

NEW WESTMINSTER, 1859-1871

by

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NEW WESTMINSTER 1859 - 1871.

This thesis deals with the history of New Westminster from the spring of 1859, when the City was founded, to July, 1871, the date at which British Columbia entered Confederation. As background material, reference has been made to the inception of the colony of British Columbia as a result of the gold rush and its early administration under James Douglas, Governor of both British Columbia and Vancouver Island. A detachment of Royal Engineers was sent out from Great Britain to provide military protection and to perform various civil duties, notably survey work. New Westminster was chosen as the site for the capital of the new colony by Colonel R. C. Moody, Officer Commanding the Royal Engineers.

When New Westminster was incorporated in July, 1860, at the request of the inhabitants, control of civic affairs was vested in an elected Municipal Council. An account is given of the Incorporation Act, the composition of the Council, its revenue, expenditure and achievement.

A chapter has been devoted to the early development of the City with mention being made of the establishment of the Royal Engineers' camp at Sapperton and the erection of Government offices and the first private buildings and residences in the City.

As New Westminster could not develop independently of the surrounding area reference has been made to these adjoining districts. Shortly after the founding of the City agriculture was started on the

rich farm lands of the Fraser Valley and the year 1862 saw the beginning of the lumbering industry on Burrard Inlet. To connect New Westminster with these farming areas and with the Inlet, a series of trails was constructed from the capital.

The early political history of New Westminster is chiefly concerned with agitation for responsible government and a resident Governor. New Westminster urged these two reforms because it felt that Governor Douglas and the government officials were sacrificing the City's interests to those of Victoria. A Legislative Council was created in May, 1863, and British Columbia obtained a separate Governor in the person of Sir James Douglas and later Frederick Seymour. Despite strong objection from the people of New Westminster the two British colonies on the Pacific were united in November, 1866, and in 1868 the capital of the united colony was moved to Victoria. The chapter dealing with political development concludes with an account of the City's attempts to secure compensation for the removal of the capital and its part in the move towards Confederation.

The chief government institutions at New Westminster were the Jail, Land Registry Office, Post Office, Assay Office and proposed Mint. A resume is given of the functions of each of these institutions, as well as of the administration of law as it affected New Westminster, mail service within the colony, the gold escort from the Cariboo mines, and the contribution of the Royal Engineers to the development of the City. A further chapter deals with semi-official institutions; the Hyack Fire Department, the Royal Columbian Hospital, the Library and the three militia units.

The economic history of New Westminster is mainly an account of the chief business establishments, banking facilities and the development of fishing and lumbering. A summary is given of trade and commerce at New Westminster, the port of entry for British Columbia, and of port development including buoying the mouth of the Fraser. Ships calling at New Westminster included steamers which plied regularly between Victoria, New Westminster, Hope and Yale, and ocean-going vessels which made infrequent calls. Telegraph communication was provided when New Westminster was connected with the line of the California State Telegraph in 1865. The next year it was connected with Quesnel by Western Union line.

By 1863, New Westminster had a public school under supervision of a citizens' committee. After the first school ordinance for British Columbia was enacted in 1869, control of the school passed into the hands of the Municipal Council acting in the capacity of a school board. The chapter on education also mentions the various private schools established in the City and concludes with a history of the work of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches.

The section devoted to social development includes an account of the early newspapers, notably the British Columbian, mentions the activities of various lodges, societies and associations, and tells of early entertainments, including May Day celebrations, balls at Government House and the annual celebrations held in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday.

In conclusion the thesis reiterates the fact that New Westminster and Victoria were bitter rivals and points out that because of undue

government bias towards the island City, New Westminster's development was temporarily discouraged and retarded.

The Founding of New Westminster

The colony of British Columbia was forced into being by the discovery of gold. Before 1858, the year the great rush to the Fraser began, the mainland was unorganized territory, inaccessible except by rivers, lakes and Indian trails. The only white men in the area were employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. By a license of 1838, the Hudson's Bay Company had the exclusive right of trade with the Indians in this region, known as the Indian Territory or New Caledonia, and they maintained a series of forts for the collection of furs, stretching from Fort Langley on the Lower Fraser to Fort Fork on the Peace.

Naturally the Company would not welcome the entry of large numbers of miners into this trading area, and there is some evidence that the officials of the Company were for several years aware of the existence of gold and kept the fact a secret. There is a great deal of uncertainty as to when and where the first gold was discovered in British Columbia. Mr. A. C. Anderson, the Collector of Customs at Victoria writes that, despite all rumours to the contrary, the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had no knowledge of the presence of gold on the Fraser until 1857, when nuggets were obtained from the Indians at the mouth of

the Thompson River.¹ It was when the Hudson's Bay Company in February, 1858, sent nuggets by the Otter to be coined at the San Francisco mint that the rush began.²

Starting in April, there was a great exodus from California to the North, "never in the history of the migrations of men has been seen a 'rush' so sudden and so vast".³ Altogether between 25,000 and 30,000 men left San Francisco for the new gold fields during 1858.⁴ The great majority of these came by boat to Vancouver Island, and, after landing at Esquimalt or Victoria, crossed over to the Fraser by whatever means were available - Indian canoes, steamers, sailing vessels, hand-made boats, rafts.

James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island and Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Coast, was fearful of the effect of a wholesale immigration of foreigners, and on December 28, 1857, although he had no jurisdiction over the mainland, he issued a proclamation declaring the gold in the Fraser and Thompson River districts, known as the Couteau Region, to belong to the Crown

1 Anderson, A.C.; History of the North-West Coast, p. 53

2 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S.; British Columbia, vol. 2, p. 14.

3 Brown, Rev. R.C.L.; British Columbia: An Essay, p. 3.

4 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S.; op. cit., p. 130.

and requiring all miners to be licensed by the Crown.⁵

Writing to Rt. Hon. Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on April 6, 1858, Douglas reported, " . . . there is no doubt in my mind that sooner or later the intervention of Her Majesty's Government will be requested to restore and maintain peace".⁶ On May 8, Douglas reported the rush to the Fraser and questioned the desirability of allowing the free entrance of foreigners to the diggings. Douglas's chief concern was to maintain the monopoly enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company in this area, and on May 8 he issued a proclamation forbidding boats not licensed by the Company to trade with the mainland.⁷

In July Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who the previous month had become Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied approving Douglas's assumption of authority over the mainland, but reminding the Governor that, although the

5 P.P.C. 2398, 1858. Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold in British North America. Douglas to Labouchere, Dec. 28, 1857, p. 5.

6 Ibid, p. 10.

7 P.P.C. 2476, 1859. B. C. Papers. Part 1, p. 12. Douglas to Stanley, May 19, 1859.

Hudson's Bay Company had exclusive right to trade with the Indians, they had no other rights and therefore could not exclude aliens nor interfere with trading. Douglas's proclamation of May 8 was disallowed.⁸

In May Douglas visited the Fraser in company with Capt. Prevost of H.M.S. Satellite, one of the ships of the Boundary Commission. He sent an enthusiastic report of the gold discoveries to the Colonial Secretary but added that the miners were alarmed by the hostility of the Indians. In a despatch to Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on June 19, 1858, Douglas asked for the assistance of a military force.

I have no doubt that your Lordship will send out a body of troops for the service of the Colony and the Fraser's River District. The miners have applied to me for protection against the natives, and when that is accorded will have no hesitation in paying the license duty....

As a result of Governor Douglas's reports, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton introduced into the House of Commons, on July 8, 1858, a bill to provide for the government of New Caledonia. Speaking on the second reading of the bill, he remarked, "Thus the discovery of gold compels us to do at once, what otherwise we should very soon have done - erect into a colony a district that appears in great part eminently suited for a civilized habitation and culture"¹⁰

⁸ Ibid, p. 42, Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858.

⁹ Ibid, p. 17, Douglas to Stanley, June 19, 1858.

¹⁰ Hansard, Vol. 151, pp 1106-1107.

He said that it was the desire of the British government "to add another community of Christian freemen to those by which Great Britain confides the records of her empire, not to pyramids, and obelisks, but to States and Commonwealths whose history shall be written in her language" William Ewart Gladstone expressed his regret that "this Bill began by establishing a society which was not free".¹¹

It was proposed to call the new colony "New Caledonia", but when the French objected, because they had a colony of that name, Queen Victoria was asked to choose a name and she decided on "British Columbia".

By an act which received royal assent on August 2, 1858, the Government of British Columbia was to be composed of a Governor and a Legislature, constituted when it was 'deemed convenient' by the Queen. The jurisdiction of the courts of Upper and Lower Canada over civil and criminal cases was repealed so far as the new colony was concerned. British Columbia was to include the land lying between the summit of the Rockies on the East, the Pacific Ocean on the West, the Simpson's River and Finlay branch of the Peace River on the North and the international boundary on the South. The Queen Charlotte Islands were to be part of the mainland colony, but Vancouver Island was to remain a separate colony. It could be incorporated with British

¹¹ Ibid. p. 1764.

Columbia by a joint resolution of the two Houses of the Legislature of Vancouver Island, subject to the approval of Her Majesty.¹² On September 2, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, James Douglas was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief over the new colony. In addition to the ordinary powers of a Governor, Douglas was given legislative authority to pass such Statutes and Ordinances as he should see fit, subject only to disallowance by the British Government.

The Hudson's Bay Company lost its license of exclusive trade with the Indians so far as British Columbia was concerned and the British Government repurchased the Company's rights on Vancouver Island. James Douglas was required by the Colonial Office to give up all connection with the Hudson's Bay Company and with the Puget-Sound Agricultural Company.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton sent Douglas a series of lengthy and comprehensive despatches in which he suggested the principles on which the colony was to be governed.¹³ The Imperial Government expected the colony to be self-supporting as soon as possible, and Lytton suggested that

12 An Act to Provide for the Government of British Columbia, B. C. Papers, Part 1.

13 B. C. Papers, Part 1, pp 44-76, Lytton to Douglas

revenue be raised by an export tax on gold, by moderate duties on beer, wine, spirits and other articles, and by the sale of public land. He said that it was the desire of the British Government that representative institutions and self government should prevail in British Columbia and that the extraordinary power granted to the Governor was only a temporary measure. He recommended that Douglas should form a Council comprising both British subjects and foreigners, "men whom, if an elective council were ultimately established in the colony, the immigrants themselves would be likely to elect".

The Colonial Secretary approved the appointment of the three officials whose help Douglas needed in administering the area around the diggings:- Richard Hicks, Revenue Officer at Yale, George Perrier, Justice of the Peace at Hill's Bar, and A. Travaillot as Revenue Officer at Lytton.¹⁴

But he reminded Douglas that there should be no suspicion of favouritism to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and he suggested that the Governor should inform him of any situations he needed filled and men could be carefully chosen in England. For the present three officials would be sent out: Wymond O. Hamley as Collector of Customs; Matthew Begbie, Judge, and Chartres Brew to be

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 16, 17 and 20, Douglas to Lytton, June 15, 1858.

Inspector of Police and to assist in the formation of a
¹⁵ police force. Sir Edward also informed Douglas that Her
 Majesty proposed sending out an officer of the Royal
 Engineers and a company of Sappers and Miners.

The official proclamation of the colony of British
 Columbia took place at new Fort Langley on November 19,
 1858. Governor Douglas, the government officials and the
 second detachment of Royal Engineers, who had only recently
 arrived from England, travelled on H.M.S. Satellite as far
 as Point Roberts where they transferred to the Hudson's Bay
 Company steamers Otter and Beaver. The Otter proceeded to
 old Fort Langley, Derby,¹⁶ where the Royal Engineers disem-
 barked and joined the first detachment already stationed
 there. The officials and a body guard of Engineers went by
 the Beaver on to new Fort Langley for the ceremony. The
Victoria Gazette carried an interesting account of the event

Yesterday, the birthday of British Columbia,
 was ushered in by a steady rain, which continued
 perseveringly throughout the whole day, and in
 great measure marred the solemnity of the
 proclamation of the Colony.

15 P.P. H.C. 146, 1859. Civil, Military and Ecclesi-
 astical Appointments in British Columbia.

16 Derby was a 900 acre townsite on the south bank of
 the Fraser about 28 miles from its mouth. New Fort
 Langley was 2½ miles further up the Fraser.

On Friday the 19th instance, His Excellency accompanied by his suite, and received by a guard of honour commanded by Captain Grant, disembarked on the wet, loamy bank under the Fort, and the procession proceeded up the steep bank which leads to the palisade. Arrived there, a salute of eighteen guns commenced pealing from the Beaver, awakening all the echoes of the opposite mountains. In another moment the flag of Britain was floating, or to speak the truth, dripping over the principal entrance. Owing to the unpropitious state of the weather, the meeting which was intended to have been held in the open air, was convened in the large room at the principal building. About 100 persons were present.¹⁷

Douglas addressed himself to Matthew Begbie and administered to him the oath of office as Chief Justice; and the Judge, in turn, administered the oath to Douglas. The Governor read a proclamation dated November 3, 1858, revoking the grant made to the Hudson's Bay Company of the licence of exclusive trade with the Indians. Following this he issued three proclamations, the first, announcing the act for the government of British Columbia; the second, indemnifying the Governor for acts done previous to that date, the third, declaring English law to be in force in the Colony.

It has already been mentioned that in response to Douglas's urgent request for military protection for the colony Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had despatched a body of Royal Engineers to the colony. In writing to Major-General

¹⁷ Victoria Gazette, November 25, 1858, quoted in Howay, F.W. Early History of the Fraser River Mines, pp. 10-12, Introduction.

H. Peel, Secretary for War on August 3, 1858, the Colonial Secretary outlined the duties and the cost of maintenance of the force.

The object for which the Royal Engineers are sent is not solely military. It will be required to execute surveys in those parts of the country which may be considered most eligible for settlement to suggest a site for the seat of Government and for a seaport town.

This Engineer force will be maintained at the charge of the Imperial Treasury for only a limited period, that if required beyond such period, the Colony will be called upon to defray the expense.¹⁸

In this connection Lytton instructed Governor Douglas that the first charge upon land sales must be to defray the cost of the Engineers.

Colonel Richard Clement Moody was appointed to command the detachment of Royal Engineers and September 23, Lytton sent Douglas a warrant authorizing him to pass Letters Patent under the Public Seal of British Columbia appointing Col. Moody as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and the following day he wrote that the Queen had appointed Moody to be Lieutenant-Governor. The officers who were to accompany Moody were chosen with special care: each being particularly qualified for some special phase of the work. Capt. J.M. Grant was chosen for genius in construction, Capt. R.M. Parsons because of his knowledge of

¹⁸ B. C. Papers, Part 1, p. 53, Lytton to Peel, Aug. 3, 1858.

surveying and Capt. H.R. Luard for military work.¹⁹

The non-commissioned officers and men were also carefully selected for the type of work which they would be required to do, and included surveyors, architects, draughtsmen, masons, painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, miners and photographers.

Moody was given explicit instructions by the Colonial Office as to what his duties would be.²⁰ It was emphasized that Douglas was the supreme authority in the Colony; but that the Governor would be informed that the duties of the Royal Engineers were special and should not be interfered with. The expenses of the survey party would be paid by the British Government if there were no funds available in British Columbia, but the Colony would be required to make good these advances. "At the same time it is well to understand that Her Majesty's Government count on the immediate raising of large Revenues from the land sales and other resources of the Colony, sufficient to defray from the outset the expenses of the survey and of all others except the salary of the Governor."

As to civil duties:-

Your first duty will be to commence the operations necessary for the land sales

19 P.P.C. 2578, B. C. Papers, Part 2, Lytton to Douglas, p. 63-64.

20 B. C. Papers, Part 1, p. 55, Merivale to Moody, August 23, 1858.

by which the expenses of survey are to be defrayed. You will consult with the Governor as to the choice of sites for a maritime town, probably at the mouth of Fraser's River and for any more inland.

You will not fail to regard with a military eye the best position for such towns (and) ... if you can at slight cost render the Fraser River navigable to a further extent than it is at present you will direct your science to that object.²¹

There was to be no military display and the Royal Engineers were to be used as an armed force only in the case of trouble.²² Moody was to make a careful study of the natural resources of the Colony - gold, harbours, fishing, timber, possibilities of agriculture, etc. - and to send reports on these to the Colonial Office.

The Royal Engineers travelled to British Columbia in three groups. The first detachment sailed from Southampton on September 2, 1858, in the steamer La Platta. It was composed of twenty men, mainly surveyors, under Captain Parsons, who brought with him Douglas's Commission as Governor, which the Queen had signed on her return from the Continent. The second group of twelve men, principally carpenters, under Capt. Grant, embarked fifteen days later. These two groups travelled by way of Panama, arriving at Victoria on October 29 and November 8, respectively.

21 B. C. Papers, Part 1, p. 74, Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858.

22 Ibid, 73.

Capt. Grant's party left Victoria on November 14 and proceeded to Fort Langley aboard the Hudson's Bay Company steamer Beaver. Three days later they were joined by the second detachment. After the inauguration ceremony, the Royal Engineers remained at Fort Langley and began work on the buildings needed to accommodate the main body.

This group, which was under the command of Capt. H.R. Luard, did not reach British Columbia until April of the following year. It comprised three officers, Lt. A.R. Lempriere, Lt. H.S. Palmer, Dr. J.V. Seddall, 118 non-commissioned officers and men, thirty-one women and thirty-four children. Leaving the "Downs" on October 17, 1858, in the Clipper ship, Thames City, 557 tons, they made the voyage around the Horn in 175 days, arriving at Esquimalt on April 12, 1859. Four married men with their wives and families, among them Mrs. James Keary and baby son, came on the Euphrates which carried the main portion of the stores and provisions of the detachment and arrived at Victoria on June 27, 1859. Colonel Moody and family left England October 30, 1858, on the Asia and travelling by way of Panama reached Victoria on Christmas Day in company with Captain Gosset, Treasurer of British Columbia, and Mr. Cooper, Harbour Master of Esquimalt. Upon his arrival Col. Moody was sworn in as Lt. Governor and Commissioner of Crown Lands for British Columbia and as Commander of Her Majesty's

land forces in British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

Early in the new year Colonel Moody made his first visit to the mainland. He visited Langley and found the Engineers under Capt. Grant and Capt. Parsons already engaged in erecting barracks there. Pending completion of these buildings they were living on the Hudson's Bay Company brigantine Recovery. Moody intended to begin selecting the site for a capital but news reached him of a serious outbreak among the miners at Yale, and with Capt. Grant and twenty-five of his men he went up the river to take part in the celebrated "Ned McGowan's War".

On his return he began examining the lower Fraser in order to determine the best location for the capital. Governor Douglas had already chosen Derby as the capital. In a despatch to the Colonial Office on November 3, 1858, he had suggested that the seaport town could be established to best advantage somewhere beyond the wet marshy country which bordered both sides of the Fraser for the first ten miles. "That low, wet district passed, the country presents a new aspect, being more elevated and covered with pines and other forest trees"²³. Douglas also suggested, that if Vancouver Island were incorporated with British Columbia, Esquimalt should be the port of entry for both

²³ B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 19, Douglas to Lytton November 3, 1858.

colonies and he added that this plan was popular with the property holders of Vancouver Island.

The site of Derby covered about nine hundred acres and was bordered on the east by a reserve of ten square miles, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. This may account for the choice of Derby, although Douglas gives the following reason for his choice;- "I was guided in choosing Old Langley as the site of a commercial town chiefly by the partiality displayed for that spot by the mercantile community of the country".²⁴ He did not recommend it as a seaport as he realized that it would be unsuitable because of ice on the Fraser in winter.

A public auction for the lots at Derby was held at Victoria on November 25, 26, and 29 under the direction of the Colonial Surveyor, Joseph Despard Pemberton, with P. M. Backus as auctioneer. The upset price of the lots was \$100, but an average price of \$200 was realized, the highest price for a single lot being \$725. In all 343 lots were sold for a total of \$66,405.50.²⁵ Douglas wrote to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton informing him of the sale and Lytton's reply is significant.

It has been suggested to me, that supposing the advantages to be in other respects equal, it might have been preferable to place the town on the banks of the river which is furthest from

24 P.P.C. 2724, B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 11, Douglas to Lytton, May 12, 1859.

25 B. C. Papers, Part 2, p.p.37,38, Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858.

the American frontier. I shall be glad to receive for my information any remarks which it may occur to you to make on this point, although I am quite sensible that the site of the town is a matter on which, from your local observation, you must be the best judge. On such matters you may now have the advantage of consulting Colonel Moody, an engineering officer of great skill and experience.²⁶

Work was immediately begun at Derby on the barracks for the Royal Engineers and tenders were asked for a court house, jail, church and parsonage. With the exception of the church, these latter buildings were not built because Colonel Moody decided that Derby was not a suitable site for the capital.

Whatever may have been Douglas's motives in choosing Derby, Colonel Moody's choice was based on detailed study of the locality and careful consideration of the many factors entering into the question. His prime concern was that the site should be one that could be easily defended in case of an American invasion. It is interesting that both Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and Colonel Moody should have considered the danger of trouble with the United States. This unjustified fear was a consequence of the boundary controversy which was amicably settled by the Oregon treaty of 1846 but which flared up again briefly in the San Juan incident of 1859.

Even before leaving England Colonel Moody had

26 Ibid, p. 80, Lytton to Douglas, February 11, 1859.

studied maps of British Columbia and had formed a very definite opinion that the capital must be on the north bank of the Fraser. In a letter to Capt. Parsons, Moody had given the following instructions.

. . . I think it would be well for you to draw the attention of the Governor to the circumstance that military considerations of the very gravest importance (seeing the nearness of the Frontier) enter into the question of determining the site of the Chief - town and also of the one to be laid out at the entrance of the River. If it is absolutely necessary to commence some occupation at the latter place, it should be confined to the North side and I hope that the Governor would be able to make it a temporary tenure.²⁷

Moody's first choice was Mary Hill at the junction of the Pitt, Coquitlam and Fraser Rivers. According to R. E. Gosnell, Moody first selected "a fine and elevated site near the mouth of the Pitt River in preference to a still finer site a couple of miles lower down on the right bank" which he named Mary Hill in honour of his wife and he ordered Capt. Jack Grant to cut the first tree on the site.

He was in the act of swinging his axe to deliver the blow, when he was so much impressed with the mistake they were making that he said,
'Colonel, with much submission, I will ask you not to do it. Will you yourself be pleased to take the responsibility of making the first cut?' - respectfully giving his reasons. These were of so cogent a nature, one being that the lower site being at the head of tide-water, big ships could come up the Fraser to it and that it was easily defensible by a tete du pont on the opposite side

27 Letter Moody to Parsons, September 1, 1858, Moody Correspondence, Provincial Archives.

of the river, and similar reasons, that the Colonel was convinced, rowed down the river and ordered the first cut to be delivered on one of the huge cedars with which the hill was covered and named the new town 'Queensborough'.²⁸

Speaking at a dinner tendered the Royal Engineers at the time of their recall, Col. Moody said, "The carefulness with which the site of the Capital of the Colony was selected is known to you. I would mention, however, how much is due to Capt. Richards of the R. N."²⁹

Lieut. R. C. Mayne gives an interesting account of the choice of the site. He writes that H.M.S. Plumper, which had been surveying the lower river, had been despatched to Langley with a party of marines and blue-jackets from H.M.S. Satellite to assist Col. Moody and the Engineers in Ned McGowan's War. Having re-embarked the sailors, they "proceeded to examine the river and its north bank a few miles below Langley, and report whether it would do for the site of the Capital of British Columbia".³⁰

The Plumper anchored almost opposite the site of the present city of New Westminster and Lieut. Mayne and Dr. Campbell landed to examine the ground and report to Col. Moody as to its suitability.

²⁸ Gosnell, R. E. (Editor), The Year Book of British Columbia, 1897, p. 45.

²⁹ British Columbian, November 7, 1863.

³⁰ Mayne, R. C., Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 72.

Dr. Campbell and I went to examine a part a little north of where the town stands, and so thick was the bush that it took us two hours to force our way in rather less than a mile and a half. Where we penetrated it was composed of very thick willow and alder, intertwined so closely that every step of the way had to be broken through, while the ground was cumbered with fallen timber of a larger growth. During this scramble I stumbled upon a large black bear, which seemed to be as much surprised to see me as I was at sight of him, and I dare say equally discomposed. At any rate, he showed no disposition to cultivate my acquaintance; and, as I was some way ahead of my companion and had only one barrel of my gun loaded with small shot, I was not sorry to find that our way³¹ seemed to lie in opposite directions.

The site selected by Colonel Moody was a little below this thick bush, where the ground was somewhat clearer.

In a report from H.M.S. Plumper on January 28, 1859, Colonel Moody gives detailed reasons for his rejection of Derby and his choice of Queensborough. Bancroft suggests that one of the reasons Moody refused to approve of Derby was "because Douglas had selected it, and the Hudson's Bay Company had ten square miles of land in reserve adjoining it,"³² but a study of Moody's report³³ shows that his decision was based on more mature considerations.

After a careful study of the question I have now the honour to submit to your consideration that the site which appears to be best adapted

³¹ Ibid. p. 72.

³² Bancroft, H. H. History of British Columbia, p. 414.

³³ B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 60, Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859. (Copy of a letter written by Moody from H. M. S. Plumper.)

for the capital of British Columbia is about ten miles below the new town of Langley, and on the north bank of the Frazer.

I am under the impression it is the same or nearly the same site to which you did me the honour to direct my attention as the proper position for the port of entry.

It is the first high ground on the north side after entering the river, and is about twenty miles above the Sand Heads.

There is abundance of room and convenience for every description of requisite in a seaport and the capital of a great country. There are great facilities for communication by water, as well as by future great trunk railways into the interior. There is good land for garden ground, if one may judge by the forest and rich meadow lands surround it. It is raised above the periodical floods, and yet the low lands (which will be most coveted as commercial sites, docks, quays, etc.) are close adjoining and easily made available. From the advantageous circumstances of the locality, it is easily rendered unapproachable to any enemy. As a military position it is rare to find one so singularly strong by nature, in connexion with its adaptation as the capital of a country. Immediately in front is the broad navigable river; on the opposite bank is a line of rising ground covering the whole front. This rising ground falls towards the frontier, and all along that base is swampy land, easily inundated. Upon this rising ground could be placed a great intrenched camp, with a series of open earthen works entirely protecting the city at a distance, ensuring perfect safety from any injury whatever to the city itself.

On the right flank of the position the city would be protected by two deep channels, in addition to the river itself, and also by widely-extended marshes, which when dyked (as they will be by the farmers) could be easily inundated.

The left flank is protected at a distance of four miles, by the Fraser, and also by the deep broad river Pitt; but in addition to these two serious obstacles to an enemy is a commanding hill, having the Pitt River close in front; on this hill could be placed a strong work or works, entirely covering the left flank.

At the rear of the position and distant five miles, is Burrard's Inlet, any access to which would be rendered most hazardous, by placing a work on the island which extends across it. There is also on that side a range of high ground, from east to west, on which could be placed earthen works and intrenched camp, preventing

any advance.

The short military defences of the least costly description, and defended by militia forces, could be quickly formed (and from time to time increased to any extent), when a necessity arose for them, and which would render the site almost unassailable.

Considering how near the embouchure of the great valley of the Fraser is to the frontier, from ten to fifteen miles, these considerations are of incalculable weight. It is also to be considered that precisely as the occupation of this part of the Fraser is occupied in force by us (as would necessarily be, if a capital in a strong position be placed there), so could we the better hold possession of the whole country, and compel an enemy's front to retire. This practically, in time of war, would be to cause the frontier to recede further south, and enable us with comparative ease to take the offensive. I would further submit that, in any way with our neighbours, our best, I may say our only chance of success in this country (owing to the geographical distribution of its component parts, be an immediate offensive advance. I am so strongly impressed with these views as to venture (but, believe me, with the utmost deference) to press on your consideration that, should it be determined not to occupy this site in the manner suggested, concentrating there, as early as possible, a condensation of political, military, and commercial interests, growing and increasing in force in all time to come, it would seriously peril, if not lose, to Great Britain the possession of the mainland.

These views, I apprehend, coincide generally with your own, but it is possible they may not have struck you so forcibly as they may now that I have sketched out the military value of the site.

In reference to the adaptation of the actual spot itself for a city of magnitude, I might add to what I have already stated in general terms, that there is deep water close along an extended line of shore: sea-going vessels of any burden can moor close to the bank, plenty of water for supply of household purposes, and good drainage. I would wish that the upper level had not been quite so high, as hereafter it may cause some expense in improving the gradients of a few of the streets. The main streets for business, however, and all that may be occupied for some time to come, will be satisfactory. I might also add that any leading railway communications from the interior would pass down the north side of the river. Politically and commercially this would be necessary. This report would not be complete unless I added that the site of Langley is open to the gravest objections as to the site of a capital, or even a town of importance. It is sufficient to say it is on the frontier side of the river, and no amount of expenditure and skill could effectually rectify the strong military objection to its position.

February 4 Douglas transmitted Colonel Moody's report to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and added that he had authorized the survey and subdivision into building lots of the site recommended in the report. Douglas was the "supreme authority" in the Colony, yet although Moody's choice was exceedingly unpopular with him, he did not raise any real objection. It could not have been because he did not have the authority, because Moody had been instructed to co-operate with the Governor in the choice of the capital. Douglas, however, must have felt that his choice was indefensible in view of Moody's powerful arguments in favour of Queensborough. Then too, Lytton had suggested that the capital should be placed on the north side of the Fraser. Moreover public opinion favoured Moody's choice and if the Governor had insisted on Derby, there would have been much criticism that he was putting the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company before those of the Colony.

Douglas said little, but he did not forget. From the beginning he hated the new capital which was established in defiance of his wishes and this enmity was an important factor in the early history of New Westminster. The Governor at all times favoured Victoria and did everything he could to hamper the development of the struggling new town.

The Colonial Secretary passed on Moody's report to the Admiralty and the War Office. The latter expressed

regret that Colonel Moody didn't enclose a plan or sketch but stated that "so far, however, as can be judged from a written description, the conclusions in this respect seem very sensible and well-judged".³⁴

The Admiralty answered that they were not aware of any better spot that could have been selected, but added that it would be absolutely necessary to station a pilot vessel and lightship at the mouth of the Fraser.³⁵

February 14, 1859, Governor Douglas issued a proclamation announcing his intention of laying out the capital of British Columbia on the site chosen by Colonel Moody and selling the lots at public auction. Following this proclamation; work at Derby was stopped and the Royal Engineers were moved to the new capital, which Colonel Moody called Queensborough. The brig, Recovery, with the Royal Engineers aboard, was towed from Langley by the Captain of the Maria for \$100, the second week in March.³⁶

When the main body of the Engineers arrived at Esquimalt on April 12, they were sent on to the capital after a slight delay. The Thames City was chartered only as far as Esquimalt and the Captain would proceed to the mainland only for an extra payment of £1,200. Governor Douglas considered

34 B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 93, letter from War Office dated April 30, 1859, enclosure 2 in Despatch 29, Lytton to Douglas, May 24, 1859.

35 Loc. cit. letter from Admiralty dated May 10, 1859, enclosure 1.

36 Lands and Works Letter Book, Moody to Gosset, March 9, 1859.

this charge exorbitant and sent most of the party on board the Eliza Anderson, commanded by Capt. John Irving for £500. The Beaver and H.M.S. Satellite transported the rest. On April 25, Governor Douglas reported to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton that all the Royal Engineers and Royal Marines had arrived safely at the new capital.³⁷ As there was as yet no accommodation at the capital, the women and children were lodged in the barracks at Langley. Only a very small part of the camp site at Queensborough had been cleared and only one building erected - a small log hut.

Thus the first task which faced the Royal Engineers when they arrived at Queensborough was that of establishing a camp and providing themselves with at least temporary quarters. While this preliminary work was being started, some of the men were housed on the Hudson's Bay Company brigantine, Recovery, while others were put out in tents.

The Engineers soon began clearing the site they had chosen for their camp, on the east side of the present Penitentiary walls. Clearing was a tremendous task, because of the huge growth of cedar, fir and hemlock, which covered the whole hillside.

Of the severity of that labour, no one unacquainted with the difficulty of clearing bush as it exists in British Columbia can form any accurate conception. Felling the trees forms but a small part of it. When they are down,

³⁷ B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 9, Douglas to Lytton, April 25, 1859.

they are, of course with the scanty resources at the settlers command too large to be removed, and they have to be sawn and cut up into blocks handy for removal or burning. That done, the hardest work remains. In forests such as these the roots of the giant trees have been spreading underground for ages, forming a close and perfect network some eight or ten feet beneath the surface. To dig this mass of interlaced roots would defy the strength and patience of ordinary men.³⁸

Colonel Moody wrote to Douglas soon after arriving at the capital,

The thickets are the closest and thorniest I ever came across. The woods are magnificent beyond description, but most vexatious to a surveyor and the first dwellers in a town. I declare without the least sentimentality, I grieve and mourn the ruthless destruction of these most glorious trees. What a grand old Park this whole hill would make.³⁹

But although difficult to clear, Sapperton - the name the Royal Engineers gave to their camp - was a very beautiful spot. Every contemporary author writes glowingly of its beauties. R. C. Mayne describes the view from the camp. "On the left, over Pitt Lake, rises the beautiful peaks known as the Golden Ears, to the right of these, the valley of the Fraser can be traced almost as far as Fort Hope; while in the foreground, looking over the buildings of the rising town, level land stretches away into American territory beyond the boundary line as far as Admiralty Island

³⁸ Mayne, op. cit., p. 87.

³⁹ Moody Correspondence, Provincial Archives, Moody to Douglas, March 17, 1859.

and Puget Sound."⁴⁰

The sappers and miners of the Royal Engineers cleared most of the site for the camp themselves but Colonel Moody engaged a group of Kanakas to cut and square timber for log houses. These log houses, the first buildings erected at the camp were the barracks for the soldiers.⁴¹ Mr. Hugh Murray told the writer that the first building erected at the camp was a barracks for the single men and he described it as a tall building with a steeply-pitched roof. It was a single wood room 80x37, "erected with a view of its being at some future period used as a church",⁴² and was warmed by iron stoves. No accommodation was provided for the married men and a riot nearly ensued. A temporary partition was put in the barracks and half of the building was given over to the married men. Work was soon begun on rows of double buildings running straight back from Columbia Street. Colonel Moody's residence was then started.

As soon as the camp site was cleared, surveying was begun.

A number of different systems of survey have been used in the Fraser Valley. The first was division

40 Mayne, op. cit., p. 88.

41 Lands and Works Letter Book, p. 4, Moody to Grant.

42 Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Report for 1860 of Army Medical Department, British Columbian, July 1, 1863.

into lots, in which each lot was surveyed independently with no base-line established. ⁴³
The Royal Engineers did their work in this way.

✓ The town lots of New Westminster were laid out in blocks numbered 1 to 36, running from the river to Queen's Avenue. The Royal Engineers made part of the survey but civilians were also used as surveyors. Colonel Moody reported to the Governor in January, 1859, that it would be necessary to employ civil surveyors because the members of the survey party were too few in number to do all the work and their peculiar training for careful scientific work must not be wasted. Among the surveyors employed were J. J. Cochrane, D.G.F. Macdonald, Edgar Dewdney and Walter Moberley. ⁴⁴

Cochrane and Macdonald had been working at Queensborough with survey parties even before the arrival of the main body of the engineers. ⁴⁵ Mr. Moberly was attached to the Lands Department to work under Capt. Grant ⁴⁶ and Edgar Dewdney was appointed sworn surveyor for New Westminster and district. ⁴⁷

43 Draper, W., Pioneer Surveys and Surveyors in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia Historical Quarterly, July, 1941, p. 215 and 217.

44 Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, January 31, 1859.

45 Royal Engineers Letter Book 2, p. 18, Moody to Parsons, April 13, 1859.

46 Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, March 22, 1859.

47 Moody Correspondence, F. 598, Moody to Douglas, May 19, 1860.

April 1, 1859, Moody reported to the Governor that the survey of Queensborough was progressing as fast as the weather would permit. "After personally traversing the ground and devoting a great deal of anxious thought to the subject I have at length adopted a plan which I trust will answer every requirement."⁴⁸ This plan was an elaborate layout of avenues, parks, and terraces.

The survey of the town from Queen's Avenue to the river was started from Colonel Moody's plans. The Royal Engineers did the portion from Leopold Place to Arthur Terrace and Lot 4 in Block 32 (i.e. from the present Canada Place to the western end of Albert Crescent), Mr. Dewdney did Blocks 7, 29 and 30 and the remainder was done by Mr. Macdonald. Captain Parsons, as Chief survey officer, was responsible for laying out the lots.⁴⁹ The beautifully executed plan of the city as drawn by Corporal J.B. Launders and Corporal Charles Sinnett is in the Provincial Archives,⁵⁰ Victoria.

For some of the clearing work Colonel Moody employed civilian labour. During the winter groups of miners were employed as axemen, but in the spring Moody found there was a scarcity of white labour because the men were anxious to

48 Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, p. 7.

49 Draper, op. cit., pp. 217, 218.

50 Copy of this map, Board 3, Land Registry Office, New Westminster.

reach the mines and he employed Indians for the rough work.

The site of the capital presented the same difficulties as that of the camp, but the hillside was now much steeper and it was broken by a series of deep ravines. Captain Spaulding told Walter Cheadle, who with Lord Milton was the first trans-Canada tourist, that the dense forest covering the site "cost fortunes to clear away, averaging \$3 a stump".⁵¹ Moody asked for the despatch of the Royal Marines then stationed at Esquimalt, to be used in clearing the ground and cutting the trees into cord-wood. Mr. Bedford, owner of the Enterprise had agreed to buy the wood at \$3 a cord.⁵²

In order to make communication between the camp and the capital easier, a trail was cleared to connect the two, running from the Queen's Ravine to the nearest corner of the first square in town near the Ravines.

In March, just a month after the arrival of the first Engineers, Judge Begbie visited the new capital and described it in a letter to His Excellency.

The weather is very much against any proceedings; there is from six to eight inches of snow all over the site of Queensborough, and today it is snowing hard. It is scarce possible to survey. The men are in a log hut and the Colonel in a shake house. The face

51 Milton, W.W.F. and Cheadle, W.B., The North-West Passage by Land, p. 235.

52 Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, p. 25.

of the country is being gradually better known, although very little cleared.⁵³

Even before the arrival of the main body of the Royal Engineers a few traders and settlers were already established in little shacks in the capital. Philip Hick, a baker, who had supplied the troops at Langley all winter, had opened the "Government Bakery". Judge Begbie writes of the baker, "I saw him this afternoon in the snow handing out the bricks out of a scow for making his oven where you would think an oven would never be."⁵⁴ T.J.Scott was conducting a saloon having obtained a license from the magistrate at Langley, and Robert Dickinson had opened a butcher shop. The first merchant is believed to have been W.J.Armstrong who started a small general store with a stock of goods secured in Victoria. His family lived above the store and this was probably the first substantial "home" any of the colonists possessed. The rest of the settlers lived in crude shacks or tents. Mrs. James Kennedy, the first white woman to come to New Westminster, lived for some months in a tent erected on the banks of the Fraser near the foot of Mary Street.

James Nelson Draper was one of the first settlers

53 Begbie to Douglas, March 12, 1859, quoted in Howay, History of the Fraser River Mines, p. 47.

54 Ibid. p. 48.

in the new capital. He represented the Victoria lumber firm of T.G. Jackson and Company, who were agents for the Washington Mill Company. His son, Mr. William Draper, told the writer that his father used to say that when William Clarkson came to Queensborough, "Bill" Armstrong and Mr. Draper were sleeping under an old log. Draper put up the first office building in the capital - at the foot of Mary Street.

There had been considerable wrangling over the name of the new capital. Colonel Moody suggested "Queenborough". The Colonial Secretary, W.A.G. Young, thought this was too nearly a paraphrase of Victoria and, "after a great inkshed and a long acrid correspondence the name was proclaimed to be not Queenborough (Victoria) but Queensborough, which was quite another thing."⁵⁵ To settle the argument, Governor Douglas on February 5, 1859, sent the following request to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton.

. . . We are earnestly desirous that Her Majesty should vouchsafe one further proof of her continued regard by signifying Her will as to the name to be given to the future capital . . . It will be received and esteemed as an especial mark of royal favour were Her Majesty to name the capital of British Columbia, either indirectly, after Her Royal self, or directly after His Royal Highness, the Prince Consort, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales or some member of the Royal Family, so that the colonists of British Columbia, separated from friends and kindred inth their far distant home, may be ever gratefully reminded in the designation of their capital of the power

55 Gosnell, op. cit., p. 46.

that protects their hearths, of the watchful interest that guards their liberties, and of the gentle sway by which they are governed.⁵⁶

In May 1859, the following despatch was sent to Governor Douglas, signed by Lord Carnarvon in the absence of the Secretary of State. "I am commanded to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to decide that the capital of British Columbia shall be called 'New Westminster'."⁵⁷ July 20, 1859, Douglas issued a proclamation announcing the change. Previously on June 2, the Governor had announced that from June 15, Queensborough was to be the sole port of entry for all vessels entering the Fraser River and for all goods imported into British Columbia. A schedule of the tonnage, pilotage and harbour dues to be paid was given, also a list of the duties payable on various imported goods, chiefly spirits, tobacco and animals.⁵⁸

Tenders were called and work started on the Government offices. March 8, 1859, an advertisement appeared in the Victoria Gazette giving notice that tenders for the erection of Government Buildings at Mary's Hill, Fraser River, would be received until March 16. Plans, specifications and further particulars could be obtained by apply-

56 B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 61, Douglas to Lytton, February 5, 1859.

57 B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 86, Lytton to Douglas, May 5, 1859.

58 B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 56, enclosure 4 in Despatch 25, Douglas to Newcastle, September 13, 1859.

ing at Col. Moody's house, Victoria.⁵⁹ On March 11, Col. Moody wrote to Robert Brewsby, editor of the Gazette, asking him to insert a notice that the advertisement of March 7 was cancelled and that separate sealed tenders for the erection of Government Buildings at Queensborough, would be received until March 31 at the Office of the Lands and Works Department, the Camp, Queensborough.⁶⁰

A "Letter from Queenborough" written by the "special travelling correspondent" of the Victoria Gazette gives a vivid picture of the capital in the spring of 1859.⁶¹

Queenborough,
April 5, 1859.

The undergrowth and fallen trees in various stages of decomposition, render a walk over the entire locality somewhat laborious, yet curiosity and a desire to see for myself, led me far up and around beneath the lofty spreading arms of the fir, cedar, hemlock and spruce and less regularly beautiful though scarcely less useful ash, elm, birch, apple, cherry, maple and elder, with which the site abounds. Some of the timber is very large; one cedar measuring 27 ft. 8 in. from the ground; another 18 ft. 6 in., another 25 ft; and one spruce 22 ft. 2 in. I measured the length of one fallen fir tree, cut from the site of the Custom House, which was 220 feet in length, free from the stump, which measured 4 ft. 6 in. in diameter. Springs of excellent water are abundant along the hillside; and for days already have bright beautiful golden and white lilies smiled a grateful welcome to the delightful warmth of the sun.

59 Victoria Gazette, March 8, 1859.

60 B. C. Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, p. 7.

61 Victoria Gazette, April 7, 1859.

The commercial part of the prospective Capital will present a wharfage front of a little more than a mile in length, and as a road 66 ft in width is now being surveyed by the Royal Engineers, next and along the shore, the construction of as much wharfage as will be necessary for the accommodation of unloading ships will be sufficient to furnish a draught of at least 25 ft. at high water on an average.

The town is as yet but little improved; 2 grocery stores, and a few houses and tents occupied by those employed on the public buildings and works being the only structures at present erected. The Custom House and Treasurer's Office are in progress and will, it is thought, be completed within 2 weeks. A pier will be commenced this week in front of the Custom House site to extend 20 feet beyond the low water mark, affording wharfage to vessels drawing from 15 to 20 feet of water at low tide.

A temporary custom house station has been erected at a point a mile higher up the river, opposite and facing that portion of the town selected for the site of the barracks and officers' quarters. This reserve is separated from the commercial town by a small running brook, at present crossed by the trunk of a fallen tree. At the barracks a store-house is in process of erection, one or two temporary buildings having been already built for the accommodation of Lieut. Governor Moody and his suite. The topographical Engineers mess is on board the Recovery, an American brig formerly used as a revenue vessel in the river, but which is now anchored a few feet off shore in front of His Excellency's quarters.

The site of Queenborough already presents many inducements to mechanics, and a portable saw-mill could be advantageously and, profitably employed for a long time to come. Several parties are engaged in the manufacture of cedar shingles, which they can furnish at \$4 to \$5 per thousand. A rare chance is offered by the clearing for public buildings and works, for some parties to commence the getting out of fire-wood for the steamers, as half the labour, on some of it is already performed, and they could have it for the hauling off.

The first sale of town lots at Queensborough was held by public auction at Victoria on Wednesday, June 15. In a despatch of February 7, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton told Governor Douglas why he wished the lots to be sold at auction.

The advantage of sale by auction is that it forms the best available precaution against parting with land at an inadequate price, and it conclusively prevents both the occurrence and even the suspicion or imputation of any favouritism or irregularity in the disposal of the public property. Looking, however, to the inestimable advantages of perfect confidence in the purity of land administration, my own opinion is that sale by auctions is the best system 62

On February 14, 1859, Douglas issued his proclamation, already referred to, in which he set down the conditions of the sale.⁶³ One fourth of the lots were to be reserved for sale in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies and if not disposed of they were to be offered at public auction in British Columbia. The Chief Commissioner was empowered to sell by private contract at the upset price any land remaining unsold after it had been offered at public auction. The river frontage was to be laid out in a continuous road which would ultimately be converted into a public wharf - for the present the frontage would be leased for seven years at public auction to the highest bidder.

62 B. C. Papers, Part 2, Lytton to Douglas, February 7, 1859.

63 B. C. Papers, Part 2, pp. 65, 66, Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859.

Purchasers of lots at Langley were to be allowed to surrender their lots in Langley and apply the amount paid on the purchase of lots in the new capital.

There had been considerable dissatisfaction among the purchasers of Langley lots when it was rumoured that the site of the capital was to be changed. The Victoria Gazette for February 8, 1859, reported a meeting of the purchasers held the previous Saturday at which a committee was appointed to present a petition to the Governor, "complaining of the uncertainty which exists in the public mind with regard to the intentions of the Government as to the new town of Langley."⁶⁴

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton did not approve of the proposed reservation of lots for overseas purchasers. He said it would only stimulate the acquisition of lots by non-resident speculators.⁶⁵

May 10, 1859, the Victoria Gazette carried an advertisement giving notice that the sale of town lots would be held on June 1 at the office of Mr. Selim Franklin, Auctioneer. Mr. Franklin subsequently charged the Government £500 for his services.⁶⁶ A good many miners came down

64 Victoria Gazette, February 8, 1859.

65 B. C. Papers, Part 2, p. 86, Lytton to Douglas, May 7, 1859.

66 Douglas Correspondence, Provincial Archives, F. 485, Douglas to Moody, October 28, 1860.

from the mines for the sale. The auction was started on Wednesday and continued on Thursday, the following 14 blocks being offered, 1, 4, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30. Of the 318 lots offered, 310 were sold; 132 on the first day and 178 on the second, 8 were unsold and 112 were reserved. The upset price was \$100 but the average price was nearly \$200.⁶⁷ The purchasers were required to make a deposit of twenty-five per cent, the remainder to be paid in three equal instalments on the first day of July, August and September of 1859.

Colonel Moody in the official return presented to His Excellency the Governor, gave the following report of the sale.

SALE OF QUEENSBOROUGH TOWN LOTS

Actual amount of sale	<u>\$89,170.00</u>
Amount of installments rec'd cash	11,363.75
Ditto, receivable in cash	<u>50,863.25</u>
	62,227.00
Amount received in Langley titles	11,192.00
Ditto receivable in Langley titles	<u>15,751.00</u>
	\$89,170.00

(signed Robert Burnaby)
Pro The Chief Commissioner
of Lands and Works,
British Columbia.⁶⁸

June 4, 1859.

⁶⁷ B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 16, Douglas to Lytton, June 6, 1859.

⁶⁸ Loc. cit.

The highest price for a single lot was \$1,925, which D.G.F. Macdonald paid for Lot 11 in Block 5. Almost all the lots in Blocks 4, 5 and 6 sold for over \$1,000. Henderson and Burnaby paid \$1,700 for Lot 10, Block 5, and Wolff and Simpson paid \$1,900 for Lot 7, Block 5. Other prominent purchasers were J.A.R. Homer, Amor de Cosmos, Capt. Gosset, Henry Holbrook, Capt. Grant, Dr. J.S. Helmcken, Walter Moberly and James Yates.

The Victoria Gazette, commenting on the sale says that such prices would have been high if the land had been cleared but "that such prices should have been obtained for ground upon which considerable amounts must be expended before even temporary habitations can be erected, is a fact going far to demonstrate an extended and thorough confidence in the future of British Columbia".⁶⁹

Before the sale, Governor Douglas gave permission to the Government officers stationed at Queensborough to purchase lots at the upset price on which to build residences. Captain Gosset was granted two lots and Messrs. Good, Bushby, Cooper and Begbie one each.⁷⁰

On October 5 and 6, surveyed country land around the capital was put up for sale with Corporal House of the Royal Engineers acting as Auctioneer. The upset price was

69 Victoria Gazette, June 4, 1859.

70 Lands and Works Department Letter Book, p. 11, Moody to Gosset, September 26, 1859.

ten shillings an acre but only four lots were sold. Before the auction, Colonel Moody bought a lot of four or five acres close to the barracks and about a mile and a half from town with the public park between.

At the first auction Mr. Franklin promised that the money received from land sales would be used to grade the streets of the capital, and when several months passed without this work being done, dissatisfaction arose. The people of New Westminster felt that Governor Douglas had not been fair with them. "The purchasers were obliged to tax themselves a second time and engage in 'bees', as in old Canada, to get even a small quantity of the site cleared, and to submit to the feeling of having been deprived and to see Victoria streets and roads flourish while Queensborough had to be content with trails".⁷¹

In November the Victoria Gazette noted that the "bubble had collapsed, avenues were not opened and no owner held a deed to his property at New Westminster." "Nothing occurs there worthy of newspaper record, except what we receive in a monthly meteorological report, which justifies the caustic remark of a visitor in accounting for the absence of population in its vicinity, 'There's too little soil and too much climate to encourage settlement'."⁷²

This is one of the first records of the scorn with

⁷¹ Gosnell, Op. cit., p. 46

⁷² Victoria Gazette, November 12, 1859.

which the people of Victoria regarded the new town rising on the banks of the Fraser. This scorn soon gave way to fear lest New Westminster replace Victoria as the chief commercial city. Mr. J.D. Pemberton, Surveyor General of Vancouver Island, wrote of New Westminster at this time.

No exertions were spared to found the new capital with eclat and stamp it with success. Engineers, military and civil, were for months employed in projecting squares and terraces. At the auction sale it was announced that in certain quarters, its 'West-end', no shop fronts should be admitted. Majesty itself was approached to find a name for it, and it was called in the colonies 'The Phantom City' ... As a town site New Westminster is decidedly objectionable. Too elevated, expensive to grade and heavily timbered, its progress must necessarily be slow; its extensive swamps and marshes so close to it are not an advantage, to say nothing of the music of acres of frogs in Spring, and the stings of myriads of mosquitoes in summer; its impregnability may be unquestionable, but if unfortunately this quality renders it inaccessible to the merchantmen of the Pacific, and to the trade of Puget Sound, what object could an enemy have in attacking it?⁷³

George Hunter Cary, Attorney of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, wrote to Douglas in August, 1859, that the lot holders were threatening to sue the Government to recover the purchase money of the lots. A meeting was held, attended by the Governor, Colonel Moody, Judge Begbie, Mr. Cary and the Colonial Secretary at which time Moody promised that the grading would be commenced immediately. The work

⁷³ Pemberton, J. D., Vancouver Island and British Columbia, pp. 52-53.

was not begun however, and in November Cary again wrote the Governor informing him that, in view of the non-fulfillment of the promise, the lot-holders would be justified in taking action against the Government.⁷⁴

The Attorney-General blamed Colonel Moody for the fact that the streets were not graded, but in an undated letter to Governor Douglas, Moody suggested that the level of the streets be marked.

Without undertaking any laborious work of clearing or felling or removing timber or stumps, or making any excavation at Queensborough, it would be of great utility if the level were marked at where it is proposed that the different streets shall run. This could be done by fixing short posts.... It would enable the inhabitants to know where and how they may build. At present, all improvement is paralyzed. No person erecting a store, etc., can tell in the least except by the nearest guess whether his store shall continue to stand as he places it or will be required to be raised a foot or to be let down 10 feet. If the inhabitants only knew the levels they would probably do a great deal towards grading the streets themselves. A temporary bridge, two felled trees with corduroy covered with gravel across the first ravine at all events - probably across the second ravine also - would be very useful. Still further improvement would it be if Columbia Street and a couple of cross streets were graded as well as having the grade marked as above.⁷⁵

On December 2, 1859, Moody asked the Governor for money to remove the underbrush and trees from the streets

74 Howay, Op. Cit. p. 122

75 Undated Letter, Moody to Douglas, Provincial Archives.

of the city and His Excellency replied four days later that the finances of the colony were so reduced that they would not permit of this expenditure.⁷⁶ That seems to have been the whole trouble - the Treasury could not afford the cost of the grading. Considerable money had already been spent on the new capital. The cost of surveying New Westminster to December 31, 1859, was £3,017. 3 s. 6 d., of which £1,391 8 s. 11 d. was for military and £1,611 13 s. 7 d. for civil work. Because of the scarcity of money some of the surveyors and workmen were given land in payment for their services.⁷⁷

Colonel Moody and the Governor seem to have disagreed over the question of the public works to be undertaken at New Westminster. On December 2, 1859, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works wrote:

Hurried designs in so grave a matter as the grades for a Capital of a Country, cannot be too strongly deprecated and I feel assured your Excellency will agree with me in this, the more as it would now appear that an exceedingly rigid adherence in everything relating to the City of New Westminster, not, however that I myself have found it to be so-- as far as my personal opinion goes, the Public appear to have been on all occasions very reasonable in the matter.

With the regard to the designs for the grades throughout the Town, it must be constantly borne in mind that the site itself was occupied in reference only to its becoming the bona-fide Capital of a great and flourishing Colony, as I have the firmest conviction B. C. will be and that at an early date.

76 Douglas Correspondence, F. 485, Douglas to Moody December 6, 1859.

77 Lands and Works Department Letter, Book 1.

The site was not selected for, neither are the grades of the streets designed and adapted to, a town of subordinate character, likely to be in all time limited in extent of population and wealth.⁷⁸

On December 6 Douglas replied that cost was the first consideration,

I am induced to make this remark by the observations contained in your letter respecting the Capital of a great and flourishing colony, and by your classing New Westminster in the same category with the great Cities at Home-- I would suggest to you that the Colony itself must first become great and flourishing before we can undertake works on a scale of magnificence in accordance therewith, and that a Town just laid out and not yet disassociated from the primeval forest cannot be dealt with as a great city that has existed for centuries. What we now want is a scheme that will render the lots at New Westminster available so that a town may be established and a nucleus formed that hereafter may expand into a great and flourishing city, and I would beg you not to attempt any more than this, for if none be essayed I feel confident that positive hindrance to development will ensue. I was yesterday waited upon by a deputation of some of the principal lot-holders in Columbia St. and forward extract of their memorial--I agree with them.⁷⁹

The memorial signed by Mr. Henderson, Robert Burnaby, Henry Holbrook, A. T. Bushby, and A. R. Green contained three suggestions. The first was that "the existing natural line taken on a line parallel with Fraser's River is admirably adapted for warehousing, landing and transporting goods"

78 Moody Correspondence, Moody to Douglas, December 2, 1859.

79 Douglas Correspondence, F. 485, Douglas to Moody, December 6, 1859.

and "any important interference with the natural level of the portion in front of all the high priced lots, is not only unnecessary, but would positively render the place less eligible for commercial purposes".

The petitioners also requested that two bridges be built across the ravine and that the level Columbia Street wasto be, be indicated so that they could fix the foundations of their stores.

Early in the new year the Government took action. Tenders were called for forming and grading Columbia Street between the Treasury Building and Merchant Square, with two short side branches continuing the level into Hamley St. and Mary St. No tenders were received and in March Col. Moody set a party of Royal Engineers to work building two bridges across the ravines on Columbia Street on either side of Lytton Square at a cost of £227. 6. 0.⁸⁰ These two ravines, parts of which can still be seen today, ran down through Victoria gardens and crossed Columbia Street on either side of Lytton Square.

The indignation of the citizens of New Westminster was publicly manifest at the second sale of town lots held in the spring of 1860. The sale was advertised for April 5, at which time there were to be offered at auction those lots

80 Moody Correspondence, F. 734, Moody to Douglas, March 20, 1860.

which had been reserved for sale in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies. The auction was advertised to be conducted by Corporal House from the Royal Engineers, but on the morning of the fifth, Mr. Selim Franklin arrived from Victoria with orders from the Governor to conduct the sale. The people of New Westminster resented the appearance of Franklin, "he having on the former sale sold the people".⁸¹ When Mr. Franklin rose to start the sale he was shouted down by the people, who created such an uproar that the Auctioneer gave up after vainly trying for half an hour to make himself heard. Colonel Moody then postponed the sale for two weeks.

A public meeting was held that night in Mayer and Company's new building at which time three resolutions were passed by the citizens. They deplored the appointment of Franklin and stated that "judging from the absentee officials who presented themselves at the sale, we should say there is 'something rotten in Denmark'".⁸² They objected to the fact that the job of building roads in the upper country was to be given out by private contract in Victoria without public competition.

The Governor was indignant at the treatment accorded the Auctioneer; although Colonel Moody suggested that the

⁸¹ British Colonist, April 7, 1860.

⁸² Loc. Cit.

blame lay with His Excellency rather than with the people of New Westminster. On the day of the sale he wrote to Douglas explaining what had happened. On March 9 Colonel Moody had sent His Excellency a letter containing the terms of the sale and the request that they be published in the Victoria Gazette with any alterations the Governor wished. On March 28 he received a letter from the Acting Colonial Secretary saying the letter had miscarried and the same day he sent a duplicate. The time of the sale drew near, and having received no instructions from the Governor, he posted notices at New Westminster announcing the terms of sale and naming Corporal House as auctioneer. The morning of fifth of April, ten minutes before the sale was to begin, Colonel Moody met Mr. Franklin, who presented an order from the Governor authorizing him to act as Auctioneer and a copy of the Gazette showing the altered terms of sale. The Chief Commissioner conferred with Mr. Cary as to whether the former should make an explanation, but they decided to let the matter rest. Colonel Moody commented, "It was very clear to me and to all disinterested observers that it was palpably a case of 'British Columbia versus Vancouver Island' many expressions having been vehemently made significant of it".⁸³

⁸³ Moody Correspondence, Moody to Douglas, April 5, 1860.

Writing to the Governor three weeks later he also said that in his opinion, "the meeting was not a disorderly one in its character, nor were any feelings shown by them which, to my mind, could be construed as conveying to anyone the idea that those assembled were or wished to be disrespectful towards the Government".⁸⁴

At Colonel Moody's suggestion Mr. Edgar Dewdney was appointed Auctioneer and the delayed sale took place on May 2. The sum of \$25,665 was realized for thirty-three lots. The highest prices for lots were \$3,925 paid by Meyer and Company for Lot 8, Block 5, and \$3,570 for Lot 4, Block 6, by Mr. Thos. Harris. Mr. J. J. Cochrane paid \$3,000 for Lot 1, Block 5, and \$2,100 for Lot 1, Block 6, while Lot 16, Block 7, was sold to Colonel Moody for \$250.⁸⁵

Prior to the sale government officials were given the privilege of purchasing lots of no commercial value at the upset price of \$100 a lot. Messrs. Claudet, Bonsfield, W. E. Cormack, W. Hitchcock and Chas. Bacon took advantage of this privilege, buying lots in Blocks 18, 20, 21 and 24.

When Governor Douglas visited the capital a few days after the sale, the people asked that New Westminster be made into a municipality. The request was granted and by a proclamation of July 16, 1860, New Westminster was incor-

⁸⁴ Ibid, April 24, 1860.

⁸⁵ British Colonist, May 5, 1860.

porated. This meant that the Municipal Council was now responsible for carrying out improvements in the city.

Following the first sale of town lots at Queensborough, Governor Douglas, on January 4, 1860, issued a Pre-Emption Law which gave any British subject the right to pre-empt and record his claim to agricultural land not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres. The Pre-Emption Law resulted in the gradual opening up of the land in the districts around New Westminster--a number of lots on the south side of the Fraser being soon taken up in this way.

On January 27, 1860, W. R. Spalding, J.P. at New Westminster, was authorized by the Chief Commissioner to sell any town lots at New Westminster or suburban lots which had been or would in future be offered at public auction and remain unsold. One of the most interesting purchases was that of the Bishop of Columbia who in March bought at upset price a suburban lot to be laid out for a Church of England cemetery.

Following the two public auctions held in June, 1859 and May, 1860, other public and private sales were held. In October, 1860, the Municipal Council received information that lots were to be sold to government officials at the upset price and the Council forwarded a resolution asking that lots should not be sold except at public auction.

86

December 1, 1860, a public auction was conducted by Edgar Dewdney at which time the waterfrontage was leased. The Government refused to sell the waterfront but leased portions of it for seven years. The rents were very low, the highest being £71 a year. This price was paid for the Government Pier which was leased to the Vancouver and B. C. Steam Navigation Company (Captain Irving). J. T. Scott rented Lytton Square for £67 and Henry Holbrook paid £19 and £30 for Lots 1 and 7 in Block 5. P. O'Reilly leased Lot 1, Block 6, at £21 a year, and Robt. Dickinson, Lot 2, Block 7, at £20; and in all, a total rental of £425. 5 s. a year was realized for the leases. The Victoria Colonist said the reason the rents were so low was because there had only been a week's notice of the sale. The Colonist also complained that justice had not been done to the absentee lot owners. "When the front lots were sold the purchasers were to have a preference...There is such a thing as justice, but the sharp practice about the waterfront property in New Westminster induces us to believe that the article is scarce in some of the Government departments".⁸⁷

None of the subsequent sales were so successful as the first, probably because of the slow progress of the city and the general depression of the colony due to the fact that the mines did not live up to expectations and many miners

87 British Colonist, December 4, 1860.

left. The land sales for B. C. for 1860 were only £10,962 as compared with £18,876 for 1859.⁸⁸

Colonel Moody wished to continue and survey and partially clear the city beyond the portion already offered for sale but a rigid curtailment of the expenses of the Lands and Works Department and the withdrawal of the Royal Marines because of trouble in the San Juan Islands had made him abandon his plan. The services of many of the Royal Engineers were not available because they were engaged on the roads. Governor Douglas felt that enough of the city had already been laid out, but Colonel Moody thought it would be wise to give the public a wider choice of desirable land by further sales.

On August 21, 1861, Blocks 34, 35 and 36, ten chains on the north side of Royal Avenue, i.e. between Royal Avenue and Queen's Avenue, which had formerly been reserved, were offered for sale at the order of Colonel Moody. The announcement that this land would be sold "was received with strong demonstrations of satisfaction". Also offered for sale at this time were town lots in Block 19 and suburban lots in Blocks 5, 6, 7 and 8.⁸⁹ Of the fifty-six town lots offered

88 P.P.C. 2952, B. C. Papers, Part 4, pp. 43-45
Financial Report of British Columbia for 1860.

89 Suburban blocks 5, 6 and 7 are between Queen's Avenue and Fifth Avenue. Block 8--triangle formed by confluence Brunette and Fraser.

for sale thirty-two were sold at a total price of £1,040, £85 being the highest price paid for a single lot. Twenty suburban lots were sold out of an offering of 157 and £525 was realized.

Twenty-one water frontages were also offered for lease at this time. Eleven were taken up at a total annual rental of £24. 5 s. The total receipts of the sale were £1,589. 5 s. Purchasers were required to pay a twenty-five per cent. deposit and of this sum, £276. 2. 11 was paid in cash and the rest in land scrip.⁹⁰ Needless to say, the Government and not the Municipal Council received the proceeds from the sale.

Another sale of town lots was held on July 29, 1862, on the same conditions as the previous sale. Twenty-five per cent. of the purchase price had to be paid "on the knock of the hammer" and the balance in three installments. The lots had been cleared at the expense of the Municipal Council and Colonel Moody announced that the cost of clearing would be added to the upset price. Offered for sale at an upset price of £20 each were lots in Blocks 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33. The total proceeds of the sale were \$8,145.⁹¹

90 Moody Correspondence, Moody to Colonial Secretary August 24, 1861, and British Columbian, August 28, 1861.

91 British Columbian, July 26, 1862, and July 30, 1862.

A land sale of special interest, at which time the suburban Blocks 5, 6 and 7, recently added to the city were sold, was that held on October 1, 1863. This sale was attended by Lord Milton and Walter Cheadle and is described by them.⁹² Milton and Cheadle, who were in New Westminster in the course of a sight-seeing tour of Canada, called upon Colonel Moody at the Camp and found him just on the point of walking over to New Westminster to attend the auction sale. "He gave a most tempting description of the prospects of New Westminster and the desirability of the investment that we were induced to walk back with him and promise to look in at the sale."⁹³

The sale was held at the Court House with Mr. Wadsworth as auctioneer, and on the usual terms of one-quarter down payment and the remainder in three months. Milton bought seven lots of three to nine acres each at prices ranging from £20 to £32. The lots were about a half-mile back of the town and Cheadle wrote that he and Milton went with Captain Spalding and Charles Good to look at them "but the forest was so thick and the marks so indistinct that we could not make them out".⁹⁴

92 British Columbian, October 7, 1863.

93 Milton and Cheadle, Op. cit. p. 237.

94 Ibid, p. 238.

Colonel Moody presumably bought lots at this sale also, as a tax sale notice published on July 24, 1867, lists him as owning lots in Blocks 5 and 7. In all, about \$10,000 was realized from the sale.⁹⁵

95 British Columbian, October 7, 1863.

THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW WESTMINSTER.

The summer of 1859 had been spent in clearing the site of the camp, building the barracks, the married men's quarters, offices and store-houses. Included in the group of buildings was a small church, convertible into a school, a hospital, an office for the Lands and Works Department, and a residence for Colonel Moody. Even the flower beds¹ were planted the first summer.

Mrs. Herring described the camp.

The married people's quarters stood in groups of three; each contained two rooms, and in one of these was the luxury of a brick open hearth, with an unlimited supply of wood for the fetching. A house had been built for the Colonel and his numerous family, one or two smaller ones for the married officers, a school was also used for church, likewise a chaplain's residence.²

D.G.F. Macdonald, who acted as a civilian surveyor on the site of the new capital, felt that the money could have been used to better advantage in building roads. "It was wasted in forming extensive fancy walks through the picturesque ravines about the then uninhabited city of New Westminster, in beautifying a costly camp and in other

1 Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, p. 3.

2 Herring, Francis, In The Pathless West, p. 62.

useless, follies."³

The Custom's House and Treasury were erected at New Westminster by the Royal Engineers in 1859. The former was located on Lot 1, Block 13, at the corner of Columbia and Begbie Streets, and the latter on Lot 1, Block 14, the corner of Columbia and Mary Streets. The Custom's House cost £540. 4. 0. and an additional £238. 8. 11. was spent on a revenue station, presumably constructed on the Government pier. £804. 8. 0. was spent on the Treasury and the following year an additional £1,392. 6. 4. was expended in making alterations to the building.⁴ The lot for the Treasury was cleared by Mr. William Clarkson before the arrival of the main body of the Engineers. Mr. Clarkson took payment in land scrip and with it purchased Suburban Lots 28, 90 and 91, Group 1.⁵

A survey office and a magistrate's office were also built during 1859. The magistrate's office, which included his residence, was New Westminster's Post Office after W. R. Spalding was appointed postmaster.

Late in May, 1860, the Government Assay Office and officers' quarters were completed at a cost of over £1,000

3 Macdonald, Duncan, George Forbes, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 87.

4 Moody Correspondence, F. 734.

5 Mr. Clarkson's land is marked on map Board 41A, Land Registry Office, New Westminster.

from a plan drawn by the Royal Engineers. They stood on the site of the present Post Office and were attached to the Treasury. A Court House and Jail were erected at a cost of £278. 4. 8. on part of the block which now contains the Court House.

Writing to the Duke of Newcastle in October, 1860, Governor Douglas described these buildings. "The public offices are plain substantial buildings devoid of ornament and constructed on a scale adapted to our limited means; they are nevertheless roomy and commodious, and on the whole not unsuitable to the present business of the colony."⁶

The first residence in New Westminster was built by W. J. Armstrong in March, 1859.⁷ The house was built from California lumber originally destined for Derby. When the ship's captain learned that Derby had been abandoned as the capital, he took his ship to Queensborough and unloaded the lumber there. Mr. Armstrong built the house himself with the assistance of his brother, Henry, and John McDonald. Three months later the Victoria Gazette reported that several new stores were under construction at Queensborough.⁸

When Rev. John Sheepshanks arrived at New Westminster late in the summer of 1859, he described the town in the

6 B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 22, Douglas to Newcastle.

7 British Columbian, April 29, 1863.

8 Victoria Gazette, June 23, 1859.

following words:

On turning a corner of the river, after an hour or two of steady steaming up the stream, at about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, the captain, who was standing by my side, said, "There, sir, that is your place." I looked up a long stretch of the river, and there on the left-hand side I saw a bit of a clearing in the dense forest. Mighty trees were lying about in confusion, as though a giant with one sweep of his mighty arm had mown them down. Many of the trunks had been consumed by fire. Their charred remains were seen here and there. The huge stumps of the trees were still standing in most places, though in others they had been eradicated and consumed.

And between the prostrate trees and stumps there were a few huts, one small collection of wooden stores, some sheds and tents, giving signs of a population of perhaps 250 people. This clearing continued up river to the extent of somewhat more than a quarter of a mile. And the dense pine-forest came down to somewhat less than the same distance from the river's bank. This was New Westminster.⁹

Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks first home was a log hut, placed at his disposal by three miners.

It was rather draughty as the wind came in at the interstices between the logs; so I gathered moss and stuffed it well into the crevices. The floor was only of mud, but I had some boards put down, and put in a sheet-iron stove with stove pipe. I also for cleanliness sake, had it lined with calico. It is about ten feet long by seven broad, and is made of pine logs. There is a square hole cut for a window. There is no sash in it at present, for sashes are rare, but only a piece of calico, which I draw across the aperture by night and open by day. There are curious little dodges for supplying the necessary light. The man in the next hut to mine, just lower down the bank, has cut with his

⁹ Duthie, Rev. D. W., A Bishop in the Rough, p. 17.

axe a number of holes in the walls of his cabin the size and shape of a bottle, and has jammed a number of white, transparent gin-bottles into these holes, so he gets his light.¹⁰

By the spring of 1861 considerable progress had been made. The Colonist of April 15, 1861, remarked that the work done in the preceding eighteen months was remarkable. Many stores and residences had been built, there being 125 to 150 buildings in all. Brick was beginning to be used to some extent and the first substantial buildings probably date from this time. More durable stores and offices were constructed and people who had been living in temporary "shacks" now began to build permanent homes.

The principal architects and builders engaged in work at New Westminster were Clarkson and Withrow, T. W. Graham and McLeese, Manson and White, E. B. Holt and John Calder.

The largest of the buildings built in the winter of 1860-61 was a four storey building erected by Mr. P. Hick.¹¹ on Lot 4, Block 6, at the corner of Columbia Street and Lytton Square. It was 34 feet by 66 feet, with the long frontage on Columbia Street finished with a balcony and lattice work. The first floor was used for storage, the

10 Ibid. p. 18.

11 It can be readily seen in the picture on p. 66, Howay, F. W. and Scholefield, E. O. S. British Columbia, Vol. 2.

second and third were subdivided into stores, while the fourth contained eight rooms, one of them a large public hall, running the full length of the building.¹² Mrs. Lawless extended her saloon from the waterfront to Columbia Street and opened a restaurant in the Hick's Building.

Harris and Company built a fire-proof brick warehouse on the lower part of the same lot as the Hick's building, facing on Front Street. Later in the year it was declared by the Government to be a bonded warehouse.¹³

The New Westminster Times of November 24, 1860, said that twenty substantial buildings had been built in the preceding six weeks and added, "Upwards of twenty substantial cabins have been recently put up by the miners who intended remaining in New Westminster during the winter, and the workmen employed on the streets. We have also a large number of Chinese encamped on Victoria Gardens who will no doubt add to the business of the place so far as the consumption of rice is concerned".

Mr. William Clarkson erected a two storey house on

12 New Westminster Times, November 24, 1860;
British Colonist, October 23, 1860; March 30, 1861;
British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

13 British Columbian, November 14, 1861.

Columbia Street, near his former residence and proposed to use the new building as a boarding house.¹⁴

Two wharves had already been built; the Government Wharf, rented to the Steam Navigation Company, and the Liverpool Wharf. The Government dock had been built early in 1859 opposite the Custom House by Messrs. Wolfe and Company at a cost of £501. 3. 0.¹⁵ Twenty feet in depth and 125 in length it was made by sinking a crib of logs and filling it with stones.¹⁶ Late in 1860, Harris & Company built the Pioneer Wharf, 350 feet in length, with berths for vessels at both ends. Fifty feet of the wharf was depressed below the main structure to accommodate vessels at low tide. But there was still an urgent need for more dock space. The Colonist reported that on December 7, 1860, there were eight steamers lying opposite the town and only three wharves to accommodate them.¹⁷

There were already four churches in New Westminster. Holy Trinity on Victoria Gardens had been completed in December, 1860, and a Wesleyan Church had been constructed on the north-west corner of Mary and Prevost Streets. The Roman Catholics had erected two buildings; one on Columbia Street for white people; the other, a little farther up the

14 Ibid. February 13, 1861.

15 Lands and Works Department Letter Book 1, p. 50.

16 Victoria Gazette, April 26, 1859.

17 British Colonist, December 13, 1860.

hill, for Indians.

Notable among the new homes were Captain James Cooper's "Splendid Villa" on the hill above the upper landing and Mr. Bushby's residence at Leopold Place. Mr. Bushby's was a "very pretty house" in "gothic cottage style" built on Lot 11, Block 21, at the extreme eastern limit of the city. Mr. Calder had erected a "large and comfortable" house near the Wesleyan Church and Mr. John Cooper of the Treasury had commenced a "snug cottage" on Columbia Street. Twenty cabins had been built by miners intending to spend the winter in New Westminster and by workmen employed on the streets and a large number of Chinese had encamped on Victoria Gardens.¹⁸

The house built by Captain Cooper stood on Columbia Street until the summer of 1939 when it was demolished. On July 8, 1939, the British Columbian printed a description of the old house:

The stud-less walls were built by nailing planks to a flimsy frame of corner posts and a top stringer. Vertical planks were put up first, then the broad diagonal planks were nailed direct to the inside of the verticals. The diagonals ran in two directions from the centre of the wall. When the wall was up, doors and windows were sawn out. Siding was nailed to the exterior. Partitions were of the same construction except for the siding. Most of the diagonal planks were clear fir 18 to 24 inches wide. The diagonal sawcuts were several feet long. No such planks can be obtained today.

The second floor joists extend the full depth of the house, thirty feet, and rest on the edges of

¹⁸ New Westminster Times, November 24, 1860;
British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

the plank walls. The interior was covered with linen and then papered.

The wreckers had to demolish seven fireplaces in the old house and salvaged enough bricks for three modern bungalows. The bricks from the upstairs were left resting on the second floor, which indicates the strength of the old wall and joists.

Behind one of the mantels, the wreckers, Burden & Sheets, found an old letter dated 1863 and written from Dublin.

Doorways in the house were practically up to the ceiling. The main floor rooms could be opened up to provide a large area for entertainment. City old timers recall wonderful parties held there in the early days.

The stairway was one of the "easiest" ever designed with treads $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches and risers of only 6 inches. Today the run of stairs in homes may be as bad as eight-inch head and an eight-inch rise. The ornamental railing was of hard maple and was evidently imported. Colored glass lights for the front door were also imported as well as the original firebricks. It was noted that only the window frames and doors were of cedar. The foundation posts were of fir and are in amazingly good condition.

Another old house, also recently demolished, was built shortly after the Cooper house by J.A.R. Homer almost next to Captain Cooper's. The lumber for this house was bought in California and shipped to New Westminster. The ship anchored in the river and Indians ferried the timber ashore and carried it on their backs up the steep incline to the site of the house.¹⁹

Other buildings erected in 1861 were a two storey residence on Lytton Square for Mr. Dickinson and a shed for Mr. Dickinson on Harris's new wharf. Across the ravine from

¹⁹ Vancouver Daily Province, January 25, 1940.

the government buildings, facing Columbia Street, Mr. Burr²⁰ built a three storey hotel. W. J. Armstrong built a new residence on the corner of Royal Avenue and Mary Street and a house was erected for Archdeacon Wright at the camp on the lot next to Captain Grant's quarters.²¹ A two storey building was built adjoining the Assay office to house the exhibits of the Industrial Exhibition.²²

January 30, 1862, John Robson wrote of the progress of New Westminster:

Notwithstanding all her natural difficulties and virulent and potent attack by her enemies, New Westminster has continued from the first to make steady, healthy,--and in proportion to the population of the Colony and the business transacted therein--rapid progress. Three years ago her site was covered with a dense and mighty forest--indeed at that time the site was not chosen, nor probably dreamed of, save by one man, as the spot for a great city--the future capital of a great Colony. At that period Victoria had about 3,000 inhabitants and upwards to 500 houses; she had a vast amount of capital invested and nearly as many business firms as she possesses today, with the lucrative trade of this colony entirely in her fist, and none to dispute her rule of it. Langley was laid out and sold and a thriving town commenced....This site was almost unanimously condemned at the time the selection was made, and the Chief Commissioner was bitterly lampooned by interested and hireling scribblers and lustily abused by those who had a property interest in the discarded site of Langley. What are the facts now?...The reaction has come; men have had time for reflection, and have become

20 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

21 Ibid. December 12, 1861.

22 Ibid. April 25, 1861.

thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the choice. The great service rendered by our Chief Commissioner is now appreciated, and he is reaping the just reward of his labors in seeing, not only his policy understood and vindicated by the people, but this city rapidly and surely advancing.

The most notable construction work undertaken in 1862 was the erection of a stone building by Captain Millard and Mr. J. A. Webster at a cost of about \$40,000. It was erected on Lot 2, Block 6, facing on Columbia Street, where the Canadian Bank of Commerce now stands. It was the first stone building in British Columbia and was described as a "magnificent affair", "unrivalled by anything of the kind on the British Pacific". The side and rear walls were of native granite from the Pitt River while the front was of sandstone from Bellingham Bay. The building contained three stores on the ground floor, a large store for the use of Mr. Webster,²³ and two smaller ones.

The engine house for the Hyack Fire Company was built on Columbia Street next to Mr. Burr's hotel, and the Royal Columbian Hospital was erected on the north-east corner of Agnes and Clement Streets.

The next large building to be constructed was Henry Holbrook's stone building erected on Columbia Street in the summer of 1863. St. Andrew's Church was also built at this time on the site of the present Sunday School.

Early in 1864, residences were started by Mr. Good,

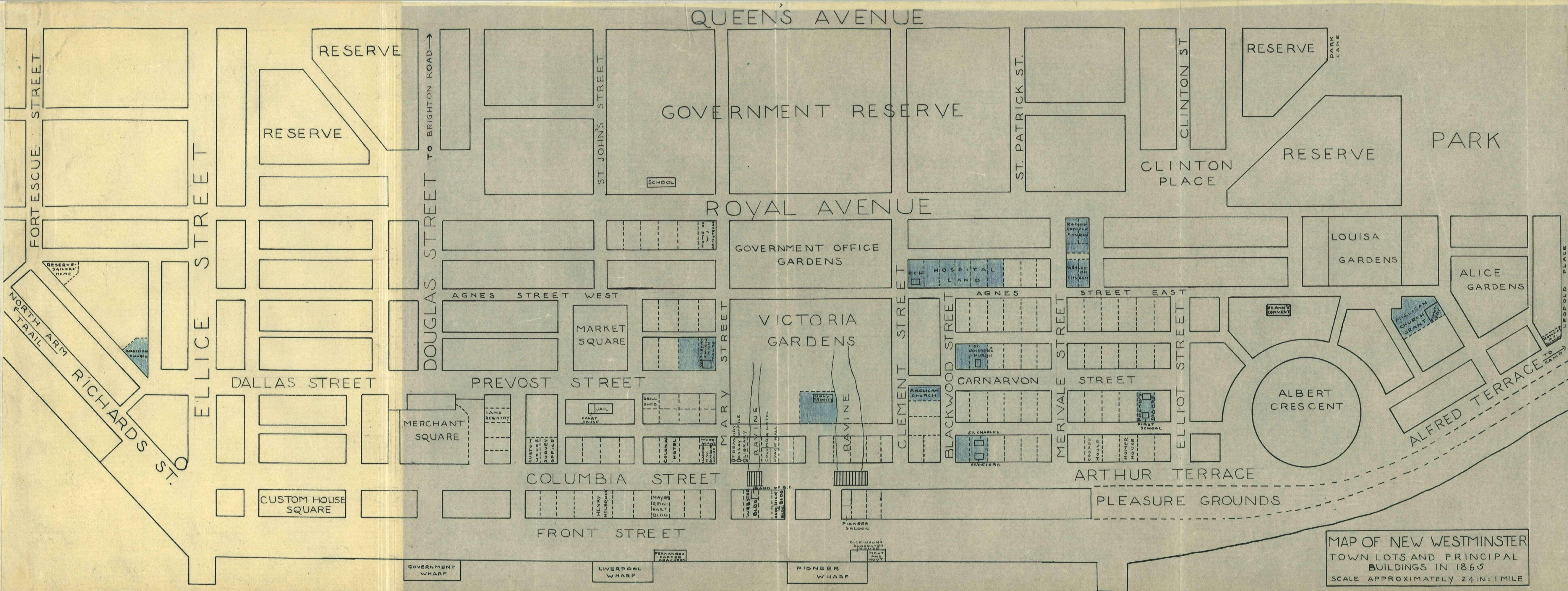
²³ Ibid. April 27, 1862; May 23, 1862.

Mr. Cunningham and Mr. George Clarkson, the latter's house to be "one of the handsomest yet erected in the city".²⁴ A "pretty cottage" had been built by Mr. Rylatt, formerly of the Royal Engineers and Captain Irving had built a large house on Merivale Street, at a cost of \$4,000.

Naturally, these were but a few of the many homes erected and numerous small shops were built as well. However, after the first burst of activity, progress was very much slower. New Westminster's population dwindled instead of increased and the high hopes which had been entertained for its economic future were not to be realized for many years.

New Westminster was not a "city" in the proper sense of the word. A fine plan of avenues and terraces had been laid out on paper by the Royal Engineers, but this development was slow to materialize and for a considerable time New Westminster was little more than a small group of buildings on the steep hillside amidst blackened stumps and fallen trees. As late as Confederation the Royal City was actually in a very rough state of development. Various factors contributed to this slow progress. British Columbia had been founded as a result of the gold rush and most of those who came to the infant colony were chiefly interested in making money from the mines or exploiting the miners. Many who bought lots at New Westminster bought only as a speculation

24 Ibid. July 23, 1864.



and many merchants were interested in quick profits rather than a more permanent business. The proclamation of Victoria as a free port was a bitter blow to those who had invested at New Westminster in the expectation that it would become the chief commercial centre on the British Pacific. The rivalry of Victoria hampered New Westminster's progress by drawing trade away from the Fraser River. While New Westminster should have been the logical supply centre for the mines, by far the largest number of miners obtained their provisions and supplies from the large commercial houses in Victoria. New Westminster had a bitter struggle for existence in the early sixties. As yet there was almost no agricultural or commercial development and the mines were the sole revenue of the colony. With the gradual development of agriculture and lumbering in the surrounding districts, New Westminster began to have a firmer foundation for her growth and development. A third difficulty lay in the nature of the site. Clearing and construction work was exceedingly difficult and costly and in those early years when the revenue of the colony was pitifully meagre, progress was of necessity very slow.

However, it seems to be apparent that New Westminster was fortunate in that she numbered among her earliest citizens so many men who must have been motivated to some extent by a dream of seeing New Westminster flourish. The majority of New Westminster's early citizens were of British

stock. The British Columbian estimated that 50% of the city's population came from the eastern British provinces, 25% from Great Britain and the remainder from the U. S. A. and elsewhere. The New Westminsterites were an intensely loyal and patriotic group and seized upon every occasion to demonstrate their devotion and allegiance to the Crown. It is difficult to imagine New Westminster sponsoring such a treacherous document as Victoria's annexation petition. This strong British element was, no doubt, largely responsible for New Westminster's strong opposition to the tyranny and injustices of the Douglas regime and its strenuous campaign for free and democratic institutions. New Westminster did not intend to submit meekly to despotic Governors, autocratic Judges, or vested interests.

Large numbers of miners came to New Westminster during the winter of 1861-62 and about one hundred tents were pitched on the Government gardens and in vacant lots. The British Columbian of May 17, 1862, described the scene: "During these splendid moonlight nights the scene presented by the encampment is novel and picturesque in the extreme. The snow-white tent with the blazing fire in front, and, in some cases, the happy occupants discoursing sweet music".

Indians squatting in the city were an ever present problem. Being no respectors of person they encamped on streets, public squares and vacant lots. Numerous representations were made to the Government by the Municipal

Council and by the Grand Jury, and the problem was the subject of frequent editorials in the British Columbian. Finally in 1862 the Governor established a reserve where the Indians were to live. It was situated on the Fraser between the city limits and Homer's mill, i.e. between Twelfth Street and Eighteenth Street of today. This location was criticized as being too close to the city because of the danger of the outbreak of an epidemic of small-pox among the natives.²⁵

The reserve was established but this did not mean that the Indians moved. Two years later the Columbian was still demanding that the Indians be moved from the streets or squares. Some were living on private lots, leased them by the owners, thus subjecting "decent people ... to the intolerable nuisance of having filthy, degraded, debauched Indians as next door neighbours" and compelling them "to spend sleepless nights on account of their drunken orgies!"²⁶ A committee of the Municipal Council was appointed to evict the Indians living on Victoria Gardens, on the east side of Mary Street. The situation was remedied temporarily but in July, 1866, there was further complaint because "Siwashes" had been allowed to erect huts on Merchants Square at the intersection of Douglas and Columbia Streets. "It is almost impossible for any respectable female to pass

²⁵ Ibid. May 21, 1862.

²⁶ Ibid. June 20, 1864.

through that locality, drunkenness, fighting and open prostitution being the order of the day".²⁷ Presumably the Indians remained, for four years later there were still complaints about Indians living on Merchant Square.²⁸

There was a small group of Chinese resident in New Westminster. The British Columbian of February 21, 1861, noted the arrival of twelve Chinese direct from China on the Otter and forty Chinese on the Caledonia. It added that two hundred more Chinese were expected on the next steamer from San Francisco. The majority of these Orientals went up to the mining country but a few remained at the capital. By 1869 there were twenty-six males and one female Chinese resident at New Westminster. A Chinese laundry "Hi Sing House" was established in 1861. The original owner was probably Hi Sing, but in June, 1861, it was purchased by Dong Shoi.²⁹ Ah Gee operated the Colonial Bakery until in 1866 he sold it to a compatriate, Ching Kee.³⁰

It is difficult to determine the exact population of New Westminster. At the end of 1862 it was judged to be 1,800.³¹ The population dwindled, chiefly because an end came to bar mining and the possibilities of quick riches for

27 Ibid. July 18, 1866.

28 Mainland Guardian, September 10, 1870.

29 ~~Ibid.~~ ^{British Columbian} June 6, 1861.

30 Ibid. June 6, 1866.

31 Ibid. December 24, 1862.

the individual, and in six years' time it was estimated to be less than 500.³² The white population of New Westminster City and District was given as 774 in the 1869 census. It must be taken into consideration that of this total number over 250 were engaged in logging camps and mills on Burrard Inlet. The exact figures given in the census of 1869 and 1870 are as follows:-

<u>Census for New Westminster and District</u> ³³		
	<u>1869</u>	<u>1870</u>
White males	615	891
" females	159	401
Chinese males	26	26
" females	1	1
Colored males	24	34
" females	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>838</u>	<u>1356</u>
Persons engaged in agriculture	137	286
" " " manufacture	280	192
" " " trade	49	38
Births - white	25	9
Deaths - "	2	13
Marriages "	8	87
Number saw-mills	2	3
" grist-mills	1	1
" distilleries	1	1
<u>Number of acres under cultivation</u>		
Wheat	76	328
Barley	53	124
Oats	432	425
Peas	79	106
Potatoes	183	136
Garden stuff	<u>41</u>	<u>107</u>
	<u>864</u>	<u>1226</u>

³² Ibid. May 2, 1869

³³ Mainland Guardian, May 6, 1871

	<u>1869</u>	<u>1870</u>
Number horses	292	1235
" horned cattle	2367	4078
" sheep	7	22
" pigs	1491	1885

Education

Number children - males	224	234
" " - females	224	233
Number at school - males	100	85
" " " - females	78	75
Number of schools - public	2	3
" " " - private	4	3

Wages

Agricultural (monthly and board)	\$20-\$35	\$30
Domestic do.	15-\$30	20-25
Trades (daily)	4.00	4.00
Saving Banks	1	1
Saving Depositors	52	56
Friendly Societies	0	3

THE INCORPORATION OF NEW WESTMINSTER
AND THE WORK OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

The people of New Westminster asked that the city should be incorporated chiefly because of Governor Douglas's attitude towards public improvements. Nothing had been done towards grading the streets even though the Government had promised that the money received from the sale of town lots would be used for this purpose. When Douglas visited the colony shortly after the second sale of lots at New Westminster on May 2, 1860, he was met by a delegation asking that the city be incorporated. Colonel Moody had already written to the Governor suggesting this step: "I venture, standing alone perhaps in my opinion, to state if your Excellency, obtaining the sanction of the Home Government, formed a Municipal Corporation, even at this early period of the Colony at New Westminster, and placed at their disposal the reserved and forfeited town lots to derive a municipal revenue from them to be applied to forming and maintaining streets, you would be agreeably surprised at the result".¹

Douglas agreed to the incorporation and wrote to the Colonial Office asking permission.

The inhabitants of New Westminster having expressed

¹ Moody Correspondence, Provincial Archives,
Moody to Douglas, September 6, 1859.

a great desire for incorporation of their town and the appointment of municipal officers to manage its revenues, I consulted their select committee as to their views, and as to the best means of carrying out their wishes. Their propositions are extremely moderate, embracing chiefly two points, viz., the right of taxing themselves, and of applying the proceeds of such taxes to grading the streets and to the general improvement of the town. After several interviews, and obtaining the sense of the people at a public meeting with respect to the amount of taxes they wished to raise, and as to whether such taxes should be levied on an arbitrary valuation or on an actual assessment of ² property, the draft of an Act was passed

The Colonial Secretary acceded to Governor Douglas's request and on July 17, 1860, "The New Westminster Municipal Council Act 1860" was proclaimed.³ The Act provided that the city should be divided into four wards: Ward 1 to include Blocks 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22, 23 and 28; Ward 2 to include Blocks 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17; Ward 3 to include Blocks 24, 25, 26, 29, 30 and 31; and Ward 4 to include Blocks 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 32 and 33. Wards 1 and 4 were to elect one councillor each, Ward 2 to elect three and Ward 3 to elect two. A man was entitled to vote in any ward in which he held property, although he could only have one vote in each ward. Voting was to be open. To be eligible for election to the Municipal Council a man must be

2 B. C. Despatches, letter book in Provincial Archives, p. 75, Douglas to Newcastle, May 23, 1860; B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 7.

3 B. C. Papers, Part 4, pp. 16-20, Enclosure in Despatch 10, Douglas to Newcastle, August 4, 1860.

a British subject, over twenty-one years of age, must have lived in New Westminster at least three months prior to his election and must own land valued at £50. Ineligible for office were ministers of any denomination, the sheriff and his officers. A member of the Municipal Council was to hold office for one year, but if he or his business partner entered into any contract with the Council he must resign at once.

Nomination Day was to be on August 6, with the election on the following day. The place of voting was to be decided by the Chief Inspector of Police for B. C., who was to act as Returning Officer. On July 25 preceding the election, the Returning Officer was to make out a list of qualified voters. Voters must be twenty-one years of age and at the first election must be property owners. On Nomination Day the Returning Officer was to nominate persons who came before him or who were nominated by some voter as candidates. A show of hands was to take place to determine who was elected. Any candidate could demand a poll and, if necessary, it was to be held on Election Day between the hours of 11.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m. Within forty-eight hours after a poll had been held, the Returning Officer was required to give the poll books into the custody of a Stipendiary Magistrate. Anyone could obtain a copy of the poll books for a fee of one shilling per folio.

The President of the Municipal Council was to be

electd by the Council. Four quarterly meetings were to be held yearly for the transaction of general business; one to be held on August 15 and at that meeting the dates of the other three would be decided. Meetings could be held at any other time at the call of the President or of any three members, after three days' notice had been given by posting signs on the doors of the meeting place, the magistrate's court and the Post Office.

The Municipal Council was given the power to pass by-laws pertaining to the regulation of sanitary conditions, regulation of markets, fire prevention, prevention and removal of nuisances, and the regulation of the introduction of diseased and unhealthy meat. It was empowered to use its revenue for the construction and maintenance of streets, bridges, etc., for drainage and sewerage, for the improvement of sanitary conditions and for the clearing of lots. By-laws must be approved by at least four councillors at a meeting where five were present. They were subject to the approval of the Governor. The Council had the power to mention in its by-laws the penalties to be imposed for their violation, such penalties not to exceed a fine of £10 or a prison term of three months.

The Council could spend up to one-third its total revenue for ordinary expenses. It was empowered to tax all town lots and the buildings thereon, except Government

property, but not in excess of £2 on a valuation of £100. It could levy an additional rate, not to exceed £5 on £100, if requisitioned by a majority of the ratepayers. An assessment roll was to be drawn up, listing all freehold and leasehold property with the names of the owners. The Council was to appoint an Assessor and to hear appeals from his assessments.

If property owners failed to clear their land, the Council could, by advertisement in the Government Gazette and local newspapers, give them notice to cut down all timber and trees except such trees as the Council agreed could be preserved for ornament. Failure to heed this notice would result in the land being cleared by the Council at the owner's expense. If the owner refused to pay the costs, the magistrate might order the sale of the land.

In accordance with the Act, the first election for the Municipal Council was held on August 6, 1860.⁴ On that day nominations took place before the Returning Officer, Mr. Justice Brew, at the Court House. A poll was held the following day. In Ward 1 Mr. A. H. Manson and Colonel Moody were nominated, each receiving two votes. Mr. J.A.R. Homer objected to Colonel Moody on the ground that he was a non-resident. The Returning Officer deciding that Colonel Moody was ineligible, Mr. Manson was declared elected. In Ward 2

4. New Westminster Times, August 8, 1860.

six candidates were nominated. Henry Holbrook received twenty-two votes; J.A.R. Homer, twenty; W. Armstrong, eighteen; J. Ramage, sixteen; W. Clarkson, six; and J. Tomlinson, six. The first three were duly elected. E. Brown with eight votes and Leonard McClure, editor of the Times, with six votes were elected in Ward 3 over J.T. Scott with four votes. In Ward 4 W.E. Cormack was elected without opposition. Leonard McClure was elected president.⁵

The New Westminster Times commented on the election: "Although the proceedings passed off exceedingly quietly, yet considerable excitement prevailed, and business seemed to be pretty generally suspended throughout the town. It is to be regretted that the ambiguous clause relating to property qualification was not defined before the nomination, thereby preventing the confusion and dissatisfaction which prevailed on the matter".⁶

The same method of election was followed in subsequent years. On nomination day nominations were received by Hon. Chartres Brew at the Court House. If two persons were proposed for a single seat a show of hands was taken and the vote was decided in favour of the man receiving a majority of "hands". However a poll could be demanded on

5 For a list of the members of the Municipal Council from 1860 to 1871, see Appendix A.

6 New Westminster Times, Loc. cit.

behalf of the defeated candidate in which case an open poll was held the following day. The President of the Council was elected by the members at the first meeting.

By October, 1861, it was found necessary to revise the Incorporation Act and the New Westminster Municipal Council Extension Act⁷ was issued by proclamation of the Governor. It extended the city limits to include Block 36, added to Ward 1; Block 35, added to Ward 3; and Block 34 added to Ward 4. An additional councillor was to be elected in Wards 1 and 4. Blocks 34, 35 and 36, lying between Royal Avenue and Queen's Avenue, had previously been sold at auction on August 21.⁸

The second New Westminster Municipal Extension Act⁹ of 1862 was passed on the requisition of the inhabitants. It enabled the Municipal Council to borrow money on the security of the city's revenue for the construction of streets and other public works and to impose special taxes for repayment of this money. If a by-law was passed by a majority of the ratepayers it was lawful for the Council to borrow any sum of money at any rate of interest and on any terms of repayment.

7 Imperial Blue Books, Proclamation, October 22, 1861.

8 British Columbian, August 29, 1861.

9 B. C. Despatches, p. 41, Douglas to Newcastle, November 4, 1862.

The following year the Act was amended for the third time for the purpose of enforcing the municipal regulations regarding the felling and removing of trees and brushwood and thus relieving the danger of fire in dry weather. By a proclamation of September 22, 1863, suburban blocks 5, 6 and 7 were added to the city. Three additional wards, 5, 6 and 7, were created, each electing one councillor.¹⁰

Immediately after its inception the Municipal Council began to undertake the task of opening up the streets of the city. Almost all the work was done by private contract after tenders had been publicly solicited. During its first year, August 1860 to August 1861, the Council spent over £1,900 chopping trees, clearing land and grading streets. Among the chief work done before the end of 1860 was chopping Alice Gardens, Louisa Gardens, Albert Crescent, Lytton Square and the Government Office Gardens. Mary Street, Douglas Street and Agnes Street were cleared, a start was made on grading Mary Street and extensive work was done on Columbia Street.¹¹ The north-east bridge was rebuilt at a cost of £74. From January to August 1861 additional streets were cleared: Royal Avenue, Blackwood, Bushby, Hall, Carnarvon, Spalding and Begbie Streets, Victoria Gardens, Merchant

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 42, November 23, 1863.

¹¹ See Appendix B for change in street names.

Square and Market Place were cleared, Lytton Square was graded and a road built to connect Holy Trinity Church with Columbia Street.¹² The work was done by civilian contractors, about twenty of them having men employed in this work at various times. They included John and Valentine Hall, John S. McLennan, Dougald McDonald, James Kennedy, L. Withrow, Woodside and Watson, C. G. Major, J. Murray and John Robson.

An editorial in the British Columbian of August 1, 1861, commented on the "preeminent success" of the Municipal Council during its first year of existence. "A year ago we had not a single street graded or even cleared so that a wagon could pass through and two-thirds of the town site was covered with a gigantic forest." The paper went on to list the Council's achievements: all the timber had been cut down and much burned, Columbia Street had been graded from one end to the other to a width of twenty feet and from the north-west bridge to the Custom House to a width of ninety-nine feet, other streets had been cleared and partially graded and a cemetery site had been obtained.

The Council had set aside certain lots on which public buildings would be erected. Four acres in the rear of the Government Office Gardens, comprising the block on which the Duke of Connaught High School is situated, were reserved

12. New Westminster Times, September 20, 1860;
British Columbian, January 2, 1862.

for a Public Seminary. In each ward lots were designated for schools: Ward 1, lot 29, block 22; Ward 2, lot 10, block 13; Ward 3, lot 15, block 29 and lot 18, block 31; Ward 4, lot 10, block 27 and lot 1, block 21. Lot 3 in block 13 was reserved as the site for a Town Hall and lot 14, block 24, for a Mechanics Institute. Lots were reserved in each ward for the use of the Fire Department: lot 21, block 22, in Ward 1; lot 3, block 14, in Ward 2; lot 1,¹³ block 30, in Ward 3, and lot 14, block 19, in Ward 4.

Columbia Street was the main street of the city and a considerable sum of money was spent grading, gravelling and corduroying parts of it. In all approximately £836 was expended on Columbia Street from August, 1860, to August,¹⁴ 1861. The first side-walk in New Westminster was built in the summer of 1861 on the upper side of Columbia Street from the bridge across the ravine near the Treasury to the corner of Begbie Street. The side-walk, twelve feet wide of two-inch planking, was laid¹⁵ at the expense of the owners of the adjoining property.

Most of the funds of the Council were spent during the first year on improving the lower part of the city and

¹³ New Westminster Times, December 1, 1860.

¹⁴ British Columbian, op. cit.

¹⁵ Ibid. June 20, 1861; August 1, 1861.

there was some dissatisfaction with this policy. Owners of lots outside the business district felt that too large a proportion of the city's revenue was spent on the area bordering Columbia Street.

The following fiscal year, 1861-1862, additional work was done on Douglas, Agnes and Mary Streets, but the Council's activity was restricted by a reduction of the Government grant from £1,000 to £200. The Government made a special grant of £150 for building a causeway on Ellice Street and a corduroy roadway was built on Ellice from Columbia to Agnes.¹⁶ The trees were chopped from Queen's Avenue, which was the northern boundary of the city after the proclamation of the Extension Act. In December, 1861, the Governor gave the Council control of the work of the chain gang¹⁷ and from that date some use was made of convict labour on the streets of the city, although most of the work was still done by private contractors.

During the year 1862-1863 work was continued on the streets in the lower part of the town. The chief expenditure was £409. 5. 7. paid on a contract to fill in the swampy ground at the lower (west) end of Columbia Street.¹⁸

16 Ibid. January 23, 1862; August 1, 1863.

17 Ibid. December 19, 1861.

18 Ibid. August 1, 1863.

In February, 1863, J. T. Scott was awarded a contract to build a levee along the river's edge. The levee, twenty-five feet wide, covered with three-inch plank, extended from¹⁹ Lytton Square to Liverpool Wharf, a distance of 914 feet. The Royal Engineers started work on a roadway along the river from the Camp towards the city to connect with Front Street but with the disbanding of the detachment, work was²⁰ suspended.

For the fiscal year ending August, 1864, the Council had a greatly increased revenue. Additional work was done on Royal Avenue, Mary, Ellice, Blackwood, Douglas and Columbia Streets. Front Street was officially opened October 2,²¹ 1863. Tenders were then called for its continuation from Liverpool Wharf to Douglas Street, this contract also being²² awarded to J. T. Scott. In all \$5,895 was spent on this²³ waterfront roadway. The most extensive work undertaken was the construction of a plank road on Richards and Edinburgh Streets to Queen's Avenue. The contract for this road was²⁴ awarded to S. P. Moody and Company for \$12,901. In December, 1863, the Governor gave the Council £300 in land scrip and this was used to clear suburban blocks 5, 6, and 7,

19 Ibid. August 15, 1863.
 20 Ibid. October 17, 1863.
 21 Ibid. October 3, 1863.
 22 Ibid. October 14, 1863.
 23 Ibid. August 5, 1864.
 24 Loc. cit.

added to the city by the Municipal Extension Act of 1863.²⁵
 The Council had previously asked Colonel Moody to mark the
 boundaries of the city by placing stone pillars at the
 outside limits before his departure for England.²⁶

In September, 1863, tenders were called for constructing a sidewalk on Columbia Street from the Columbia Hotel, Lytton Square, to lot 12, block 21, the eastern limits of the city.²⁷ The work, costing \$1,225, was paid for by a special tax levied on the owners of the adjoining property. Later the same year a sidewalk was built on the west side of Mary Street from Front Street to Royal Avenue and another on the south side of Columbia Street from lot 4, block 6, the corner of Lytton Square, to Douglas Street. A total of \$2,563.50 was spent on sidewalks during the fiscal year August, 1863, to August, 1864, and this was partly paid for by a special tax which amounted to \$1,971.20.²⁸

By the spring of 1864 most of the townsite from Front Street to Queen's Avenue and from the eastern limits of the city to Ellice Street had been cleared. Most of the roads in this portion, including Columbia, Hamley, Ellice,

25 Ibid. December 26, 1863.

26 Dickinson Letters, F.464, Dickinson to Moody, October 2, 1863.

27 British Columbian, September 9, 1863.

28 Ibid. August 5, 1864.

Blackwood, Mary Streets, Royal Avenue, Prevost, Pelham, Clement, St. Patrick, Clinton, Bushby, Begbie and Agnes Streets, had been chopped and cleared, and many of the streets in the main section of the city had been graded. In many cases when clearing was done, tall timbers were left standing. The British Columbian was constantly urging that the timber along the roads and public reserves should be cleared as it constituted a fire hazard. In the issue of June 4, 1864, the paper complained of "a public reservation of considerable extent lying between Park Lane and the Camp upon which the timber is still standing and which will some time or other originate a 'big fire' which may do much damage both east and west." Alice Gardens was being cleared and the timber burned at this time and the Surveyor-General warned the contractors that, as he had received complaints from nearby residents, the fires would have to be watched day and night.²⁹

The Municipal Council was beginning to experience some difficulty in getting work done and it became a common practice for contractors to refuse to undertake contracts after they had been awarded. "Within one month a certain contract on the Royal Avenue was three times awarded to the lowest tender and three times thrown up."³⁰ Finally the

29 Lands and Works Department Letter Book, p. 224, Surveyor-General to Hall and Linn, May 29, 1864.

30 British Columbian, December 9, 1863.

Council passed a regulation that each tender must be accompanied by the name of a responsible citizen who would guarantee that the contract would be accepted. A surety of \$50 had to accompany each tender of \$500 or less and ten³¹ per cent. on contracts over \$500.

By the end of the fiscal year 1864 to 1865 most of the heavy municipal work had been finished and it was felt that a heavy tax rate was no longer necessary. In September, 1865, the Council decided to reduce the tax assessment from³² two to one per cent. Civic improvements continued to be undertaken but the work was on a very much smaller scale.

Columbia Street was always the main thoroughfare of the city but very little improvement was made from the time it was originally graded until 1864. The necessity of grading the lower end of Columbia Street and of repairing bridges led the Municipal Council to ask Governor Douglas³³ for a grant. The grant was made and Mr. E. A. Sharpe was given a contract for \$2,400 for the portion of Columbia³⁴ Street between Hamley and Douglas Streets. The majority of the Council's revenue for the year 1864-65 was spent on³⁵ the west end of Columbia Street. This part of Columbia

31 Ibid. December 26, 1863.

32 Ibid. September 9, 1865.

33. Ibid. March 2, 1864.

34 Ibid. November 6, 1864.

35 Ibid. August 12, 1865.

Street was swampy and liable to flood at high water and a considerable amount of money had to be spent filling it in and reclaiming it. An editorial in the British Columbian at the time of the 1865 Estimates remarked, "That portion of Columbia Street lying north-east of Lytton Square has never had much attention. Little more than a mere roadway has been made, while the old rickety bridges which span the two ravines on either side of Lytton Square and which were hastily thrown across by the Royal Engineers in 1860 are still the sole means of crossing."³⁶

In that year the Colonial Secretary, A. N. Birch, informed the Municipal Council that the Governor intended to place on the estimates a large sum to be devoted to the repairing of the main thoroughfares of the city so that the Council could devote the proceeds of local taxation to streets of only local importance. The sum of £2,500 was voted for improving New Westminster streets in the 1865 estimates. On March 23, the Columbian reported that Mr. Turnbull had commenced taking the grades preparatory to getting up specifications for grading Columbia Street east of Lytton Square.³⁷

Between Columbia Street and the river was Front Street. One of the first Municipal Councils entered into an agreement with Coloney Moody by which the Royal Engineers

³⁶ Ibid. March 16, 1865.

³⁷ Ibid. March 23, 1865.

would "construct a roadway along the edge of the river, commencing at this side of the camp and ending at the eastern limits of the town, the Council on its part agreeing to continue the plank roadway on to that point".³⁸ The Engineers started work on the road and the Council gave out the contract for its portion but Governor Douglas ordered the Engineers to stop and the scheme had to be abandoned. After Douglas's retirement the subject was again broached and the Government agreed to carry out its original undertaking. In December, 1864, the Municipal Council received a letter from the Acting Commissioner of Lands and Works asking whether they were prepared to complete Front Street to the city limits as he was about to construct the road from there to the Camp. The Municipal Council replied that it was anxious to complete its portion.³⁹ The Government awarded its contract to Mr. Holmes and by April, 1865, this part of the road had been completed.⁴⁰ The Municipal Council used part of its 1865 grant for repairing Front Street which was reported to be in very bad condition and in the spring gave the contract for extending Front Street to connect with the Camp Road to Mr. Bonson. The British Columbian for July 4, 1865, reported that it was completed

38 Ibid. October 12, 1864.

39 Ibid. December 7, 1864.

40 Ibid. March 23, 1865; April 27, 1865.

"thereby giving a continuous plank levee along the entire front of the city, and affording a delightful panorama of over a mile in extent, along the water's edge".

In August, 1865, the Government assumed ownership of Front Street. The Municipal Council claimed that Front Street and the water lots were municipal property but, because the Government refused to surrender the river frontage, the Council was not willing to assume the cost of maintaining
41
Front Street.

By the end of 1865, Front Street and Columbia Street were in fairly good condition and it was felt that the back streets should now be fixed. Part of the 1865 grant had already been spent on Douglas Street. Further work was done on existing roads and in grading new ones as money was available. In December, 1866, the Municipal Council called for tenders for burning off St. John Street from the existing road on Royal Avenue to Pelham Street. At the same time the Council asked the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works to allow the chain gang to do certain work at the junction of
42
Douglas and Prevost Streets. Later in the same month they voted \$50 to repair Columbia Street between Douglas Street and the Plank Road and called for tenders to grade Agnes

41 Ibid. July 4, 1865; August 12, 1865.

42 Ibid. December 19, 1866.

Street to a width of sixteen or twenty-four feet.

During 1867 Columbia Street was repaired⁴³ and the two old bridges across the ravines on either side of Lytton Square were renovated.⁴⁴ The next year Agnes Street was⁴⁵ repaired from Douglas to Mary Streets.

On March 2, 1870, the Municipal Council published a notice in the Mainland Guardian informing the public that certain portions of Front Street were unsafe. In May the paper reported that the planks in some places were "perfectly rotten" and that one of Mr. Eickhoff's children had fallen⁴⁶ through and severely injured himself. As the Government claimed ownership of the water frontage the city expected the colonial authorities to pay the cost of maintaining Front Street. In the autumn of 1870 a deputation of prominent citizens waited on Governor Musgrave and an agreement was finally reached by which Front Street was to be repaired and kept up by the Government for five years at the end of which time it would be handed over to the Municipal Council with⁴⁷ the water frontages. In July, 1871, the agreement was reaffirmed; the Government promising to repair Front Street thoroughly and allow the Council \$250 annually for five years

43 Ibid. January 5, 1867.

44 Ibid. November 5, 1867.

45 Ibid. May 23, 1868.

46. Mainland Guardian, May 18, 1870.

47 Ibid. October 8, 1870; October 15, 1870.

48
for its maintenance.

In the spring of 1871 both sides of Columbia Street
49
were planted with trees. At the same time it was announced
that the sidewalks throughout the city would be levelled and
50
new ones constructed wherever needed.

The revenue of the Municipal Council consisted almost entirely of tax collections supplemented by Government grants. The Council was continually approaching the Government for a grant of funds on the ground that much revenue from the city, to which the Council was entitled, had gone into the general revenue of the colony. The money raised by the sale of town lots went into the British Columbia Treasury and when the city was incorporated in 1860 the unsold lots were not handed over to the civic authorities. They remained crown lands and, as they were sold, the profits were added to the colonial revenue.

The total amount spent by the Colonial Government at New Westminster to December 30, 1861, was as follows:

48 Ibid. July 12, 1871.
49 Ibid. March 2, 1871.
50 Ibid. March 9, 1871.

51

CIVIL EXPENDITURES

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<u>Streets and Clearing</u>						
1859-2 bridges on Columbia St.	227	6	0			
1859-clearing and making streets	692	6	8			
	919	12	8			
1860-clearing town site	1,778	16	1	2,698	8	9
<u>Buildings</u>						
1859 - Survey Office	493	18	8			
Magistrate's Office	186	17	0			
Treasury	804	8	0			
Custom House	540	4	0			
Revenue Station	43	10	10			
Pier	501	3	0	2,570	1	6
1860 -				2,362	14	11
<u>Trails</u>						
1859 - Pitt River, Burrard Inlet and other Trails	417	0	6	417	0	6
				8,048	5	8

MILITARY EXPENDITURESCamp

1859	8,758	6	7			
1860 - Hospital, married quarters	1,392	6	4	10,150	12	11

North Road

1859	70	0	0			
1860	22	7	8	92	7	8
				10,243	0	7

<u>Total at New Westminster</u>	£	s.	d.
Civil	8,048	5	8
Military	<u>10,243</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>
	<u>18,291</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>

Of this amount £2,698. 8. 9. was the total actually expended on the improvement of the city while the Government had collected over £25,000 from the sale of lots at New Westminster. However, the Government was not in a position to make extensive grants to the city. The revenue from the mines had fallen short of expectations. The Imperial Government would make no further financial contribution to the colony and in fact expected British Columbia to repay the money spent at the time of its inception. When grants were made to the Council, warrants were issued by the Government in favour of the President who was required to account monthly to the Colonial Treasurer.

The tax levy was based on the assessed value of property as listed on the assessment roll. From September, 1860, to September, 1865, the tax assessment was at the maximum rate allowed by the Incorporation Act - two per cent.⁵² In 1865 the levy was reduced to one per cent. and remained at this rate until September, 1869, when it was increased to one and a half per cent.⁵³ At the time of Confederation the

⁵² British Columbian, September 9, 1865.

⁵³ Mainland Guardian, November 17, 1869.

tax levy was still at that rate. After the tax assessments had been made the Municipal Council sat as a court of revision to hear appeals.

The first assessment roll was completed by the middle of September, 1860. The total assessed value of property in the city was £43,076, but a considerable amount of property yielded no revenue as it was either Government reserved land or forfeited lots. The total taxes were fixed at £861. 10. 4. and it was expected that about £700 of this⁵⁴ would be collected. The assessment on individual lots varied greatly, the highest assessments being in blocks 4, 5, and 6, where the valuation on a single lot ranged from £450 to £600. The highest assessment, £600, was fixed for lots 1 and 5 to 10, block 5; lot 4, block 6, and lot 1, block 7. Assessments in other blocks were as low as £35 for one lot.⁵⁵ The Colonist remarked that "the sapient official has fixed the assessments at two, three, four times the⁵⁶ market value".

For the year 1860-1861 in addition to the tax levy the Council had a grant of £1,000 from the Government. The next year the Government grant was reduced to £200. The tax levy for this period was £858. 9. 0., being a two per cent.

54 New Westminster Times, September 20, 1860.

55. Ibid. September 20, 1860.

56 British Colonist, September 18, 1860.

tax on property valued at £42,923. The highest assessment was £600 on Lots 1, 3, and 5 to 11 of Block 5, and Lots 1 to 4 of Block 6. All these lots fronted on both Columbia and Front Streets and lay between Lytton Square and Begbie Street. Almost all the lots along the river or Columbia Street in the centre part of the city were assessed at over £100 while most of the lots on the back streets were valued at £50.⁵⁷

As urgent need was felt for additional revenue to undertake necessary civic improvements and a public meeting was held on August 27, 1862, to discuss the question of negotiating a loan. It was decided that the Council should prepare an estimate of the work to be done and present it at a later meeting.⁵⁸ At this second meeting it was decided to ask Governor Douglas for \$15,000. Douglas refused the request but he did agree to issue a proclamation authorizing the Council to issue debentures as soon as a majority of the ratepayers had sanctioned the loan.⁵⁹ In accordance with his promise, the Governor enacted the New Westminster Municipal Extension Act to which reference has already been made.⁶⁰

The Municipal Council prepared to float a loan of £3,500 by issuing debentures of £100 each bearing interest

⁵⁷ Assessment Roll, 1861, British Columbian, November 14, 1861.

⁵⁸ Ibid. August 30, 1862.

⁵⁹ Ibid. August 17, 1862.

⁶⁰ Ibid. October 15, 1862.

at the rate of six per cent. a year, redeemable in from nine to fifteen years. The capital was to be secured on the general revenue of the city and was to be used exclusively for the improvement of streets.⁶¹ The debentures were to be redeemable at the Bank of British Columbia, either in London or New Westminster. Unfortunately, however, the Bank of British Columbia refused to have anything to do with the loan and the British Columbia Government refused to endorse the debentures, so the whole scheme had to be reconsidered.⁶²

The Municipal Council was constantly trying to get another source of revenue - the rental from the water frontage. In December, 1861, it was announced that the Government had finally promised to put this money at the disposal of the Council,⁶³ but in November, 1862, the Council received a letter from the Colonial Secretary stating that because of the depressed state of the colonial treasury the Government could only allow the city the revenue as from September, 1862. For the same reason the Government could not reimburse the city for the money spent by the Council in clearing lots.⁶⁴

Mr. W. E. Cormack approached the Attorney-General regarding the subject of the river frontage and the Attorney-

61 Ibid. November 19, 1862.

62 Ibid. December 6, 1862.

63 Ibid. December 19, 1861.

64 Ibid. November 26, 1862.

65 Ibid. December 20, 1862.

General said the Government would grant the Municipal Council the rentals "but that the lots could not become the bona fide property of the city, having been mortgaged with the general revenue" (of the colony).⁶⁵

In February of the following year Governor Douglas authorized the Treasury to pay the Council £81 as payment for clearing the government town lots and promised to give the rentals on the water lots as soon as possible.⁶⁶

The following year the Municipal Council was restricted in its activities by lack of funds. For the year 1862-63 the total revenue was only £1,367. 17. 7; being chiefly £1,052. 4. 3. in current taxes and £211 given by the government for clearing lots and the cemetery.⁶⁷

In December, 1863, the Council called for tenders for the purchase of £2,600 in municipal debentures at six per cent. interest,⁶⁸ and \$13,386.00 was raised by this loan. Thus during the year 1863-1864 the Council had a greatly increased revenue. Their total funds amounted to \$32,906.25 and included besides the loan, \$7,117.47 in taxes, \$1,971.20 assessment on sidewalks and \$5,895, representing the rentals from the water frontage.⁶⁹

However almost all this amount was spent during

65 Ibid. December 30, 1862.

66 Ibid. February 14, 1863.

67 Ibid. August 1, 1863.

68 Ibid. December 23, 1863.

69 Ibid. August 5, 1864.

the current year and in November, 1864, the Council asked the government for a grant, accompanying their request with a statement of the amount spent by the people of New Westminster in the city since its founding.

Amount paid on purchase from Government	\$127,332.28
" " for chopping timber	7,060.00
" " " burning	3,058.00
" levied for sidewalks	1,970.50
Taxes levied 1860-1861	3,187.76
" " 1861-1862	6,278.41
" " 1862-1863	5,233.33
" " 1863-1864	7,117.47
" " 1864-1865	8,360.31
	<u>\$170,120.06</u>

The Council explained that it wished to spend \$11,800 on streets during the year (1864-65) and reminded the Government that the original purchasers of town lots at New Westminster were promised that the money raised by land sales would be spent on building roads. Of the total amount received by the Government the Council had been given only \$9,277 in cash and a small amount in land scrip.⁷⁰

Early in 1865 the Municipal Council received a letter from Honourable A. N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, informing the Council that the Government intended to make a grant to the city and the Colonial Estimates for 1865 listed a grant of £2,500 for the improvement of New Westminster streets.⁷¹

70 Ibid. November 2, 1864, and November 26, 1864.

71 Ibid. March 7, 1865.

Unfortunately the statements of the receipts and expenditures of the Municipal Council were not published after August, 1864, so no complete data is available for the period from 1864 - 1871. The tax levy for 1864-65 was \$8,601.⁷² In September, 1865, the tax rate was reduced and the Council's revenue was correspondingly lowered. The taxes for 1866-67 were estimated at \$2,300.22.⁷³ The next fiscal year (1867-68) the total revenue of the Council was \$8,441.04, of which \$2,645.70 was from tax receipts.⁷⁴

The Municipal Council was authorized to sell lots for non-payment of taxes. Notice was posted of lot owners whose property was in danger of forfeiture and usually the taxes were paid before the date of the sale. One such sale was held on August 10, 1867. Among those listed as owing taxes was Colonel Moody, who was in arrears \$26.25 on five lots in suburban blocks 5 and 7.⁷⁵ The Columbian reported that although only a few lots were forfeited there was a large attendance at the sale and bidding was spirited.⁷⁶

Another tax sale was held on March 2 of the following year but most of the lots were again redeemed and only about a dozen were offered.

The meetings of the Municipal Council were not

72 Ibid. July 18, 1865.
 73 Ibid. December 19, 1866.
 74 Ibid. August 15, 1868.
 75 Ibid. July 24, 1867.
 76 Ibid. August 14, 1867.

held with any regularity and on occasions five or six weeks elapsed without a meeting being called. The functions of the Council became somewhat paralyzed and uninteresting towards the close of the fiscal year as all its funds had been expended.

Early in its history a minor crisis developed in the Municipal Council. The Colonist reported that the Council was "suffering from broils" because some of the lot holders objected to a large proportion of the city's revenue being spent on Columbia Street. Messrs. Holbrook, Armstrong and Brown refused to attend Council meetings for several months because they were annoyed at a proposal to spend \$385 to make a road through Lytton Square. Their objection was based on the fact that two of the other councillors owned land adjoining the square. Four of the seven members were in favour of the proposed expenditure but as five members had to be present when a money vote was taken, the three could prevent any action by absenting themselves from meetings.⁷⁷ Finally the remaining members of the Council sent a petition to Governor Douglas asking him to amend the Incorporation Act to give the four members, who had been attending meetings, power to pass the necessary by-laws. His Excellency replied that he could do nothing as any

⁷⁷ Ibid. April 4, 1861; April 11, 1861.

interference on his part would be a violation of the powers of the Municipal Council. "The proper cure for the evil complained of is public opinion."⁷⁸

New Westminster experienced the usual difficulties in finding suitable people to run for public office and in getting voters to the polls. On August 1, 1861, the British Columbian said, "We regret to learn that some of our best men refuse to allow themselves to be put in nomination", and on August 3, 1865, the paper commented, "Stolid indifference evinced during the past year or two with regard to the selection of civic representatives is a condition of the public mind which bodes no good to the city".

In February, 1864, the Municipal Council drafted a new constitution and called a meeting of the ratepayers for the purpose of submitting its proposal. One of the main changes contemplated was to decrease the number of councillors from twelve to eight. The Columbian described the meeting as "one of the most disorderly gatherings which has ever taken place in New Westminster". The paper contended that two-thirds of those present were not ratepayers "and yet had the indelicacy to take part in the proceedings, their ring-leaders, in the most persistent and indecorous manner, preventing those who had a right from taking part".⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Ibid. April 18, 1861.

⁷⁹ Ibid. February 15, 1864.

The outcome of the meeting was that as the ratepayers did not approve of the Council's proposal, the constitution remained unchanged.

When the Municipal Council began to function, its officers included a clerk and a treasurer, both paid from civic revenue. During the first fiscal year the clerk received £137. 10 s., while the treasurer, W. J. Armstrong, was paid £25 for a six month period.⁸⁰ The office of treasurer was abolished sometime prior to May 1, 1861, probably at the end of six months, and an Honorary Treasurer was appointed.⁸¹ Mr. John Cooper accepted the position and served in this capacity at least until September, 1864, and probably until his return to England early in 1865. Henry Holbrook was Honorary Treasurer from 1867 to 1869, so apparently it was customary for a member of the Council to act in that capacity.

No record was found of the name of the first city clerk but in August, 1861, Valentine Hall was appointed clerk, assessor and collector, at a salary of £200.⁸² Hall continued to hold these offices until April, 1864, when he was suspended⁸³ and S. T. Tilley was appointed in his place. In September, 1864, Mr. Tilley resigned all three appointments

80 Ibid. January 2, 1862.

81 Ibid. May 2, 1861.

82 Ibid. August 22, 1861.

83 Ibid. April 2, 1864.

but was reappointed Collector at an annual salary of \$250, while Thomas McMicking was named clerk and assessor at \$750 a year.⁸⁴ Tilley resigned the next month and McMicking was appointed collector. Mr. McMicking was drowned late in the summer of 1866, while making an unsuccessful attempt to rescue his son from the waters of the Fraser about seven miles below New Westminster. J. D. Sullivan, W. D. Ferris and William Clarkson applied for the deceased's position, and the latter being appointed he had to resign his seat on the Council. The following August Mr. Clarkson tendered his resignation, and W. J. Armstrong, a member of the Council, was appointed clerk pro tem.⁸⁵ The British Columbian published an editorial on August 17, 1867, protesting the "shabby way" in which the Council had treated Mr. Clarkson. It deplored the "scurvy treatment meted out an old, faithful and most efficient public servant" and said the Council's action was dictated by "paltry personal spleen". Mr. H. V. Edmonds made application and was appointed Clerk, Assessor and Collector at \$250 a year. The Columbian complained that no applications were asked for the position and that the old clerk had not been given an opportunity to apply. "The miserable little game was concocted weeks, nay, months before ever it was played, and it was all intended to administer to

84 Ibid. September 7, 1864.

85 Ibid. August 12, 1867.

the revenge of a sadly disappointed aspirant for political distinction, who 'openly and repeatedly vowed vengeance'."⁸⁶

Mr. Edmonds continued to act as Clerk, Assessor and Collector at the same salary until 1870, when he was appointed clerk without pay until other arrangements could be made.⁸⁷ The next month he was offered the position at \$350 a year but declined. However, some agreement must have been reached between Mr. Edmonds and the Council as he served as Clerk, Assessor and Collector until some time after Confederation.

The writer could find no definite information as to where the first meetings of the Municipal Council were held. The statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Council for the year ending August 5, 1863, lists £27. 13. 6. as the cost of office rental.⁸⁸ By the spring of 1864, the Council was meeting in a room in C. J. Millard's building, the rental of the room being \$235 for eleven months.⁸⁹ Captain Millard's building, usually called the Webster Building, as it was partly owned by J. A. Webster, was a three-storey stone building completed in May, 1863, on the present site of The Canadian Bank of Commerce.⁹⁰ In March, 1864, the Clerk was instructed to write Captain Millard informing him that the room occupied by the Council was unfit for use on account of

86 Ibid. August 21, 1867.

87 Mainland Guardian, August 10, 1870.

88 British Columbian, August 1, 1863.

89 Ibid. August 5, 1864.

90 Ibid. May 23, 1863.

of smoke and asking him to make ready as soon as possible the room he had promised on an upper floor.⁹¹ Presumably, this was done in due course, although no further information was found on this subject.

The first Board of Health at New Westminster was appointed by Chartres Brew in June, 1863, its members being J. T. Scott, W. J. Armstrong and Robert Hannah.⁹² In subsequent years the three members of the board were appointed by the magistrate on the recommendation of the Municipal Council. Other pioneer members of the Board of Health were William Johnston, H. W. Smith, Dr. A. W. S. Black, William Fisher, John Smeaton, Dr. W. Macnaughton Jones, Hugh McRoberts, James Cunningham and J. Franklin.⁹³

91 Ibid. March 19, 1864.

92 Ibid. June 13, 1863.

93 Ibid. September 5, 1866; August 21, 1867; August 19, 1868, and Mainland Guardian, June 18, 1870.

THE BUILDING OF SUBURBAN ROADS AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE DISTRICT AROUND NEW WESTMINSTER.

One of the first tasks which the Royal Engineers undertook was opening up the land around the capital and building essential roads. As early as the spring of 1859 Colonel Moody decided that a road should be built from New Westminster to tide water on Burrard Inlet so that the city could be more easily defended in case of attack.¹

Military considerations were one of Colonel Moody's chief concerns. To ensure the defence of New Westminster and the surrounding territory he had constituted six reserves. The largest of these included the whole south side of the Fraser as far as the border, from two miles above the confluence of the Pitt and Fraser to six miles below New Westminster. There were two naval reserves of 110 acres and 788 acres at Jericho and Point Grey. Both sides of the First Narrows were constituted as military reserves: 354 acres of what is now Stanley Park and 950 acres of the north shore opposite the park. One hundred and fifty-five acres was set aside as a naval reserve on the south side of the inlet

1 Royal Engineers' Letter Book 3, pp. 108-110.

(later known as Granville townsite) and 110 acres near Port Moody at the head of the inlet, also became a naval reserve. On the north and south sides of the Second Narrows 190 acres and 127 acres were reserved for military purposes.²

Work on a trail from New Westminster to the Inlet was started by a group of engineers under Sergeant John McMurphy, a roadway sixty-six feet wide being surveyed for five miles due north from the Camp to reach the Inlet at a point some miles west of the present site of Port Moody.

Because of the direction it was known as the "North Road". The sappers had covered about half the distance to the Inlet when the San Juan incident occurred and the Engineers were despatched to the scene of the trouble. Colonel Moody was insistent that the road should be completed and Douglas agreed. Work on the trail was resumed during the winter of 1859-1860, some of the work being done by the Engineers themselves and some by civilian contractors. The North Road was completed in the spring of 1861 and the British Columbian reported that Burrard Inlet was "quite a resort for pleasure seekers".³ The road was actually nothing more than a wide trail, until in 1862 a party of sappers chopped the timber from the entire surveyed width.⁴ However by the

2 Ibid. p. 156; B.C. Papers, Part 3, p.78, Douglas to Newcastle, December 23, 1859.

3 British Columbian, April 4, 1861.

4 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

next spring it was declared to be unfit for vehicular traffic.

On January 4, 1860, Governor Douglas enacted the first Pre-Emption Act and the Royal Engineers were faced with the task of surveying the suburban lands.

They began at Lot 1 on the North Road worked out northward along the road as far as Lot 9, then they surveyed lots around Burnaby Lake, some along the south shore of Burrard Inlet and 2 lots on the North shore; also from the North Road to the Coquitlam River, south of a line drawn east from the south boundary of Lot 5. On the south side of the Fraser they surveyed lots 1 to 30 with lines at right angles to the River and Boundary Bay, also lots in Langley and Chilliwack.⁵

By the Pre-Emption Act it was hoped to encourage farmers to settle on the fertile lands around New Westminster as the food supply of the colony could not meet the demands of the mining camps. The first Pre-Emption Act⁶ provided for the purchase of unsurveyed Crown lands, not exceeding 160 acres to a single purchaser. The price was not to exceed ten shillings an acre and the purchasers had only to enter into possession of the land and record an application of purchase with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. A few days later a second proclamation made it possible to purchase surveyed lands at ten shillings an acre after they

5 Draper, William, unpublished Notes.

6 Imperial Blue Books, B. C. Proclamation, January 4, 1860.

had been offered at public auction.⁷ By a proclamation of January 19, 1861, the price of country land was reduced to 4 ^{s.} 2 d. an acre.⁸

Governor Douglas wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on the success of his policy.

The effect of the Pre-Emption Law is already observable in the forest clearings made by settlers in the densely wooded land on the banks of the Fraser River. The cost of clearing such land by means of hired labour ranges from £15 to £30 an acre, and it will consequently never prove an attractive investment for capital, such land cannot be cleared to advantage otherwise than by the actual settler investing his own labour in the formation of a permanent home and property for himself and family.⁹

However Douglas's enthusiasm was not shared by the colonists and the land policy of the administration was the subject of much criticism, chiefly because agricultural land was sold without any condition of settlement. "We all know that the present land system of British Columbia is rotten to its very centre; that it encourages the land-shark and discourages the hardy pioneer."¹⁰ As a consequence much of the best agricultural land was obtained by non-resident speculators. A considerable amount of land close to New Westminster was taken up by Government officials; the result

7 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S. British Columbia, V. 2, p. 591.

8 Proclamation No. 2, January 19, 1861, B.C. Papers, part 4, pp. 71, 72.

9 B.C. Papers, part 4, p. 6, Douglas to Newcastle, May 23, 1860.

10 British Columbian, May 9, 1861.

of this practice being that bona fide settlers were discouraged.

Ten years later the Mainland Guardian complained that "the environs of New Westminster are equally a prey to speculative land-holders and long stretches of magnificent bottom land are lying unutilized because these insatiable cormorants cannot obtain a price commensurate with their ¹¹ extravagant idea of its value", and said that the nearest farm on the Pitt River road was eight miles out because all the land closer to town was still held by speculators.

Not the least of the land-grabbing officials was Colonel Moody himself who obtained land close to the capital chiefly on the North Road and around Burnaby Lake. In all he "bought" 3,750 acres for which he paid \$1.01 to \$2.42 $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre.¹² His chief holding was "Mayfield" a 200 or 300 tract on the North Road which he developed into a model farm. A letter to the editor of the British Columbian published on May 2, 1861, said in part - "Colonel Moody has done much for this place and if he would only wash his hands of land-sharkism, . . . encourage the man who will improve the land and turn the cold shoulder to the 'land-shark' he would not only be a popular but a useful man in the colony".

11 Mainland Guardian, June 11, 1870.

12 See Cope, M.C.L., Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, Appendix IX, pp. 226-227.

On May 28, 1861, Governor Douglas issued a proclamation announcing that only bona fide settlers would be permitted to take up land under the terms of the Pre-Emption Act of 1860 and the Country Land Act of 1861. The conditions of sale were to be occupancy and improvement of the land.¹³ The next month the New Westminster Municipal Council presented a petition to the Governor asking for the establishment of a centrally located land-office which would freely give information to would-be settlers. At that time persons desiring to register pre-emptions or to obtain information about available land were obliged to go to Colonel Moody's office at the Camp. Complaint was constantly made that this office was too busy with other matters to give much attention or encouragement to prospective settlers.¹⁴

By the summer of 1861 there were only thirteen farms in the vicinity of New Westminster. The total acreage under cultivation on six of these holdings was estimated at fifty acres.¹⁵ S. W. Herring had a ranch across the river from the capital with ten acres planted in vegetables. He also had a few cows and was probably New Westminster's first milk dealer.¹⁶ Three other farmers had located on the south

¹³ British Columbian, June 20, 1861.

¹⁴ Ibid. June 6, 1861.

¹⁵ Ibid. May 9, 1861.

¹⁶ Ibid. June 13, 1861.

bank of the Fraser. Mr. Armstrong had several acres of vegetables and Mr. James Kennedy had cleared land preparatory to setting our fruit trees. Mr. Armstrong's farm lay below the city while Mr. Kennedy's holding was at Annieville. Almost opposite New Westminster Mr. Brown had pre-empted land of which ten acres was under cultivation.¹⁷ On June 4, 1861, Governor Douglas wrote to the Colonial Secretary, "The forests opposite the town are beginning to yield to the woodman's efforts; and one enterprising proprietor, Mr. Brown, has discovered on his ground a large tract of excellent land which certainly cannot be surpassed in point of fertility or quality of soil".¹⁸ A Mr. Murphy had a farm on an island in the river (probably Lulu Island) at this date, but the unfortunate gentleman was murdered by Indians in November, 1861.¹⁹

17 Ibid. September 5, 1861.

18 B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 52, Douglas to Newcastle, June 14, 1861.

19 British Columbian, July 11, 1861; November 9, 1861. Indian Peter, alias Kayule, was tried at the Assizes of November, 1869, for the murder of Mr. Murphy. Peter, who had been working for some years at Moody's Mill, had quarrelled with Murphy over wages and had killed the whiteman. Evidence was given by the prisoner's mother-in-law who had witnessed the murder eight years before and had kept silent because she was threatened with death if she divulged what she had seen. The Indian woman said she was growing old and wished to clear her conscience. Peter was found guilty and sentenced to death.

Other early settlers were Capt. McLean on the Pitt River and Mr. S. H. Atkins on the "Quoquitlam". A trail was built from the Camp to Pitt River in 1859 by Messrs. William Clarkson and Sparrow and the Royal Engineers pastured their horses on Pitt Meadows. McLean, who started his farm at an earlier date, had seventy head of cattle, hogs and several horses, while Mr. Atkins had planted vegetables and was preparing to start an orchard.²⁰ Mr. Wm. Holmes had pre-empted land and started farming on the North Road along Brunette Creek and Colonel Moody's "Mayfield" was located further along the road.²¹

A Mr. Welsh had located along Douglas Road by the spring of 1861²² and various other claims had been made in the vicinity of Burnaby and Deer Lakes, one of the earliest being that of John French. Settlement in this direction was hampered by a Government proclamation of October, 1862, which reserved from pre-emption the land on the south side of Burrard Inlet west three miles and to a distance of one mile from the water. Also reserved was all the land lying between this reserve and French's holding on the Douglas Road.²³

A road had been built by Mr. Ross on the north bank of the Fraser running from New Westminster towards the Gulf.

20 Ibid. September 26, 1861

21 Ibid. October 10, 1861.

22 Ibid. April 4, 1861.

23 Ibid. August 15, 1862; October 15, 1862.

It started from the end of Royal Avenue and continued westward past Homer's mill.²⁴ By October, 1861, it was completed for a distance of three miles and along it Mr. H. A. McKee had pre-empted an "excellent claim of part prairie and part woodland".²⁵ Further down the river Mr. Hugh McRoberts had just purchased 1,300 acres of grassland on Sea Island and the mainland with land scrip. In April, 1862, tenders were called by the Lands and Works Department for construction of a ten mile wagon road, eighteen feet wide, as near the North Arm of the Fraser as swampy ground would permit, to be a continuation of the three mile road built the previous year by Mr. Ross.²⁶ No record was found of this contract being awarded, but Hugh McRoberts did cut a trail down the north arm as far as the Musqueam Indian Reserve, taking payment in land scrip. The cost of the road was given as £720.²⁷ McRoberts' trail followed closely along the route of the existing River Road.

A trail had been built under Government contract by James Kennedy from his pre-emption at Annieville. It followed up the river as far as Brownsville wharf, opposite New Westminster, and thence on about four miles to connect with the Langley trail.²⁸ In the other direction it followed

24 B. C. Despatches, p. 478, Douglas to Newcastle, June 15, 1863; British Columbian, March 14, 1861.

25 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

26 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

27 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

28 British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

the route now used by the Great Northern Railway, to Oliver Slough, Mud Bay.

When Governor Douglas visited the capital in the spring of 1861 he wrote the Duke of Newcastle, "...the most interesting feature about New Westminster is the newly formed line of roads". He mentioned the roads north of the town, expressed the hope that they would lead to settlement and added that "a similar result in promoting early settlement is anticipated from another new line of road which is being formed on the left bank of the Fraser, commencing a little below New Westminster and running in a southerly direction towards the frontier".²⁹

One of the first country roads constructed was a road to the region around Burnaby Lake where a number of settlers had established claims. To connect this area with the capital, plans were made for extending Douglas Street. A contract for continuing it four and a half miles at £79 a mile was let to Sparrow and McDonald who soon abandoned the project. In February, 1861, the contract was re-awarded to Murray and Kelso, but they also were unable to complete it and went bankrupt. By June they had opened it about four and one-half miles to the stream connecting Deer Lake to Burnaby Lake. In April of the following year tenders were called by Captain Grant of the Lands and Works Department for con-

²⁹ B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 52, Douglas to Newcastle, June 4, 1861.

struction of a wagon road, eighteen feet wide, from six miles out to a "blazed tree on the South Shore of Burrard Inlet, at the Second Narrows".³⁰ Apparently no tenders were received or, what is more likely, the Government decided to defer construction of the road because of lack of money. In December, 1862, the Municipal Council of New Westminster sent a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works urging completion of the road as far as the Inlet.³¹ Nothing was done and the following spring the Council addressed a further appeal to the Government. In reply the Governor said that he could not sanction construction of the road unless the funds were provided from local taxation. The Municipal Council would not agree to increase the already heavy tax rate although they considered the road a prime necessity. Writing to Colonel Moody, Henry Holbrook, President of the Council, said in part.

...we feel bound to call His Excellency's attention to the fact that we have already by additional and voluntary taxation, contributed largely towards clearing and making the streets of the City, work which in accordance with the terms expressed at the sale of the site as 'the Capital of the Colony' the Government was bound to perform out of the proceeds of the said sale; a condition, which up to the present time, the Government have failed to fulfil. We object to any increase in the burden of taxation borne by the inhabitants of this municipality, and we consider it our duty to submit to His Excellency that however important it is that roads should be

30 British Columbian, April 10, 1862.

31 Ibid. December 20, 1862.

made to the mines, it is no less important that goods roads should be made by the Government in the neighbourhood of this City to facilitate the supply of food to its inhabitants, who numbered on the average 1,500 during the past year, and to induce increase to our rural population.

We call His Excellency's attention to the circumstances that more permanent settlers are resident in this City and District than are to be found in all other parts of the Colony taken collectively, and we therefore still urge the construction of the road in question even if it should be found necessary to issue (as has been done for other similar works) Road Bonds payable with interest at a future date in liquidation of the same.³²

When Frederic Seymour succeeded James Douglas as Governor the colonists once again petitioned for completion of the road, and in October, 1864, J. T. Scott was awarded a contract to improve the existing section above Royal Avenue and continue the road from Burnaby Lake to the Inlet, a distance of about nine miles.³³ Payment was set at \$1,800 a mile. Scott commenced work October 10 with sixty men. Notices were posted advertising for two hundred men, wages to be \$35 a month for graders and \$40 for axemen, plus board. On November 5, the British Columbian reported that the choppers were five miles out and the graders two, with the former expected to reach the Inlet the following week. The paper complained that the road was rather winding and that timber and brush had been left in unsightly heaps on either

32 Letter in Provincial Archives, Holbrook to Moody, June 1, 1863.

33 British Columbian, October 12, 1864.

side. In January, 1865, Mr. Scott re-let the remaining three and a half miles of the road in small sections.³⁴

By May, 1865, Mr. Scott had completed a rough road from New Westminster to the Inlet, but at a cost of over \$3,000 a mile and he too went into bankruptcy. Mr. Scott drove Governor Seymour and the Colonial Secretary over the road on May 14. "We have no description of the trip, but it requires little imagination to realize its discomfort ... many low, wet places remained that were far softer and more miry than the higher ground; the worst marshy spots were covered with that terrible pioneer material - corduroy."³⁵

An editorial in the British Columbian complained that the portion of Douglas Street above Queen's Avenue was almost impassable, "a mere trail, winding through amongst the stumps".³⁶

Messrs. Brouse and Ross, working under Government contract, had in 1860 laid out a trail from the capital to False Creek. The purpose of this route was to enable troops to reach tide-water there if ships should be unable to go through the First Narrows because of adverse tides or winds. Although Colonel Moody considered the road of foremost

34 Ibid. January 4, 1865.

35 Howay, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, B. C. Historical Quarterly, April, 1937, pp. 105, 106.

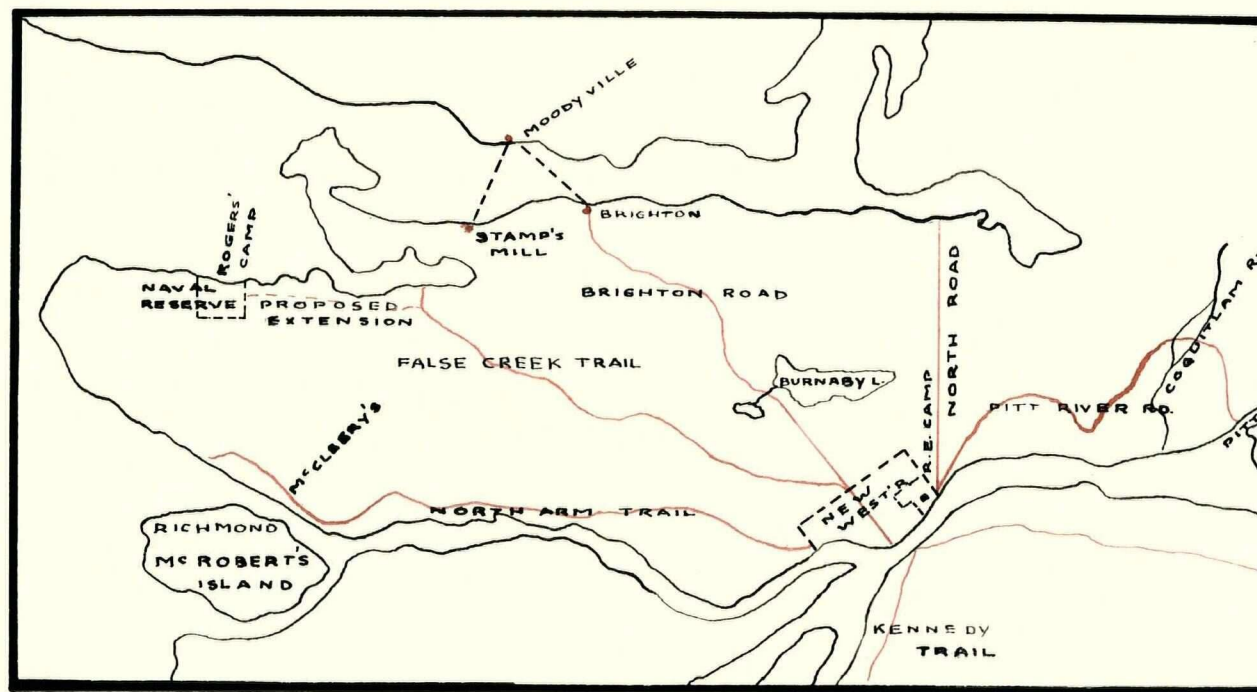
36 British Columbian, March 16, 1865.

military importance Governor Douglas refused to sanction construction until he received authority from the Secretary of State.³⁷ The trail started from Douglas Road near the present Fourteenth Avenue and reached False Creek near the spot which now marks the end of the Granville Street Bridge. Colonel Moody wished to continue the trail on to the naval reserve at Jericho but Governor Douglas refused to authorize the expenditure at that time. Yielding to Moody's persuasion Douglas later gave his consent, and in February, 1861, the Chief Commissioner called for tenders to continue the trail six miles along the shores of False Creek and English Bay³⁸ but no record was found of this proposed extension being made. The original trail was merely a narrow path through the forest and it soon became overgrown. In 1868 Governor Seymour informed the Colonial Office that the trail was impassable.³⁹ However in October, 1862, John Morton, travelling along this trail with an Indian guide in search of pottery clay, viewed the land where Vancouver stands today. Morton; his cousin, Sam Brighthouse; and William Hailstone bought 550 acres extending from Burrard Inlet to English Bay at \$1.01 an acre.

37 B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Newcastle, February 27, 1860.

38 British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

39 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Buckingham, February 2, 1868.



TRAILS FROM NEW WESTMINSTER

SKETCH MAP - NOT DRAWN TO SCALE

The British Columbian of April 18, 1861, recorded that the Governor had promised to build a road to Pitt River but that he had failed to implement his promise. However the road was built by private contract during the winter of 1861-1862 and paid for partly in land scrip. Tenders for various sections were awarded to Messrs. Hodgkinson, Hall, Fulton, David Johnstone, William Clarkson, Woodside and William Ross. The total cost of the road was £3,867. 0. 8.⁴⁰ The road was eight miles long and ran from the Brunette to the Pitt. For some strange reason the portion of the road from the Camp to the Brunette was not completed.⁴¹

The fact that these roads were built did not mean that they were a safe or certain means of communication. Actually they were not "roads" in the modern sense of the word. In many cases they were merely paths cleared through the forest by felling trees and making a crude attempt to level the ground. Such roads were often rendered impassable either by heavy rains which turned the roadway to mud or else by falling trees caused by forest fires or high winds. Other roads were of corduroy construction - cedar logs either covered with earth and gravel or, more usually, left exposed.

Constant complaints were made about the condition of the roads, chiefly about the road to Burrard Inlet as this

40 B. C. Despatches, p. 478, Douglas to Newcastle, June 15, 1863.

41 British Columbian, June 21, 1862.

was the chief highway of the Lower Mainland. The Brighton Road (Douglas Road) was blocked by fallen trees for weeks⁴² during the summer of 1864. It was again impassable the following summer and in the summer of 1867 it was in such a bad state that a petition was circularized and presented to the Government demanding that the road be repaired. Five men were put to work in September of that year but this inadequate work-party could make very little permanent impression on the road and in December it was once again closed to traffic,⁴³ forcing the stage to cease operation. The British Columbian of December 11 reported the arrival at Burrard Inlet of the steamer Isabel from Victoria, with Hon. Capt. Stamp, Dr. Helmcken and Hon. J. W. Trutch. The two latter gentlemen walked over to New Westminster on the evening of their arrival. The Columbian added that the road was in a deplorable state and "had the Chief Commissioner stuck fast in one of the great mud-holes, entirely due to his own negligence, or something worse, the verdict of the public would have been, 'Served him right.'"

In January the paper reported the road to "our magnificent outer harbour" was in good condition thanks to⁴⁴ Jack Frost. However once the frost went out of the ground

42 Ibid. August 1, 1865.
 43 Ibid. December 4, 1867.
 44 Ibid. January 8, 1868.

the road was in as bad condition as ever. The Columbian once more published an editorial about the deplorable condition of the road. "The Government is not sweet upon the road. But we venture to hope that road-making will not, like kissing, go by mere favour."⁴⁵

In April the Government did undertake to repair the Brighton Road, employing a considerable number of men for the work, but the improvement was only temporary. Fallen trees blocked the road that summer and the next winter it was in such bad condition as to be again impassable.⁴⁶ A road petition was again circulated, but nothing was done and in the spring the road was once more closed to traffic. Mr. Thomas Spence was authorized to undertake repair work but his expenditure was limited to \$2,000, a sum totally inadequate⁴⁷ for the extensive repairs which were urgently required. In the spring of 1870 Mr. Spence was again at work repairing the Brighton Road.⁴⁸ He placed corduroy on the road wherever the swampy nature of the ground made that advisable. The logs, while giving the road a more solid foundation, were responsible for the death of Dr. A. W. S. Black. Dr. Black was returning to New Westminster from an emergency call to Burrard Inlet

45 Ibid. April 5, 1868.

46 Ibid. December 12, 1868.

47 Ibid. April 25, 1869.

48 Mainland Guardian, May 11, 1870.

when his horse slipped on the corduroy and he was thrown to his death. In the early summer of 1871 the logs were covered.⁴⁹

By June, 1864, the trail down the north bank of the Fraser towards the Gulf was declared to be impassable.⁵⁰ It remained in this condition until June, 1871, when the Government called for tenders for opening up and corduroying it for sixteen miles from New Westminster to Betts' farm.⁵¹

Most of the North Road was closed to traffic from 1863 until some years after Confederation. The bridges were allowed to go to ruin and by 1869 traffic was possible only as far as Brunette Creek.⁵²

The Pitt River road had never been extended beyond its original length despite agitation for its continuation. Governor Seymour's prorogation speech of May, 1868, announced that His Excellency thought it would be possible for the Government to survey a line to extend the road from the Pitt to St. Mary's Mission but that no money was available for immediate construction of such a road.⁵³ In the issue of June 24, 1868, the British Columbian complained that nothing had been done about making the survey and that people were

49 Ibid. June 7, 1871.

50 British Columbian, June 22, 1864.

51 Mainland Guardian, June 14, 1871.

52 British Columbian, August 26, 1868; Mainland Guardian, October 16, 1869.

53 British Columbian, May 2, 1868.

anxious to know the route of the road so they would know where to locate their farms.

As the False Creek trail had fallen into ruin, the Brighton Road was the only road to the Inlet. There was no direct communication with "Stamp's" Mill. In the spring of 1870 a petition signed by many residents of New Westminster and Burrard Inlet was sent down to Hon. John Robson, M.L.C., asking him to urge upon the Government the construction of a road to reach Burrard Inlet at "Granville".⁵⁴ In 1872 the trail was recut but no road was constructed until the building of Kingsway.

As early as 1860 the first settler arrived in Maple Ridge and there was at an early date quite a number of settlers around Langley.⁵⁵ The earliest attempts at extensive farming were made at Chilliwack and Sumas. In the summer of 1862 the first settlers took up land in this area and by 1866, 4,860 acres had been pre-empted there of which 653 acres were under cultivation.⁵⁶ The first settlers at Chilliwack were Thomas Marks and John Barber and at Sumas, V. Veddar. In 1866 Messrs. Kipp and Reece, who had arrived three years previously, had an 800 acre farm with 350 acres planted with timothy, hay, turnips, Indian corn and vegetables.

54 Mainland Guardian, March 2, 1870.

55 British Columbian, November 5, 1862.

56 Ibid. September 19, 1866.

They had 340 head of cattle, 20 horses, 220 hogs, 250 fowl and sold considerable quantities of cheese, butter and eggs. Other early settlers in the Chilliwack area were James Bertrand, Reuben Nowell, Henry Cooper, John Blanchard, Matthew Sweetman, Charles Evans, William Hall and John Shelford, who also kept a store. In the Sumass Settlement the Chadsey Brothers were growing similar crops and had in addition 1,700 tobacco plants. During the summer of 1866 they sold 2,000 pounds of butter. In the summer of 1868 the Chadseys tried a new experiment in marketing, taking a team to the Cariboo with 2,500 pounds of fresh butter put up in two, five and ten pound cans.⁵⁷ Also in the Sumas area were William Collinson, Lewis Thomas, Thomas York, L. P. Anderson, Crawford and Wilson, Mr. Boles, J. Burton and James Codville. Codville also ran a hotel and ferry at Codville's landing on Nicomen Island.⁵⁸

As has already been mentioned Hugh McRoberts pre-empted land near the mouth of the river in the spring of 1861. His main holding, which was on Sea Island, he called "Richmond".⁵⁹ In the fall of 1861 he brought 100 head of cattle from Oregon.⁶⁰ The stock was pastured at Sumas during the

57 Ibid. July 25, 1868.

58 Ibid. September 19, 1866.

59 Ibid. September 13, 1862.

60 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

winter of 1861-62 and, due to the severity of the weather, 75 cattle died. By the autumn of 1862 McRoberts was reported as having 54 cattle. His total acreage was estimated at 1,560 acres of which 12 were under cultivation with 650 fruit trees planted on part of the rest.⁶¹ In September, 1862, McRoberts was joined by his nephews, Samuel and Fitzgerald McCleery who pre-empted land on the mainland opposite "Richmond". About 1864 Mr. McRoberts dyked his land and the following year it produced a crop of wheat.

When John Morton and William Hailstone leased their holdings around English Bay and went to California in 1864, Samuel Brighthouse purchased a 697 acre tract on Lulu Island. Four years later, in 1868, William D. Ferris started farming on the island⁶² although he still maintained a residence at New Westminster.⁶³

Moody and Company pre-empted 500 acres at Mud Bay⁶⁴ in 1861 and brought in cattle from Oregon early the next year.⁶⁵ One of the first settlers on the south delta of the Fraser was William Henry Ladner who purchased 640 acres there in 1868.⁶⁶ His brother, Thomas E. Ladner, took up land shortly after. T. E. Ladner's home at New Westminster was destroyed

61 Ibid. September 13, 1862.

62 Ibid. July 29, 1868.

63 Mainland Guardian, September 25, 1869.

64 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

65 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

66 Ibid. July 29, 1868.

by fire in March, 1870, and probably he took up residence on the delta soon after that date.⁶⁷

The first permanent settlement on Burrard Inlet came as a result of mills being established there. In 1862 a water power mill known as "Pioneer Mills" was established on the north shore of the Inlet by T. W. Graham. The mill was sold to J. A. Smith and later to S. P. Moody and the settlement which grew up around it soon became known as Moodyville. In April, 1867, a mill was put in operation on the south shore by the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company. The first manager of this mill was Capt. Edward Stamp and consequently it was usually referred to as "Stamp's Mill". (Later it was known as Hastings Mill.)

A townsite, later known as Hastings, had been reserved by the Government in 1860 or 1861 near the Second Narrows. In 1863 a party of Royal Engineers under Lance-Corporal George Turner surveyed lots along the south shore of Burrard Inlet, west of Second Narrows, and made a complete transverse of the shore line from this reserve around the Inlet and into False Creek. Lance-Corporal Turner started his survey at the townsite reserve and surveyed lots 184, 183, 182, and 181 running westward along the Inlet. Next to lot 181 was a townsite reserve, then lot 185, whose western

67 Mainland Guardian, March 9, 1870.

boundary was the military reserve at the First Narrows (Stanley Park). Out of part of this second townsite reserve, lot 196 was created, and on lot 196 "Stamp's" mill was erected. Part of the remainder of this reserve was later laid out as Granville townsite. Lot 185 was pre-empted by Hailstone, Morton and Brighthouse and lots 184, 183, 182 and 181 were granted in 1863 and 1864 to John Graham, Thomas Ranaldson, H. P. P. Crease and Robert Burnaby respectively. ⁶⁸

Hastings Townsite was at the end of the Douglas Road which was completed in 1865. Although the townsite was surveyed the land was not offered for sale. It was merely the "end of the road" but soon, at the suggestion of John Robson, editor of the British Columbian it came to be called "Brighton". The Brighton Hotel was opened in August, 1865, and this section of Burrard Inlet became "a favorite resort for those who wish a pleasant Buggy-ride". ⁶⁹

In July, 1867, soon after Stamp's Mill commenced operation, Mr. W. R. Lewis started a semi-weekly stage service over the Douglas Road from New Westminster to Brighton. The stage left the Oro Restaurant, Columbia Street, every Tuesday and Friday at noon, returning the same day, the fare being one dollar each way. ⁷⁰ Although only a semi-weekly service

68 Howay, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

69 British Columbian, August 1, 1865; June 27, 1868.

70 Ibid. July 17, 1867.

was originally planned business was so brisk that by October the stage was making the trip every day. By the end of his first year in business Mr. Lewis was running two stages, one of four horses and the other of two. An opposition stage line operated by John McBean and Company was started in September, 1868, offering daily service to Brighton, but this company only remained in operation a little over a month.⁷¹

At this time a steam ferry, the Sea Foam, was placed in service between Brighton and Moodyville.⁷² There was no direct route from Brighton to Stamp's Mill and in order to reach the mill from the "end of the road" one had to ferry over to Moodyville and then cross back over the Inlet to the mill.

In March, 1869, Mr. Lewis secured the contract to carry the mail between New Westminster and the Inlet. The same month the Brighton Hotel was sold to Maximillien Michaud who also became postmaster without pay.⁷³

The Assistant Surveyor General of British Columbia, B. M. Pearse, surveyed and laid out a townsite at Brighton in November, 1868.⁷⁴ The following May this site was gazetted as "Hastings",⁷⁵ and in August an auction sale was conducted

71 Ibid. September 30, 1868; November 7, 1868.

72 Ibid. November 7, 1868.

73 Howay, op. cit., p. 108.

74 British Columbian, November 21, 1868.

75 Ibid. May 16, 1869.

at the Court House, New Westminster, at which time the town lots at Hastings were offered for sale, only seven being purchased.

In October, 1867, Jack Deighton (Gassy Jack) opened an hotel near Stamp's Mill. The group of buildings which grew up around Stamp's Mill was known as "Gastown" until March, 1870, when it was gazetted as "Granville". In April, 1870, Granville lots were offered at auction but only three were sold.⁷⁶

In the spring of 1869 telegraph communication was established between New Westminster and Moodyville. The line was laid by S. P. Moody and Company to connect their mill with the city.⁷⁷ The poles followed the Brighton Road to Burrard Inlet, where an underwater cable was laid under the Inlet.⁷⁸ Mr. Moody allowed the general public to use the line. Telegrams to New Westminster cost twenty-five cents until April 1, 1871, when the price was raised to fifty cents.⁷⁹

Moodyville was the largest and most progressive of the three settlements on Burrard Inlet. Mr. Joseph Burr had established a ranch near Moodyville and kept milk cows, and Messrs. G. Black and Van Bramer had imported cattle and established a stock ranch and butchering business.⁸⁰

76 Mainland Guardian, April 13, 1870.

77 British Columbian, March 16, 1869.

78 Ibid. April 25, 1869; May 29, 1869.

79 Howay, op. cit., p. 112.

80 British Columbian, August 17, 1867.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The development of the Government of the colony of British Columbia is inextricably bound up with the history of New Westminster because New Westminster, as the only centre on the mainland with a relatively large, fixed and stable population, naturally took the lead in agitation against the Government. Many of the residents of the Cariboo, whose interest in the colony was purely transitory, were very little concerned with the Government or its policies so long as their interests were safeguarded. New Westminster provided in a great measure the impetus which led to the establishment of representative institutions in British Columbia and it was the centre of political agitation on the mainland until Confederation.

By the Act of Proclamation of 1858 the colony of British Columbia was to have a Legislature consisting of a Governor and Council or a Governor and Assembly. Governor Douglas was given authority by Sir E. Lytton to choose an Executive composed of "men whom, if an elective council were ultimately established in the colony, the immigrants them-

selves would be likely to elect".¹

Douglas failed to carry out Lytton's wish and on February 5, 1859, he wrote the Colonial Secretary, " . . . no Executive has as yet been formally appointed for British Columbia still I have called to my assistance Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie as members of that Council and we have already met upon several occasions, to confer upon the policy to be pursued and upon various measures to be adopted in connection with the future government of the colony".² The Executive Council was formally appointed on March 1, 1859.³

As early as July, 1859, the people of New Westminster sent a petition to the Governor asking for the establishment of an Executive Council composed of "chief public servants and some of the most respectable merchants and residents". They complained that: "With the exception of Gibraltar, which is more a military fortress than a settlement, we believe that, in no other British colony, but B. C., does a Governor reign absolute"⁴

Another grievance of the people of New Westminster was the fact that the Government officials did not reside in the mainland colony. The first civil list for British Columbia

1 Begg, Alexander, History of British Columbia, p. 225.
 2 B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Lytton, February 5, 1859.
 3 Ibid. March 1, 1859.
 4 New Westminster Times, September 24, 1859.

listed eight officers:

£1,800	James Douglas	- Governor
800	Matthew Begbie	- Judge
500	W. A. G. Young	- Colonial Secretary
500	Capt. W. D. Gosset	- Treasurer
400	George H. Cary	- Attorney-General
500	Chartres Brew	- Inspector of Police
400	Wymond Hamley	- Collector of Customs
400	James Cooper	- Harbourmaster

Although these officials were appointed for the colony of British Columbia, most of them resided in Victoria. In fact, W. A. G. Young, who was appointed Colonial Secretary, held the same position in the Colony of Vancouver Island.

The people of New Westminster soon protested against the non-residence of the officials. On the evening of July 12, 1859, a meeting was held at Holbrook's store on Columbia Street. Mr. Holbrook was appointed Chairman and W. E. Stronach was chosen Secretary. The meeting resulted in the formation of a political society known as the "Reform League" whose purpose was "to aid in procuring such laws as will give us an agricultural as well as mining and trading population, to reduce the expenditures of the government within the means of the Colony and thus avoid the enormous debt which is everyday being accumulated upon us...."⁵

At the end of July a delegation from the Reform League composed of Mr. Holbrook and Mr. Armstrong went to Victoria with a petition to the Governor signed by 130

⁵ Victoria Gazette, July 14, 1859.

residents of New Westminster asking that a more liberal land policy be adopted and that Government officials should live on the mainland.⁶ As a result of this representation the Duke of Newcastle informed the Governor that the officials must take up residence on the mainland. "This state of things must be put to an end at once and the gentlemen in question must be warned that they must repair with the least practicable delay to the scene of their duties, or, if they decline to do so, must at once resign their situations."⁷

Douglas retained the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General at Victoria, but Capt. Gosset, the Treasurer, moved to New Westminster in the autumn of 1860.

Although some of the officials were transferred to the mainland, the people of British Columbia were still far from satisfied with the state of affairs. The chief reason for their dissatisfaction lay in the person of the Governor. From the beginning Douglas had, by his dictatorial methods, aroused the bitter enmity of the colonists, especially that of the people of New Westminster. In May, 1860, 443 British subjects in the Colony of British Columbia presented Douglas with a petition asking that Her Majesty should remove him from his position as Governor of British Columbia and that a

⁶ Ibid. July 30, 1859.

⁷ B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 101, Newcastle to Douglas, September 5, 1859.

representative system of government should be established. At the same time the New Westminster Municipal Council had sent a memorial to Governor Douglas to which he replied, "I have not the power to confer Representative Institutions upon this colony".

This petition was presented either just before or just after Douglas had entertained the "elite" of New Westminster to a steamer excursion to the Pitt River but "neither the excursion nor the charms of high society (could) seduce the people's party from doing their duty."

The Colonist, in an editorial titled "Vinegar vs. Molasses" described the Governor's party:

The coolest piece of assurance ever perpetrated in B. C. was lately done at New Westminster.... It appears that His Excellency Governor Douglas wished to "soft sawder" the denizens of Westminster to overlook his two years' misgovernment....In pursuance of so grand a piece of state policy, all the elite of the city received invitations bearing the vice-regal arms to make an excursion on board the steamer Maria to Pitt River....The excursion was enjoyed and the party returned. No doubt His Excellency thought the Westminsterites had been effectually steamboated in the Yankee sense of the word. It turned out, however, next morning, that some one else was steamboated, and that all the molasses sweets had changed to vinegar. For the people, having done due honor to Her Majesty and being full of zeal to do still greater honor

8 B. C. Despatches, p. 88, Douglas to Newcastle, June 22, 1860.

9 British Columbian, February 28, 1861.

presented His Excellency next morning with a petition asking Her Majesty to remove him from the Governorship of B. C., because unfitted for the position.

10

In forwarding this petition to the Duke of Newcastle, Douglas told the Colonial Secretary that it could be divided into two parts, "vituperation of the Governor" and an appeal for representative government. The first part he dismissed lightly, saying most of the people were content. To the second charge, he responded that the colony was not yet ready for representative government.

11

In August, the New Westminster Council sent an address to the Prince of Wales on behalf of New Westminster and the whole of British Columbia. The subject of the memorial was absentee officials. The British Colonist commented on the address to His Royal Highness:

The New Westminster Council are an eminently practical people. The future monarch must be used. He must be informed that absolute and absentee governors, secretaries, attorney-generals, and such ilk, are playing truant, and that the only hope of B. C. is the New Westminster Council and the "heir apparent". We think the end justifies the means.

12

The Governor General of Canada acknowledged receipt of the address. He said he would forward the memorial to the Prince of Wales, who had already left Canada

10 British Colonist, June 5, 1860.

11 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

12 British Colonist, August 24, 1860.

13
when the petition arrived. Nothing came of either of these memorials.

Late in 1860, the Town Clerk of New Westminster, Valentine Hall, acting on the suggestion of Leonard McClure, editor of the New Westminster Times, prepared a petition which was presented to the Municipal Council, suggesting that a convention be called, attended by delegates from every district in British Columbia, to press for a redress of grievances and the establishment of representative government. A meeting was held in Mr. Cormack's store on January 1, 1861, to elect the New Westminster delegates. At this meeting it soon became apparent that a small clique, headed by McClure, was planning to rush through the election of its candidates and a resolution was passed postponing the elections until the tenth. Nomination day was to be January 8 and a public meeting was to be held that evening to enable the candidates to present their views. Prior to this second meeting a rival group met at Mr. Tilley's store and nominated five candidates on the "Reform Ticket". Their nominees were: J. T. Scott, a Scotchman, J. A. R. Homer, a Nova Scotian, William Clarkson and E. B. Holt, both Canadians of English birth, and William Holmes, a native of Northern Ireland who had spent many years in Canada. The opposition or "Government Ticket"

included Messrs. McClure, Henry Holbrook, Armstrong, Cormack and Brouse. The reason this group was so-called was that it proposed that the object of the Convention should be "to assist the Governor in discharge of his arduous duties" while the reform party planned to "obtain a Resident Governor and representative institutions and meantime seek the redress of our most pressing grievances."¹⁴ The results of the "unofficial" election held on January 10 at Cormack's store were Scott, 186 votes; Holmes, 160; Homer, 158; Clarkson, 115; Holt, 109; Holbrook, 101; McClure, 88; Armstrong, 83; Brouse, 47, and Cormack, 34. The entire slate of Reform candidates was returned. The New Westminster Times charged that the reform party had been elected by the foreign vote, but the poll book was "thoroughly analysed by responsible and disinterested parties" and it was found that 447 British subjects and 232 foreigners voted for the reform group and 235 British and 112 foreigners for the opposition.¹⁵

Invitations to send delegates were forwarded to Hope, Douglas, Yale, Cayoosh (Lillooet), Lytton, Quesnelle Forks, Fort Alexander, Cariboo, Rock Creek and Similkameen, but only the first two mentioned availed themselves of this opportunity. Donald Chisholm and J. Spencer Thompson were elected at Hope and Duncan Robertson and Thomas Cooper at

¹⁴ British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

Douglas.

The "British Columbia Convention" met on February 15 at J. T. Scott's "Pioneer Theatre", Columbia Street, New Westminster. The entrance to the theatre was decorated with evergreens and placards bearing slogans such as "Free Institutions for B. C." and "Briton's Rights". The meeting opened with a royal salute of 21 guns. J. A. R. Homer was elected Chairman of the Convention, which continued until February 21.

Of the meeting Governor Douglas remarked, "As the meeting was conducted with perfect order and good humour, no official notice was taken of the meeting, other than would have been given to any public exhibition got up for the amusement of the people."¹⁶

A delegation of eight, headed by J. A. R. Homer, was appointed to meet the Governor. Douglas declined to meet them "as representatives of the inhabitants of British Columbia, but met them as a deputation of Her Majesty's subjects from Douglas, Hope and New Westminster."¹⁷

The memorial presented to Governor Douglas and forwarded by him to the Colonial Secretary in London contained several requests. The two chief demands were for a resident

16 B. C. Despatches, pp. 226-241, Douglas to Newcastle, April 22, 1861.

17 Loc. cit.

Governor, entirely unconnected with Vancouver Island, and the establishment of representative institutions. Because the Government officials were residing on Vancouver Island, persons desiring to do business with the Governor had to go to Victoria and on their return pay an additional one dollar head tax. Other complaints were against excessive taxes, squandering of money on public works and road contracts without these contracts being offered by public notice, faulty administration of public lands, and want of a registry office. The memorialists also contended that Victoria was being favoured at the expense of British Columbia and that no encouragement was given to ship-building or foreign trade in the mainland colony.¹⁸

One of New Westminster's chief objections to the Government's policy was its creation of Victoria as a free port, which resulted in the island city becoming the forwarding port for the entire mainland. Goods coming into British Columbia were charged a ten per cent. duty if imported by a dealer but were allowed in free of charge for an individual for his own use. Thus an individual could go to Victoria and buy goods more cheaply than they could be purchased at New Westminster. Naturally, this discriminatory tariff, "which is¹⁹ vampire-like sucking our life blood," worked a tremendous

18 Loc. cit.

19 British Columbian, April 14, 1861.

hardship on merchants on the mainland.

Douglas, in forwarding the memorial to the Duke of Newcastle, denied all the colonists' accusations. He contended that it would be impossible for the Governor to live at New Westminster. He quoted the population of the three towns represented at the Convention:

New Westminster - 164 adult males

Hope - 108 adult males

Douglas - 33 adult males

Because of small population, the Governor did not favour establishing a representative assembly.

The Colonial Office ignored the memorial. Another petition was sent in the fall of the same year after a meeting of the British Columbia Convention at Hope. This second meeting of the Convention opened on September 10 with J. A. R. Homer in the chair, other delegates from New Westminster being William Clarkson and E. B. Holt. Lytton was represented as well as Douglas and Hope. A memorial was drawn up calling attention to the fact that the memorials of May, 1860, and February, 1861, were still unanswered, and listing the colonists' grievances. J. A. R. Homer again headed the delegation which met the Governor. Douglas forwarded their memorial to the Duke of Newcastle with this

20 Ibid. September 19, 1861.

comment:

I have refused to receive them in their assumed character of "The Britist Columbia Convention". The term is associated with revolution and holds out a menace--the subject has an undoubted right to petition his sovereign but the term convention terms something more, it means coercion. I have no desire to accuse the authors of this memorial of entertaining any malevolent designs, the majority of them being known as quiet, well meaning tradesmen, sincerely attached, I believe, to the Institutions of the Colony, but at the same time have not disposed to overlook the fact that they may become for seditious purposes, the dupes of artful men. I have therefore charged the Magistrates to keep an eye over their movements and not to interfere with their proceedings so long as they commit no violation of the law. 21

The chief requests of the memorialists were, as previously, a resident Governor and officials, and representative institutions. They also asked for a public hospital, mail service, public schools, a gold escort, land grants to the Episcopal church, and complained of the lack of an official survey of the colony.

Governor Douglas commented on these requests in a letter which he sent to the Colonial Office in company with the memorial. He still did not favour the establishment of representative government and argued that all the colonial officials except the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General and himself were resident in British Columbia. He declared that British Columbia could not afford a hospital and that schools would be opened when needed. He remarked

21 B. C. Despatches, p. 300, Douglas to Newcastle, October 8, 1861.

that there were already two schools in New Westminster and that there were few children of school age elsewhere in the Colony. He contended that there was already mail service to Douglas, Hope, and Yale, and added that a colonial survey would be made when needed.

Three petitions had now been addressed to the British Government and no reply had been received to any of them. The people of the colony began to doubt that Douglas had forwarded them to the Colonial Office.

Hatred of Governor Douglas and resentment of his policies reached almost a fever pitch in New Westminster. This antipathy is epitomized in the writings of John Robson, editor of the British Columbian, who poured forth a constant stream of criticism against the Governor and his tyrannical acts. "We are in a state of veriest serfdom . . . and the result will be one universal burst of long pent-up indignation, which will appal the Imperial, and shatter the Colonial Government."²²

Douglas was called the "arch enemy of British Columbia" and the British Columbian reported that when the Governor visited New Westminster on May 10, 1861, and walked through the crowd from the wharf to the Custom House "all was as still as the grave, not the slightest attempt to get

22 British Columbian, May 2, 1861.

up a cheer, broke in ²³ upon the death-like stillness of the scene." The paper noted the arrival of the "Czar" in April, 1862, "after an absence of six months and nineteen ²⁴ days from his dominions." and shortly after remarked that the people of British Columbia "have borne more political wrong and government oppression than can be recorded of any ²⁵ British people during the present century."

"Are then the sons of Britons so degenerate and debased that when Russians are being freed they are content ²⁶ to remain serfs in B. C.?"

Governor Douglas, by his very training with the Hudson's Bay Company, was used to giving orders and having them obeyed. John Robson, who came to British Columbia from Ontario, was used to a representative system of government, and he could not endure subjection to an autocrat. Later, when speaking at a Confederation meeting held at New Westminster on April 6, 1868, Robson mentioned the Rebellion of 1837 and said, "I was proud to know that my forefathers were found up on the side of the Loyalists in that sanguinary ²⁷ struggle." Many of the pioneer citizens of New Westminster were likewise accustomed to a considerable measure of self-

23 Ibid. May 16, 1861.

24 Ibid. April 30, 1862.

25 Ibid. July 9, 1862.

26 Ibid. July 16, 1862.

27 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

government and they balked at Douglas' despotism.

The New Westminster Municipal Council called a public meeting for July 12, 1862, to consider the "present condition of the Colony" and to express an "opinion in regard to a necessity of a change in its government."²⁸ The meeting was held in Cunningham and Ashwell's new building and a committee, composed of Messrs. Homer, Robson, Cormack, Armstrong and Kennedy, was appointed to draft a memorial which was presented at a meeting held on July 15. Copies of the memorial were to be sent through the ordinary channels and also directly to the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons and to a group of members of the British parliament: Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, W. S. Lindsay, T. B. Horsfall, J. Laird, J. Bramley Moore, G. Turner, J. Caird and Thomas Baines. To be sure the wishes of the memorialists were thoroughly publicized, the memorial was to be published in the London Times and the Illustrated London News. A thousand copies were to be printed for circulation among the members of the Imperial Parliament.

The memorial was sent to the Governor by Mr. John Ramage, president of the Municipal Council. It contained two requests; a governor permanently resident in the Colony, "free from any private interests in the Colony of Vancouver

28 Ibid. July 12, 1862.

Island" and the establishment of responsible government, similar to that in Eastern Canada and the Australian colonies. 29

The memorial complained of the "insulting despotism" of the Governor and contended that "in accordance with the birthright of British subjects your Memorialists cannot equitably be subjected to taxation without representation" and "that as British subjects on British soil they are entitled to the privileges of freemen, that the enactment of laws by mere proclamation is not calculated to meet the requirements of the Anglo-Saxon race; neither do they believe it is a form of Government that Her Most Excellent Majesty in Council, and the Imperial Parliament, can expect that British subjects will submit to, without a feeling of degradation and of shame."
30

Douglas wrote the Duke of Newcastle that he had opposed the idea of responsible government at the time of the presentation of the 1861 memorials because of the scarcity of British settlers and the unsettled nature of the population. Although the number of British colonists had increased, he still did not advocate responsible government, but he favoured establishing a council of fifteen, five of the members to be nominated by the Crown and the remainder to be elected, subject to high property qualifications for members. The

29 British Colonist, July 22, 1862.

30 British Columbian, July 19, 1862.

31

Governor was to have the power of veto.

Another public meeting was held at the Hyack Hall, New Westminster, early in October, 1862. The British Columbian reported that "the attendance was large and respectable."³² The meeting decided to send a delegate to England to present its grievances to the British Government. The chief demand was for "those institutions which are the common birthright of every British subject." Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who had been travelling in the colony, was asked to take a petition to England and a committee of Messrs. Holbrook, Homer and Armstrong was appointed to procure funds for the undertaking.

The British Columbian termed this decision to send a personal representative to London "the most important political move ever enacted on the British Pacific".³³ Hon. Malcolm Cameron had been a member of the Canadian Legislature for twenty-six years and had held such important executive posts as President of the Executive Council, Minister of Agriculture, Commissioner of Public Works and Postmaster General.

The memorial mentioned that four petitions had already been sent--on May 26, 1860; February 20, 1861; September 11, 1861; and July 17, 1862--and the colonists

31 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

32 British Columbian, October 4, 1862.

33 Ibid. November 1, 1862.

felt that they had been treated "discourteously". Their demands were a reiteration of the plea for a resident governor, representative system, and a land policy which would encourage bona fide settlers. "They implore Your Majesty to grant them the 'image and transcript' of that glorious constitution, which time has only suited, tempered, and adapted to the present exigency of the highest and most enlightened minds of the world."³⁴

Governor Douglas continued to be the subject of bitter criticism but there was a growing feeling of hope that the Governor's tyrannical regime was drawing to a close, particularly as optimistic reports began to seep back from Hon. Malcolm Cameron in London. When Hon. Malcolm Cameron arrived in England, he found the Imperial Government disposed to unite the two Pacific colonies but he used his influence against such a move and as a result the Duke of Newcastle reluctantly agreed to "take steps for placing them under different governors".³⁵

On May 26, 1863, the Duke of Newcastle wrote Governor Douglas that he proposed to submit to Her Majesty an Order in Council constituting a Legislative Council for British Columbia. Speaking in the House of Commons on July 26 the Colonial Secretary remarked, "The progress of

³⁴ Ibid. November 12, 1862.

³⁵ P.P.C. 3667, 1866, Papers Relative to the Proposed Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 1.

British Columbia was almost without example. The colony was established only four years ago, and already, it was self-supporting, and would not, he believed, ever appear again in the annual Estimates of the House of Commons.³⁶ He added that "some blame had been thrown on the Governor, Mr. Douglas, but he (the Duke of Newcastle) did not think it was at all deserved."³⁷ The Colonial Secretary told the House that complete representative government could not be granted. He proposed to establish a Legislative Council of fifteen members. One-third of the members would be colonial officials, one-third would be magistrates and one-third would be elected. The power of nominating members was given to the Governor at first but the Duke of Newcastle reminded Douglas that he wished this power "to be so exercised as to constitute a partially representative body, capable of making the wishes of the community felt, and calculated to pave the way for a formal, if not a larger introduction to the representative element."³⁸

The Legislative Council was given the proceeds from the sale of Crown lands subject to disallowance by the British Government.

"An Act to Provide for the Government of British

³⁶ Hansard, V. 172, p. 50.

³⁷ Loc. cit.

³⁸ P.P.C. 3667, loc. cit.

Columbia", June 11, 1863, provided for the establishment of a legislative council.³⁹ In a despatch of July 14, 1863, the Duke of Newcastle appointed the following to be members of the Legislative Council: The Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Lands and Works, and the Collector of Customs.

A rather amusing incident occurred at this juncture. The Government had offered a prize for the best essay on British Columbia and after considerable procrastination the award had finally been given to Rev. R. C. L. Brown. However, in publishing the essay the Government had changed its wording. New Westminster took strong exception to the deletion of the following passage, "The backward state of the country, the bad condition of the roads that exist . . . are owing to the maladministration of the Government." and the substitution of, "The manner in which the Government is carried on and the laws administered gives general satisfaction . . . the colonists (with the exception of an influential clique at New Westminster) are satisfied; they have not the wish, as in the present circumstances they would not have the time, to legislate for themselves."

The three judges, who had been appointed by the Government, were W. E. Cormack, Henry Holbrook and Arch-

³⁹ Ibid. p. 3.

deacon Wright. They protested the Government's action in altering the essay and Archdeacon Wright wrote to W. A. G. Young, acting Colonial Secretary, a letter dated September 11, 1863, which said in part, "I travelled from one end of this Colony to the other, and from New Westminster to Alexandria. The common cry was for a resident Governor, separation of the two Colonies and some form of self Government, and with that cry I may say every official in this city sympathizes."

Despite all protests and recriminations the Government took no heed and the essay remained in the "censored" version.

Elections for the popular members of the Council were held in the fall of 1863. In September a circular was sent out by W. A. G. Young, authorizing the election of members. British Columbia was divided into five electoral districts:

1. New Westminster
2. Hope, Yale and Lytton
3. Douglas and Lillooet
4. Cariboo East
5. Cariboo West

No boundaries were set for the districts and there were no qualifications for voters or candidates.

Chartres Brew, Police Magistrate, notified the

people of New Westminster to meet at the Court House on October 5 to elect their representative. Prior to the election day a meeting was held at Hyack Hall, on September 29, and a resolution was passed asking the Governor to fix a property qualification for voters. The qualification advocated by the Municipal Council was that voters must be British subjects who had resided in the district at least three months prior to the election. They were required to own real estate to the value of £20, to pay a yearly rental of £12, or to have been actually settled on a pre-emption for the three months. To be eligible for election, a man must own land to the value of £500.⁴¹ Those present at the meeting expressed "their strongest disapprobation of the illiberal constitution granted to this Colony by the Colonial Minister, His Grace the Duke of Newcastle . . . they regret to have to record their protest (in this the Nineteenth Century) against a constitution fitted only for the Legislation of serfs, and which is insulting to the intelligence of the people of this Colony."⁴² A delegation was appointed which met Governor Douglas and asked him to enforce these regulations re the qualification of voters but he informed the delegation that he had no authority to limit the franchise.

The meeting was re-convened on September 30 and

41 Ibid. September 30, 1863.

42 Ibid. October 3, 1863.

Mr. Holbrook, chairman of the deputation, told the meeting that Governor Douglas had said that he could not limit the basis of franchise "but that if they could not unanimously agree upon a candidate they might return two or three, from amongst whom he (the Governor) would select!!!"⁴³

Naturally this announcement was greeted with an uproar and the meeting decided to set its own qualifications. It was finally agreed that voters must have lived in the city or district six months and either own land to the value of £20 or pay £12 yearly rent.

J. A. R. Homer had been prominently mentioned for the nomination. His candidacy was urged by R. Dickinson, W. J. Armstrong, William Clarkson, James Cunningham and Charles Major.

When the electors arrived at the Court House on October 5, this building was found to be too small to accommodate the large number of voters and the meeting was moved to Mr. Webster's store. Mr. Brew announced that he would allow the qualifications for voting to be decided by the meeting. Captain Cooper was elected Returning Officer and the qualifications, approved at the meeting of September 30, were adopted. J. A. R. Homer and Henry Holbrook were both nominated and a poll was demanded. It was decided

⁴³ Loc. cit.

to hold the poll until five o'clock that day and reopen it from ten to one o'clock the following day. The result of the election was Homer, 69 votes, and Holbrook, 58.⁴⁴

The British Columbian of October 10, 1863, published a complete list of those who voted for each candidate and it is interesting to note some of the names on each list. Among Homer's supporters were Charles Major, John Robson, W. J. Armstrong, John Cooper, David Ramage, W. D. Ferris, H. McRoberts, James Burr, James McIlveen, Thomas McNeeley, Tom Cunningham, James Cunningham, J. S. Clute, Robert Dickinson, William Holmes, F. G. Claudet, Robert Wyllie, A. H. Manson and John Murray. These were the more prominent citizens of New Westminster and this list contains the names of almost all the members of the Municipal Council except Holbrook himself. Voting for Holbrook were C. E. Pooley, C. R. Drew, James Kennedy, Sam Brighthouse, Thomas Waterhouse, Joseph Sorel, William Hailstone and Ebenezer Brown.

Henry Holbrook was later elected for Douglas-Lillooet and other members elected were Robert T. Smith and James Orr. The representative for Cariboo West was not chosen at that time.

The first session of the Legislative Council was

44 Ibid. October 7, 1863.

held at New Westminster on January 21, 1864. The meetings were conducted in a former barrack building at the Royal Engineers Camp at Sapperton. The members of the Council were:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| | 1. Colonial Secretary - A. N. Birch |
| Colonial | 2. Attorney-General - H. P. P. Crease |
| Officials | 3. Collector of Customs - W. O. Hamley |
| | 4. Treasurer - C. W. Franks |
| | 5. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works - J. W. Trutch |
| | 1. Chartres Brew - Chief Inspector of Police |
| | 2. Peter O'Reilly - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| Magis- | 3. Edward H. Sanders - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| trates | 4. Henry M. Ball - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| | 5. Philip H. Nind - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| | 1. Joshua Attwood Reynolds Homer - New Westminster |
| Elected | 2. Robert T. Smith - Hope, Yale, Lytton |
| Members | 3. Henry Holbrook - Douglas, Lillooet |
| | 4. James Orr - Cariboo East |
| | 5. A. W. S. Black - Cariboo West |

The proceedings opened with a speech from the Governor and the members were then sworn in by Judge Begbie. Both the press and the public were excluded from the deliberations of the Council. In his opening address Governor Douglas informed the Council that the colonial debt for 1863 was £27,755. Of this £10,700 was the balance owed to the Imperial Government for the buildings at the Royal Engineers Camp, while the remaining £17,055 was general debt, ⁴⁵

The people of the Colony of British Columbia were

45 Ibid. January 23, 1864.

not satisfied with the Legislative Council, as they felt that popular representation was not sufficient. They again brought the charge of "taxation without representation". When Governor Seymour left on a visit to England in the fall of 1865, the people of New Westminster presented him with an address asking him to use his "powerful influence" to persuade the British Government to remedy this defect.⁴⁶

Early in March, 1864, a great public meeting was held at Hyack Hall to hear the report of Leonard McClure, who, as Vancouver Island delegate, had accompanied the British Columbia delegate, Hon. Malcolm Cameron, to London late in 1862. At the meeting, Messrs. Homer, Armstrong, Clarkson, Kennedy, Manson, Cormack, Dickinson, Hooper and Robson were appointed a committee "for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to obtain a more liberal system of Government, in place of the present, which expires with the current year."⁴⁷

On March 14, 1864, Governor Douglas (by then Sir James Douglas) arrived from Victoria on the Enterprise and took up residence in the house built for Colonel Moody. The rest of the absentee officials came to New Westminster at the same time.⁴⁸ Governor Douglas remained on the mainland only

46 Ibid. September 2, 1865.

47 Ibid. March 16, 1864.

48 Loc. cit.

one month after which he retired to Victoria. On April 8 a banquet was tendered him by "the colonial officials, his over-zealous and injudicious friends".⁴⁹ The Colonist reported the banquet as a public function given by the citizens of New Westminster. The Columbian said this report was "unfair and untrue". It was a private dinner and only one prominent citizen of New Westminster was present.

There can be no doubt that the people of New Westminster were overjoyed to see the last of the hated Governor. His unpopularity at the capital was without equal and the people had prayed "as fervently to be freed from his insulting despotism as ever did Israelite for deliverance from Egyptian bondage".⁵⁰

Douglas' successor was Frederick Seymour who had formerly been governor of British Honduras. Governor Seymour reached New Westminster on April 20. He was asked by the citizens of New Westminster to remain a few days in Victoria after his arrival there as they wished to arrange a ceremony of welcome and to deck the streets with arches and other decorations. He was advised that the ceremony would lose dignity if he landed from a common trading vessel among the miners, so he requisitioned a gun-boat from Captain Lord Gilford, the Senior Naval Officer, and made the crossing with

49 Ibid. April 16, 1864.

50 Ibid. June 20, 1863.

three servants on H.M.S. Forward.⁵¹

Extensive preparations were made at New Westminster for Governor Seymour's arrival. Buildings were decorated with bunting and evergreens and two fir arches were erected on Columbia Street. When the gun-boat came in view a large crowd hurried down to the wharf. When he stepped ashore, His Excellency was greeted by the Municipal Council who presented an address of welcome from the citizens of New Westminster. The following day the Hyacks and the members of the militia companies proceeded to Sapperton and escorted Governor Seymour to town. An official gathering was held in front of the Treasury, with Judge Begbie reading the Governor's commission and administering the oath of office.⁵² Later, Governor Seymour received additional addresses from the Legislative Council, the Ministers and Missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Ministers and office bearers of St. Andrews' Church and the members of the St. Andrew's Society.

Shortly after Governor Seymour's arrival additions⁵³ were made to Government House at a cost of £865. A. H. Manson was awarded the contract and John C. White was engaged as architect and building superintendent.

51 B. C. Despatches, p. 80, Seymour to Newcastle, April 20, 1864.

52 British Colonist, April 25, 1864.

53 Lands and Works Letter Book, p. 226.

The North Pacific Times of November 12, 1864, described the new additions: "An extensive suite of apartments has recently been added to the Government House, including a spacious and handsome ball-room, capable of accommodating with ease 200 dancers. Adjoining this are the supper rooms, elegantly and substantially furnished apartments." Extensive improvements were made to the grounds by the chain gang.⁵⁴

When Frederick Seymour assumed the office of Governor, the finances of British Columbia were in a bad state. The new governor later reported to the Colonial Secretary that this was due to Douglas' enormous expenditures on roads and to his creation of "a staff of public officials sufficient for a population ten times as large as they have."⁵⁵

He wrote to Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell:

I had not seen even in the West Indies so melancholy a picture of disappointed hopes as New Westminster presented on my arrival Thousands of trees had been felled to make way for the great city expected to rise on the magnificent site selected for it. But the blight had early come. Many of the best houses were untenanted. The largest hotel was to let, decay appeared on all sides, and the stumps and logs of the fallen trees blocked up most of the streets. Westminster appeared, to use the miners' expression, played out.⁵⁶

54 British Columbian, October 12, 1864.

55 B. C. Despatches, p. 37, Seymour to Buckingham, June 8, 1868.

56 P.P.C. 3667, p. 21, Seymour to Cardwell, March 21, 1865.

Shortly after British Columbia's formation, the House of Commons voted the colony £42,998, of which £37,000⁵⁷ was the cost of sending out the Royal Engineers. The expenditures to February 23, 1859, had amounted to £25,059. 6. 4. and the revenue to £22,924. 1. 5., or an unfavourable balance of £2,315. 4. 11.⁵⁸

This early deficit was due to the expenses of the Royal Engineers, poor land sales, the enormous cost of roads and evasion of the export duty on gold by miners who smuggled gold across the border.

In 1860 the British Government made a further grant⁵⁹ of £15,000 and the following year granted £8,600.⁶⁰ There was considerable objection in the House of Commons to these two grants, but Mr. Chichester Fortescue argued that the greater part of the grant was "for additional pay to the Royal Engineers owing to the high cost of provisions."⁶¹ In 1862, Mr. Fortescue again succeeded in obtaining a grant⁶² for the colony, this time for £9,000.

At the first meeting of the Legislative Council in January, 1864, it was reported that the expenditures for 1863 were £192,869 and the revenues £110,000, making a

57 Hansard, v. 155, pp. 522-524.

58 B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 3, Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859.

59 Hansard, v. 160, p. 1363.

60 Ibid. v. 164, p. 1028.

61 Loc. cit.

62 Ibid. v. 167, p. 496.

deficit of £82,869. The deficit was smaller in 1864, but rose again in 1865, the year of the depression.⁶³ By the end of 1865 it was apparent that the financial status of the colony had reached a very low ebb. Many merchants were bankrupt. When the Bank of British Columbia had first opened it was exceedingly generous with its credits and loans. Many merchants were themselves able to give liberal credit and laid in large stocks of goods, purchased on credit, in the belief that the population of the colony would increase. Unfortunately the population decreased and when the bank suddenly called in all its advances, many of its creditors were forced into bankruptcy. There was no sound basis of prosperity for the colony; the peak of gold rush had declined and there were, as yet, no extensive attempts at agriculture.

By the middle of 1868, Governor Seymour reported that his salary was eleven months in arrears, that the colony's bank account was overdrawn, and that the Bank of British Columbia was charging eighteen per cent. interest on the overdrawn account.⁶⁴

The financial depression of British Columbia and Vancouver Island made their union inevitable. By 1866, the net indebtedness of British Columbia was over \$1,000,000 and

63 Harvey, Arthur, A Statistical Account of British Columbia, p. 10.

64 B. C. Despatches, p. 37, Seymour to Buckingham, June 8, 1868.

that of the island colony was nearly \$300,000, while the cost of the two separate governments amounted to nearly \$1,000,000 annually. Vancouver Island owed the Bank of British North America \$79,567 and the bank stopped all further credit to the colony on May 31, 1866. In July the colony had to borrow \$90,000 at twelve per cent. interest to repay the bank and have sufficient funds to carry on ordinary business.⁶⁵

From the beginning the idea of union was extremely unpopular in British Columbia,⁶⁶ " . . . you may bluster, bully, resolve, petition, meet, disperse, and meet again, wail, deplore, even menace, but we will have none of you."⁶⁷ As early as March 7, 1861, the British Columbian had warned, "If British Columbians do not bestir themselves Hudson's Bay influence in Victoria and Downing Street will have us fastened to Vancouver Island one of these days, and that upon the most ruinous and degrading terms." The memorial sent to the Imperial Government on July 17, 1862, contained a strong plea against incorporation of Vancouver Island with British Columbia.

The people of New Westminster were bitterly opposed to any thought of union. New Westminster and Victoria had

65 P. P. C. 3667, p. 31, Kennedy to Cardwell, July, 1866.

66 P. P. C. 367, p. 30, Seymour to Cardwell, March 29, 1865.

67 North Pacific Times, March 8, 1865.

been bitter rivals almost from the date of the inception of the mainland capital and an almost constant blast of insults were hurled across the Gulf. When the editor of the Victoria Chronicle referred to the Fraser as a "stream of liquid mud", John Robson replied in the British Columbian of April 15, 1863, "We might remind him of a certain 'frog pond' dignified by the name of 'Victoria Harbor', which is not fortunate enough to possess 'liquid mud' to a sufficient depth to admit ordinary sized vessels."

Much of New Westminster's hostility was the result of the conviction that it was being sacrificed to the interests of Victoria. From the beginning, Governor Douglas used all his influence to foster the island city partly because of his personal interest in Victoria and because of his potent connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay "clique" was strongly entrenched at Victoria while its influence at New Westminster was comparatively limited. The young city struggling to develop on the banks of the Fraser naturally looked with hatred at its favoured rival across the Gulf. The Government's political, financial and commercial policy all worked in favour of the island while New Westminster was discriminated against and hampered at every turn.

In March of 1865, the Municipal Council sent a petition to the Legislative Council, urging against union,

chiefly on the grounds that the mainland colony was just beginning to prosper. Frequent editorials in the British Columbian expressed violent opposition to union. One of September 30, 1865, read that certain designing politicians were trying "to betray this colony into the hands of its worst enemies, the Hudson's Bay Company, Wharf Street chapmen, Victoria land sharks, and their Adjutants - General, De Cosmos, McClure, and Company."

In April, 1866, the Municipal Council sent a memorial to the Colonial Secretary stating that the people of British Columbia were opposed to union but adding that, if union were forced on the colony, then New Westminster should be chosen as the permanent capital.

The site of this city was, your memorialists believe, wisely selected by a commissioner sent out by Her Majesty's Government and specially charged with that duty; received its name direct from Her Majesty and was officially proclaimed as the permanent capital by a statute law of the Colony. . . . The capital could not now be disturbed without breaking faith with the people, and inflicting gross injustice upon large-vested rights;

68

At the time of the receipt of this memorial, Governor Seymour was absent on a visit to Europe. Hon. A. N. Birch, acting Governor, reported to the Colonial Secretary that the majority of the inhabitants of British Columbia, apart from those living in New Westminster, had

68 P.P.C. 3694, 1866, A Further Despatch Relative to the Proposed Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 2, April 26, 1866.

little or no interest in the question of union and he
expressed himself in favor of joining the two colonies.⁶⁹

The people of Vancouver Island were, on the other hand, most anxious for the union of the colonies and the desire for union became even stronger after the establishment of a Legislative Council in British Columbia, when it soon became apparent that the Council was extremely hostile to Vancouver Island. The Customs Amendment of 1865 tended to aggravate further the already depressed economic condition of the island colony.⁷⁰ Before the passing of this ordinance almost all goods brought into British Columbia were transhipped from Victoria as that city was a free port and goods were admitted duty free. The amended ordinance imposed a higher duty on goods shipped to British Columbia from Victoria than on goods imported direct from any other port. On June 22, 1866, the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island presented a memorial to the Secretary for the colonies asking for an immediate legislative union with the power of taxation and expenditure vested in a strong Legislative Assembly.⁷¹

As early as April, 1864, Hon. Edward Cardwell asked both Governor Kennedy and Governor Seymour for their

69 Ibid. Birch to Cardwell, April 28, 1866.

70 P.P.C. 3852, p. 2, Kennedy to Cardwell, June 15, 1866.

71 Ibid. p. 11, June 22, 1866.

72

views on the subject of union. Governor Kennedy reported to the Colonial Secretary on March 21, 1865, that the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island favoured unconditional union by a majority of eleven to four.

At first Governor Seymour was strenuously opposed to union. He attributed the colony's depression to the fact that it had been sacrificed for the gain of Victoria and in 1866 he began to see signs that British Columbia was entering a new era of prosperity. In a despatch from Paris on February 17, 1866, he expressed strong opposition to union on the grounds that British Columbia did not want union and that the colony was not depressed.⁷³

Despite opposition from the mainland colony, union was inevitable. Lack of population and the large indebtedness of the colonies meant that union was necessary if both colonies were to become solvent and prosperous. Accordingly, an Imperial Act uniting the two colonies was passed in August, 1866, and Frederick Seymour was appointed Governor of the united colony, British Columbia. Upon his return from Europe the Governor landed at Victoria on November 7, 1866, where he "was received with great coldness" and where he

72 P.P.C. 3667, p. 7, Cardwell to Kennedy, April 30, 1864.

73 P.P.C. 3667, p. 37, Seymour to Cardwell, February 17, 1866.

noticed "a look of extreme depression upon the town and its inhabitants."⁷⁴

Three days later he reached New Westminster where he was "met with a most loyal and gratifying reception."⁷⁵ Governor and Mrs. Seymour arrived on the Sir James Douglas and when the steamer came in sight they were greeted by "a right merry peal from the chime of bells and a salute from the guns of the Seymour Artillery." The members of the Hyack and militia companies, headed by the Hyack band, marched out to Government House, each man bearing a lighted torch and as the vice-regal party landed the band played "that exquisite and appropriate air, 'Home Again'". The British Columbian published a vivid account of the ensuing celebration:

The long avenue of humanity, the three Volunteer Companies in their varied uniforms, the Hyack Company in their bright costume, and the long line of civilians, with several hundred persons forming the background, and just enough of torch-light to render the scene picturesque, and cast a charm over the whole, the view from the river must have been "charmant". As soon as the party stepped onto the wharf, where several heads of departments stood ready to receive them, a cheer ran up the lines and faintly died away in the distance with the roll of the drums.

76

On November 19 Governor Seymour proclaimed the

74 P.P.C. 3852, Further Papers Relative to the Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 27, Seymour to Carnarvon, November 20, 1866.

75 Ibid. p. 28.

76 British Columbian, November 14, 1866.

Imperial Act at Victoria and New Westminster and reported "no enthusiasm or excitement shown in either town." The proclamation was read at Victoria by Sheriff Adamson. At New Westminster it was proclaimed at the Treasury Building by J. A. R. Homer, the High Sheriff, in the presence of Chartres Brew, J.P., Charles W. Franks, Treasurer, Henry P. Pellew Crease, Attorney-General, and Arthur T. Bushby, Registrar General.⁷⁷ Following the reading, the flag on the Hyack engine house was run up as a signal to H.M.S. Sparrowhawk to fire a salute, "but that was the act of the Government, not of the people."⁷⁸

Following union of the colonies, the Legislative Council consisted of twenty-three members, fourteen of whom were appointed, including nine magistrates and five Government members. Five of the elected members were from the mainland and the remaining four from Vancouver Island. The first session of the new Legislative Council was opened with all due ceremony on January 24, 1867, at Sapperton. Governor Seymour was met by a guard of honour from the three New Westminster volunteer companies and his exit was the signal for a salute of eighteen guns by H.M.S. Malacca, which had anchored in the river opposite Government House. The speech from the throne made no mention of the site of the capital.

77 P.P.C. 3852, p. 30, Seymour to Carnarvon, November 21, 1866.

78 British Columbian, November 21, 1866.

but this was the foremost and most controversial issue.

Governor Seymour was outspoken in his opinion that New Westminster should be the capital of the united colonies. While in Paris he wrote Hon. Edward Cardwell expressing the view that as Vancouver Island was seeking union with British Columbia, it must relinquish all claim to the capital.

I think, however, that in seeking union with British Columbia, Vancouver Island relinquishes all claim to the possession within her limits of the seat of Government. New Westminster has been chosen as the capital of British Columbia, and it would not be fair to the reluctant colony to deprive her of the Governor and staff of officers. Both these towns are inconveniently situated on an angle of the vast British territory, but New Westminster, on the mainland, has the advantage over the island town. It is already the centre of the telegraphic system, and is in constant communication with the upper country, whereas the steamers to Victoria only run twice a week. The seat of Government should be on the mainland; whether it might not, with advantage, be brought here after nearer to the gold mines, is a question for the future.

79

Seymour pressed the claim of New Westminster before the Colonial Office. He reminded the Colonial Secretary that "during the passage of the Act, it was stated in both Houses of Parliament that New Westminster should be the seat of general government." He added that (New Westminster is) "In my opinion the most respectable, manly and enterprising

79 B. C. Despatches, p. 590, Seymour to Buckingham, July 13, 1867.

little community with which I have ever been acquainted."

The Colonial Secretary replied that the British Government did not intend the people of New Westminster to understand that the capital would never be moved but left the final choice in the hands of the Governor.

. . . I think it is requisite to say that the establishment of New Westminster as the capital of British Columbia did not, in my opinion, involve any pledge on the part of the Government that the site of that capital shall never be moved. It is, of course, always undesirable to disappoint natural expectations, and much consideration may be due to those who are so disappointed. But every land purchaser in New Westminster or any other locality, must be considered to buy his land, subject to the possible changes which the varying political or commercial interests of the whole community may from time to time render necessary.

I will add that, although I do not prescribe to you the choice of one or other capital, you will be at liberty, in case you should decide in favour of Victoria, to quote the authority of the Home Government in support of that course. 81

New Westminster's rights were strongly advocated by the British Columbian and its fiery editor, John Robson. From the time it was first suggested that the capital might be moved to Victoria the Columbian kept up a constant blast

80 P.P.H.C. 483 of 1868, Extracts of Correspondence between Governor Kennedy of Vancouver Island, Governor Seymour of British Columbia, and the Colonial Office on the subject of a Site for the Capital of British Columbia, p. 4, Seymour to Buckingham, July 13, 1867.

81 Ibid. Buckingham to Seymour, October 1, 1867.

at Victoria and its "glaring impertinence" in presuming to be the capital. ". . . it is not likely that the British Government, a Government whose 'faith' has never yet been broken and whose 'honor' has never yet been tarnished, would be guilty of offering at once its 'faith and honor' and the entire fortunes of its loyal subjects at New Westminster, a sacrifice to a band of unprincipled, disloyal and insatiable speculators at Victoria. No, no. The very thought savors
 82
 of treason."

The Royal City's claim was based chiefly on the fact that in seeking union Vancouver Island had relinquished all claim to the capital. Many people who had bought land in New Westminster had made this investment on the assumption that New Westminster would always be the capital and it would be a breach of "public faith and honour" to move the seat of government.

John Robson did not have much faith in the judgment of the Legislative Council although he himself was a member of it. This criticism was based on Robson's opinion that the Council was not representative of the people because people of every race, creed or colour could vote if they had been resident in British Columbia for three months. "Thus we have seen the foreigner, who was but waiting the arrival

of the next steamer to carry him from the Colony forever, step up to the poll and record his vote, or a drove of Kanakas, who required a half hour's tuition and a second trial in order indistinctly to articulate the name of the candidate in whose interest they had been dragged up, standing upon equal footing with the resident British subject."⁸³

Meanwhile the claims of Victoria were vigorously supported by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Bank of British Columbia, the Bank of North America, and by various influential citizens of Vancouver Island. The Colonist dismissed New Westminster as "a pimple on the face of creation",⁸⁴ while on the other hand, the Nanaimo Tribune remarked of Victoria, "a cruel stepmother she has been to us, a cold, selfish, close-fisted old dame!"⁸⁵ Dr. Helmcken was quoted as saying, "The day that makes New Westminster the capital will make more American citizens than British."⁸⁶

Sir James Douglas used his influence on behalf of Victoria and prompted by a letter from the former Governor,⁸⁷ Dr. Helmcken on March 28, 1867, introduced a resolution into the Legislative Council for the removal of the capital to

83 British Columbian, January 19, 1867.

84 British Colonist, September 24, 1866.

85 British Columbian, October 6, 1866.

86 Ibid. January 16, 1867.

87 Sage, W. N., Sir James Douglas and British Columbia, p. 342;
B. C. Despatches, p. 559, Seymour to Carnarvon, March 18, 1867.

Victoria. Governor Seymour had the same day sent a lengthy message to the Council, in which he urged that no immediate action should be taken but reminded the members that it had been stated in both Houses of Parliament that New Westminster should be the capital of the united colony.⁸⁸ A ten hour debate was held on March 29 on the subject of the location of the capital and the Helmcken resolution was carried by a vote of thirteen to eight, with the island and official members supporting it.

Although the Council obviously favoured the change⁸⁹ Governor Seymour hesitated to make the move. The Daily News of Victoria termed him a "heartless dictator" and "worse than a costermonger."⁹⁰ Seymour sent the Colonial Office a comprehensive expression of his views informing the Imperial authorities that no Governor would of his own free will leave Government House at New Westminster for that at Victoria and adding that the Legislative Council could better carry on its work in the "less troubled town of New Westminster" than in the "feverish political atmosphere of Victoria."⁹¹

A tremendous uproar was caused by the publication in the Colonist of February 13, 1868, of a letter reputedly

88 British Columbian, March 30, 1867.

89 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 4, Seymour to Buckingham, April 10, 1867.

90 British Columbian, April 20, 1867.

91 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 9, Seymour to Buckingham, December 10, 1867.

written by Captain Richards, R.N., to Mr. Donald Fraser of Victoria. The letter said in part,

. . . I never could understand building the wooden hovels dignified by the name of capital, fifteen miles within the entrance of an intricate river where only the smallest war ships can enter. . . . by taking away the prestige from Victoria you will benefit no one but the few possessors of land in the immediate neighbourhood of the hovels, and will keep the country back for a generation. 92

On February 17 a public meeting was held at the call of Henry Holbrook, President of the Municipal Council, to investigate these statements of Captain Richards. Hon. John Robson spoke at some length and introduced a resolution, which carried unanimously, expressing "surprise and regret" that Captain Richards should have "offered gratuitous insult to a large and respectable British Community."⁹³ J. T. Scott moved a second resolution that a committee should be appointed to prepare a memorial to be sent to the Duke of Buckingham pointing out the discrepancy between Captain Richards' description of New Westminster and the Fraser River in Vancouver Island Pilot and his remarks in the letter to Mr. Fraser and bringing to "the notice of His Grace the unscrupulous means resorted to in order if possible to prejudice the question of the Seat of Government, to the

92 British Columbian, February 15, 1868.

93 Ibid. February 19, 1868.

great injury of the general interests of this colony." The committee appointed for this purpose was H. Holbrook, John Robson, W. J. Armstrong, J. T. Scott, T. Cunningham, J. S. Clute, H. W. Smith, D. Withrow, T. E. Ladner, H. Havelock, W. Clarkson, and W. Fisher.

When the Legislative Council reassembled in the spring of 1868, the question of the site of the capital was once again the foremost issue. Governor Seymour in the speech from the throne remarked, "A Governor must allow himself no personal feelings in a matter of this importance."⁹⁴ He added that, ". . . Her Majesty's Government are of the opinion that in my Message of the 27th of March, 1867, I took an extreme view as to the extent to which public faith and honour are pledged to the purchasers of land in New Westminster."

On April 15, the New Westminster Municipal Council . sent a memorial to Governor Seymour expressing their reasons for urging that the capital should remain at New Westminster. The Council had raised \$44,500 in taxes and borrowed \$13,386 by means of debentures which were issued in 1862 and would soon fall due. If the site of the capital were moved to Victoria, the value of land at New Westminster would fall sharply and the Council would be hard-pressed to meet its

94 Ibid. March 21, 1868.

96

obligations.

On April 20, Hon. John Robson, New Westminster's representative in the Legislative Council, was assaulted and beaten by Hon. R. T. Smith. The cause of the assault was that Robson had tried to prevent Smith from voting on April 2 on the question of the site of the capital. Smith, needless to say, favoured Victoria and Robson tried to have him barred on the ground that he was bankrupt and therefore must forfeit his seat in the Council. Robson was strolling back to town from the Legislative Hall at Sapperton, reading a copy of the Estimates as he walked along. As he was nearing Mr. Bushby's residence he met Smith, who knocked him to the ground and jumped on him. Smith then commenced to beat Robson with Robson's own walking stick, but stopped the attack when Hon. Mr. Wood and Hon. Dr. Helmcken appeared on the scene. Smith was arrested and on appearing in
96
magistrate's court, was fined £5.

However, the Legislative Council had on April 2 voted in favour of moving the capital to Victoria, with
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Messrs. Crease, Hamley, Robson, Barnard and Ball dissenting. In a message read to the Legislative Council on April 28,

95 Ibid. April 15, 1868.

96 Ibid. April 25, 1868;

B. C. Historical Quarterly, July, 1940, John Robson versus J. K. Suter, pp. 204-205.

97 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 12, Seymour to Buckingham, May 25, 1868.

Governor Seymour announced that he would cause Victoria to be proclaimed the capital on May 24.

It is interesting to speculate on the reason for Governor Seymour's change of attitude. There is some justification for his decision. Victoria contained a larger settled population and was the headquarters of the banks, churches, and the Hudson's Bay Company. It is significant of Seymour's affection for New Westminster that he wrote the Colonial Secretary, "In my own heart, I must allow there was a feeling in favour of the manly, respectable, loyal and enterprising community established on the Banks of the Fraser."⁹⁸ In a letter written to the Municipal Council in May, 1868, the Governor said in part, "I willingly bear testimony to the loyalty, good feeling, self-reliance and respectability of the people of New Westminster, and deeply regret that I should come to be the instrument of inflicting⁹⁹ a temporary injury upon them."

Governor Seymour's good wishes did not go far towards placating the people of New Westminster. A public meeting was held on April 29 to secure redress. Three resolutions were passed by this meeting. The first, moved by Ebenezer Brown, was to the effect that the removal of the capital was a "direct violation of public faith and honor."

98 Ibid., p. 22, Seymour to Buckingham, April 29, 1868.

99 British Columbian, May 13, 1868.

Mr. J. Calder moved that "the property-holders in this city have a just right to compensation." A third resolution, moved by Mr. Ferris, proposed the establishment of a committee "to draw up a Memorial to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, humbly praying for redress and justice." 100

Governor Seymour did not escape New Westminster's wrath. The British Columbian published an editorial castigating him unmercifully: ". . . the Governor, if not actually convicted of double dealing and treachery of the most extraordinary and aggravated character, is at least the subject of suspicion of the most painful nature." 101 On June 6, the Columbian again referred to the Governor's part in the event, "His Excellency has, whether unwillingly or not is, perhaps, known only to himself and his superior officer, been the instrument in perpetrating an act which, for cruelty and injustice, will not easily find a parallel, even in Colonial history."

Governor and Mrs. Seymour left New Westminster on board the H.M.S. Sparrowhawk on May 18. The gubernatorial party had to disembark at Cadboro Bay and travel overland to "Bleak House" (Cary Castle) as the Sparrowhawk drew too much water to be able to enter Victoria harbour. 102

100 Ibid. May 2, 1868.
 101 Ibid. May 13, 1868.
 102 Ibid. May 20, 1868.

The Government officials scurried across the Gulf with the "most indecent haste". Most of them went to Victoria within a week ". . . and in less than a month scarcely a vestige of officialdom remained to mark the site of the 'phantom capital'". Not even a branch of the Lands and Works Department was left to serve the whole mainland of British Columbia. Of this mass exodus, the Columbian remarked, "If the officials can all be huddled together on a small, remote island, without detriment to the public interest it is pretty clear that they might be spared
103
altogether."

New Westminster continued to press its claims for redress. Before Governor Seymour's departure for Victoria, the Municipal Council had presented a petition to him asking
104
compensation for the removal of the capital. July 27, a meeting was called by Henry Holbrook, President of the Municipal Council, to consider the question of taking steps to secure redress from the Imperial Government for "the rude shock caused by the unexpected perpetration of such a
105
disgraceful swindle by the Colonial Office authorities."

The chief basis of New Westminster's claim for compensation was the fact that when New Westminster was

103 Ibid. July 1, 1868.

104 Ibid. May 13, 1868.

105 Ibid. August 8, 1868.

proclaimed to be the capital of British Columbia, people who had bought lots at Langley, in the expectation that Langley would be the capital, were allowed to exchange their Langley lots for property at the capital. Langley had never been proclaimed capital of the colony, while New Westminster had been specifically chosen and officially sanctioned for that purpose. People who had invested money in land at New Westminster were surely entitled to compensation for the depreciation of the value of their property as a result of the Government's "treachery".

The people of New Westminster were further incensed by the "temerity" of certain Government officials who asked compensation for the losses which they sustained in having to move from New Westminster to Victoria. Robert Ker, the Auditor-General; Charles Good, Assistant Colonial Secretary; Alex Calder, Treasury Clerk; John Graham, Officer in charge at the Treasury; John Westgarth, Inspector of Steamers; all asked for consideration on the grounds that they had spent a considerable amount of time and money in maintaining homes and property at New Westminster, and that their holdings were now of greatly reduced value. Messrs. Hamley, Crease and Bushby also sent a petition to the Government asking
106
compensation for deterioration in the value of their property.

106 B. C. Despatches, p. 61, Seymour to Buckingham, August 11, 1868.

No satisfaction was obtained from either the Colonial or the Imperial Government and in the fall of 1868, the Municipal Council sent two further petitions, one to Queen Victoria and the other to the House of Commons. In forwarding these memorials to the Duke of Buckingham, Governor Seymour added, "Your Grace is well aware that the people of the former (New Westminster) have, at least their fair share of my solicitude."¹⁰⁷

Government House at Sapperton was abandoned. The other Government buildings at Sapperton were also deserted and Governor Seymour had to employ a former sapper as caretaker in order to prevent the Indians from occupying them. The Imperial Government was still pressing its claim that British Columbia should pay for the buildings provided for the Royal Engineers. On February 2, 1868, Governor Seymour wrote the Colonial Secretary expressing his views on this subject:

Colonel Moody selected a heavily timbered piece of land a mile from the town for his camp. He employed civil labour to clear it--the expenditure has been utterly thrown away, as far as the colony is concerned, New Westminster would have been in a much more prosperous condition were not the small resources of the citizens spread over two separate town sites a mile apart.

108

107 Ibid., p. 82, Seymour to Buckingham, November 30, 1868.

108 Ibid., p. 5, Seymour to Buckingham, February 2, 1868.

Governor Seymour added that the only building of any use was Colonel Moody's residence, Government House, and even this was too far from town for convenience.

William Fisher, who returned home to England on a trip, interviewed Earl Granville at the Colonial Office on July 23 on the subject of compensation for New Westminster lot owners. In the House of Commons, Mr. Rathbone asked the Colonial Secretary whether the Imperial Government was willing to accede to the requests contained in the memorial from the Municipal Council asking for an enquiry into the change of the site of the capital or for compensation for its removal. The reply was that it was a matter for the local legislature to decide.¹⁰⁹ No record was found of any compensation being paid and judging from the composition of the Legislative Council it is safe to assume that none was ever made. It was later announced that the proposal to reimburse the Government officials did not meet with the approval of the British Government.¹¹⁰

During Antony Musgrave's term as Governor, he asked the Imperial Government for £400 to buy furniture for Government House at New Westminster as he felt that it was desirable that the Governor should be in residence on the mainland part of the time.¹¹¹ Apparently this request was

109 Mainland Guardian, August 28, 1869; November 13, 1869.

110 Ibid., February 23, 1870.

111 B. C. Despatches, p. 208, Musgrave to Granville, March 8, 1870.

favourably received for in the spring of 1870, Government House was repaired and repainted and a large quantity of furniture was installed.

Hon. J. A. R. Homer represented New Westminster on the Legislative Council from 1864 to 1866 when his place was taken by John Robson, editor of the Columbian. Robson defeated Dr. W. A. G. Black in a bitterly contested election held in October, 1866, described as the "warmest political contest which has even taken place in these Colonies."

The New Westminster riding included not only the city but also the surrounding districts and additional polling stations were set up at Douglas, Sumass, Langley and Burrard Inlet. Any white man resident in the district for at least three months was entitled to vote, Chinese and Indians being barred.

Both candidates presented similar platforms, both favouring Union, retrenchment in the civil service, abolition of tonnage dues, construction of roads in all settled districts, granting of free land to bona fide settlers, settlement of the Indian land question and suppression of the sale of liquor to Indians. It was suggested that Mr. Robson had an unfair advantage because he was editor of the paper, but there seems to have been little justification for this

112 Mainland Guardian, June 18, 1870; July 2, 1870.

complaint. Dr. Black was supported by the Government officials and it was charged that the officials allowed a group of Kanakas to vote. A letter to the editor of the Columbian voiced this complaint:

The work of Friday, the 12th October, 1866, . . . will form a Black page in the history of British Institutions on the Pacific . . . under the present glorious system of British Government which the people of this Colony enjoy, officials are allowed to interfere. And they have not failed to make the most of the privilege. Their votes, their influence and their money have all been given in support of your opponent

The writer accused the officials of "coralling and driving up like a flock of cattle sixteen Kanakas to record their votes for Doctor Black." and added another charge.

But what shocked me most, what I cannot excuse or palliate, was the bringing of the patients from the public hospital to record their votes for Doctor Black . . . I will not repeat the rumors afloat about the recent irregular admission of patients into that institution for political purposes, nor will I vouch for the correctness of the assertion that the Steward was ordered to bring the patients to the polls.

113

The final returns of city votes gave Robson 210 votes to 194 for Dr. Black. The Returning Officer said he had no authority to disallow the Kanaka vote. The country vote gave Robson a majority of 122 to 35. This decisive rural vote in Robson's favour was partly due to the fact that there were no officials living in the country districts.

John Robson continued to represent New Westminster until November, 1870, even though he moved to Victoria in July, 1869. At the end of his first term in the Council he was given a purse of \$600 in gold coin and a "very flattering address" by his constituents.¹¹⁴ When he left New Westminster he was presented with a memorial signed by every man in the city but two.¹¹⁵

Union of the two colonies did not solve the economic problems of British Columbia and Confederation was soon considered as a step towards prosperity. The first official action towards union with the embryonic Dominion of Canada came in 1867. On March 9 and March 20 Amor De Co'smos introduced a motion into the Legislative Council to ask Governor Seymour to take steps to secure the "immediate" admission of British Columbia into Confederation. The resolution passed unanimously and the Governor promised to communicate with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and with the Governor of Canada.

There were various reasons why the people of the Pacific colony wished to join the larger union. The depressed economic state of British Columbia and the heavy cost of government, resulting in a large colonial debt, led many to think that the colony would be more prosperous if it

114 Ibid. June 17, 1868.

115 Ibid. July 8, 1882.

joined Canada. Retrenchment and economy were being continually advocated but even after union of the two colonies, the Government was weighed down by an excessive number of high salaried officials, considering the extremely small population. The British Columbian of February 15, 1868, said that the public debt of the colony was \$1,500,000 and it estimated the population at one person to every five square miles. There was a strong and growing demand for responsible government in place of "official despotism" and it was felt certain that responsible government would follow Confederation.

In Victoria, agitation for Confederation was carried on by a group headed by Amor De Cosmos, while there was a second group which favoured annexation of British Columbia to the United States. Of this group, the British Columbian remarked, "Do these people imagine for a single moment that Queen Victoria is going to cast away one of the brightest gems in her diadem, especially when that one is indispensable to the completeness, the glory and brilliancy of the rest?"¹¹⁶

John Robson was also extremely critical of the Victoria press whom he accused of debasing the colony by "a fixed policy, persistently pursued during the past two or three years, of making this country literally stink in the nostrils of the world." The Columbian added, "The cry of

¹¹⁶ Ibid. May 1, 1867.

bankruptcy, depopulation and utter ruin is industriously circulated abroad." The editor felt that Victoria should confine such remarks to its own "dung hill".¹¹⁷

The Government officials were naturally opposed to Confederation and Governor Seymour was one of the leading opponents of union.

With the exception of De Cosmos, most of the prime advocates of Confederation were from the mainland. In New Westminster there was still keen resentment over the removal of the capital and a deep-seated antipathy to officialdom. John Robson was the leader of the Confederation group. Robson wanted Confederation but he did not favour De Cosmos' demand for "immediate" union. He urged caution and thought, rather than rushing into a premature alliance which might result in British Columbia's accepting a "false or unworthy position in the Dominion of Canada".¹¹⁸

Efforts to secure passage of a motion by the Legislative Council in favour of Confederation were unavailing, due to the preponderance of official representatives, who voted against all such resolutions because they feared Confederation might cost them their positions. On several occasions the official members actually passed resolutions against Confederation. In 1868 the Dominion Government urged

¹¹⁷ Ibid. May 4, 1867.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. February 8, 1868.

the Legislative Council to take steps and on April 24 De Cosmos introduced a resolution setting forth the proposed terms of union. Only four members, De Cosmos, Stamp, Walkem and Robson, voted for the resolution, the appointed members making the excuse that the success of Confederation was not yet assured and that British Columbia was not in a position to understand whether the terms offered by the Dominion were really favorable.¹¹⁹ This official interference only increased the determination of the colonists to be free from Government control.

A large public meeting was held at Victoria on January 29, 1868, at which time a committee was appointed to draw up a memorial for presentation to the Dominion Government. The memorial declared that the majority of people in the colony favoured union with Canada and stated the terms which would be acceptable to British Columbia.

A meeting was called by the Municipal Council to be held at Hyack Hall, New Westminster, on April 6, 1868, to discuss the question of Confederation and the proposed location of the overland route, which was to be one of the conditions of union. John Robson was the principal speaker and he proposed the first resolution which was a motion favouring British Columbia's entrance into Confederation.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. April 29, 1868.

In making this proposal he remarked,

We have little to expect from the Imperial Government so long as we occupy the helpless position of a Crown Colony. . . . With Confederation comes full self-government, the power to think and speak and act like free men. . . . Let us stretch out our hands and accept the profound boon, which Confederation cannot fail to bring to this our adopted country. 120

The meeting also decided that British Columbia should insist upon two conditions of union. These were the assumption of British Columbia's debt by the Dominion of Canada and the early construction of a transcontinental wagon road, which should follow the Fraser River Route via Yale and New Westminster. A committee composed of John Robson, Hugh McRoberts, E. Brown, J. T. Scott, and W. Clarkson, was appointed to prepare an address to be presented to the Legislative Council urging that steps be taken to secure British Columbia's entry into Confederation. This memorial, dated April 17, was transmitted by the committee to Governor Seymour. 121

In May, a Confederation league was formed at Victoria and it soon expanded to include branches in other parts of Vancouver Island and on the mainland. The league sponsored a convention held at Yale on September 14, 1868, with twenty-six delegates in attendance. The President of the New Westminster Municipal Council called a meeting for

120 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

121 Ibid. April 22, 1868.

September 10 to elect the city's delegates; John Robson, David Withrow, Henry Holbrook and Dr. Black being chosen. At Yale a committee was formed, including De Cosmos, Robson and Hugh Nelson, the representative for Burrard Inlet, for carrying out the wishes of the convention, namely Confederation and responsible government.

Following the Yale Convention the question of Confederation was again discussed by the Legislative Council and early in 1869 the official members introduced a resolution declaring that union with Canada was inadvisable. The resolution carried by a vote of eleven to five. A group of members of the Council, R. W. R. Carroll, H. Havelock, T. B. Humphreys, George Walkem, John Robson and E. Graham Alston, drew up a protest, which they presented to the Clerk¹²² of the Council, condemning the Council's action.

The move towards Confederation was given impetus by a petition being sent from Victoria to President Grant asking that British Columbia be annexed to the United States. When the Hudson's Bay Company gave up its rights to the North West Territories in March, 1869, that barrier to Confederation¹²³ was removed. A third favourable incident was the death of

122 Ibid. February 20, 1869.

123 P.P.H.C. 390, Papers on the Union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, Granville to Musgrave, p. 30, August 14, 1869.

Governor Seymour, who passed away suddenly on June 10, 1869, aboard H.M.S. Sparrowhawk at Bella Coola.

Governor Seymour was deeply mourned in New Westminster. He had usually been a staunch supporter of the city and was a popular figure there. The Governor was buried in the Naval Cemetery at Esquimalt on June 16, and on the day of his funeral all business at New Westminster was suspended and the bells of the churches and that of the Hyack Engine House were solemnly tolled. A number of New Westminster citizens went over to Victoria to attend the funeral services and addresses of condolence from the Municipal Council and the Hyack Company were tendered to the Governor's widow. These messages were presented at Government House by Henry Holbrook and W. J. Armstrong.¹²⁴

On June 14 a telegram was sent to London informing the Colonial Office of Frederick Seymour's death and the following day an answer was received to the effect that Antony Musgrave had been appointed his successor.¹²⁵

Musgrave was instructed by the Colonial Office to encourage Confederation. "You will hold yourself authorized . . . to take such steps as you properly and constitutionally can for promoting the favourable consideration of this subject."¹²⁶

124 British Columbian, June 16, 1869.

125 Ibid. June 16, 1869.

126 P.P.H.C. 390, Granville to Musgrave, August 14, 1869.

Governor Musgrave paid his first visit to the mainland in September. He reached New Westminster on the Enterprise on September 7. The city was gaily decked and the Hyacks were out in full force in their brilliant scarlet uniforms. The guns of the Seymour Artillery were "brought down and unlimbered in Lytton Square, where they thundered forth a Royal Salute as the Enterprise neared the wharf," and a "merry peal" was rung on the bells at Holy Trinity. The President and members of the Municipal Council went on board to welcome the new Governor, following which he and his party proceeded to Government House. In the evening the members of the New Westminster Choral Society went out to Sapperton and serenaded the Governor with "some very pretty pieces of music".¹²⁷

The following morning the Municipal Council waited on the Governor and presented an address expressing hope that in His Excellency they would find "a warm supporter of the great scheme of Confederation with the Dominion of Canada".¹²⁸ Governor Musgrave and his party were shown through the hospital, the public school and Holy Trinity Church, then they drove over to Burrard Inlet where they visited the "village of Gastown", the B. C. and V.I. mill, Jerry Rogers' logging camp and Moody's mill.

¹²⁷ Mainland Guardian, September 8, 1869.

¹²⁸ Ibid. September 11, 1869.

New Westminster was beginning to be a little doubtful of Confederation. This hesitancy was probably the result of the intense bitterness felt over the shabby treatment New Westminster received at the time of the union of the two colonies. Henry Holbrook was a staunch anti-Confederationist. ". . . I believe in belonging to a great and glorious country like Great Britain, that gives us every freedom to govern ourselves, and at the same time affords us her protection, rather than belonging to and being governed as a distant province of Canada, that will rule the colony with a rod of iron, take from us all they can get and make us liable for our portion of the great debt they at present owe."¹²⁹

Following the presentation of the above mentioned address to Governor Musgrave, Holbrook publicly disavowed the sentiments expressed by the majority of the Council. In November he resigned from the Council on this issue, but was re-elected the following month, so he must have had a certain following.

On January 19, 1870, a public meeting was held to hear Hon. John Robson, member of the Legislative Council, give his views on the subject of Confederation. Following

129 Ibid. September 18, 1869.

Robson's address a resolution was moved by Mr. William Fisher and passed by the meeting, "That this meeting, while expressing their entire confidence in their representative, do not endorse the opinions he has expressed on immediate
 130
 Confederation."

A terrific furore was created by this meeting. Hon. John Robson announced in the pages of the Colonist that he had been misquoted in the Mainland Guardian. A group of prominent New Westminsterites including William Irving, J. T. Scott, William Fisher and Dr. A. W. S. Black published a notice in the Guardian of February 5, saying that the account of the meeting published by that paper was absolutely correct. Twenty-four of Robson's friends published "A Protest" in the Colonist after the Guardian refused to publish it unless it were paid for.

On February 22 another meeting was held to discuss the terms of union. A committee of ten, including William Fisher, W. J. Armstrong, J. A. Webster, H. V. Edmonds, William Irving, C. Lee, H. McRoberts, E. Brown, T. Ladner, and J. K. Suter, was appointed to examine the terms proposed by Governor Musgrave to the Legislative Council and to report
 131
 to the adjourned meeting.

The report was presented on March 1. The committee

130. Ibid. September 18, 1869.

131. Ibid. January 22, 1870.

agreed with the terms in general but believed that some mention should be made of education. Their chief recommendation was to delete the words "Esquimalt" and "Victoria" from the terms and replace them by "in the colony". They also suggested that it should be definitely stated that all public institutions should be built on the mainland and that the terminus of the railroad should be either New Westminster or Burrard Inlet. The meeting moved a further resolution that the Dominion Government should be required to provide telegraphic communication between British Columbia and Canada.¹³²

Negotiations with the Canadian Government were reopened in March of 1870. The Legislative Council spent over two weeks debating the terms to which British Columbia would agree, and a delegation of R. W. W. Carroll, Dr. J. S. Helmcken and J. W. Trutch left in May to go to Ottawa to meet with members of the Dominion Government. On July 7, representatives of the two Governments came to a final agreement on terms. Meanwhile, the Imperial Government had re-constituted the Legislative Council so that elected representatives would be in a majority. The number of appointed members was reduced to six while there were still nine elected members. The elections held in the fall of

132 Ibid. March 2, 1870.

1870 had as their main issue the terms of Confederation.

Two candidates were nominated for New Westminster, W. J. Armstrong and Hugh Nelson from Burrard Inlet. Both favoured Confederation and construction of a railroad via the Fraser River route. Mr. Armstrong came out strongly in favour of responsible government while Mr. Nelson's platform included the building of a wagon road from New Westminster to Yale. The Mainland Guardian, New Westminster's leading paper, since the removal of the British Columbian to Victoria, supported Mr. Armstrong: "His family ties, his sympathies are all bound up in the everyday life of this community. . . . He is ahead of all his compeers in trade enterprise."

Mr. Nelson was not favoured because he spent a large part of his time in Victoria, therefore he could not help "being more or less tinctured with Victoria sentiments." ¹³³

Nominations were received on November 2 at the Court House, New Westminster. There was a show of hands in favour of Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Nelson's supporters demanded a poll. Meetings to hear both candidates were held at the Hyack Hall on November 1 and at the Retreat, Sapperton, the following evening. The candidates also spoke at Burrard Inlet and Sumass. Polls were opened on November 7 at New

133 Ibid. November 2, 1870.

Westminster, Burrard Inlet, the School House, Langley, and
¹³⁴
 at A. C. Wells' "Chillukwayuk", and the result was the
 election of Hugh Nelson.

Meanwhile, as Confederation became almost a
 certainty, the route to be taken by the proposed railroad
 became the subject of much controversy. A meeting to discuss
 this question was held at Hyack Hall on November 11 and a
 resolution was passed to the effect that, "The inhabitants
 of New Westminster most strongly deprecate the agitation
 at present carried on by the people and press of Victoria
 regarding the location of the terminus of the transcontinental
 Railway. That we believe the same to be hurtful to the cause
¹³⁵
 of Confederation."

A petition, favouring the route through the Fraser
 Canyon, was circulated on the mainland. It was signed by
 400 residents of New Westminster and Burrard Inlet.

The new Legislative Council, which met in January,
 1871, ratified the terms of union and abolished the
 Legislative Council. It was replaced by a Legislative
 Assembly of twenty-five members thus securing the establish-
 ment of responsible government. Arrangements were made for
 the registration between May 10 and June 10 of all those who
 would be eligible to vote. Those appointed as Registrars for

134 Ibid. October 26, 1870.

135 Ibid. November 12, 1870.

the New Westminster district were V. B. Tait at the Treasury Building, New Westminster; James Kennedy at the School House, Langley; J. McCutcheon at Chilliwack and C. M. Chambers of Moody, Dietz and Nelson's mill on the Inlet.

The Legislative Council drew up an address to Queen Victoria, which was later forwarded by Governor Murgrave to Her Majesty, asking that British Columbia be admitted to Confederation. On July 20, 1871, the Crown Colony of British Columbia became a Province of the Dominion of Canada. In August, Joseph W. Trutch became the first Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia in place of Edward Musgrave, the last Colonial Governor, who left Victoria on July 25, 1871.

The proclamation of British Columbia's entry into Confederation was the cause for a joyous celebration at New Westminster where "flags of every shape and nationality floated from every possible pole." The Seymour Artillery and the New Westminster Volunteer Rifles assembled at the Drill Shed and then marched to the Crescent. At noon a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from twenty-four pounders by the Artillery under Lieutenant Scott while the Rifles under Lieutenant Claudet fired a "feu de joie". Sports were held at the Cricket Grounds in the afternoon with a ball following at 9:00 p.m.

GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AT NEW WESTMINSTER

As the capital of British Columbia, New Westminster was the seat of government. Although, as has already been mentioned, there was some reluctance on the part of government officials to reside at New Westminster, the government departments were one by one moved to the mainland. By March, 1864, the Governor and all the officials were living at New Westminster and remained in residence there until the removal of the capital to Victoria in May, 1868. It would not be within the scope of this thesis to discuss the various departments of the government, but mention will be made of several government institutions of special interest to New Westminster.

1. LAW COURTS AND JAIL

It is not intended to discuss in any detail the enforcement of law in the colony of British Columbia but only to give a brief survey of the enforcement of law and detention of criminals insofar as it affected the city of New Westminster. In September, 1858, Mathew Baillie Begbie was appointed Judge of British Columbia and he was, until after

Confederation, the supreme arbiter of law in the colony. Stipendiary magistrates were appointed to serve in the various populated districts of the colony, Warner Reeve Spalding being named magistrate at New Westminster. George Hunter Cary was appointed Attorney-General of British Columbia in March, 1859, holding that office until the fall of 1861, when he was succeeded by Henry Pering Pelleg Crease. Crease resided at New Westminster until the union of the two colonies.

The Supreme Court of British Columbia was constituted in June, 1859, and Arthur Thomas Bushby was appointed Registrar.

In December, 1859, Governor Douglas provided for the establishment of small debts courts to be presided over by the Stipendiary Magistrates to settle claims not exceeding £50. All cases of major importance were heard by Judge Begbie, who went on circuit and held assizes at various points. Besides the Assizes there were sittings of police and county courts held at New Westminster at such times as they were required.

Judge Begbie was extremely unpopular at New Westminster from the beginning of his term of office. His unpopularity was increased by his dictatorial action in dealing with John Robson, editor of the British Columbian. The Columbian of November 26, 1862, published a letter from "A" (Reverend Arthur Browning) which suggested that Judge Begbie had received a gift of twenty acres of land at Cottonwood from Dud Moreland in return for which he had reversed the decision of the resident magistrate and given

Moreland a certificate of improvement for a whole quarter section. The letter also said, "The fact is that much of the action of officials resident in the Cariboo was a burlesque on the majesty of British law."

When the assizes opened at New Westminster on December 1, Judge Begbie denied the charge and declared that Robson's publication of the letter constituted a gross contempt of court. He ordered the editor to appear in court the following day. Robson attended the court and offered a qualified apology, "If, however, the implied charge is untrue, all I can say is that I regret its publication."¹ The judge said the use of the word "if" cast doubt upon his honesty, to which Robson replied that "it was impossible for him to say the charge was untrue with his present knowledge of the matter, and that therefore he could not conscientiously offer to his Lordship other than a conditional and qualified apology." As this reply did not satisfy the judge, Robson was placed in jail where he continued to write editorials "as a voice from the dungeon". "When we think of the great and good Italian hero lying bleeding for the liberty of his fatherland in a rough prison, we feel impressed with the unmerited honour we enjoy in being permitted to suffer for the great and sacred cause of human liberty in British Columbia."²

¹ British Columbian, December 3, 1862.

² Ibid. December 6, 1862.

A large public meeting was held at New Westminster on December 2, followed by a mass march to the jail where the crowd gave "three cheers for the imprisoned Editor" and "three groans for the tyrant Judge". There being really no alternative but to remain in jail or apologize Robson asked to be taken to court again on December 5, when he offered his apology and was consequently freed. Although the editor was forced to apologize he continued to publish strong criticism of the Chief Justice. One verse of the New Year's Address of the British Columbian Carrier Boy for 1863 read,

Any man who would try to swallow the press,
And eat up two lawyers at one single mess,
I'm sure as a Judge is not fit for such work,
He should be made 'King!', 'Mogul!' or 'Grand Turk!' 3

The assizes at New Westminster were usually held in November. When Judge Begbie arrived to preside, a Grand Jury was summoned. Besides acting as a trial jury, the Grand Jury inspected the jail and made a report to the Judge. In its report the Jury brought to the Judge's attention any matters which it felt required official action. The Colonist in publishing the Grand Jury Report for November, 1860, added this comment, "They certainly have a spirited people up there--men who are not inclined to blink any question tending to
4
promote their interests". Among the recommendations

3 Ibid. January 7, 1863.

4 British Colonist, November 16, 1860.

contained in this report were that the Government should make a grant towards a school, erect a post office at New Westminster and place a light ship at the mouth of the Fraser. It was also suggested that British Columbia criminals should be sent over from Victoria immediately as their labour could be used on the roads to good advantage. The Grand Jury recommended construction of wagon roads along the trail from the Camp to Burrard Inlet and as a continuation of Douglas Road to English Bay. It also advocated building two trails on the south side of the Fraser, one to Mud Bay and the other to join the road to Langley, as it was felt that the construction of these trails would help in opening up the agricultural land around the city. The Municipal Council was complimented on the way it had spent the Government grant and it was recommended that a further grant be made. Strong exception was taken to the Attorney-General residing at Victoria and the Grand Jury suggested that all customs duties on goods entering the Fraser should be collected at New Westminster.

The 1860 Grand Jury report was one of the most comprehensive but similar recommendations were made in succeeding years. Apparently many of the jury's proposals were not favorably received by the Government, for in 1866 the jury added to its report a clause expressing "hope that the subjects embraced in this presentment will not, like too

many others that have preceded it, be treated by the authorities with silent indifference."⁵

The Act of Union made no provision regarding the law courts of the united colony. Chief Justice Needham held a position on Vancouver Island similar to that which Begbie held on the mainland. In 1868 an ordinance was passed continuing the respective powers and jurisdictions of the two judges and the following year it was provided that if a vacancy occurred the two courts would be combined. In March, 1870, Judge Needham resigned to become Chief Justice of Trinidad and Begbie became Chief Justice of British Columbia. Begbie and C. E. Pooley, who had succeeded A. T. Bushby as Registrar of the Supreme Court, left New Westminster to establish their headquarters at Victoria.⁶ H. P. P. Crease was appointed Puisne Judge and came to reside at New Westminster in June.⁷

There was only one room at the Court House for the administration of justice. When a case was being heard the public and witnesses had to go out of doors and the court adjourned while the jury deliberated.⁸ The court room was described as a "small, low room, with a canvas ceiling, in an old wooden building, without ventilation or the means of

5 British Columbian, November 17, 1866.

6 Mainland Guardian, March 16, 1870; March 23, 1870.

7 Ibid. June 15, 1870.

8 British Columbian, December 5, 1861.

warming it." ⁹ The Grand Jury report of 1864 noted that the Court House was inadequate and recommended that more suitable ¹⁰ accommodation should be provided. Two years later the jury again recommended that a new court house should be built and described the existing one as "a monument to the discredit ¹¹ of the government."

As early as the autumn of 1858 Governor Douglas had written to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton pointing out the need of judicial buildings and a jail in British Columbia and explaining that in consequence of this lack, criminals had to be sent to Vancouver Island. Sir Edward replied that the amount spent on judicial establishments must depend on the colony's revenue because no grant would be forthcoming from the British Government.

Governor Douglas decided to reserve Block 13, New Westminster, as he thought lots in this block would be a ¹² suitable spot for the erection of a jail. When Colonel Moody was informed of the Governor's decision he wrote in reply, "I take the liberty that if Your Excellency contemplates a jail of a permanent character, the site will not ¹³ be found suitable, nor of sufficient space." However,

9 Ibid. November 9, 1864.

10 Ibid. November 14, 1864.

11 Ibid. November 17, 1866.

12 Letter, Provincial Archives, Acting Colonial Secretary, W.A.G. Young, to Chief Commissioner Lands and Works, January 30, 1860.

13 Moody to Young, February 7, 1860.

Colonel Moody's advice was ignored and he was asked to furnish the Governor with a plan and the estimated cost of a jail and lock-up.¹⁴ The Chief Commissioner's report said in part, "The estimated cost of the Jail, with Lock-up, Cells, etc. is 850 pounds. I think it is right to state that if built by the Royal Engineers a saving of 280 pounds may be anticipated. Unfortunately their services are not at the present time disposable for the execution of this service."¹⁵

The first jail at New Westminster was completed in January, 1861, on the site chosen by the Governor. On January 31, Chartres Brew, Assistant County Court Judge, wrote to W. A. G. Young, Acting Colonial Secretary, "The jail at this place is quite ready to receive any number of prisoners it will contain, but Sprague and his confederates are such dangerous fellows to guard safely that perhaps it would be prudent not to send them here until the post-office be removed from the prison which will be, I expect, in about a fortnight."¹⁶ On February 8, Mr. Brew again wrote the same official asking for the appointment of two additional constables at the capital. He reported there were seven prisoners in the jail, two of whom, Becker and Sprague, had

14 Young to Moody, February 23, 1860.

15 Moody to Young, March 30, 1860.

16 Brew to Young, January 31, 1861.

- for an account of Sprague see Duthie, Rev. D. W., A Bishop in the Rough, pp. 34-35.

expressed their determination to escape. Mr. Brew added that there were a great many drunk and disorderly Indians in New Westminster.

The British Columbian of February 13, 1861, noted the arrival of three convicts from "a small island on the Pacific Coast, lying to the West of us, called 'Vancouver Island', which we have heretofore used as our penal colony." The jail was described as a "miserable wooden rookery" right in the centre of the business district of the city. It contained only eighteen cells and this accommodation soon proved to be inadequate. On July 23, 1862, there were nineteen people in jail, four of whom were lunatics and one a "raving madman".¹⁷ During the winter of 1862-1863 an extension was built, including ten new cells and a new upper room, twenty-two by thirty-two feet, which was to be used as a chapel.¹⁸

There were small lock-ups at several points in the interior mining district of British Columbia but all criminals who were sentenced to long terms were incarcerated at New Westminster. The number of criminals housed in the New Westminster jail varied, of course, from time to time. The number of cases entered on the books of the "House of Correction, New Westminster" from October 27, 1860, to May 31,

¹⁷ British Columbian, July 23, 1862.

¹⁸ Ibid. March 11, 1863.

1862, was given by Rev. Brown in his prize essay as 164.

Of these 81 were discharged and 83 convicted. Larceny, assault, and selling spirits to Indians were the three most prevalent crimes, with murder, felony, horse stealing and stabbing charges also being heard. The census for New Westminster District published in the Mainland Guardian on June 22, 1870, listed the total number in jail the preceding year as 145 males and 15 females.

Imprisonment for debt was in practice in British Columbia until abolished in April, 1865. A notice published in the British Columbian for January 15, 1864, announced that from July 1 of that year all debtors in the New Westminster jail would have to be supported at the expense of their creditors or they would be discharged.

In a report to the Colonial Secretary, regarding the condition of the jail, Governor Seymour remarked, "The prison is clean, healthy, and well managed, it is gratifying to see that no woman has yet undergone imprisonment. Drunken squaws have for their own protection and the public decency been locked up until sobered." ²⁰ He added that there had been no suicides in the institution and that no person had become insane there. Only one person had escaped, a

19 Brown, Rev. R. C. L., British Columbia: An Essay, Appendix 24, 25.

20 B. C. Despatches, p. 302, Seymour to Cardwell, May 1, 1865.

little Indian boy who scrambled over the wall but was
recaptured the next day.²¹

The prisoners were bound together in a chain gang and used on public works, chiefly repairing and improving streets. Two prisoners escaped during the first week of August, 1866, while the gang was at work on the cricket ground. William Ross and Hugh Gartland overpowered the guard, seized a rifle and pistol, and ran down to the river. They started across the river in an Indian canoe which upset in midstream. Three Indians went out from shore to effect a rescue but after the convicts were fished out they turned on their rescuers and pushed two of the Indians into the river, while the third Indian upset the canoe. The convicts were rescued and returned to jail. In the confusion a third member of the chain gang, John Burke, escaped into the forest²² but he was recaptured at Burrard Inlet later that month.

A second break occurred on December 19 of the same year while the chain gang was working in the forest. Mark Dunne, serving a life-sentence, slipped off his leg iron and fled into the bush. He was known to be hiding in the woods at the back of the city and Chartres Brew offered a reward of \$50 for his recapture. Before dawn on December 22, Dunne stole a boat from the Camp and crossed the river. He was

21 Ibid. p. 303.

22 Brew to Colonial Secretary, August 4, 1866.

subsequently captured by the chief of the Musqueam Indians
²³ and his sons. As there was no institution for the insane,
 lunatics were detained in the New Westminster jail.

The cells in which they are confined are not at all
 adopted for such a purpose. Entirely too small, ill
 ventilated, unheated, and an offensive effluvia
 arising from beneath them, the result of no proper
 system of drainage having been adopted to carry off
 the impure deposits that accumulate, it is not to be
 expected that persons of unsound mind, however
 hopeful their cases might be, under more favorable
 circumstances, can derive benefit from the treatment
 they there receive. ²⁴

Governor Seymour gave a much more enthusiastic report to the
 Colonial Office. "The Lunatic Asylum in New Westminster
 though situated within the prison walls is detached from the
 main buildings. The Keeper of the Gaol and his wife, both
 remarkably kind-hearted people, reside on the premises. . .
 . the lunatics have no special accommodation apart from the
 prisoners. As the latter are employed on out-of-door work
 from morning til night there is abundant time for the
 recreation of the lunatics without their being brought into
 communication with criminals." ²⁵

C. J. Prichard was warden of the New Westminster
 jail from the date of its establishment until his death in
 the summer of 1870. He was succeeded by Arthur McBride who

23 Brew to Colonial Secretary, December 24, 1866.

24 British Columbian, November 17, 1866.

25 B. C. Despatches, p. 285, Seymour to Cardwell,
 March 24, 1865.

had been keeper of the jail at Victoria. Mr. Prichard had received a salary of \$1,220, but Mr. McBride was only given²⁶ \$912, the same remuneration as he received at Victoria. He benefited, however, by having better accommodation and receiving an allowance for light and fuel. Shortly after McBride assumed his position on the mainland, the jail was²⁷ renovated.

2. LAND REGISTRY OFFICE

One of the complaints made in the memorial drawn up by the British Columbia Convention in April, 1861, was the²⁸ lack of a Registry Office on the mainland. Governor Douglas, in forwarding the memorial to the Colonial Office, said a Registry Office would be established as soon as practicable. A proclamation of August 26, 1861, entitled "British Columbia Land Registry Act, 1861," established in New Westminster, "Offices for the registration of Instruments in writing affecting Real Estate in the Colony." The office at New Westminster was to be the "Registrar General of British Columbia." District Land Registry Offices would be established from time to time in other parts of the colony. The proclamation announced that the Land Registry Office at

26 Ibid. p. 246, Musgrave to Grenville, July 27, 1870.

27 Mainland Guardian, August 3, 1870.

28 B. C. Despatches, pp. 226-241, Douglas to Newcastle, April 22, 1861.

New Westminster would open on November 1 and that until the establishment of district offices all instruments for the mainland would be effected at New Westminster. ²⁹

In September tenders were called for the construction of a Land Registry Office and the contract was awarded to Manson and White. It was a balloon-framed building with a fire-proof safe, located on part of Lot 4, Block 12. The following month, Arthur T. Bushby was appointed Registrar General under the provisions of the Act. Mr. Bushby, who came to British Columbia in 1858 with a letter of introduction from the Colonial Office, had been appointed Supreme Court Registrar in 1859.

Fees for registering instruments were four shillings a signature for deeds with several signatures and eight shillings for deeds with only one signature. After January 22, 1862, these charges were reduced to two shillings and four shillings respectively. ³⁰

In the interest of economy the Land Registry Office was later moved to part of the Treasury Building, probably in April, 1866, when Mr. Bushby was appointed Acting Postmaster General.

29 Proclamation No. 8, 1861, B. C. Papers, Part 4, pp. 73-77.

30 British Columbian, January 23, 1862.

3. MAIL SERVICE AND POST-OFFICE

In the early years of New Westminster's history, mail service was entirely inadequate and consequently was the subject of constant criticism.

Governor Douglas inaugurated a postal service in British Columbia in November, 1858. Alex C. Anderson of Victoria was appointed Postmaster General and postmasters were appointed at Langley, Hope and Yale. Letters could be sent at a flat rate of five cents anywhere within the colony, but unfortunately the Government had no adequate means of transmitting the mails and its service was confined almost entirely to the despatch of Government letters and foreign mail.

Most of the mail was carried by the express companies, even though letters sent in this way had to pay the colonial postage of five cents as well as the express charges. As early as July, 1858, Wells, Fargo and Company advertised that they would transmit letters to and from California and the East. Ballou's Express, established in 1858, and Barnard's Express, established two years later, were among the earliest companies carrying mail to the Fraser River Mines.

"Apparently the first postal facilities in New

31. This subject has been covered very thoroughly in Deaville, Stanley A., The Colonial Postal Systems of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871. The writer is indebted to this source for much of the information contained in this section.

Westminster were provided by the Royal Engineers."³² In April, 1859, when Captain W. R. Spalding was appointed magistrate for New Westminster district, he was instructed to supervise the establishment of a post-office at the new capital. Spalding's house, which belonged to the Government, was thus the first post-office at New Westminster. In November of the same year the post-office was moved to Holbrook's store and Henry Holbrook acted as postmaster without pay.

Captain W. Driscoll Gosset, the Treasurer of British Columbia, was appointed Acting Postmaster General in June, 1859, but when he moved the Treasury to New Westminster in July, 1860, he was relieved of his position in the postal department. On July 19, W. R. Spalding was appointed Postmaster of British Columbia at a salary of £400 a year and his official residence was enlarged. For a short time, probably about three months, the Post-Office was located at the jail until it was moved to Captain Spalding's at the beginning of March, 1861. The British Columbian reported the approach to the post-office was through "a break neck alley".³³

At this time most of the colony's mail, both internal and external, was being carried free of charge. Foreign mail was carried gratuitously from San Francisco to Victoria by

³² Ibid. p. 54.

³³ British Columbian, March 7, 1861.

the Pacific Mail Steam Packet Company. English Mail was carried from Southampton to Colon by the Royal Steam Packet Company, which had a contract with the British Government. It was brought across the Isthmus by the Panama Railway Company under an agreement with the Government of New Granada. From Panama to San Francisco it was carried free by the United States Government. Late in 1859 the American Government offered to carry the mail overland by railway from New York to St. Louis and thence by American Express Company to San Francisco, but much of British Columbia's mail continued to travel by way of the Panama.

The express companies had also been carrying mail to and from the interior free of charge. Until December, 1861, Ballou's Express had carried the mail for nothing but at that time Ballou refused to perform the service any longer unless he were paid. However, F. J. Barnard undertook to carry the mail gratuitously. Early in 1861 the Government called for tenders for carrying the interior mail but failed
34
to award a contract.

The result of these haphazard, though economical arrangements, was that postal service was extremely poor and irregular. The British Columbian published an editorial on the subject on April 4, 1861, at which time the editor wrote,

34 Ibid. December 19, 1861; March 13, 1862.

"The mail question is only one of the many proofs we have of the total incapacity of the executive." Again on June 13, the Columbian published a leading article deploring the fact that the colony was without proper postal service. The colonists were pictured as being at the mercy of the Americans who from "a feeling of pity" had been carrying the mails to Victoria and of the Otter, "an independent sort of animal, that comes and goes without the slightest reference either to time, mails, or the convenience of the travelling community; and the consequence is that our mails have been frequently subjected to a week's delay in Victoria". The interior mail service was described as even worse, mail bags being thrown on board the river steamers without anyone being responsible for their safety.

The latter part of 1861, the postmaster entered into a contract with the river steamers to carry mail to Douglas, Hope, Yale and return for a small remuneration but it was charged that during the summer of 1861, mail was 35 thrown on the steamers as freight in order to save money. No provision was made for transporting the mail beyond Yale.

By 1862, the express and steamboat companies were becoming adamant in their refusal to carry mail free of charge. Captain W. A. Mouat had been carrying the mails

35 Ibid. March 13, 1862.

free from Victoria on the Hudson's Bay Company steamer Otter for three years but when the new steamer Enterprise was placed on the run, Captain Mouat informed the Postmaster that he expected to be paid.³⁶ Mr. Spalding was compelled to agree and the Company was given a contract at \$50 a month for a weekly service between Victoria and New Westminster. In June, 1865, the subsidy was increased to \$97 a month.

F. J. Barnard was awarded a contract for the interior mail service in June, 1862. By the agreement the express company was to provide a weekly service from New Westminster to Douglas, Hope, Yale, Lillooet, Lytton and return from April 1 to November 30, and a semi-monthly service the rest of the year. During the summer period there was to be a semi-monthly service to Williams Lake and Antler Creek and a monthly service from December 1 to March 31.³⁷

The postage rates set at this time were from New Westminster, 5d. to Douglas, Hope and Yale; 1s. to Lytton and Lillooet; 2s. to Williams Lake; 3 s. to Quesnelle and 4s.³⁸ to Antler.

At the beginning of January, 1862, the Government had negotiated the infamous mail contract with Messrs. Holladay and Flint for the transmission of mail from San

36 Ibid. April 7, 1862.

37 Ibid. June 28, 1862.

38 Ibid, July 23, 1862.

39
 Francisco to Victoria. The company was to provide semi-monthly service for six months for a subsidy of \$25,000 but although £2,500 was to come from the British Columbia Treasury, no provision was made for the steamers to continue
 40
 on to New Westminster. Despite the improved Government service the express continued to be more popular as it was much speedier.

In April, 1864, Captain Spalding was appointed Postmaster General of British Columbia and the post-office, which was still in his residence, was designated the "General Post-Office". A letter to the editor of the British Columbian published on October 12, 1864, protested against the practice of tying horses on mail nights in the dark and narrow alley leading to the post-office. "It is not only unusual, but exceedingly annoying for a crowd of anxious 'common people' to be kept waiting by the hour outside and see Thomas, Richard, and Henry admitted into the office to get their mail matter and enjoy a tete-a-tete
 41
 with the loquacious Postmaster General."

Three weeks after his arrival in British Columbia, Governor Seymour authorized appointment of a messenger who delivered letters from door to door after the arrival of the

39 See above, pp. 341-342.

40 British Columbian, February 20, 1862.

41 Ibid. October 12, 1864.

Victoria steamer. The first messenger was a Chinaman who received £1 a week for his services. After April, 1866, Spalding's assistant, Valentine B. Tait, became the messenger and in 1869 an Indian, known as "Office Jim" carried the mail and acted as messenger for the Government officials remaining at New Westminster.⁴²

Valentine B. Tait had been appointed as assistant to Spalding at the beginning of 1864. Following union of the colonies in 1866, he became postmaster at New Westminster. When British Columbia entered Confederation he was re-appointed to that position and retained it until his death in October, 1880.

The first British Columbia Postal Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council on May 2, 1864. Postage from Victoria to New Westminster was fixed at 3d. for each half ounce, while the rate was 6d. a half ounce between post-offices in British Columbia. Foreign letters arriving in the colony had to pay 3d. a half ounce in addition to foreign postage.

In June, 1864, a new mail contract was arranged by the Government with the combined express companies of F. J. Barnard, George Dietz and Hugh Nelson at £5,000 a year.⁴³

⁴² Deaville, op. cit., p. 113.

⁴³ British Columbian, June 8, 1864.

The companies provided mail service from New Westminster to Hope, Yale and Douglas twice a week and to Lytton and Lillooet once a week. From March 31 to August 31, they were to make three deliveries a month to Clinton, Quesnelle and William's Creek and the rest of the year they were to provide monthly service. A post-office with a paid postmaster had been established at William's Creek.

The following June a new contract was signed with the express companies by which for £6,500 a year they provided semi-weekly service as far as Lillooet and weekly service on to Williams Creek. In February, 1867, the companies again contracted to deliver the mail, this time at \$25,000 a year. The year 1867 found the colony on the verge of bankruptcy and when a new contract was arranged in January, 1868, Barnard, Dietz and Nelson had to agree to carry the mails at \$16,000 a year.⁴⁴ There was some delay in negotiating this contract and the British Columbian reported on January 25, 1868, that there had been no mail from the interior since December 28 of the previous year. The 1868 contract lasted until October, 1870, but when it expired a new agreement was signed with Gideon C. Gerow and Aaron Johnston of Victoria by which they agreed to provide mail service for three years for \$40,000.

44 Ibid. March 14, 1868.

Until 1865, there was no post-office anywhere in the lower Fraser Valley except at New Westminster and residents from all the surrounding districts had to go to the capital for their mail. In July, 1865, Mr. Codville was authorized to act as postmaster at Codville Landing on Nicomen Island. Mail for Chilliwack and Sumas was then landed at this point. Two years later a post-office was established at Ladner and in June, 1869, Maximillien Michaud, owner of the Brighton Hotel, was appointed postmaster of Burrard Inlet.

Following expiration of the first contract for carrying the mail from San Francisco no regular subsidy was paid. Disputes were frequent and the steamers often refused to carry the mail. On occasions the mails were brought from San Francisco by H.M.S. Sparrowhawk.⁴⁵ In January, 1866, the Government of British Columbia asked the Government of Vancouver Island to join in subsidizing a line of steamers from San Francisco to serve both colonies but the House of Assembly on the Island refused to vote a subsidy if the steamers ran to New Westminster.⁴⁶ The mainland Government acted alone and entered into an agreement with the California Steam Navigation Company by which for a subsidy of \$2,000 a round trip the company placed the Active on a fortnightly

45 Ibid. September 26, 1866.

46 B. C. Despatches, p. 567, Seymour to Carnarvon, April 10, 1867.

service between San Francisco and New Westminster. British Columbia magnanimously made no objection to the steamer calling at Victoria, provided it did not remain there longer than ⁴⁷ six hours.

Vancouver Island subsidized the Hudson's Bay Company ⁴⁸ steamer Labouchere at \$1,500 a trip. Unfortunately, the Labouchere was lost on its second voyage with the loss of several lives. The Government at Victoria then arranged with the California company to have the Active call at Victoria and remain longer than the six hours allowed by ⁴⁹ the British Columbia agreement.

The Active made her last trip to New Westminster ⁵⁰ on November 8, 1866. The contract had expired and the Legislative Council refused to vote sufficient funds to pay for the ship continuing on to the Fraser. During the winter of 1866-1867, the Government steamer Sir James Douglas went alongside the Active upon the latter's arrival at Victoria and brought passengers, mail and freight on to New Westminster free of charge. It was announced by the Postmaster that the Government boat would remain at New Westminster long enough to enable people to answer their correspondence and despatch letters by return boat. The Active would stay at Victoria

47 British Columbian, January 16, 1867.

48 Mainland Guardian, December 4, 1869.

49 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

50 British Columbian, November 10, 1866.

until the return of the Sir James Douglas.⁵¹

The agreement between the owners of the Active and the then defunct House of Assembly of Vancouver Island expired on March 31, 1867. The Legislative Council of the united colony refused to authorize a subsidy of more than £100 a trip and the company refused to carry the mail to the mainland. Governor Seymour wrote to Earl Carnarvon on April 10, 1867, that the reason for the Council's unwillingness to agree to a larger subsidy was that it wanted to prevent the steamers going to New Westminster.⁵² A new contract was signed early in 1867 by which the California Steam Navigation Company agreed to make three trips every two months to Victoria for a subsidy of \$750 a trip. This contract expired in October and the Legislative Council declined to enter into any further agreement as the company wanted a substantially larger subsidy. It was known that negotiations were in progress between the British and American Governments and it was hoped that the Imperial Government would pay for an ocean mail service to British Columbia.⁵³

In February, 1867, a new contract was signed with the Hudson's Bay Company for the Enterprise to carry mail

51 Ibid. December 15, 1866.

52 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

53 British Columbian, November 6, 1867.

between Victoria and New Westminster for \$500 a year. Early in 1869, Mr. Lewis secured a contract for carrying the mail between New Westminster and Burrard Inlet. In January, 1871, the Legislative Council passed a motion to provide funds for colonial postal service. It authorized annual payment of \$500 for carrying mail between Victoria and New Westminster, \$100 for service between Burrard Inlet and New Westminster, while \$13,000 was voted for a semi-weekly service between
54
New Westminster and the Cariboo.

The Government began in 1866 to practice much-needed economy: in January, Captain Spalding's salary was reduced to £350 and in April the office of Postmaster General was abolished. Arthur T. Bushby was appointed Acting Postmaster General without any additional remuneration, while Spalding was sent to Quesnellemouth as Stipendiary Magistrate. Valentine Hall became Postmaster at New Westminster at a salary of \$750 a year. In January, 1867, the Post-Office was moved from the official residence formerly occupied by Spalding to the Registry Office, the former Treasury Building. The entrance was on Columbia Street and mail was delivered through the window to people standing
55
outside.

54 Mainland Guardian, January 21, 1871.

55 British Columbian, January 12, 1867.

In March, 1867, a new Postal Ordinance for the united colony was passed. Letter rates from New Westminster to Victoria were five cents a half ounce; to Douglas, Hope, Yale, Lytton, Lillooet, Clinton, Ashcroft and Savona's Ferry, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢; and to places beyond these points, 25¢. A postal convention negotiated between the British and American Governments went into effect in British Columbia in January, 1868. Postage had to be prepaid and mail from the interior of the colony had to pay the extra colonial postage. Thus it cost 25¢ to send a letter from New Westminster to the United Kingdom and 10¢ to Canada or the U. S. A., while from the Cariboo letters to the United Kingdom were 50¢ and to Canada or the U. S. A., 35¢.

The Post-Office at New Westminster remained at the same location until some years after Confederation. After British Columbia joined the Dominion, Bushby's postal duties were taken over by Henry Wootton of Victoria. Valentine Tait continued to be postmaster at New Westminster at an increased salary of \$1,200 a year. The Dominion Government assumed responsibility for the Province's postal system and a contract was signed with Messrs. Rosenfeldt and Bermingham of San Francisco, who submitted a tender to provide semi-monthly service between Victoria and San Francisco for \$2,250 a round

56 Ibid. January 22, 1868.

trip. Their iron steamer, the Prince Alfred, commenced this run on August 15, 1871.⁵⁶ Additional mail was sent overland to Olympia via San Francisco and despatched weekly to Victoria on the Enterprise, now owned by A. E. Starr.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Deaville, op. cit., p. 148.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 153.

58

4. ASSAY OFFICE, MINT AND GOLD ESCORT

In the spring of 1859, Governor Douglas urged the Imperial Government to establish an assay office to accommodate miners who were forced to go to San Francisco to have their gold assayed, thus taking much business away from the British colonies. He also believed that the opening of an assay office would also facilitate collection of the proposed gold tax.⁵⁹ W. Driscoll Gosset, Treasurer of British Columbia, also wrote the Colonial Office urging establishment of an assay office and the British Government agreed to the founding of an assay office and refinery at New Westminster. On the recommendation of the Master of the Royal Mint, Francis George Claudet, a "professional assayer of eminence", was appointed Assayer and Frederick Henry

⁵⁸ Reid, R. L., The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint at New Westminster, gives a detailed account of this subject and considerable use was made of this book.

⁵⁹ B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 2, Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859.

Bousfield was named his assistant. Charles A. Bacon and
 60
 W. Hitchcock were appointed melters.

Official sanction for establishment of the Assay
 61
 Office was received in January, 1860, and the Government
 took steps for the erection of the necessary buildings. The
 Royal Engineers were asked to draw up plans and in April
 Colonel Moody sent Governor Douglas a plan for an Assay
 Office which would cost £3,400, however, the Governor replied
 that the cost must not exceed £400. The building, as well
 as quarters for the officials, were completed in May, 1860.

The officials reached New Westminster during the
 early summer of 1860. They installed the machinery and opened
 the office on the first of August. A notice, dated August 1,
 signed by W. Driscoll Gosset, announced that the Assay Office
 would be open daily from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., except on
 steamer days when it would open at 8:00 a.m.

The first ingots had no value stamped on them but
 early in 1861 the Assay Office began to make ingots stamped
 with a number, corresponding to a number in the official
 records; with its weight and fineness and with the Government
 cipher - a crown over the letters V.R. With each ingot was

60 Ibid., pp. 102-103, Letter from Royal Mint dated
 September 9, 1859. Enclosure in Despatch 24,
 Newcastle to Douglas, September 29, 1859.

61 Loc. cit.

given an official certificate as to the weight of the gold before and after melting, its fineness, and the assaying charges. Charges were 7s. 6d. for bars under fifty ounces and 1s.6d. for each additional ten ounces. Assaying cost £1 for each specimen while complete analysis of a mineral⁶² was £2.

The Assay Office was not self-supporting. From August to December, 1860, it produced a revenue of £226. 17. 6. In 1864, 75,624 ounces were assayed at a profit of £17. 11. 6. but in 1865 and 1866, 93,621 ounces and 23,571 ounces were⁶³ assayed at a loss of £126. 11. 6. and \$2,941.49 respectively. The failure of the Assay Office was largely due to the establishment of several private assay offices in British Columbia. In August, 1859, Marchand and Company of San Francisco established an office in Victoria and in April, 1862, Wells, Fargo and Company and Molitor of San Francisco commenced assaying on the Island. The Bank of British Columbia opened an assay office in the Cariboo in 1865. Of the 93,621 ounces of gold assayed at New Westminster in 1865, 72,400 was in the hands of the Bank of British Columbia, so the loss of the bank's business was a serious blow to the⁶⁴ Government institution. At the end of 1863 the staff was reduced to one assayer and one melter. The Assay Office

62 British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

63 Ibid. February 13, 1867.

64 Loc. cit.

ceased to function at the end of 1867 although the Assay Department was not officially abolished until January, 1873. On December 3, 1867, a public meeting was called by the New Westminster Municipal Council to protest closing of the Assay Office. The principal speakers were J. T. Scott, W. J. Armstrong, John Robson and W. Fisher. They all agreed that the Government must economize but they contended that closing the Assay Office would be false economy.⁶⁵

In 1869 a branch assay office was opened at Williams Creek. During its first year of operation it assayed \$450,000 worth of gold,⁶⁶ however the chief customer was the Bank of British Columbia and after the bank withdrew its patronage in May, 1870, the branch was doomed to failure.

THE MINT

Governor Douglas asked Captain Gosset, the Treasurer of British Columbia, for his opinion as to the advisability of establishing a mint. Gosset replied that he favoured opening a mint, but at New Westminster and not at Victoria as the Governor proposed. "The very eagerness of the Vancouver House of Assembly to grasp at a mint is evidence of this; the House doubtless felt that a mint in Victoria would tend to draw population and trade away from British

65 Ibid. December 4, 1867.

66 Mainland Guardian, September 30, 1870.

Columbia, and to raise their town into the position of a capital of British Columbia, to their own advantage, but to the detriment of their sister colony, of which I venture to count myself one humble guardian."⁶⁷

When the Assay Office was established in August, 1860, no provision was made for a mint. A strong campaign for opening such an institution at New Westminster was conducted by the British Columbian while the Victoria papers were as vociferous in their support of the Island capital. The chief argument in favor of a mint was that it would alleviate the shortage of coins in the colony. In November, 1861, following rich discoveries of gold in the Cariboo, Governor Douglas without authorization from the Imperial Government, gave Captain Gosset permission to send F. G. Claudet, the Assayer, to San Francisco to purchase machinery for a coining plant.

Claudet bought the necessary machinery at a cost of \$5,085 and returned with it in March, 1862. The machinery was landed at Esquimalt and brought to New Westminster early in April on H.M.S. Forward.⁶⁸ It was taken by the crew of the Forward to the Mint Building, which had originally been erected to house the exhibits sent to the International

67 B. C. Papers, Part 3, pp. 13-15, Letter signed by W. D. Gosset, dated April 25, 1859, enclosed in Despatch 12, Douglas to Lytton, May 25, 1859.

68 British Columbian, April 3, 1862.

Exhibition at London.⁶⁹ Governor Douglas refused to allow any money for installing the machinery and ordered Captain Gosset to put it in storage.⁷⁰ As a result of the Treasurer's violent protests, the Governor finally agreed to the expenditure of the unspent balance of the original appropriation of £1,500 and Captain Gosset installed the machinery with the aid of some of the Royal Engineers. The coining dies were sent to Douglas by the British Consul at San Francisco and were reshipped to the mainland on April 28. Captain Gosset then applied to the Governor for the appointment of an engineer to operate the machinery but Douglas replied that he did not wish the mint to be put in operation.⁷¹ Gosset, however, refused to be put off any longer, and struck off a few ten and twenty dollar gold pieces. After first refusing, the Governor finally agreed that £100 in British Columbia gold pieces could be displayed at the London Exhibition.

Doubtless irked beyond all endurance by Douglas' unjustified and dictatorial interference, Captain Gosset applied for leave. In August he was granted a six months' leave and left New Westminster the following month. He did not return to British Columbia on expiration of his leave and in the summer of 1863 tendered his resignation.

69 Ibid. April 25, 1861; October 3, 1866.

70 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

71 Ibid. May 17, 1862; May 31, 1862.

Although, during the next two years, there was considerable agitation both at New Westminster and Victoria, for the mint to be placed in operation, the coining plant was never used again.

THE GOLD ESCORT

In the spring of 1861 the Colonial Government organized a gold escort. The first escort was composed of the officer in charge, J. Elwyn; Philip Hankin, second in command; a sergeant and four men from the Royal Engineers; and four or five other civilians.⁷² The escort travelled from Quesnelle to New Westminster via Cayoosh (Lillooet) and Douglas.⁷³ The charges for escorting gold to New Westminster were 3d. an ounce from Douglas, 6d. from Lillooet, 10d. from Williams' Lake and 1s. from Quesnelle.⁷⁴ The escort made three trips from the Cariboo, then was abandoned. The first trip went only as far as Lillooet, bringing down \$10,000.⁷⁵ On its second trip the escort went on to Williams Creek and brought down \$30,000 in gold, but only after Mr. Elwyn had personally guaranteed its safe arrival.⁷⁶ The last trip was to Lillooet in November when the guard escorted \$10,000 worth

72 Ibid. October 31, 1861.

73 Ibid. May 23, 1861.

74 Ibid. July 25, 1861.

75 Ibid. August 27, 1861.

76 Ibid. October 17, 1861.

of gold.⁷⁷ It was estimated that the escort earned \$475 and cost \$30,000,⁷⁸ its failure being largely due to the fact that the Government would not insure delivery of the treasure or be responsible for its loss.

A second escort was started on June 9, 1863,⁷⁹ chiefly as a result of agitation in Victoria for its inception. There were fears for the safety of gold shipments coming down from the mines because of the murder the previous summer of three traders who had been robbed of \$12,000 while travelling on the Cariboo road. A public meeting was held at New Westminster on June 15 at the call of the President of the Council. The meeting expressed "unqualified disapproval" of the re-establishment of the gold escort and said the Government's action was "an abuse of the powers vested in His Excellency Governor Douglas by Her Majesty the Queen."⁸⁰ New Westminster's objection was that the Government proposed to spend \$12,000 out of the colonial treasury, and it was felt that the escort was being established for the benefit of the Bank of British Columbia which had recently opened a branch at Williams' Creek.

The "reformed" escort was also under the direction of Mr. Elwyn and it followed the same route. After making four trips, it too was abandoned.

77 Ibid. November 21, 1861.
 78 Ibid. June 17, 1863.
 79 Ibid. June 10, 1863.
 80 Ibid. June 17, 1863.

5. THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

Mention has already been made of the arrival and work of the Royal Engineers but no account of the history of New Westminster would be complete without giving due credit to this band of gallant men who not only were responsible for founding New Westminster and making the first survey of the city, but who also, in an unofficial capacity, added so much to the social and cultural life of the struggling new city.

During the summer, the main body of the Engineers was absent from the Camp engaged in road building or survey work in the interior of the Province. During 1859 various parties of Engineers worked on the Douglas-Lillooet trail, explored along the Fraser between Hope and Lytton, explored the country lying eastward from Hope to the Columbia, as well as surveying the towns of New Westminster, Yale, Hope and Douglas and building the trail from New Westminster to Burrard Inlet.

The following year they did additional work on the Douglas-Lillooet road, located a trail from Hope eastwards towards the Similkameen River, surveyed the land in the upper part of the Fraser Valley around Sumas and Chilliwack Rivers and surveyed the townsites of Lillooet and Lytton. The Pre-Emption Act of 1860 resulted in the necessity for doing a great deal of surveying. In 1861 they again worked

on the route from Douglas to Lillooet, started the building of the Hope trail and undertook the survey of the route through the Fraser Canyon on which the Cariboo Wagon Road was built.

The summer of 1862 saw a party of Engineers, under Captain Grant, working northward from Yale on the beginning of this famous road. The following summer they constructed nine miles of the road east from Spence's Bridge along the Thompson River and also built a trail from Quesnellemouth to Barkerville via the Cottonwood River. During the summer of 1863 another group of Engineers under the supervision of Lance-Corporal George Turner surveyed Lots 184 to 187 of what is today the City of Vancouver.

When snow in the upper country made work there impossible, the Engineers returned to camp and the winter months, November to April, were spent at New Westminster. For their own amusement during the dark winter days, they established a reading room and library. A fine theatre was also built and the Royal Engineers Dramatic Club provided many an evening of entertainment not only for the soldiers themselves but for all the citizens of New Westminster.

The Royal Engineers established a meteorological observatory at the camp at exactly $49^{\circ} 12' 47''$ N. Latitude and $122^{\circ} 53' 19''$ W. Longitude and took observations daily at 9:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m.

At a meeting of the Municipal Council held on April 20, 1863, it was moved that:

In consequence of the judicious selection of the townsite of New Westminster for the capital of British Columbia by Colonel Moody, Royal Engineers. This Council considers it desirable that a space of not less than twenty acres should be reserved in the suburbs now being surveyed to be called "Moody Square" in commemoration of the founder of the city.

81

Speaking in the British House of Commons in June, 1863, in connection with a vote of £17,121 to the Colony of British Columbia, Mr. Chicester Fortescue told the House that the Royal Engineers were about to be recalled. The reason given for the disbanding of the force was that their special services were no longer necessary but perhaps it was partly due to Douglas' animosity to Moody. On July 8, 1863, the order for the recall of the Royal Engineers was read on parade by Colonel Moody. The British Columbian published an editorial on the subject of the work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, decrying the fact that the talents of these able men had been wasted "sacrificed to the selfish jealousy of a petty tyrant Jealous of Colonel Moody from the very first, he has pursued a uniform policy of depreciating and inutilizing the services of those under his command."

81 Ibid. April 22, 1863.

82 Hansard, vol. 171, pp. 1482-1483

83 British Columbian, July 11, 1863.

84 Ibid. July 18, 1863.

A complimentary dinner was tendered the detachment by the people of New Westminster. It was held on November 5 at the Colonial Hotel, tickets for the affair being six dollars each. A citizens' committee of R. Dickinson, A. H. Manson, John Robson, W. J. Armstrong and W. Ross was⁸⁵ appointed to take charge of arrangements.

R. Dickinson, President of the Municipal Council, occupied the chair and in the place of honour on his right sat Colonel Moody. The British Columbian noted the "absence and opposition of all the Government officials with the exception of four", these being Captain Cooper, the Harbour Master; John Cooper, Chief Clerk of the Treasury; F. G. Claudet of the Assay Office; and Mr. Bacon, also of the Assay Department.⁸⁶ On November 10 addresses were presented to Colonel Moody by the Municipal Council and by the St. Andrew's Society.

Colonel Moody and his family left New Westminster at noon on November 11, 1863. They travelled to Victoria on the Enterprise and were accompanied by Captains Grant, Parsons, Luard and their families. A huge crowd gathered on the wharf to bid farewell to this popular group. An hour later saw the departure of a second group of Royal Engineers: Lieutenant Palmer and his bride, Dr. Seddall and fifteen

85 Ibid. October 14, 1863.

86 Ibid. November 7, 1863.

sappers left on Her Majesty's Ship Camelon at one o'clock.

. . . the crowd on shore cheered most lustily, the excellent Royal Engineers Band the while playing . . . In every direction, from window and balcony, was to be seen the waving of handkerchiefs and hats, accompanied by many a truant tear. But, Oh! the reaction! When all was over, and the bustle and excitement consequent upon leave-taking had subsided, a feeling of sadness and gloom seemed to pervade the entire community, and people wended their way home with grave countenances and drooping heads, looking as though each had lost a near and dear friend that day.

87

All the officers and about twenty-five or thirty of the enlisted men returned to England. The remainder of the corps took their discharge in British Columbia. Those who remained in the colony were granted 150 acres of land.

A group of the Royal Engineers had formed a building society. They bought lots and built homes near the site of the Camp. This little community was soon given the name of "Sapperton". The Royal Engineers Benefit Building Society was formed in 1862 for the purpose of enabling the men to save and provide themselves with homes before the expiration of their term of service. The society was limited to twenty-four members who each paid £2. 10s. a month. This amounted to £60 a month in all, and as it was proposed to continue the society for two years, each man would eventually have his turn at the £60 benefit. Each

month the £60 was drawn by lot and spent in buying and improving land or erecting buildings.

Those who remained in the colony engaged in a variety of trades and occupations. Messrs. Smith and Richard Bridgeman, a former sergeant, operated Hick's Hotel for a time immediately following their discharge. J. Ellard and J. H. Brown took over Scott's "Pioneer Saloon" on Lytton Square. William Haynes advertised as a gardener. William McColl and George Turner formed a partnership as land surveyors. Messrs. John Maclure and James Turnbull opened an office as surveyors and civil engineers.

Lewis F. Bonson opened "Bonson's Restaurant" on Columbia Street, but this venture did not last long and he soon entered into a partnership with Mr. Daniel Richards, also a former Royal Engineer. They were carpenters and cabinet makers and in 1864-65 built St. Mary's Church at Sapperton. Thomas Argyle opened a shop on Front Street and for a time was a gunsmith and general smith. James Thistleton opened a tanning and leather cutting business at Sapperton. John Woodcock and George Hand, corporals with the Royal Engineers, took over the blacksmithing business formerly operated by W. Blackie. John C. White practised as an architect and draughtsman and designed St. Mary's. William Edwards became a house-painter and decorator and William Harvey bought the "Pioneer Bakery" from Philip Hick. Thomas

Price opened a clothing and tailoring shop on Columbia Street. Messrs. John Musselwhite and Joseph Davis operated "The Franklin House", a boarding house and restaurant on Front Street.

John Robson's final tribute to the Royal Engineers was a fitting one. "They have made their mark, and it will be seen by future generations, whether in throwing a pathway across the foaming torrent or in cutting a highway through the towering mountains of everlasting rock."

SEMI-OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS AT NEW WESTMINSTER

Besides the Government institutions at New Westminster there were four semi-official services: the Hyack Fire Department, the Royal Columbian Hospital, the Library and the militia. These were partly supported and controlled by the Colonial Government and partly were under civic and voluntary control.

1. FIRE DEPARTMENT

The first New Westminster Fire Department was organized by the Municipal Council in the summer of 1861. On July 24 of that year, elections were held to fill the offices of Fire Chief and Assistant Chief, F. G. Richards and William Johnston being elected.¹ Previous to this, on July 16, Governor Douglas had issued the "Fireman's Protection Act, 1861", the purpose of which was to protect "the members of the Fire Companies, and other Associations in New Westminster in their efforts to prevent the

1 British Columbian, July 25, 1861. For a complete list of engineers from 1864 to 1871 see Appendix C.

destruction of property by fire in the city of New Westminster² and its vicinity."

One of the first, and perhaps the first, meetings for the purpose of organizing a Fire Company was held on August 1 in Mr. Dewdney's office.³ At this meeting the following officers were elected: L. M. Withrow, Captain; J. E. McMillan, first Lieutenant; S. T. Tilley, second Lieutenant; John Murray, Secretary; and David Johnstone, Treasurer. Either at this meeting, or some time previously, it was decided to call the fire company, Hyack Company No. 1. "Hyack" is the Chinook word for "quick". The Hyacks wore a uniform consisting of a red shirt, black pants and a black cap.

The desirability of fire protection was emphasized by the probability of fires starting in the wooden buildings of the town and by the prevalence of forest and bush fires in the land around the city. During the first week in August, 1861, the timber lying on the west border of the city had been set on fire by workmen engaged in road work on Ellice Street. Because of the presence of large quantities of inflammable material lying within the city and all around it, the danger of the spread of such a conflagration was really serious.

2 Ibid. August 1, 1861.

3 Ibid. August 8, 1861.

On August 23 a further meeting was held by the Hyack Company to consider the best means of raising money for the fire department and shortly after this a delegation waited on the Governor and asked him for a grant towards purchasing an engine and for a lot on which to build the Engine House. Governor Douglas agreed to both these requests.⁴ The British Columbian for December 19, 1861, announced the Hyacks had received £250 from the Governor.

Early in November, the Municipal Council called for tenders for the Engine House, which was to be built according to a design drawn by Corporal White of the Royal Engineers.⁵ The contract was awarded to Mr. Sutherland for \$1,343⁶ and the Engine House was completed in July of the following year, at a total cost of £307. 14. 6.⁷ It was usually referred to as the Hyack Hall and stood on Columbia Street across the ravine from the Assay Office.

In December, 1861, a by-law was passed, authorizing the Municipal Council to collect an additional tax of one per cent. for the use of the fire department.⁸ The levy for 1861-62 amounted to £429. 4. 6. However, in June of the following year, the Council voted to use one-third of this

4 Ibid. August 22, 1861, and September 26, 1861.

5 Ibid. November 14, 1861.

6 Ibid. December 12, 1861.

7 Ibid. July 26, 1862, and August 1, 1863.

8 Ibid. December 5, 1861.

special tax for general purposes. The Columbian suggested that the Council would "sink it in the swamp at the lower end of the city"--a reference to the attempt to fill in the swampy ground at the western end of Columbia Street.⁹

In December, 1862, the Fire Department asked for the balance of the one per cent. tax not already spent on the Fire Hall, but the Council replied that the money was not available as it had been spent in clearing certain lots to prevent their taking fire and endangering the city. The clearing had been undertaken upon the promise of the Government that the Council would be reimbursed when the lots were sold, but the Government had failed to keep its promise.¹⁰

Beginning in August of 1862, the method of electing the Chief Engineer and Assistant Engineer, which was used for some years, was first put into practice. The Fire Department elections, conducted in accordance with the provisions of the "Fire By-Law, 1861", were held on the same day as the elections for the Municipal Council and all rate-payers were entitled to vote. It was customary for the members of the Hyack Company to nominate candidates from among their own number and these candidates were usually returned by acclamation. At the first election held in this manner, J. A. Webster was elected Chief Engineer and George

9 Ibid. January 11, 1862.

10 Ibid. December 6, 1862.

11

R. Ashwell, Assistant Engineer, but the former resigned the same month and was replaced by Robert McLeese. The election of captain, lieutenants, secretary and treasurer of the Hyack Company were held within the group itself.

The Hyack Company was a volunteer fire brigade and among its members were the city's most prominent citizens. The active membership included, over a period of years, J. C. Armstrong, William Clarkson, H. V. Edmonds, J. S. Clute, John Irving, J. C. Hughes, David Withrow, William Johnston, G. C. Clarkson, F. G. Richards, J. T. Scott, J. A. Webster, and J. E. McMillan. Honorary members included Hon. Chartres Brew, W. J. Armstrong, John Robson, A. T. Bushby, Captain William Irving, Henry Holbrook, Robert Dickinson and W. E. Cormack.

In January, 1863, Governor Douglas gave the Hyacks £500 as the Government's contribution towards buying the Fire Engine¹² and the next month the Municipal Council granted \$400. This \$400 was part of the special one per cent. tax which the Council had levied expressly for the use of the Fire Department. The remainder of the one per cent. was¹³ promised on the arrival of the fire engine.

The engine, the "Fire King", was purchased in San

11 Ibid. August 9, 1862.

12 Ibid. January 24, 1863 - See below p. 313 for an explanation of the use of the two systems of currency.

13 Ibid. February 4, 1863.

Francisco by Mr. McLeese at a cost of \$2,600.00. Five hundred feet of hose costing \$150 was also obtained at this time. The engine reached New Westminster on April 9, 1863, having been accompanied across the Gulf by twenty-eight members of the "Tigers" and Deluge Company of Victoria. The Hyacks met the "Fire King" at the wharf and headed by the Royal Engineers' band, they marched to the Hyack Hall where they arranged the day's programme. They returned to the wharf, collected the engine and marched through the main streets of the city, calling at the residences of several prominent citizens, where they were entertained with refreshments. The parade continued on to the Camp and on its return the new engine was given its initial trial. That evening a gala dinner was held at the Colonial Hotel.¹⁴

The "Fire King" was drawn by hand and very often Indians were pressed into service to help pull it. A water tank was built at the rear of the Engine House at a cost of \$240. It was described as being "very ingeniously" constructed. Water was run into the tank from the stream in the ravine by means of a spout.¹⁵

After the disbanding of the Royal Engineers force in the fall of 1863, eight former Engineers joined the Hyack Company. Governor Douglas gave the Hyacks the bell which

14 Ibid. April 11, 1863.

15 Ibid. May 2, 1863.

Colonel Moody had bought for the use of his corps. The bell had been on the Eliza Anderson during 1858 and 1859 and the Colonel had purchased it for £47.¹⁶

In the report of the Fire Department for 1863 the membership was listed as fifty-eight. In addition to this there were five boys and five honorary members. The total receipts of the Department were given as \$3,370 from the Government and \$648.75 from the Municipal Council. The indebtedness of the Department amounted to \$369.00.¹⁷ In September of the following year the debt was \$800.00 but this was paid by a grant of \$300 from the Municipal Council and \$500 from the Government.¹⁸

One of the most disastrous fires in the early history of New Westminster occurred in June, 1864, at the Camp. It was caused by sparks from a tremendous forest fire which raged through dry timber and slashings. The fire started in the theatre and quickly spread. Three houses at Sapperton were burned and all the fences in Sapperton were either burned or torn down to save them from the blaze. Two hundred and thirty-four feet of cedar logs on the Pitt River Road were burned and three bridges on the North Road were either completely or partially destroyed.¹⁹ The Hyacks

16 Ibid. December 5, 1863.

17 Ibid. January 16, 1864.

18 Ibid. September 28, 1864.

19 Ibid. June 4, 1864.

proceeded to the Camp, the engine being pulled by a group of Indians who were in New Westminster to celebrate the Queen's Birthday.²⁰ They were assisted by the residents of Sapperton, including Governor Seymour, the Colonial Secretary and other Government officials.

The British Columbian of June 11, 1864, in describing the fire said, ". . . in nine minutes from the time the leading ropes were taken hold of at Hyack Hall a stream of water was playing on the burning buildings at the Camp." The distance from the Hall to the Camp was estimated at a little less than a mile. The Columbian also stated, "The Hyacks of New Westminster require two minutes, and no more, to clear the decks and be in action."

As a result of this fire, a meeting was held at the Camp on June 4 for the purpose of arranging fire protection for Sapperton, and "The Camp and Sapperton Hook and Ladder Company" was organized with thirty-four members. The Government was asked for assistance and gave a £100 grant for the purchase of equipment. Governor Seymour allowed the Sapperton volunteers temporary use of the upper portion of the Commissariat Store as a truck and engine house and he also gave them use of a force pump which they fitted up as a small fire engine.²¹ A tank was erected at

20 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Cardwell, August 31, 1864.
 21 Letter, Provincial Archives, Thomas Holmes to Colonial Secretary, June 13, 1864.

the Camp in April, 1867.²²

On July 10, 1865, Mr. Dickinson's stables and slaughter-house on Pioneer Wharf were destroyed by fire, but the Hyack Company was successful in saving Picht and Hoyt's wholesale business and the Pioneer Saloon.²³ The night of September 6, 1866, there were two minor fires. Mr. Moody's stables back of Merivale Street were burned to the ground and a shed on Liverpool Wharf was slightly burned.²⁴ In the early morning of September 29, 1866, a fire was discovered burning in the publishing office of the British Columbian. The Hyacks responded to the call but the fire had gained too much headway before their arrival. The plant and presses of the Columbian were almost totally destroyed. It was generally conceded that this fire was incendiary in origin and Chartres Brew, Magistrate, was ordered by the officer administering the Government to offer a reward of \$500 for information leading to the arrest of the incendiarists.²⁵ The reward notice was posted for quite a time but apparently the arsonists were never brought to justice.

On November 11 of the same year, a house on the upper side of Royal Avenue, belonging to Amador Molina, a steward on the Reliance, was destroyed by fire. This blaze

22 British Columbian, April 13, 1867.

23 Ibid. July 11, 1865.

24 Ibid. September 8, 1866.

25 Ibid. October 3, 1866.

was also believed to be incendiary and an Indian woman was arrested on suspicion but no case could be proved against her.²⁶

As a result of a large number of fires occurring in the preceding few months, the Grand Jury report for November, 1866, recommended the establishment of a Night Watch to be maintained by the Government. Prior to this, a night watchman had been employed by a group of private individuals who desired protection for their property.²⁷ The Columbian of September 8, 1866, reported an unsuccessful attempt to set fire to Hon. Mr. Hamley's stables and Captain Stamp's stables by a man who was frightened away by the night watchman.

Some time late in 1866 a Hyack Band was organized and instruments were purchased from the funds of the Company.²⁸ Early in 1868 the Municipal Council placed the town clock in Hyack Hall. The Council undertook the expense of installation on the understanding that the Hyacks would ring the firebell daily at 12:00 noon and 6:00 p.m.²⁹

In March, 1870, the Hyack Company asked the Municipal Council to build four more tanks; one at the corner of Mary Street and Royal Avenue; a second at the corner of

26 Ibid. November 14, 1866.
 27 Ibid. November 17, 1866.
 28 Ibid. December 29, 1866.
 29 Ibid. January 25, 1868.

Blackwood and Columbia Streets; a third on Merivale Street below Captain Irving's house; and the fourth near the Convent.³⁰ The Council agreed to construct the four tanks and also undertook to build one at the corner of Douglas Street and Royal Avenue.³¹

Mr. W. D. Ferris' house on Douglas Street was almost totally destroyed by fire on September, 1869. The Mainland Guardian reported that "although the firemen exerted themselves in their usual gallant style, running considerable risk in their efforts to extinguish the flames, the building was reduced to a mere shell".³² In March of the following year T. E. Ladner's house was burned with all its contents. This was described as the most severe calamity ever experienced in New Westminster.³³

J. T. Scott's "Pioneer Saloon" was burned on January 4, 1871. A few minutes after the alarm was given the Hyacks were on the scene. They could not save the saloon but although it was on the corner of a large block of wooden buildings, none of the other premises were damaged.

The "Fire King" met with an accident in July, 1870, and the Hyack Company applied to the Government for aid in repairing it.

30 Mainland Guardian, March 9, 1870.

31 Ibid. March 30, 1870.

32 Ibid. September 25, 1869.

33 Ibid. March 9, 1870.

A fire having broken out in one of the most extensive blocks of buildings in the town, two men not firemen, acting upon the excitement of a fire alarm, attempted to run the engine down the steep incline of Lytton Square before either a member or officer of the company could reach the engine hall. The result was that one man was nearly killed and the engine, running down the hill at great speed, was precipitated from Front Street into the river, smashing her wheels and breaks, besides seriously injuring other portions of her machinery.

34

Mr. Wintemute rigged up a derrick and in six hours managed to raise the "Fire King" out of the river.

35

Governor Musgrave refused the fire company's request for assistance but said he would consider a grant in the 1871 estimates. However, the Hyacks themselves worked on the engine and were able to patch it up and put it in running order.

2. THE ROYAL COLUMBIAN HOSPITAL

The Royal Columbian Hospital was founded in 1862, largely as a result of the efforts of the citizens of New Westminster. Much encouragement and generous contributions were received from the other towns in the colony. Lillooet made a donation of \$600, and at a meeting held at Douglas in April, 1862, three residents of that town were appointed to help the New Westminster hospital committee.

36

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- 34 Letter, Provincial Archives, William Fisher to P. Hankin, Colonial Secretary, July 6, 1870.
 - 35 Mainland Guardian, July 6, 1870.
 - 36 British Columbian, April 17, 1862.

In August, 1861, the Municipal Council appointed a committee to report on the best means of establishing a hospital in the colony. The committee, under the chairmanship of John Ramage, deplored the lack of a hospital and the necessity of going to Victoria for medical care. It recommended that the hospital be financed by a Government grant supplemented by a subscription list. The Government's contribution was to be the "head-money" which consisted of one dollar collected from every person who entered the colony. This collection had been made for the express purpose of establishing a hospital and lunatic asylum. Dr. Seddall of the Royal Engineers also reported to the Council on the advisability of establishing a hospital for the mainland colony.³⁷

An editorial published in the British Columbian of August 29, 1861, complained that there was no hospital "for the want of which our sick are dying in dark and dismal cells, our insane are cowering, naked and filthy, like jabbering monkeys, in narrow ill-ventilated and sickly cages, more fit for noxious reptiles than human habitation".

A public meeting was held at the Court House, New Westminster, on November 26, 1861, at which time a committee, Captain Cooper, John Cooper, H. Holbrook, George Hooper and W. E. Cormack, was appointed to draw up a set of rules for the

³⁷ Ibid. August 22, 1861.

organization and management of a hospital.³⁸ A second meeting was held three days later at which time it was decided that, as the Government did not seem disposed to take any action, the people must proceed themselves. A subscription list of \$1,900 had already been raised. At this meeting it was decided to name the new institution the Royal Columbian Hospital. The management of the hospital was to be vested in a committee of seven, chosen by subscribers who contributed at least £2 annually to its support. Later two official members were added. It was proposed to ask Governor Douglas for the £1,100 in the head-money hospital fund and for the grant of suburban lots 8, 9, 35, 36, 37 and 38, Block 6, and two lots 17 and 18, Block 31.³⁹

The Governor refused to grant the head-money but he did give a vague promise of aid. Evidently the town lots and the suburban lots, which amounted to about ten and one-half acres, were given at this time.

A further meeting was held on February 13, 1862, at which the first Board of Managers of the hospital was elected. Colonel Moody was chosen President and John Robson, Vice-President. The other members of the Board were A. T. Bushby, Secretary; John Cooper, Treasurer; Ebenezer Brown, William G. Peacock and Earnest Picht. The Board was

38 Ibid. November 28, 1861.

39 Ibid. December 5, 1861.

authorized to call for tenders for the erection of a brick or stone building if cost of such a structure was not more than \$1,000 more than the cost of a wood building. It was decided to ask the government for a grant of £800 to help defray the cost of the building and equipment.⁴⁰

Colonel Moody declined to act as President and Captain Cooper was elected in his stead. However, the Colonel did consent to act on the Board of Trustees for the hospital with the Colonial Treasurer and A. T. Bushby. The Board of Trustees was vested with the land granted by the Government. During its first year the Board bought for \$170 Lot 16, Block 31, which adjoined the hospital building and the Government granted three more lots, 13, 14 and 15 in the same block. Convict labour was used to clear Lots 17 and 18 and the first hospital in British Columbia was erected on this site.

Among the first money raised was \$354.50, the proceeds of a concert given by the Royal Engineers Club in December, 1861.⁴¹ By the spring of 1862, the public subscription list had reached \$3,285. Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody had given \$100 each.⁴²

The first hospital was a one-storey, weather-board structure erected at the corner of Agnes and Clement Streets

40 Ibid. February 13, 1862.

41 Ibid. December 12, 1861.

42 Ibid. March 6, 1862.

by T. W. Graham at a cost of \$3,396. An additional \$495 was spent on fencing and painting, while \$312.52 $\frac{1}{2}$ was expended for furniture.⁴³ The building was divided into two large wards. There was one portable bath and water for washing and all other purposes was obtained from a well on the hospital grounds.

Due to the outbreak of a mild smallpox epidemic in the spring of 1862 a temporary structure was built for \$170 to accommodate patients suffering from that disease, but the hospital "proper" was not completed until September of that year. Dr. Macnaughton Jones was appointed medical officer and all applications for admission to the hospital were to be addressed to him.

At the first annual meeting of the hospital held on February 12, 1863, it was reported that the hospital had received \$2,500 in Government grants and \$3,484.21 $\frac{1}{2}$ had been raised by public subscription. Of this amount \$2,842.92 $\frac{1}{2}$ had been raised in New Westminster but over \$200 each had been contributed by Douglas, Lillooet and Lytton.⁴⁴ The Royal Engineers had raised \$354.50. The Board reported a deficit of \$1,073.95 $\frac{1}{2}$ and announced that Dr. Jones had offered his services free to the hospital until the institution was in a more favourable financial position.

43 Ibid. February 18, 1863.

44 Ibid. February 18, 1863.

Upon the recall of the Royal Engineers, Governor Douglas permitted the Royal Columbian Hospital to take the furniture, bedding and supplies from the hospital at the Camp.⁴⁵ Colonel Moody gave the hospital a "large and valuable bath with pipes and fittings", which one might presume had been used at the Colonel's residence.

The hospital continued to be supported by a monthly grant of \$250 from the Colonial Treasury, augmented by public contributions. Boxes were placed on the Victoria and up-river steamers and small amounts were collected in this way. Other monies were obtained from other towns, benefit concerts and the like.

Governor Seymour, commenting on the hospital in reply to an enquiry by Sir Edward Cardwell, remarked that "the gentlemen selected (to the Board) being in no way responsible to the Government which has been compelled to defray three-fourths of the expenses, the Institution has been somewhat neglected".⁴⁶ The Governor reported that, in view of this fact, he had notified the Board that he expected two Government officials to be among those appointed. He also told Sir Edward Cardwell that he kept the patients supplied with "The Times, Saturday Review, and such other

45 Ibid. December 12, 1863, and Moody Correspondence, F 1157, Moody to Douglas, September 26, 1863.

46 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Cardwell, March 24, 1865.

papers as I subscribe in England, California and other colonies".

In pursuance with Governor Seymour's request, his two nominees, Mr. Robert Ker and Mr. Charles Good, were accepted by the Board of Management at the annual meeting held in February, 1865.⁴⁷ Mr. Good was elected President of the Board with W. J. Armstrong as Vice-President and William Fisher as Secretary. Other members of the Board at this time were Thomas McMicking, F. G. Parsons and W. D. Ferris.

The Governor's complaint about the lack of official representation on the Board of Management may well have been justified for one of the Colonial officers, acting on the Board in an unofficial capacity, placed the hospital in financial jeopardy by absconding with the funds. This was ~~James~~ ^{John} Cooper, chief clerk in the Treasury, who had been the first President of the Board of Management and latterly its Treasurer. In January, 1865, Mr. Cooper was given leave by the Governor to return to England and when the annual meeting of the hospital was held in February it was found that he had failed to turn over the accounts and \$687 was unaccounted for. The Board acquainted Governor Seymour with the situation and His Excellency wrote the Colonial Secretary asking him to endeavour to secure a satisfactory explanation from Mr. Cooper. The Governor also recommended that Mr. Cooper's

⁴⁷ British Columbian, February 15, 1865.

salary should be withheld pending this investigation.⁴⁸ An explanation was forthcoming from Mr. Cooper and it was forwarded from the Colonial Office in London to the British Columbia Government. The hospital board would not accept the explanation as Mr. Cooper did not produce the accounts "which he acknowledged to be locked up in certain packing cases".⁴⁹ Mr. Cooper had meanwhile resigned from the Government service but it was again recommended to the Colonial Secretary that his salary should not be paid.

In 1864, the Board of Management made arrangements for daily visits to the hospital by one of the two doctors then resident in New Westminster. These two medical men were Dr. Jones and Dr. Black, who visited the hospital month and month about. Their annual salary was \$250 each, this being later increased to \$375.⁵⁰

The first year, 1862-63, the hospital received nineteen patients. Seven were from New Westminster; one from New Westminster jail; six from Yale; two from Cariboo; two from Victoria and one from Pitt River. The second year, 1863-64, the hospital treated thirty-eight patients. The next two years there were thirty-two and sixty-four patients, and

48 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Cardwell, March 16, 1865.

49 Ibid. Birch to Carnarvon, September 29, 1866.

50 British Columbian, March 3, 1866.

during the year 1869 seventy-one patients received treatment. In all, from the time of its founding to 1870, 355 patients were treated.⁵¹ A large majority of the patients were not residents of New Westminster. A typical year was 1865-66 when fifteen patients were from New Westminster, fourteen from Yale, four from Hope, two from Douglas, seven from Lillooet, one from Quesnelle, nine from Cariboo, four from Langley, one from Chimney's Creek, three from Burrard's Inlet, two from Sumass, one from Chillawhack and one from Shuswap Lake.⁵²

Patients were charged \$15 a week, with a special rate of \$2 a day for sailors. These charges did not pay the cost of maintaining the hospital, and the hospital was in debt from its inception until 1869. In 1867 the debt amounted to \$1,500. Honourable John Robson introduced a resolution which passed in the Legislative Council recommending that the Governor make an appropriation of \$3,000 to pay the debt of the Royal Columbian Hospital.⁵³ The grant was given and for the first time in its history the hospital was free of debt.

However, this financial solvency does not seem to

51 Letter, Provincial Archives, A. T. Bushby to Colonial Secretary, September 22; 1870.

52 British Columbian, March 3, 1866.

53 British Columbian, May 2, 1868.

have lasted long. In December, 1869, it was reported that the funds of the hospital were very low and voluntary contributions were solicited. Circulars were sent out explaining the hospital's position and collectors canvassed the city.⁵⁴ By this means \$326.50 was collected at New Westminster, \$29 at Lytton, and \$30 at Lillooet.⁵⁵

The annual statement of the hospital for the fiscal year ending in the spring of 1870 listed the main receipts as \$3,000 from the Government, \$730.62 from subscriptions, and \$646.00 from paying patients. The largest expenditures were \$1,417.18 for provisions; \$829.74 for steward's salary, extra attendance and washing; \$375.00 for medical attendance and \$564.37 for medicines and drugs. There was a cash balance on hand of \$324.32.⁵⁶

During the year 1869-70, \$282.25 was spent on repairs to the building and in the spring of 1870 it was painted and white-washed by the chain gang.

The Royal Columbian Hospital was managed by the seven-man board until some time after 1871. At the date of Confederation the members of the Board were W. J. Armstrong, President; R. Dickinson, Vice-President; H. V. Edmonds, Secretary; E. Brown and H. McRoberts, elected members of the

54 Mainland Guardian, December 4, 1869.

55 Ibid. December 29, 1869.

56 Ibid. May 11, 1870.

Board; A. T. Bushby and F. G. Claudet, appointed to represent the Governor.⁵⁷

3. THE LIBRARY

One of the first suggestions for the establishment of a library and reading room at New Westminster came in a letter to the editor of the British Columbian written by Rev. Robert Jamieson and published in the issue of September 26, 1863.

Reverend Jamieson's proposal was not acted upon until the autumn of the following year. On November 24, 1864, a meeting was held at the home of Dr. Macnaughton Jones to consider the best means of establishing a public library and a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw up a plan of action.⁵⁸

There was considerable dissatisfaction among citizens who had not been invited to attend this meeting as it was felt that the establishment of a library should be a public venture and not a private affair. In January, 1865, the Municipal Council received a letter from Governor Seymour asking if the people of New Westminster were willing to cooperate with the Government in founding a library on a public basis as this would entitle the institution to receive Queen

57 Mainland Guardian, April 8, 1871.

58 North Pacific Times, November 26, 1864.

Victoria's gift of ten speeches delivered by Prince Albert. The Queen proposed to present Her Consort's speeches to "some of the more important colonies".⁵⁹

The Council deciding to act on Governor Seymour's suggestion, the President and two other members were appointed a committee to formulate plans for establishing a public library. On January 20, 1865, a public meeting was held and a committee appointed to undertake the work of organization.⁶⁰ A week later a group of former members of the Royal Engineers corps met and decided to place the books from the Engineers collection at the disposal of the new library. This collection was valued at £500. The Royal Engineers brought a considerable number of books with them from England. The men of the detachment raised the money necessary for their purchase and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton selected the books.

The British Columbian of January 28, 1865, contained an announcement that the library would be known as the "British Columbia Institute" and that membership fees would be one dollar a month, five dollars a year or fifty dollars for a life membership. An additional five dollars a year would be charged for using the circulating library.⁶¹

59 British Columbian, January 18, 1865.

60 Ibid. January 21, 1865.

61 Ibid. June 13, 1865. - A copy of the "Rules and Regulations for the management of the Public Library, New Westminster" (no date) is in the British Columbia Archives.

Governor Seymour was one of the prime movers behind the establishment of a library and, in addition to authorizing a grant of £300 from Government funds, he placed at the disposal of the Institute the building built to house the Industrial exhibit and latterly occupied by the Mint.⁶² The Columbian of June 3, 1865, reported that on the previous day the Governor and "a number of gentlemen" met in the Mint building to make preliminary arrangements for opening the library. The Mint machinery was taken out of the building and it was fitted up as a library, with a reading room on the upper floor.

The first committee of management of the British Columbia Institute was composed of Governor Seymour, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Hon. J.A.R. Homer, and Wm. Clarkson, President of the Municipal Council. The library and reading room were first opened to the public on August 15, 1865.⁶³ The library was open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. on week days and 2 p.m. to 9 p.m. on Sunday.⁶⁴

The first librarian was probably Mr. George Ramsay. In July, 1866, Mr. Ramsay was arrested and charged with the theft of some of the gold specimens which had been housed in

62 Ibid. March 7, 1865.

63 Ibid. August 17, 1865.

64 Ibid. October 14, 1865.

the Institute. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six months in jail. The following year the rest of the gold collection was stolen.⁶⁵

Besides the generous donation of the Royal Engineers the library also received many other contributions. In August, 1865, Governor Seymour presented a photograph album and "a valuable lot of books".⁶⁶ In October of the same year the British Columbian announced that copies of the telegraphic despatches received by the paper would be posted in the reading room.⁶⁷ The next year the library received Queen Victoria's gift of the volume of her husband's speeches. The Library Committee composed an address to the Queen in acknowledgment of the gift and A. N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, forwarded it to Earl Carnarvon with the following comment:

The Public Library of New Westminster has been little more than a year in existence. I have personally taken much interest in its formation as President of the Committee of Management during my Administration of the Government. The progress of the Institution is most satisfactory and we have now some 800 Volumes in addition to all the leading periodicals and newspapers of the day. The library is well attended by all classes of the Community. A museum is also attached and is daily increasing in value and importance.⁶⁸

65 Brew to Colonial Secretary, July 30, 1866, and May 6, 1867.

66 British Columbian, August 26, 1865.

67 Ibid. October 14, 1865.

68 B. C. Despatches, p. 483, Birch to Carnarvon, October 25, 1866.

Other gifts to the library included a complete set of the publications of the Commissioner of Patent⁶⁹ and the Parliamentary reports on the Fenian Raids and Confederation,⁷⁰ a gift from Governor Seymour. Governor Seymour also made a further donation of books in December, 1867.⁷¹

Hon. Chartres Brew presented the Institute with a sample of bread manufactured by the interior Indians from reindeer moss and W. E. Cormack presented other native relics including three stone dishes made by the Hydah Indians.⁷² A museum had been established in connection with the library and in 1869 F. G. Claudet undertook to collect and arrange a display of British Columbia minerals.⁷³

In February 1868, the Municipal Council received a letter from the Colonial Secretary advising them that the Government could make no further grants towards the maintenance of the library, and the Council called a meeting of the subscribers.⁷⁴ It was decided that the library should be managed by a board of nine members: three elected by the Municipal Council, six chosen by the subscribers, who numbered fifty-two at that time. The annual fee would remain at five dollars but the monthly and weekly subscriptions would be reduced to fifty and twenty-five cents respectively.⁷⁵

69 Ibid. Seymour to Buckingham, May 30, 1867.

70 British Columbian. August 7, 1867.

71 Ibid. December 18, 1867.

72 Ibid. September 7, 1867.

73 Mainland Guardian. December 15, 1869.

74 British Columbian. February 26, 1868.

75 Ibid. March 1, 1868.

At its meeting of April 30 the Council appointed Dr. Jones, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Wolfenden to be its representatives on the Board of Management.⁷⁶ A second meeting of the subscribers was held on June 10 at which time Mr. Charles Good and Mr. F. G. Claudet were chosen as a provisional Board for the purpose of reorganizing the library on an entirely new basis.⁷⁷ At a meeting on June 30th the code of rules and regulations suggested by Good and Claudet was adopted and Messrs. Holbrook, Claudet, Jones, Bushby and Rylatt were elected to the managing committee.⁷⁸ The library, which had been closed at the beginning of April, was reopened on July 8.⁷⁹

76 Ibid. March 4, 1868.

77 Ibid. June 13, 1868

78 Ibid. July 1, 1868.

79 Ibid. July 11, 1868.

(About 1890 the wooden building which housed the library was torn down and replaced by a brick one. The ground floor of the new building was given over to stores and the library was housed upstairs. The building and almost all the books were destroyed in the fire of September 10, 1898. The library was given space in the new City Hall, erected after the fire, and remained at that location until the Carnegie building was built on Market Square in 1905, with funds to the amount of \$15,000, granted by Andrew Carnegie.)
(Copy of letter from Andrew Carnegie to W. H. Keary, Mayor of New Westminster, April 8, 1902.)

4. THE MILITIA

The first militia unit in British Columbia was organized at New Westminster in 1863. Following the disbanding of the Royal Engineers in September of that year it was felt that some other provision should be made for the defence of the colony. A public meeting was held on November 11 at which time it was decided to establish a militia company to be known as the "New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps, No. 1".⁸⁰ Fifty-nine volunteers were enrolled and Governor Douglas was asked to give official sanction to the formation of the Rifle Corps. He not only approved its creation but also promised to supply arms and ammunition.⁸¹ It is probable that some of the military stores left in the colony by the Royal Engineers were placed at the disposal of the Corps.

Elections for officers and N.C.O.'s were held in December,⁸² the following being elected:

Captain -	C. Brew
Lieutenant -	C. J. Prichard
Ensign -	A. T. Bushby
Sergeant-Major -	R. Wolfenden
Sergeant -	R. Greig
Sergeant -	J. Morey
Sergeant -	J. Normansel
Bugler -	R. Butler

It was decided that the uniform of the corps should

80 Ibid. November 14, 1863.

81 Ibid. November 25, 1863.

82 Ibid. December 2, 1863; December 16, 1863,

be rifle green with black facings. The Municipal Council gave permission for the erection of a drill shed on Lot 10, Block 13,⁸³ the present site of the Dominion Fisheries Building at the corner of Carnarvon and McKenzie Streets. This lot had been reserved by the Municipal Council as a school site. The drill shed was built some time within the next year and on July 1, 1865, the New Westminster Corps entertained the Victoria Rifles at a dinner in their hall. On this occasion a shooting team from the mainland volunteers comprised of Bugler Butler, Ensign Wolfenden, Lt. Birch, Sgt. Claudet and Privates Symes, Tilley, Franklin, Thorne, Brockenbrow and Maunsell⁸⁴ defeated a Victoria team by a score of 10 to 4. Shortly after the New Westminster group travelled to Victoria and were again successful at a two-day shoot.⁸⁵

A group of the New Westminster Rifle Corps volunteered for service in the Chilcotin War of 1864. This "war" was an expedition against the Chilcotin Indians for the murder of two parties of white men engaged in building a trail for the proposed Bute Inlet road to the Cariboo mines. In 1862 Alfred Waddington obtained permission to build this highway and to charge a toll. A group working along the route in the spring of 1864 were killed by Indians who also murdered a

83 Ibid. July 7, 1864.

84 Ibid. June 25, 1865.

85 Ibid. July 15, 1865.

white settler on Puntze Lake. Three weeks later they ambushed and killed a second party of workers. To avenge these Indian massacres, an expedition was organized in June under the leadership of Governor Seymour. The New Westminster volunteers went to Victoria where they joined a large island contingent and on June 15 the group left for the north. The expedition resulted in the surrender of a small group of Indians, five of whom were hanged.

The first annual prize meeting of the New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps was held on October 5 and 6, 1865. All prizes were won by former members of the Royal Engineers. The Governor's cup was won by Cpl. Wolfenden with Pte. Butler placing second. Pte. Franklin and Cpl. Wolfenden were first and second in the shoot for Hon. A. N. Birch's cup and Cpl. Wolfenden won the ladies' purse.⁸⁶

The Fenian trouble in Eastern Canada in the spring and early summer of 1866 had repercussions on the Pacific Coast. The two British colonies felt they were in danger of attack by the California branch of the Fenian Brotherhood and extensive preparations were made for the defence of the colonies. At Victoria warships cruised around the outer harbour, the rifle corps was given extra drill, and citizens enrolled themselves for defence.⁸⁷ New Westminster also

86 Ibid. October 4, 1865; October 7, 1865.

87 Ibid. June 13, 1866.

hastened to strengthen the defences of the mainland colony. The British Columbian for June 16, 1866, contained an editorial deploring the colony's lack of military protection.

"The treatment which this Colony has received at the hands of the Imperial Government, in the matter of protection, is utterly unworthy of a great and powerful nation, and is wholly inconsistent with our ideas of a liberal and paternal colonial policy."

Hon. A. N. Birch asked Admiral Denman to despatch two warships for the protection of New Westminster and H.M.S. Sparrowhawk was sent up the Fraser.⁸⁸ On June 23 the Columbian reported that it had received two letters complaining about the Sparrowhawk remaining at the camp and asking if she was sent up to protect the people of New Westminster or the Government officials.

The Municipal Council called a public meeting for June 13 to consider means of defending the colony against a possible Fenian attack. A committee of J.A.R. Homer, Henry Holbrook and W.J. Armstrong was appointed to call on Hon. A. N. Birch, the Administrator, to ask him to enroll a corps of volunteers. A second committee of W.J. Armstrong, Henry Holbrook and Thomas McMicking, was instructed to ask Mr. Birch to apply to the British Government for a permanent force of soldiers for the defence of the colony. The first group

88 Ibid. June 13, 1866.

waited on the Administrator, who asked Hon. Chartres Brew to enroll those who wished to volunteer. Mr. Brew opened the roll at Hyack Hall on June 14, thirty men enlisting.⁸⁹

The new corps met at Hyack Hall on June 16 and elected its officers. Alexander Calder was chosen Captain; Thomas McMicking, first Lieutenant; John Robson, second Lieutenant, and James G. McBean, Ensign.⁹⁰ The N.C.O.'s, elected at a later date, were:

Quartermaster Sergeant -	Robert Dickinson	
Sergeant -	Thomas E. Ladner	
Second Sergeant -	George Black	
Corporal -	James McMillan	
Second Corporal -	T. Seabrook	
Third Corporal -	Harry Hyde	
Bugler -	George Scrimager	91

The corps mustered again on June 18 and "went through a few evolutions". At this parade it was decided that the corps would be named the "Home Guards" and that it would meet every evening except Thursday and Saturday. On June 19 Captain Calder wrote to the Acting Colonial Secretary announcing that his unit had decided on a uniform, "a Blue Shirt or Blouse, Black Trowsers, and a cap similar to that worn by the Company under the command of Captain Prichard".⁹² The enrollment of the "Home Guards" reached eighty-five, but twenty-five left to join the newly formed Artillery Corps.⁹³

89 Ibid. June 16, 1866.

90 Ibid. June 20, 1866.

91 Ibid. July 28, 1866.

92 Letter, Provincial Archives, Alex. Calder to Acting Colonial Secretary, June 19, 1866.

93 British Columbian, June 20, 1866.

The Artillery Corps was chosen from the enrolled members of the two other units and it numbered forty men, most of them formerly Royal Engineers. Captain G.W. Holmes was chosen to command the corps which took the name of "Seymour Artillery Company". Other officers, elected in July, were as follows:

Senior Lieutenant -	David McCulloch	
Junior Lieutenant -	H. P. P. Crease	
Musketry Instructor -	D. McCullars	
Battery Sergeant -	George Hand	
Sergeant -	John Murray	
Corporal -	Robert Cowan	
Corporal -	John Linn	
Bombadier -	John Smith	
Acting Bombadier -	Lancelot Newton	94
Trumpeter -	A. Cummings	

The men bought their own uniforms and in addition paid fifty cents a month towards the cost of paying a drill instructor and meeting other incidental expenses.⁹⁵ A request was made to the Imperial Government for a supply of guns and equipment. It was suggested that these supplies should be sent in one of Her Majesty's ships travelling to Esquimalt in order to save freight. It had been previously explained to the authorities in London that there were no cannon at New Westminster and that when salutes were given they were "simply loud explosions of gunpowder placed between two anvils, one of which on each occasion was blown into the air".⁹⁶

94 Ibid. July 18, 1866.

95 B. C. Despatches, p. 467, Birch to Cardwell, July 13, 1866.

96 Ibid. p. 254. Confidential, Seymour to Cardwell, March 14, 1865.

The New Westminster Rifle Volunteers received a number of new recruits, making a total membership of approximately eighty. It was estimated that there were one hundred and eighty men enrolled in the three units.⁹⁷ Writing to Sir Edward Cardwell on July 9, 1866, Hon. A. N. Birch commented on "the zeal and military ardour" which pervaded New Westminster. He said two-thirds of the men in the lower Fraser Valley had enlisted in the defence corps.⁹⁸ With this letter the Administrator forwarded a memorial adopted at a public meeting held at New Westminster on June 22. The memorial asked for despatch of a permanent force. On November 21, 1866, the British Columbian published an excerpt from the Government Gazette of November 17, pertaining to the memorial. It was part of a letter from the Colonial Office to Hon. A. N. Birch, which stated that it was "not possible for Her Majesty's Government to hold out any hope of a garrison being stationed in the Colony" as it was felt that British Columbia and Vancouver Island were adequately protected by the naval force stationed at Esquimalt.

On October 18, 1866, a prize meeting of the New Westminster volunteers was held with ten men competing from each unit. There were four events with targets placed at 150, 200, 250 and 300 yards respectively. The result of the

97 British Columbian. June 20, 1866.

98 B. C. Despatches. p. 465, Birch to Cardwell, July 9, 1866.

contest was a victory for the New Westminster Rifle Corps with 404 points. The Home Guards were second with 399 points while the Seymour Artillery trailed with 342. The high individual scorer was Bugler Butler of the Rifle Corps who won the Governor's Challenge Cup.⁹⁹ Hon. A. N. Birch's Challenge Cup was won by Private Smith of the Home Guards. The Ladies' Purse, first and second prize,¹⁰⁰ were won by Private J. T. Scott and Private J. E. Brown, both of the Rifles.¹⁰¹

The prizes won at this shoot were presented by Mrs. Seymour at the Drill Hall on January 2 of the following year. Also awarded at this time were the prizes won at the annual meet of the Rifle Corps which had been held in November at which the Governor's Challenge Cup was won by Corporal Franklin. J. T. Scott won both Birch's Challenge Cup and Captain Prichard's rifle, while J. C. Brown was awarded the Ladies' Purse.¹⁰¹

On May 25, 1867, in connection with the Queen's birthday celebration, Mrs. Seymour presented a flag to the New Westminster Rifle Corps. The flag had a white silk ground with the cross of St. George and the Union Jack worked in silk on the upper canton. The letters N.W.V.R.C.

99 British Columbian. October 20, 1866.

100 Ibid. January 5, 1867.

101 The Examiner. November 23, 1866.

were worked in gold in the centre with a gold star above and a gold crown and bugle below. Gold fringe trimmed the edge of the flag.¹⁰²

On September 15, 1869, a meeting was called of those interested in reorganizing the volunteer corps. A committee of J. T. Scott, H. V. Edmonds and E. Brown was appointed to confer with the officers and men of the three groups as to the best line of action.¹⁰³ Early in October the New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps passed a resolution requesting the Commanding Officer to disband the company so that it could be reorganized under the provisions of the Volunteer Ordinance, 1869.¹⁰⁴ No agreement was reached at this time but a further meeting of the combined groups was held in March, 1870, and a resolution was passed to amalgamate the corps. It was decided to appoint a committee of nine, composed of one officer, one N.C.O. and one private from each of the three groups. An address was sent to His Excellency, the Governor, asking him to appoint Captain C. J. Prichard as Lieutenant Colonel of combined militia. The New Westminster Rifles chose Captain Prichard, William Fisher and J. T. Scott as their representatives on the committee while R. Dickinson,¹⁰⁵ J. S. Clute and J. Fannin represented the Home Guards. The

102 British Columbian, May 29, 1867.

103 Mainland Guardian, September 18, 1869.

104 Ibid. October 13, 1869.

105 Ibid. March 26, 1870.

representatives of the Seymour Artillery were not announced at this time, but they evidently were chosen shortly after as Dr. A.W.S. Black, a member of the Artillery, was one of the members of a committee of three appointed at a meeting on March 31. The other members were J. T. Scott and R. Dickinson and the committee's duty was to carry out the scheme for reorganization. The plan was to disband the existing groups and to form two companies, the New Westminster Rifles with a captain, lieutenant and ensign, and the Seymour Artillery with a captain and a lieutenant. There would be one doctor, sergeant major and quartermaster sergeant for the combined companies.¹⁰⁶

No record was found of any disagreement but apparently some of the volunteers refused to subscribe to the plan and the Artillery continued as a separate unit. A meeting of the thirty members of the Seymour Artillery was held in May at which time J. T. Scott, formerly a member of the New Westminster Rifles, was named Captain, and A.W.S. Black was elected first lieutenant and surgeon.¹⁰⁷ These two positions were subject to the Governor's consent and the Corps was later informed that as there were not enough members to constitute a battery, His Excellency had appointed J. T. Scott, first lieutenant, and Dr. Black,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. March 31, 1870.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. May 18, 1870.

second lieutenant.¹⁰⁸

The majority of the members of the two other groups became members of the reorganized New Westminster Rifle Corps. Captain Prichard died in July and in September a new slate of officers was elected: Hon. A. T. Bushby, Captain; H. V. Edmonds, first lieutenant and adjutant; F. G. Claudet, second lieutenant.¹⁰⁹

108 Ibid. June 8, 1870.

109 Ibid. September 10, 1870.

CHAPTER 8

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEW WESTMINSTER1. BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS

It would be impossible to give a complete or detailed account of all the businesses operated at New Westminster prior to Confederation. Almost the only record available of these establishments is the advertising they published in contemporary papers. If they failed to advertise, there is no record of them, and many of those who did advertise seemed to open, close, and reopen with considerable frequency. However, an attempt will be made to summarize the history of some of the larger and more stable businesses.

William J. Armstrong was the first merchant at New Westminster opening a general store in the spring of 1859. He gradually extended his business and operated as an importer, wholesale and retail dealer in groceries, hardware, glassware, provisions, crockery and stoves. Armstrong's store was on Columbia Street, probably in the second block west of Mary Street. In October 1862, W. J. Armstrong advertised fresh butter from McRobert's, Pitt River and Langley ranches, probably the first time the local product was offered for sale.

Another pioneer business man was Henry Holbrook who came to New Westminster some time prior to January 1, 1861. In the autumn of 1863 he built a stone building located on or near the site of the present Best's Hotel, fronting on Columbia Street and facing on Liverpool Wharf. Mr. Holbrook was a commission merchant and importer, a dealer in groceries and feeds and the agent for the Nanaimo Coal Company.¹ Shortly before Confederation he entered into partnership with Mr. William Fisher and as Holbrook and Fisher they operated a dry-goods, provision and wine store.²

Mayer, Reinhart and Company were forwarding and commission merchants, also operating a general store at New Westminster at an early date, but because of the ten per cent duty on imports they moved their business to Victoria in the spring of 1861. After that their store, located on Columbia Street opposite the Colonial Hotel, was occupied by J. A. Webster who conducted a dry-goods business.³ In the spring of 1863, Mr. Webster moved to a new location; the west half of the stone building built by he and Capt. C. J. Millard on Lot 2, Block 6, facing on Columbia Street. There were three stores on the ground floor, the principal one being built expressly for Mr. Webster. It had a thirty foot frontage on

1 British Columbian. January 5, 1867.

2 Mainland Guardian. July 21, 1871.

3 British Columbian. April 25, 1861.

Columbia Street and extended back to Front Street. The Columbian described it as "the most spacious and elegant store this side of San Francisco".⁴ Webster continued his business until the summer of 1864 at which time he sold out his stock of goods. When he reopened his store in January 1869, he was back at his first location, opposite the Colonial Hotel.

George Ashwell, who came to New Westminster in 1861, worked a year as a carpenter and then joined Thomas Cunningham in opening a furniture store in April 1862, in the premises recently vacated by the Columbian.⁵ The next month they moved to the Hick's building on Lytton Square.⁶ In April 1863, the partnership was dissolved and the business split into two departments. Ashwell carried on the furniture business until he moved to Chilliwack in 1871, while Cunningham established a hardware business with his brother, James, who had previously worked as an architect and builder. The next year Tom Cunningham bought out the Vancouver Island Coal Company and operated a store at Nanaimo until 1867, when he moved to Oregon, the business at New Westminster being carried on by James Cunningham. In 1867, "Cunningham Brothers" added groceries and boots to their stock and in

4 Ibid. May 23, 1861.

5 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

6 Ibid. May 7, 1862.

August started construction of a two storey building on Columbia Street.⁷

Another pioneer merchant, still in business at the time of Confederation, was F. V. Eickhoff who came to New Westminster in 1862 and operated a general store, first on Front Street; later on Columbia.

Dickinson Brothers, wholesale and retail butchers and cattle dealers, had a business at New Westminster in 1859. Robert worked on the mainland while Edward and Francis were at Victoria.⁸ Robert Dickinson leased the river side in front of Lot 1, Block 7, and used it as a slaughter-house and enclosure for stock. He also offered fresh fruits and vegetables from Herring's Farm. Dickinson Brothers operated a retail store on Columbia Street, opposite the Holbrook Building.

P. L. Anderson and Company was another pioneer butcher store. French's Fish Market, operated by Frederick Kaye, was located on Front Street from 1864 to 1870. In 1865 Mr. Kaye advertised fresh fish at a "bit" each and pickled fish at eight dollars a barrel.⁹

These fish and meat dealers on Front Street were evidently not overly sanitary in their practices. A letter to the editor of the British Columbian, only one of many

7 Ibid. January 5, 1867.

8 Ibid. January 7, 1865.

9 Ibid. July 8, 1865.

similar letters, complained that the merchants were leaving fish offal and animal skins at the back of their establishments.¹⁰ The Grand Jury report of 1866 complained about "several Fish Curing establishments, where the offal or waste portions of the fish therein cured are thrown under the plank highway and allowed to accumulate and decompose".¹¹

Seth T. Tilley, who operated the "Colonial Book Store" was the pioneer bookseller and stationer at New Westminster. In January 1863, he sold out to Hibben and Carswell of Victoria,¹² who in turn sold a share in the business to George C. Clarkson. It was operated as Clarkson and Company until the summer of 1868 when the partnership between Clarkson and the Victoria firm was dissolved.¹³ Mr. Clarkson then entered into partnership with John S. Clute, selling not only books and stationery but also dry-goods, groceries and hardware¹⁴ and also operating the circulating library which Clarkson had recently opened.¹⁵

Mr. Clute, who spent a year clerking at J. A. Webster's store when he first arrived at New Westminster, was also in partnership with Charles G. Major. Mr. Major came to British Columbia with John Robson and together they engaged in mining at Hill's Bar. When this proved unsuccessful

10 Ibid. September 15, 1866.

11 Ibid. November 17, 1866.

12 Ibid. January 24, 1863.

13 Ibid. August 1, 1868.

14 Ibid. July 8, 1868.

15 Ibid. March 4, 1868.

ful they came down to the capital and secured contracts for land and street clearing. Major returned to the Cariboo in 1862 and for a time drove a stage for F. J. Barnard. In December 1863, Clute and Major opened a dry-goods and shoe store on Columbia Street opposite the Colonial Hotel.¹⁶ Evidently the businesses of Clute, Major and Clarkson were amalgamated, with Clarkson soon dropping out of the partnership. In May 1870, the stationery department was sold to G. D. Murray¹⁷ and in October, Mr. Clute left New Westminster to join relatives in Missouri, leaving Mr. Major to carry on the business alone.¹⁸

The first bakery at New Westminster was the "Government Pioneer Bakery" established by Philip Hick prior to the arrival of the main body of the Royal Engineers. It was a small, unpainted building situated at the foot of the western ravine on Lytton Square, in which Mr. Hick sold groceries in addition to bread, cakes and pies. In the spring of 1861 he erected a building on the corner of Lytton Square and Columbia Street and the bakery was housed at the rear of this building in a separate structure facing the square.¹⁹ Mr. Hick sold his bakery to William Harvey in 1863, but resumed management at the beginning of November 1865.²⁰

16 Ibid. December 5, 1863.

17 Mainland Guardian, May 7, 1870.

18 Ibid. October 15, 1870.

19. British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

20 Ibid. December 5, 1863; November 1, 1865.

A year later notice was given of a sheriff's sale of the contents of the bakery.²¹

William Harvey was also proprietor of the "Old Cottage Bakery, established 1860", which was located at the corner of Columbia and Begbie Streets. In 1865 he entered into partnership with Mr. Drew and they operated the bakery in a new premises on the corner of Columbia and Hamley.²² Another early bakery was the City Bakery and Coffee Saloon, founded by James Allan. In August 1862, Allan moved the bakery to a new location at the corner of Columbia and Hall Streets²³ and the following spring sold out to Joseph Sorel.²⁴ Sorel operated it for some years as a bakery, restaurant and grocery store, but it was later sold to J. C. Harrison and then to David Gleeson.²⁵

S. W. Herring, who had a farm on the south bank of the Fraser, was the city's first milkman. In April 1861, he advertised that he would furnish milk to those taking over a gallon a day at "six bits" a gallon,²⁶ and in 1866 he was still offering milk at this price.²⁷ During the extremely cold winter of 1862, Mr. Herring profited by the weather and in the spring of that year offered three hundred tons of

21 Ibid. November 17, 1866.

22 Ibid. November 4, 1865.

23 Ibid. August 18, 1862.

24 Ibid. March 4, 1863.

25 Ibid. March 4, 1868.

26 Ibid. April 4, 1861.

27 Ibid. May 2, 1866.

Fraser River ice for sale.²⁸

William Woodman, father-in-law of Rev. Edward White, established a shoe store in 1860. It was located on Mary Street, opposite the Treasury. Mr. Woodman operated the business until his death in 1868 when it was sold to J. Whitfield. William Johnston also had a shoe store at New Westminster as early as December, 1862.

Pioneer liquor merchants were Earnest Picht and Lucius Hoyt. Picht, who was in business in 1860, was a brewer, malster, distiller and importer of spirits, wines, ales and "segars". In December 1862, Mr. Hoyt bought the stock and liquor store of William Woodcock who had established the business in 1860.²⁹ At some later date Picht and Hoyt entered into partnership and carried on the joint business of manufacturing beer and selling imported liquors.

Henry Valentine Edmonds, who came to British Columbia from England in 1862, engaged in business as a real estate and commission agent, auctioneer and scrivener. His office was at first in the Hick's Building³⁰ and for a time he operated Hardie's Hotel in that building but later on his office was further down Columbia Street near the Custom House.

George Fernandez, coffee and cracker manufacturer,

28 Ibid. May 7, 1862.

29 Ibid. December 20, 1862.

30 Ibid. February 24, 1864.

opened an establishment on Front Street in 1865, in the block between Mary and McKenzie Streets. His successor was J. Ellard who operated that business and sold provisions from 1866 to 1870.

New Westminster boasted a variety of saloons, one of the first being that run by Mrs. C. Lawless in the Harris Building. The Eldorado Saloon, owned by P. Manetta, was also established at an early date and was offered for sale in May 1861.³¹ One of the earliest and most popular saloons was the Pioneer Saloon, operated for many years by J. T. Scott at the north-east corner of Front Street and Lytton Square. In May 1862, he extended his premises by converting the "Pioneer Theatre" into a billiard saloon.³² He leased the billiard saloon to J. H. Brown and J. Ellard following their discharge from the Royal Engineers but they only ran it for a very short while. J. T. Scott went bankrupt as a result of undertaking a contract for the Brighton Road and on November 27, 1866, the whole of the furnishings and fittings of the Pioneer Saloon were sold at auction by H. V. Edmonds on instructions from the Bank of British Columbia. Mr. George Dietz bought most of the articles on behalf of Captain Fleming but that evening Scott opened the Saloon as though nothing had happened.³³ In December the building and ground

³¹ Ibid. May 23, 1861.

³² Ibid. May 21, 1862.

³³ Ibid. November 28, 1866.

occupied by the saloon were sold for \$2,500 to satisfy a mortgage claim,³⁴ but Mr. Scott assumed ownership again sometime prior to September 1870. The saloon was burned in January 1871 and Scott established temporary quarters prior to rebuilding a "fine new saloon".³⁵

The "Blizzard Saloon" was conducted by Frank G. Richards following its opening in March 1861. Richards was up in the Cariboo during part of the years 1862 and 1863 but returned to New Westminster in 1864 and reopened the "Blizzard".

The first saloon at Sapperton was "The Retreat" opened early in 1861 by Fred Howson and J. Hilliard for the convenience of the troops at the camp. They operated it for some time then sold it to William H. Rowling³⁶ who resold it to Henry Young five or six years later.³⁷

In December 1869, George Turner, late of the Royal Engineers, opened the "London Arms" on Columbia Street³⁸ but just prior to Confederation he sold it to L. F. Bonson, also a former soldier.³⁹ George Turner had, immediately following his discharge been engaged with William McColl in land sur-

34 Ibid. December 8, 1866.

35 Mainland Guardian, January 7, 1871.

36 British Columbian, December 23, 1863.

37 Mainland Guardian, September 25, 1869.

38 Ibid. December 11, 1869.

39 Ibid. April 29, 1871.

veying,⁴⁰ while Bonson had worked as a carpenter and cabinet maker.⁴¹

The most celebrated of all the early hotels was the Colonial Hotel established in 1860 by Prosper and Frank Grelley, on Columbia Street where Woolworth's store now stands. In March 1861, the brothers separated, Frank remaining in New Westminster while Prosper went to Victoria. A year later Frank Grelley opened a billiard saloon containing three billiard tables and a roulette wheel and described as being "superior to anything on the British Pacific".⁴² The Colonial Hotel was in continuous operation until some years after Confederation but in June 1867, the Grelleys sold a half interest to Pons Arnaud.⁴³

The Colonial Hotel was New Westminster's finest establishment ^{and} ~~but~~ when a really sumptuous dinner was arranged it was held at the Grelley's hotel. Almost all the dinners tendered government officials or held on ceremonial occasions were given there. One of the most lavish of these was a dinner given on June 24 1867, in honour of Hon. A. N. Birch. The menu included turkey, tenderloin, calves heads, lamb, chicken, ham and tongue as well as six vegetables, champagne, beer and wines.⁴⁴

40 British Columbian, October 31, 1863.

41 Ibid. December 19, 1863.

42 Ibid. July 2, 1862.

43 Ibid. June 6, 1867.

44 Ibid. June 29, 1867.

The British Columbian of March 27, 1862, contained a list of hotels and boarding houses at New Westminster with the numbers each could accommodate. They were Hardie's Hotel, 50; Colonial Hotel, 50; Columbia Hotel, 100; Oro Hotel, 75; Cameron's Mansion House, 100; and Westminster Boarding House, 25.

Hardie's Hotel was opened in January 1862, in the Hick's Building. In June of the same year it was leased to Edward Dinsley and J. S. Forrest and was known as "Dinsley and Forrest's Hotel",⁴⁵ but in six months it had been sold to H. V. Edmonds who renamed it "Hardie's".⁴⁶ In September, 1863, it was leased or sold to Smith and Bridgeman, formerly of the Engineers, who renovated, refurnished it and named it "Hick's Hotel".⁴⁷ The following year Mr. Hick assumed operation of the hotel, in January, 1866, it was leased to W. E. Stein,⁴⁸ and in December of that year it passed into the hands of Frank Pagden who ran it as the "Boomerang Hotel".⁴⁹

In the fall of 1861, W. H. Burr, who came to British Columbia at the time of the gold rush, built a three storey building on Lot 4 or 5, Block 14. The following

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- 45 Ibid. June 11, 1862.
 - 46 Ibid. January 31, 1863.
 - 47 Ibid. September 26, 1863.
 - 48 Ibid. January 10, 1866.
 - 49 Ibid. December 19, 1866.

January he opened the Columbia Hotel.⁵⁰ He did not operate the hotel for long as in October, 1863, it was offered for rent. It was leased to Deas and Dawson who ran it for a short while.⁵¹ The hotel also served as a temporary office for the Western Union Telegraph Company during the spring of 1865, then early in 1867 it was reopened by F. G. Richards. Some time prior to October 1869, it was closed again for at that time Mr. Burr opened a grocery and dry-goods store on the premises.⁵² In the summer of 1871, Mr. Burr sold out his dry-goods stock but continued to deal in groceries.⁵³

The Oro Hotel advertised on March 14, 1861, as offering board and "meals at all hours". It was located on Columbia Street, opposite Liverpool Wharf. Very little further reference was found to this hotel but it was operated for some years by Mr. W.R. Lewis who ran the stage to Brighton.

In December, 1861, Mr. R. Cameron moved his boarding house, "Cameron's Mansion House", to the premises formerly occupied by Mrs. Lawless in the Harris building. The "Mansion House" advertised that it had two bowling alleys as well as accommodation for 150 guests.⁵⁴ The British Columbian of September 27, 1862, recorded the sale of the

50 Ibid. January 2, 1862.

51 Ibid. February 24, 1864.

52 Mainland Guardian, October 27, 1869.

53 Ibid. January 7, 1871.

54 British Columbian, December 12, 1861.

Mansion House to S. W. Herring. In October, 1863, it was reopened as the Franklin House by Charlie Ford who sold it to Musselwhite and Davis, but it was closed again early in 1864.⁵⁵

The New Westminster Boarding House was a two storey building erected by William Clarkson early in 1861 on the north-west corner of Mary and Columbia Streets. Mr. Clarkson offered board at seven dollars a week, or board and room at ten dollars a week. "Parties furnishing their own bed" could have board and room at \$8.50 a week.⁵⁶ Later Mr. Clarkson opened an office next to the boarding house and engaged in business as a real estate and general agent.⁵⁷ In September, 1867, he opened a grocery store either in his real estate office or just west of it.⁵⁸

Probably the first photographic studio at New Westminster was that started by David Withrow in December, 1868, in connection with his hardware store. In March of the following year he opened a branch studio at Moody's Mill.

The earliest drug store was the New Westminster Dispensary established in 1861 by B. F. Moses and Company, Chemists and Apothecaries.⁵⁹ Later Mr. Moses bought out Farrell and Company when the owners of that business left

55 Ibid. September 19, 1863; October 30, 1863, February 14, 1864.

56 Ibid. February 21, 1861.

57 Ibid. December 12, 1863.

58 Ibid. September 11, 1867.

59 Ibid. June 13, 1861.

for California, and added dry-goods, groceries and hardware to his stock.⁶⁰ The versatile proprietor also advertised that he would extract teeth or fill them with "gold, enamel, cement or silver".⁶¹ However, despite all this variety, the business failed and Mr. Moses went up to the Cariboo.

H. W. Smith started a drugstore on Columbia Street, opposite the Colonial Hotel, and operated it until his death in 1870, when it was sold to A. Peele of Victoria.

The first doctor of whom any record was found was S. E. Crain, who in February, 1861, advertised as a physician and surgeon, with offices on Columbia Street. No further record was found of Dr. Crain nor of New Westminster's second doctor, E. Stevenson, other than that he arrived by the overland route in November 1862 and had his office in the building formerly occupied by Barnard's Express. Dr. Macnaughton Jones came to New Westminster late in 1862 and remained until 1866, during which time he rendered valuable service at the Royal Columbian Hospital. Dr. A. W. S. Black, the most prominent of the early physicians, practised in the Royal City from 1864 until his untimely death in 1870. His office was in the rear of the home of J. A. Webster, his brother-in-law; the Webster house being on Columbia Street between Merivale and Elliot.

60 Ibid. September 26, 1861.

61 Ibid. November 7, 1861.

Following Dr. Black's death, New Westminster was without a doctor for a short time until the arrival of Dr. L. Thornber, who had his office at Peele's Drugstore.

There were many other merchants and tradesmen at New Westminster of whom little record was found. Sokolosky and Lewin operated the "Pioneer Fruit Store" and advertised "fresh eggs from the Sound by every steamer".⁶² Their partnership was dissolved in 1862, Lewin carrying on alone for a few months. Sokolsky and two companions were later murdered while bringing gold down from the Cariboo. Mrs. Kirkwood, living on Spalding Street near the post office, and Mrs. L. Ensign, were pioneer dressmakers and offered the "latest fashions from Paris"; while W. Grieve was in business as clothier and tailor from 1864 to 1867. T. E. Ladner had a feed store on Front Street in 1866.⁶³ Otto Conrad opened a hairdressing and shaving saloon on Lytton Square in September 1864 and advertised "baths at all hours".

Apparently there were, at first, no regulations governing hours of business. In November, 1867, a group of twelve merchants, including Cunningham Brothers, James Ellard, William Clarkson, G. R. Ashwell, H. Holbrook, J. S. Clute, W. J. Armstrong, Fred Eickhoff and G. C. Clarkson, made an agreement by which they pledged that, starting on November

62 Ibid. August 29, 1861.

63 Ibid. May 2, 1866.

18th, they would close their stores at 7.30 p.m. except on Saturdays when they would close at 9 p.m. The closing hour would be announced by ringing the town bell and there would be a fine of five dollars, payable to the hospital, for any infringement of the regulation.⁶⁴

2. COMMERCIAL FISHING

Large quantities of salmon were salted by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley before the establishment of the colony and some of the fish was exported by the Company to the Sandwich Islands. The first individual to engage in commercial fishing on the Fraser was probably a Mr. Annandale who opened a salmon saltery in 1864. Mr. Annandale, formerly engaged in mining in British Columbia, advertised in the Scottish papers for experienced men to take charge of the business which he proposed to establish on the Fraser. Alexander Ewen, who had been in the salmon fishing industry in Scotland for twenty years, was induced by Mr. Annandale to come to British Columbia. The enterprise failed chiefly because trap nets were employed and they were found to be impractical on the Fraser.⁶⁵

The British Columbian of May 4, 1865, contained an

64 Ibid. December 4, 1867.

65 Kerr, J. B. Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians, p. 163.

advertisement offering a salmon saltery for sale. The premises, situated on the south bank of the Fraser, opposite New Westminster, included a cooperage, curing houses, a residence and workers' quarters. Presumably this was Mr. Annandale's property.

Mr. Ewen then started in business for himself, using drift nets. He built up an extensive trade with Australia and the Sandwich Islands, the fish being usually shipped on boats coming to Burrard Inlet for lumber. Alexander Ewen and James Wise also carried on a retail business at New Westminster as fish-mongers. The partnership was dissolved at the beginning of December, 1867, and Wise carried on alone.⁶⁶ In September 1870 he was still selling fish and game at a store on Front Street, while Alexander Ewen and Company were operating a similar business. The Mainland Guardian for February 18, 1871, reported that A. E. Ewen had just shipped three hundred barrels of fish to Melbourne and J. Wise had sent four hundred half-barrels on the same ship.

The first attempt to can Fraser River salmon was made by James Syme. On page 584, volume 2, of Howay and Scholefield's British Columbia, it is stated that this was not a commercial venture, "A few cans were prepared, filled and cooked by boiling on an ordinary kitchen stove". The

66 British Columbian, December 1, 1867.

canned salmon was shown at the Agricultural Exhibition held at New Westminster in October 1867. However Syme must have undertaken salmon canning on a larger scale shortly after this, for on May 9, 1868, the British Columbian published a letter written to James Syme by Capt. Alex. Barrack dated Sydney, February 21, 1868, in which the writer said that Fraser River salmon packed in half-barrels would always command a good price. He added that the salmon in cans were "a complete success" and that "everyone of the dealers pronounced them as the best they had ever tasted in tins". Capt. Barrack said that it was a mistake to pack the fish in two pound tins and that one pound tins should be used in future. He also suggested putting them up "in a more showy color, say bright red or blue".

Mr. Syme gave up his business in 1869 and on November 3 of that year a notice in the Mainland Guardian advertised for sale his fishery, vats, boiler and smoking house. On June 7, 1871, the paper reported that a new company had started canning salmon in the premises formerly occupied by Syme.

In June 1870, a salmon cannery was built at Annieville, on the south bank of the Fraser, about three miles below New Westminster by Alexander Loggie and Company who were operating a fish saltery there. Included in the company were Alexander Loggie and David Hennessy, who had engaged in

the canning business in New Brunswick, Alexander Ewen and James Wise. The cannery was a primitive affair, the fish were packed in tins by hand and cooked in wooden vats. The work was done by Chinamen and Indians. The men gutted, cleaned and sliced the fish and Indian women packed it in the cans.⁶⁷

Captain Stamp also opened a cannery at Sapperton in the summer of 1870. He did not manufacture his own cans but obtained them from Mr. Deas, a tinsmith at Victoria. The late Mr. Hugh Murray told the writer that Capt. Stamp bought the Engineers' warehouse on the river's edge in front of the Camp and converted it into a cannery. However within a very short time Capt. Stamp's cannery became the property of Henry Holbrook.⁶⁸

Although salmon were the only fish caught on a commercial basis, mention was often made of the tremendous sturgeon obtained in the Fraser. A 325 pound sturgeon was taken from the river in November, 1867.⁶⁹ The sturgeon were chiefly used as dog meat and as food for the Indians.

Each spring saw the arrival of huge number of oolachans. Tons of these fish were taken by the Indians,

67 Canadian Fisheries Manual, 1945, p. 33.

68 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S., British Columbia, vol. 2, p. 586.

69 British Columbian, November 6, 1867.

who went out in their canoes and a "klootchman" seated in the bow raked in the "houlicans". The Mainland Guardian reported on the miraculous properties of these fish. "Besides being extremely delicate as fish, they possess curative qualities to a very high degree, and may be eaten by invalids or persons having weak digestive organs, with very great advantage."⁷⁰

A number of individuals engaged in extracting dogfish oil along the shores of Burrard Inlet.⁷¹ As early as May, 1867, there was a report of fish oil being exported to New Zealand.⁷²

3. MANUFACTURING

Brick Yard.

J. T. Scott established a brick yard in 1864 and offered bricks for sale at \$12 a thousand. The yard was located down the river about three miles from town where there was clay of "excellent quality".⁷³ Mr. Scott's venture was evidently a failure for on July 27, 1865, the British Columbian reported that various attempts had been made to manufacture bricks but none of them had been very successful.

70 Mainland Guardian, March 25, 1871.

71 Ibid. March 25, 1871.

72 British Columbian, May 15, 1867.

73 British Columbian, September 24, 1864.

Flour Mills.

In February, 1864, Hon. J.A.R. Homer introduced into the Legislative Council, a resolution that a bonus of £50 should be paid to anyone who would build and operate in the colony a grist mill capable of grinding at least fifty bushels a day. William Woodcock, who had been in business in New Westminster as a wholesale dealer in wines and liquors and an importer of flour, erected the first mill and received the Government prize. Woodcock must have operated or contemplated operating a distillery at New Westminster at an early date as it was offered for sale in November 1861. A Noyes' grist mill and a Fanning mill were also offered at the same time.⁷⁴ On July 18, 1861, the British Columbian reported that Mr. Woodcock was about to establish a grist mill but no record was found of it actually being in operation. In December 1862, Woodcock sold his liquor store to L. Hoyt.⁷⁵

Work was started on Mr. Woodcock's mill in May, 1864,⁷⁶ the machinery was brought up on the Enterprise in September,⁷⁷ and it commenced operation on January 5, 1865.⁷⁸ The mill, which had a steam distillery attached, was situated on the plank road leading to Homer's mill, actually facing on

74 British Columbian, November 14, 1861.

75 Ibid. December 20, 1862.

76 Ibid. May 11, 1864.

77 Ibid. September 21, 1864.

78 Ibid. January 7, 1865.

Richards Street.⁷⁹ The mill was able to grind ten bushels an hour while the distillery could mash fifty bushels a day. To utilize the wastage from the mill and distillery a piggery capable of accommodating two hundred pigs, was built on a wharf extending out over the river.⁸⁰

Woodcock's mill did not prove a success chiefly because there was comparatively little grain grown in the colony and the mill was dependent on imported wheat. By the Custom's Ordinance Amendment of February, 1865, there was a fifteen per cent duty on imported flour but there was also a duty of ten per cent on wheat coming into the colony. The result was that American flour could be sold in New Westminster more cheaply than that milled locally. Woodcock's mill was closed during 1866. It operated for a short while in 1867⁸¹ but in May of that year it was offered for sale or lease.⁸²

On April 7, 1868, the "Enterprise Flour Mill" started operation at New Westminster.⁸³ It was a steam-powered mill built by W. J. Armstrong. Mr. Armstrong was at first largely dependent on American grain and in December he returned from Portland with 740 sacks of wheat.⁸⁴ The mill

79 Ibid. March 4, 1868.

80 Ibid. January 7, 1865.

81 Ibid. January 5, 1867; January 12, 1867.

82 Ibid. May 11, 1867; March 4, 1868.

83 Ibid. May 6, 1868.

84 Ibid. January 2, 1869.

was in full operation in the fall of that year and Armstrong expressed a desire to buy as much local wheat as he could obtain. During the winter of 1869-1870 the mill was closed for over two months in order to enable British Columbia farmers to ship their grain to New Westminster.⁸⁵

The Mainland Guardian of September 3, 1870, reported that the Enterprise Mill was in full operation. Armstrong's mill suffered from the competition of imported flour but its position was gradually improved with the development of agriculture in the Fraser Valley and the planting of a greater wheat acreage. In 1869 there were only seventy-six acres under wheat cultivation in New Westminster District, while the following year the acreage had increased to one hundred and twenty-four acres.⁸⁶ However the supply was still not sufficient to maintain the mill and it ceased operation some time during the year 1871.

Lumber Mills.

The first saw-mill in the lower Fraser Valley was established at New Westminster by J.A.R. Homer. It was probably founded sometime in 1860 as W. J. Barrett-Lennard saw it when he visited the capital in September of that year. "A little below New Westminster an extensive steam saw-mill has been established, which deals in a very summary way with

85 Mainland Guardian, December 11, 1869; Feby. 19, 1870.

86 Ibid. May 6, 1871.

the gigantic timber of these regions."⁸⁷

The mill property included Lots 2 and 3 of suburban Block 9, having a water frontage of six hundred feet,⁸⁸ and the mill stood just west of the present Eighteenth Street. Powered by steam, it was capable of cutting eight thousand board feet a day and had a planer attached.⁸⁹

Until the opening of mills on Burrard Inlet, Homer's mill supplied most of the domestic lumber used on the lower mainland, although a good deal of lumber was imported from Puget Sound and California. Probably the first saw-mill in British Columbia was one established by Mr. Harper at Yale and then moved across the river to a new location in July, 1863.⁹⁰

Mr. Homer advertised that rough and dressed lumber, doors and windows of all sizes, could be obtained at the New Westminster Lumber Yard at all times.⁹¹ On March 21, 1861, the British Columbian recorded that within the preceding few months Homer's mill had shipped 300,000 feet of lumber and 100,000 shingles to Victoria, while the issue of January 2, 1862, noted the arrival of the H. C. Page from the Sound to

87 Barrett-Lennard, C. E., Travels in British Columbia, p. 31.

88 British Columbian, December 23, 1863.

89 Ibid. February 24, 1864.

90 Ibid. July 29, 1863.

91 Ibid. December 23, 1863.

carry lumber from Homer's to Victoria. In December 1863 Homer's mill was offered for sale⁹² but no record was found of it being purchased.

A second and larger mill was established near New Westminster in 1863. It had a capacity of 35,000 feet a day and reputedly cost \$36,000.⁹³ This was operated by the British Columbia Mill Company which in December of that year announced that it was prepared to sell fir, cedar and spruce lumber.⁹⁴ The British Columbia Mill Company was incorporated December 30, 1863, with a capital of £8,000 raised by selling four hundred shares at £20 each. The Board of Directors included Stillman F. Washburn, George W. Haynes, John Steadman, Charles A. Rines and Isaac Steadman. Thomas McMicking was Secretary of the Company. By November 1864 the mill was under charter to J.A.R. Homer and at that time it shipped 370,000 feet of lumber to Sydney on the Kinnaird.⁹⁵ The mill reopened on September 5, 1867, after having been closed for some time.⁹⁶ Either then or later the same year, it was sold to Moody and Company.

Early in 1863 T. W. Graham and Company, contractors and builders at New Westminster, secured a 480 acre pre-

92 Ibid. December 23, 1863.

93 B.C. Timber Facts. B.C. Lumber and Shingle Manufacturing Association, 1937.

94 British Columbian, December 30, 1863.

95 Ibid. November 19, 1864.

96 Ibid. September 4, 1867.

emption on the north shore of Burrard Inlet about five miles above the First Narrows and established the "Pioneer Mills". The mill, operated by water-power, had two circular saws and a planing machine and cut fir, cedar, and spruce lumber and flooring.⁹⁷ The first lumber shipped from Graham's mill was the planking used in the construction of the levee along the water front at New Westminster.⁹⁸ The Pioneer Mill did not prove to be a success and on December 16 it was sold at auction for \$6,000 to Mr. J. A. Smith, who renamed it the "Burrard Inlet Mill".⁹⁹ The first cargo of lumber exported abroad from the colony of B. C. was sent to Australia from Smith's mill.¹⁰⁰ In December, 1864, Smith sold the mill to S. P. Moody who had been the only other large bidder at the auction of December, 1863.¹⁰¹ The mill was reopened in February, 1865, as "The Burrard Inlet Lumber Mill". It was generally known as "Moody's Mill" and the surrounding district was called "Moodyville".

In April, 1865, Captain Edward Stamp, who had been manager of the mill built at Port Alberni by Anderson and Anderson of London, organized the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Lumber and Sawmill Company in England. Construction of the mill was started in the summer of 1865 on

97 Ibid. July 4, 1863; November 28, 1863.

98 Ibid. August 15, 1863.

99 Ibid. December 19, 1863.

100 Ibid. April 16, 1864; June 15, 1864.

101 Ibid. December 19, 1863.

lot 169 but "Stamp's" mill did not commence operation until two years later, in April, 1867.¹⁰² Captain Stamp's company also built the steamer, Isabel, which was launched at Victoria in the summer of 1866. Pending completion of the mill Captain Stamp engaged in the shipping of spars. He chartered ships to carry the spars and entered into a contract with Jeremiah Rogers, who had established a camp at Jerry's Cove (Jericho) on the proposed naval reserve. Jerry Rogers, who came to British Columbia from St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in 1858, had engaged in the lumber business on Puget Sound and Vancouver Island. He returned to New Brunswick but came back to the Pacific coast in April, 1864.¹⁰³ The first spars exported by Capt. Stamp were shipped in August, 1865,^{on the Aquila} which took to Ireland a sample of everything produced in the colony - spars, lumber, hides, wool, coal, salt, salmon and cranberries.¹⁰⁴ In May, 1867, the Columbian reported that the Isabel had towed the Astarte into the Inlet where she was loading spars cut for the French government by Jerry Rogers. These spars were described as being "the finest lot ever shipped from any part of the world".¹⁰⁵ In September of the same year spars were shipped to Java under a contract with

102 Ibid. April 13, 1867.

103 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

104 Howay, F.W. Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, British Columbian Historical Quarterly, April, 1937.

105 British Columbian, May 15, 1867.

the Dutch government.¹⁰⁶

The contract between Stamp and Rogers ended in an unpleasant way. In May, 1868, Jeremiah Rogers was summoned into Magistrate's Court charged with trespassing on the naval reserve at English Bay. The charge was laid by the government but it was generally conceded that Capt. Stamp was responsible.¹⁰⁷ Capt. Stamp was reported as holding nearly all the good timber land between New Westminster and Point Grey and all the timber land from Point Grey to False Creek, except the claim on which Rogers was working, and it was believed that he coveted this latter tract as well.¹⁰⁸ The charge against Rogers was dismissed¹⁰⁹ but on learning that the government proposed to take further steps to prevent Mr. Rogers and a Mr. Miller from carrying on their logging operations a public meeting was held at New Westminster on July 31. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Miller both informed the meeting that they were logging on the reserve with the full knowledge and consent of the government. A resolution was passed declaring that the action of the government was unjust and a committee of Hon. John Robson, Capt. Irving, E. Brown, Dr. Black, James Cunningham, R. Dickinson, J. S. Clute and W. D. Ferris was appointed to urge the government

106 Ibid. September 14, 1867.

107 Ibid. May 2, 1868.

108 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

109 Ibid. May 2, 1868.

authorities to allow the two loggers to cut timber.¹¹⁰

In the summer of 1868 a second mill was built by Moody and Company, who also erected a reading and lecture room.¹¹¹ At this time it was estimated that there were 300 people engaged in the lumber trade on Burrard Inlet.¹¹² There were three mills, two at Moodyville and Stamp's; six camps cutting spars and logs, and innumerable small operations for making shingles, ship-knees, etc.¹¹³

It is impossible to say just how much lumber was exported from Burrard Inlet prior to Confederation. Almost every issue of the British Columbian listed brigs and barques arriving to load at the Inlet. The issue of March 11, 1868, reported three ships at Moody's mill and four at Stamp's. A very large amount of lumber, shingles and spars was shipped to Valparaiso, New Zealand, Melbourne, Sydney, Java, China, San Francisco, Sandwich Islands and Callao, Peru. There was very little lumber trade with the U. S. A. as there was a twenty-five per cent. duty on lumber entering that country.

In January, 1869, Capt. Stamp retired as manager of the B. C. and V. I. Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company and Capt. James A. Raymur succeeded him.¹¹⁴ A lengthy litigation ensued between Capt. Stamp and the company. In August, 1869, it was

110 Ibid. August 5, 1868.

111 Ibid. June 7, 1868; August 19, 1868.

112 Ibid. March 7, 1868.

113 Ibid. June 17, 1868.

114 Ibid. January 9, 1869.

announced that Mr. S. Lovelock had been appointed to liquidate the company's assets,¹¹⁵ and in October it was advertised that the mill would be sold at auction.¹¹⁶ The sale was postponed as the dispute between Capt. Stamp and the company was settled¹¹⁷ but in July, 1870, the mill was sold for \$14,000 to Dickson, DeWolf & Company.¹¹⁸ In September it was announced that extensive repairs were being undertaken at "Hastings Mill".¹¹⁹

After July 1, 1870, S. P. Moody and Company amalgamated with Dietz and Nelson, and the new company was known as Moody, Dietz and Nelson.

4. MINING VENTURES

Howe Sound Copper Mining Company.

Copper was discovered at "White Cliff" in the late summer of 1867 by an Indian. When the find was reported, Dr. Macnaughton Jones and Chartres Brew went back with the Indian and found a vein of copper ore. A sample was assayed and found to contain twenty-five per cent. copper. The Howe Sound Copper Mining Co. was organized with Dr. Jones as President and H. V. Edmonds, Secretary.¹²⁰

Application was made to the government to allow the

¹¹⁵ Mainland Guardian, August 28, 1869.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. October 20, 1869.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. January 29, 1870.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. July 20, 1870.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. September 10, 1870.

¹²⁰ British Columbian, September 7, 1867.

company to pre-empt the land on which the vein was located, but no satisfactory arrangement could be made. There was great dissatisfaction among the shareholders who felt that the government was trying to put unnecessary obstacles in the company's path.¹²¹

Operations were finally commenced in the spring of 1869, following the annual general meeting of the company held at New Westminster on March 22.¹²² Tenders were called for tunnelling and this operation proceeded during the summer and fall of that year.¹²³ A better seam or lode was discovered further back on the hill than the original vein and at a meeting of the company in February 1870, it was decided to have a survey made of the mine.¹²⁴ Whether this was done is not recorded, but it is known that the company did not undertake actual mining operations.

Another unsuccessful mining venture was the British Columbian Coal Mining Company, organized at New Westminster under the Joint Stock Company Act, 1865, for the purpose of mining coal on Burrard Inlet. Two thousand shares were sold at \$50 each for a total capitalization of \$100,000. Capt. James Cooper was chairman of the board, while other directors

121. Ibid. December 14, 1867; January 11, 1868; March 4, 1868.

122. Ibid. March 28, 1869.

123. Ibid. April 15, 1869.

124. Mainland Guardian, November 3, 1869; February 16, 1870.

were J.A.R. Homer, John Robson, Sewell P. Moody, Josiah C. Hughes, William Clarkson, George Dietz, James Van Bramer, W. J. Armstrong and John Pickavant Cranford.¹²⁵ The venture failed reputedly because the government refused to grant the land the company required¹²⁶ and in 1866 its assets were liquidated.¹²⁷

In the summer of 1864, an "exploration" expedition was sent out from New Westminster to search for coal and other minerals in the vicinity. A public meeting was held to consider the advisability of sending out a party to explore the land lying north and north-east of the city and a committee of W. E. Cormack, W. Clarkson, J. T. Scott, F. G. Claudet and J.A.R. Homer, was appointed to organize the proposed expedition.¹²⁸ It was decided to explore the country between Pitt Lake and the head waters of the Squamish River and subscriptions were collected to defray the cost of the undertaking. At a second meeting it was announced that Messrs. J. C. Armstrong, John McLennan, Turner and Jaynes had volunteered to explore for thirty days free of charge if they were provided with provisions and Indian packers. The subscribers formed themselves into the New Westminster Exploring

125 British Columbian, July 27, 1865.

126 Howay, F.W. "Coal Mining on Burrard Inlet, 1865-66", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, January, 1940, p. 10.

127 British Columbian, July 25, 1866.

128 Ibid. July 30, 1864.

Association with J.A.R. Homer as President and John Robson, Vice-President.¹²⁹

The exploring party left New Westminster the middle of August, but returned in a week's time after having gone about ten miles beyond the head of Coquitlam Lake. They abandoned the idea of going any further in that direction and as no one else would volunteer, no further exploring parties were organized.¹³⁰

5. BANKS AND CURRENCY

One of the chief hindrances to the conduct of business at New Westminster and throughout the colony of British Columbia was the lack of currency.¹³¹ Gold dust was used as a medium of exchange for some time but it was entirely unsatisfactory for obvious reasons. In February, 1861, the Treasury suddenly stopped giving coins in exchange for bars,¹³² and in the issue of April 11, 1861, the British Columbian noted, "Silver coin of small denominations, has for some time been almost unobtainable, either in this city or up the country". Capt. Gosset, the Treasurer, suggested that the Imperial Government should be asked to send out a supply of coins and in the spring of 1861 S. S. Tartar brought out

129 Ibid. August 17, 1864.

130 Ibid. August 27, 1864.

131 B.C. Papers, part 3, p. 13, Douglas to Lytton, May 25, 1859.

132 British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

£6,900 worth of coins - 40,000 florins, 40,000 shillings, 32,000 sixpences and 800 threepenny pieces.¹³³ However, this supply of coins did not prove to be adequate and lack of currency at both New Westminster and Victoria forced many miners to go to San Francisco to have their gold changed into coins.

In February, 1862, H. M. Gunboat Grappler arrived at Port Moody with more specie for the Treasury¹³⁴ and in May that department published a warning that foreign and depreciated silver coins were being imported into the colony and that the Government would accept only British or American coins. Business men in British Columbia seemed to favour American currency, and it came into general use at an early date. However the government accounts were kept in pounds sterling until January 1, 1866.

The Treasury Office was New Westminster's only source of currency although banking facilities had already been established at Victoria. The Bank of British North America opened a branch on the island early in 1859. The Bank of British Columbia and Vancouver Island was organized in 1862 with its "Canadian" head office at Victoria. Also offering banking service at Victoria between 1859 and 1862 were Wells, Fargo and Company and McDonald and Company.

In September, 1862, the Bank of British Columbia

¹³³ Ibid. April 11, 1861.

¹³⁴ Ibid. February 13, 1862.

opened a branch at New Westminster with Edwin Russell as acting Manager and discounted gold bars at the Victoria rates. Its office was located on Bishop Hill's property on Columbia St. next to Cunningham and Ashwell's store. The branch was short-lived, being closed in November due to lack of coin.

A group of New Westminster citizens then made an effort to establish a local bank as the lack of proper banking facilities anywhere in the mainland colony was a great handicap. It was proposed to establish the "Colonial Bank of British Columbia" with a capital of \$250,000, the sum to be raised by selling 2,500 shares of \$100 each. A provisional managing committee of Henry Holbrook, John Cooper and F. G. Claudet was appointed.¹³⁵ The bank failed to materialize and in July, 1863, the Bank of British Columbia reopened its branch at New Westminster with new offices in the Webster Building.¹³⁶ James D. Walker was in charge but was succeeded in 1864 by Charles Septimus Jones. The branch was closed again during the winter of 1865-1866 at which time the Bank closed all its branches except the one in the Cariboo.

The Bank of British Columbia and the Bank of British North America both operated branches in the Cariboo, the former at Williams' Creek and the latter at Stanley. They accepted gold from the miners and transported it in care

¹³⁵ Ibid. December 3, 1862.

¹³⁶ Ibid. February 24, 1864.

of bank messengers via stage and river steamers to New Westminster and then to Victoria. It was estimated that two-thirds of the gold mined in the Cariboo was brought out in this way.¹³⁷ In July, 1863, the British Columbian reported that the Bank of British Columbia had just shipped \$3,564,777 in gold on the Sierra Nevada, while the Bank of British North America had exported \$1,947,648 on the same ship. On occasions over \$200,000 was shipped in a single month. On August 22, 1864, the Reliance arrived at New Westminster from Yale with an estimated \$200,000 in treasure on board. Of this amount \$127,564 was consigned to the Bank of British Columbia and \$30,000 to McDonald and Company. Dietz and Nelsons' Express brought down \$12,000, while about \$31,000 was in private hands.¹³⁸ In July 1867, representatives of the two banks brought down \$200,000 in gold¹³⁹ and in August of the same year they shipped \$225,000.¹⁴⁰

Following the closing of the branch of the Bank of British Columbia there was no bank at New Westminster until 1869 when The British Columbia Savings Bank, established under the Savings Bank Ordinance, 1869, opened a branch in August.¹⁴¹ By the end of the year the bank had 53 depositors at New

137 Ibid. July 15, 1868.

138 Ibid. August 24, 1864.

139 Ibid. July 6, 1867.

140 Ibid. August 14, 1867.

141 Mainland Guardian, August 28, 1869.

Westminster and also had a branch at Yale.¹⁴² Before March, 1871, it had branches at Nanaimo, New Westminster, Yale and in the Cariboo, as well as its head office at Victoria.¹⁴³ The British Columbia Savings Bank was the only bank at New Westminster at the time of Confederation as the Bank of British Columbia did not reopen its branch until 1878.

6. TRADE AND COMMERCE

By a proclamation dated June 2, 1859,¹⁴⁴ it was announced that Queensborough would be the sole port of entry for all vessels entering the Fraser, and that after June 15, all tonnage, pilotage and harbour dues would be payable to the Collector of Customs stationed at Queensborough. The limits of the port of Queensborough were fixed as comprising all the waters, mouths and channels of the Fraser River between the deep water in the Gulf of Georgia and a line drawn due north and south through the eastern extremity of Tree Island.

The schedule of dues payable was attached:¹⁴⁵

	£	s.	d.
Sailing vessels or vessels over 30 tons - per ton			3.
Steam vessels			2.
Vessels under 30 tons, boats and canoes	7.		6.
Every passenger		4.	

142 Ibid. June 22, 1870.

143 Ibid. March 16, 1871.

144 B.C. Papers Part 3, p. 55, enclosure 3 in Despatch 25, Douglas to Newcastle, September 13, 1859.

145 Ibid. p. 56, enclosure 4.

<u>Pilotage</u>	£	s.	d.
If less than 6 foot draught	5	0	0
More than 6 foot draught - less than 7	5	10	0
Every additional foot to 12 feet		10	0
" " " over 12 feet		15	0

Inland Navigation

Steamer trading on the river alone -
per ton, per annum 2 0

The head tax, which had originally been \$2.00 a
146 person was reduced by this proclamation to \$1.00.

The proclamation of June 2 also fixed the customs duties payable on goods imported into the colony. Governor Douglas had previously, without authority, levied in August, 1858, an advalorem duty of ten per cent. on all goods. In December 3, 1858, Douglas issued a proclamation fixing the duty as ten per cent. on all goods except certain articles including flour, liquor and bacon which were charged specific rates of duty. Meat, fish, vegetables, livestock and certain other goods were admitted free of duty. By the new regulations of June, 1859, the duties on liquor and tobacco were increased and livestock were subject to a tax which ranged from 2s. 1d. for sheep and goats to 4s. 2d. for bulls, cows, horses and other larger animals.

A further proclamation dated December 10, 1859, announced that for the purpose of raising revenue for improving navigation on the Fraser and Harrison Rivers and for

146 B.C. Papers, part 1, p. 13. Lytton to Douglas,
May 19, 1858.

building roads, a tax of 12s. a ton would be levied on all goods leaving New Westminster for any part of B. C. This tax would be payable after January 1, 1860, to the Collector of Customs at New Westminster.¹⁴⁷

Wymond O. Hamley had been appointed Collector of Customs for B. C. in 1858¹⁴⁸ and he took up residence in New Westminster almost immediately upon his arrival from England. The customs receipts for 1859 were £18,464;¹⁴⁹ for 1860, £29,702. 8. 6;¹⁵⁰ and for 1861, £41,177.¹⁵¹

Victoria was by a proclamation dated January 18, 1860, declared to be a free port and her trade and commerce were developed at the expense of New Westminster. Captain C. E. Barrett-Lennard wrote,

. . . there can be no doubt that the proximity of a free port like Victoria operates prejudicially on New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia. At the former place, for instance, a ship might be built at little more than the cost price value - exclusive of labour - of every article employed in its construction, whereas at New Westminster an import duty would have to be paid on every sheet of copper on its bottom.¹⁵²

Individuals could import goods from Victoria free of charge while a merchant importing them had to pay a ten per cent.

147 B.C. Papers, Part 3, p. 78, Enclosure in Despatch 31, Douglas to Newcastle, December 22, 1859.

148 Victoria Gazette, November 9, 1858.

149 B.C. Papers, Part 3, p. 90, Enclosure in Despatch 34, Douglas to Newcastle, January 12, 1860.

150 B.C. Papers, Part 4, p. 45, Enclosure in Despatch 17, Douglas to Newcastle, January 26, 1861.

151 Ibid. p. 64, Douglas to Newcastle, November 30, 1861.

152 Barrett-Lennard, C.E., Travels in British Columbia. p. 281.

¹⁵³ duty. As a consequence of her favoured status, Victoria became the chief commercial centre, not only for Vancouver Island, but for the mainland as well. Most of the goods destined for British Columbia were shipped to Victoria and then reshipped to New Westminster. In 1862 of the \$2,800,840 of goods imported into the colony of British Columbia only \$787,840 came direct from the United States, the remaining \$2,013,000 being shipped via Victoria. As the total imports of Vancouver Island were only \$3,555,477, Victoria was re-exporting more goods to the mainland than were being retained on the island.¹⁵⁴ Thus New Westminster was deprived of her share of the profitable trade with the mining country of the Interior.

This state of affairs continued until 1865. By the Custom's Ordinance Amendment of February, 1865, duties on goods coming into British Columbia were calculated on the value of the goods at the last point of shipment instead of, as formerly, on their value at New Westminster. This amendment was, of course, passed for the purpose of encouraging direct shipment from foreign ports and discouraging the shipment of goods from Victoria to New Westminster. However the ordinance was disallowed by the Imperial Government

¹⁵³ British Columbian, April 4, 1861.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. February 7, 1863.

as being contrary to colonial policy.

Early in 1866 the Legislative Council passed, by a majority of one, a resolution recommending the abolition of the tolls on the Cariboo Road and the imposition instead of an increased import tax of \$6 a ton. On March 8, 1866, a meeting was called by the Municipal Council of New Westminster at the requisition of a large number of ratepayers to protest the increased tax. The meeting was addressed by Hon. John Robson, Hon. Henry Holbrook and Wm. Clarkson, and the latter moved a resolution that the Cariboo roads should be maintained at the expense of the trade passing over them and that the tolls could not be abolished without "gross injustice" to a large section of the Colony. A committee composed of the President of the Municipal Council, J. T. Scott, R. Dickinson, J. Robson, S. P. Moody and E. Brown was appointed to wait upon the Administrator to ask him to withhold his sanction from the increased customs tariff.¹⁵⁵ The deputation met Hon. A. N. Birch and talked with him for an hour and a half. As a result the Administrator sent a message to the Legislative Council that he could not sanction their resolution to increase the import tax.¹⁵⁶

When the colonies were united in August, 1866, the customs duties in force in British Columbia were extended to

155 Ibid. March 10, 1866.

156 Ibid. March 24, 1866.

apply to the whole united colony.

The report of the Harbour Committee of the Municipal Council published in the New Westminster Times of November 7, 1860, lists the exports of the colony as gold, furs, pickled salmon, lumber and cranberries. Presumably most, if not all, the furs and salmon were shipped by the Hudson's Bay Company. The cranberries, which grew wild in the Fraser Valley, were packed in casks filled with water. In 1862 the exports of the colony were estimated at \$9,257,875 of which about \$9,000,000 was gold, and of the remainder approximately \$250,000 was in furs. Hay and hides were exported, also 205,600 feet of rough lumber, 3,000 feet of planed lumber and 923,000 shingles.¹⁵⁷

With the development of the lumber industry on Burrard Inlet spars and lumber came to be British Columbia's chief export, apart from gold. The fish, cranberries and incidental products which were shipped from the Colony were carried on the sailing ships calling at the Inlet for lumber.

Almost all the needs of British Columbia in the way of food, clothing or implements had to be imported. The import list for 1862, which is typical of the early years, listed food of all kinds including bacon, beef, barley, butter and cheese, ale, wine and spirits; agricultural implements, axes, fire-arms, furniture, stoves and hardware

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. February 7, 1863.

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of all kinds. A great deal of the foodstuffs imported into the Colony came from Washington Territory and was shipped from ports on Puget Sound. Butter, eggs, vegetables, fruit and meat were brought in large quantities from these ports. For many years it was difficult for local produce to compete with goods brought in from Washington and Oregon where farming had been carried on fairly extensively for some time.

As there were practically no domestic animals in the colony at the time of its inception almost all livestock had to be imported. Some of this was shipped by boat but the large majority of animals brought to British Columbia were driven across the border from Washington Territory. In all 7,081 head of livestock, valued at \$313,797, were brought into British Columbia during 1861. Two thousand seven hundred and forty-two of this number were landed by steamer at New Westminster while the remainder were driven overland from Washington and Oregon.¹⁵⁹ During 1862 an estimated 21 camels, 327 oxen, 5,059 beef cattle, 6,946 sheep, as well as horses, mules, bulls, cows and hods were brought into the Colony.¹⁶⁰

158 Ibid. August 26, 1865.

159 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

160 Ibid. February 7, 1863.

7. PORT DEVELOPMENT

An editorial in the New Westminster Times for February 25, 1860, urged the appointment of a harbour-master.

Tonnage, duty and head money have to be levied on each vessel, and persons arriving in the Colony, and we are not surprised that the Collector of Customs finds his post an arduous one.

We have been informed that it is no uncommon thing for shippers and merchants to be seen knocking at the door of the Custom House at five o'clock in the morning to get their goods entered or cleared. Hail, rain or sunshine goods are tumbled about on the wharfs and put into free warehouses. Vessels are seen berthing themselves where and how they can.

On January 5, 1859, Governor Douglas wrote to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton informing him of the safe arrival of James Cooper, Harbour-Master of Esquimalt, in company with Colonel Moody and Captain Gosset.¹⁶¹ Captain Cooper had been appointed Harbour-Master of British Columbia and the Colonial Secretary objected to his taking up residence on Vancouver Island. In view of the authorities' disapproval, Capt. Cooper was obliged to move to New Westminster, and he reached the capital in March, 1860. His duties at New Westminster included not only control of the port itself but also supervision of the lightship and buoys marking the entrance to the Fraser. From time to time notices appeared in the paper informing mariners of drifting buoys or other hazards to navigation.

Following union of the two colonies, Cooper was

¹⁶¹ B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Lytton, January 5, 1859.

appointed Harbour-Master of Victoria and Esquimalt. He was expected to make periodic visits to New Westminster and Nanaimo and to continue supervision of the river mouth.

It is difficult to say exactly when official attention turned to the question of rendering navigation on the Fraser as safe as possible. When informed of Colonel Moody's choice of Queensborough as the capital of British Columbia the Admiralty replied that as the channel was "rather tortuous" it would be absolutely necessary to station a pilot vessel "fitted to serve as a light-ship by night", at the mouth of the river.¹⁶² In the spring of 1859, Her Majesty's Surveying Ship Plumper under the command of Captain Richards was engaged in survey work on the lower Fraser¹⁶³ and the colonial expenditures for 1859 and 1860 list £200. 18. 11 and £236. 4. 2. spent on buoying the Fraser.¹⁶⁴

At an early date a petition was sent to Governor Douglas asking that a lightship should be moored at the mouth of the Fraser but this request was denied. However, early in 1861, the government did authorize construction of

162 B.C. Papers, Part 2, p. 93, letter from Admiralty, dated May 10, 1859, enclosure in Despatch 29, Lytton to Douglas, May 24, 1859.

163 B.C. Despatches, Douglas to Lytton, May 8, 1859.

164 Moody Correspondence, B. C. Archives, F. 734.

seven spar buoys for the river mouth at a cost of \$1,000.¹⁶⁵
 The buoys were put in position by H. M. S. Hecate and H. M.S. Plumper in March, 1861.¹⁶⁶ Writing to the Duke of Newcastle on April 22, 1861, Governor Douglas said in part, "Every attention has been given to render Fraser River safe and accessible; the channels having been marked with conspicuous buoys".¹⁶⁷

John Titcomb was appointed pilot for the Fraser. In April, 1861, it was announced that all vessels entering or leaving the river would be required to pay half pilotage if spoken to or boarded by the pilot.¹⁶⁸ This regulation was met by such violent objection that it was amended the following month and limited to vessels drawing seven feet of water or over.

Victoria was constantly trying to belittle New Westminster's harbour by drawing attention to the supposed dangers of navigation at the mouth of the Fraser. J. D. Pemberton, Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island wrote:

Any port within the Fraser River, or its neighbourhood, can never be the resort of sea-going vessels. Fogs and calms for months in autumn, the rapid currents of the Haro archipelago the narrow channel passing through miles of

¹⁶⁵ British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

¹⁶⁶ Mayne, R.C. Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p 224.

¹⁶⁷ B.C. Despatches, pp.226-241, Douglas to Newcastle, April 22, 1861.

¹⁶⁸ British Columbian, April 25, 1861.

shifting sand, uncertain tides, and the rapidity of its own current, must prevent Fraser River, however well adapted for steam navigation, from ever becoming the resort of sailing vessels.¹⁶⁹

Even concrete evidence in the form of ships crossing the bars with absolutely no difficulty failed to silence the Victoria critics. The British Columbian of March 28, 1861, reported H. M. S. Hecate, 1,000 tons, and H. M. Gunboat Forward anchored at New Westminster and added that the presence of these two vessels "should silence all maligners of the Fraser River forever". R. C. Mayne who was on board the Hecate wrote that the people of the capital wanted to entertain Captain Richards at a public dinner, but as the captain declined, saying he had come to buoy the river not to feast, they had to be content with presenting a complimentary address.¹⁷⁰

The Legislative Council at its 1864 session recommended to Governor Seymour that £3,000 should be spent to purchase a lightship for the mouth of the Fraser.¹⁷¹ Presumably the Governor acted on the Council's suggestion for on April 27, 1865, the Columbian reported that the contract for the construction of the lightship had been awarded to Messrs. Bolton and Cook for a little under \$12,000. In July, 1864, H. M. Surveying Ship Heaver started a thorough

169 Pemberton, J. D., Vancouver Island and British Columbia, p. 52.

170 Mayne, R. C., loc. cit.

171 British Columbian, February 27, 1864.

survey of the mouth of the Fraser.¹⁷² Also in the spring of 1865 a more extensive system of marking and buoying the river mouth was adopted. A substantial crib beacon was placed on the north sand spit and five other beacons were put in position as channel markers.¹⁷³ Mr. Cooper, the Harbour-Master at New Westminster, went down to the mouth on board the Caledonia to superintend the placing of the new beacons. The British Columbian for June 24, 1865, devoted its editorial to comment on the improved system of marking.

Never difficult, never dangerous, we are credibly informed that the new channel marks recently erected render the navigation so thoroughly simple that, to use the language of a captain who, although an entire stranger in these waters, brought his ship in the other day without the aid of a Pilot, 'it is impossible to get out of the channel'.

The lightship was built on the Fraser near New Westminster and was launched on October 18, 1865, being christened South Sandhead by Mr. Cooper, the Harbour-Master.¹⁷⁴

7. SHIPPING

Shipping at New Westminster can be divided into two main classifications; the steamers which plied regularly between New Westminster, Victoria and upper-river points and the ocean-going vessels which made infrequent trips up the Fraser.

172 Ibid. July 23, 1864.

173 Ibid. May 11, 1865. For a complete description of the beacons and buoys see the British Columbian, September 6, 1865.

174 Ibid. October 21, 1865.

Among the first steamers to call at New Westminster were two Hudson's Bay Company vessels, Otter and Beaver.

These two boats made frequent trips from Victoria to New Westminster during 1859. The Beaver was soon taken off this run but the Otter continued to operate until 1862.

The chief rival of the Hudson's Bay Company was the British Columbia and Vancouver Navigation Company whose senior partner was Captain William Irving. Capt. Irving came to British Columbia from Oregon in 1858 and entered into partnership with Alexander S. Murray. The company built a stern-wheeler, the Governor Douglas, at Victoria in November, 1858. Shortly afterwards they built the Colonel Moody, also a stern-wheeler of slightly longer measurements.¹⁷⁵ The Governor Douglas and the Colonel Moody made regular trips from the island to New Westminster but later operated between the capital and Yale.

Another pioneer steamer was the Eliza Anderson which early in 1859 made two trips a week from Victoria to New Westminster and Langley. A notice in the Victoria Gazette for April 1, 1859, advertised cabin passage at ten dollars a trip and deck passage at six dollars. The Eliza Anderson was soon withdrawn from the Fraser to go on the run from Victoria to Puget Sound points but it still made infrequent trips to New Westminster.

¹⁷⁵ Victoria Gazette. May 17, 1859.

The Yale Steam Navigation Company, headed by Capt. S. B. Jamieson, operated steamers on the Fraser at an early date. This company owned the Yale and the Hope.

In May, 1860, Governor Douglas wrote the Duke of Newcastle that there were four stern-wheel steamers, varying in size from fifty to two hundred tons, making two trips a week each to Douglas and Yale.¹⁷⁶

The following spring there were still four steamers plying regularly between New Westminster and up-river points; the Hope, Yale, Colonel Moody and Flying Dutchman. All these steamers called at Hope en route to Yale and the Colonel Moody connected with the Santa Maria at the mouth of Harrison River. In June, 1861, the B. C. and Vancouver Steam Navigation Company put the Governor Douglas on a weekly run from Victoria to New Westminster and on to Hope connecting en route with the Maria.¹⁷⁷ July of the same year the Yale Steam Navigation Company put its new steamer, Cariboo, on the run between Victoria and New Westminster with occasional trips to Douglas.¹⁷⁸ Rivalry between the steamship companies became so strong that they began to undercharge in order to gain business. This price cutting was carried to such an extreme that they were operating at a loss until the owners

176 B.C. Papers, Part 4, p. 6, Douglas to Newcastle, May 23, 1860.

177 British Columbian, June 13, 1861.

178 Ibid. July 4, 1861.

finally had to come to an agreement whereby they charged uniform rates. Passage to Hope was \$7, while freight charges were \$18 a ton.¹⁷⁹

In April, 1862, a new stern-wheeler, the Enterprise, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, began to make regular trips from Victoria to New Westminster in place of the Otter.

Captain William Irving sold his interest in the Colonel Moody and the Governor Douglas and organized the "Pioneer" company. This company built the Reliance, the finest steamer on the Fraser at that date. The Reliance, which made its maiden voyage to New Westminster on November 27, 1862, drew only twelve inches of water, boasted a "large and airy main saloon" and a fine ladies' cabin. It provided regular service between New Westminster and Yale. The Reliance was overhauled and repainted in the summer of 1863 at a cost of over \$17,000.¹⁸⁰ In October it sank at Emory's Bar but was successfully raised.¹⁸¹

The price agreement of 1861 expired in June, 1863, and rivalry between the river steamers became bitter again. Captain C. J. Millard was running the Hope and the Henrietta in competition with the Colonel Moody and the Sir James Douglas. The British Columbian reported that on June 9

179 Ibid. June 27, 1861.

180 Ibid. August 12, 1863.

181 Ibid. October 13, 1863.

passage to Douglas was only fifty cents.¹⁸² This price cutting seems to have been disastrous to both companies. In November, 1863, the B. C. and Vancouver Steam Navigation Company went into liquidation and its steamers were sold at public auction.¹⁸³ September of the following year Captain Millard's Henrietta was sold at auction by Sheriff D. B. Hickey to satisfy the claim of J. A. Webster. It was sold to Captain H. Devries for \$3,600, and in October the Hope met a similar fate.¹⁸⁴ The Hope was placed back on the Yale run and as a result of this competition the fare from New Westminster to Yale, which had been four dollars, was reduced to one.¹⁸⁵ The British Columbian reported on November 2nd that on her last run the Hope had knocked the fare down to twenty-five cents while the Reliance was charging a dollar.

The Lillooet was launched at Victoria on September 12, 1863, and was placed in service on the up-river run. In 1865 Capt. William Irving built the Onward, the most luxurious steamboat to operate on the Fraser. The Onward, a stern-wheeler, was launched at Victoria in June and placed under the command of Captain John Irving. It plied between New Westminster and Yale. Also on this route were the Reliance and Lillooet, while the Enterprise was still operating

182 Ibid. June 10, 1863.

183 Ibid. November 4, 1863.

184 Ibid. October 8, 1864.

185 Ibid. November 2, 1864.

across the Gulf. However service was far from satisfactory and New Westminster often had no communication with Victoria for several days at a time. Governor Seymour wrote of this service at the time of his arrival in the colony, "No vessels but steamers owned in Victoria entered the Fraser and their arrival and departure was arranged so as to prevent the miners from being induced to stay more than a few hours in New Westminster, with their hordes of gold almost untouched left our shores."¹⁸⁶

The British Columbian complained constantly, but to no avail, about the extreme irregularity of the service provided by the Victoria steamer. The Enterprise arrived from Victoria at any time between 4 p.m. and 10 p.m. and departed anywhere from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. "It is a pity that Captain Swanson cannot make up his mind to fix a day and hour for sailing and adhere to it."¹⁸⁷

Another means of crossing from the island to New Westminster came to be used more frequently. Travellers would go from Victoria to Brighton on Capt. Stamp's steamer Isabel and then ride over to New Westminster in Mr. Lewis's stage. On May 22, 1867, the local paper announced that in view of the competition of the Isabel the Hudson's Bay

186 B.C. Despatches, p. 290, Seymour to Cardwell, April 29, 1865.

187 British Columbian, March 11, 1868.

Company had reduced their fare to one dollar.

As the population of the interior dwindled fewer steamers called at New Westminster. During most of 1869 the Enterprise operated on a semi-weekly schedule from Victoria but in December it was announced that the steamer would make only one trip a week, arriving on Wednesday and departing the next day.¹⁸⁸ Captain Irving had almost a monopoly of the river traffic and the Onward and the Lillooet each made one trip a week to Yale. Fares were now seven dollars for the up and five dollars for the down trip, with freight charged at twelve dollars a ton.¹⁸⁹ Business was slow and on November 5, 1870, it was announced that as very little freight had been brought up from Victoria, the Onward would not make her regular trip that day and mail and express would be sent up by canoe. On February 23, 1871, the Columbian complained that there had been no communication with Victoria for ten days. In March, Captain William Irving offered the Onward and Reliance for sale¹⁹⁰ and the next month it was announced that he was breaking up the Reliance and selling her machinery. Captain William Irving died in 1872 and his son, Capt. John Irving, took command of the "Pioneer" line. In 1883, he bought out the Hudson's Bay Company line and amalgamated it with his own company to form the Canadian Pacific Navigation

188 Mainland Guardian, December 8, 1869.

189 Ibid. March 26, 1870.

190 Ibid. March 2, 1871.

Company which was later sold to the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company.

The river steamers were used for the conveyance of passengers and supplies to and from the mines. The steamers usually called en route at Chilliwack and Sumas. Almost all food and provisions used in the Cariboo were brought to New Westminster from Victoria on the Enterprise and then reloaded on the up river steamers. The return journey brought the shipments of treasure from the Cariboo mines. Vast amounts of gold dust were brought down the river, usually in the custody of one of the express companies or the messengers from one of the Victoria banking firms.

A letter to the editor of the British Columbian, published on September 13, 1865, complained about the crowded condition of the wharf on steamer day caused by the large number of Indians who flocked down to see the Victoria steamer.

I would respectfully suggest to Mr. Holbrook that they should not be allowed to pass the gates, at either entrance, until the passengers and cattle are landed. The former (particularly the ladies) are subject to the greatest annoyance, and the latter will someday cause serious injury to the crowd if the frantic yells, etc. they are greeted with by the Siwashes are not put a stop to.

The up river steamers ran more or less on schedule but very often sailings were delayed pending arrival of the Victoria steamer. The length of time required for the trip varied with the height of water and various other river con-

ditions. In February, 1861, the Yale made the trip from Hope in ten and a half hours¹⁹¹ and it was not uncommon for the trip to be made in one day. The chief hazard to navigation were the bars in the river which were exposed at low-water.

There were no regulations imposed on the companies operating the steamers and accidents were frequent. On April 4, 1861, the Yale was wrecked by the explosion of her boiler. Three passengers were killed and the boat was a total loss.¹⁹² The same company suffered an even more disastrous loss when their new steamer Cariboo exploded outside Victoria harbour on August 7, 1861. Seven lives were lost in this disaster, among the victims being Capt. Jamieson, the owner of the vessel. The cause of the explosion was lack of sufficient water in the steamer's boiler.¹⁹³

Shipping was occasionally impossible because of ice on the river. Even during the mild winters the steamers operated only very fitfully, chiefly because mining operations in the interior were suspended. During the winter of 1862, the Fraser was frozen solid from Chilliwack down to its mouth. Ice started to form on New Year's day and by January 9 the river was completely frozen over. Sleighs were running from Langley to several miles below the capital and people walked over the ice from Hope to New Westminster at the end

191 British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

192 Ibid. April 18, 1861.

193 Ibid. August 8, 1861.

of January.¹⁹⁴ On January 13, 1862, Barnard and Ballous' Express hired a large northern canoe and dragged it over the ice to the mouth of the river from whence they continued on to Victoria.¹⁹⁵ On February 11, H. M. Gunboat Grappler anchored at Port Moody with a supply of currency for the Treasury Department and this had to be hauled over the North Road to the capital.¹⁹⁶ The same month forty passengers and a considerable amount of freight was brought over by the Emily Harris and landed at Port Moody. Almost all supplies had to be brought in by way of the Inlet. By March the Fraser was still not free of ice and the Otter had to call at Burrard Inlet¹⁹⁷, but Capt. Parson's report states navigation was opened on March 11.

The usual practice was for the steamers to be tied up during the winter months. Winter quarters were usually Victoria or else the Brunette, Pitt or Coquitlam Rivers. The length of the tie-up depended, of course, on the severity of the winter, but usually the first trip of the spring season was made sometime in March.

From the inception of New Westminster, every effort was made to encourage ocean-going vessels to come up the Fraser. There is some doubt as to when the first such boat

194 Brown, Rev. R.C.L. British Columbia: An Essay. Appendix 4 and 5.

195 British Columbian, January 16, 1862.

196 Ibid. February 13, 1862.

197 Ibid. March 13, 1862.

did arrive at New Westminster, but certainly one of the first was the schooner D. L. Clinch which reached the Fraser River port on November 30, 1859. The British Colonist of December 17, 1859, records the departure for San Francisco of this boat on December 14 with a cargo of 60,000 feet of cabinet wood and 50 barrels of cranberries. The Colonist added that as this was the first vessel to carry a British Columbia cargo to a foreign port a salute of thirteen guns was fired as she was leaving.

The British Columbian on January 30, 1862, published a letter written by A. T. Bushby to Messrs. Bushby, Lee and Lloyds which he asked them to post in the Underwriters and Merchants Room at Lloyds and to mention to the London Marine Insurance Company. In the letter Mr. Bushby gave the London firm certain data about shipping on the Fraser River and this information was certified as correct by John S. Titcomb, the Pilot. Mr. Bushby lists the first large vessel to come to New Westminster as the brig, Island Queen, which arrived at New Westminster from Victoria on January 9, 1859. Mr. Bushby notes the arrival of the D. L. Clinch on November 30, 1859, and again on February 10, 1860.

In September, 1860, a public dinner was given at the Colonial Hotel by the merchants and people of New Westminster for the masters of the barques N. S. Perkins and Vickery to commemorate the fact that the arrival of these

vessels definitely proved the practicability of large ships coming up the river to New Westminster. The N. S. Perkins had previously visited the capital from May 16 to May 22, 1860. A. T. Bushby's formation lists the arrival of the N. S. Perkins on September 16 and on the same date the Victory (presumably the same as the Vickery). He also noted that these vessels came over the bar at low-water, this disproving Victoria's claim that the bar at the mouth of the Fraser was a serious hazard to navigation.

At the testimonial dinner, Colonel Moody spoke at some length, advocating direct communication with San Francisco and condemning Victoria's attitude toward shipping at New Westminster. He said that, "Victoria had her due mission to fulfil, and so long as she devoted herself to that mission her career would be prosperous; but if she should continue to look upon New Westminster with the eye of an envious rival; and strive to obtain what does not naturally belong to her, she will only create a feeling that will defeat her warmest hopes". Colonel Moody told the gathering that, "in laying out the site of the town he had two objects in view - commercial and political - and he believed that the present meeting fully justified the course he had taken in choosing this site, and made ample amends for many an anxious thought".¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ New Westminster Times, September 20, 1860.

The British Colonist commented on the banquet in an editorial published in the issue of September 26, 1860;

Whilst the exhilarating influence of the grape was making itself felt, the gallant founder descanted on the brilliant future of which they were now celebrating the dawning - pictured the noble Fraser studded with the rich argosies of commerce - charmed himself anew with the strategical position of the camp - and fired off considerable buncombe, to the great delight of all present Nevertheless the grand demonstration making the welkin ring, and elevating the village magnates an inch higher in their shoes, has not yet made Victoria quake for its commercial pre-eminence

During the first half of 1860, 104 vessels with a total tonnage of 18,672 entered the port of New Westminster, although the majority of these were doubtless river steamers or other small craft, many of them being used to transport would-be-miners. Of these 104 ships, 66 were steam driven and 38 were sailing ships; British tonnage totalled 3,266, while foreign tonnage was 15,406.¹⁹⁹ Mr. Bushby's letter lists eight large vessels as being in port from January to September of 1860.

M. Macfie on page 218 of his book, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, states that during the year 1860, 337 vessels, carrying 5,270 passengers, arrived at New Westminster, and he mentions that many of these were miners' canoes. He gives the figures for shipping during 1861 as 228 vessels with

199 Ibid. November 17, 1860, Report of Harbour Committee of Municipal Council.

2,233 passengers; 1862 - 276 vessels with 6,496 passengers, and 1863 - 243 vessels with 19,102 passengers.

The bark, Adelaid Cooper, reached New Westminster on the 20th of May, 1861, with a full cargo direct from the U. S. A. On May 31, 1862, the British Columbian reported the arrival of the bark, John Howe. It had made the trip from San Francisco to New Westminster in twelve days, the fastest time on record. The John Howe carried a cargo consigned to Henry Holbrook, valued at \$17,929.72.

On September 30, 1861, a public meeting was held at New Westminster for the purpose of discussing means of securing direct steamship connection with San Francisco.²⁰⁰ A committee, consisting of Messrs. Homer, Armstrong, Cormack, Holbrook and Hall, was appointed to make a draft copy of a resolution apropos of this subject. This resolution was presented on October 1 at a meeting which was described as "one of the largest and most influential meetings ever held in New Westminster". It was decided to present a memorial to Governor Douglas and to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking that the British Columbia government should make a grant of £5,000 a year for the purpose of subsidizing a steamship line which would provide regular mail service and communication between San Francisco and New Westminster (calling en route at Victoria). Messrs.

200 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

Armstrong, Homer, Holbrook, Robson, Stephens, Hall and Cormack were appointed as a delegation to wait on the Governor. Governor Douglas met the members of the deputation and informed them that the matter had been under advisement for over two years, but that he must await instructions from the Imperial Government. The memorial caused an "incident" in colonial affairs. The British Columbian on November 28, 1861, published the correspondence between the New Westminster Municipal Council and the Government of British Columbia. According to the Council, the memorial was despatched to Victoria on October 23 and had been placed in the Victoria Post Office by Capt. Mouat, but the Government denied receiving it. The Council refused to believe that the memorial was lost and accused the Governor of hedging. A second copy of the memorial was sent but in December the Council received a letter from the Colonial Secretary explaining that the first copy was "inadvertently mislaid". However, Governor Douglas did forward the memorial to the Duke of Newcastle and he added that he agreed with the suggestions contained therein.²⁰¹

Early in 1862, Governor Douglas sent George H. Cary, the Attorney-General, to San Francisco to negotiate a contract for mail and steamship service. New Westminster was in an uproar when it was learned that two steamers had been sub-

201 B.C. Despatches, p. 328, Douglas to Newcastle, November 30, 1861.

sidized between San Francisco and Esquimalt, but that no pro-
 vision had been made for them to continue on to the mainland.²⁰²
 For providing a semi-monthly service, Messrs. Holladay and
 Flint were to be paid \$25,000 for six months, of which £2500
 was to come from the British Columbia Treasury.²⁰³ February 7,
 a public meeting was held at New Westminster at which Mr.
 Henry Holbrook and Mr. Ramage were appointed to go to
 Victoria to ask Governor Douglas for an explanation of his
 treacherous act.²⁰⁴ The meeting was adjourned, presumably
 awaiting the Governor's reply and it was reconvened about a
 fortnight later. The meeting protested against the payment
 of money from the British Columbia Treasury and against the
 contract being concluded secretly without being offered at
 public competition. J.A.R. Homer, Henry Holbrook and W. J.
 Armstrong were appointed a committee to confer with the up-
 country towns to consider sending a delegate to London to
 seek a resident Governor and representative institutions.²⁰⁵

The feeling at New Westminster was strong but once
 again the struggling new town proved no match for officialdom
 and the vested interests at Victoria. Victoria's attitude to
 New Westminster is exemplified in the following quotation
 from the Colonist - "... New Westminster, instead of becoming

202 British Columbian, January 30, 1862.

203 Ibid. February 20, 1862.

204 Ibid. February 7, 1862.

205 Ibid. February 20, 1862.

a place of commercial importance, seems destined to occupy the position of a third-rate inland village, with nothing but sappers and miners, mosquitoes and fir-tree stumps to induce immigrants to make it their home". The Colonist added that it cost no more to ship goods via Victoria than to ship them direct to New Westminster. "The future of Mosquitotown, as a forwarding station for Victoria goods, is a bright one; but as a commercial centre, its future seems a century remote from the present."²⁰⁶

In the spring of 1865 Hon. J.A.R. Homer, New Westminster's representative, was sent by the government to San Francisco to enter into negotiations there for subsidizing a steamship line to run to New Westminster.²⁰⁷ Mr. Homer was successful in his negotiations and during 1866 the California Steam Navigation Company operated a service between the two cities. The Active, Captain Thorn, was the first ship on this run. In March, 1866, Captain Thorn announced that the Active would be replaced by the California.²⁰⁸ On May 12, the California arrived from San Francisco after crossing the Gulf from Victoria in just over seven hours. She carried 250 passengers, most of them bound for the Big Bend mines.²⁰⁹ The Active was soon back on the run instead of the

206 British Colonist, September 8, 1862.

207 British Columbian, April 8, 1865.

208 Ibid. March 3, 1866.

209 Ibid. May 16, 1866

California.

Direct steam communication had been achieved but was far from satisfactory. The boats themselves were of inferior type, there were long waits at Victoria and rates were considered excessive in comparison with those charged for passage to Portland.²¹⁰ It was felt that if the Labouchere had not been lost and the two lines had operated in competition better service would have been provided.

During the first six months of the contract, over 1,000 tons of freight was brought directly to New Westminster. For custom's purposes this was valued at \$111,339.²¹¹ The first contract provided for a subsidy of \$2,000 a trip but when the contract was renewed this was reduced to \$1,500. The Active made her last trip to New Westminster in November, 1866, and after that there was no direct communication between New Westminster and foreign ports until after Confederation. The Active continued to operate as far as Victoria for some months longer but the Legislative Council refused to subsidize the vessel to cross to the mainland.

²¹⁰ Ibid. June 2, 1866.

²¹¹ Ibid. September 1, 1866.

8. TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION

Telegraphic service for British Columbia was mooted as early as January 1, 1862. The "Atlantic and Pacific Transit and Telegraph Company" was formed in London for the purpose of building a road and telegraph line across British North America from Lake Superior to New Westminster. The Colony of British Columbia was expected to contribute £10,000 a year when the line was working. Negotiations were carried on between representatives of the new company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and delegates from the Canadian and British governments. In June, 1863, the Hudson's Bay Company sold its interests to the International Financial Society Ltd. for £1,500,000 and this company issued shares to the value of £2,000,000 to finance the telegraph line. E. E. Watkins was sent out to the Red River settlement to investigate the possibility of commencing operations but the line was never built. Neither the Canadian nor the British Columbia governments would authorize a subsidy and the Canadian government was beginning to question the Hudson's Bay Company's right to Rupert Land.²¹²

In 1864 a second company undertook to provide British Columbia with telegraphic service. This was the

212 P.P.H.C. 438, 1863, Correspondence relative to Road and Telegraph from Canada to British Columbia and Hansard, V. 172, p.p.51-52.

California State Telegraph Company which owned all the telegraph lines in the United States, west of the Rockies. The President of the Company, Horace W. Carpentier, came to New Westminster and negotiated an agreement with the Legislative Council for extending the company's telegraph line to connect San Francisco with New Westminster.²¹³ The Legislative Council passed an "Ordinance to encourage the construction of a Telegraph line connecting British Columbia with the Telegraph Lines of the United States",²¹⁴ by which the California company was given the exclusive right for twenty years of operating telegraph service between any place in British Columbia and the U. S. A. west of the Rockies. The colony was not expected to subsidize the undertaking. The company agreed to commence operations within five months of the passing of the act and to have the line in operation within eighteen months.²¹⁵ The British government refused to allow this grant of exclusive privilege, but the ordinance was amended to permit the company to construct the line. The California State Company was absorbed by the Western Union Telegraph Company and its agreement with the Legislative Council was undertaken by the latter company.

Construction work from the border to New Westminster

213 British Columbian, March 2, 1864.

214 Ordinance No. 9, 1864.

215 B. C. Despatches, p. 69, Douglas to Newcastle, April 4, 1864.

ster was undertaken by a party under the supervision of James Gamble, general superintendent of the company. A trail was blazed to facilitate stringing the wires. This trail crossed the border where the Peace Arch now stands and ran along high ground, back of White Rock, to Mud Flats, where it connected with the Kennedy Trail, near Oliver Slough. Governor Seymour generously placed his steam yacht, Leviathan, at the disposal of the work party. In return for the Governor's assistance, Mr. Gamble promised to carry a branch wire to the government offices at the camp. This one mile branch was opened on March 6, 1865.²¹⁶ On March 21 a submarine cable was laid across the Fraser from Albert Crescent to the south-west corner of Brown's ranch. Governor Seymour was at the helm of the Leviathan, which, with the Star Spangled Banner on its main mast, laid the cable in seven minutes.²¹⁷ The Governor described his part in the performance in a letter to Sir Edward Cardwell.

By mere chance the cable near New Westminster was laid by me. I had lent my steam yacht for the purpose and was on board as a spectator. The American Pilot engaged to take charge of the vessel²¹⁸ was late so I undertook to perform the delicate duty.

The first telegraphic despatch to reach New Westminster was the news of President Lincoln's assassination,

216 British Columbian, June 17, 1865.

217 Ibid. March 23, 1865.

218 B.C. Despatches, p. 287, Seymour to Cardwell, April 1, 1865.

which was received on April 18.²¹⁹

Meanwhile another telegraphic undertaking had been planned. The "Collins Overland Telegraph Company", later amalgamated with Western Union, proposed to construct a line in British Columbia which would be part of an elaborate scheme for connecting Asia and Europe via Behring Strait.²²⁰ Early in 1865, the "International Telegraph Ordinance" was passed by the Legislative Council authorizing construction of the telegraph through the colony. The proposed telegraph was commonly known as the "Collins Overland Telegraph" after its prime mover, Mr. Perry Collins, but the company was officially incorporated in British Columbia as the "Western Union Telegraph Extension Company". Early in 1866 it was added to the Western Union Telegraph Company.

In February, 1865, Mr. J. L. Pitfield, the Company's agent in New Westminster, arrived at the capital and set up temporary offices in the Columbia Hotel. The British Columbian waxed enthusiastic over the fact that "an infant city established only six years before amid towering^{trees} . . . was to be linked with the electric systems of Asia, Europe and North Africa".²²¹

On March 23, 1865, Captain Edward Conway, who was

219 British Columbian, June 17, 1865.

220 B.C. Despatches, Seymour to Cardwell, December 2, 1864.

221 British Columbian, February 25, 1865.

in charge of the building party, started out with a group from New Westminster to explore a route for the line along the south bank of the Fraser from New Westminster to Hope,²²² and on May 31, F. L. Pope, who was in charge of the expedition in British Columbia left the capital with another work party. In June, the Milton Badger, arrived at New Westminster with wire and supplies and construction work was immediately started from both New Westminster and Yale.

The submarine cable across the Fraser was laid ~~across the Fraser~~ by the steamer Lillooet on June 27.²²³ This cable was slightly farther down the river than the cable put down by the California State Telegraph Company. The first telegram over the Western Union wire reached New Westminster on August 18. It was from Mr. Landvoight at Hope to Mr. Grelley of the Colonial Hotel asking the latter to send a bottle of champagne to Mr. Conway at the Company's office with Landvoight's compliments.²²⁴ By the end of the year 1865 the line was completed a short distance beyond Quesnelle-mouth.

The line continued north-west to Fort Fraser and Burns Lake and thence via the Buckley to the Skeena. By the end of August 1866, the party had reached a point twenty-five miles beyond the juncture of the Kispiox with the Skeena,

222 Ibid. March 23, 1865.

223 Ibid. June 29, 1865.

224 Ibid. August 19, 1865.

when word was received that Cyrus Field had succeeded in laying a cable across the Atlantic.²²⁵ When it became apparent that the Atlantic cable was a success, work was stopped and the project abandoned, although about \$3,000,000 had already been expended.

Early in 1866 a line was laid across the Gulf from Washington Territory to Victoria and by April of that year New Westminster had telegraphic communication with Victoria. Western Union continued to operate its line to Quesnel and in 1868 extended it to Barkerville. In February 1869, Governor Seymour wrote the Colonial Secretary that the line between Quesnellemouth and the Skeena was absolutely useless and that the line to the Cariboo scarcely paid the expense of operation.²²⁶

In his speech opening the Legislature in February 1870, Governor Musgrave asked for a subsidy of \$4,500 to help maintain the telegraph line to Victoria, but he said he did not favour expending government funds to keep the line open to Quesnel. A public meeting was held at New Westminster protesting against the Governor's proposal and a petition to that effect was signed by 150 residents and forwarded to His Excellency.²²⁷ In June it was announced that

225 Ibid. October 27, 1866.

226 B.C. Despatches, p. 95, Seymour to Granville, February 30, 1869.

227 Mainland Guardian, February 23, 1870; March 2, 1870.

Western Union proposed to build a new section of line thirty-five miles in length from Washington Territory to connect with the existing line at Matsqui.²²⁸

The section of the line from the border to New Westminster had always given trouble. It had no sooner been completed than sections of the wire were down.²²⁹ In January, 1870, the line was down again and nothing was done to raise it.²³⁰

In February, 1871, the government of British Columbia secured a perpetual lease of all the company's lines within the colony and when British Columbia joined Confederation the Dominion government took over the lease in accordance with Clause 5 of the terms of union.

After abandoning their temporary quarters at the Columbia Hotel, the Western Union Company established an office in the Holbrook building. The warehouse underneath the building was rented for the company's supplies and a store on Columbia Street was fitted up as an office.²³¹

In 1868 the telegraph office was amalgamated with Barnard's express office at the corner of Front and Mary Streets and the express agent, Mr. Richardson, served as telegraph operator as well.²³² The telegraph rates for ten

228 Ibid. June 1, 1870.

229 British Columbian, June 17, 1865.

230 Mainland Guardian, January 29, 1870.

231 British Columbian, September 2, 1865.

232 Ibid. June 24, 1868.

words from New Westminster were \$5 to Quesnel; \$3 to Clinton; \$2.50 to Cook's Ferry; \$1.50 to Yale; \$1.00 to Hope and 50¢ to Matsqui.²³³ The rate to Victoria was \$1.25 and to San Francisco, \$4.00, but these were reduced to 50¢ and \$2.50 respectively late in 1869.

²³³ Ibid. April 7, 1866.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION1. EDUCATION

It is difficult to determine exactly when and where the first school was opened but it was probably started at the Royal Engineers' Camp at Sapperton. On October 11, 1859, Governor Douglas authorized the expenditure of £160 for a school for the children of the troops.¹ Rev. John Sheepshanks, who was acting chaplain of the force, wrote Colonel Moody on June 27, 1860, about a school which was being conducted at the camp by the daughter of one of the soldiers. He reported that twenty-eight children from thirteen families were attending school four hours a day. Their parents paid fees which netted the teacher an annual salary of a little under £70. Reverend Sheepshanks suggested that the salary should be increased to a minimum of £70 and free accommodation provided.²

Apparently nothing was done at that time and shortly afterwards the teacher was dismissed for misconduct.

1 Douglas to Moody, October 11, 1859.

2 Moody Correspondence, F 1152, Sheepshanks to Moody, June 27, 1860.

In March, 1861, Colonel Moody wrote to the colonial authorities deploring the lack of any educational facilities and suggesting that the War Department should be asked to contribute towards the education of the soldiers' children.³ In November, Governor Douglas forwarded an application from Colonel Moody for £30 a year and free rations for a teacher.⁴

Early in 1862, Archdeacon Wright, who replaced Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks as chaplain, was given permission to secure the services of Mrs. Moresby, a trained teacher from Victoria. Governor Douglas agreed to make a grant of £50 for one year and this was to be augmented by fees paid by the parents.⁵ At this time Archdeacon Wright wrote the Secretary of State for War asking for an education grant, suggesting that the teacher be given £80, quarters and rations.

On May 28 of that year, Colonel Moody reported that there were eighty-seven children at the camp, of whom thirteen boys and fourteen girls were five years of age or over. Fees amounted to a little over £79, while the War Office contributed £18.⁶ Presumably the Governor

3 Moody Correspondence, F 1155, Moody to Colonial Secretary, March 19, 1861.

4 B.C. Despatches, Douglas to Newcastle, November 14, 1861

5 Moody Correspondence, F 1156, January 8, 1862.

6 Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P.303 - Moody to Wright, May 20, 1862, May 28, 1862.

withdrew his grant when support was forthcoming from the Imperial authorities.

A small private school was started by Miss Woodman at the Wesleyan Church early in 1861. Miss Woodman came out to British Columbia with her sister, Mrs. Edward White, and she intended the school to be primarily for her sister's children but she accepted other pupils at fifty cents a week.⁷ Very little reference was found to this school and probably it did not operate long.

By 1860, the people of New Westminster were concerned about the lack of educational facilities in the city and the subject was repeatedly brought to the attention of the Governor. The grand Jury report of November 12, 1860, suggested that Judge Begbie urge the Government to establish a school.⁸ The Governor's refusal to take any action was doubtless due to the fact that he did not consider the number of children in the city large enough to warrant establishment of a public school. By the summer of 1860 there were only between twenty and thirty children over the age of five in New Westminster. Early the next year Valentine Hall, Clerk of the Council, wrote

7 British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

8 British Colonist, November 16, 1860.

Governor Douglas and told him there were forty children in the city; thirty-one white, eight mulatto and one coloured. Exactly half the children were five or more.⁹

In the spring of 1862, Rev. Robert Jamieson came to New Westminster as minister of the Presbyterian Church. Shortly after his arrival he opened a non-sectarian school in a small cabin located in his garden. This school was conducted on non-denominational principles, "exactly as the National Schools in Ireland, and the Common Schools in Canada are conducted."¹⁰ The school building was small with accommodation for only fifteen pupils. There was no playground and the children had to "wander in public streets or among blackened stumps."¹¹ Rev. Jamieson continued to teach in the school for nine months with twenty children on an average in attendance. In March, 1863, he called together representatives of the principal religious denominations and urged them to consider establishing a public common school. A meeting was called by the President of the Municipal Council and a memorial was sent from the meeting asking

9 Letter, Provincial Archives Hall to Douglas, March 8, 1861.

10 British Columbian, June 15, 1864.

11 Ibid. February 20, 1864.

Governor Douglas for a grant of \$100 and a block of land suitable for a school site, the citizens promising to raise an equal amount of money. The Governor agreed to meet these requests on the condition that the school should be non-sectarian and open to all.¹²

A school committee of three was appointed by the citizens to administer the affairs of the school. W.D. Ferris, represented the Methodists, J.T. Scott, the Anglicans, and Charles Wylde, the Presbyterians. The committee was required to make quarterly reports to the Government as to the progress and conduct of the school.

The first public common school in New Westminster was opened in April, 1863, being conducted in the cabin in Rev. Mr. Jamieson's garden. The school opened with fourteen pupils in charge of Mr. James McIlveen. At the end of the first quarter, June 30, 1863, there were twenty-two pupils in attendance. Subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar and English history. The text books used included Town's "Series Readers", National Board and Sangster's Elementary Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar, Pinchock's and Goldsmith's histories of England and

12 Ibid, April 1, 1863.

Cornell's Elementary and Intermediate Geography.¹³ The first public examination of the New Westminster School was held on July 3, 1863, at Hyack Hall. On this occasion Mr. McIlveen gave credit to Rev. Robert Jamieson for the pupils' general progress and to Mrs. Jamieson for their training in singing.

The school was not free. Fees were ten shillings a month and, there being no compulsion to attend, many children of school age did not go.

During the summer of 1863 a new school-house was constructed using the grant provided by the Government. The school was twelve feet by twenty-five feet and was sarcastically described as being well-lighted (with two windows), well heated, well ventilated and furnished with desks to accommodate fifty children. A total of \$400 was spent. In February, 1864, an editorial in the British Columbian complained of the condition of the school, "which would not be tolerated even in the backwoods of Canada", and said that the old school-house in Jamieson's garden was preferable.¹⁴

It was felt that the fees were too high, especially for parents with several children, and in the spring of 1864 a petition was sent to the Governor asking for an additional grant of £50 so that fees could be reduced. At

13 Ferris and Dickinson letters,
Provincial Archives, F. 556.

14 British Columbian, February 13, 1864.

this time the Governor promised to inspect the school but the visit was not made until October 3. At the time of Governor Seymour's visit the British Columbian remarked, "The school is in an unsuitable location (bog on one side - Indian encampment on the other). In fact it is disgraceful that the only means of ingress and egress is through an Indian rancherie, redolent of salmon, and associated with all the usual accompaniments of filth and vermin."¹⁵ As a result of the Governor's visit, it was announced that the school fee would be reduced from ten to six shillings, the Government making up the extra four shillings.¹⁶

A committee was appointed to draft a school system for British Columbia and a meeting to hear the committee's report was called for January 18, 1865, but had to be postponed because of the unexpected arrival of the Victoria steamer. The postponed meeting was held a week later, Thomas McMicking reading the committee's report. The one controversial issue was that of religious training. The report recommended that religious instruction should be at the discretion of the school committee. The Archdeacon of Columbia took violent exception to this proposal, and largely as a result of his objections, it was decided that there should be a reading of the scripture, without comment.

15 Ibid. October 8, 1864.

16 Ibid. October 22, 1864.

17 Ibid. January 18, 1865.

Children did not have to attend the scripture reading if their parents objected.¹⁷ The committee's report was submitted to the Governor who stated that he did not intend to submit to the Legislative Council any recommendations in respect to education.

Although the school was originally supposed to accommodate fifty pupils it was declared to be crowded with forty boys and girls "huddled together". The Columbian noted that a number of children had been taken out of school because of overcrowded conditions.¹⁸

In May, 1865, a new site was selected by the trustees at the corner of Royal Avenue and Mary Street. The Colonial Estimates for 1865 listed £250 for building a school-house at New Westminster.¹⁹ The Government called for tenders for erection of a school, Governor Seymour accepting that of Mr. John King for \$1,930.²⁰ The building was finished by August 22 and was termed "a credit to the city and to Mr. King". John Robson, editor of the British Columbian, described it in the following words, "It is 71' by 24' with spacious hall, one large school room for each boys and girls and two dressing rooms for the pupils. The ceiling is 14', there is a handsome portico in front and a graceful cupola on top of the main building".²¹

17 Ibid. January 25, 1860.

18 Ibid. April 15, 1865.

19 Ibid. March 7, 1865.

20 Ibid. June 10, 1865.

21 Ibid. August 26, 1865.

The new school was formally opened on November 20, 1865.²² There were now two teachers, Mr. McIlveen in charge of the boys, and Miss Jessie Nagle, who taught the girls.

When the Royal Engineer force was disbanded residents of Sapperton asked the Government to continue its support of the school at the camp. The government agreed to make a grant of £72 a year to Mrs. Moresby. She was to receive a free residence and was entitled to any school fees.²³ About twenty-five children, of ages four to ten, attended the school. Fees were one dollar a month or if three children from one family attended the fee was reduced to two dollars and fifty cents. A limited number of boarders were accepted at thirty dollars a month. The school was non-denominational but was under the sponsorship of the Archdeacon of Columbia and Reverend John Sheepshanks. Mrs. Moresby's school was closed at the end of 1868 due to the withdrawal of financial support by the Bishop of Columbia, but it was soon reopened on the same basis as the New Westminster school.²⁴

There were, in addition to the public schools at New Westminster and Sapperton, several private schools. In April, 1864, Miss Joyce opened a school for young ladies on Columbia Street, offering instruction in writing, grammar, history, ancient and modern, geography and the use of globes,

22 Ibid. November 22, 1865.

23 Letter, Provincial Archives, Bushby to Colonial Secretary, November 3, 1864.

24 British Columbian, January 9, 1869.

composition, arithmetic, needle and fancy work, and French. Music, drawing and singing were offered as extras. Fees were three dollars a month for children under twelve and four dollars a month for older children.²⁵

The Girls' Collegiate School was opened in June, 1865, under the auspices of Bishop Hills with Miss Joyce as superintendent. The school offered the usual subjects and in addition French, drawing and botany, these last two subjects being taught by Reverend Percival Jenns.²⁶

Also in June, 1865, two Sisters of St. Ann arrived from Victoria and opened a school for girls in the convent which had just been built on Albert Crescent under the direction of Bishop D'Herbomez. The convent was enlarged and improved early in 1870.²⁷ St. Louis College, a school for boys, operated by the Oblate Fathers, was opened in 1864. Father Harris was superintendent of St. Louis College for some years prior to Confederation.²⁸

The public schools at New Westminster remained under the control of a citizens' committee until the passing of a School Ordinance in 1869. The fees were reduced to one dollar a month at the beginning of 1866 and continued at that rate until January, 1870.²⁹

The committee's report for the quarter ending

25 Ibid. April 9, 1864.

26 Ibid. June 13, 1865.

27 Mainland Guardian, February 26, 1870.

28 Ibid. July 14, 1871.

29 British Columbian, January 10, 1866.

September 30, 1866, listed the attendance for the months of July, August and September as 28, 35 and 30 boys respectively while for the same periods there were 11, 15 and 12 girls.³⁰

In February, 1867, Miss Nagle resigned. The attendance in the girls' department had fallen so low, averaging only six a day, that the trustees decided to have Mr. McIlveen teach girls as well as boys. Mr. McIlveen also resigned in May and his place was taken by Mr. Hugh Burr.³¹ At the time of Mr. Burr's appointment there were approximately thirty boys and ten girls enrolled in the school. His salary was to be \$40.41 a month paid by the Government, plus fees of one dollar paid by each pupil, which would make a total monthly salary of less than \$80.

The first school ordinance for British Columbia was passed in March, 1869, and was amended in April of the following year. By this Ordinance, the Governor in Council established school districts in various parts of the Province where there was permanent settlement.³² The New Westminster District included the entire lower mainland. Education was still not free and schools were to be supported by Government grants (\$500 yearly being maximum for any one

30 MacLaurin, Donald Leslie, The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia, p. 93.

31 Ibid. p. 95.

32 British Columbian, July 7, 1869.

school), augmented by additional funds to be raised in the school districts by tuition fees, voluntary subscription or a general tax. In the New Westminster district, the method of collecting tuition fees was retained. The Ordinance provided that the Municipal Council of New Westminster was to be the local board for the New Westminster District. July 27, 1869, Henry Holbrook, who as President of the Municipal Council was also Chairman of the School Board, wrote to the Government asking for grants for the schools at New Westminster, Sapperton and Langley, where an estimated attendance of 29, 16 and 20 boys was expected. It was also proposed to open a school at Burrard Inlet. Monthly tuition fees in all these schools were to be \$1.50. The Government made a grant of \$500 each for the schools at New Westminster and Langley but only \$400 for the other two.

On August 16, 1869, following election of a new Municipal Council, a school committee was appointed by the Council consisting of W. J. Armstrong, J. S. Clute (resigned November, 1869, and replaced by J. Cunningham), D. Withrow, R. Deane and William Irving. At this time the Council also wrote the Governor asking for a grant for a female teacher but the Government would not make any definite promise.³³ In October Hon. A. T. Bushby and Captain William Irving were asked by the School Board to solicit subscriptions in aid of

33 Mainland Guardian, September 1, 1869.

the school. They called personally on the citizens, collected \$82.00 and received promises of \$86.50 more. In their report to the Municipal Council, Messrs. Bushby and Irving noted that "a very general objection seems to be taken to the mode of supporting the Public School, and the majority of people seem to be in favour of a general taxation."³⁵

In January, 1870, the Municipal Council reported to the Government that there were twenty-two pupils attending the New Westminster School, sixteen at Sapperton and thirteen at Langley.³⁶ No school had as yet been opened at Burrard Inlet.

On January 3, 1870, a public meeting was held to consider the best means of supporting the school. After considerable discussion a resolution was passed that a tax be levied on every male resident of New Westminster over twenty.³⁷ The New Westminster School District Tax By-Law fixing the tax assessment at two dollars was passed by the Municipal Council and received the Governor's sanction in April.³⁸

In March, 1870, the Municipal Council received a letter from the Colonial Secretary announcing that the size of the New Westminster school district had been reduced and the Council asked that the size be further reduced

³⁵ Ibid, December 8, 1869.

³⁶ Ibid, January 5, 1870.

³⁷ Loc. cit.

³⁸ Ibid, April 27, 1870.

to the municipal limits.³⁹ The Council was informed in June that the area of the New Westminster school district had been fixed at a radius of two miles from Lytton Square.⁴⁰ Accordingly, H.V. Edmonds, who by virtue of his position as Clerk of the Municipal Council, acted as Secretary and Collector of the School Board, proceeded to collect two dollars from every adult male living within the two mile radius of Lytton Square.

In May, 1870, Mr. A.T. Bushby was appointed School Inspector for the New Westminster District. The following September, W.J. Armstrong, chairman of the Board, asked that an additional grant be made by the Government so that a lady teacher could be added to the staff of the New Westminster school but Mr. E. Graham Alston, who in May had been appointed Inspector General of Schools in British Columbia, recommended that the request be denied. There were at that time only six girls on the school's register.⁴¹ In November Mr. Hugh Burr resigned and was succeeded by Mr. W.H. Burr, who had previously taught in Victoria.

Under the terms of the School Ordinance of 1869 the schools at New Westminster and Victoria received rela-

39 Ibid, March 2, 1870.

40 Ibid, June 15, 1870.

41 Ibid, September 7, 1870.

tively little Government support and indeed the school at Victoria was closed from September 14, 1870, to August 19, 1872, because of lack of funds.⁴² The Government seemed to expect the Municipal Councils in these two cities to assume a large share of the burden of school costs. The schools at New Westminster and Sapperton were in almost continuous session but the problem of school finance continued to be vexing. On January 3, 1871, a public meeting was again held to consider the best means of providing adequate support for the public schools.⁴³ At this meeting a resolution was passed urging the Government to abolish the existing system of educational finance and to maintain schools out of the general colonial revenue. However, the meeting failed to reach any decision as to how the schools were to be supported and the New Westminster and Sapperton schools were closed for a short while.⁴⁴ The meeting was reconvened on January 10, and it was decided to reimpose the two dollar tax and ask for voluntary contributions.⁴⁵ The burden of local taxation for the support of schools was not alleviated until after Confederation with the passing of the Public School Act of 1872.

42 MacLaurin, op.cit, P.116.

43 Mainland Guardian, January 5, 1871.

44 Ibid, January 14, 1871.

45 Ibid, January 26, 1871.

2. CHURCHES

The Government was generous with land grants to the clergy. Free land, about one acre, was granted to the four principal denominations in Yale, Hope, Derby, Douglas and New Westminster. Governor Douglas also recommended to the Imperial Government the granting of one hundred acres of rural land to each church with a resident clergy. He made this recommendation because he felt that it would be many years before the population would be large enough to support the churches adequately.⁴⁶

The Colonial Secretary would not sanction the granting of rural lands for two reasons. It would tend to relieve the congregations of their responsibility towards the support of the church. Also the clergymen would have to devote an undue proportion of their time to making the land productive or they would derive no profit from it.⁴⁷

Church of England

The Anglican Church was well supported by endowments. In 1858, Baroness Burdette Coutts, a wealthy English noblewoman, gave £25,000 to the Archbishop of Canterbury to endow the church in the new colony of British

46 B.C. Papers, Part 4, p.1, Douglas to Newcastle, February 17, 1860.

47 B.C. Despatches, Newcastle to Douglas, May 19, 1860, October 26, 1860, B.C. Papers, Part 4, P.66.

Columbia. During the gold rush Rev. J. Gammage and Rev. W. Burton Crickmer were sent over to the mainland from Victoria. In January, 1859, the two colonies on the west coast were formed into a Bishop's See, known as the Diocese of Columbia. Rev. G. Hills was appointed the first bishop. He resided in Victoria⁴⁸ but in August, 1859, Rev. John Sheepshanks arrived to take charge of church affairs at New Westminster. For a time he was not only rector at the capital but also acting chaplain to the Royal Engineers. The first Church of England service in the city was held at the Custom's House with only seven or eight in attendance. "The new rector himself, with a borrowed axe, cut up wood from the fallen timber lying about, lit a fire, put out some blocks and boxes, and sounded a gong...."⁴⁹ Only one of his parishioners had a prayer book and the young minister was discouraged at finding himself in a "spiritual desert". Rev. D.W. Duthie eloquently describes Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks's first Christmas at New Westminster:

On Christmas Eve (1859) I spent the day in calling upon all those, who, as far as I could judge, ought to be impelled to keep the birthday of the dear Lord

48 B.C. Despatches, P.307, Seymour to Cardwell, May 2, 1865.

49 Duthie, Rev. D.W., A Bishop in the Rough, P.20.

in such a way as would be acceptable to Him, by coming to our worship to offer their spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving and to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. But I found very little encouragement.

It was a miserable evening; a soft mild wind was blowing, drizzle was falling; it was soon pitch dark, and in the neighbourhood of the huts and stores the mud was deep and sticky. I floundered about in the darkness, occasionally tripping over a stump, feeling very warm in the moist air with my waterproof garments; and now and then, when down by the riverside, I heard the voices of men in the drinking-bars shouting and singing, and the light gleaming from the saloon fell upon the black mud and cast-away playing-cards that I was treading underfoot. And I thought of happy scenes at home, and old friends at Leeds, and the dignified uplifting services at the parish church.

But still, it was all right. It was delightful having the society of friendly, highly educated men at the camp. We had a nice number of communicants on Christmas morning.⁵⁰

Church attendance grew and soon services had to be held in larger quarters at the Court House. The church of England was granted land for the erection of a church on Victoria Gardens, still the site of Holy Trinity Cathedral. There was some criticism of this grant to the "favourite church" as Victoria Gardens had been set aside as a "public pleasure ground".⁵¹ The church was also given Lot 5, Block 16, for the erection of a parsonage. Rev. John Sheepshanks had asked for Lots 6 and 8 of Block 13 for the erection of a church but the Government would not grant this land as it wished to reserve this block for the erection of a jail.⁵²

50 Ibid. pp. 26-27.

51 British Columbian, June 1, 1865.

52 Letter, Provincial Archives, Young to Moody, January 30, 1860.

Services continued to be held in the Government buildings until Holy Trinity Church was built.

The corner stone was laid by Governor Douglas on May 22, 1860. The flooring had already been laid, "being massive sills on thick short columns of wood". Under the south-east corner of the church the stone, containing a bottle of coins, was laid. Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks and Bishop Hills conducted the service of dedication.

The church, of early Gothic style, was designed by Captain A. R. Lempriere of the Royal Engineers and was built by Messrs. Manson and White. The communion rails were also designed by one of the Royal Engineers and seats of fir, trimmed with California red-wood, were presented by various citizens of New Westminster.⁵³ The new church was consecrated by Bishop Hills on Advent Sunday, December 2, with the consecration sermon delivered by Rev. A. G. Garrett, principal of the Indian School at Victoria.

The rectory was a log hut in front of the church. Governor Douglas visited Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks there and termed it a "wretched place" not fitting for "a clergyman, a gentleman, and a scholar". The Governor promptly headed a subscription list for the erection of a suitable rectory.

53 New Westminster Times, December 8, 1860.

An excellent picture of Holy Trinity Church and the rectory is included in Duthie, op. cit., p. 35.

Colonel Moody was a member of the first church
 54 committee and many of the Royal Engineers attended services
 regularly. The choir was chiefly composed of soldiers from
 the camp and their band provided music on special occasions.

The first baptismal font made in British Columbia
 was placed in Holy Trinity in the spring of 1863. Con-
 structed of grey stone brought from Salt Spring Island, it
 was made from a hexagonal design furnished by Colonel Moody. 55
 Early the same year an organ was installed. The first organ-
 ist was Alfred Cobby who only filled the position until the
 summer of 1863, when he was forced to leave the colony on
 56 account of poor health.

Church services were also being held in the school-
 house at the camp by Rev. H. P. Wright, chaplain of the Royal
 Engineers. After the recall of the detachment in 1863 he
 remained in the colony and was appointed Archdeacon of
 Columbia. Partly through the efforts of devout Anglicans in
 England, funds were raised for the erection of a new church
 at Sapperton. St. Mary's Church, designed by J. C. White,
 who had formerly served with the Royal Engineers, and built
 by L. Bonson and D. Richards, also former soldiers, was con-
 secrated on May 1, 1865. Bishop Sillitoe described the

54 British Columbian, April 15, 1863.

55 Ibid. April 25, 1863.

56 Ibid. July 29, 1863.

church. "It was the 'fashionable church' of those days. Government House stood near; officials and their staff had their residences round about; an English tone pervaded the little society; and they took pride in the church they had built for themselves, and in its services!"⁵⁷

Meanwhile Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks had gone home to England to secure funds for his church.⁵⁸ Miss Burdette-Coutts had presented a chime of bells to Holy Trinity Church in 1860 but, as there was no bell tower, the bells were, in 1864, still at Victoria. Rev. D. W. Duthie in what he termed "The Battle of the Bells" suggested that the Anglican cathedral at Victoria tried to "steal" the bells.⁵⁹ However, the British Columbian, after first having suggested that Bishop Hills was trying to arrange with Miss Burdette-Coutts to transfer the gift to St. John's, Victoria,⁶⁰ reported that the Bishop announced that the bells were intended for New Westminster and would be sent on to the mainland capital as soon as arrangements were made for housing them.⁶¹ Interest in the bells revived and early in 1865 a meeting was held to discuss the erection of a bell tower. The Bishop offered to give \$500 and twenty prominent citizens of New Westminster

57 Gowen, H.H. Church Work in British Columbia, p. 14.

58 British Columbian, April 16, 1864.

59 Duthie, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

60 British Columbian, May 21, 1862.

61 Ibid. May 24, 1862.

offered \$50 each. Various functions were held by the congregation to raise additional funds. These functions included a seven o'clock tea and programme on January 18, attended by such notables as Governor Seymour and Hon. A.N. Birch. A series of balls were held in the late summer of the same year.

The bell tower was to be one hundred feet high and erected at the south-west corner of the church. The foundation was built of seventy tons of stone brought by the steamer Alpha from Salt Spring Island.⁶² The bells were brought from Victoria by steamer on July 11 and were first heard on August 4 although the tower was not then completed. A bell-ringers club was organized.

At a public meeting, the citizens of New Westminster voted that the town clock, which had been given to the city by the Governor, should be placed in the bell tower. The church committee agreed to this proposal but reported that they did not have enough money to complete work on the tower and spire. In 1868 the clock was placed in Hyack Hall instead.

Holy Trinity Church was destroyed by fire which broke out in the vestry early on the evening of September 5, 1865. The flames soon spread to the main building and despite the efforts of the volunteer fire brigade, the church was almost completely destroyed. The firemen were handicapped by the fact that the church was at a much higher ele-

⁶² British Columbian, June 5, 1865.

vation than the water-tank at the station-house and it was difficult to pump the water uphill. The loss, amounting to \$8,000, included the chancel, vestry, roof, organ screen, Bishop's chair, choir lectern and pulpit. The bell tower and the bells, which had been so recently placed in position, were saved.⁶³ Cause of the fire was never discovered. The church was insured for \$5,000 and the ruins were purchased from the Insurance Company by Mr. Edwards.

News of the disaster was sent by Bishop Hills to Rev. John Sheepshanks who then intensified his efforts to obtain funds in England. He succeeded in raising 1,200 sovereigns and left the Old Country in February, 1866, arriving back in New Westminster on April 20 after an absence of two years to find that there was a rumour about his private affairs. "It insisted that he was bringing back a wife with him. Journalism ... entered into the conspiracy assuring his parishioners that 'the lady of his choise was in every way worthy of the reverend gnetleman'. With this particularity it was not easy to disabuse, not only the minds of the colonists, but of the Indians, who were agog to see their missionary accompanied by his 'squaw'".⁶⁴

Pending building of a new church, services were held in an upper room in Webster's brick building. The room

63 British Columbian, September 6, 1865,
September 13, 1865.

64 Duthie, op. cit., p. 148.

was not required as store space at that time because of the depressed state of trade in the colony.

Rev. Mr. Sheepshanks resigned his parish in the autumn of 1866 and returned to England, leaving New Westminster on February 20, 1867. The reason for his resignation was the illness of his father which left his invalid mother in need of care. His successor was Rev. M. Hayman, who remained until July of 1868, when his place was taken by Venerable C. T. Woods, who had been principal of the Collegiate School in Victoria and rector of St. John's. Rev. Mr. Woods was created Archdeacon of Columbia and was inducted into the rectory of Holy Trinity in July.⁶⁵

Rev. D. W. Duthie's book, A Bishop in the Rough, contains an interesting item telling that before Rev. John Sheepshanks left New Westminster for the last time, he bought a piece of land on Burrard Inlet and gave it to the church. The land was located in what is now the centre of Vancouver and would have provided a handsome endowment for the whole diocese, but unfortunately the Bishop sold it before its great potential value was realized.⁶⁶

The church wardens of Holy Trinity parish offered a hundred dollar prize for a design for a new church and the plans of Mr. Tiedeman were accepted. In May, 1867, tenders

⁶⁵ British Columbian, July 29, 1868.

⁶⁶ Duthie, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

were called for a new church, the contract being awarded to a Mr. Trounce of Victoria, who started work in June. It was constructed of sandstone brought from Salt Spring Island.⁶⁷ The foundation stone was laid on October 16 and two months later the building was completed "the first stone church on the British Pacific" and the "finest edifice of its size upon the coast".⁶⁸ The church was dedicated on December 18 by the Bishop of Columbia, assisted by the Dean of Columbia, Rev. Mr. Hayman, Rev. Mr. Cave of St. Mary's, Rev. Mr. Gribbell and Rev. Mr. Raymond from Victoria.

It had been proposed to divide the Diocese of Columbia and establish a New Westminster bishopric, but after the union of the colonies, the church authorities in England abandoned the proposal.⁶⁹

The Roman Catholic Church

Roman Catholic priests had carried on active missionary work among the natives on the mainland of British Columbia for some time prior to the gold rush. Among these early missionaries, special mention should be made of Father Modeste Demers, who came to Fort Langley from Fort Vancouver in 1841, and in 1847 was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island. He continued to visit the Indian missions on the mainland where a group of priests were carrying on the work

⁶⁷ British Columbian, August 24, 1867.

⁶⁸ Ibid. December 21, 1867.

⁶⁹ Ibid. December 14, 1867.

of conversion.⁷⁰

In 1858, Bishop Demers went to Canada and returned in June of that year with four Sisters of St. Ann. Two years previously Oblate Fathers, headed by Father Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, had come to Esquimalt from American territory. The reason for their move to Vancouver Island was that the Ordinary of the diocese of Nesqually (Seattle) "wanted to impose of them views incompatible with their calling".⁷¹

In September, 1860, Father Leo Fouquet, O.M.I., who had arrived in Victoria the previous year, was sent to establish the parish of New Westminster. He soon started work on the building of two churches, clearing the lots himself. The Roman Catholic Church had, in March, 1860, been granted Lots 4 and 5 and one-half of Lot 3, Block 32, and in April, 1861, Father Fouquet was given an additional land grant, Lot 11, Block 17. John Cooper of the Treasury Office wrote Colonel Moody protesting this grant.

Hearing that an application for Lot 11, Blk. 17, in this town has been made by a religious body; I take the liberty on behalf of myself, and the proprietors of the adjacent lots to state the objections we have to such an appropriation. The lot is situated in the leading thoroughfare of the town, and in a neighbourhood which is

70 Morice, Rev. Adrien Gabriel, O.M.I., History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada,

Was the chief source of material for this section.

71 Ibid., p. 307.

rapidly filling with respectable private residences; and Church placed in this position would be objectionable, but especially one in which the ringing of bells is so frequent. The assembling of Indians in considerable numbers on the spot, to attend the services of the Church referred to, would also be very objectionable, and calculated to injure the respectability of the property in the neighbourhood.⁷²

The two churches built by Father Fouquet were St. Peter's for white colonists and St. Charles' for the Indians. The British Columbian of May 16, 1861, reported that there were about 150 Indians attending the church. St. Peter's church faced Columbia Street while St. Charles' was farther up the hill. A young missionary described these buildings as he saw them later the same year, "Close to, if not actually within the struggling village ... is the residence of Father Fouquet, if Father can be said to have a residence. A roof and bare walls form the shelter for our heads from the rain. In front stands a half-finished church. Two or three yards above, close to the forest, is a still more miserable structure, the Indian chapel."⁷³

The Roman Catholic churches in New Westminster were consecrated by Bishop Demers on July 14, 1861. The Oblates soon started building "an Industrial and Educational Establishment for the improvement of the Indians". This was St.

72 Letter, Provincial Archives, Cooper to Moody, March 18, 1861.

73 After Eighty Years, Pamphlet, O. M. I. Library.

Mary's Mission which still stands on a beautiful hilltop overlooking the Fraser just north of the city of Mission.

In 1863, the mainland of British Columbia, together with the Queen Charlotte Islands, was constituted a vicarate apostolic under Father D'Herbomez, who was consecrated Bishop of Miletopolis at Victoria on October 9, 1864.⁷⁴ October 16 he was installed at St. Charles' Church. Shortly after this the Oblate Fathers left Victoria and moved St. Louis College to a new school of the same name at New Westminster.

Bishop D'Herbomez found about twenty French missionaries working among the Indians on the mainland but feeling that there was a growing need for more priests to work among the white settlers, he went to Ireland to appeal to young priests to come out to British Columbia. One of those who responded was Father Edward P. Harris, who arrived in 1865, and was soon placed in charge of St. Louis College. He also acted as chaplain of St. Ann's Academy and on Sundays visited the jail. In 1868, Father Harris was appointed parish priest at New Westminster.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Sisters of St. Ann, who established their "mother house" at Victoria on June 5, 1858, opened a convent at New Westminster in June, 1865.

⁷⁴ Morice, op. cit., p. 328.

The Wesleyan Church.

The first church service held in New Westminster was conducted on April 3, 1859, by Rev. Edward White of the Wesleyan Church.

The congregation assembled in one of the shady spots surveyed for a public square (Lytton Square) and consisted of one lady (Mrs. James Kennedy) and (her) two children and some fifty males. It was a beautiful spot and the occasion one of peculiar solemnity.

Flowers were blossoming within a few feet ... and beautiful birds were chanting their songs amid the rustling branches of the stately conifera.⁷⁵

Rev. Edward White was one of a group of four Wesleyan ministers who came from Ontario and arrived in Victoria in February, 1859. The other three were Rev. Ebenezer Robson, Rev. Arthur Browning and Rev. Dr. Evans. Rev. Mr. White was sent to the mainland and arrived in New Westminster on April 1. He lived with Mr. and Mrs. James Kennedy and their two children in their tent on the river bank and when his wife, sister-in-law, and two children came to the new capital later the same month, they too enjoyed the hospitality of the Kennedy tent.

In May, the Wesleyan Mission Society asked Governor Douglas for a grant of land for a church and parsonage and they were given Lots 5 and 6 of Block 25, and Lots 1 and 2 of Block 32. Rev. Edward White cleared land and erected a "hut" for his family on part of this land. It stood at the

⁷⁵ Victoria Gazette, April 7, 1859.

north-west corner of Mary and Prevost Streets.⁷⁶

In January of the following year, Rev. Edward White began work on the church, assisted by local volunteers. The church, which faced on Mary Street, was first used on March 11, 1860, when Rev. A. Browning of Nanaimo preached the dedicatory service. Rev. Mr. White remained in New Westminster until April 2, 1863, when he was moved to Nanaimo. On this occasion he was presented with an address and gold watch by the citizens of New Westminster. Most of the members of the delegation making the presentation were members of the Church of England, not of White's congregation.⁷⁷ Rev. A. Browning was his successor but in 1866, Rev. Edward White returned to New Westminster for a second ministry. In August, 1868, he and Rev. Mr. Browning again traded churches.⁷⁸ The following month it was announced that Rev. Mr. White had been appointed superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in British Columbia.⁷⁹

The Presbyterian Church

The pioneer Presbyterian minister in British Columbia was Rev. Robert Jamieson, who came to Canada from Ireland in 1856. Six years later he was sent west by the Canadian Presbyterian Church, arriving at New Westminster on March 13

⁷⁶ British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

⁷⁷ Ibid. April 2, 1863.

⁷⁸ Ibid. August 12, 1868.

⁷⁹ Ibid. September 2, 1868.

with his wife and two children. The Presbyterians at the capital had previously appealed to the church authorities in Scotland for a minister of their own denomination and when Rev. Mr. Jamieson arrived he received an address of welcome from eighty Presbyterians.⁸⁰ His first sermon was preached in the Wesleyan Church on March 16 at the invitation of Rev. Edward White and for the next year, Presbyterian services were held in the Court House and at Hyack Hall.⁸¹ Land was granted by the Government, a working bee held, and a manse was built on the south side of Carnarvon Street on Lot 5, Block 18.⁸² A year later it was decided to proceed with the erection of a church on Lot 11, Block 26.⁸³ The contract was awarded to A. H. Manson and St. Andrew's Church was opened on Sunday, December 20, 1863. Early the following year tenders⁸⁴ were called for the construction of a pulpit and schoolroom. The original church building is still standing and has been used as a Sunday School since the building of the new St. Andrew's.

Rev. Robert Jamieson remained in New Westminster until the summer of 1864, when he was replaced by Rev. Daniel Duff. Rev. Mr. Jamieson was transferred to Nanaimo, but returned to New Westminster in April, 1869, when Rev. Mr. Duff

80 Ibid. March 20, 1862.

81 Ibid. August 6, 1862.

82 Ibid. March 27, 1862.

83 Ibid. April 25, 1863.

84 Ibid. February 6, 1864.

left for Canada. During his second ministry he also conducted services at Granville, Moodyville, Langley and the North Arm of the Fraser.⁸⁵

The British Columbia Bible Society

The British Columbia Bible Society was organized at a public meeting held at New Westminster on November 2, 1863. The Bishop of Columbia was the first president of the Society and vice-presidents were all the Protestant ministers in the colony, and also H.P.P. Crease, John Robson, Robert Kerr and Dr. Oliver.⁸⁶ It was affiliated with the British and Foreign Bible Society with headquarters in London. The chief work of the British Columbia branch was the distribution of Bibles, particularly throughout the mining camps. During its first year of existence it distributed 516 Bibles and Testaments in ten languages: English, French, Spanish, Gaelic, Welsh, Hebrew, German, Italian, Russian and Irish.⁸⁷ The parent society sent out Mr. James Hall, who, during the year 1865-66, spent six months visiting the mining camps and scattered settlers in the Yale, Cariboo and Kootenay districts.

85 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S., British Columbia, Vol. 2, p. 646.

86 British Columbian, November 7, 1863.

87 Ibid. January 7, 1865.

Sunday Observance

As in most pioneer communities there was complaint about non-observance of the Sabbath. However, this evil did not assume the proportions at New Westminster that it did in the mining camps where there was "virtually no Sabbath at all", and buying, selling and gambling were permitted.⁸⁸ At no time in New Westminster's history do most businesses seem to have been open on Sunday but in June, 1861, a petition was presented to Chartres Brew regarding the saloons being open on Sunday and billiards and card playing being permitted. Brew ordered that the Sabbath must be observed,⁸⁹ but a letter to the editor of the British Columbian of June 14, 1862, complained of the "rattle of billiard balls" and "laughter from grog shops". As the colony became more firmly established, laws regarding Sabbath observance seem to have been quite strictly enforced in New Westminster although arrival or departure of the river steamers on a Sunday necessitated much activity about the wharves. In May, 1865, Governor Seymour wrote to Sir Edward Cardwell, "The clergy and laity have worked energetically together and as high a sense of honour and morality ... exists in this young town as in any with which I am acquainted".⁹⁰

88 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

89 Ibid. June 13, 1861.

90 B.C. Despatches, p. 307, Seymour to Cardwell, May 2, 1865.

However, if New Westminster's Sunday observance was comparatively quiet, a very different situation prevailed up-country. The British Columbian of May 6, 1868, published a letter from a "highly respectable" gentleman of the Cariboo in which he asked, "Can nothing be done with the Government about this Sunday gambling and Hurdy dancing? The abomination still continues, to the grief and shame of all right-thinking men. Every store is open for business on the Sabbath, except the Hudson Bay Company's! A noble example, you will say, to come from such a quarter."

In publishing the letter John Robson added this comment: "We believe we are correct in asserting that at no period in the history of California were the Sabbath, public decency and morality so openly and wantonly disregarded and the authorities so repeatedly appealed to in vain". Robson suggested using New Westminster's favourity device, addressing a petition to the Queen.

The Cemetery

The first cemetery at New Westminster was on a plot of land granted to the Church of England in Block 20 at the corner of Agnes and Dufferin Streets. However, this burial ground does not seem to have been used for long and late in 1860 a petition was presented to the Municipal Council asking the members to apply to the Governor for a suitable site for a cemetery. Twenty-seven acres were granted and a sum of

\$200 was given to assist in clearing.⁹¹ The new cemetery site was Lot 12 of suburban block 14 where the city barns are now located. In April, 1861, the Council called for tenders for clearing one acre of the site and levelling one-half acre in the centre of the cleared portion. The lowest tender was that of Mr. Hugh Sutherland for \$217. The tender was accepted but as it was in excess of the Government grant, the Council decided to ask Governor Douglas for an additional sum.⁹²

The Church of England asked for five acres of the cemetery as a special Anglican burial ground and a letter to the British Columbian proposed a grant for another group. "I would as representative of a very numerous group (namely sinners) suggest that the Council be at once petitioned to set aside part of the cemetery for this large and influential class."⁹³

Mr. Sutherland fulfilled his contract but the cemetery was merely a small patch roughly cleared in the dense forest. No provision was made for its care and in June, 1864, a delegation was sent to Governor Seymour by the Municipal Council asking for an appropriation for clearing the ground and the appointment of a Board of Managers. The delegation also suggested that the cemetery should be appor-

91 British Columbian, May 16, 1861.

92 Ibid. April 11, 1861.

93 Ibid. May 9, 1861.

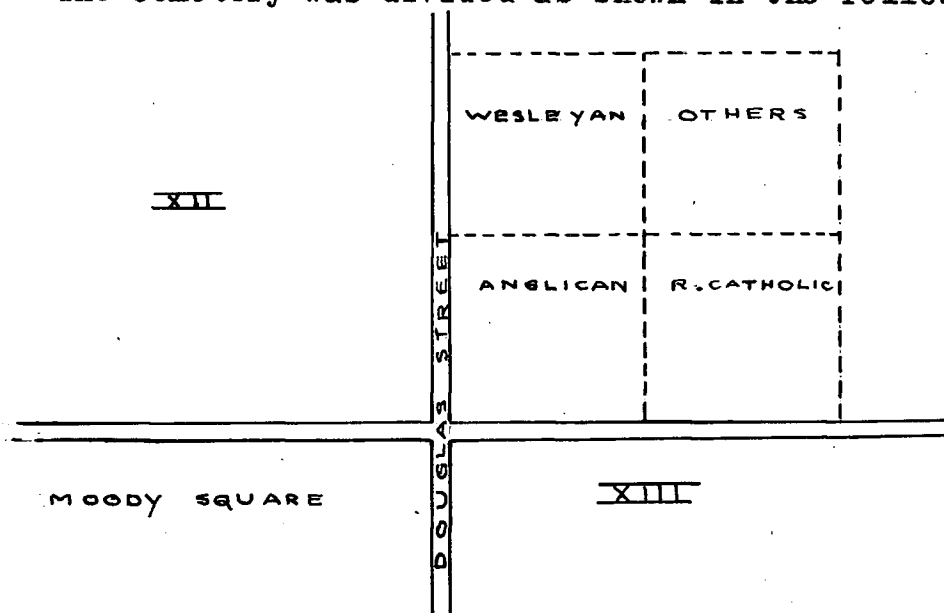
tioned among the various religious denominations. At the suggestion of Governor Seymour a public meeting was held in the Hyack Hall on June 25. On the motion of Rev. Robert Jamieson and Mr. J.A.R. Homer, a provisional Board of Managers was appointed representing the organized religious denominations. Those appointed were John Robson, Presbyterian, W. J. Armstrong, Church of England; William Clarkson, Wesleyan and B. T. Mullen and John Cooper, Roman Catholics. The Board was instructed to ask the Government for sufficient money to cut down the trees on the cemetery site and to clear and drain two acres. It was also decided that each denomination should be assigned a separate section of the cemetery. There was much argument about this proposal "some holding that, as we were likely to be all massed together at the day of judgment, there should be no sectarian distinctions recognized in the Cemetery".⁹⁴

The Board of Managers met with Hon. A. N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, who agreed to advance them \$1,000 for the purpose of clearing the site. As a result of this grant they were able to give out the contract for clearing the whole thirty-two acres and burning off five acres in the centre. A road was to be built connecting this centre area with Douglas Street.⁹⁵

94 Ibid. June 22, 1864.

95 Ibid. July 23, 1864.

The cemetery was divided as shown in the following sketch:



The work of clearing did not proceed very rapidly and in April, 1865, the British Columbian complained about the disgraceful state of the cemetery.

The Douglas Street cemetery was still in use in the summer of 1870. Prior to that time, however, a new cemetery had been cleared at Sapperton.⁹⁶ The first two portions of the Sapperton^{cemetery} to be used were a Church of England section and a Masonic section. Later, the Oddfellows obtained a plot and eventually the whole cemetery was taken over by the City Council.

This new cemetery was described in the Mainland Guardian of June 20, 1871. A roadway had been constructed, the ground nicely laid out, fences erected and a handsome

⁹⁶ The oldest tombstone which the writer saw in this cemetery was that of R. L. Deas, infant son of J. S. Deas, who died on September 7, 1868.

gate built. The earliest graves at the cemetery have been preserved and many of the tombstones are still legible. One of the most interesting is that of Dr. Black which reads, "A. W. S. Black, who was killed on the night of the 26th, March, 1871, by a fall from his horse while hastening to fulfil his professional duties". Other pioneer graves which date before Confederation are those of Geo. De Beck, who was killed on Burrard Inlet in May, 1870; C. J. Prichard, who died on July 13, 1870; George E. B. Armstrong, infant son of W. J. Armstrong; and Frederick Irving Dickinson, infant son of Robert Dickinson.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT1. The Press

The first newspaper in New Westminster was the New Westminster Times which made its appearance on September 17, 1859. The Times was published weekly in Victoria and sent to New Westminster by steamer. Its first owners were Captain Edward Hammond King and Coote M. Chambers. Their object in establishing the newspaper was "to give a true account of conditions in British Columbia", to counteract the biased views of the Victoria papers and "to scan and scrutinize every act of the government".

In March, 1860, The Times was sold to Leonard McClure who brought the plant to New Westminster. McClure was quoted as saying of his arrival at New Westminster, "... I toiled up the steep ascent, over logs and stumps, through brush and tangled weeds, hauling, with the aid of the unwilling savage, the first printing press in British Columbia".¹

Leonard McClure was the first president of the Municipal Council but his stay in New Westminster was short

1 British Columbian, March 16, 1864.

as the paper did not prove to be a success. In March, 1861, he returned to Victoria and started the Victoria Press.

A group of New Westminster citizens bought the Times and offered the editorship of the paper to John Robson. Robson, coming to British Columbia from Ontario in the spring of 1859, had unsuccessfully engaged in mining on the Fraser bars and had undertaken several contracts for clearing and grading lots and streets on the site of the capital. He had been engaged in the drygoods business in Ontario and does not seem to have had any experience as a journalist until he came to New Westminster. He probably worked for McClure on the Times for a few months.

The paper was renamed the British Columbian and the first issue was published on February 13, 1861. The Columbian was a four-page edition, originally published every Thursday morning. The usual format of the paper was page one devoted to advertisements; page two, editorials, advertising and occasionally news items; page three, news and advertisements, and page four, advertisements. A single issue cost one shilling while the quarterly, half-yearly and yearly rates were ten shillings, eighteen shillings, and £1. 10. Clergymen could buy the paper at half price.

The first issue set forth a definite and comprehensive platform which the paper proposed to follow. Among the chief reforms advocated by the editor were a resident

Governor, responsible government, tariff reform, an enlightened land policy, direct ocean communication and the abolition of tonnage dues and road tolls. He also proposed the establishment of a school system, and the imposition of a tax on Chinese entering the country. Strong opposition was promised to union with Vancouver Island and the selling at auction of surveyed rural lands. Local contributions were sought by the paper. "Give us your best thoughts upon every useful and important topic, either in the shape of short and pithy articles for publication or facts and suggestions for our own use ... All communications characterized by scurrility or personal abuse will be at once committed to the flames."²

The first office of the British Columbian was located on Columbia Street. In March, 1862, the paper moved to a new office on Lytton Square and commencing with the issue of April 30 of that year, the paper was published semi-weekly on Wednesday and Saturday. The price for a single copy was reduced to 12½¢. Starting with issue of February 13, 1865, the paper was published every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

One valuable source of revenue to the paper was selling advertising space for the publication of official Government notices. A Government Gazette had been estab-

2 Ibid. February 13, 1861.

lished at Victoria in September, 1859, by L. McClure and E. H. King. It was sold in March, 1860, to George E. Nias who published it until its premature death in August of that year. From that time on Government proclamations and notices for the colony of British Columbia were published in the New Westminster Times and after its demise in the British Columbian. A contract for publishing Government despatches was granted the Columbian from September, 1861, to September, 1862, at which time the contract was renewed for another year. From August 2, 1862, the fourth page of the Columbian, or part of it, was set aside and labelled as The Government Gazette. On occasions the Gazette overflowed onto the third page. In December, 1862, John Robson was notified by W.A.G. Young, the Colonial Secretary, that after the end of the year the Government Gazette would be issued as a separate publication. Robson remarked that his contract would have been renewed had he "consented to become the servile tool of a corrupt Government".³ He had previously stated very strongly his views on this subject. "But sooner than become a flatterer and a hypocrite, and allow our pen to be tied to the advocacy of measures dictated to us by the Executive, we will let Government patronage go to _____ Victoria, and the British Columbian sink into a premature but honourable grave!"⁴

3. Ibid. January 24, 1863.

4 Ibid. May 13, 1863.

Robson considered taking legal action but he was advised that he could not force the Government to fulfill its contract.

After January 1, 1863, the Government Gazette was published at the Royal Engineers camp under the direction of Corporal R. E. Wolfenden. Robson termed this publication the "ill-begotten, illegitimate offspring of a corrupt, peurile and asinine Government".⁵

With the opening of direct telegraphic communication between New Westminster and the United States in 1865, the Columbian started to publish special news despatches, chiefly from San Francisco and New York. Among the most interesting items published in the paper were those giving news of the American Civil War. British news, which was usually transmitted by letter, was published at irregular intervals with the arrival of the English mail.

Agents of the British Columbian were David Spencer in Victoria and L. P. Fisher in San Francisco. The paper could also be read free in London at the office in the Strand of one of its advertisers, "Holloway's Pills and Ointment".

The Columbian plant was almost totally destroyed by fire which broke out early on the morning of September 29, 1866. The Hyacks arrived soon after the alarm was given and were able to confine the blaze to the newspaper office even though it was part of a block of wooden buildings. The blaze

⁵ Ibid. May 13, 1863.

was incendiary in origin and was doubtless inspired by Robson's enemies. The loss was estimated at \$3,675 and no insurance was carried.⁶ A public subscription was started, without Robson's knowledge, and sufficient money was collected to enable him to buy the plant and buildings formerly occupied by the North Pacific Times. He resumed publication of the British Columbian after missing only a single issue.⁷

For some months after the inception of the paper, John Robson had as his assistant, James E. McMillan, who went to Victoria in October, 1862, and became a partner of D. W. Higgins in The Daily Chronicle. McMillan returned to New Westminster in 1865, bought a half interest in the Columbian and remained until January, 1867, when he went back to Victoria to start the Morning News. On this occasion Robson remarked that McMillan was an editor of "high moral principles" not "likely to fall into the habits which have of late so completely alienated public confidence and sympathy from his local contemporary".⁸ Within two months he had changed his mind, complaining that the News was following "the slimy trail" of the Colonist. McMillan retaliated by calling Robson "a bawdy fish wife".

Mention has already been made of the constant

6 Ibid. May 15, 1867.

7 Ibid. October 13, 1866.

8 Ibid. February 27, 1867.

bickering between the Columbian and the various papers published at Victoria, the Colonist in particular. On one occasion Robson referred to the editor of the Colonist as "one of the most unscrupulous of men in the profession."⁹ This antipathy was in large measure due to the animosity which had developed between the two cities as a result of their rivalry to obtain pre-eminence in an area whose total population was scarcely large enough to maintain one city.

John Robson was the leader of the mainland group opposed to the Government's undue favouritism of Victoria and the vested interests so strongly entrenched there. He was a gifted and dynamic writer, his editorials were able and forceful, and his writing doubtless had as great an influence in British Columbia as that of any other newspaper editor of that time or since.

Following the removal of the seat of Government from New Westminster to Victoria in May, 1868, Robson made the decision to move his paper also. "New Westminster has ceased to be a favourable base from which to advocate the broader political questions of the day, and we reluctantly seek the centre of population and commerce, with the hope of attaining a wider range of usefulness."¹⁰ Actually New Westminster was in such a depressed state that it could not

9 Ibid. April 6, 1867.

10 Ibid. February 27, 1869.

support a paper.

The first issue of the British Columbian to be published in Victoria appeared on March 16, 1869. The paper did not prove a success in Victoria partly because the colony was in a depressed condition and partly because the existing papers in Victoria were so firmly established. On July 25, 1869, John Robson ceased publication with this final message, "We thank our friends, forgive our enemies, and die in peace."¹¹

Several other newspapermen tried, with very little success, to establish papers in New Westminster. The first issue of The Scorpion appeared on March 11, 1864, but its career was shortlived. It was a political sheet, published by one "Josiah Slumgullion". On November 2 of the same year there appeared the North Pacific Times and British Columbia Advertiser.¹² This was a semi-weekly paper edited by G. F. Parsons. It survived only six months and the Times plant and office was used by the British Columbian after the fire of September, 1866. November 9, 1866, saw the debut of The Examiner, also semi-weekly, which was published on Tuesdays and Fridays. The owners of The Examiner were Mr. Alex Rose and Henry Havelock who had purchased the plant of the defunct Yale Tribune.

¹¹ Ibid. July 25, 1869.

¹² Ibid. November 5, 1864.

¹³ Ibid. November 10, 1866.

The most successful of the other papers established at New Westminster was the Mainland Guardian. The owner and publisher of the Mainland Guardian was J. K. Suter who had who had previously edited The Islander,¹⁴ published at Victoria every Sunday morning. When Suter moved to New Westminster he entered into partnership with Alex Rose and the first issue of their paper appeared on August 28, 1869. At the beginning of October the partnership was dissolved and Suter carried on alone until 1889. The Mainland Guardian was published every Wednesday and Saturday (after the end of 1870, every Thursday and Saturday). On August 31, 1870, it was announced that an extra would be published daily at a charge of 25¢ a week. The extra was to contain the day's telegrams from Europe on the progress of the Franco-Prussian War and would continue to appear as long as the war lasted. In the spring of 1871, the paper made arrangements to obtain daily telegraphic reports from all parts of the world. The Mainland Guardian was New Westminster's chief newspaper after the withdrawal of the Columbian to Victoria.

In 1870, John Brown, who had worked as a printer for John Robson, started the Dominion Pacific Herald. When John Robson returned to New Westminster in October, 1880, he bought the Herald and operated it with his brother, David.

¹⁴ The files of this paper from January 13, 1867, to April 21, 1867 are in the Howay-Reid Collection, University of British Columbia.

In January, 1882, they renamed the paper The British Columbian and continued its publication until February, 1883, at which time John Robson left to make his permanent home in Victoria. David Robson was proprietor of the Columbian until 1885, after which it was operated by a company of which he was a member, until it was sold to the Kennedy Brothers in 1888.

2. Cultural Organization

Agricultural Association

On January 26, 1861, a meeting was held at the Court House, New Westminster, with Governor Douglas in the chair, for the purpose of determining how British Columbia could best be represented at the Industrial Exhibition to be held in London in 1862. It was decided that each of the towns on the mainland should appoint a local committee and then an executive committee would be formed for the entire colony. New Westminster's committee included: Colonel Moody, Captain Grant, Captain Gosset, Judge Begbie, W. E. Cormack, William Clarkson, W. J. Armstrong, James Kennedy, Captain Parson, Captain Luard, Dr. Seddal and Lieutenant Palmer. New Westminster definitely refused to combine with Victoria in sending a joint exhibit.¹⁵

Yale received rival circulars from New Westminster and Victoria but voted to join the mainland city. A resolution

¹⁵ British Columbian, February 28, 1861.

was passed by a meeting at Yale declaring that a joint display "would be derogatory to the prestige, and detrimental to the interests of British Columbia, by ignoring her position, and merging her individuality."¹⁶ Hope and Douglas also decided to join New Westminster.¹⁷

In April a two-storey industrial exhibit building was erected on the Treasury Lot for the storing, arranging and packing of the exhibits. At a meeting held the following October, Colonel Moody, Captain Gosset, Captain Parsons, Dr. Seddall, Captain Cooper, Mr. Homer, Mr. Cormack and Mr. John Cooper were asked to contribute articles for a pamphlet on British Columbia to accompany the exhibit.¹⁸

On November 13, 14 and 15 some of the material collected for the International Exhibition was placed on display in the exhibit building, along with a showing of vegetables and other farm produce which, of course, it was not intended to ship to London. This was the first agricultural exhibition held in New Westminster¹⁹ and undoubtedly the first in British Columbia. At the ceremonies attending the opening of the Exhibition Peter Rose of the Hyack Brigade met with a fatal accident, being blown into the river by the discharge from a firing piece.

16 Ibid. March 21, 1861.

17 Ibid. April 11, 1861 and May 9, 1861.

18 Ibid. October 3, 1861.

19 Ibid. September 18, 1867.

The principal exhibitors of produce were Mr. Newton of Langley and S. Herring, but other contributors were J. P. and S. Moore, Hope; J. Kennedy; S. H. Atkins; Rev. E. White; Colonel Moody; E. B. Holt; W. R. Spalding; Mr. Williams, Point Roberts; and Henry Holbrook. Colonel Moody displayed six heifers and a boar from "Mayfield".²⁰ The only apples exhibited were from the Hudson's Bay Company farm at²¹ Langley.

The exhibits were sent to London in March, 1862, on the Hudson's Bay Company freight ship, Princess Royal. Among the articles sent were a model log-hut, a bundle of shingles, a case of stuffed birds, one cedar fence post, ten cedar poles, ten cedar shakes, a section of dogwood and cherry, ten quarter sections of Douglas pine, a curly maple walking stick, samples of wheat, hops and peas, a cask of fish, Indian curiosities, three specimens of gold-bearing quartz, 337.62 ounces of gold dust and nuggets, a sample of Galena and a magnificent spar. Only part of the spar could²² be sent and it had to be cut in ten sections.

As Governor Douglas would only make a very small grant towards the cost of preparing and sending the exhibit, most of the money was raised by voluntary contributions and

20 Ibid. November 21, 1861.
 21 Ibid. September 18, 1867.
 22 Ibid. June 18, 1862.

by paid admissions to the exhibition of November, 1861. In all \$7,638.65 was raised. Of this sum only \$7,011.30¹/₂ was expended and the balance of \$627.34¹/₂ was given to the Royal Columbian Hospital.²³

The committee announced that the exhibit was much less successful than had been expected.²⁴ The British Columbia specimens did win three prizes, one of them for timber, and several Honorable Mentions, but the prizes were not received and there was a general feeling of resentment and dissatisfaction.²⁵

An Agricultural Association was organized in October, 1863, by a small group of men who were interested in the agricultural development of the colony. The Association collected from its members and sent to Scotland for £20 of seed of various kinds of wheat, barley, oats, onions, turnips, grasses, peas, potatoes, mangold, carrots, beans, melons, cucumbers, parsnips, and furze.²⁶ When the seeds arrived in June, 1864, most of them were found to be either damaged or decomposed by the tropical heat through which they had passed. In October, Governor Seymour gave the Association a "valuable group of seeds from Belgium".²⁷

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- 23 Ibid. June 18, 1862.
 - 24 Ibid. June 18, 1862.
 - 25 Ibid. September 18, 1867.
 - 26 Ibid. June 25, 1864.
 - 27 Ibid. October 4, 1865.

In September, 1867, a meeting was held under the auspices of the Municipal Council "to get up an Agricultural and Horticultural Exhibition". A large committee was appointed with John Robson as its chairman²⁸ and the exhibition was held on October 15 and 16. All the common varieties of vegetables were exhibited and in addition kale, mangold wurtzel, hops, tobacco, and Indian corn. Among the winners in this section were Dr. Tolmie, Victoria; the Hudson's Bay Company, Langley; Government House; Cornwall Brothers, Ashcroft; Chadsey Brothers, Sumas; S. W. Herring; J. W. Trutch; and W. J. Armstrong. Melons, quinces, cranberries and all the common types of fruit were displayed. Alex Calder won the prize for the best collection of fruit and other winners were St. Mary's Mission, Rev. E. White and F. G. Claudet. Dairy produce exhibited included eggs, fowl, geese and ducks. D. Miller was given the award for the best butter; Chadsey Brothers for the best cheese; and S. W. Herring for the best turkey. Among the miscellaneous exhibits were canned salmon, oolachans, caviar, oolachan oil, jams and jellies, rum, quilts and flax, this latter being grown by²⁹ F. and S. McCleery.

The New Westminster District Agricultural Society³⁰ was formed in December, 1867, with eight lady members, among

28 Ibid. September 14, 1867; September 18, 1867.

29 Ibid. October 16, 1867.

30 In 1886 the name was changed to the Royal Agricultural and Industrial Society of British Columbia.

them Mrs. Seymour and Mrs. Hills. The Society held an exhibition in September, 1869, and offered prizes for cereals, vegetables, fruit, dairy produce and fish. Among the other articles shown at the fair were turpentine, lard, bacon, ham, wines, beer and spirits.³¹

St. Andrew's Society

A St. Andrew's Society was formed on December 23, 1862, with Colonel Moody as its President. Other officers were:

First Vice-President -	Mr. Peacock.	
Second Vice-President-	Sergeant McMurphy	
Secretary -	David Ramage	
Treasurer -	John Robson	
Committee -	J. T. Scott, John Murray, William Grieve, Alexander White, Corporal Byers	32

Following this organization meeting, the annual meeting and election of officers was usually held annually on St. Andrew's Day, November 30. Among the prominent members of the Society were John Robson, Captain William Irving, Dr. Black, and W. E. Cormack.³³

The Pioneer Association

The B. C. Pioneer Association was organized at a meeting held on December 29, 1862. Among those present at this first meeting were J. T. Scott, S. Thomson, J. Ramage,

31 Mainland Guardian, September 30, 1869.
 32 British Columbian, December 24, 1862.
 33 Ibid. November 28, 1866.

W. T. Ballou, W. J. Armstrong, Robert McLeese, Rev. E. White, W. E. Cormack, William Clarkson, John Robson, Henry Holbrook, J. G. Barnston, F. Howson and H. V. Edmonds. Charter membership in the Association was limited to those who were in the colony prior to December 31, 1859. Anyone who entered the colony prior to December 31, 1862, was eligible for membership provided his application was approved by two-thirds of the members present at any meeting. The objects of the Association were declared to be to draw the pioneers into a fraternal unit, to keep a complete record of important events, to aid the sick and destitute and to bury the dead. W. T. Ballou, J. T. Scott and J. G. Barnston were appointed a committee to draw up a constitution and by-laws.³⁴ A second meeting was held in January, 1863, and the following officers were elected: J. T. Scott, President; G. B. Wright, Vice-President; T. Cooper, Corresponding Secretary; R. Dickinson, Treasurer; Rev. E. White and Rev. J. Sheepshanks, Chaplains; W. J. Armstrong and W. T. Ballou, Committee members.³⁵

Lodges

36

Union Lodge, No. 1201, under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England dated December 16, 1861, was opened at New Westminster on June 24, 1862, the first masonic lodge in

34 Ibid. December 31, 1862.

35 Ibid. January 14, 1863.

36 The lodge was re-classified under the Grand Lodge of Canada and by June, 1864, the lodge was referred to as Union Lodge, No. 899, A.F. and A.M.

the colony of British Columbia. A lodge room had been secured in Mr. Hicks' building and a group came up from Victoria lodge to attend the installation ceremonies. The officers were installed by R. Burnaby and included Henry Holbrook, W.M.; Dr. J. V. Seddall, S.W.; Valentine Hall, I.W.; George Frye, Secretary; Captain J. Cooper, Treasurer; Dr. S. E. Crain, S.D.;³⁷ R. Dickinson, J.D.; B. F. Moses, I.G.; and D. B. Hicks, A.G.

The second lodge at New Westminster was the Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 1, established on November 5, 1863. It was the first Orange Lodge on the British Pacific and was organized under a warrant from the Grand Lodge for Canada. William Holmes was elected the first Master, with William Johnston, Deputy Master; William Clarkson, Secretary; and R. Hannah,³⁸ Treasurer.

In January, 1871, a group of New Westminster³⁹ citizens applied for the establishment of an Oddfellows Lodge. Their petition was successful and the Deputy District Grand Master, J. S. Drummond, came up from Victoria to institute⁴⁰ New Westminster Lodge, No. 3. The Oddfellows had a room in the Hicks' building on the same floor as the Masonic Hall. The first officers of the lodge were W. J. Armstrong, J.P.G.;

³⁷ British Columbian, June 25, 1862.

³⁸ Ibid. December 5, 1863.

³⁹ Mainland Guardian, January 14, 1871.

⁴⁰ Ibid. March 18, 1871.

J. T. Scott, N.G.; H. V. Edmonds, P.G.; D. S. Mulligan, Recording Secretary; L. F. Bonson, Treasurer; Alex Ewen, Personal Secretary; John Kelly, Warden; A. Peele, Conductor; J. Morey, O.G.; and D. Withrow, I.G.

Debating Society

A debating society was organized in New Westminster in October, 1862. Alex White was elected President; W. Grieve, Vice-President; D. Robson, Secretary; and T. Cunningham, Treasurer.⁴¹ The society held debates, usually weekly, during the winter months. On January 14, 1863, the subject was, "Would the European powers be justified in interfering with a view to ending this American War?" and a week later the topic was, "Is love a stronger incentive to action than fear?" At the first meeting of the 1864 season, held in November, only eight of the twenty or twenty-five members were present and as no further reference to the society was noted, presumably it had an early death.

Lectures

During the winter of 1862-63 a series of lectures on "Science and Literature" was arranged by a committee of W. E. Cormack, Rev. J. Sheepshanks and John Cooper. The admission charge was twenty-five cents for a single lecture or one dollar for the series of seven and proceeds went to

⁴¹ British Columbian, October 8, 1862.

the Royal Columbian Hospital. The first lecture was given on December 30, 1862, by the Bishop of British Columbia, who spoke on "Egypt and the Pyramids", illustrated by "dissolving views". On January 14, 1863, Colonel Moody spoke on "Colonization" and on the twenty-third Rev. J. Sheepshanks gave a talk on "Recreation--its uses and abuses or The Games and Sports of Ancient and Modern Days; Part 1, Mental Recreation, Part 2, Bodily Recreation". Henry Holbrook spoke on "Southern Russia and the Russian Aspect of the Crimean War" on February 17 and on March 3 Rev. Edward White gave a lecture on atmospheric and ocean currents. Lieutenant Palmer's lecture on "Bentinck Arm and the Cariboo" on March 26 and Archdeacon Wright's "Reminiscences of a Military Chaplain during Peace", given on April 6, closed the series.⁴²

The Royal Engineers and New Westminster Dramatic Clubs

Among the first theatrical entertainments given at New Westminster were those presented by the Dramatic Club of the Royal Engineers. During the winter of 1861-62, the Engineers built a theatre at the camp and that season presented a large number of entertainments. During the following winter they gave nine performances.⁴³ The New Westminster Times of February 2, 1861, announced that the soldiers' club had given performances on January 25 and

⁴² Ibid. December 27, 1862, to April 6, 1863.

⁴³ Ibid. May 2, 1863.

January 31, attended by almost all the people of the town. When the club gave its first performance of the season in November, 1862, the audience numbered four hundred.⁴⁴

In January of the following year, a show was given in aid of the distressed Lancashire coal miners. The performance, which included three plays, songs, and dances, lasted six hours and "during that six hours' sitting the interest of the audience did not once relax."⁴⁵

As most of the Engineers were away from the camp during the summer, performances were given only during the winter months. The first performance of the season was usually given early in December and the last sometime in March. The club presented a wide variety of entertainments, dramas, comedies, farces, comic songs, hornpipes and other dances. As there were no women in the corps, some of the younger soldiers took the ladies' parts. The officers often acted in the plays, Captain H. R. Luard and Lieutenant H. S. Palmer making frequent appearances.

Performances were also given at an early date at J. T. Scott's Pioneer Theatre, notably by the Potter troupe which came up from Victoria on numerous occasions. The Times reported in January, 1861, that this troupe was playing a repertoire of four plays to crowded houses. "The company is

44 Ibid. December 3, 1862.

45 Ibid. January 21, 1863.

becoming more and more popular, and through the untiring exertions of Mr. Scott in making continual improvements, the New Westminster Theatre will shortly present attractions not excelled by any place of the kind in Victoria."⁴⁶ The following year the Potter troupe again appeared at the Pioneer Theatre in "Hamlet" and "Othello".⁴⁷ The Robinson troupe also played at Scott's theatre in 1861. On March 12 they gave a gala performance attended by Governor Douglas, Lady Franklin, Colonel and Mrs. Moody and the other officers of the Royal Engineers.⁴⁸ However, in May, 1862, Mr. Scott⁴⁹ converted the theatre into a billiard saloon.

Following the disbanding of the Royal Engineers there were almost no theatrical entertainments until the New Westminster Dramatic Club was organized in the autumn of 1866. It numbered among its members many who had belonged to the Engineers Club and A. R. Howse, who was manager for the sappers, agreed to act in that capacity for the new club.⁵⁰ A theatre, seating one hundred and fifty, was fitted up in the Webster Building. The first performances of the club were three plays presented to a "large and fashionable" audience⁵¹ on October 23. Further performances were given that winter

46 New Westminster Times, January --, 1861, date cut off.
 47 British Columbian, February 20, 1862; February 27, 1862.
 48 Ibid. March 14, 1861.
 49 Ibid. May 21, 1862.
 50 Ibid. October 17, 1866.
 51 Ibid. October 24, 1866.

but no further reference to the dramatic club was found in the papers of any later year.

The Royal Engineers also had a Glee Club and following their recall the Orpheus Glee Club was organized at New Westminster. The Glee Club gave concerts and seemed to make a practice of serenading the Seymours and other prominent citizens on any festive occasion.

3. Recreational Organization

Excursions

A popular form of entertainment at New Westminster were steamboat excursions on the Fraser. One of the first of these was given on the occasion of the visit of Hon. Malcolm Cameron. The Colonel Moody took a large number of New Westminsterites and their guest up as far as the Indian school and then across to Langley.⁵²

In April, 1867, Governor and Mrs. Seymour invited a number of people from New Westminster and Victoria to go with them on an excursion to Boston Bar. Bishop Hills and Judge Needham came over from Victoria with their families⁵³ for the event.

The Hyacks usually held an annual picnic up the river. The excursion of 1867 was described in the Columbian

52 Ibid. September 3, 1862.

53 Ibid. April 20, 1867.

of September 18. The steamer Lillooet, "fluttering with bunting from stem to stern" left New Westminster at 9:30, and after calling at the Camp proceeded on to Derby. On the return journey the captain agreed to continue down to the mouth of the river to meet the Governor. The Lillooet met the Alexandra and the Forward a few miles inside the Sandheads and passing near the latter, "upon the deck of which our popular Governor was descried, three hearty cheers for His Excellency and three for Mrs. Seymour were given, the ladies on the deck waving their handkerchiefs."

Skating

Skating was a popular form of entertainment at New Westminster whenever the winter proved sufficiently cold. During the winter of 1861-62 the river was frozen solid for several weeks and during the winter of 1864-65, skating was enjoyed on Burnaby Lake.⁵⁴ In December, 1866, Mr. William Clarkson and a group of citizens presented a memorial to Governor Seymour asking for the use of the glen near Government House as a skating rink and His Excellency granted them permission.⁵⁵

During January, 1868, there was skating on the Fraser opposite the Camp and the Columbian reported crowds enjoying the sport every night. Describing the festivities

54 Ibid. January 14, 1865.

55 Ibid. December 29, 1866.

on one Saturday night the Columbian said, "An enormous bonfire cast its glare over the bay, while a hundred torches, lit as if by magic, flashed upon the scene. These torches, borne by skaters, produced a very fine effect."⁵⁶

Cricket Club

The "Pioneer Cricket Club" was organized at New Westminster early in 1861 and work was commenced on clearing a site for a playing field. The cricket ground lay "between the east boundary of the city and the 'Marine' encampment", (on the present site of the Provincial Mental Hospital). A clearing "bee" was held on February 23 attended by one hundred Engineers with their band and about one hundred civilians. Booths were erected so that ladies might come and watch the proceedings in comfort. The workers cut down trees, grubbed out stumps and burned them in tremendous fires. A correspondent for the Colonist who viewed the cricket ground in April said the whole area had been burned off and not a blade of grass remained.⁵⁷ Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody arrived at the "bee" early in the afternoon and a subscription list was circulated. The Governor contributed fifty dollars and \$550 was collected in all.⁵⁸

The Royal Engineers made good use of the cricket ground for cricket, football and other games but evidently

56 Ibid. January 22, 1868.

57 British Colonist, April 15, 1861.

58 British Columbian, February 28, 1861.

the civilian cricket club did not function very frequently during the first year of its existence. On April 30, 1862, the Columbian enquired, "What has become of our Cricket Club?"

Most of the earliest competitions were between teams from the Royal Engineers and the Pioneer Cricket Club. Among the prominent early members of the Pioneer Club were Messrs. C. E. Pooley, Knipe, Smith, J. Sheepshanks, Howman, C. A. Bacon, Clarkson, C. J. Prichard, F. G. Claudet, Cole,
59
and William Fisher.

The original cricket ground was only fifty by thirty yards but in June, 1865, the Government gave a grant of £60 to pay for clearing a further portion and a Chinaman, Koo-Loo, was engaged to clear and grade an area 462 by 100 feet. The following year the chain gang was employed to clear and roll the ground.

An inter-colonial cricket match was played on June 8, 1865, between a New Westminster eleven and one from Victoria. The members of the British Columbia team were C. E. Pooley, H. Richardson, F. Howlett, C. Good, S. Wallace, A.W.S. Black, W. Edwards, A. Bullock, A. R. Howse, W. Fisher, and F. G. Claudet. Tents and seats were erected on the ground and Mr. Rowling of the "Retreat" operated a refreshment booth.

59 Ibid. June 10, 1863.

The Victoria team arrived on board the Sir James Douglas, which had been placed at its disposal by Governor Kennedy and the vessel steamed into New Westminster with the band of the Victoria Rifle Corps playing a musical accompaniment. The game lasted the entire day and during the afternoon Governor Seymour and his party watched the play. The Island team was victorious and in the evening the members were entertained by the New Westminster Club at Hyack Hall. ⁶⁰

A return match was held at Beacon Hill in July with Victoria again winning ⁶¹ and the following year New Westminster was once more defeated in an inter-colonial match. ⁶²

Matches were frequently held between the bachelors and the "benedicts" of the New Westminster club and almost invariably resulted in victory for the former. On several occasions competitions were also held between a "civil service" eleven and a "citizens" eleven.

Balls

The most lavish entertainments held in New Westminster were the balls given by Governor Seymour during his term of office. A gala reception was held by Governor and Mrs. Seymour on November 8, 1864. The North Pacific Times described the event, "which for the number of guests, perfection of arrangements and general success, has never been

60 Ibid. June 6, 1865; June 10, 1865.

61 Ibid. July 18, 1865.

62 Ibid. November 7, 1866.

equalled in this or the neighbouring Colony."⁶³

The Colonist described the magnificent lofty ball-room "with large bow windows overlooking the lawn and the river".⁶⁴ The band of H.M.S. Forward came up from Esquimalt to play at the ball but the bandsmen were given shore leave and behaved so discredibly that they were not allowed to appear. Members of the former Engineers' band played instead.

Many guests, including Governor and Mrs. Kennedy, came up from Victoria and a few came from Nanaimo on the Fideliter.

The Hudson's Bay Company steamer Enterprise was engaged to remain off the landing at the camp during the evening to provide accommodation for the ladies and a temporary plank roadway was laid from the steamer's gangplank to the gate of Government House. A four-horse wagon had been brought down from Yale by Mr. Barnard and it kept up a continuous service between New Westminster and Sapperton.⁶⁵

The guests began to arrive shortly after eight and dancing ensued from nine to twelve. At midnight supper was served from the most "elegant and tastefully arranged tables that we have seen at any private entertainment." Following supper dancing was resumed with "the most determined vigor"⁶⁶ until 4:00 a.m.

⁶³ North Pacific Times, November 12, 1864.

⁶⁴ British Colonist, November 11, 1864.

⁶⁵ North Pacific Times, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

The North Pacific Times described some of the gowns worn at the ball. Mrs. Kennedy was in rich maize silk, trimmed with black lace and in her hair she wore a wreath of pansies, black lace lappets, pearls and diamonds. Miss Georgiana Kennedy wore rich white silk over which was a tunic of white satin ribbon and pink roses covered with white net. In her hair were white water lilies and red coral. Mrs. J. F. McCreight was described as wearing an "elegant dress" which featured black lace on white and a headdress of white geraniums. Adding to the gaiety of the picture were the "scarlet, blue and gold of the military, naval and diplomatic uniforms".

On February 28, 1865, a ball was given by the Legislative Council at the Council Chamber to which two hundred guests were invited. Governor Kennedy and family and Commander Verney, R.N., arrived on the Sir James Douglas⁶⁷ while other Victoria guests came up on the Enterprise. The New Westminster guests were taken up to the ball by Captain Mouat on the evening of the 28th. The hall was decorated with evergreens and at one end was placed "a handsome trophy of arms in the form of a star". In the centre of the building were two "large and elegant" chandeliers and a gaily coloured awning. However, it was a bitterly cold night

67 British Columbian, February 28, 1865.

and the stoves were of no use. Notwithstanding the temperature the guests danced until the "morning sun was shining brightly through the windows."⁶⁸

On March 2 Governor and Mrs. Seymour again entertained at a ball. Over one hundred were invited and the festivities lasted until an early morning hour.⁶⁹

The following spring, Governor Seymour being absent in Europe, Hon. A. N. Birch gave a grand ball at Government House on April 6 to mark the prorogation of the Legislature. The Kennedys came up for the occasion on H.M.S. Sparrowhawk.⁷⁰

Following union, Governor Seymour held a Union Ball at Victoria on December 11, to which were invited from New Westminster, the officers of the three militia corps, Government officials, and the Hon. John Robson, member of the Legislative Council.⁷¹ John Robson described the affair as "the most princely entertainment which has ever been given in these parts" and he termed the supper, "a superb affair". The ball opened at nine, with Governor Seymour dancing with Lady Douglas and Sir James Douglas with Mrs. Seymour.⁷²

A ball was held at Government House on New Year's Eve, 1866, and on March 28, 1867, Mrs. Seymour held a large

68 North Pacific Times, March 3, 1865.

69 British Columbian, March 2, 1865.

70 Ibid. April 7, 1866.

71 Ibid. December 5, 1866.

72 P.P.C. 3852, p. 31, Seymour to Carnarvon, January 11, 1867.

reception. H.M.S. Shearwater, lying in the Fraser off
Government House, was illuminated and rockets were sent up. 73

Following the removal of the capital to Victoria in the spring of 1868, New Westminster ceased to be a centre of official society and Governor Seymour's lavish entertainments were held at Victoria. New Westminster then had to be content with much lesser functions as the Hyack Balls and the Hospital Balls. These were usually held in the large room in Webster's building. 74

May Day

New Westminster's historic May Day celebration was first held on May 4, 1870, and was organized by the Hyack Fire Brigade. At noon the May Queen was enthroned on the "handsomely decorated 'Fire King'" which was drawn by four horses to the Cricket Ground, accompanied by the Hyack Band.

A committee under the direction of J. T. Scott had been busy at the grounds. Booths covered with green boughs had been erected and a throne built for the Queen. A splendid flag-pole had been raised and a maypole placed in position. The maypole was decorated with red flowering currant and on top was a crown of flowers surmounted by the cross of St. George. From the crown hung blue, red and white ribbons.

73 British Columbian, March 30, 1867.

74 Mainland Guardian, December 25, 1869;
January 8, 1870.

The Queen, Helen McCall, was crowned by the oldest bachelor present and this ceremony was followed by the May Pole dance. The Queen and her maids, Misses M. Scott, S. Irving, S. Woods, N. Dickinson, M. A. Edwards, M. M. Lee, M. Johnston, S. Burr, M. Morey, M. Burr, Black, Murry, Bonson, De Beck, Walsh, Armstrong, Webster, J. Harvey and Musselwhite, were each decorated with the order of the "Gold Star" by Captain Fisher of the Hyacks.

Sports and games were enjoyed and a free lunch was served. In the afternoon a group of eight "gay masquers" danced a quadrille and J. T. Scott sent up several beautiful balloons. Credit for the success of the affair was given to A. T. Bushby, W. Fisher, W. J. Armstrong, J. T. Scott, Hugh Waters, William Johnston and Dr. Black.⁷⁵

The second May Day was held the following year on May 1. Miss Lizzie Irving was chosen May Queen by the Hyacks. On the day of the celebration a procession headed by the Hyack Band proceeded to the Cricket Ground with the Hyacks pulling the May Queen on the "gorgeously decorated Fire King". An elevated seat had been erected for the May Queen near the Maypole which was garlanded with flowers. Following the crowning of Queen Lizzie by the previous year's Queen, the May Pole dance was held. Then came dances on the green, foot races, refreshments and more dances. The

75 Ibid. May 4, 1870; May 7, 1870.

Mainland Guardian said the most amusing feature was "the appearance of the 'Dark Lantern Society' in a variety of grotesque dresses and masks. They danced a set of quadrilles with great effect, the ladies of the society performing some wonderful feats of gymnastics." A ball was held at the Drill Shed in the evening.⁷⁶

The Queen's Birthday Celebrations

The most elaborate and popular celebrations held at New Westminster were those given each year on May 24 to mark the birthday of Queen Victoria. May 24, 1859, was "enthusiastically celebrated at Queensborough by a gathering of several hundred people".⁷⁷ The Colonist of May 16, 1859, reported that it had been planned to have a review of the troops of the Royal Engineers and the Royal Marines followed by sports and amusements.

The following year, Governor Douglas chartered the steamer Maria for an excursion to the head of Pitt Lake. He wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that May 24 had been spent "not unprofitably. . . amidst the wild romantic scenery of that mountain lake. . ." and that he had been accompanied by Colonel Moody and his officers, the Government officials, the local magistrates, the Bishop of British Columbia and his chaplain, and by many of the citizens of New Westminster

⁷⁶ Ibid. May 4, 1871.

⁷⁷ Victoria Gazette, May 26, 1859.

whom he had invited to attend. The Governor added, "never I believe has any part of Her Majesty's dominions resounded to more hearty acclamations of loyalty and attachment than were heard on that occasion."⁷⁸

The main feature of the 1861 celebration was an excursion on the Colonel Moody to the head of Pitt Lake, with bonfires at night on Columbia Street.⁷⁹

May 24, 1862, saw the royal standard flying on the top of the new fire-hall. The flag had been obtained from Canada by Mr. Ramage and it was believed to be the first time the royal standard was flown on the British Pacific. The chief entertainment was a cricket match between the Royal Engineers and a citizens' team,⁸⁰ No excursion was held probably because of the Queen's recent bereavement. The Columbian commented on this sad circumstance:

While the leal heart overflows with joy and gratitude in possessing such a Queen, the cheer will quiver half suppressed upon the lip at the recollection of her widowed heart. And amidst the excitement and frolic of the day, many a prayer will ascend to Heaven for those consolations and blessings upon her drooping head which earth cannot give.

81

The Queen's Birthday, 1863, was marked by a cricket

78 B. C. Papers, part 4, p. 8, Douglas to Newcastle, May 31, 1860.

79 British Columbian, May 30, 1861.

80 Ibid. May 28, 1862.

81 Ibid. May 24, 1862.

match, an excursion to Derby, and two bonfires at night, one
 82
 on Lytton Square and the other on Columbia Street.

On May 24, 1864, about 3,500 Indians came to New Westminster to join in the celebration. They were invited by Governor Seymour who thought that the Indians on the Fraser feared that with the departure of James Douglas they had lost
 83
 their protection. Six or seven hundred canoes came down the river in a flotilla organized at St. Mary's Mission by Father Fouquet and other Roman Catholic priests. The canoes bore sixty temperance flags, "a red cross on a white field bordered in red; and the words, 'Religion, Temperance,
 84
 Civilization' in large gold letters".

The natives landed at the camp where they were served a free lunch by the Government. "After a series of discourses the representative of the Sovereign distributed gifts to all the chiefs, who were presented to him by their
 85
 missionaries". An elaborate programme of sports was held, including sprints, jumps, hurdles, wrestling, throwing the sledge-hammer, climbing a greasy pole, and boat races on the
 86
 river.

The next year the same procedure was followed. This

82 Ibid. May 27, 1863.

83 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Cardwell, August 31, 1864.

84 Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, vol. 2, p. 327.

85 Loc. cit.

86 British Columbian, May 24, 1864.

time six thousand Indians came in a procession of nearly one thousand canoes. They were described as being more civilized and better dressed than those who came in 1864. The more progressive natives sang a Catholic hymn, while the boys from St. Mary's School sang, "God Save the Queen." Governor Seymour gave each of the eighty chiefs a Union Jack,
⁸⁷
 agricultural implements and garden seed. The celebration continued two days with games and races for whites and natives concluding with a torchlight procession of boats and Indian
⁸⁸
 canoes on the Fraser.

A similar programme was carried out in subsequent years. In 1866 the Indians' visit had to be postponed because of three cases of smallpox among the natives but they came to
⁸⁹
 New Westminster in October instead of May. However, the customary celebration was held on the Queen's Birthday with athletic contests and rowing races. A horse race was held
⁹⁰
 in 1866 and this became an annual feature of the celebration.

The 1867 celebration was attended by not only the local Indians but by the chiefs from the tribes at Soda Creek, Williams Lake, Dog Creek, Bridge River, Pavillion, Savona's Ferry, Alkali Lake, and by delegates from Fort Alexandria.

87 B. C. Despatches, pp. 35-58, Seymour to Cardwell, June 7, 1865.

88 British Columbian, May 26, 1865.

89 Ibid. May 16, 1866; October 3, 1866.

90 Ibid. May 26, 1866.

A large number of Indians came from the Thompson River and
⁹¹
 about 150 from Nanaimo.

May 24, 1868, was not a day of great rejoicing at New Westminster. "Not only has Her Majesty's Government swindled the people of New Westminster, and that in the most bare-faced way; but Her Representative, with refined cruelty, has selected the Queen's Birthday, a day which has always been so enthusiastically celebrated here, as that upon which to crown the perfidious act, by proclaiming 'the selection of
⁹²
 the Capital within the town which bears Her Royal name'!"

In addressing a memorial to the Queen on behalf of the Municipal Council and people of New Westminster, the chairman of the celebration committee did not neglect to remind Her Majesty that "as the people of the Mainland never desired Union with Vancouver Island, I think the inhabitants of New Westminster have a fair right to consider themselves
⁹³
 aggrieved in this matter."

Nevertheless, Her Majesty's birthday was marked by a two-day celebration. There were fewer Indians, no warships, and no entertainment at Government House, but the usual two-day programme of races, games, sports, fireworks, and torch-
⁹⁴
 light processions was followed.

91 Ibid. May 25, 1867.

92 Ibid. May 13, 1868.

93 B. C. Despatches, p. 36, Seymour to Newcastle, June 5, 1868.

94 British Columbian, May 27, 1868.

In 1869 the Indians were entertained at dinner on the green near Holy Trinity Church. Two bullocks were roasted whole and two plum puddings of 250 pounds each were provided.⁹⁵

In 1870 festivities lasted three days and were attended by a considerable number from Burrard Inlet. Captain William Irving offered the Onward to transport settlers along the Fraser free of charge. A new feature was introduced: the Indian scramble. A large quantity of articles of clothing, ornaments and knives were thrown from the upper-storey of Webster's building. "The crushing, crowding, tumbling and screaming that ensued baffles all description, but although some of them must have met with very rough handling, there did not appear to be a single instance of complaint or dissatisfaction."⁹⁶

The idea of the scramble originated with Mr. A. T. Bushby and this "shows his intimate knowledge of the manners and habits of the Indians. It gave them much more pleasure than the mistaken notion of giving them a 'blow out' on roast beef and plum pudding as was previously attempted."

The last celebration before Confederation, held on May 24, 1871, followed the pattern for former years, with horse racing in the morning, a royal salute at noon, sports and boat races in the afternoon and a ball at the Drill Shed

95 Ibid. May 9, 1869; May 30, 1869.

96 Mainland Guardian, May 28, 1870.

97
at night.

Other royal anniversaries received their share of attention at New Westminster. In March, 1862, an address from the Municipal Council was sent to Governor Douglas for transmission to Queen Victoria expressing "their deep sorrow at the melancholy bereavement which has deprived Her Majesty of a beloved and affectionate husband and the nation of a
98
good and wise Prince."

November 10 of the same year was celebrated as a holiday, marking the twentyfirst birthday of the Prince of Wales. The city was en fete with arches and decorations and a beautiful square arch was erected on Lytton Square. The festivities began at sunrise when a ten gun salute was fired. At noon, Colonel Moody rode in from the Camp, a royal salute was fired, and the Royal Engineers sent up a large balloon. Henry Holbrook, President of the Municipal Council, appeared on the balcony of Hyack Hall and read an address from the Council to the Prince of Wales, followed by speeches by Mr. Holbrook, Colonel Moody, Rev. John Sheepshanks and Mr. Clarkson.

Games were enjoyed in the afternoon and in the evening a subscription dinner was held at Hyack Hall. A huge bonfire was lit in Lytton Square and fireworks were displayed.

97 Ibid. May 20, 1871.

98 B. C. Despatches, p. 346, Douglas to Newcastle, March 13, 1862.

Hicks' building was illuminated by two hundred candles. The celebration ended with a ball in the "large and beautiful" northeast ward of the Royal Columbian Hospital. ⁹⁹

In April, 1864, Governor Douglas entertained at a picnic in honour of the birth of the young Prince. However, very few New Westminsterites were invited as the affair was mainly limited to the Government officials. ¹⁰⁰

Not to be outdone by Her Majesty's loyal subjects, American citizens living at New Westminster on several years celebrated Independence Day. The first such celebration of which the writer found record was on July 4, 1865, when a party went up to the head of Pitt Lake on the steamer Hope. "Mr. Scott's cannon, on Pioneer Wharf, was kept banging away from one in the morning till dark, squibs and small arms filling up the interval." ¹⁰¹

The next year, a celebration was again arranged and the Columbian commented that the American residents were not numerous "but what they lack in numbers is made up in patriotic enthusiasm." A salute was fired at dawn and again at six. Foot and boat races were held in the afternoon. In the evening fireworks, which had been obtained from San

⁹⁹ British Columbian, November 8, 1862; November 12, 1862.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. April 9, 1864.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. July 6, 1865.

Francisco by Captain Fleming and Mr. Scott, were set off from a platform on Lytton Square while the New Westminster band¹⁰² provided a musical accompaniment.

On July 4, 1870, the city was again aroused at dawn by the booming of cannon. The day's programme included horse races, the national salute at noon and yacht races in the¹⁰³ afternoon.

102 Ibid. July 7, 1866.

103 Mainland Guardian, July 6, 1870.

By the time of Confederation New Westminster was not the "great and flourishing" city which Colonel Moody had planned. Indeed its economic position had declined since the first wave of prosperity engendered by the gold discoveries, its population had decreased, and it remained a struggling village of just over five hundred people.

Hated by Governor Douglas, resented by Victoria, ignored by Government officials, discriminated against by official proclamation, deprived of its rightful share of colonial commerce, forsaken by Governor Seymour and cheated of the seat of government, New Westminster was handicapped in innumerable ways.

The city was unique in that it was deliberately founded by official action and did not gradually develop as a natural result of economic progress. If, following the establishment of New Westminster, it had been favoured and aided by the Government, its development would undoubtedly have been much more rapid. As it was, the city had to wait for the economic development of the surrounding region before it too could develop.

New Westminster would have been the commercial centre of the colony of British Columbia had not Governor Douglas' proclamation making Victoria a free port deprived the city of the economic pre-eminence which rightfully belonged to it. One can but speculate on what treatment Douglas would

have accorded the mainland capital had it been established on the site of his choosing.

There can be little doubt but that, had democratic institutions prevailed in British Columbia, New Westminster would have remained the capital of the colony and Province. No one who has had to travel to Victoria to confer with heads of Government departments can deny the absurdity of putting the capital on an island separated from the chief centre of population by eighty miles of ocean.

However, as agriculture and industry began to develop on the lower mainland, New Westminster began to grow on a firm economic basis. With the growth of the fishing and lumbering industries on the Fraser, it entered a more substantial phase of development. Great impetus was also given by the building of the trans-continental railway. With the rise of Vancouver and the great increase in population throughout the whole Fraser Valley, New Westminster naturally shared in the general prosperity which railway, trade and population brought.

APPENDIX A.

THE NEW WESTMINSTER MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

August, 1860 - August, 1861.

- Ward 1 - Angus Henderson Manson
- Ward 2 - Henry Holbrook
- Ward 3 - Joshua Attwood Reynolds Homer (resigned, Robert Dickinson elected)
- Ward 3 - William J. Armstrong
- Ebenezer Brown
- Leonard McClure (resigned February, 1861, John Ramage, elected)
- Ward 4 - William E. Cormack

1861 - 1862.

- Ward 1 - A. H. Manson
- Ward 2 - John Ramage
- H. Holbrook
- R. Dickinson
- Ward 3 - E. Brown
- David Johnston
- Ward 4 - W. E. Cormack

By-election December 5, 1861, after the Extensions Act added new blocks to the city.

- Ward 1 - Charles R. Drew
- Ward 4 - William Ross

1862 - 1863.

- Ward 1 - A. H. Manson
- William Ross
- Ward 2 - H. Holbrook
- R. Dickinson
- John Cooper

Ward 3 - E. Brown
D. Johnston

Ward 4 - William Clarkson
W. E. Cormack (resigned February, 1863,
George Hooper elected
March 6, 1863)

1863 - 1864.

Ward 1 - A. H. Manson
W. Ross

Ward 2 - R. Dickinson
H. Holbrook
J. A. Webster

Ward 3 - F. G. Claudet (resigned December 9, 1863,
John Calder elected Jan.
13, 1864)
W. J. Armstrong

Ward 4 - G. Hooper
J. Cooper

By-election, October 7, 1863, after addition of three
new wards.

Ward 5 - E. Brown (resigned December 9, 1863, John
Wyllie elected January 13, 1864)

Ward 6 - William Clarkson

Ward 7 - John Robson

1864 - 1865.

Ward 1 - John Murray
A. H. Manson (resigned November 7, 1864,
W.D.Ferris elected December
7, 1864)

Ward 2 - Robert Dickinson
W. J. Armstrong
Thomas Cunningham (resigned October 24, 1864,
S.T.Tilley elected
December 7, 1864)

Ward 3 - John Robson
J. Miller

- Ward 4 - William Grieve
H. W. Smith
- Ward 5 - J. Wyllie
- Ward 6 - George R. Ashwell (resigned November 14, 1864.
C.G. Major elected
December 7, 1864)
- Ward 7 - W. Clarkson

1865 - 1866.

- Ward 1 - J. Murray
W. D. Ferris
- Ward 2 - W. J. Armstrong
J. S. Clute
J. C. Armstrong (resigned April, 1866,
David Withrow elected)
- Ward 3 - John Calder
John Robson
- Ward 4 - Daniel Sutherland (resigned April, 1866,
W. Hitchcock, elected)
- Ward 5 - J. Wyllie
- Ward 6 - Seth Tilley (resigned April, 1866,
G. R. Ashwell, elected)
- Ward 7 - William B. Wilson

1866 - 1867.

- Ward 1 - James McMillan (resigned January, 1867
Hugh McRoberts elected)
W. D. Ferris
- Ward 2 - W. J. Armstrong
J. S. Clute
David Withrow
- Ward 3 - J. Calder
J. Robson
- Ward 4 - James Cunningham
R. Rylatt

Ward 5 - William Clarkson (resigned September, 1866.
Thos. E. Ladner, elected)

Ward 6 - G. R. Ashwell

Ward 7 - Joseph Wintemute

1867 - 1868.

Ward 1 - H. McRoberts
R. Seabrook

Ward 2 - D. Withrow
W. J. Armstrong
Henry Holbrook

Ward 3 - John Brough
Thomas Price

Ward 4 - H. W. Smith
R. Dickinson

Ward 5 - L. F. Bonson

Ward 6 - R. Rylatt

Ward 7 - W. D. Ferris

1868 - 1869.

Ward 1 - H. McRoberts
Christopher Lee

Ward 2 - H. Holbrook
W. J. Armstrong
J. Cunningham

Ward 3 - D. Withrow
H. W. Smith

Ward 4 - William Irving
William Fisher

Ward 5 - L. F. Bonson

Ward 6 - T. E. Ladner

Ward 7 - George C. Clarkson

1869 - 1870.

- Ward 1 - H. McRoberts
C. Lee
- Ward 2 - W. J. Armstrong
J. S. Clute (resigned November, 1869; George
Turner elected Dec. 13, 1869,
resigned Jany. 17, 1870; Julius
Franklin elected Feby. 15, 1870)
James Cunningham
- Ward 3 - W. Smith
D. Withrow
- Ward 4 - R. Deane
H. Elliott
- Ward 5 - R. Dickinson
- Ward 6 - W. Irving
- Ward 7 - H. Holbrook (resigned November, 1869, re-
elected December 13, 1869)

1870 - 1871.

- Ward 1 - E. Brown
W. Blackie (resigned August 15, 1870, George
Turner elected September 7, 1870)
- Ward 2 - W. Fisher
W. J. Armstrong
J. C. Armstrong
- Ward 3 - D. Withrow
C. G. Major
- Ward 4 - H. Elliott
L. Bonson
- Ward 5 - Dr. A.W.S. Black (died May, 1871; J.A.
Webster elected May 17, 1871)
- Ward 6 - William Clarkson
- Ward 7 - R. M. Rylatt (resigned August 15, 1870; C. Lee
elected September 7, 1870)

Presidents of the Municipal Council.

1860 - 1861	L. McClure - resigned February, 1861. John Ramage - elected April, 1861.
1861 - 1862	John Ramage
1862 - 1863	Henry Holbrook
1863 - 1864	Robert Dickinson
1864 - 1865	William Clarkson
1865 - 1866	W. J. Armstrong
1866 - 1867	John Robson - resigned January, 1867. John S. Clute - elected
1867 - 1868	Henry Holbrook
1868 - 1869	Henry Holbrook
1869 - 1870	W. J. Armstrong
1870 - 1871	W. J. Armstrong

APPENDIX B.

STREET NAMES.

<u>Former Name</u>	<u>Present Name</u>
Park Lane	First Street
Clinton Street	Second Street
St. Patrick's Street	Third Street
Clement Street	Fourth Street
St. George's Street	Fifth Street
Mary Street	Sixth Street
St. John's Street	Seventh Street
Douglas Street	Eighth Street
Halifax Street	Ninth Street
St. Andrew's Street	Tenth Street
Ellice Street	Tenth Street (lower part)
Fortescue Street	Eleventh Street
Edinburgh Street	Twelfth Street
London Street	Thirteenth Street
Dublin Street	Fourteenth Street
Prevost Street	Carnarvon Street (west of Sixth)
Dallas Street	Carnarvon Street (west of Eighth)
Richards Street	Columbia Street (west of Eighth)
Pelham Street	Third Avenue
Montreal Street	Fourth Avenue
Melbourne Street	Fifth Avenue

APPENDIX C.HYACK FIRE BRIGADE.

August 1861 - 1862	F.G.Richards, Chief Engineer William Johnston, Assistant Engineer
August 1862 - 1863	J.A.Webster, Chief (resigned August 1862, replaced by Robert McLeese) George R. Ashwell, Assistant
August 1863 - 1864	Frank Richards, Chief O. Hocking, Assistant
August 1864 - 1865	Lucius Hoyt-Chief S. T. Tilley, Assistant
August 1865 - 1866	J. T. Scott, Chief S. T. Tilley, Assistant
August 1866 - 1867	F.G. Richards, Chief J.C. Armstrong, Assistant
August 1867 - 1868	William Johnston, Chief David Withrow, Assistant
August 1868 - 1869	William Johnston, Chief David Withrow, Assistant
August 1869 - 1870	William Johnston, Chief J. S. Clute, Assistant
August 1870 - 1871	J. A. Webster, Chief J. Arnaud, Assistant

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MAPS

1. Map of New Westminster drawn by Corporal J.B.Launders
and Corporal Charles Sinnett, Royal Engineers.
Original in the British Columbia Archives. Copy,
Board 3, Land Registry Office, New Westminster, B.C.
2. Map of New Westminster and suburban lands drawn by
J.B.Launders under the direction of Captain Parsons, R.E.
Copy, Board 41A, Land Registry Office, New
Westminster, B.C.
3. Plan of part of Fraser's River, B. C. Papers, part 2,
after p. 93.

Sources

The writer could find no trace of any civic
records (Assessment rolls, Minutes of Council etc)
dealing with the period prior to Confederation.
Presumably they were burned in the fire of 1898
which almost completely destroyed the business
section of New Westminster.

The files of the British Columbian were
the most important source of information. Valuable
data, particularly regarding the years 1859 to 1862
was obtained from B.C. Papers and B.C. Despatches

Other important sources were the files of other contemporary newspapers, the correspondence of Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody, and letter books of the Royal Engineers and the Lands and Works Department. For background material, the writer is chiefly indebted to Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, volume 2.