while the parliament buildings and the new loan accounted for the increased expenditure; Turner, explaining these, promised a reduction of administrative and teaching salaries, and a higher revenue from the increased taxation. As the opposition showed, there was no bona fide endeavor to stop the leakages; the small reduction in salaries would be a mere drop in the

(19) COLONIST, Mar. 20, 1896, p. 6.
(21) Ibid.
(22) TIMES, March 28, 1896, p. 4.
bucket', and would work a hardship on those who could afford it least.

Even this effort was not wholly sincere, for instead of automatically cutting the ministers' salaries, the estimates repeated the usual sum; in the Committee of Supply Col, Baker half-heartedly suggested a reduction, but allowed the (23) government followers to carry the usual vote. Such posing demonstrates the incapacity of the Turner administration for really efficient control of expenditure; when they would act thus openly over a relatively small matter, what would they do in camera?

Despite the time that was taken up with attempts to remedy the province's financial condition, much useful legislation also was passed. The premier, if he was not an excellent financier, at least was a valuable friend of agriculture; this year he passed an act to encourage dairying by paying a (24) bonus on butter from accredited creameries. Although the measure gave no help to isolated farmers who could not reach these plants, yet it was at least a step in the right direction.

In railway matters too, Turner did good work. His government extended the charter of the British Columbia Southern railway and gave a land grant to the Columbia and Western company, which was eventually to give Canadian Pacific

connection to the Trail Creek area. But Turner's greatest service to the province was in his refusal to give to the British Pacific railway the exorbitant subsidy which the promoters demanded. Turner admitted that at the last general election Davie had promised to secure the construction of the road; but he affirmed that the late premier had expected the company to present a practical scheme, not a request for a lump cash grant of $4,000,000: "My Government is fully alive to the importance of the building of this railway through the interior part of this Province as part of a transcontinental system, but my Government is not prepared to go so far even for this presumen benefit as to seriously affect the financial position of the Province for a great number of years to come."

This proposition, when it was originated as the Canadian Western to connect the island with a transcontinental system, probably was quite sincere, though never practical. But it had become a political football which proved difficult to carry and harder to pass, for the mainlanders resented it and the islanders demanded it. The new group, composed of London and Montreal financiers, wished to assume the rights and obligations of the local company; but Turner's refusal was


(28) v. supra, p. 80.

timely, for they probably were more interested in land specu-
lation up the island than in actually building the railway.
In 1898 the government extended the old Canadian Western
(30)
charter for six years; but of course the road was never built,
for Turner's refusal had saved the province from an exorbitant
expenditure on an impossible scheme. Although McKenzie and
Mann revived it years later, they did not carry it out; fin-
ally the Canadian Pacific ended all such fancies by purchasing
(31)
the Esquimalt and Nanaimo line in 1905.

Despite his repeated budget failures, Turner re-
mained in power until after the election of 1898; and in the
session of 1897 he was success ful in passing several new
railway subsidies, and other controversial acts.

Yet the opposition members were by no means silent.
Although he had few real criticisms to make of the speech
from the throne, Semlin did express regret that no mention
(32)
had been made of a redistribution bill; and MacPherson of Van-
couver seized the opportunity to accuse G. B. Martin of cor-
ruption in the lands department. He even suggested that a
want-of-confidence motion would be in order, but he did not
assume the responsibility of moving it himself. However later
he did move a resolution stating that the chief commissioner
of lands and works should not have power to sell lands on the

(30) 60 Vict., ch. 34. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 319-320.
(31) Sage, W. N., MSS. More reasonable grants were voted in
1897 and 1898; v. infra, pp. 161, 74.
(32) COLONIST, Feb. 11, 1897, p. 8.
(33) loc. cit., Feb. 12, 1897, p. 4.
sea coast which might be needed for fishing stations. After an adjournment of the debate the speaker ruled the resolution out of order because it was equivalent to an amendment to the land act.

But the opposition had gained a temporary ally in the person of Dr. W. W. Walkem, member for South Nanaimo, who turned 'independent'. He proceeded to ask embarrassing questions of the government, and began his campaign against Col. Baker; Walkem accused the provincial secretary of using the excuse of provincial business in Ottawa to 'hawk' the British Columbia Southern charter round the eastern financial houses. Col. Baker of course denied this claim, and proved a suitable match for the wily doctor; as usual, his genius turned to 'poetry':

Here lies William Wymond Walkem,  
Why, man! the women he'd out-talk 'em,  
If he passed to realms above,  
Farewell to amity and love;  
But if he's gone to a lower level  
I can't congratulate the devil!

But Walkem was not yet finished; he moved for a detailed statement on the travelling expenses of all the ministers and attempted to show that the amounts charged to the provincial treasury were excessive. But very little came of

(34) B. C. Journals, Feb. 15, 1897, p. 11. This refers to his previous criticism of Martin's action in selling to an alleged favorite a piece of land which had formerly been leased only.


(36) COLONIST, Feb. 19, 1897, p. 6.

(37) ibid.

(38) B. C. Journals, Mar. 9, 1897, p. 50.
the matter except further oppositionist gossip, for the
returns showed that the allowances were very reasonable and
that the ministers had received no money for the time spent
upon private business.

A. W. Williams of Vancouver, not to be outdone,
accused even Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney of corruption; he
inferred that, because Dewdney was a director of the Columbia
and Western, he had influenced the government to accept
worthless bonds from A. F. Heinze, and to give the company a
huge grant. This of course was utter nonsense, and made very
little impression on the more intelligent electors. But the
accusation was, nevertheless, good election material.

Dr. Walkem returned to the fray with a complaint
that the Vancouver WORLD had been extravagantly reimbursed for
its issue of tax sale advertisements. However, the return
showed that the charge had indeed been very moderate, and

(39) "Return...detailed statement of the travelling expenses
of Ministers on duty..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1897,
p. 635. Eberts' expenses for fare and 90 days in
London were only $1,324.

(40) TIMES, April 2, 1897, p. 3. In 1896 the company had
obtained a charter and land grant on condition that
they deposit with the government a $50,000 bond within
six months. As Heinze could not at once get first mort­
gage bonds on the company, he gave his personal bond;
after the required time had elapsed, he did make the
deposit, and no harm resulted.

(41) COLONIST, Feb. 17, 1897, p. 6.
(42) "Return...(1) correspondence between...the Treasury De­
partment, and the manager of the Vancouver World newspaper, relative to the advertising of the Provincial
tax sale in the District of New Westminster. (2) Return
showing the space occupied...; the number of insertions.
and the rate per line..." B. C. Sessional Papers, 1897,
pp. 489-492.
another opposition manoeuvre was checkmated.

This series of objections reached its climax in the Semlin-Hume non-confidence amendment to the supply motion, condemning the increasing deficits and taxation, and the mismanagement of the lands and works department. After a twoday debate which covered everything that the government had done and had omitted to do, the amendment was lost, 17-10. Of course Semlin had not expected to defeat the ministry on this motion; he had merely wished another opportunity to unloose the oppositionist criticisms and petty accusations.

But these charges, while admittedly serious, did not occupy the whole time of the legislature. The government introduced an act for the regulation and incorporation of companies, but the indignation of the opposition and of all the mining districts forced the elimination of the clause requiring that no company should undertake business in the province until 10% of its capital had been paid up. This clause would have worked great hardship on the mining companies, who usually had to get a charter before they could attract investors.

The opposition made possible another good statute by their demand for a general water act. When the government brought down a bill which provided against the monopolization

(43) B. C. Journals, April 6, 1897, p. 91.
(44) loc. cit., April 7, 1897, p. 92.
(46) COLONIST, May 4, 1897, p. 6. 60 Vict., ch. 2. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 5-55.
of water rights and preserved for municipal corporations the (47) right to use water at reasonable rates, the opposition mem-
bers were heartily in accord.

But they were less tractable during the budget de-
bate. Despite Turner's usual high estimate of revenue the gentlemen to the left of Mr. Speaker condemned the continued deficits and maintained that any real jump in revenue which might have resulted from the mining activity had been wasted (50) by the government's extravagance. Cotton revived his tirades against the mortgage tax with which he and his colleagues had already 'entertained' the members several times that session. The government's majority naturally ensured the passing of (52) the supply bill, but not without long debates on the items for salaries in the education department and in the agent-
general's London office.

The bill providing a further loan of $100,000 for (54) the furnishing of the parliament buildings roused more cau-
stic remarks from the oppositionists, but it passed with a (55) large majority on a straight party vote; sectional feeling seems to have disappeared from this question.

(47) 60 Vict., ch. 45. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 391-443.
(48) COLONIST, Mar. 17, 1897, p. 6.
(49) loc. cit., Mar. 27, 1897, p. 4.
(50) loc. cit., April 7, 1897, p. 6.
(52) B. C. Journals, May 7, 1897, p. 168.
(53) loc. cit., April 8, 9, 1897, pp. 95, 108. F. G. Vernon, former chief commissioner, was the agent-general at this time.
(54) 60 Vict., ch. 32. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 315-316.
(55) B. C. Journals, May 6, 1897, p. 156.
But the real interest of the session centered round the railway bills. The British Columbia Southern grant of 1894 became the subject of bitter criticism by opposition supporters and journals. The background of the dispute was this: in 1887 Col. Baker had discovered rich coal beds in the Crow's Nest Pass district near what is now Fernie and had organised the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company. In 1888 his friends had incorporated the Crow's Nest and Kootenay Lake Railway Company and in 1890 had obtained a land grant. In 1891 the company changed its name to the British Columbia Southern and got authority to build extensions to the Columbia River and to the coast, but received no land grant; and the next year minor changes divided the railway into three sections, of which the coast line was section (c). In 1894 all these acts were consolidated and a land grant given, which by mistake included section (c); and in 1896 the company obtained a further extension of time.

When local opponents of the company lodged a complaint with the dominion minister of railways against the huge grant of 20,000 acres per mile for the coast extension, the

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(57) 53 Vict., chs. 41, 63. loc. cit., 1890, pp. 221-224, 271-372.
(58) 54 Vict., ch. 56. loc. cit. 1891, pp. 461-462.
(59) 56 Vict., ch. 36. loc. cit., 1893, pp. 171-172.
(62) COLONIST, Jan. 8, 1897, p. 4.
members of the legislature finally realised what they had done. At the 1897 session the government passed an act to correct the 'ambiguity' of the 1894 statute, but not without a great many oppositionist inferences that the extension of the grant had been quite deliberate.

The point of the controversy was antagonism toward Col. Baker, who naturally stood to profit from the success of the railway company; Dr. Walkem and the other oppositionists asserted that he had used his influence in the cabinet to obtain this outrageous grant. Yet despite the fact that the good colonel was a fair target for corruption accusations, he seems to have been innocent this time; for he had started his coal and railway negotiations before his appointment to the ministry, and whenever the British Columbia Southern charters came up in the house he always announced his connection with the company and refrained from voting — that is more than any of the other members had ever done.

There is very little doubt but that the clerical error of 1894 was unintentional, for the preamble to the act is distinctly contradictory to the idea of a grant for the western section. Therefore the 1897 act passed without any difficulty, although the oppositionist accusations were not quieted thereby. Eventually the Canadian Pacific took over

(63) 60 Vict., ch. 33. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 317-318.
(64) TIMES, Jan. 4, 1897, p. 4.
(65) Information from Frances Matheson. She says that Baker was dishonest in his dealings with the Indians when he bought their land for the Cranbrook Estate.
the British Columbia Southern charter and built a railway (66) from Lethbridge to Kootenay Landing, and the miners at last obtained a Canadian outlet for their ores.

But the Kootenay, rich as it was, had temporarily to take second place to the Yukon; for the Klondike rush was now reaching its height and the whole Pacific coast was aflame with gold fever. This was reflected in the demands for a railway to open an all-Canadian route to the Yukon, resulting in the passing of the Cassiar Central Railway Aid bill. The opposition of course condemned the huge land lease given the company, and maintained that the railway was unnecessary; the TIMES headed its editorials on the subject, "The Cassiar Outrage." However the bill passed by a large majority, with even Cotton, who during 1897 seemed friendly to the government, voting for it.

But the bill which roused the real controversy was that which proposed a loan of $2,500,000 for aid to railways from Bute Inlet to Quesnel, from Penticton to Boundary Creek, and from Vancouver to Chilliwack. The Bute Inlet line was a revival of the British Pacific scheme which the premier had turned down the year before, but this time the grant was to be more reasonable. The Chilliwack and Boundary Creek lines

(66) COLONIST, April 1, 1897, p. 4. loc. cit., Dec. 8, 1898; the Canadian Pacific accepted the railway from the contractors on Dec. 7.
(67) 60 Vict., ch. 35. B. C. Statutes, 1897, pp. 321-325.
(68) TIMES, April 29, 1897, p. 2.
(69) B. C. Journals, April 23, 1897, p. 130.
(70) v. supra, p. 153. The new act did not actually name the British Pacific; it merely granted aid to any company which would build the road.
were to form part of a projected railway from Victoria to the Kootenay country, designed to give coast merchants the benefit of the mining trade.

No one dared to criticize the opening up of the country, but the opposition did maintain that this bill was merely a disguised gift to the British Pacific for the Bute Inlet railway, and to F. A. Heinze of Trail for the Columbia and Western. The TIMES editor, with his pen ever ready for ridicule, called it "An act to place in the pockets of Auguste Heinze, the Lieutenant Governor and their associates in the Columbia and Western Railway Company, the sum of $400,000."

This antagonism to Heinze was reflected in Sword's successful amendment providing that if the Columbia and Western company took up the subsidy for the line from Penticton to Boundary Creek, it should forfeit the land grant which it had obtained in 1896 for the same line. The cause of this controversy was the rivalry between the Columbia and Western and the Victoria, Vancouver and Eastern Railway and Navigation company, whose backers included several liberals and oppositionists. The latter company had a charter to build a railway from the Kootenay to the coast and a ferry line to Victoria, and most electors of the coast constituencies preferred this line, which would give them more certain connection with the Kootenay than would the shorter Columbia and Western line.

(71) NEWS-ADVERTISER, April 3, 1897, p. 4.
(72) TIMES, April 6, 1897, p. 4.
(73) COLONIST, May 5, 1897, p. 2. v. supra, p. 152.
As a result of their lobbying Turner passed an amendment to the bill which promised a continuous line from Victoria to the Columbia River by providing for the construction of the railway from Hope to Princeton, and from Boundary Creek to the Columbia.

Eventually of course the bill passed, but the railway was not yet assured. The British Pacific, an impossible scheme from the beginning, never was built. Despite the repeated claims of the COLONIST that this line would bring a rich Cariboo trade to Victoria, the company never succeeded in getting enough capital. The Cariboo mines had declined and the railway would not serve the agricultural districts. But the history of the British Pacific grants is a good example of the value of having influence with the government; R. P. Rithet, one of the leading promoters, was a member of the legislature and a strong Turner supporter, and as the Victorians thought this railway would help their business, therefore the British Pacific was favored.

The Coast-Kootenay line was supported by residents of both Victoria and the lower mainland (particularly the south side of the Fraser, which had not even Canadian Pacific...
connection with the coast); therefore it also got the provincial subsidy. But neither of the rival companies succeeded in getting a dominion grant, and the western portion was not built until decades later. The reason for the failure at Ottawa was that the two companies were so bitter against each other that the disgusted dominion members refused to give a subsidy for the line at all. Even the sale of the provincial charter of the Victoria, Vancouver and Eastern to Messrs. McKenzie and Mann did not hurry the construction of the coast section. But the Canadian Pacific acquired the Columbia and Western charter in 1898, and by 1902 had extended the Crow's Nest Pass railway westward through the Kootenay as far as Midway in the Boundary Creek district.

Shortly after prorogation the government's policy was tested at the Chilliwack by-election. Thomas E. Kitchen, veteran and bitter oppositionist, had been too ill to attend the last session more than twice, and he passed away in April. But despite the fact that the Chilliwack electors were expected to be grateful for the railway bill just passed, they elected Adam S. Vedder, opposition, instead of Charles T. Higginson, government. This was an indication of how the

(78) COLONIST, May 7, 1897, p. 4.
(79) TIMES, Oct. 8, 1897, p. 4.
(80) COLONIST, Feb. 16, 1898, p. 1.
(81) Innes, Harold A., A history of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto, 1923), pp. 139, 140.
(82) COLONIST, Feb. 23, 1897, p. 4.
(83) B. C. Journals, April 5, 1897, p. 90.
(84) WORLD, April 30, 1897, p. 4.
(85) Chilliwack PROGRESS, May 12, 1897, p. 1.
regular polls would go a year later; no amount of favors received could overcome the accusations of corruption and inefficiency hurled at the government by the oppositionists.

During the early summer rumor had it that Turner would dismiss Martin and Baker because of their unpopularity with the government supporters, and that he was looking for new cabinet material. But the premier denied any such intentions, and made no changes. He would have been much better off without those two ministers, for they certainly were the butt of all the abuse which the opposition journals could muster; but there is as yet no basis for the supposition that Turner wished to get rid of them.

The opposition began of course to organise for the election of 1898, and in July Semlin issued an official opposition platform promising: fair redistribution, reorganisation of the civil service, efficient supervision of necessary public works, discouragement of Oriental immigration, repeal of the mortgage tax, removal of the law requiring mine employees to purchase free miner's licences, and government control of railways.

But a new element had entered into the provincial opposition: the liberal party. At the first provincial liberal convention ever held in British Columbia, the delegates agreed to oppose the Turner government, although they voted

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(86) TIMES, July 20, 1897, p. 4.
(87) loc. cit., July 23, 1897, p. 4.
(88) loc. cit., Oct. 9, 1897, p. 4.
a resolution to introduce dominion party lines at the next
(89) election. These two decisions, although they may appear so,
are not contradictory: although the liberals intended to o-
ppose the government, they expected to combine with the many
conservative followers of Semlin and Cotton. The liberals did
(90) not appoint an official leader, and their platform was very
like that of Semlin.

The only other important official event of the recess
was the appointment of Senator T. R. McInnes, liberal of New
(91) Westminster, to the post of lieutenant-governor at the con-
clusion of Dewdney's term. William Templeman, publisher of
the TIMES, and long a prominent liberal of the province,
(92) accepted the vacant senatorship.

But before the 1898 session Turner had lost two
followers and gained another; D. W. Higgins and J. M. Kellie
went over to the opposition and Dr. Walkem, weary of the
chills of 'independence', returned to the government fold.
Higgins, who for years past had been one of the strongest
forces behind the government, had even during the 1897 session
begun to show his hand when he exercised his right to leave
the speaker's chair and debate against the Cassiar Railway
(93) bill. Of course this action may have been dictated by his
reluctance to see the Kootenay passed over, for he had several

(89) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Oct. 9, 1897, p. 4.
(90) TIMES, Nov. 18, 1897, p. 8.
(91) loc. cit., Nov. 8, 1897, p. 4.
(92) Ibid.
(93) COLONIST, April 29, 1897, p. 6.
mining interests in the Fairview district. But in June, 1897, he definitely announced in an interview at Nelson that he could no longer support the government, and even the oppositionists expected him to resign as speaker. But this he did not do until the middle of the 1898 session, when J. P. Booth was chosen to fill the vacant chair. It was generally supposed that Higgins had desired a cabinet post and, being refused, had withdrawn his support. There is no evidence to prove this, but probably the rumor was quite well founded.

Another new recruit for the opposition was J. M. Kellie of Revelstoke. Originally of the Cotton independent group and later an opponent of Robson, he had turned to the government; in the 1897 session he had voted with Turner, and had even gone so far as to say that the opposition had no policy at all.

But when John D. Sibbald was made gold commissioner at Revelstoke, Kellie turned definitely to the opposition. He gave as his reason that this appointment had been made without his advice or knowledge, but some of the more unking government supporters suggested that Kellie himself had expected the position. Again there is no evidence to confirm this theory except the fact that during the 1897 session Kellie denied, in answer to Dr. Walkem's question, that he had

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(94) TIMES, Sept. 2, 1897, p. 4.
(95) COLONIST, June 23, 1897, p. 4.
(96) TIMES, June 26, 1897, p. 4.
(97) B. C. Journals, Mar. 9, 1898, p. 49.
(98) COLONIST, April 8, 1897, p. 6.
(a) Statement of Judge Fair: "Higgins probably was dissatisfied with the lack of prominence given him in the party."
ever applied for the post. At any rate he was now a full-fledged oppositionist, and became known as 'the Revelstoke mugwump'; R. P. Rithet defined a mugwump as a ferry boat which wears itself out crossing the river from side to side and getting nowhere.

F. L. Carter-Cotton also was criticized for his sudden zeal in the opposition cause. During the 1897 session he had been quite moderate, and the COLONIST accused him of having angled for the fifth portfolio, which had not been filled for several years. It is quite true that he had defended the 'ambiguity act' and the Cassiar Central railway, but it does not seem possible that Cotton could have desired to unite with Turner. Even though he may have resented the growing power of the liberals in the opposition group, surely provincial politics meant more to him than dominion connections. At any rate he recovered from the singular attack of moderation.

The government recruit was none other than Dr. William Wymond Walkem, late leader and sole member of the independent party of 1897. He had been a bitter and most entertaining opponent of the ministry in 1897, after announcing his new status in the address debate; he had initiated the

(100) COLONIST, Feb. 18, 1897, p. 6.
(101) loc. cit., Mar. 9, 1898, p. 6.
(102) loc. cit., April 8, 1898, p. 4.
(103) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Feb. 17, 1897, p. 4. v. supra, pp. 159-160.
(104) loc. cit., July 24, 1897, p. 4; an editorial denies Higgins' charges against the wasteful land grant.
(105) TIMES, Feb. 12, 1897, p. 2.
charges against the Vancouver WORLD's advertisement of the tax sales and his newspaper, the Wellington ENTERPRISE, had taken up the challenge issued by the COLONIST to the opposition press, to show the incompetency of the government. But in 1898 the good doctor once more favored the government with his support: he seemed particularly anxious to praise James Dunsmuir, government candidate in Comox, and he bitterly condemned the opposition's obstruction methods. He even accused Higgins of expecting to be premier if the opposition should win the coming election. Probably the oppositionist charges that Dr. Walkem had been subsidised by the Dunsmuiers were true; certainly he gave no valid reason for his change, and we can only assume the worst.

Like most pre-election sessions, that of 1898 did very little real business. Even the awesome splendor of the new parliament buildings which were occupied that year for the first time failed to subdue the oppositionist scandal-mongers.

Although the newspapers had for some time been charging Baker and Martin with corruption, yet the oppositionists did not introduce these accusations into the house. But they did attack Turner and Pooley for having allowed their

(106) v. supra, p. 156.
(107) Wellington ENTERPRISE, June 18, 1897, p. 4.
(108) loc. cit., July 15, 1898, p. 4.
(109) loc. cit., Mar. 18, 1898, p. 4.
(110) COLONIST, April 2, 1898, p. 6.
(111) loc. cit., Feb. 11, 1898, p. 4.
names (with official titles) to be included in the directorates of the Dawson City (Klondike) and Dominion Trading Corporation (Limited) and of the Klondike and Columbian Gold Fields (Limited). The TIMES had begun this campaign during the recess, and all the COLONIST's excuses could not quiet the public clamor. Robert MacPherson of Vancouver introduced an amendment to the reply address censuring the ministers' action, but Speaker Higgins ruled this out of order on the ground that the house should not discuss a matter which is the subject of litigation. For Turner had instituted libel suits against the TIMES and the PROVINCE; it is not known whether his desire was to punish the editors or to prevent discussion of the question until after the election; but in any case the move, like that of Robson against the COLUMBIAN in 1892, did him more harm than good. For the oppositionists raised the point again and again in the house, despite the fact that they were each time ruled out of order.

The mere action of the two ministers in joining the companies was not dishonest, for few members of the legislature are ever free from commercial connections; the point was that these two companies had been floated in London and were considered fraudulent. Although the charge cannot be

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(112) TIMES, August 30, 1897, p. 4.
(113) COLONIST, Dec. 5, 1897, p. 4.
(116) v. supra, p. 112.
substantiated, it is quite probable that Turner and Pooley accepted a fee for the use of their names; but even if this was not the case, the rumors were plausible enough to turn many former supporters against the government.

At this session the main opposition device was obstruction. In the address debate Semlin and Williams demanded a redistribution bill, but the government showed no signs of introducing one. When Turner made the routine motion to grant a supply to Her Majesty, Sword and his colleagues attempted to prevent its passing until the redistribution bill was brought down. And when the premier moved that the house resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the supply motion, the oppositionists forced a long debate. Their point was that once the government obtained the supply, it would give scant justice to the needs of the country. This was quite logical, but the oppositionists' crude methods did not add to their prestige.

After the estimates had been presented, Hume and Forster moved a non-confidence amendment to the motion to enter the Committee of Supply, censuring the government's extravagance and inefficiency; although it failed, the ministry had a close call. With every member present except Irving,

(118) B. C. Journals, Feb. 23, 1898, p. 22.
(119) loc. cit., Jan. 4, 1898, p. 42. This motion precedes by several days that which puts the house in Committee of Supply.
(120) COLONIST, Mar. 5, 1898, p. 5.
(121) B. C. Journals, Mar. 8, 1898, p. 46.
(122) TIMES, Mar. 16, 1898, p. 4.
the division went on straight 'party' lines:

Yeas: Sword, Williams; Kennedy, Graham; Hume, Semlin; Forster, Cotton; MacPherson, Kellie; Kidd, Higgins; Vedder, Smith, Huff; Stoddart; Smith, Walkem; Mutter, Pooley; Helmcken, Eberts; Baker, Bryden; Turner, Rogers; Martin, Hunter; Rithet, Braden; Adams, McGregor

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Nays: 18

When the government did see fit to offer the redistribution bill, an even greater storm arose. The framers of the act increased the membership of the house to 38 and attempted to do justice to the growing districts by giving two more members to the Kootenays, one to Vancouver, and one to Cassiar. The oppositionists rightly maintained that there were still too many 'rotten boroughs'; Higgins was here forced to defend the government for permitting his thinly populated constituency, Esquimalt, to retain both of its members. And after much bitter debate the government had to withdraw the clause which had removed the residence qualification for Cassiar voters. Government supporters defended this clause as necessary to take care of the expected influx

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(123) B. C. Journals, March 31, 1898, p. 85.
(125) COLONIST, April 23, 1898, p. 7.
(126) TIMES, April 28, 1898, p. 4. This was done in the Committee of the Whole, and is therefore not recorded in the Journals.
of miners to Cassiar, but they gave way before oppositionist predictions of wholesale importation of voters for election management purposes.

While the house was in Committee of the Whole on the bill the members had to endure a record 25-hour sitting. While many legislators slept at their desks (and many had gone home to bed) the oppositionists obstructed the bill with wearisome droning and personal attacks against the ministry. The various government supporters who spelled off chairman McGregor did their best, by unfair tactics, to stop the debate; and finally Dr, Walkem refused to put Kellie's motion that Walkem leave the chair. When Speaker Booth, on an appeal from J. B. Kennedy, supported the temporary chairman's action, the whole opposition group except Kellie and Higgins withdrew from the house in protest. After many further adjournments of the debate the bill finally emerged in its final form.

The oppositionists were careful to carry out their platform demands by reviving the anti-mortgage tax resolution, but this failed again -- on a straight party division, 16-12.

(127) Cassiar is just south of the Yukon.
(128) TIMES, April 28, 1898, p. 3. B. C. Journals, April 28, 1898, p. 136. Probably Kellie was sleeping by this time; he had taken part in the obstruction before this. Higgins favored the bill.
(129) loc. cit., May 12, 1898, p. 161.
(130) loc. cit., Feb. 28, 1898, pp. 35-36. Under the taxation system then in force, a property owner had to pay taxes on the full value of his property and on the mortgage as well. Cotton argued that this double taxation was unjust; the government replied that if the creditor had to pay the tax, he would simply raise the interest rate and the debtor would be no better off.
A similar division voted down Cotton's motion that mine employees should not be required to take out free miners' licences. But the government forestalled the antagonism of the farmers by passing an act setting up mutual credit associations which would provide 'cheap money' for the agriculturists. Although Turner had always encouraged agriculture, he probably introduced this bill as a pre-election offering to the farming districts.

As the Klondike rush was still strong enough to offer an excuse for northern railways, a new subsidy bill reenacted the grants of 1897 -- which had not yet been taken up -- and a new $2,500,000 loan for a line from the northern coast via the Stikine River to Teslin Lake (in the Yukon) and substituted cash for the land grant held by the Columbia and Western for a railway westward from Robson to Boundary Creek. Naturally the opposition abused this bill; Kellie and others maintained that the grant to the Yukon railway was foolish, for this was really a project for the dominion to handle.

Even Joseph Hunter, firm government supporter, hailed the bill as a scheme to plunder the country.

It is much easier to judge the worth of such a project after several decades have passed, and therefore we are

(131) B. C. Journals, Mar. 17, 1898, p. 63.
(132) 61 Vict., ch. 2. B. C. Statutes, 1898, pp. 5-17.
(133) 61 Vict., ch. 30. loc. cit., pp. 152-156.
The Robson-Boundary Creek railway was part of the Columbia and Western charter acquired by the Canadian Pacific.
(134) COLONIST, May 11, 1898, p. 6.
(135) ibid. He had large mining interests in the Cariboo.
apt to condemn it too strongly. Yet despite the definite pre-
(136)
election announcements of Turner, the Yukon line was not built,
and never would have paid; for once the Klondike rush had died
down, the great need for the railway was over. The public men
of that day must be given their due for their attempts to put
British Columbia in a position to compete with the United
States for the Klondike trade, but one wonders if they did
not in this case overstep themselves.
(137)
The seventh parliament was dissolved on June 7,
after four years of stormy debates and controversial legis-
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lation. For some months past both parties had been preparing
for the election. The government expected support because of
its railway acts and its aid to farmers, while the opposition-
ists condemned the redistribution and the government's ineffi-
ciency and corruption. Turner's doom was foretold when many
of his followers ran as independent candidates; they feared
the unpopularity of 'Turnerism', but they intended to support
that policy if it proved successful.

In Victoria city Premier Turner, H. D. Helmcken,
(138) Richard Hall and A. E. McPhillips carried the government
(139) banner to success, against the opposition candidates, Col.
(140) Gregory, G. Belyea and ex-Alderman Alexander Stewart.

(136) COLONIST, May 20, 1898, p. 6. WORLD, June 22, 1898,
p. 4; a Turner advertisement.
(137) B. C. Gazette, June 9, 1898, p. 1180.
(138) COLONIST, June 19, 1898, p. 6.
(139) Magurn, Arnott J., The parliamentary guide and work of
(140) TIMES, June 14, 1898, p. 4.
Hon. Robert Beaven came up for this nomination, but was dropped because of his pose as an independent. The government also carried Victoria South and North, where Hon. D. M. Eberts and Speaker Booth defeated J. Stuart Yates and T. W. Paterson. In Esquimalt Hon. C. E. Pooley and William F. Bullen won for the ministry, defeating D. W. Higgins and W. H. Hayward, opposition, and Dennis Harris, independent opposition; but Higgins replaced Bullen after a recount, and Turner lost a supporter.

In Comox James Dunsmuir, son of the late Hon. Robert Dunsmuir, replaced Joseph Hunter as government candidate; he defeated M. J. McAllen by a large majority. John Bryden also carried Nanaimo North for the ministry with a comfortable margin over Walter J. G. Hellier, and in Cowichan William R. Robertson defeated William Herd. When a protest forced him into a by-election in December, Robertson defeated Colón B. Sword, who had resigned from his position as secretary to Premier Semlin to contest the seat for the new government.

But in the other island constituencies Turner was less fortunate. Ralph Smith, oppositionist, caused the fiery

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(141) TIMES, June 14, 1898, p. 4.
(142) Magurn, op. cit., p. 247. Eberts had a majority of 26, Booth one of 15.
(143) ibid. COLONIST, June 29, 1898, p. 4.
(144) TIMES, Nov. 12, 1898, p. 4.
(146) ibid.
(147) loc. cit., Dec. 29, 1898, p. 4. McBride defeated Sword in the July contest in Dewdney.
Dr. Walkem to lose his deposit in Nanaimo South, and Dr. R. E. McKechnie defeated A. McGregor in Nanaimo City by 678 to 170.

In Alberni A. W. Neill obtained a small majority over the sitting government supporter, George A. Huff. He was also returned in the by-election brought on by a petition.

In the lower mainland districts, which for years had gone solidly opposition, the government, with stronger candidates, managed to capture New Westminster City and Dewdney.

In New Westminster Alexander Henderson, prominent young liberal lawyer, defeated J. C. Brown by a small majority. Brown was so confident of re-election that he neglected his own constituency to tour the province for his opposition colleagues, and forgot about Westminster's anxiety for the Victoria, Vancouver and Eastern railway.

In Dewdney Richard McBride won over Whetham, who had replaced Sword in an opposition split. Just why Sword, who was one of the most prominent opposition members, should have been ousted from the candidacy, has not appeared; but certainly that action, coupled with McBride's ability, carried the constituency for Turner.

(148) TIMES, July 11, 1898, p. 8.
(149) Magurn, op. cit., p. 247.
(150) ibid.
(151) TIMES, Dec. 16, 1898, p. 4.
(152) COLONIST, May 10, 1898, p. 4.
(154) TIMES, July 11, 1898, p. 4.
(156) Dewdney is north of the Fraser and had Canadian Pacific connection with the coast; it therefore was not interested in the Coast-Kootenay railway.
However the rest of the lower mainland remained true to the opposition cause. Turner, who had taken the precaution of running in Chilliwack as well as in Victoria, did not succeed in the valley centre; Charles W. Munro was elected by a good-sized majority. A. S. Vedder, who had promised his oppositionist backers in 1897 that he intended only to finish out Kitchen's term, now ran again; but when the liberal and oppositionist support was transferred to Munro, Vedder got only 80 votes.

Vancouver City, scene of operations of 'Fighting Joe' Martin, was bound to enjoy a spirited campaign. Despite some early coolness on the part of the older oppositionists who saw themselves about to be supplanted, Martin soon was accepted as the storm centre of the local group. Still a young man in 1898, Martin had but recently come to British Columbia after supporting and then leaving, in 1891, the Greenway government in Manitoba; he had been elected to the commons in 1893, but had been defeated in the 1896 general election. But even this unpromising background did not prevent him from winning even further notoriety in British Columbia. At first Martin was uncertain where to place his valuable support; but just as the election campaign was beginning, he apparently saw that the government was doomed; at

(158) Information from A. H. Mercer. Vedder is not listed in Magurn, op. cit.
(159) COLUMBIAN, May 11, 1898, p. 2.
any rate, he publicly announced his affiliation with the opposition, and denounced those weak-minded souls who were parading as independents. The next step was his nomination on the opposition slate along with Cotton, C. E. Tisdall and Robert MacPherson.

These men faced the 'citizens' ticket' of Mayor Garden, Dr. J. T. Carroll, W. J. Bowser and ex-Alderman W. S. MacDonald, who really were government candidates, but who sought this title so as to avoid blame for the accusations against 'Turnerism'. The only one of the four who ever held any extensive role in later politics was W. J. Bowser, afterwards premier of the province; Dr. Carroll's main plank was the government grant for the Coast-Kootenay line -- he was a director of the Victoria, Vancouver and Eastern.

Such a slate could not hope to overcome the fact that Vancouver had for years returned opposition candidates, and that they were now more anxious than ever for a change of government. The full opposition ticket obtained a huge majority.

In Richmond Mr. McQueen, a Vancouver alderman who also posed as an independent lost by two to one to Thomas Kidd, the sitting oppositionist member. In the Delta John

(161) TIMES, May 30, 1898, p. 4; notice that this was but a week before the opposition nomination.
(162) NEWS-ADVERTISER, July 7, 1898, p. 4.
(163) Magurn, op. cit., p. 247. Martin had the lowest vote of the four oppositionists, but had 500 more than Garden, the top government candidate.
(164) NEWS-ADVERTISER, June 2, 1898, p. 2.
Oliver, also a future premier, was mentioned to replace Forster as opposition candidate; but he withdrew, and Forster had no trouble in defeating Henry D. Benson.

Most of the interior districts also turned against the government, but Price Ellison, prominent resident of Vernon, carried Yale East for Turner. The electors of this district were so grateful for the Penticton-Boundary railway that they rejected Donald Graham, their representative for several years.

Despite the many corruption accusations leveled against him, Col. Baker managed to defeat William Baillie, editor of the Fort Steele PROSPECTOR, by a narrow majority in South-East Kootenay. A. W. Smith, government incumbent, was again the winner in Lillooet West over E. S. Peters. In North-East Kootenay W. G. Neilson, popular lumber mill manager, defeated W. C. Wells, liberal oppositionist who demanded that the Yukon railways be left to the dominion government. And apparently the withdrawal of the famous 'Cassiar clause' from the redistribution act gave Turner little trouble in that

(166) New Westminster SUN, May 11, 1898, p. 2.
(168) ibid.
(169) Vernon NEWS, June 2, 1898, p. 4.
(170) Fort Steele PROSPECTOR, June 11, 1898, p. 1; June 18, 1898, p. 1.
(171) EAST KOOTENAY MINER (Golden), June 10, 1898, p. 2.
(173) ibid.
(174) TIMES, July 5, 1898, p. 8.
(175) Magurn, op. cit., p. 247. The vote was 169 to 148.
(176) Golden ERA, June 10, 1898, p. 2.
(177) v. supra, p. 172.
constituency, for the popularity of the Cassiar Central railway grant did away with the necessity to ship in 'voters'. At any rate McTavish, independent oppositionist, lagged far behind Clifford and Irving.

But the opposition carried all the other constituencies. Hon. G. B. Martin's misdeeds caught him up in Yale North when he lost to F. J. Deane, active young editor of the Inland SENTINEL; Deane had replaced Hugh McCutcheon as oppositionist candidate. When Martin demanded a recount, Deane's election was sustained by the tantalizing majority of four.

Semlin won an easy victory in Yale West over John J. McKay, British Columbia Express Company bookkeeper put up by the provincial Turner organisation; and in Revelstoke Kellie's change of allegiance was popular enough to bring him a comfortable win over William White. J. F. Hume won a narrow victory over A. S. Farwell in Nelson, and J. D. Prentice again defeated D. A. Stoddart in East Lillooet. New oppositionist members were returned in Rossland, where James M. Martin easily defeated John McKane, independent government,
and in Slocan, where Robert F. Green, independent opposition, (190)
earned a majority of 100 over J. L. Retallack. In Cariboo (191)
Hans Helgesen, who had been an oppositionist member for Es-
quimault before 1886, and Major-General J. C. Kinchant narrow-
ly defeated Joseph Hunter and S. A. Rogers; they obtained (192)
larger majorities as a result of a recount. (193)

Thus the days of the Turner government were num-
bered. The newly-elected members were distributed as follows: (194)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Opposition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Munro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helmcken</td>
<td>Forster</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>McPhillips</td>
<td>Semlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eberts</td>
<td>Deane</td>
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<td>Booth</td>
<td>Neill</td>
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<td>Pooley</td>
<td>Smith</td>
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<td>Bullen</td>
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<td>Henderson</td>
<td>MacPherson</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Martin, Jos.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tisdall</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Helgesen</td>
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<td>Kinchant</td>
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<td>Hume</td>
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<td>Kellie</td>
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<td>Martin, J.J.</td>
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<td>Green</td>
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<td>Prentice</td>
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<td>Smith</td>
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The oppositionists called at once upon Turner to (195)
resign, but he was justified in retaining office as he did; (196)
for the Cassiar votes were not yet in, and the results of the

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(190) Kaslo Kootenaian, June 11, 1898, p. 2.
(192) Appendix I, p. i.
(193) TIMES, July 14, 1898, p. 4.
(194) My own arrangement, based upon statements of the indi-
vidual candidates; the next few years saw many changes.
Bullen and Prentice resigned on election petitions.
(195) TIMES, July 18, 1898, p. 4.
(196) The Cassiar election took place much later; the result
was announced August 10, a few days after the dismissal.
COLONIST, Aug. 10, 1898, p. 5.
many election protests might easily change the groupings. However Lieutenant-Governor McInnes took it upon himself to (197) dismiss the ministry and to call upon Hon. Robert Beaven.

Just why Beaven, who had neither seat in the house nor friends among its members — he had even been defeated in the Victoria mayoralty race of 1897 after several terms in (198) office — should have been selected for this task, has not been made known; at any rate Beaven could get no supporters, (199) and C. A. Semlin became the new premier.

Semlin had no trouble in fusing the different sections of the opposition party; his cabinet included Joseph Martin as attorney-general, Cotton as minister of finance and (200) agriculture, and Dr. McKechnie as president of the council; (201) J. F. Hume became provincial secretary and minister of mines, (202) and Semlin himself took over the lands department.

Thus ended the Smithe dynasty — that continuous chain of governments which had held power since 1883 under William Smithe, A. E. B. Davie, John Robson, Theodore Davie, and J. H. Turner. The TIMES, among many other things, had

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(197) TIMES, Aug. 8, 1898, p. 4.
(198) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Jan. 15, 1897, p. 4.
(199) TIMES, Aug. 13, 1898, p. 4. B. C. Gazette, August 15, 1898, p. 1673.
(201) TIMES, Aug. 18, 1898, p. 4. B. C. Gazette, August 20, 1898, p. 1723.
(202) TIMES, Aug. 20, 1898, p. 4. B. C. Gazette, August 20, 1898, p. 1723.
said of the last of these premiers: "...he is a somewhat weak, very good-natured, domestic sort of man; an excellent merchant, but very far from a financial genius; a pleasant enough man, but not exactly the kind of person likely to win his way to the front in politics in any other colony than British Columbia, where the conditions have been made so very peculiar." The editor did not explain just why he considered the conditions here to be so peculiar, but he did characterize Turner very well; when Theodore Davie resigned in 1895 the government had no strong man to replace him; and under Turner it failed lamentably.

However Semlin fared no better. Joseph Martin showed his true colors when his enmity for Cotton forced him to resign from the ministry. Then Semlin was defeated in the house in 1900, and the lieutenant-governor called Martin, much to the disgust of the members. However the new premier lost the election and was followed by James Dunsmuir with a coalition ministry, largely anti-Martin, and including Richard McBride as minister of mines. But when Dunsmuir appointed J. C. Brown, former anti-Robson stalwart, to the cabinet in 1901, McBride resigned and became leader of the opposition. The next year Dunsmuir, who had never been really fond of politics, resigned, and Col. Prior continued his administration, with only a very small majority in the house. But he too foundered upon the rocks of government contracts with a company over which he

(T204) TIMES, May 25, 1898, p. 4.
held control, and Richard McBride was called to the premiership on June 1st, 1903. Although McBride's followers numbered many liberals as well as conservatives, the new premier determined to form a conservative administration, as being in the best interests of stability; at last dominion party lines had definitely entered the provincial field!

Naturally McBride was greatly criticised for ignoring the services of his liberal followers, and he courted defeat; but he pursued the only course open to him in founding a party based upon party rather than upon personal ties. The province had since 1898 suffered greatly under the constant changes of government which were due mainly to the lack of any real party policies, and McBride took the only step possible to prevent absolute chaos. Although in later years the party system has not proven so beneficial, yet it is still doubtful whether the old system which was followed from 1871 to 1903 was any better; certainly there were more serious crises in that period than there have been since.
CHAPTER VIII.

Dominion Parties in British Columbia.

British Columbia's early political affiliations in the dominion field were governed by the attitudes of the federal parties during the 'fight Canada' period. Alexander MacKenzie, premier of Canada from 1873 to 1878, roused the belligerence not only of Walkem's followers, but of the whole province, by his refusal to make railway concessions; J. A. Macdonald made peace with the local leaders and won British Columbia's support until the liberal landslide of 1896.

But the local representatives called themselves 'independent conservatives'; in other words, they supported the government, not as true blue party men, but as the grateful recipients of past favors; they were for British Columbia first and for party second.

Yet as early as 1887, the liberals entered the local field. They held an organisation meeting in Victoria (1) and put forward a candidate of their own, Capt. McCallum. Even before this the COLONIST had seen the approaching danger and had urged that a conservative convention be held to support two official candidates and thus prevent a liberal from splitting the vote; but the idea was rejected, and five

(1) COLONIST, Feb. 24, 1887, p. 2.  
(2) loc. cit., Jan. 19, 1887, p. 2.
conservatives stood for the two Victoria seats: E. Crowe Baker, Noah Shakespeare, W. A. Robertson, Hon. Thomas Basil Humphreys (the irrepressible), and Mayor Fell. The first two, the successful candidates, received the blessing of the real conservatives; the COLONIST was especially bitter against Humphreys, even publishing on election day huge headlines denouncing him as a Chinese agent.

In Vancouver district (all of the island outside of Victoria) D. W. Gordon, the sitting member, defeated J. P. Planta, also a conservative. The Settlement Act was still a live issue in this constituency, for Gordon's victory was attributed to his opposition to the bill, and to Dunsmuir's control of Planta. John A. Mara, late speaker of the legislature, was elected by acclamation in Yale to replace F. J. Barnard, who had declined to run, and in Cariboo James Reid was re-elected.

In New Westminster Donald Chisholm, liberal-conservative backed by the MAINLAND GUARDIAN, defeated T. J. Trapp, independent, and this despite the COLUMBIAN's charges that Chisholm was a saloon-keeper. Apart from the winner's

(3) COLONIST, Jan. 26, 1887, p. 2.
(6) loc. cit., Mar. 23, 1887, p. 4.
(7) TIMES, Mar. 24, 1887, p. 2.
(8) COLONIST, Feb. 16, 1887, p. 2.
(9) loc. cit., Mar. 23, 1887, p. 4.
(10) MAINLAND GUARDIAN, Feb. 23, 1887, p. 2.
(12) COLUMBIAN, Feb. 18, 1887, p. 2.
personal qualifications, which really were excellent, he was aided by a split among his opponents. A moral reform convention had chosen Donald McGillvray, dropping Trapp; but that estimable gentleman remained in the field, even after another meeting again chose McGillvray. At the eleventh hour the latter retired, but Trapp probably lost many votes by his greed. It is worthy of notice that this was a 'moral reform' group, not a liberal party; its members opposed Chisholm because of his occupation, not because of his politics.

An interesting feature of this campaign was the fact that the British Columbia elections were held some time after the eastern ones, and that the TIMES and the COLONIST each claimed victory for its own party — the former being liberal and the latter conservative. Finally however, it was established that Macdonald had swept the country; and British Columbia, never (in those days at least) averse to choosing the most favorable side, sent to Ottawa a solid contingent of government supporters.

Soon after this Noah Shakespeare resigned to accept the postmastership of Victoria — Canadian politics were indeed unfortunate in the loss of such an historic combination of names! Col. E. G. Prior, M. P. P., was elected by acclamation to the vacant seat after De Cosmos refused to accept a

(13) COLUMBIAN, Feb. 21, 1887, p. 2.
(14) TIMES, Feb. 23, 1887, p. 1.
    COLONIST, Feb. 23, 1887, p. 1.
requisition to oppose him.

The next opening was in Cariboo, when James Reid resigned to accept the senatorship vacated by Lieutenant-Governor Nelson. Frank S. Barnard, Macdonald's official conservative candidate, defeated McLeese and Rogers, who had split the opposition vote.

In the 1889 session of parliament the British Columbia members made several demands, including one for more regular mail service to the northern section of the province. And Col. Prior raised the old question of the trans-Pacific steamers calling at Victoria; but naturally he did not receive the support of the mainland members, and his plea failed. The COLONIST now departed temporarily from its abject admiration of the government, and also castigated E. C. Baker, who had not seen fit to attend the session.

Probably the good conservatives foresaw the resignation of Baker, for they set about organising themselves as a party, despite the assertion of the COLONIST that eastern party questions and labels could not be applied in British Columbia.

However the organisation was not needed, for Thomas

(16) COLONIST, Jan. 24, 1888, p. 2.
(20) COLONIST, April 28, 1889, p. 2. Commons Debates, April 22, 1889, pp. 1427-1434.
(21) COLONIST, April 28, 1889, p. 2.
(22) TIMES, Sept. 18, 1889, p. 2.
(23) COLONIST, Sept. 3, 1889, p. 2.
Earle, 'independent', was elected by acclamation to replace Baker. The TIMES did its best to arouse opposition by demanding that Earle take a stand on the imperial government's request that the dominion repeal the Chinese restriction act in order to improve empire relations with China, but the ruse was unsuccessful.

An election was necessary the next year in New Westminster to replace Donald Chisholm, deceased. G. E. Corbould, conservative supported by TRUTH (successor to the GUARDIAN), defeated William Ladner, retired provincial oppositionist, and Townsend, free-trader.

At the 1891 general election dominion issues entered more strongly into the British Columbia campaign. The main issue was reciprocity, against which policy the conservatives raised the loyalty cry (intimating economic union with the United States as a result of reciprocity). A TIMES article illustrates the local attitude, in which party names are not yet generally used, but dominion policies are more important than before:

It should seem that a generous but independent support of the government ought to be relegated to the limbo of obsolete political slogans. We would not have British Columbia represented by men with whom party is a fetish (sic); but there are certain specific features in the policies of all parties that must either be supported by

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(24) COLONIST, Oct. 29, 1889, p. 2.
(26) COLUMBIAN, April 5, 1890, p. 2.
(27) NEWS-ADVERTISER, June 20, 1890, p. 4.
(28) TIMES, Feb. 3, 1891, p. 4.
all the power at one's command or else be abandoned altogether. Now, reciprocity will either be a good thing for British Columbia or it will not.

The conservative motto was: "The Old Flag, The Old Policy, The Old Leader," and cartoons represented Macdonald waving a Canadian standard, being borne on the shoulders of a farmer and an industrial worker; all in an attempt to show the national character of the party, and to cast reflection on the reciprocity theory.

In the Pacific province, which still knew very little of federal policies, this slogan was successful; every one of the sitting members was re-elected, Gordon in Vancouver District and Mara in Yale by acclamation. In Victoria Col. Prior and Earle were opposed by William Templeman of the TIMES and William Marchant, both really liberals but posing as independents; this move shows the unpopularity of the liberal platform. In New Westminster Capt. Scoullar, also an independent free-trader, fared no better against the protectionist member, G. E. Corbould. The cockade of victory headed the column of election results in the COLONIST, "...The government (was) sustained and the country safe".

Dominion political matters were then forgotten for several months, except for the formation in New Westminster

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(29) COLONIST, Mar. 5, 1891, p. 1.
(30) Gosnell, op. cit., p. 32.
(31) COLONIST, Feb. 20, 1891, p. 1. Templeman soon was regarded as one of the liberal leaders in the province.
(33) New Westminster LEDGER, Feb. 27, 1891, p. 2.
(34) COLONIST, Mar. 6, 1891, p. 1.
(35) ibid.
of a liberal association to organise for the next election; a prominent member of the committee appointed to draft a provincial platform (note that they still stressed matters involving the province instead of accepting the dominion planks) was Mr. F. W. Howay, then a young lawyer and to-day one of the greatest authorities on British Columbia history.

But when the death of D. W. Gordon in the spring of 1893 left a vacancy in Vancouver district, the liberals of the island were not yet ready to put up a candidate, and Andrew Haslam, former M. P. P. for Nanaimo, was elected by acclamation.

When another general election was drawing near, British Columbia was included on the speaking tours of such eastern politicians as Foster and Angers, Tupper, and Laurier, all setting forth their respective policies.

The local voters caught the fever of the approaching contest, and began to organise afresh; the conservatives in Vancouver, another liberal executive for the whole province, and even a young men's liberal club in Victoria. Candidates were nominated and began to solicit votes in nearly every district, and this time the federal labels were freely used.

(36) LEDGER, Nov. 15, 1891, p. 2.
(37) TIMES, Jan. 16, 1892, p. 4.
(38) COLONIST, Feb. 21, 1893, p. 1.
(39) TIMES, April 22, 1893, p. 4.
(40) Gosnell, op. cit., p. 132.
(41) COLONIST, Nov. 1, 1893, p. 8.
(42) loc. cit., Dec. 11, 1894, p. 4.
(43) NEWS-ADVERTISER, Aug. 6, 1894, p. 4.
(44) TIMES, Feb. 4, 1895, p. 4.
(45) loc. cit., Mar. 2, 1895, p. 4.
But the campaigners were disappointed. The
Manitoba schools question had so disturbed the government that
another session was necessary, and the election was delayed
until the next year.

Yet the dominion's policy was partially tested in
Victoria, when Col. Prior's appointment to the cabinet as
controller of inland revenue necessitated a by-election.
Although British Columbia had long been demanding represen­
tation in the government, yet this selection of Prior was
probably more a matter of expediency than a recognition either
of British Columbia's claim or of Prior's 'exceptional' worth;
for the conservative government, since the death of Sir John
A. Macdonald and the astounding disclosures of cabinet corr­
ruption, had steadily been losing ground, and was ready to
take this easy method of holding British Columbia's support.

The contest was a sharp one, with the liberals
actually claiming that Prior did not hold cabinet rank, and
shouting bribery accusations; the TIMES, whose manager,
William Templeman, was the liberal candidate, even attempted
the old trick of displaying headlines on the day of the el­
section to the effect that Laurier had been called in by the

(46) TIMES, April 24, 1895, p. 4.
(47) COLONIST, Dec. 17, 1895, p. 8.
(48) Senator MacDonald asks for it in the senate.
COLONIST, June 26, 1895, p. 4.
(49) Skelton, O. D., The day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier
(50) TIMES, Dec. 17, 1895, p. 4.
(51) COLONIST, Jan. 5, 1896, p. 4.
governor-general, which was a deliberate falsehood. Despite general opposition to the Bowell government, Prior was easily returned, for Victoria citizens were not displeased at having in their midst a cabinet minister.

The new parliamentary session was almost entirely occupied with the Manitoba schools question. This dispute had arisen out of the establishment by the provincial government of non-sectarian education, replacing the separate schools provided under the terms of confederation. The Catholics of course roused themselves against this act; but court cases failed, and the onus was left on the dominion government to decide whether or not it would pass special legislation to relieve the situation. The Bowell administration introduced in 1896 a remedial bill restoring Catholic schools, but Laurier, true to his belief in provincial rights, talked it out of the house; he demanded instead a compromise. On this note of failure, then, parliament was dissolved.

And British Columbia joined in the general indignation against the conservatives' weakness, by electing four liberals. The only two conservatives returned were Prior and Earle in Victoria, and even they had only a very narrow majority over Templeman and Míane, liberals. Victoria's attitude was due to the fact that the government's plan to give

(52) TIMES, Jan. 6, 1896, p. 4.
(53) COLONIST, Jan. 7, 1896, p. 4.
(54) loc. cit., April 17, 1896, p. 4.
(55) Skelton, op. cit., p. 166.
(56) TIMES, June 24, 1896, p. 2.
a large grant to the British Pacific railway had been blocked by the liberals; though long disputes on free trade and provincial rights raged in the columns of the COLONIST and the TIMES, yet in the end the real issue was local only.

Elsewhere it seemed rather to be conservative dissensions than federal policies that won for the liberals. In Vancouver District Andrew Haslam was again nominated by the Nanaimo conservatives, but not until after James Haggart had already accepted the nomination of the Wellington conservatives. This split was really due to sectional jealousy, for the 'Nanaimo ring' was determined to prevent the extension of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway the British Pacific scheme, lest the trade centre be moved further up the island. At any rate this dispute proved fortunate for W. W. B. McInnes, liberal, who led the poll.

In Burrard too, Reverend George Maxwell of Constitutional League fame, defeated G. H. Cowan and W. J. Bowser. The trouble here was within the conservative association itself, for a public meeting chose Cowan and dropped Bowser; but the executive reversed the decision, and the conservative vote was split again.

(57) TIMES, June 15, 1896, p. 4.
(58) Nanaimo FREE PRESS, May 18, 1896, p. 4.
(59) COLONIST, May 3, 1896, p. 4.
(60) Union NEWS, June 2, 1896, p. 4.
(61) Gemmill, Canadian parliamentary companion, 1897, pp. (Ottawa, 1897), pp. 193-204.
(63) TIMES, May 23, 1896, p. 4.
Even the New Westminster government followers had their difficulties, for their first candidate, T. C. Atkinson, withdrew, withdrew to be replaced to E. Hutcherson; then by some means Richard McBride became the official nominee to oppose Aulay Morrison, liberal (now Chief Justice of British Columbia). While McBride was the only conservative candidate in the field, yet the many nominations undoubtedly caused hard feelings, and he could not receive the vigorous support enjoyed by his successful opponent.

In Yale-Cariboo, Hewitt Bostock was an easy victor over John A. Mara. Bostock, a wealthy financial man of Victoria, had perfected a good organisation through the subsidisation of newspapers, and had been campaigning vigorously in the interior for a year. On the other hand, Mara was a poor representative, and had done little for his district; it was probably these facts more than the policies of his government that caused his defeat.

Though the British Columbia elections may seem to have been fought on local issues, yet they were representative

(64) COLUMBIAN, May 7, 1896, p. 2.
(65) loc. cit., June 6, 1896, p. 2.
(66) TIMES, Mar. 20, 1896, p. 4.
(67) Gemmill, op. cit., pp. 193-204.
(68) ibid. His majority was 400.
(69) He admitted that he had started the PROVINCE: an interview with the MINING RECORD, quoted in the Golden ERA, August 1, 1896, p. 2. Also, the INLAND SENTINEL changed hands and politics, becoming his slave. INLAND SENTINEL, March 6, 1896, p. 2.
(70) loc. cit., June 16, 1896, p. 2.
of campaigns all over Canada; for the dominion was weary of the stodginess and corruption of the party which had been in power for 18 years, and the people were ready for a change. The dispute over Manitoba's rights, while it followed the lines of similar election arguments in Quebec and Ontario, was probably more of a political football than a sincere issue.

When British Columbia's dominion political affiliations were so uncertain, there was little use of bringing them into provincial elections. But by the end of the period treated in this thesis a definite alteration had taken place; in many constituencies the Turner government was regarded as a conservative administration, and the liberals began to organise for opposition purposes. The liberal convention of 1897, called primarily to prepare for the 1898 provincial election, decided to oppose the government and formulated a platform to be used the next summer; and at least one member of the party was expelled for his refusal to work against his government friends.

Turner saw the danger in this move, and denounced the attempt to introduce dominion party lines:

> It is therefore requested that voters, whether Liberal or Conservative, should either support or oppose the present government as British Columbians and from no other consideration. As a government we have never taken any part

(71) v. supra, p. 165.
(72) Information from the person concerned.
(73) COLONIST, May 6, 1898, p. 4. Copy of a letter from Turner to A. J. McLellan, Chairman of the Committee, Provincial Political Association, Victoria, May 3, 1898. This was the government organisation.
or expressed any views which could be construed as identifying us with either one party or the other.

As a government, probably they had not; but as individuals, Turner and Pooley at least were known to be strong conservatives. The whole government slate for Vancouver in 1898 was conservative: W. J. Bowser, later premier, Dr. Carroll, Mayor Garden and W. S. MacDonald; and it was Richard McBride, Turner candidate for Dewdney who organised the first official conservative government in British Columbia. The only prominent liberals supporting the government were Alexander Henderson of New Westminster, J. C. McLagan of the Vancouver World, and D. A. Stoddart of Lillooet.

The opposition group was more evenly divided; Kellie, Forster, MacPherson, Kidd, Ralph Smith, Hume, J. B. Kennedy, Dr. McKechnie, C. W. Munro, A. S. Vedder and Joseph Martin were all liberals. Senator Templeman, publisher of the chief opposition journal, the TIMES, was one of the most prominent liberals in British Columbia; Hewitt Bostock, liberal member of parliament, used his newspapers to defeat Turner, and Reverend George Maxwell, federal member for Burrard, received his early political experience in the oppositionist Constitutional League.

But there were also many conservative oppositionists: Cotton, G. E. Tisdall and A. W. Williams of Vancouver, C. B.

(74) Kidd did not take much interest in dominion politics until several years later; information from J. W. Miller.
(75) He was the husband of the late Mary Ellen Smith, pioneer woman member and prominent liberal. She entered politics after her husband's death.
Sword and Donald Graham. Most of these men had been prominent in provincial politics before the liberal activities began, and they resented the new group which was attempting to seize power by defeating Turner. This may be the cause behind many of the party splits in the period 1898 to 1903, and the reason why dominion lines were not sooner introduced.

In review, the years from 1887 to 1898 saw British Columbia in a state of transition from extreme localism to real importance in dominion politics. Although the alteration was not entirely effected until some years later, a good beginning had been made; dominion party organisations had been formed and federal labels used, and the conservatives in their weakness had seen the need of support from the Pacific province; and finally, dominion affiliations had to a small extent played a part in the provincial election of 1898. Truly, the way was well paved for Richard McBride's introduction in 1903 of dominion party lines.
CHAPTER IX.

Characteristics of British Columbia Parties, 1883-1898.

The history of British Columbia politics between 1883 and 1898 is largely the story of the Smithe 'dynasty'. This group took office as the result of its promises to end the chaos caused by G. A. Walkem and Robert Beaven, and it was highly successful. It brought about a settlement with the dominion which was as equitable as possible under the circumstances, it restored the credit and prestige of the province, and it did its best to keep abreast of the remarkable development taking place in the hinterland districts where mining and agriculture were becoming increasingly important. In short, the Smithe dynasty was an important factor in the growth of British Columbia, for its strength and relative efficiency made possible many much-needed reforms.

The reason for the strength of the 'party' was at first a natural revulsion against the mistakes of the late government, but it was later based upon the control of Robson. There is little doubt but that Robson was the outstanding man of the whole period, for he was the real leader even in the ministries of Smithe and A. E. B. Davie. But he was not as corrupt as is the usual party 'boss' -- the Smithe dynasty was still too fresh from its purity crusade to jump at once into
wholesale graft. And Smithe and A. E. B. Davie, although really only figureheads in the government, were not men likely to permit flagrant dishonesty to be practised in their names.

But after the death of Robson in 1892 the party lacked a true statesman. Theodore Davie was a strong and shrewd politician, but under his leadership the government began to lose caste. This was partly the natural result of its long period of power, similar to the one which had ruined even the remains of Sir John A. Macdonald's great government, and partly also of the fact that there was no sober-minded person strong enough to check Davie's impulses. And in the Turner régime there was not even a strong leader; if the administration was corrupt, it certainly did not prevent the electors from believing most of the libellous tales circulated by the oppositionists.

Thus the Smithe dynasty followed the course of most groups which enjoy a long period of power; it began as a reform party which carried out most of its promises, and it ended as a broken-down administration accused of all manner of wrongs. It began with a strong leader and ended with a weak one. It had been in office too long -- the province was indeed ready for a change.

The history of the opposition groups was almost the reverse. In the days of Smithe and A. E. B. Davie there was little to criticize, and Beaven's past record in power took the sting from most of his attacks. The 'party,' which had no
real policy to substitute for that of the government, spent its time searching out Robson's many mistakes; though it caused much embarrassment to the administration, it did not prove that Beaven's followers were the men to rule the destinies of the province.

However when the Smithe dynasty began to decline the opposition became stronger in tactics as well as in numbers. The defeat of Beaven, who had always been a destructive rather than a constructive critic, made way for the more popular men, Semlin, Cotton, and Sword. Under these men (for Semlin, like Turner, was not a strong leader), the opposition began to propound theories designed to bring about more efficient administration; and the liberal recruits brought more new policies.

Unlike the government group, the opposition never had a really outstanding leader. Beaven was a master of parliamentary tactics, but he did little to raise the standard of the party; Semlin was a pleasant, honest man, but never a strong force; and Cotton and Sword, although they were good politicians, were never the power behind the scenes that Robson had been. Furthermore, the oppositionists did not raise their prestige by their constant carping at every move of the government; even many of their accusations against Turner, Baker and Martin in the closing days of the Smithe dynasty were not fully proven.
In this the change of governments in 1898 differed from that of 1882-1883: Smithe had received an undeniable mandate from the electors to reform a chaotic administration, while Semlin and Cotton assumed power on the basis of a small and doubtful majority over a government which, in spite of its many faults, had usually tried to work for the good of the province.

The Smithe dynasty was one of the strongest parties which this province has ever known; and it should be remembered rather for the great work it did in governing British Columbia during her first period of 'growing pains' than for the errors its members may have committed.

The introduction to this thesis stated that British Columbia political groups, with live organisations and discipline; the following chapters, a chronicle of political events from 1883 to 1898 in the provincial and dominion fields, attempted to show the basis for this theory. Yet they told also of many exceptions to the general statement, exceptions which were too numerous to prove a hard and fast rule.

The account demonstrated that political affiliations were based often on personal and sectional lines rather than on party ties: Simeon Duck turned to the government side when he saw a cabinet position in sight, and James Orr went over to the opposition when the government 'donated' Vancouver to the Canadian Pacific; C.C. McKenzie and Samuel Greer opposed the Smithe dynasty as a revenge for fancied wrongs;
after 1893 the lower mainland opposed and the whole island supported the government as a result of the parliament buildings bill and the British Pacific promotion. J. M. Kellie and Hon. D. W. Higgins left the government ranks ostensibly in protest against Turner's policy, but probably because their personal ambitions had not been gratified; and Dr. W. W. Walkem, originally a government supporter, soon returned to the fold after a year of Baker-baiting — doubtless this last change was the result of Dunsmuir influence.

Besides sectional and personal feelings, business interests played a part in British Columbia politics very similar to the role which they assume in all countries. The Canadian Pacific company at first held a strong influence over the government in the days of the Vancouver extension. The Dunsmuir family, which controlled the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway and the island coal mines, probably retained its power until the end of the Smithe dynasty; for Robert Dunsmuir, founder of the family fortune, was a strong member of the government until his death in 1889; and many of the island representatives, including Pooley and Dr. Walkem, undoubtedly owed allegiance to the firm. R. P. Rithet and H. D. Helmcken protected the interests of the British Pacific company, and Col. Baker helped the British Columbia Southern. The accusations against Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney and the Columbia and Western were rather far-fetched, but no doubt this Kootenay company did have influence in the government. In other words, a man's purse as well as his head governed his politics.
A political party cannot thrive upon words and deeds alone: it must have an organisation to work up support throughout the country. Although we do not hear that there were many local clubs devoted to provincial politics, yet it is quite obvious to any observer that each party had its 'stalwarts' in the various constituencies, men who distributed the patronage and who kept a close watch upon party affairs. The only approaches to a real organisation were the Provincial Political Association of Victoria which supported the government, and the liberal associations which opposed it. There never was a full provincial convention of either party: leaders were chosen and platforms arranged by the caucuses concerned. In dominion party affairs, however, there were many organisations and local conventions.

But British Columbia politicians, if they did not organise closely, were yet masters of the age-old art of newspaper propaganda. The bibliography of this study shows that almost every newspaper in the province took some part in politics; in many cases one journal naturally opposed its local rival, but in many more the editor was inspired by party suggestions. The COLONIST, the WORLD and the Nanaimo FREE PRESS were outstanding apologists for the Smithe dynasty; while the TIMES, published by William Templeman, the PROVINCE, owned by Bostock, the COLUMBIAN, influenced but probably not owned by J. C. Brown, were bitter critics. Nor did the editors hesitate to take a personal part in politics: Dr. Walkem of the Wellington ENTERPRISE was member for Nanaimo South, F. J. Deane of
the INLAND SENTINEL defeated G. B. Martin, and William Baillie of the Fort Steele PROSPECTOR ran against Col. Baker in 1898.

In the majority of cases the government journals were also conservative in dominion politics; but the WORLD and the NEWS-ADVERTISER followed their publishers in reversing their support. The former paper, after calling Reverend G. R. (1) Maxwell a notoriety seeker because of his Constitutional League activities in 1893, firmly supported him in the dominion (2) election only three years later; and the manager, J. C. McLagan, delegate to the liberal convention of 1897, refused to serve on the committee appointed to draft the platform which was to include opposition to Turner.

In short, most of the politicians of British Columbia from 1883 to 1898 were members of definite groups for or against the provincial government, and later for or against the dominion government. Although the two sets of organisations were separate, yet their memberships overlapped; all of these groups followed the regular party discipline and enjoyed the favors extended to faithful party supporters.

Who, then, shall say that Richard McBride 'introduced party politics' to British Columbia?

(1) WORLD, June 12, 1894, p. 4.
(2) loc. cit., May 16, 1896, p. 4.
APPENDIX I.

Members of the Legislative Assembly, 1882-1898.  


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>George Cowan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Wilson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert McLeese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassiar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>John Grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>William M. Dingwall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>William Smithe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquimalt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hans Helgesen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. E. Pooley (vice J. R. Hett, unseated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>R. L. T. Galbraith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A. E. B. Davie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edward Allen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Robert Dunsmuir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Raybould.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster City</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W. J. Armstrong (resigned April 8, 1884).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jas. Cunningham (elected April 23, 1884, vice Armstrong).</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>John Robson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria City</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Robert Beaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Theodore Davie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Simeon Duck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M. W. Tyrwhit-Drake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria District</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>George A. McTavish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>R. F. John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Charles A. Semlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John A. Mara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preston Bennett (died August, 1882).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G. B. Martin (vice Bennett).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Gosnell, R. E., Yearbook of British Columbia, 1897 (Victoria, 1897), pp. 115-116; with many necessary corrections from B. C. Journals and newspapers.
(B) **Fifth Parliament, 1886-1890.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Seats</th>
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<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J. Mason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert McLeese (resigned 1888).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George Cowan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I. B. Nason (vice McLeese, December, 1888).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassiar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>John Grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A. M. Stenhouse (resigned 1887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T. B. Humphreys (vice Stenhouse. Died August, 1890).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>William Smithe (died 1887).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Croft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Fry (vice Smithe, 1887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquimalt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C. E. Pooley.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. W. Higgins.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Allen (died Mar. 1890).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. W. Smith (vice Davie).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Robert Dunsmuir (died 1889).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wm Raybould (died 1886).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Geo. Thomson (vice Raybould, Jan. 6, 1887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Haslam (vice Dunsmuir).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster City</td>
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<td>W. N. Bole (resigned 1889).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T. Cunningham (vice Bole).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster District</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Victoria City</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Robert Beaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. G. Prior (resigned 1887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. H. Turner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Theodore Davis.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S. Duck (vice Prior, Jan. 1888).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria District</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>R. F. John (resigned Je., 1888).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G. W. Anderson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jas. Tolmie (vice John, 1888).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C. A. Semlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>F. G. Vernon.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>G. B. Martin.</td>
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</table>
(C) Sixth Parliament, 1890-1894.

Constituency

Cariboo....................... 3  J. Mason (died Dec., 1890).
                                  J. Robson (died Je. 29, 1892).
                                  S. A. Rogers.
                                  I. B. Nason (vice Mason; elected Jan. 23, 1891; died Aug.,
                                  1893).
                                  Dr. Watt (vice Robson).
                                  Wm. Adams (vice Mason).

Cassiar....................... 1  R. H. Hall.

Comox......................... 1  Joseph Hunter.

Cowichan...................... 2  Theodore Davie.
                                  Henry Croft.

Esquimalt...................... 2  C. E. Pooley.
                                  D. W. Higgins.

                                  (W) J. M. Kellie.

Lillooet...................... 2  D. A. Stoddart.
                                  A. W. Smith.

Nanaimo District............. 2  Thos. Forster.
                                  C. C. McKenzie.

Nanaimo City................. 1  T. Keith.

New Westminster City....... 1  Jas. C. Brown.

New Westminster District... 3  John Robson (resigned 1890).
                                  Thomas E. Kitchen.
                                  James Punch.
                                  C. B. Sword (vice Robson, 1890).

Victoria City.............. 4  John Grant.
                                  Robert Beaven.
                                  Dr. G. L. Milne.
                                  J. H. Turner.

Victoria District.......... 2  D. M. Eberts.
                                  G. W. Anderson.

Yale......................... 3  Forbes George Vernon.
                                  George Bohun Martin.
                                  Charles A. Semlin.

Vancouver City............. 2  F. D. Carter-Cotton.
                                  J. W. Horne.

Alberni...................... 1  Thomas Fletcher.

The Islands.................. 1  J. P. Booth.
### Seventh Parliament, 1894-1898.

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<td>Major Mutter.</td>
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<td>G. A. Huff (vice Davie).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(W) J. M. Kellie.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(S) J. Fred Hume.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(E) J. D. Prentice (resigned on election petition and was defeated).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. A. Stoddart (vice Prentice).</td>
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<td>(W) A. W. Smith.</td>
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<td>(S) Dr. W. W. Walkem.</td>
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<td>(Dewdney) C. B. Sword.</td>
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<td>(Delta) Thomas Forster.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Richmond) Thomas Kidd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Chilliwack) T. E. Kitchen (died 1897).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. S. Veddar (vice Kitchen).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria City</td>
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<td>R. P. Rithet.</td>
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<td>(N) J. P. Booth.</td>
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<td>Yale</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(N) G. B. Martin.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(E) Donald Graham.</td>
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<td>(W) C. A. Semlin.</td>
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<td>F. L. Carter-Cotton.</td>
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## APPENDIX II.

**Administration Members, 1883-1896.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Smithe...</td>
<td>Premier, Chief, Commissioner..</td>
<td>29 Jan/83</td>
<td>29 Mar/87</td>
<td>Died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Robson..</td>
<td>Provincial Secretary, Finance &amp; Agriculture</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.W.T. Drake.</td>
<td>President of...</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8 Dec/84</td>
<td>Resigned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simeon Duck..</td>
<td>Finance &amp; Agriculture (Robson remains as provincial secretary)</td>
<td>21 Mar/85</td>
<td>15 Oct/86</td>
<td>Defeated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| A.E.B. Davie.         | Premier & Attorney-General. | 1 Apr/87    | 1 Aug/89    | Died.                      |
| John Robson..         | Provincial Secretary, Finance & Agriculture          | "           | "           | Death of Davie.           |
| F. G. Vernon.         | Lands & Works.            | "           | "           | "                          |
| R. Dunsmuir..         | President of...           | 8 Aug/87    | 12 Apr/89   | Died.                      |
| J.H. Turner..         | Finance & Agriculture (Robson remains as provincial secretary) | "           | 1 Aug/89    | Death of Davie.           |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Robson</td>
<td>Premier, Provincial Secretary &amp; Mines</td>
<td>3 Aug/89</td>
<td>29 Jun/92</td>
<td>Died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.G. Vernon</td>
<td>Lands &amp; Works</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Death of Robson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H. Turner</td>
<td>Finance &amp; Agriculture</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E. Pooley</td>
<td>President of Council</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Davie</td>
<td>Attorney-gen'l.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

T. Davie...... Premier, Attorney-general & temporary Provincial Secretary... 2 Jul/92 4 Mar/95 Resigned.

F.G. Vernon... Lands & Works... "... Jul/94 Defeated.

J.H. Turner... Finance & Agriculture... "... 4 Mar/95 Resignation of Davie.

Jas. Baker... Education & Immigration... 28 May/92 "... 7 Sep/92 "

C.E. Pooley... President of Council... 2 Jul/92 "... "

G.B. Martin... Lands & Works.. Oct/94 "... "

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J.H. Turner.. Premier, Finance & Agriculture... 4 Mar/95 8 Aug/98 Ministry dismissed.

D.M. Eberts.. Attorney-gen'l. " " "

Jas. Baker... Provincial Secretary, Mines, Education and Immigration...

G.B. Martin... Lands & Works.. " " "

C.E. Pooley... President of Council...... " " "

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APPENDIX III.

B. C. Representatives to the Commons, 1882-1901.

1882-1887 Cariboo: James Reid.
Vancouver (Island) district: D. W. Gordon.
Victoria (2): E. Crowe Baker,
           Noah Shakespeare.
Yale: F. J. Barnard.

1887-1891 Cariboo: James Reid (appointed senator).
           F. S. Barnard (vice Reid).
New Westminster: Donald Chisholm (died).
           G. E. Corbould (vice Chisholm).
Vancouver district: D. W. Gordon.
Victoria (2): N. Shakespeare ((appointed postmaster).
           E. Crowe Baker (resigned).
           Col. E. G. Prior (vice Shakespeare).
           Thos. Earle (vice Baker).
Yale: John A. Mara.

Vancouver district: D. W. Gordon.
           Thomas Earle.
Yale: John A. Mara.

New Westminster: Aulay Morrison.
Vancouver district: W. W. B. McInnes.
           Thomas Earle.
           Burrard: George R. Maxwell.

(1) Gosnell, op. cit., p. 132.
APPENDIX IV.

The Settlement Act, 1884.

47 Vic., chap. 14: An Act Relating to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock, and Railway Lands of the Province.

Whereas negotiations between the Governments of Canada and British Columbia have been recently pending, relative to delays in the commencement and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and relative to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock, and the Railway Lands of the Province:

And whereas for the purpose of settling all existing disputes and difficulties between the two Governments, it hath been agreed as follows:-

(a) The Legislature of British Columbia shall be invited to amend the Act No. 11 of 1880, intituled "An Act to authorize the grant of certain Public Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for Canadian Pacific Railway purposes," so that the same extent of land on each side of the line of Railway through British Columbia, wherever finally settled, shall be granted to the Dominion Government in lieu of the lands conveyed by that Act.

(b) The Government of British Columbia shall obtain the authority of the Legislature to grant to the Government of Canada a portion of the lands set forth and described in the Act No. 15 of 1882, intituled "An Act to incorporate the Vancouver Land and Railway Company," namely, that portion of the said lands therein described, commencing at the Southern boundary thereof and extending to a line running East and West, half-way between Comox and Seymour Narrows; and also a further portion of the lands conveyed by the said Act to the northward of and contiguous to that portion of the said lands last hereinbefore specified, equal in extent to the lands within the limits thereof which may have been alienated from the Crown by Crown grants, pre-emption or otherwise.

(c) The Government of British Columbia shall obtain the authority of the Legislature to convey to the Government of Canada three and one-half millions of acres of land in the Peace River district of British Columbia, in one rectangular
(d) The Government of British Columbia shall procure the incorporation, by Act of their Legislature, of certain persons, to be designated by the Government of Canada, for the construction of the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

(e) The Government of Canada shall, upon the adoption by the Legislature of British Columbia of the terms of this agreement, seek the sanction of Parliament to enable them to contribute to the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo the sum of $750,000, and they agree to hand over to the contractors who may build such railway the lands which are or may be placed in their hands for that purpose by British Columbia; and they agree to take security, to the satisfaction of the Government of that Province, for the construction and completion of such railway on or before the 10th day of June, 1887; such construction to commence forthwith.

(f) The lands on Vancouver Island to be so conveyed shall, except as to coal and other minerals, and also except as to timber lands as hereinafter mentioned, be open for four years from the passing of this Act to actual settlers, for agricultural purposes, at the rate of one dollar an acre, to the extent of 160 acres to each such actual settler; and in any grants to settlers the right to cut timber for railway purposes and rights of way for the railway, and stations, and workshops, shall be reserved. In the meantime, and until the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo shall have been completed, the Government of British Columbia shall be the agents of the Government of Canada for administering, for the purposes of settlement, the lands in this subsection mentioned; and for such purposes the Government of British Columbia may make and issue, subject as aforesaid, pre-emption records to actual settlers, of the said lands. All moneys received by the Government of British Columbia in respect of such administration shall be paid, as received, into the Bank of British Columbia, to the credit of the Receiver-General of Canada; and such moneys, less expenses incurred (if any), shall, upon the completion of the railway to the satisfaction of the Dominion Government, be paid over to the railway contractors.

(g) The Government of Canada shall forthwith take over and seek the authority of Parliament to purchase and complete, and shall, upon the completion thereof, operate as a Dominion work, the Dry Dock at Esquimalt; and shall be entitled to and have conveyed to them all the lands, approaches and plant belonging thereto, together with the Imperial appropriation therefor, and shall pay to the Province as the price thereof the sum of $250,000, and shall further pay to
the Province whatever amounts shall have been expended by the Provincial Government which remain due, up to the time of the passing of this Act, for work or material supplied by the Government of British Columbia since the 27th day of June, 1882.

(h) The Government of Canada shall, with all convenient speed, offer for sale the lands within the railway belt upon the Mainland, on liberal terms to actual settlers; and

(i) Shall give persons who have squatted on any of the said lands within the railway belt on the Mainland, prior to the passing of this Act, and who have made substantial improvements thereon, a prior right of purchasing the lands so improved, at the rates charged to settlers generally.

(k) This agreement is to be taken by the Province in full of all claims up to this date by the Province against the Dominion, in respect of delays in the commencement and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in respect of the non-construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and shall be taken by the Dominion Government in satisfaction of all claims for additional lands under the Terms of Union, but shall not be binding unless and until the same shall have been ratified by the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of British Columbia.

And whereas it is expedient that the said agreement should be ratified, and that provision should be made to carry out the terms thereof:

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

1. The hereinbefore recited agreement shall be and is hereby ratified and adopted.

2. Section 1 of the Act of the Legislature of British Columbia, No. 11 of 1880, intituled "An Act to authorize the grant of certain public lands on the mainland of British Columbia to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for Canadian Pacific Railway purposes," is hereby amended so as to read as follows:-

From and after the passing of this Act there shall be, and there is hereby granted to the Dominion Government for the purpose of constructing and to aid in the construction of the portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the mainland of British Columbia, in trust, to be appropriated as the Dominion Government may deem advisable, the public lands along the line of the railway beforementioned, wherever it may
be finally located, to a width of twenty miles on each side of the said line as provided in the Order in Council, section 11, admitting the Province of British Columbia into Confederation; but nothing in this section contained shall prejudice the right of the Province to receive and be paid by the Dominion Government the sum of $100,000 per annum, in half-yearly payments in advance, in consideration of the lands so conveyed, as provided in Section 11 of the Terms of Union: Provided always that the line of Railway before referred to shall be one continuous line of railway only, connecting the seaboard of British Columbia with the Canadian Pacific Railway, now under construction on the East of the Rocky Mountains.

3. There is hereby granted to the Dominion Government, for the purpose of constructing, and to aid in the construction of a railway between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, and in trust to be appropriated as they may deem advisable (but save as is hereinafter excepted) all that piece or parcel of land situate in Vancouver Island, described as follows:-

Bounded on the South by a straight line drawn from the head of Saanich Inlet to Muir Creek on the Straits of Fuca;

On the West by a straight line drawn from Muir Creek aforesaid to Crown Mountain;

On the North by a straight line drawn from Crown Mountain to Seymour Narrows; and

On the East by the Coast line of Vancouver Island to the point of commencement; and including all coal, coal oil, ores, stones, clay, marble, slate, mines, minerals, and substances whatsoever thereupon, therein, and thereunder.

4. There is excepted out of the tract of land granted by the preceding section all that portion thereof lying to the northward of a line running East and West half-way between the mouth of the Courtenay River (Comox District) and Seymour Narrows.

5. Provided always that the Government of Canada shall be entitled out of such excepted tract to lands equal in extent to those alienated up to the date of this Act by Crown grant, pre-emption, or otherwise, within the limits of the grant mentioned in section 3 of this Act.

6. The grant mentioned in section 3 of this Act shall not include any lands now held under Crown grant, lease, agreement for sale, or other alienation by the Crown, nor shall it include Indian reserves, or settlements, nor Naval or Military reserves.
7. There is hereby granted to the Dominion Government three and a half million acres of land in that portion of the Peace River District of British Columbia lying East of the Rocky Mountains and adjoining the North-West Territory of Canada, to be located by the Dominion in one rectangular block.

8. For the purpose of facilitating the construction of the Railway between Esquimault and Nanaimo, it is hereby enacted that such persons, hereinafter called the "company", as may be named by the Governor-General in Council, with all such other persons and corporations as shall become shareholders in the company, shall be and are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic by the name of "The Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway Company."

9. The company, and their agents and servants, shall lay out, construct, equip, maintain, and work a continuous double or single track steel railway of the gauge of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and also a telegraph line, with the proper appurtenances, from a point at or near the harbour of esquimault in British Columbia, to a port or place at or near Nanaimo on the eastern coast of Vancouver Island, with power to extend the main line to Comox and Victoria, and to construct branches to settlements on the east coast, and also to extend the said railway by ferry communications to the mainland of British Columbia, and there to connect or amalgamate with any railway line in operation or course of construction. The company shall also have power and authority to build, own, and operate steam and other vessels in connection with the said railway, on and over the bays, gulfs, and inland waters of British Columbia.

10. The company may accept and receive from the Government of Canada any lease, grant, or conveyance of lands, by way of subsidy or otherwise, in aid of the construction of the said railway, and may enter into any contract with the said Government for or respecting the use, occupation, mortgage or sale of the said lands, or any part thereof, on such conditions as may be agreed upon between the Government and the company.

11. The capital stock of the company shall be three millions of dollars, and shall be divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, but may be increased from time to time by the vote of the majority in value of the shareholders present in person or represented by proxy, at any meetings specially called for the purpose, to an amount not exceeding five million dollars.

12. The persons to be named as aforesaid by the Governor-General in Council shall be and are hereby constituted a board of provisional directors of the company, and
shall hold office as such until other directors shall be elected under the provisions of this Act, and shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in the said board; to open stock books at Victoria, British Columbia, or any other city in Canada; procure subscriptions, and receive payments on stock subscribed.

13. When and so soon as one half of the capital stock shall have been subscribed, and one-tenth of the amount thereof paid into any chartered Bank, either at Victoria or San Francisco, or partly in each, the provisional directors may order a meeting of shareholders to be called at Victoria, British Columbia, at such time as they think proper, giving at least three weeks notice thereof in one or more newspapers published in the City of Victoria, and by a circular letter mailed to each shareholder, at which meeting the shareholders present in person, or by proxy, shall elect five directors qualified as hereinafter provided, who shall hold office until the first Wednesday in October in the year following their election.

14. On the said first Wednesday in October, and on the same day in each year thereafter, at the City of Victoria, or at such other place as shall be fixed by the by-laws of the company, there shall be held a general meeting of the shareholders for receiving the report of the directors transacting the business of the company, general or special, and electing the directors thereof; and public notice of such annual meeting and election shall be published for one month before the day of meeting in one or more newspapers in the City of Victoria, and by circular letter mailed to each shareholder at least one month prior thereto. The election of directors shall be by ballot, and all shareholders may vote by proxy.

15. Three of the Directors shall form a quorum for the transaction of business, and the Board may employ one or more of their number as paid Director or Directors, provided that no person shall be elected Director unless he owns at least twenty-five shares of the stock of the company on which calls have been paid.

16. No call shall be made for more than ten per centum at any one time on the amount subscribed, nor shall more than fifty per centum of the stock be called up in any one year.

17. The Consolidated Railway Act, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine (1879) of Canada, shall, so far as its provisions are applicable to the undertaking and are not inconsistent with or contrary to the provisions of this Act, apply to the said railway, and shall be read with and form part of this Act.
18. The words "Superior Court," "Clerks of the Peace," "Registry Offices," "Clerk of Court," as used in the said Consolidated Railway Act, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine (1879), shall, for the purposes of this Act, be read and construed in the same sense and meaning as is provided by the Act passed by this Legislature thirty-eight (38) Victoria, chapter thirteen (13), section three (3).

19. Sections five (5) and six (6) of the said last mentioned Act shall be read with and form part of this Act.

20. The said railway line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo shall be commenced forthwith and completed on or before the 10th day of June, 1887.

21. The Railway, with its workshops, stations, and other necessary buildings and rolling stock, and also the capital stock of the Railroad Company, shall be exempt from Provincial and Municipal taxation until the expiration of ten years from the completion of the railroad.

22. The lands to be acquired by the company from the Dominion Government for the construction of the railway shall not be subject to taxation, unless and until the same are used by the company for other than railroad purposes, or leased, occupied, sold, or alienated.

23. The company shall be governed by subsection (f) of the hereinbefore recited agreement, and each bona fide squatter who has continuously occupied, and improved any of the lands within the tract of land to be acquired by the company from the Dominion Government for a period of one year prior to the first day of January, 1883, shall be entitled to a grant of the freehold of the surface rights of the said squatted land, to the extent of 160 acres to each squatter, at the rate of one dollar an acre.

24. The company shall at all times sell coals gotten from the lands that may be acquired by them from the Dominion Government to any Canadian Railway Company having the terminus of its railway on the seaboard of British Columbia, and to the Imperial, Dominion, and Provincial authorities, at the same rates as may be charged to any Railway Company owning or operating any Railway in the United States, or to any foreign customer whatsoever.

25. All lands acquired by the company from the Dominion Government under this Act containing belts of timber fit for milling purposes shall be sold at a price to be hereafter fixed by the Government of the Dominion or by the company hereby incorporated.
26. The existing rights (if any) of any persons or corporations in any of the lands so to be acquired by the company shall be affected by this act, nor shall it affect Military or Naval Reserves.

27. The said Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Company shall be bound by any contract or agreement for the construction of the Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo which shall be entered into by and between the persons so to be incorporated as aforesaid, and Her Majesty, represented by the Minister of Railways and Canals, and shall be entitled to the full benefit of such contract or agreement, which shall be construed and operate in like manner as if such company had been a party thereto in lieu of such persons, and the document had been duly executed by such company under their corporate seal.

28. The Railways to be constructed by the company in pursuance of this Act shall be the property of the company.

29. The Act of 1883, chapter 14, intituled "An Act relating to the Island Railway, the Graving Dock, and the Railway Lands of the Province," is hereby repealed.
APPENDIX V.

(1) An Example of Political Tactics, 1898.

TURNER'S GREAT VAUDEVILLE AND VARIETY SHOW!

ONE -- NIGHT -- ONLY

Benefit for Archie McGregor.

At the Nanaimo Opera House, Thursday, June 30, 1898, under the management of the Hon. D. M. Eberts, commencing at 8 p.m. The following delightful program will be rendered:

Recitation by Archie McGregor, "Why I am a Government Candidate," written especially for this occasion by Messrs. Simpson and Simpson.

Song and dance, by Hon. D. M. Eberts, of Victoria, in character selections from "The Mikado". (a)

Song, by B. Pillbox, the great Victoria Virtuoso, "Paradise Alley". (b)
Note: the audience are requested to join in the chorus.

Address by Mr. A. E. McPhillips of Victoria, Defence of the Golden Twins. (c)
Note: This address will be as short as possible, and the audience are requested not to leave the hall during the performance.

(1) NEWS-ADVERTISER, July 8, 1898, p. 2.
Copy of a dodger distributed by opposition supporters just before a government meeting to be held in the interest of A. McGregor, government candidate in Nanaimo. This practice does not appear to have been general, but the dodger demonstrates the type of gossip indulged in by both parties.
During the evening Dr. W. W. Walkem will appear in his inimitable Lightning Change Act, in character as 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde'. Everybody is strongly advised to see this act, as the doctor is, beyond doubt, the ablest living exponent of this great character. (d)

The Evening's entertainment will conclude with a great Tight Rope Performance by all the members of the troupe.

Note: The Programme is liable to be changed at any time during the performance without further notice. (e)

No Admission Fee will be charged. If the present Government is returned to power at the ensuing election, the taxpayers will be asked to pay all expenses.

(a) Refers to the agitation against Chinese labor, and the opposition criticisms that the government would do nothing to stop the Orientals.

(b) Refers to J. Pilling, who was the song leader at all Victoria government meetings. This was the only case I found during the period of this thesis where entertainment was provided at political meetings.

(c) Refers to the action of Turner and Pooley in allowing their names to be used on the directorates of the Klondyke companies.

(d) Refers to Walkem's return to government ranks in 1898 after having been a bitter opponent in 1897. But Kellie, who returned to the opposition fold, was his equal and perhaps his superior in such Lightning Changes.

(e) Probably refers to a government meeting at Chilliwack where Joseph Martin; and Cotton had been invited to speak; but Turner occupied more than his share of the time and Martin was cut short, and Cotton eliminated altogether.
(NOTE: The government correspondence and documents for this period are not available in the provincial archives, as they have not yet been transferred from the department offices. Therefore I have had to rely largely upon newspapers, which are unreliable at best.)

(A) Reports and Government Publications.

British Columbia; Legislative Assembly: Journals, 1882-1898. Victoria, Queen's Printer.
Although the debates are not printed, these records give authoritative references for motions and divisions.

British Columbia; Legislative Assembly: Sessional Papers, 1883-1898. Victoria, Queen's Printer.
The official reports (including detailed public accounts) and returns.

British Columbia; Legislative Assembly: Statutes, 1882-1898. Victoria, Queen's Printer.
The acts passed by the legislature.

British Columbia: Memorandum respecting the claims of British Columbia for better terms. Victoria, King's Printer, 1914.
Recites British Columbia's complaints against the Settlement Act. Miss Ormsby says that it was undoubtedly written by Gosnell.

Canada; Commons: Debates, 1883-1898. Ottawa, McLean, Roger and Co., The debates are printed in full. Those of 1883-1884 and of 1895-1896 were used in particular.

Papers on the Settlement Act and graving dock revenues, in the auditor-general's reports.

Reports of Sandford Fleming on the work in British Columbia.
Great Britain and Ireland; Parliament: "Order in Council respecting the province of British Columbia, 16th May, 1871." (Printed in Statutes of Canada, 1872) Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1872.
The terms of union between British Columbia and Canada.

(B) General Books.

This seems to be a de luxe edition of Howay and Scholefield.

Burke, Edmund, Works, vol. II. London, F. & C. Rivington, 1803. A keen analysis of the party system, as applicable in 1890 as when first written in 1770.

Coutlée, Louis William, Digest of cases determined in the supreme court of Canada, 1875 to 20 October, 1903. Toronto, Carswell Co., 1904. For the decision on the Thrasher case.


Gosnell, R. E., The year book of British Columbia and manual of provincial information, 1897, 1911. Victoria, Queen's and King's Printers, 1897, 1911. Tables of ministers, members and officials since confederation; but very inaccurate.

Howay, F. W., and Scholefield, E. O. S., British Columbia from the earliest times to the present. 4 vols. Vancouver, S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914. Undoubtedly the best history of British Columbia; but has not space for a detailed study of the political development.


Kerr, J. B., Biographical dictionary of well-known British Columbians. Vancouver, Kerr and Begg, 1890. The usual eulogies on all who could afford to pay for them.


Scholefield, E. O. S., and Gosnell, R. E., A history of British Columbia, part II. Vancouver, British Columbia Historical Association, 1913. Gosnell was a journalist, not an historian; he was private secretary to Theodore Davie and therefore biassed.

Shortt, Adam, and Doughty, Arthur G., eds., Canada and its provinces, vol. XXI. (Section by F. W. Howay, "Political history, 1891-1913") Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914.
A clear but brief outline of the period.


More detail than Skelton, but rather confusing to the general reader.

(C) Newspaper and Periodical Articles.


Gosnell, R. E., "Prime ministers of British Columbia" (Vancouver Daily Province, 1921, passim).

Keenleyside, Hugh L., "British Columbia -- annexation or confederation?" (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1928, pp. 34-40)

Morse, Anson D., "The place of party in the political system" (E. J. James, ed., Annals of the American Academy, Nov., 1891, pp. 300-308).


(D) Theses.

(These are all theses submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History of the University of British Columbia.)

Bescoby, Isabel, Some social aspects of the American mining advance into Cariboo and Kootenay. Submitted 1935.

Johns, Harold Percival, British Columbia's campaign for better terms, 1871-1907. Submitted 1935.


Ross, Margaret, Amor De Cosmos, a British Columbia reformer. Submitted 1931.


(E) Manuscript.

(F) Newspaper Files.

Unless otherwise stated, these files are in the Provincial Library, Victoria.

Ashcroft:
The British Columbia Mining Journal (weekly), May 9, 1895-1898.
Government supporter; conservative.

Brooklyn:
The Brooklyn News (Weekly), July 9-Nov. 12, 1898 (incomplete)
Politics unknown.

Chilliwack:
The Chilliwack Progress (weekly), April 16, 1891-1898.
Government; conservative.

Cloverdale:
The Surrey Times (weekly), April 5 - Oct. 25, 1895.
Opposition; conservative.

Cranbrook:
The Cranbrook Herald (weekly), April 5 - Dec. 29, 1898.
Government (Baker).

Courtenay:
Government; conservative.

Fairview:
The Advance (weekly), April 26 - August 15, 1894.
Removed to Midway.
Government; Liberal.

Fort Steele:
The Fort Steele Prospector (weekly), 1897 - 1898.
Opposition.

Golden:
The East Kootenay Miner (weekly), June 26, 1897 - 1898.
Government; edited by D. M. Rae, dismissed by Bostock from the ERA.
The Golden Era (weekly), May 6, 1893 - 1898.
Government to 1897, then opposition; liberal.

Greenwood:
The Boundary Creek Times (weekly), 1897 - 1898.
Opposition; liberal.
Kamloops:
The Inland Sentinel (weekly), July 31, 1884 - 1898.
   Provincial allegiance varies; opposition and liberal after 1896.
The Kamloops Standard (weekly), July 22, 1897 - 1898.
   Government; conservative.

Kaslo:
   British Columbia News (weekly), July 9, 1897 - 1898.
      Government; conservative.
The Kaslo Claim (weekly), May 12, 1893 - April 25, 1896
      (followed by the KOOTENAIAN).
      Opposition; liberal.
The Kootenaian (weekly), May 2, 1896 - 1898.
      Opposition; liberal.

Lardo:
The Lardo Reporter (weekly), July 24, 1893. (One number only available, no. 8)
      Politics unknown.

Lillooet:
The Lillooet Prospector (weekly), July 14 - Dec. 30, 1898.
      Government.

Midway:
The Advance (weekly), Aug. 15, 1894 - 1898 (removed from Fairview).
      Government; liberal. Opposition from April, 1898.

Moyie City:
The Moyie City Leader (weekly), April 23 - Dec. 10, 1898.
      Government.

Nakusp:
The Nakusp Ledge (weekly), Oct. 5, 1895 & Dec. 20, 1894
      (removed to New Denver).
      Government; conservative.

Nanaimo:
The Nanaimo Courier (daily), Dec. 21, 1888 - July 31, 1889.
      Government.
The Nanaimo Free Press (weekly to 1889, then daily), 1883-1898.
      Government; conservative.
The Nanaimo Mail (weekly), Feb. 15 - Dec. 29, 1896.
      Government.
The Nanaimo Review (weekly), April 17, 1897 - 1898.
      Opposition; liberal.
Nelson:
The Miner (weekly), Aug. 19, 1893 - 1896.
Government; liberal.
The Tribune (weekly), Jan. 5, 1892 - Dec. 29, 1894.
(1895, 1896 missing)
Opposition; liberal.

New Denver:
The Edge (weekly), Dec. 20, 1894 - Dec. 1895 (removed from Nakusp).
Government; conservative.

New Westminster:
British Columbia Commonwealth (weekly), April 27 - Dec. 24, 1892.
Government.
The British Columbian (semi-weekly), 1883 - July 31, 1886.
Government; conservative.
The Daily British Columbian, August 4, 1886 - 1898 (title varies).
Government until 1890, independent to 1893, then opposition. Conservative, then liberal.
The Fraser Valley Champion (weekly), Jan. 4 - Sept. 12, 1896
Government; conservative.
Mainland Guardian (semi-weekly), 1883 - Aug. 21, 1889.
Opposition; conservative.
The Morning Ledger (daily), Jan. 4 - Dec. 6, 1891 (follows TRUTH).
Government; liberal.
The Pacific Canadian (weekly), Sept. 16, 1893 - May 19, 1894 (followed by the NEWS).
Government.
The New Westminster Daily Sun, April 9 - June 30, 1898.
Government; conservative.
The Truth (daily), Sept. 5, 1889 - Jan. 3, 1891.
Opposition, then government.

Port Moody:
The Port Moody Gazette (weekly), Dec. 22, 1883 - May 14, 1887 (Incomplete).
Violent opposition to Robson.

Revelstoke:
The Kootenay Mail (weekly), April 14, 1894 - 1898.
Non-partisan to 1898, then opposition; conservative to 1896, then liberal.
The Kootenay Star (weekly), 1890 - 1894.
Non-partisan.
The Revelstoke Herald (semi-weekly), Jan. 18, 1897 - 1898.
Government; conservative.
Rossland:
The Rossland Evening Record (tri-weekly), 1897 - 1898.
  Government.
The Rossland Leader (daily), June 22 - Nov. 1, 1898.
  Opposition.
The Rossland Miner (weekly), Mar. 23 - Dec. 21, 1895
  (1895 missing), 1897 - 1898.
  Opposition.
The Mining Review (weekly), Jan. 6 - April 24, 1897.
  Opposition.

Silverton:
The Silverton Silvertonian (weekly), Jan. 1 - Dec. 17, 1898.
  Government (favors Green, Independent government candidate).

Slocan City:
The Slocan City News (weekly), Jan. 23, 1897 - July 23, 1898.
  Government.
The Slocan Pioneer (weekly), May 1 - Dec. 25, 1897.
  Opposition.

Trail Creek:
The Trail Creek News (weekly), 1896 - 1898.
  Government; Liberal.

Trout Lake:
The Trout Lake Topic (weekly), Oct. 21, 1897 - 1898.
  Opposition.

Union (later incorporated as Cumberland):
The Weekly News, Oct. 16, 1894 - 1897. (Follows Courtenay News)
  Government; conservative.

Vancouver:
The Daily News-Advertiser, Mar. 31, 1887 - 1898.
  Amalgamates the ADVERTISER and the NEWS.
  Independent, then opposition 1893; conservative.
The People's Journal (weekly), Feb. 18 - June 3, 1893.
  Labor.
The Vancouver Daily Advertiser, May 11, 1886 - Mar. 31, 1887
  (followed by the NEWS-ADVERTISER).
  Government.
The Vancouver News (daily), July 23, 1886 - Mar. 31, 1887
  (followed by NEWS-ADVERTISER).
  Government.
The Vancouver Daily World, Sept. 21, 1888 - 1898.
  Government; Liberal.
Ye Hornet (weekly), July 1, Oct. 2, 1893.
  File in the library of Dr. R. L. Reid.
  Opposition.
Vernon:
The Vernon News (weekly), 1891 - 1898.
Government; conservative.

Victoria:
Daily British Colonist, 1882 - 1898.
Government; conservative; anti-Vancouver.
The Daily Evening Post, 1883 - May 7, 1887.
Government; conservative.
The Victoria Province (weekly), Mar. 3, 1894 - 1896.
Removed to Vancouver, 1898.
Opposition; liberal.
The Victoria Daily Standard, 1882 - Augl 4, 1888.
Opposition.
The Victoria Daily Times, June 9, 1884 - 1898.
Opposition; liberal.

Wellington:
The Enterprise (weekly), 1895 - 1898.
Politics varies with Dr. Walkem.

Yale:
The Inland Sentinel (weekly), 1883 - May 29, 1884 (removed to Kamloops). No
Not interested in provincial parties at this time, except as they favored the district.
(G) Interviews and Correspondence.

E. D. Barrow, M. L. A., Chilliwack; customs of the legislature.


Judge J. A. Forin, Vancouver, resident of British Columbia since 1889, long a prominent liberal and secretary of the Constitutional League of 1893: recollections from personal knowledge.

His Honor F. W. Howay, LL.B., LL.D., F.R.S.C., long resident of the province and prominent in early liberal activities: recollections from personal acquaintance and research.

Frances M. Matheson, research in the history of the East Kootenay.

A. H. Mercer, Vancouver, resident of Chilliwack 1892 - 1930 and actively interested in politics from 1896.

J. W. Miller, Eburne, resident of Richmond since 1882 and actively interested in politics from 1896.

B. A. McKelvie, Victoria, publisher of the COLONIST, and author of several books and articles on British Columbia history.

Margaret A. Ormsby, preparing a doctor's dissertation on the relations between British Columbia and the dominion, 1870 - 1886.

R. L. Reid, LL.D., K.C., F.R.S.C., long resident of the province and active in politics.

S. H. Shannon, Cloverdale, native son of British Columbia and long prominent in the conservative party.

Reverend J. H. White, D.D., Sardis, long resident of the province and personally acquainted with all of the premiers and with many of the politicians treated in this thesis.