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The

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The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XV VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY-APRIL, 1951 NOS. 1 AND 2

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THE KOOTENAY MAIL: REVELSTOKE'S SECOND NEWSPAPER*

In attempting to write a story of this kind, the natural thing to do would be to search the files of the newspaper itself. It would appear, however, that only two complete files of *The Kootenay Mail* exist—one in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C., and the other in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa—neither of which was available for personal examination. The files for the years 1896 to 1898, being Volumes 3 and 4, are to be found in the office of *The Revelstoke Review,* currently publishing at Revelstoke, and these were examined.

As the story is written from within rather than from hearsay, it includes a more or less biographical sketch of the period during which the author was associated with the newspaper; therefore, an indulgence is asked for personal references.—B. R. C.

The final issue of *The Kootenay Star,* which had been published at Revelstoke since the summer of 1889, appeared on March 31, 1894, and contained the following poetic obituary:—

THE STAR'S FAREWELL

BY "THE DEVIL"

I am leaving with the snow; I am going "out of sight";
My twinklings you will never see again;
I am very glad to quit this uncongenial sphere
On which my bright effulgence shone in vain.

'Twas difficult to please more than one or two each week,
For each reader had an idea of his own
On every topic 'neath the sun, how a paper should be run,
And scrupled not to let the same be known.

I've been criticized and cuss'd; I've been victimized and wuss—
I've been starved and neglected and unloved.
Without a dollar or a cent, all my debts paid but the rent,
In the journalistic boneyard I am shoved.

This is my last farewell; but I'm not going to h——,
As some of my dear friends have wished of yore,
So I'll bid you all adieu; I'll just leave you "in the stew!"
As a *Star* I'll never twinkle any more.

* The presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Vancouver, B.C., January 19, 1951.

I am nothing loth to go, to give the *Mail* a show;
But I wish to make this sole and last request—
Vouchsafe to my successor what you would not give to me—
A living—in this wild and woolly west.[1]

This somewhat graceful bow of retirement announced the commencement of *The Kootenay Mail,* which entered the field on April 14, 1894, as a four-page home-print product.

This new venture in the newspaper field was sponsored by the Revelstoke Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, which had been incorporated the previous year by a group of Revelstoke business-men.[2] R. W. Northey was its first editor, and the policy laid down made it possible to lay a claim to being the only independent newspaper in the Province thus able "to take a whack at any offending head which pops up on either side." J. A. Smith, who came from Toronto, was also on the staff as printer. The home of this new enterprise was in a building on the north side of Front Street in lower town. The plant included a good supply of wood and metal type—all type being set by hand—imposing-stones, racks, paper-cutter, a No. 2 Gordon press for job work, and what was known as a Washington press for the newspaper work. This latter unit called for two operators—one to feed the paper sheets and take the impressions, the other to ink the forms. With hard work it was capable of producing 250 two-page sheets an hour. Most newspapers to-day have what is known as "the morgue," containing photographic cuts of prominent people and local personages. *The Kootenay Mail* had but one, the likeness of Queen Victoria, the editor evidently having visions of that good lady some day passing away. In point of fact this same cut did service on that memorable day in January, 1901, when the time of Empire mourning arrived. That the office equipment did not include a Linotype or Intertype, which to-day seem so essential, is not to be wondered at, for it was only eight years prior to this time that Ottmar Mergenthaler introduced the first Linotype in New York. None had reached British Columbia, although the Vancouver *News-Advertiser* had two years previously installed slug-casting machines

(1) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Star,* March 31, 1894. Hugh McCutcheon, who until the fall of 1893 was the owner of *The Inland Sentinel* at Kamloops, was at the time the publisher and proprietor of this newspaper.

(2) The articles of association on file in the office of the Registrar of Companies, Victoria, B.C., are dated June 3, 1893, and were signed by Frederick Fraser, William Cowan, H. N. Coursier, and Charles Lindmark.

known as the Rogers Typograph, which, on the introduction and general use of the more versatile Linotype, were abandoned as obsolete.[3]

That the business people of a town of less than 500 population should see the need for a paper is not to be wondered at, for Revelstoke, which had come into being with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, was just beginning to get on its feet. The railway company's townsite was about to be placed on the market, although the prospect of securing clear titles was still obscure and did not improve for over a year. Mackenzie Avenue was to be opened from the railway to First Street, and a road cleared on that street from Campbell Avenue to the freight-sheds. This latter road would also be of advantage to the Revelstoke Lumber Company. Settlers were taking up land across the Illecillewaet River, and there was a prospect of a bridge across that river to accommodate them. Work was already under way on what was known as the R. & A.L. Railway—Revelstoke and Arrow Lakes Railway —and the road was that year completed to Wigwam. Mining in Big Bend showed signs of some activity, but it was perhaps the Lardeau, Slocan, and South Kootenay Districts that were of the greatest help to Revelstoke. Nelson, Nakusp, and Robson were each making a bid as choice sites for business and residential property. Boats of the Columbia and Kootenay Steam Navigation Company and two smaller craft were operating in the handling of traffic[4] to and from the lower Kootenay and bringing ore from the south for shipment by rail from Revelstoke to smelters. The larger boats landed at the smelter wharf,[5] the smaller ones at the lower-town landing. That being the summer famous for creating a record of high water through the Province, Revelstoke shared in it, and the lines were blocked east and west, and the long trestle bridge over the Columbia was for a time endangered.

A Provincial election was drawing near, and as the political pot commenced boiling, for a time there seemed a prospect of six candidates entering the field. Under these circumstances the paper's motto of political neutrality would seem to have been a wise one. Those men-

(3) For further details on this subject *see* Burt R. Campbell, "From Hand-set Type to Linotype," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X (1946), pp. 253–272.

(4) Captain James Fitzsimmons, "Columbia River Chronicles," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I (1937), pp. 87–100 *passim*.

(5) For details concerning the Revelstoke smelter *see* S. S. Fowler, "Early Smelters in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly, III* (1939), pp. 193–197.

tioned as possible candidates were J. M. Kellie (the sitting member),[6] W. M. Brown, R. Tapping, R. Howson, J. W. Haskins, and Angus McKay. However, when nomination-day arrived, only the names of Kellie and Brown[7] were submitted, the former as a supporter of the government of the Honourable Theodore Davie; the latter, the Opposition—party lines as now known not having then been introduced. The results following the election on July 11 showed Kellie, 217; Brown, 125.[8]

Some attention was being given to mining properties in the Illecillewaet and Big Bend districts, and this helped the town from a business standpoint. South Kootenay, principally around Nelson, was coming to the fore, and the Slocan District was also developing. To serve the latter district, the Nakusp and Slocan Railway had been built, and two passenger-coaches for this run passed through Revelstoke the latter part of August. The burning of the steamer *Columbia* near Waneta on August 1 somewhat hampered the traffic on the Arrow Lakes and Columbia River, but the steamer *Lytton* was assigned to the Revelstoke run as a replacement.[9]

All apparently went well with *The Kootenay Mail* during the fall and winter months, although an occasional letter by "Diogenes" dealing somewhat caustically with various matters served the purpose of making the publication interesting.[10] However, in the issue of March 6, 1895, there appeared a letter from "Diogenes" commenting on the Police

(6) J. M. Kellie, popularly known as "Pot-Hole" Kellie, was born in Cobourg, Ontario, December 6, 1848. He came to the Kootenay country in the 1880's and was extremely popular. He was first elected to the Legislature in the general election of 1890 for Kootenay West riding. This seat he retained when that riding was divided in 1894, when he became the first member for Kootenay West (north riding) and again in 1898 when he was the first member elected for the Revelstoke riding. He was never defeated at the polls and refused to accept a nomination after party lines were introduced into Provincial politics. He died at Victoria on December 12, 1927. Victoria *Colonist,* December 13, 1927; also article in Kamloops *Sentinel,* May 13, 1932, entitled "Kidnapping of a Prime Minister."

(7) W. M. Brown was a native of England, born in 1837, who for many years resided in the Lillooet district. He was elected to the Legislature in 1874, the first member from the Lillooet riding and was re-elected in 1875. Subsequently, he moved to Revelstoke, where he operated the Union Hotel and became active in local politics, serving for several years as Mayor. He died at Medford, Oregon, on December 23, 1915, while on a visit to his daughter. Victoria *Colonist,* December 29, 1915; Vancouver *World,* December 30, 1915.

(8) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* July 21, 1894.

(9) *Ibid.,* August 4, 1894.

(10) *Ibid.,* August 4 and 11 and September 29, 1894.

Court case of *Swift vs. Currie*,[11] involving an assault charge which started ructions in the Revelstoke Printing and Publishing Company. The plaintiff, Miss E. Swift—"Irish Nell" to the old-timers—ran a sporting-house in lower town. Northey, the editor, who lived in the same building that housed the printing plant, received notice of his dismissal but refused to vacate the office. He appeared before Fred Fraser, J.P., on a charge of trespass laid by the company, and the case was adjourned for eight days. Northey remained in possession until publication-day (Saturday), getting out an edition of the paper setting forth his grievances, as also those of B. H. Lee, a lawyer, and his client, Miss Swift. Quite a number of copies of this issue were put into circulation before the directors took possession while the editor was absent for a short time in his home. The directors, with J. W. Vail as editor, then undertook to get out a second edition of the paper. This appeared in the evening and contained an apology for the unauthorized edition of the morning.[12]

While this was going on, a petition was circulated asking for an inquiry into the fitness of Fred Fraser to act as a Justice of the Peace. This contained 120 names and was submitted to the Attorney-General of the Province by W. M. Brown on behalf of the petitioners. Subsequently, suit was entered by Northey, claiming $700 damages in lieu of six months' notice of dismissal and for certain incidental expenses in the proceedings. This case was not disposed of until the County Court sessions held in the latter part of May, when F. J. Fulton,[13] of Kamloops, appeared for the printing company and R. B. Kerr, of New Denver, for the plaintiff. Judgment was given the plaintiff for $260.[14]

During the last week in March, what was styled the third scene in the drama "How to Fire an Editor" was enacted in the Police Court

(11) *Ibid.*, February 23 and March 2, 1895.

(12) *Ibid.*, March 9, 1895.

(13) F. J. Fulton was born in Bedlington, England, on December 8, 1862, and came to Canada in 1887, settling at Kamloops in 1889. From 1900 to 1909 he represented Kamloops in the Provincial Legislature and served in the Cabinet as President of the Council, Provincial Secretary, Attorney-General, and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works at various times. He resigned from the Legislature in 1909, when he disagreed with Premier McBride over guarantees promised to the Canadian Northern Pacific Railway. In 1917 he entered the Federal Parliament as a Unionist member, but retired from public life in 1920. He died at Kamloops on July 25, 1936. E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. III, p. 921; Vancouver *Province*, July 25, 1936.

(14) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail*, May 18, 1895.

before A. McArthur, J.P., of Illecillewaet. This was an action for libel brought by Fred Fraser against ex-Editor Northey. The cause of the complaint was attributed to the unknown correspondent "Diogenes," a letter from whom had appeared in the spurious issue of the paper. The plaintiff sought to prove that R. W. Northey, editor of *The Kootenay Mail,* and "Diogenes" could all be covered by the same hat. However, the limelight of evidence was not strong enough to penetrate the transparency of fact, and the case fell through. Moreover, the evidence failed to prove who were the editors or the proprietors, what either of them had to do with "Diogenes," and, further, what "Diogenes" had to do with the defendant. A. G. M. Spragge appeared for the plaintiff and B. H. Lee for the defendant.[15] Still another controversy arose within the ranks of the Revelstoke Printing and Publishing Company when Charles F. Lindmark disagreed with the other directors over the matter of the motion for Northey's dismissal.[16] T. L. Haig, managing director, claimed Lindmark had made the motion and that it was unanimously endorsed. Lindmark threatened to expose the doings of other meetings if more was said on the subject.[17]

This episode in the annals of *The Kootenay Mail* had been ironed out before the arrival of the narrator of this story in Revelstoke. Northey, however, remained a resident of the town until the latter part of August, when he went to Rossland as the editor of *The Prospector.* The writer entered the printing trade at *The Inland Sentinel,* Kamloops, when James W. Vail was editor and, during the interval before going to Revelstoke, had also worked at *The Vernon News,* returning to Kamloops, where only occasional employment was available. It was the friendship of Mr. Vail that led to the connection with the Revelstoke newspaper. The second letter from Mr. Vail regarding this position, written on the printed note-paper of T. L. Haig, notary public, mining, real estate and commission agent, bears date June 10, 1895, and leaves the inference that this likeable old gentleman, like many of that time, believed it was no crime to beat the Canadian Pacific Railway. It read:—

I received your letter saying that you would be willing to come and work on the Mail if wanted, or rather that is to be inferred from your letter. I wish you would come up immediately. Hope you are well enough acquainted with the train boys to

(15) *Ibid.,* March 30, 1895.
(16) *Ibid.,* March 9, 1895.
(17) *Ibid.,* March 30, 1895.

get here without paying fare; but if not, I have told Mr. Haig that you would have to be repaid the amount of the fare. I suppose you will have $10.00 a week, as you have been getting from others, for the present.[18]

A change had but recently taken place at the old Court-house, when J. D. Graham[19] succeeded John Kirkup[20] as Gold Commissioner and general official, the latter being transferred to Rossland. Earlier that year the Canadian Pacific Railway ran a train to the end of steel at Wigwam for the handling of ore and some passengers,[21] and with the rise of water in the river the Columbia and Kootenay Steam Navigation Company's boats resumed the run to the smelter wharf. Rossland boom had started, and building was going forward day and night. Mining properties were showing up well in that district as well as in the Slocan, and pack-trains were serving the northern district of the Big Bend.

Printers of that day were somewhat noted as tourists—the "homestead" stage when one must stay on a job not having arrived. The first of these to call in Revelstoke, though not working for the *Mail,* was James W. Greer, afterwards well known in the Boundary and Slocan Districts as a printer and publisher. Mr. Greer's call was made at a time when the writer was engaged on one of his earliest assignments—the preparation of a Dominion Day poster, a task that afforded him some amusement to watch. Dominion Day opened with a Gun Club shoot held on or about Mackenzie Avenue, south of Third Street, a site difficult to locate owing to the new growth of brush among the stumps

(18) Letter in the possession of the author.

(19) Joseph Dee Graham was born on the high seas aboard the transport ship *Dee* on August 14, 1853. He received his education at the Duke of York's Military School in England and joined the Royal Engineers as a bugler when 14 years of age. Before coming to British Columbia, he saw service in South Africa, Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Halifax. For a time he served in the police force at Victoria and then joined the Provincial Police and served at Kaslo and Nelson. In 1898 for a time he left the Government service, but the following year accepted a position as Gold Commissioner at Atlin. About 1910 he retired to the Cobble Hill district on Vancouver Island. He died at Duncan on May 8, 1940. Victoria *Colonist,* May 11, 1940; Atlin *News-Miner,* June 29, 1940.

(20) John Kirkup was born in Kemptville, Ontario, in 1855, and came west to Winnipeg in 1878. Two years later he came to Victoria and in 1881 joined the Provincial service as constable at Yale. In addition to serving at Revelstoke, Kirkup was stationed at Golden and Rossland, and at the time of his death on November 2, 1916, he was Government Agent at Nanaimo. Victoria *Colonist,* November 3, 1916.

(21) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* April 6, 1895.

of the logged-off area. In the afternoon athletic sports were held on Front Street and keenly contested.[22]

Mid-August witnessed the inaugural meeting of the Revelstoke Board of Trade, at which J. M. Kellie, M.L.A., was chosen president,[23] but he resigned at the next meeting and was succeeded by J. D. Sibbald.[24] Before the close of the month, steamboat history was made with the arrival of the new steamer *Nakusp*.[25]

During the early days of July Mr. Vail resigned as editor of *The Kootenay Mail* and was succeeded by the author's printing mate, J. A. Smith. By this time the Northey incident had been pretty well forgotten, and work went on without unusual happenings. Probably as a result of expenses in connection with the disposal of Northey, the Revelstoke Printing and Publishing Company found itself short of money for operating expenses. In consequence, the first issue of the paper in September did not make its appearance on the Saturday as usual, the staff having gone on strike. A partial adjustment of arrearages on salary was paid on the Monday and business resumed. Peace reigned for five or six weeks. Then, during the absence of Mr. Smith at the Coast and Mr. Vail substituting for him, the author declared a lone strike for the same reason as on the former occasion. This was a rather unusual strike inasmuch as one of the directors of the company was an abettor to the action. About noon on publication-day William Cowan paid a visit to the office and made the remark, "I will pay you a week's wages, but never mind the paper to-day, we want you to play football." Games were then held on the ball-grounds in the centre of town between upper and lower town teams. Mr. Vail did what he could with the paper, his lament being that he should be thus deserted on his seventieth birthday. A few weeks later another walkout occurred in which Mr. Smith also participated. This was not as speedily adjusted as the first and, as a result, it was necessary to cover up the continuity of some legal advertisements then running. To do this, two issues were produced from the

(22) *Ibid.*, July 6, 1895.

(23) *Ibid.*, August 17, 1895.

(24) John Drinkwater Sibbald was a pioneer on the Canadian Prairies before coming to Revelstoke. In 1882 he reached Regina, where he subsequently built the first grain-elevator and flour-mill in that city and also built the first brick house in Regina. He came to Revelstoke about 1895 and subsequently became a Government official. Revelstoke *Review*, July 6, 1944.

(25) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail*, August 31, 1895.

same type with a change of date-line, only a few copies of the second issue being distributed.

In mid-September a contract was let to Dan. McGillivray for the completion of the Revelstoke and Arrow Lakes Railway for $150,000.[26] This, of course, resulted in busy times for Revelstoke for the balance of the season. About the same time, navigation closed on the upper river and the steamer *Nakusp* laid up at Wigwam. During the winter months of 1895–96 nothing much of outstanding interest transpired. Business went on without interruption, and social life centred about dances at Bourne's Hall and skating at a rink built and operated by Hugh Lougheed on a site near the present residence of C. R. Macdonald on First Street.

In the spring of 1896 political interest shifted to the Federal scene. The Conservative candidate was the sitting member, John Andrew Mara, one of the Overlanders of '62, who had throughout most of the intervening years been a resident of Kamloops, with many interests, such as steamboat operator on the Thompson River and Shuswap Lake, partner in mill, store, and townsite ventures, and a former member of the Provincial Legislature. At Revelstoke he was a large shareholder in the Columbia and Kootenay Steam Navigation Company.[27] The Liberal standard-bearer was a comparative new-comer to the Province who had also located in the Kamloops area and had interests elsewhere, including mining property at Rossland. This was Hewitt Bostock,[28] an English-

(26) *Ibid.*, September 21, 1895.

(27) John Andrew Mara was born in Toronto on July 20, 1840, and joined the overland party of R. B. McMicking in 1862 and settled for a time at Yale but soon moved to Kamloops. In 1871 he became a member of the first Provincial Legislature for the Kootenay riding. In 1875 he was elected for the Yale riding and held this seat until 1886. During 1883–86 he was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. In 1886 he successfully contested the Federal Yale constituency. Subsequently, he became a resident of Victoria, where he died on February 11, 1920. J. B. Kerr, *Biographical Dictionary of Well-known British Columbians,* Victoria, 1890, pp. 227–228; Victoria *Colonist,* February 12, 1920.

(28) Hewitt Bostock was born near Epsom, Surrey, England, on May 31, 1864. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his Master of Arts degree in 1888. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn that same year, he never practised his profession. He came to British Columbia in 1893. One of the newspapers in which he became interested was *The Province,* then a weekly published in Victoria, B.C. In 1904, after serving eight years in the House of Commons, he was called to the Senate and became leader of the Liberal Party in that House in 1914. From 1921–22 he was Minister of Public Works and in 1922 became Speaker in the

man, who had acquired the ranch property of Duck & Pringle at Ducks, now Monte Creek. To him the political game was somewhat new, but being possessed of the requisite finances for such an undertaking, he found many seasoned political advisers on his Kamloops central committee.[29] Mr. Bostock was quick to recognize the value of newspaper support and was reputed to have become interested in one or more publications. Others, wishing to engage in journalism, found this interest made it somewhat easier to secure loans on chattel mortgages.

About this time the majority of the Revelstoke business-men who had founded and carried on *The Kootenay Mail* for two years were tiring of the venture and casting about for a purchaser. As a result, what must have seemed to them a strange act occurred when H. N. Coursier[30] and John Abrahamson[31] made an offer for the business. This agreement was concluded on April 15, 1896, when the transfer papers were drawn up and signed on behalf of the Revelstoke Printing and Publishing Company by T. Livingstone Haig, chairman and managing director, and F. B. Wells,[32] secretary, the witness to the transfer being

Senate. He died at Monte Creek, April 28, 1930. W. Stewart Wallace (*ed.*), *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, 1945, Vol. I, pp. 61–62.

(29) Personnel of this committee included M. J. McIver, Ben Moore, J. H. Morrison, Charles Sweeney, William Baillie, James Vair, Hugh McCutcheon, J. S. Bennett, M. P. Gordon, J. M. Harper, W. H. Whittaker, and James Russell.

(30) H. N. Coursier was born in Lambton Mills, Ontario, in 1862 and came west to British Columbia by way of San Francisco in 1882. For a time he worked as timekeeper with Andrew Onderdonk in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Subsequently, in 1889, he opened a store in lower town Revelstoke for R. E. Lemon, and in 1892 he became proprietor of this business, eventually opening other branch stores throughout the Kootenay country. He gave up his mercantile business after the turn of the century and for a time served as Government Agent at Revelstoke. Later he established an insurance and coal business, from which he retired four years before his death on January 10, 1938. Revelstoke *Review*, January 14, 1938.

(31) John Abrahamson was born in Sweden in 1853 and came to Revelstoke in 1885. He died at New Westminster, September 30, 1933. Vancouver *Province*, September 30, 1933.

(32) F. B. Wells came to Revelstoke in 1889 from Nelson, where he was the first postmaster. At Revelstoke he bought out the business of T. W. A. Gordon on Front Street in lower town. On March 10, 1890, he received the appointment as postmaster at Revelstoke, the second to hold that position. He was born in England and came west with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, serving as timekeeper at Winnipeg and later at Donald. When Revelstoke was incorporated, he became one of the first Aldermen. He died on October 1, 1940. Victoria *Colonist*, October 2, 1940; Revelstoke *Review*, February 6, 1947.

R. R. MacLean, assistant to Mr. Wells in his store and the post-office. But, strange as this transaction may have seemed, the awakening came three days later when, on April 18, the printing plant and business was transferred from Coursier and Abrahamson to B. R. Atkins and J. A. Smith, the witness in this instance being W. G. Paxton, an accountant.[33] Atkins, whose native home was Cork, Ireland, had for some time resided at Kaslo,[34] and he became the editor under the new set-up. Smith, as previously mentioned, had been connected with the *Mail* as printer and latterly as editor. One of the first weekly papers in the Province to adopt a front page free from advertising, *The Kootenay Mail* continued as a faithful chronicler of mining activities throughout the Kootenay. The southern part of the district was rapidly coming into prominence, but Illecillewaet, Albert Canyon, and the Big Bend sections all showed activity. Railway news also shared the paper's columns.

The first gun in the Federal election battle was fired on May 6, when Hewitt Bostock made his initial appearance at a meeting held in Peterson's Hall, lower town, and presided over by H. A. Brown, chairman of the local Liberal committee.[35] As was the custom of the day, an invitation had been extended to Mr. Mara to be present, but he was said to be absent from his Kamloops home. Mr. Bostock addressed the meeting at some length, and other speakers were E. C. Carney, of Kaslo, and R. B. Kerr, of New Denver. An invitation for a Mara supporter to take the floor was issued without response. A motion of J. W. Haskins, seconded by H. N. Coursier, endorsed Mr. Bostock's candidature and pledged him support. The evening of May 23 again found Peterson's Hall the venue of political activity, when Mr. Mara sought the suffrage of the electors at a meeting presided over by W. M. Brown.[36] Mr. Mara

(33) Notice of this transfer appeared in *The Kootenay Mail* of April 11, 1896, when it was announced that Atkins and Smith were the new "Proprietors & Publishers." In the issue of May 2 there appeared the comments of many other newspapers in the Province regarding this change in ownership.

(34) Benjamin Richard Atkins was born on May 5, 1866, at Cork, Ireland. He was a sailor and came to Canada in the early 1890's and worked on Great Lakes steamboats. Later he went to Montana and in 1893 was in the Slocan country. He came to Revelstoke at the time of his purchase of the paper. Later he became private secretary to the Premier. Until his retirement in 1921 he served as Customs Collector at Revelstoke. He died in Kamloops on November 16, 1941. Kamloops *Sentinel*, November 20, 1941.

(35) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail*, May 9, 1896.

(36) *Ibid.*, May 30, 1896.

reviewed the proceedings at the last Federal session. He was followed by Hugh McCutcheon, former owner of *The Inland Sentinel* and *The Kootenay Star,* representing the Liberal aspirant for the office. Then came E. King Dodds, of Toronto, who spoke until midnight on behalf of the Conservative candidate. Of this meeting, the next issue of the *Mail* said:—

> The large audience completely filled the hall, and there was no lack of enthusiasm, particularly when mention was made of Laurier or Bostock. . . . The climax was reached when the meeting, though called in the interests of Mr. Mara's candidature, adjourned at midnight with cheers for the Queen, Laurier and Bostock; and without a resolution, or even a cheer, for our ex-member.[37]

From the foregoing it may be assumed that the newspaper no longer enjoyed the independence declared at its birth two years previously. Succeeding issues until the election-day dwelt heavily on the sins of omission of Mr. Mara during his representation of the constituency at Ottawa.[38] Summing up the election results under the heading "Laurier, Mowat and Victory" in the issue following election-day, June 23, the *Mail* gave various phases of the battle. British Columbia Conservatives —the "solid six"—found a reverse in the election of four Liberals. Yale-Kootenay-Cariboo returns showed Bostock, 1,824; Mara, 1,479. Of the Revelstoke vote, the *Mail* stated: "Locally the contest was keen, and resulted in disappointment for Mr. Mara's committee which had confidently counted upon a much larger majority than 14. The number of 'importations' was considerable, and will account for the majority."[39]

With the election over, the excitement caused thereby was soon overshadowed by interest in the Dominion Day celebration, for which $500 in prizes had been collected. Disappointment when the day arrived was caused by the non-arrival of the Donald baseball players due to washouts on the railway. At that time the Columbia River at Revelstoke was within 16 inches of the historic 1894 high-water mark.[40] Well-contested tennis matches between upper and lower town, athletic sports, bicycle and horse races, participated in by the residents, served to make an enjoyable holiday. It may be of interest to note that the bicycle feature was a new one for Revelstoke, and in these competitions the winners

(37) *Ibid.*
(38) *Ibid.*, June 6 and 13, 1896.
(39) *Ibid.*, June 27, 1896.
(40) *Ibid.*, July 4, 1896.

included Miss Lyda Edwards, Miss Grace Hamilton, Eddie Edwards, J. H. Lyons of Kamloops, and David Little.[41]

Considerable excitement was occasioned by the discovery of gold quartz on Mount Revelstoke near the railway, which resulted in seventeen claims being staked and recorded within a few days in mid-July.[42] J. E. Long also recorded as a placer claim the property on which his brewery stood. *The Kootenay Mail* was represented in this flurry by J. A. Smith, who had staked the Maureen Claim. Much activity in mining furnished ample news for the *Mail* and dealt with the Big Bend, Jordan Pass, Trout Lake, and Illecillewaet districts, of more local interest, not to mention southern Kootenay sections. At Illecillewaet, properties to an aggregate of $90,000 changed hands. Even the *Mail* staff as a whole joined in the mining excitement when an asbestos strike was being staked on Keystone Mountain, Big Bend.[43] This was the staking and recording by B. R. Atkins *et al.* of Crown Point Claim—the *et al.* being J. A. Smith, the author, and F. W. Laing, each having a quarter interest in the claim.

Of particular interest to residents of the town was the announcement on August 1 that A. P. Cummins, C.E., was making a survey on behalf of a local company for the installation of a water system from Brewery Creek, the money already being subscribed.[44] Before the close of the month the Revelstoke Water, Light and Power Company held an organization meeting, when W. Cowan, W. M. Brown, and J. Abrahamson were appointed provisional directors.[45] By the middle of September, work on the waterworks system was under way, with Charles Holten as superintendent.[46]

On September 29 all Canadian Pacific Railway telegraph operators, dispatchers, and agents over the entire system went on strike for official recognition of their organization, better hours, and increased wages.[47] The *Mail* joined in the controversy, setting forth both sides of the story. By October 8 all the men were back at work after a victory.[48] A notable fact was that on the Pacific Division only one member of the Order of

(41) *Ibid.*
(42) *Ibid.*, July 18, 1896.
(43) *Ibid.*, September 5, 1896.
(44) *Ibid.*, August 1, 1896.
(45) *Ibid.*, September 5, 1896.
(46) *Ibid.*, September 19, 1896.
(47) *Ibid.*, October 3, 1896.
(48) *Ibid.*, October 10, 1896.

Railway Telegraphers remained at his key. The Revelstoke agent, I. T. Brewster, had been in the East for some time, and Dan Stearman, who was substituting, was among the strikers.

The formation and incorporation of The Orphan Boy Gold Mining Company to handle a property known as The Orphan Boy Claim on McCulloch Creek, with J. W. Haskins as vice-president and manager and F. C. Whitney, a former steward on the river-boats, as secretary-treasurer,[49] was the beginning of somewhat of a scandal which for months was the cause of news as company officials became involved in litigation arising from shady transactions in the handling of the company's stock by the secretary and culminating in his departure to the United States.[50]

During the early part of the winter of 1896–97 Mr. Smith went on a visit to the East, and the proposition was made that during his absence the author, who had been up to this time a wage-earner, should work with Mr. Atkins on a 50–50 basis. Mr. Atkins not being a compositor, the task of setting the paper and attending to the job-printing orders was fairly heavy with the reduced staff.

On Monday, January 18, 1897, the first issue of the Revelstoke *Herald* made its appearance and announced that future publications would be on Wednesdays and Saturdays.[51] Published by Arthur Johnson and R. Parm Pettipiece,[52] who had respectively printed newspapers at Edmonton and South Edmonton, but who had now joined forces, the *Herald* was said to be a free and independent paper. In welcoming the new contemporary, the *Mail* expressed the hope that the enterprise of semi-weekly publication would be rewarded. Three weeks later G. E. Grogan arrived from Edmonton to take over the position of editor of the new paper.[53] This venture followed rather closely a visit of Mr. Pettipiece to Revelstoke and Rossland and gave rise to a suspicion that

(49) *Ibid.*, October 3, 1896.

(50) *Ibid.*, March 6, 1897.

(51) Revelstoke *Herald*, January 18, 1897.

(52) R. Parm Pettipiece was born in Huron County, Ontario, and came west to the Prairies in the early 1890's. He founded the South Edmonton *News* in 1895, and after starting the *Herald* at Revelstoke in 1900 founded the *Lardeau Eagle* at Ferguson. The following year he came to Vancouver and began publishing a labour paper. In Vancouver he took an active part in civic affairs, serving for years on the Board of the Vancouver General Hospital. North Vancouver *North Shore Press*, August 3, 1945.

(53) Revelstoke *Herald*, January 30, 1897.

one or more local parties not politically in accord with the *Mail* had influenced the intrusion. Be this as it may, it was but typical of a trend throughout the Interior. Soon thereafter Rossland had two dailies and a weekly; Nelson, the same; Grand Forks, two dailies; Greenwood, a daily and a weekly; the same year the *Inland Sentinel* at Kamloops found opposition in the coming of the *Standard* after having enjoyed a monopoly for thirteen years. The cause of such duplication lay largely in the fact that publishers had not learned that they could not tread on the toes of their customers and expect them to like it. The semblance of neutrality in the newspaper field was then unknown, even though but little Government support was forthcoming to those friendly to the party in power.[54]

During the winter months the *Mail* devoted considerable space to separate write-ups of the various mining camps of the district, and these were widely circulated. An indication of the extent of the mining operations then going on in the Province is to be found in the announcement that the registration of 120 mining companies in three weeks had brought the total capitalization to $600,000,000.[55] As spring approached, building operations were under way on many structures in the town and, as a result, 1897 was the most prosperous year that Revelstoke ever enjoyed. Many new business houses were introduced and existing ones were enlarged, but to enumerate them would require too much detail.[56] Incorporation of the town was being mooted, but a meeting held in Bourne's Hall late in February, 1897, voted against the proposal.[57]

Toward the close of March Mr. Smith returned from Toronto, and this involved a slight change in the set-up of the *Mail* office. It was then agreed that the author should be placed on a one-third split instead of the 50–50 basis prevailing during the winter. To all intents and pur-

(54) About this time the *Mail* found it necessary to enter a protest under the heading " This is Not Fair " against what was considered too liberal an interpretation of the provision regarding the publication of legal notices in *The British Columbia Gazette* and a newspaper circulating in the district involved. Certificates of improvement pertaining to mining properties in the vicinity of Revelstoke had appeared in a Nelson newspaper.

(55) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* March 20, 1897.

(56) *See* Burt R. Campbell, " Revelstoke Was at One Time Divided into Two Sections," Revelstoke *Review,* June 29, 1940, pp. 3–4. This was a special edition commemorating the opening of the Big Bend Highway.

(57) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* February 27, 1897.

poses this meant becoming a silent partner, a plan that worked so satisfactorily that it established my belief in the co-operative plan for the operation of a small business. Under this plan my new duties included that of soliciting business for the paper and collecting outstanding accounts. These were the days when every person could produce a few dollars without the use of cheques—the first bank, the Imperial Bank of Canada, had just opened a branch in Revelstoke[58]—and the collection of an account was only a matter of finding the party owing. Book-keeping was scarcely a necessity, and the custom was to make collections, pay the accounts owing by the *Mail,* and divide the balance. That the business of the paper had greatly increased during the year covered by the third volume—April 25, 1896, to April 17, 1897—the first year operated by Atkins and Smith, is shown by a comparison of the inches of advertising carried. At the beginning of that year there was 153 inches of display and 26 inches of legal advertising, and the final issue contained 247 inches of display and 16 inches of legal advertising. This may be partially accounted for by the fact that a publication operated by local business-men could scarcely be expected to encourage outside advertisers, whereas by the end of the year a considerable number of outside advertisers are to be noted.

A printer visitor that spring was John McIntyre, of Calgary, who later worked in Nelson. Early association with touring printers had given me a most favourable impression of the International Typographical Union. Mr. McIntyre provided the requisite name and address of the western representative of that organization and, as a result, an application was immediately filed and affiliation granted with the head office at Indianapolis. This marked the commencement of a membership that has been continuous since that date. About the same time another visiting printer came in from Calgary, whose name is now forgotten. After imbibing a little Revelstoke " cheer-producer," he became playful and touched a match to the whiskers of Tom Cadman, then having his pre-supper snooze in a chair at the Stockholm House. The result was a visit to the office by the hotel proprietor, Albert Stone, who indignantly wanted to know who the crazy printer was. It was thought prudent that the visitor should leave town while the going was good, so he departed.

(58) *Ibid.*

In *The Kootenay Mail* of May 8, 1897, there appeared the following item:—

To correct a false idea raised by a notice in the Revelstoke Herald on the 5th inst. the publishers of the Kootenay Mail desire to state that the premises at present occupied by them will not be available for rental on June 5, next, and that the Kootenay Mail will neither suspend publication nor move at that date. Atkins & Smith, publishers.[59]

This announcement was brought about through the landlord, Jules Perrin, harbouring a grievance in the satisfaction of which he attempted to render the *Mail* homeless at a time when new quarters would have been difficult to get. To accomplish this, he sought to give the necessary month's notice and then advertised the premises as being for rent on the date named. Not being equal to the task of penning the aforesaid notice, he asked the assistance of Fred W. Wrong, who was, by the way, a friend of the *Mail*. Mr. Wrong wrote the notice in due legal phraseology, but purposely post-dated it so as not to take effect for some time. The last day of tenancy, as Perrin thought, arrived, and he paced by the office repeatedly in wonderment at the lack of action. Finally he could stand the suspense no longer and came into the premises to investigate and was then shown the post-dated notice. He was a good sport, for no move was asked nor took place for some months.

During the period of this month's tenancy the newspaper operated under somewhat unique conditions, for the premises were in semi-quarantine. The apartment over the office formerly occupied by Perrin was then used by James Lauder and his family. A diphtheria scare arose, and one of the Lauder children eventually died from the disease. Quarantine was set up from the corner of the building to cover the entrance to this apartment, past the large window of the office, and extended to, but did not include, the doorway. Once inside, practically all the work was being performed under quarantine.

Having promised steamer service on the Columbia River above Revelstoke, Captain T. J. Troup brought the steamer *Illecillewaet* to the wharf at Revelstoke but reconsidered his promise and did not attempt the trip.[60] River-men volunteered to pull the boat through the bad spots if necessary. However, commencing on June 1 a daily boat service was inaugurated by the Canadian Pacific Railway between Arrowhead and

(59) *Ibid.*, May 8, 1897.
(60) *Ibid.*, May 15, 1897.

Trail.[61] This was the means of keeping all local hotels filled to capacity in catering to the large traffic to and from the south and contributed greatly to the general prosperity of the town.

One of the worst catastrophes on the Canadian Pacific Railway up to that time occurred on Tuesday, June 15, when the eastern end of a tunnel just west of Laurier collapsed during the operation of renewing supporting bents. Bridge Foreman Alex. McGregor was in charge of the work and had the previous day replaced one bent. While removing a second bent on the day of the accident, it was thought unwise to continue the work inside until the overhead weight had been reduced. As attempts were being made to move a rock, it slipped through the bents, and the ceiling of the tunnel collapsed, burying six men, five of whom were killed, the other being slightly injured. A correspondent of the *Mail* visited the place and interviewed numerous witnesses, securing facts of the case. When the inquest was held at Illecillewaet the next day, J. D. Graham, Gold Commissioner, watched the proceedings on behalf of the Crown and A. G. M. Spragge represented the railway company. Following the depositions of the various witnesses, the jury sat all night, giving its verdict Thursday morning, this being signed by Walter Scott, foreman. The verdict was set forth in three parts:—

(1) Ques.—What was the cause of death?
Answer.—Wounds and suffocation caused by collapse of approach to east end of C.P.R. rock tunnel 2½ miles east of Illecillewaet.

(2) Ques.—Was death due to accident?
Answer.—Yes! Caused by defective timbers in said approach to tunnel.

(3) Ques.—Does any blame attach to anyone?
Answer.—Yes! The Canadian Pacific Railway Company.[62]

With a view to making a scoop, covering the story in full, the *Mail* staff worked late and early in preparation for the issuance of the paper, which found a ready sale. Before it appeared, however, the publishers had a visit from Superintendent E. J. Duchesnay and Solicitor A. G. M. Spragge who, sensing what was going on, without threat advised that the evidence be verified before publication. The callers were shown a proof of the story and assured every possible precaution had been taken to make a trustworthy report. That the story as printed was well founded is borne out by the fact that the railway company never in the slightest way intimidated, coerced, or punished the *Mail* for its audacity and the officials were ever friendly to the editor. For a long time there-

(61) *Ibid.*, June 5, 1897.
(62) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1897.

after, however, the *Mail* kept pointing out that due attention had not been given the matter by the Government and urged J. M. Kellie, M.L.A., to bring the matter to the consideration of the Attorney-General on the floor of the House. No action on the part of the Government was ever taken.

Property-holders in the lower town—Farwell townsite—and surrounding area had been seeking titles which were long overdue. Finally in desperation they signed a " round robin " whereby they jointly refused to pay taxes until the titles were forthcoming.[63] Whether or not this had any effect, the fact remains that the announcement was made within a few days (June 12th) that the title dispute had been settled.[64] The *Mail* also brought good news to the residents of the community by the announcement on June 19 that the Revelstoke Water Works, Electric Light and Power Company had agreed to extend the water system to all parts of the town and to build a new reservoir 600 feet farther up the stream. It was also decided to install an electric-lighting plant.[65] More stock was to be offered to shareholders. A few days later the company paid a dividend of 13 *per cent* on the first six months of operation. Celebrations on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession and on the 12th of July once more drew attention to the need for a recreation ground, a matter stressed by the paper editorially.[66] However, one of the most eventful days was August 5, for the steamer *Lytton* left for the Big Bend with 20 tons of hydraulic piping for the French Creek Mining Company, for which the manager, George J. Atkins, had made arrangements.[67] This proved a difficult trip, but leaving again on the 28th the steamer made three round trips to LaPorte in five and one-half days.

Late in November, 1897, the paper carried the following item: " The Mail wishes all its patrons to note that its office is now . . . the ground floor of the Central Hotel."[68] This was the room designed by Abrahamson Bros. for use as a commercial sample-room.

Much consternation arose in mid-December, and it was largely shared by the *Mail,* when it was made known that J. D. Sibbald had been named as Gold Commissioner to preside at the recently opened new

(63) *Ibid.*, June 5, 1897.
(64) *Ibid.*, June 12, 1897.
(65) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1897.
(66) *Ibid.*, July 17, 1897.
(67) *Ibid.*, August 7, 1897.
(68) *Ibid.*, November 27, 1897.

Court-house in place of J. D. Graham, who had resigned to become manager of Waverley Mines Ltd. at Albert Canyon.[69] This was the first of several political appointments to that position ignoring the rights of Civil Servants. It also led to the desertion of the Government by the local member, J. M. Kellie, who stated that he would no longer support the Premier, Honourable J. H. Turner, when he would not consult the members of his Government in such appointments.[70] At a meeting of 300 persons Kellie explained his stand to his constituents, and a resolution was passed with only six dissenting votes asking that he retain the seat at the next session, thus avoiding the expense of a by-election. Two weeks later the *Mail* recorded:—

J. M. Kellie, M.P.P., got back Saturday last from his trip through the constituency. His stand against the government was everywhere endorsed, and the Herald and its peanut gang are the only persons who requested him to resign his seat. What a call-down for the peanut gang![71]

The local Turner party, which had been dubbed the " peanut gang " or the " peanutters," came in for occasional shots. By the commencement of 1898, Provincial politics were warming up, and the *Mail,* which in November had drawn attention to the fact that " The Herald Somersaults Once More—Under a Party Cry It Will Support the Turner Government,"[72] again had occasion to make reference to the *Herald,* pointing out that " Our lightning change contemporary has again somersaulted."[73] Other sallies aimed at the *Herald* from time to time asked as to how its tail was, giving the impression it had been caught in a crack. Another favourite reference was to the *Herald's* smoke-screen. With Mr. Kellie declaring his opposition to the Government,[74] the appearance of a report in the Slocan City *News* of March 5, 1898, of an interview with William White, Q.C., who had some months earlier taken up residence in Revelstoke, in the course of which he indicated that the return of the Turner Government was not only assured, but that he anticipated no difficulty in unseating Mr. Kellie, caused unusual interest. Later Mr. White repudiated the statement credited to him,[75] but nevertheless it later transpired that he was in the field.

(69) *Ibid.*, December 18, 1897.
(70) *Ibid.*
(71) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1898.
(72) *Ibid.*, November 27, 1897.
(73) *Ibid.*, January 8, 1898.
(74) *Ibid.*, February 26, 1898.
(75) *Ibid.*, March 12, 1898.

Editorially and otherwise the question of the responsibility for river-bank protection as between the Federal and Provincial Governments and the grants for such work made an ever-popular topic for the *Mail*.[76] The city received its first electric lights when the service was instituted on February 26, 1898.[77] Street-lights followed within a few weeks.

The Kootenay Mail of April 9, 1898, carried the following notice:—

DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP

Notice is hereby given that the partnership heretofore existing between B. R. Atkins and J. A. Smith, under the firm name of Atkins & Smith, as publishers of the Kootenay Mail newspaper, was dissolved March 31, 1898.

Signed B. R. ATKINS.
J. A. SMITH.

The said business will be continued by B. R. Atkins and B. R. Campbell, as Atkins & Campbell, to whom all accounts of the old firm are payable and by whom all debts of the firm will be paid.

Signed B. R. ATKINS.
B. R. CAMPBELL.[78]

The agreement of sale which brought this about was dated March 31 and conveyed the interests of J. A. Smith to B. R. Atkins, which condition really held good for thirteen months thereafter due to the fact that the new partner (B. R. Campbell) was not of age and could not be a party to a legal document. This was an instance of a " gentleman's agreement " to the full. At this time there happened along one of the best printers ever in the upper country—A. C. Thompson—and he became an employee of the paper for a considerable time.

The smelter townsite had been boosted for some months, and the *Mail* acquired a lot at the intersection of Second Street and Government Road, on which Mr. Atkins had a building erected, which the partnership rented. Moving from the Central Hotel site on April 20, the paper thus became a party in the trend of business eastward. Second Street was then cleared but not graded. Volume 5, No. 1, of *The Kootenay Mail* thus was issued from its new home. By way of comparison with the two previous years, there were 227 inches of display and 32 inches of legal advertising being run at the close of Volume 4.

It should be noted that the hotels of those early days were among the most faithful advertisers. The merchants, too, were consistent in their

(76) *Ibid.*, February 26, 1898.
(77) *Ibid.*
(78) *Ibid.*, April 9, 1898.

support and, for the greater part, contented themselves with standing advertisements stating their lines. Where they varied from this, it was only by checking up that they could be kept from advertising snow-shoes in mid-summer and other unseasonable articles in winter. As for commercial printing, hotel letter-heads bulked large, the great quantity required partially arising from the travelling public taking more than they needed for immediate use. Loose-leaf systems were not in vogue, and merchants issued itemized written accounts on sheets of four varying sizes to meet the requirements of the bill.

Settled in the new home, the *Mail* modernized itself somewhat by purchasing a faster and steam-equipped newspaper-press. This press, known as a Prouty, was good for about 800 two-page prints per hour, as against the former machine's 250. The engine and boiler resembled a large box stove with a small power device on the top. To the writer the new equipment was an old friend, having been bought from *The Inland Sentinel.* Misfortune overcame the boiler the following winter when frost burst the tubing and ended its career. From then on the press had to be operated by hand, as had been the case at Kamloops. In those days at the *Sentinel* it was propelled by a Chinaman known as " Jim Jam," a name given him after he had helped himself to preserves belonging to a woman living next door to the office. Jim, though perspiring freely, was good for an hour's run and " cussed " if he had to stop. If sick for a day he sent two men to substitute, and they could not do the job without a break. At the *Mail* the staff furnished the man-power, and it proved good exercise for the editor.

The Provincial election participated in by the Turner and Semlin factions, represented by W. White, Q.C., and J. M. Kellie as respective candidates, was preceded by some interesting meetings in which Cabinet Ministers participated. July 11 was the election-day, and when the smoke had cleared away, Mr. Kellie was declared to be again the representative of Revelstoke riding of West Kootenay, his majority being 76.[79]

One of the highlights of *The Kootenay Mail's* career was the preferring of a charge of libel against its editor by J. D. Sibbald, whose duties as Government Agent placed him in charge of road-construction. Formerly the Big Bend Road went by way of the east end of the Canadian Pacific Railway's bridge across the Columbia River. A new

(79) *Ibid.,* July 16,1898.

road was under construction east of the cemetery and by the route now used by the Big Bend Highway. This work was carried out just prior to the election, which in itself was a cause for comment. Political factions opposed to the Turner Government that had appointed Sibbald declared that the cost of this work was excessive for the amount of road constructed. In this the *Mail* concurred[80] and, when the Semlin Administration was elected, asked that a survey of the construction and cost of the road be made. A. P. Cummins, C.E., was appointed for the work, and his report showed an expenditure out of all proportion to the mileage and form of construction. The *Mail* asked bluntly " Where did the money go? "—the somewhat general impression being that it went for electioneering or campaign purposes.[81]

Sibbald inferred that this reflected on his administration and handling of public moneys and had a warrant issued for the appearance of the editor.[82] Alex. McRae, then Provincial Police officer in Revelstoke, was handed the document for service. Mr. Atkins, looking from the *Mail's* corner window, saw McRae crossing the open spaces where the high school now stands swinging the blue paper and, guessing what it meant, suddenly discovered that he had business elsewhere and departed by the back door. The constable, unable to serve the warrant, returned and suggested to Magistrate T. L. Haig that he be given a bench warrant. To this Sibbald demurred, and the request was refused probably because it would have given costs to the defendant if the case failed. Later the original paper was served, and the author was also summoned as a witness. The case was heard at the Court-house, the plaintiff being represented by W. White, Q.C., and the defendant by the newly arrived lawyer James Murphy, B.A., a brother of Denis Murphy, then practising at Ashcroft. In opening, Mr. Murphy took exception to the presiding Justice of the Peace, C. F. Lindmark, sitting on the case. Lindmark, a member of the so-called " peanut gang," was said to have expressed opinions favouring Sibbald. The defence, incidentally, had seen that two other Justices of the Peace were present in Court, but a fair hearing being promised, the trial proceeded.

After publication of the article was admitted, the author was excused. The prosecution then sought to prove the reflection charged, and a somewhat surprising incident occurred when the editor of the

(80) *Ibid.*, August 20, 1898.
(81) *Ibid.*, February 18, 1899.
(82) *Ibid.*, February 25, 1899.

Herald, G. E. Grogan, testified that he had interpreted the story as had the plaintiff—that the money went into Sibbald's pocket. In summing up, the presiding Magistrate decided that the charge had not been proven and dismissal followed.[83] A sequel to the above followed soon after when, with a change of the Government in power, H. N. Coursier replaced Sibbald as Gold Commissioner.[84]

Following the election in July, 1898, a government was formed by the Honorable C. A. Semlin, and the following March he reorganized his Cabinet, the Premier also taking the portfolio of Provincial Secretary. About this time Premier Semlin invited Mr. Atkins to become his private secretary, and the offer was accepted. This necessitated Mr. Atkins' removal to Victoria and new plans being made for the *Mail*. It was agreed that the author should purchase Mr. Atkins' half interest, and the terms were arranged, the dissolution dating from March 31, 1899. However, because of the minority of the new owner the document transferring the business, as drawn up by Langley & Martin, Victoria attorneys, bore date April 29, 1899, the day following the owner's twenty-first birthday. The signatures were witnessed by G. S. McCarter.

British Columbia was in those days pretty much a young man's country in almost every respect. While this particular instance was probably somewhat extreme, publishers of small newspapers throughout the land were, for the most part, quite youthful. How this prevalence of young men appeared to easterners is illustrated by a personal experience. During the summer of 1899 two gentlemen called at the *Mail's* office, the spokesman being a Member of Parliament well up in years who had come from Moncton, N.B., and had timber interests in the Big Bend country. He asked for the editor, and when told that he was speaking to him, looked amazed, and when he had recovered from the shock, turned to his companion exclaiming " That's the West for you! " As might be expected of a youthful editor and publisher, editorials were not a strong point in the newspaper; in fact, the expression credited to George Norris, founder and for long publisher of the Nanaimo *Free Press,* found sympathetic support. It was said that when Norris was interrogated as to the few editorials appearing in his paper, he curtly replied, " Who gives a damn what the editor says? " However, this editorial deficiency was probably more than compensated

(83) *Ibid.*, March 4, 1899.
(84) *Ibid.*, February 4, 1899.

by a fair "nose for news" of a local nature. Mr. Grogan of the *Herald*, on the other hand, preferred to sit back and suck his pipe and rewrite the locals from the *Mail* for his newspaper. On one occasion personal zeal nearly proved disastrous for both papers, for the *Mail* prematurely announced a birth and the *Herald* copied it. Whether the sex of the child was correctly forecast is not now recalled.

Following the incorporation of the City of Revelstoke on March 1, 1899,[85] the early summer found the civic fathers getting into their stride, and municipal printing and advertising became a consideration. At one Council session the question of the printing of by-laws and advertising came up for discussion and, as a result, both the *Herald* and the *Mail* were asked for tenders. Arthur Johnson, of the *Herald*, and the author were present at that meeting, and on the way home it was agreed that identical tenders would be submitted and the work divided between the two newspapers, and this arrangement held. Later the suggestion was made in the City Council that the printing of debentures should be done outside the city, but a protest was entered and again tenders were called. This time, since the *Herald* could not undertake the work, it was decided that the *Mail* should submit an estimate and the *Herald* would raise its price; in this way the *Mail* got the debenture-printing contract, thus keeping it in the city for a considerable number of years. On the other municipal printing and advertising, the City Clerk, C. E. Shaw, tried to arrange an equitable distribution of the work. Actually the bulk of the advertising went to the *Herald* and the greater share of the printing to the *Mail* since it was able to produce better work.

Although Revelstoke's population was greatly augmented by the arrival of the residents of the town of Donald late in 1898,[86] the year 1899 was not as good from a business standpoint as had been the three immediately preceding years. This was due largely to a falling-off in the traffic up the lakes and river as a result of the opening of the Crowsnest Pass branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In addition, those who had moved from Donald were obliged to rebuild their homes in Revelstoke and found this a heavy drain on their finances. In an effort to counteract the loss in advertising revenue the *Mail*

(85) *Ibid.*, March 4, 1899. The Proclamation establishing the city called for civic nominations by March 15 and the elections, if any, by March 22. Fred. Fraser, J.P., was appointed Chief Returning Officer.

(86) *Ibid.*, October 29, 1898.

became a five-column semi-weekly publication instead of the former six-column weekly.[87] This proved to be a mistake, resulting in a poorer paper and not having the desired financial results. Up to this time there had not been many changes in the *Mail's* small staff, but that summer Mr. Thompson represented the Revelstoke Lodge of the I.O.O.F. as supervisor in the construction of the new brick-veneer lodge building on Second Street and Government Road. As his substitute with the *Mail* came Fred. S. Kettleson, of Calgary, who had for a time previously served on the staff of the *Herald.* An addition also was Marvin Archibald, of Vernon, a half-brother of the author, who came as an apprentice and remained a year, then returning to Vernon to join the staff of the Vernon *News.*

To digress a little but having some bearing on the story, it may be related that in February, 1897, Court Mt. Begbie, No. 3461, Independent Order of Foresters, was instituted at Revelstoke, and both the author and Mr. Atkins became charter members and officers. A High Court for British Columbia was later set up, and Mr. Atkins became High Vice-Chief Ranger. In the fall of 1899 the High Court executive decided to appoint a Deputy High Chief Ranger and organizer to do occasional work throughout the Province. On Mr. Atkins' recommendation the author accepted appointment to this position. This led to occasional absences from Revelstoke, with consequent neglect of business. This new appointment provided an opportunity for meeting people and making new friends, and eventually had a bearing on the decision to dispose of the *Mail,* but shortly after the sale of the business the High Court office was itself dispensed with.

One of the first of the trips arising from this appointment was to Golden. A. C. Thompson was back on the job with the *Mail* and was left in charge, Kettleson having departed. A stranger, Mike Hickey, arrived in town and was engaged by the *Mail.* Some days later Thompson returned from dinner, became delirious and proceeded to fire Hickey bodily, but the latter proved too much for him. Thompson was at the time wearing a red pullover sweater, and the proceedings were likened by Arthur Johnson, who happened to be passing by, to a railway switchman's lantern signal as Hickey threw his assailant over his head and off the back steps. In the meantime the frightened apprentice sought a policeman and was fortunate in meeting Chief

(87) *Ibid.,* February 6, 1900.

Thomas Bain. When he arrived, Thompson threatened to throw the portable typewriter at him. However, the Chief was strong on reasoning and suggested that they should go the first round without weapons and that if Thompson lost he should have the privilege of using the typewriter in the second. This was agreed to, but the Chief was the better man and, of course, there was no second round. This incident seemed too amusing to be passed over, but in fairness to Thompson it should be said that he was soon on the job. Needless to say, Hickey sought new employment. Soon thereafter David M. Rae, formerly of Golden, was brought from Nelson and became a resident of Revelstoke for several years, serving first with the *Mail* and later with the *Herald* and the *Mail-Herald*.

Nearly a year had elapsed since the departure of Mr. Atkins, but it would be unfair to drop interest in him while he held a government position, which in those days of short-lived administrations was so uncertain. His experience in office proved no exception to the rule. February 27, 1900, saw the defeat of the Semlin Government in a want-of-confidence vote, and the Lieutenant-Governor, T. R. McInnes, called upon the Honourable Joseph Martin to form a government. On assuming office "Fighting Joe" hardly waited to take off his hat before declaring a vacancy in the position of private secretary to the Premier. This meant that the former editor returned to Revelstoke to seek new activities. Soon thereafter, through the auspices of Hewitt Bostock, he became Customs Officer at Revelstoke, a position held with satisfaction to the public generally until his retirement on superannuation.

Principal interest for newspaper-men during 1900 centred around two elections—a Provincial contest early in June and a Federal one in December. The former, so far as the Revelstoke riding was concerned, was a rather unusual one, with two popular men in the field, for either of whom, apart from party leanings, most voters would have been pleased to cast a vote. These were Thomas Taylor,[88] later

(88) Thomas Taylor was born on February 4, 1865, in London Township, Ontario. He trained as a lawyer and in 1885 came west to Winnipeg. In 1888 he came to British Columbia in the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1889 he was at Donald in connection with the mechanical and stores department of the railway company. After leaving the service of that company in 1894 he took over the management of the C. B. Hume Company in Revelstoke and subsequently directed their Trout Lake branch. At the time of his leaving this firm in 1903 he

Minister of Public Works, and Alexander (Sandy) McRae, who became the first postmaster when Revelstoke central post-office replaced the former upper- and lower-town services. As a result, this contest was more or less lukewarm, but on election-day, June 9, Taylor won a decisive victory—517 votes to 367 for McRae.[89] In the early stages of this campaign the Honourable Joseph Martin sent to the *Mail* for publication a copy of his long-winded platform accompanied by a $10 bill. This amount would in all probability not have covered the cost of placing the essay in type, so, consequently, it was returned and regular advertising rates quoted. With this the transaction ended.

The Federal election, a deferred contest in the Yale-Cariboo-Kootenay constituency, was held on December 6, 1900. It was keenly contested with three candidates in the field, and as a coincidence all were South Kootenay men—W. A. Galliher,[90] barrister of Nelson, running as a Liberal; Chris. Foley, miner of Rossland, running as a Labour candidate; and John McKane, a mine-owner from Rossland, upholding the Conservative Party. The latter replaced A. H. McNeill, who had been the candidate in the earlier stages of the campaign. The candidates emerged after a strenuous fight as follows: Galliher, 3,112; Foley, 2,652; McKane, 2,583. While Galliher's majority over either of the others was quite decisive, the Liberals were overjoyed, as it was claimed that Foley had previously been rated as of their faith, and his ranking second was considered a further victory for them.

One of the most vivid recollections of this election campaign had to do with the Foley meeting in Revelstoke. This was the first time

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was a partner, although he continued to retain a financial interest in it. From 1894 until 1898 he was Mining Recorder and also postmaster at Trout Lake. First elected to the Legislature in 1900, he retained his seat until the defeat of the Bowser Government in November, 1916, and since 1908 had been in the Cabinet. He died in Vancouver, April 26, 1947. E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia,* Vancouver, 1914, vol. iii, pp. 1144–47; Vancouver *Daily Province,* April 28, 1947.

(89) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* June 12, 1900.

(90) William Alfred Galliher was born in July, 1860, in Bruce County, Ontario. He served with Lord Wolseley's Nile contingent for the relief of General Gordon. In 1887 he was called to the Bar in Manitoba and ten years later to the Bar in British Columbia. First elected to the Federal House in 1900, he retained his seat in the election in 1904 and in 1909 was appointed to the Appeal Court of British Columbia, when it was created, from which he resigned in July, 1933, because of ill-health. He died in Vancouver on November 23, 1934. Victoria *Colonist,* November 24, 1934.

the candidate had addressed a Revelstoke audience, and he proved to be a whirlwind orator. As the hour of the meeting approached, the author took a place at a table behind the scenes on a wing of Tapping's Opera House. Not having mastered the art of shorthand, it was necessary to be content with a few notes and trust to memory for the remainder. It soon became apparent what a rapid talker Foley was, a fact of which he was well aware, and the big affable man from time to time kept casting a look at the reporter, as much as to say "How are you coming?" It was a trying ordeal, not made any easier by the natural weariness resulting from long hours spent in performing the multifarious duties involved in preparing a fair report of all meetings.[91] During the campaign a meeting booked in the Galliher interests had to be called off owing to an extreme cold spell, when it was considered impossible to heat the Opera House. The speaker for that event was Frank Oliver, of Edmonton, who had himself been returned by a large majority to the House of Commons a few days previously. A printer of the old school, he spent most of the day around the *Mail* office.

In so far as the *Mail* was concerned, not much by way of change took place during that year. During the midsummer a prospective purchaser in the person of J. A. Bates, school-teacher at Golden with journalistic ambitions, came forward, but the negotiations were not brought to completion. Later, however, he satisfied his ambition and had newspapers at Mission and White Rock. January, 1901, brought forward a new prospective purchaser and by coincidence also a Golden man. This was E. A. Haggen,[92] a mining engineer who at a previous time had edited the Golden *Era*. The agreement of sale was drawn and executed at Golden on January 12, 1901,[93] the signatures to this document being witnessed by Thomas King, present M.L.A. for that riding. A concluding paragraph of the agreement provided for the continuation of the author as printer in charge of the composing-room. The new owner assumed control at once and took up residence in

(91) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* November 8, 1900.

(92) Edward Alexander Haggen was born and educated in New Zealand, coming to British Columbia in 1897, continuing his profession of mining engineer. For a time he was editor of the *Mining and Industrial Record* and also served as one of the founders of the British Columbia Chamber of Mines. At the time of his death on April 22, 1929, he was in his seventieth year. Vancouver *Sun,* April 24, 1929.

(93) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* January 17, 1901.

Revelstoke. Publication of the *Mail* continued for the time being at the old stand, but late in the spring a move was made to the original furniture store of R. Howson & Company on Mackenzie Avenue. The new editor, who was a fluent writer and a professional mining engineer, proved to be a great space-filler with strong leanings toward reporting mining activity. So pronounced was this that it was difficult at times to accommodate the type set, even with the return to a six-column paper.

One of the highlights of that summer was the strike of Canadian Pacific Railway maintenance-of-way men which lasted a considerable time and was a topic of great interest, the *Mail* lending what support it could to the men involved.[94] Early in the proceedings, as extra gangs laid down their tools, the railway company decided it was wise to concentrate them in one place, so boarding-cars were run into Revelstoke, somewhat swelling the population temporarily. While Revelstoke continued to grow slowly, there was not sufficient business to support two newspapers. With the approach of fall it became evident that a cut in the staff would have to be made and, as a result, the author retired in favour of D. M. Rae, who was a married man with a child, and as his assistant Norman Hillier was taken on as an apprentice.

From that time the writer's association with *The Kootenay Mail* was broken for nearly a year and a half. At first a new line of endeavour was undertaken with the establishment of the Revelstoke Collection Agency, with which was combined the district agency for a then little-known life insurance company. An office for this purpose had just been furnished, next door to the *Mail*, when an offer was made by A. C. Thompson, who had left the *Mail* early in 1900, to succeed him in charge of the composing-room of the Ladysmith *Leader*. Thompson at the time went to Nanaimo to join the staff of the Nanaimo *Herald*. Early in December work was commenced at Ladysmith, but early in March the staff of the *Leader* was reduced and again new employment had to be found. After a short return visit to Revelstoke a position opened up as pressman on the staff of the *Inland Sentinel*, Kamloops, and it was not until February, 1903, that association with *The Kootenay Mail* was resumed on invitation of Mr. Haggen.

(94) *Ibid.*, June 21 and July 5 and 12, 1901.

During this interval the *Mail* found a new home in the original Tapping's Theatre building; D. M. Rae transferred to the *Herald*, and his place was taken by M. M. (Tom) Collinge. Mr. Haggen was trying to solve the problem of frenzied finance, at which he was a past master. One of his policies was to draw up statements of accounts due for advertisers, including such well-known firms as P. Burns & Company. This was something which no other person would have thought of attempting, let alone carrying it out; however, these methods served to keep the banker in good humour. The Kootenay Mail Publishing Company Limited was incorporated under date September 6, 1902, and the sale of stock was commenced. Shares Nos. 1 to 28 were turned over to the writer in lieu of the balance due on the original sale. Several other local business people also became shareholders in small amounts.

Mr. Haggen had views quite favourable to labour organizations, and this, combined with the fact that Revelstoke railway unions were then very active, led to his asking that the *Mail* employees be brought under the jurisdiction of the Rossland Typographical Union. Thus when the invitation came in 1903 to rejoin the *Mail*, the $4 per week differential between Rossland and New Westminster scales was a deciding factor, for Kamloops newspapers operated under the latter scale. The staff at that time included only Collinge and the author.

As summer approached, there was a fresh impetus in mining operations north and south. As a result, the editor was frequently away from his desk. Mr. Haggen was a man of few words, and often the first intimation that he was gone on one of his periodic jaunts through the mining country would be a brief note " Gone to Big Bend, back in ten days." Although these periods were usually doubled or trebled, he was a most trusting employer, for no copy was left for the paper and it was up to the staff to become responsible for its preparation.

The Provincial election of 1903 was an historic event inasmuch as it saw the introduction of party lines as now known. Under the system of government and opposition formerly prevailing, the factions so far as Revelstoke was concerned were pretty closely drawn on " Grit " and " Tory " lines. It was perhaps unfortunate therefore that the first real contest had a Socialist candidate interjected into it. Throughout the Province as a whole the Conservatives under the leadership of the native-born Premier, Richard McBride, emerged with a bare majority. In Revelstoke there was an interesting contest, which resulted as follows:

Thomas Taylor, Conservative, 342; J. M. Kellie, Liberal, 316; J. W. Bennett, Socialist, 186.[95]

With the approach of winter a wave of prosperity struck the Kootenay Mail Publishing Company Limited, due partially to the sale or anticipated sale of stock. A larger press, a four-page Wharfedale,[96] was bought from the Vancouver *News-Advertiser*; a 6-horsepower upright boiler was installed; and extra type purchased. This was in early December, and before the installation was completed work was undertaken to produce what was supposed to be a sixteen-page Christmas supplement resplendent with photo reproductions. To assist in this work, Miss Edith Pettipiece, later Mrs. J. J. Manley, an experienced type-setter, was brought onto the staff. Unfortunately, just at this time "Tom" Collinge went on a "periodical" and was dismissed, and the author declined to assume charge of the plant until a salary adjustment was made. Much difficulty was found in getting the Wharfedale press into service, which also contributed to the difficulty of producing the special issue. In addition, Mr. Haggen kept bringing in more advertisements, cuts, and manuscripts until, if memory serves correctly, the completed number ran to forty-eight pages. With all hand composition and a large issue involving many runs of presswork, the production of this edition became a matter of endurance. Christmas passed and still no supplement. The column-width to be used was magazine rather than double-column newspaper, but finally in desperation the last section was at least partially made up of advertisements lifted from the regular paper. It was New Year's Eve when the much-looked-for Christmas special edition was ready for delivery and a most trying period was ended.

About that time, too, George Keating, one of the most radical Socialists of the day, was added to the staff and remained for a couple of months. During the next two or three months more equipment was introduced into the plant, including a folding-machine, a large power-cutter, and a larger job-press. Mr. Haggen had a dream that he might monopolize the counter-slip business of the country, and with this in mind he purchased a self-feeder for the job-press, which was never put into use. Keating was replaced by Thomas Hart, an Englishman, and there was a succession of apprentices—"Bobby" Smith, Earl Pettipiece,

(95) *Ibid.*, October 10, 1903.

(96) This press in 1921 went to the Kelowna *Courier;* its predecessor, the Prouty, to Lethbridge.

and Albert Robbins. That winter had seen the introduction of a book-keeper and office-helper, H. W. Pritchard, who left in the early spring and was succeeded by Miss Mae Corley, later Mrs. C. R. Macdonald.

During the winter further sales of stock were undertaken, and for this purpose Mr. Haggen spent several weeks in the Okanagan Valley going from town to town. He met with considerable success, for it later developed that he had promised the establishment of a second newspaper in Vernon, something that appealed to the Liberals there and doubtless facilitated greatly his sale of stock. Summer came but no paper appeared in the Okanagan, although a press had been ordered from the Vancouver agency of the American Type Foundry and was delivered to the Canadian Pacific Railway's freight-sheds at Vernon. A deputation of two prominent business-men from the valley was sent to Revelstoke later that summer to make inquiries as to when the newspaper might be expected to commence publication, but they returned home quite subdued after having been informed by George S. McCarter, on behalf of Mr. Haggen, that they had bought stock in The Kootenay Mail Publishing Company Limited and not in an Okanagan newspaper.

In September, 1904, the writer's connection with *The Kootenay Mail* terminated, although there remained to the end of its existence a kindly interest in its welfare. " Tom " Collinge returned to Revelstoke and became the replacement on the *Mail*. That fall witnessed another Federal election, with the Kootenay riding for the first time being separated from Yale-Cariboo. Because of the size of both of these constituencies and the slowness in handling of the ballot-boxes, deferred elections were held on November 22, the regular election-day throughout the country being November 3. Three candidates were in the field—the sitting member, W. A. Galliher, C. Macintosh, and F. Baker. Galliher won with a good majority, as did Duncan Ross in Yale-Cariboo, thus creating what was known as the " solid seven " Liberal representatives of British Columbia in the Federal House.[97]

Amalgamation of *The Kootenay Mail* and the *Herald* was first talked of early in 1904, but the terms then suggested by Mr. Haggen could not be given serious consideration, as he proposed that he should continue as managing editor and that the author should be placed in charge of the plant. This meant that Arthur Johnson, then proprietor

(97) *Ibid.*, November 26, 1904.

of the *Herald* (R. Parm Pettipiece having long since disposed of his interest), would have been reduced to the status of a workman in a business, one branch of which he had built up. However, new proposals were submitted toward the end of 1905 that were acceptable and, as a result, the *Mail-Herald* became a reality with the appearance of its first issue on January 6, 1906.[98] The editorial that appeared in the final issue of *The Kootenay Mail* on December 30, 1905, wrote *finis* to the career of one of the publications which served the town and city of Revelstoke throughout the principal years of its development.

> The first issue of the Mail-Herald, resulting from the amalgamation of the Mail and Herald offices, will be out on Saturday, January 6th, and thereafter the paper will be published twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Arrangements are being made to secure the latest telegrams up to the hour of going to press. The former Herald office will be closed, and the business will be carried on meantime in the building which has been occupied by the Mail, until arrangements are made for the erection of a new building suitable to the requirements of the amalgamated companies.[99]

BURT R. CAMPBELL.

KAMLOOPS, B.C.

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(98) Revelstoke *The Mail-Herald,* January 6, 1906. In making its bow, this newspaper pledged itself to political independence. It stated that the reasons for the amalgamation were economic—Revelstoke was not large enough to warrant the continuance of two newspapers.

(99) Revelstoke *The Kootenay Mail,* December 30, 1905.

HOW BRITISH COLUMBIA NEARLY BECAME A COLONY OF AUSTRALIA

On March 11, 1950, the centenary of the founding of the colony of Vancouver Island, the first British colony on the western side of America, was celebrated. Richard Blanshard, the first Governor, reached his post by a voyage from England by way of the Isthmus of Panama.[1] Sixty years almost to a day before Blanshard's arrival, the British Government had issued instructions for the founding of a colony on the coast of what is now British Columbia as a dependency of New South Wales, Australia. The first Governor was to have been an officer of the New South Wales Corps. Had these orders been carried out the boundary between Australia and Canada might now be at the continental divide, or perhaps even farther east. The whole history of the Pacific Coast of North America might have been very different.

Idea of linking activity on the Northwest Coast of America with action in the Southwest Pacific goes back more than two centuries before the day when Governor Arthur Phillip[2] of New South Wales was instructed to found a "Botany Bay" colony at or near Nootka Sound. A definite English project for combining exploration and settlement in the Australasian region with a search for the western end of the North-west Passage, supposed to reach the Pacific not far to the north of California, was put forward in the earlier years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In 1572 Henry Hawks returned to England from Mexico, where he had lived from 1567 to 1571. He brought news of Mendaña's discovery of the Solomon Islands in 1567–1568 and of a voyage from the west coast of Mexico to seek the western end of the Strait of Anian,[3] the supposed North-west Passage leading from the Atlantic to the Pacific somewhere near Puget Sound. When Mendaña found the Solomons, he

(1) *See* W. E. Ireland, "The Appointment of Richard Blanshard," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VIII (1944), pp. 213–226; W. Kaye Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," *ibid.,* XIV (1950), pp. 1–40.

(2) For his account of his Australian experiences see *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island . . . ,* London, 1790, *passim.*

(3) *See* T. A. Rickard, "The Strait of Anian," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* V (1941), p. 161 ff.

had been seeking the Terra Australis, the continent presumed to exist in the Southwest Pacific. Such a continent, answering roughly to Australia, had appeared on the world map which John Ross, or Jean Rotz, had given to Henry VIII in 1542 and on other maps of the Dieppe School.

These two themes, the continent in the Southwest Pacific and the Strait of Anian, are linked in the petition which Sir Richard Grenville (later of the *Revenge*) presented to Queen Elizabeth on March 22, 1574. This sets out that the fourth part " of the new found world . . . is by God's providence left for England "[4] and adopts the belief mentioned by Hawks that the west end of the Strait of Anian " lieth not far from the main land of China, which the Spaniards account to be marvellous rich."[5] In response to the petition, a draft patent was drawn up for the enterprise proposed by Grenville and his associates. This sets out the twofold purpose of the undertaking—the discovery and occupation of new lands in the South Seas and the search for the western end of the Strait of Anian.[6]

Grenville never sailed to the Pacific to seek the Terra Australis and the North-west Passage. However, when Drake sailed for the Pacific on November 15, 1577, the " draft project " for his voyage included these two objectives. After passing through the Straits of Magellan, Drake did attempt to sail westward, presumably in search of Terra Australis. Adverse winds drove him away to the south, nearly to Cape Horn. He gave up the attempt and turned to plundering the Spaniards on the west coast of America. Later he ran up the California coast and made a perfunctory search for the Strait of Anian. It is the belief of some authorities that he went as far north as what is now British Columbia.[7] Drake crossed the Pacific to the Moluccas, within a few hundred miles of the north-west coast of Australia, but he was concerned with collecting spices, not with exploring Terra Australis. He did, however, found a little colony by leaving two negro men and a woman on the Isle of Crabs, near Celebes. Of these colonists we hear no more.

Australia and the Northwest Coast of America were linked again in the first definite and detailed plan for a British colony in Australia. This

(4) A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge,* London, 1937, p. 89.

(5) E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583,* London, 1930, pp. 113–117.

(6) For a full discussion of Grenville's " Great South-Sea Project," *see* A. L. Rowse, *op. cit.,* pp. 83–112.

(7) R. P. Bishop, " Drake's Course in the North Pacific," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* III (1939), pp. 151–182.

was put forward in August, 1783, by James Magra (who took the name of Matra), a native of New York who had visited Botany Bay in New South Wales with Captain Cook in 1770. After referring to the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest as carried on by the Russians and mentioning that the sea-otters furs were sold at high prices in China by the ships engaged in Cook's last voyage, Magra wrote: ". . . our situation in New South Wales would enable us to carry on this trade with the utmost facility. . . ."[8] By 1788, when the colony proposed by Magra was actually founded, British subjects were becoming actively and regularly engaged in the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast of America.

In March, 1790, the Right Honourable W. W. Grenville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote a dispatch to Governor Phillip of New South Wales instructing him to found a colony on the Northwest Coast of America, using for the expedition H.M.S. *Gorgon* and H.M.S. *Discovery*. Grenville gave orders that as many officers and men as possible from H.M.S. *Sirius*, then on the New South Wales station, should be lent to the *Gorgon* for the trans-Pacific voyage.

> One of the objects of this expedition being to form a settlement on the no.-west coast of America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should select from among the people with you a proper number of persons to compose it, and that you should embark them either on board the Discovery or Gorgon.
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> The extent of this establishment, it is imagined, need not at first exceed thirty persons, a moiety of whom at least should consist of drafts from the new corps,[9] under the command of a discreet subaltern officer, who is to be entrusted with the temporary superintendence of the new settlement. The remainder should consist of two or three of the most intelligent of the overseers, who have lately been sent out, a storekeeper, and any other persons who may be desirous of accompanying them, together with a few of the most deserving of the convicts, to whom you may offer a remission of a part of their service as an inducement to go.[10]

Such " stores, provisions, medicines, and utensils for building, etc.," as would enable the colonists to form a settlement able to resist any attacks of the natives and able also to assist His Majesty's subjects in the fur trade were to be put aboard.

The *Discovery* and the *Gorgon* were to meet at Hawaii a warship being sent from the East Indies station by Commodore Cornwallis. It was hoped that the three vessels would reach the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1791. Provision was made that if for any reason the frigate

(8) *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1892, Vol. I, part 2, p. 4.

(9) The New South Wales Corps which was replacing the Marines as the military force in New South Wales.

(10) *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. I, Sydney, 1914, p. 162.

from the East Indies should not reach Hawaii, then known as the Sandwich Islands, by the end of April, 1791, Governor Phillip was to direct the senior officer of the *Discovery* and *Gorgon* to proceed with the two vessels to execute the instructions, leaving one of his people with the natives in order to communicate to the captain of the frigate the route proposed to be taken so that upon his arrival he might also proceed to the place of destination. In addition, packages " containing such articles as are most esteemed by the people of the Sandwich Islands and the inhabitants of the American coast " were being sent out so that the colonists might barter for provisions and other necessaries.[11] Alternative plans were laid in the event that the *Gorgon* or the *Discovery* were disabled, for Governor Phillip was instructed to use his discretion in sending H.M.S. *Sirius* in place of the *Gorgon* and any light vessel—" if any such should be under your orders "—in place of the *Discovery*.

The *Sirius* was wrecked at Norfolk Island on March 19, 1790, and became a total loss. The plan for making British Columbia a dependency of New South Wales was not carried out; indeed, there is no known acknowledgment by Governor Phillip of Grenville's dispatch. In all probability the dispatch of March, 1790, was a draft of an intended letter that was never transmitted, for the *Gorgon* sailed from England on March 25, 1791, and reached Sydney, New South Wales, on September 21. After landing stores and troops, she sailed for England on December 18 carrying a detachment of Marines whose term of service in Australia had ended, Governor Phillip making no effort to send her to the Sandwich Islands.[12]

In a dispatch written on February 19, 1791, and acknowledged by Governor Phillip on November 5, Grenville speaks of " a plan which is now in contemplation for surveying the north-west coast of America and the Sandwich Islands."[13] A transport was to be sent to the Sandwich Islands in the ensuing spring (1792), which, after supplying the ships engaged in the survey, was to proceed to Port Jackson, carrying to New South Wales as much live stock from the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, or the Friendly Islands as she could carry.

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(11) *Ibid.*, p. 163.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 747.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 216. The phrasing of this reference is misleading, for it is unlikely that the details for the famous Vancouver expedition were not fully drawn up at this time, only forty days prior to the sailing of the vessels.

H.M.S. *Discovery* and H.M.S. *Chatham,* under the command of Captain George Vancouver, sailed from Falmouth on April 1, 1791, for the Sandwich Islands and the Northwest Coast. It is to be noted that Grenville's letter to the Lords of the Admiralty outlining the scope of the expedition makes no mention of the earlier proposal regarding the establishment of a colony on the American continent from Australia.[14]

Vancouver, in agreement with Grenville, did a little Australian exploration on his way to the Northwest Coast.[15] Had the weather been better, he would have done more and would probably have settled seven years before the voyage of George Bass and Matthew Flinders the question whether Tasmania was part of the Australian mainland. On August 9, 1791, Vancouver wrote to Grenville—who had by that time been succeeded as Secretary of State for the Colonies by Henry Dundas—from False Bay, Cape of Good Hope:

> Since receiving my instructions at Falmouth for the prosecution of our voyage I have much regreted not being fortunate enough in a farther interview with your Lordship to have gained your final opinion respecting the examination of that extent of coast of the S.W. side of New Holland, which in the present age appears a real blot in geography. . . .[16]

Vancouver reminded Grenville that the latter "seemed highly to approve" of the idea when Vancouver communicated his wish to make such an examination. He intended, therefore, "to fall in with the S.W. Cape of New Holland, and should I find the shores capable of being navigated without much hazard, to range its coast and determine whether it and Van Diemen's Land are joined, which from all information at present extant appears somewhat doubtfull."[17] Vancouver did "fall in" with the coast at Cape Chatham on September 26, 1791, and charted it for 330 miles to the eastward. On September 28 he discovered King George's Sound,[18] where he spent thirteen days. He planted watercress, vine cuttings, almonds, orange, lemon, and pumpkin seeds on an island for the benefit of future visitors. He also saw two or three yellow or

(14) *Historical Records of New South Wales,* Vol. I, part 2, pp. 451–454.

(15) For a detailed account of the career of Captain George Vancouver, *see* George Godwin, *Vancouver: A Life, 1757–1798,* New York, 1931, *passim.*

(16) Reprinted in *ibid.,* p. 204.

(17) *Ibid.,* pp. 204–205. Also in *Historical Records of New South Wales,* Vol. I, part 2, pp. 519–520.

(18) Wild flowers from Vancouver's watering-place on the sound, now marked by a plaque, were placed on the navigator's grave at Petersham, England, on May 10, 1949, the 151st anniversary of his death.

bronze coloured snakes which were very good eating. Owing to adverse winds, Vancouver quitted the Australian coast on October 17. He sighted the Tasmanian coast near its south-western corner on October 26 and ran along it for two days, when he stood away for Dusky Sound, New Zealand. There he examined an arm of the sea which Captain Cook had called " Nobody Knows What " and renamed it " Somebody Knows What." This seems to have been Vancouver's only geographical joke.[19]

After he had spent his first northern summer exploring the coast of America, Vancouver wrote to Governor Phillip, whom he called Phillips. In his letter, dated from the *Discovery,* at sea, on October 15, 1792, he wrote:—

> On my passage into this ocean I visited a small part of the S.W. coast of New Holland, and there discovered one very excellent port, which I have honored with the name of King George the Third's Sound. As I think from its situation, the fertility of the country, with Oyster Bay Harbour, seas, etc., it may be worthy some further attention. I have sent you my survey thereof with the adjacent coast, and some views of the surrounding country, which, though not executed with any degree of neatness, the positions of the different harbours, etc., as also the different headland, etc., as also their appearance [are given], without, I believe, any material error.[20]

Vancouver also gave details of two other discoveries—the Snares group of rocks off the south end of New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. In addition, he announced his intention of sending the transport *Daedalus* under Lieutenant James Hanson to Australia.

> We are now on our passage to some of the Spanish ports on the south part of the coast of New Albion, where I intend putting on board the *Daedalus,* for the use of his Majesty's colony under your Excellency's government, so many breeding cattle and sheep as she can conveniently take, which breed, inur'd to countries but slightly cultivated, have at Nootka succeeded to a very high degree with scarce the smallest care and attention. I therefore trust they will be found useful in New South Wales.[21]

In a second letter, written at Monterey, California, on December 29, 1792, Vancouver told Governor Phillip that he had put on board the *Daedalus* twelve cows and six bulls " with an equal number of male and female sheep." He sent a list of stores and provisions which he needed

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(19) Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* . . . , London, 1801, Vol. I, pp. 132 *et seq.*

(20) George Godwin, *op. cit.,* p. 225; also printed in *Historical Records of Australia,* Series I, Vol. I, pp. 428–431.

(21) George Godwin, *op. cit.,* p. 224.

and asked Phillip to send these by the storeship to Nootka Sound. He reported, further:—

> The *Daedalus*, from accident and desertion, being short of complement, Sr. Quadra has made a promise of using his efforts to prevail on some of the people under his command to undertake this voyage in the *Daedalus*, on my promise that they should be returned to Nootka by that vessel or such other as may be charged with the before-mentioned stores and provisions for the use of his Majesty's vessels under my command, to which condition I have acceded and taken the liberty of asserting that your Excellency would cause the same to be put in execution. . . .[22]

In the published account of his voyage Vancouver noted that Quadra and the Spanish authorities in California refused to submit an account or to take any payment for the stock supplied for New South Wales or for the corn and forage put on the *Daedalus*. The cattle were in high condition when the ship sailed from Monterey on December 29, 1792.[23]

When the *Daedalus* sailed for Australia, she had on board also A. P. Cranstoun, surgeon of the *Discovery*, who had been ill ever since leaving Cape of Good Hope.[24] Vancouver had also informed Governor Phillip in a postscript to his dispatch that he was also sending Willan House, boatswain on the *Discovery*, and three valuable seamen and one marine to Australia for onward passage to England. He commended them to the Governor's attention and parted with them only because of their violent rheumatic complaints.[25] In addition, "Mr. Philips carpenter in the *Discovery* was sent home by the same conveyance under Arrest," according to Archibald Menzies, botanist-surgeon on the expedition.[26] Lieutenant Hanson also had instructions to give a passage from Tahiti to Sydney to twenty-one men of the crew of the whaler *Matilda*, which had been lost on a shoal in 22° south latitude, 138° 30′ west longitude, while on a voyage from Port Jackson to the coast of Peru. These men, one of whom was a stowaway convict, had reached Tahiti in their boats.[27]

Cranstoun and the three seamen—John Williams, John Willis, and John Rhums—and the marine—George Bull—sailed from Port Jackson for England in the *Kitty*,[28] which reached Cork, Ireland, on February 5,

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 227. This dispatch is also to be found in *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. I, pp. 431–432.

(23) Captain George Vancouver, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 74.

(24) C. F. Newcombe (*ed.*), *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October 1792* (Archives Memoir No. V), Victoria, 1923, p. 121.

(25) George Godwin, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

(26) C. F. Newcombe, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

(27) *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 681–683.

(28) *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 467.

1794. The boatswain, House, recovered and took command of the New South Wales Government schooner *Francis* and served on the Australian coast for many years. In 1805 he was appointed superintendent of boats and harbour-master at Port Dalrymple, Tasmania. He was lost at sea in 1807 when attempting to reach Sydney, 500 miles away, in an open boat.[29]

Vancouver had requested Governor Phillip to complete the cargo of the *Daedalus* with a year's provisions of all sorts, as would be necessary for the *Chatham* and *Discovery,* and to send her to Nootka. Lieutenant Hanson was given trade goods with which to buy hogs and fowls for New South Wales. Governor Phillip had left for England by April 20, 1793, when the *Daedalus* reached Port Jackson, and Major Francis Grose was acting as Lieutenant-Governor. In his report to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Grose stated that apart from the hogs only one calf and four sheep had survived the passage. After stating that the *Daedalus* had apparently been sent more for the purpose of asking than giving assistance, Grose reported:—

I shall take care that the *Daedalus* returns at the time Captain Vancouver has pointed out; and I am happy to add the service he is engaged in is not likely to be interrupted for the want of supplies, being enabled from the state of my stores to furnish him with almost everything he writes for.[30]

In addition, he mentioned that he was having the "charts and drawings of Oyster Bay, King George the Third's Sound " that he had received by the *Daedalus* copied and would forward then to London by the *Kitty*. David Collins, in his *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* stated than when Lieutenant Hanson reached Tahiti, he found that fifteen of the *Matilda's* men had been taken off by an American vessel and by Captain William Bligh, then on his second bread-fruit voyage. This left six seamen and the runaway convict, and only one of the seamen could be induced to leave Tahiti.[31]

The *Daedalus* left Port Jackson again on July 1, 1793. Her supplies for Vancouver included a quantity of arrack brought from India by the ship *Shah Hormuzear*. After missing Vancouver by a day at Nootka, the *Daedalus* met the *Discovery* between San Francisco Bay and

(29) *Historical Records of Australia,* Series I, Vol. VI, pp. 157, 715.

(30) *Historical Records of Australia,* Series I, Vol. I, p. 428.

(31) David Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* London, 1804, p. 283.

Monterey on October 26, 1793. Of the supplies which she brought, Vancouver wrote:—

Mr. Hanson brought a supply of provisions and such parts of the stores which I had demanded as could be procured. From him I learned that Major Grose was very solicitous that I should again attempt the introduction of the cattle of this country into New South Wales.[32]

Hanson stated that he had landed seventy swine from Tahiti in Sydney. However, under date of February 21, 1794, Vancouver, then at Karakakooa Bay, Sandwich Islands, noted that his stock of sails and riggings " even with the supply we had received from Port Jackson, which was very short of what I had requested, demanded the greatest economy and care to make them last."[33] There is no mention in the Australian records of any Spanish seamen whom Quadra may have induced to help in sailing the *Daedalus* to Sydney. Presumably they returned to America in that vessel.

When the *Daedalus* sailed from Sydney, she shipped six convicts of good character, who had completed their term of transportation, and two seamen left behind by other ships. She also carried an aboriginal native of New South Wales, whom Grose sent on the voyage that he might learn English. This was a young man whose native names were Gnung-a Gnung-a or Murremurgan, but he had taken the name of Collins, after the Judge-Advocate and writer of the *Account*, David Collins. This dark Collins returned safely in the *Daedalus*, having " conducted himself with the greatest propriety during the voyage." David Collins stated:—

The king of Owhyhee earnestly wished to detain him on the island, making splendid offers to Mr. Hanson of canoes, warlike instruments and other curiosities, to purchase him, but if Mr. Hanson had been willing to have left him Collins would not have consented, being very anxious to return to New South Wales.[34]

On March 13, 1793, two Spanish exploring vessels, the *Atrevida* and the *Descubierta*, under the command of Don Alejandro Malaspina, had reached Port Jackson. Malaspina and those with him had left Cadiz on July 30, 1789. Their explorations had included the Northwest Coast of America,[35] where a great glacier now bears the name of Malaspina. They remained in Australia nearly a month, sailing on April 12.[36]

(32) Captain George Vancouver, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 305.

(33) *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 85.

(34) David Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

(35) For details regarding this expedition's activity on the Northwest Coast *see* H. R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800*, Berkeley 1937, Vol. I, pp. 225–229.

(36) *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 427.

Lieutenant-Governor Grose's anxiety for the speedy return of the *Daedalus* to Port Jackson annoyed Vancouver. Under date of December 14, 1793, Vancouver stated that he would have followed the Californian coast farther to the south, below 30° north, " had we not been pressed for time in consequence of the very importunate manner in which Major Grose had requested the return of the *Daedalus* to New South Wales."[37] He therefore stood over to the Sandwich Islands. The *Daedalus* left Karakakooa Bay for Sydney on February 8, 1794. She carried no cattle, but some bread-fruit plants were put on board so that Lieutenant Hanson might introduce them at Norfolk Island if he visited that place on his return to Port Jackson. On April 3, 1794, the ship reached Port Jackson and shortly thereafter sailed for Norfolk Island with supplies and presumably took with her the bread-fruit plants Vancouver had supplied. Finally, on December 18, 1794, the *Daedalus* sailed for England with Grose and his family on board as passengers.[38]

As the *Daedalus* stood in for Sydney Heads on April 3, 1794, the brig *Arthur,*[39] Henry Barber master, sailed out, bound for the Northwest Coast of America. She had come originally from Bengal. Captain Barber took with him four convicts and the carpenter of the Boston brig *Fairy,* who had been in hospital. Vancouver met the *Arthur* in Cross Sound on the Alaskan coast on July 15, 1794. On her arrival he thought it proper " to prohibit the purchase of furs by any of our people," presumably to leave the field clear to Barber.[40] The *Arthur* sailed away on July 23, but one of her crew, Charles Lee, a boy, deserted from her and was mustered into the *Discovery's* company.

Australia's early official connection with the Northwest Coast of America ended with the second return of the *Daedalus.* This time she brought " three young gentlemen of the *Discovery* and *Chatham's* quarter decks " seeking passage to England. One was Thomas Pitt, cousin once removed of the great William Pitt the younger. On his arrival in Sydney he learned that he had, by the death of his father, become Lord Camelford. He sailed for England in the *Indispensable* and smuggled away,

(37) Captain George Vancouver, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, p. 385.

(38) *Historical Records of Australia,* Series I, Vol. I, pp. 447, 479, 484, 487.

(39) *Ibid.,* Series I, Vol. I, p. 469.

(40) Captain George Vancouver, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 441 ff. *See also* F. W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade, 1785–1794," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Third Series, Vol. XXIV (1930), section ii, pp. 131–132.

as his servant, a convict named Richard Haynes.[41] Deserters from the *Daedalus* were handed over to Vancouver by the Spaniards at Monterey on November 15, 1794. They and the deserters from the *Chatham* had run up debts to the extent of $325 Mexican, which Vancouver declined to pay but promised to bring to the attention of the Admiralty.

The first United States vessel bound for the Northwest Coast of America to call at Port Jackson was the brig *Fairy,* Captain Rogers, which arrived on October 29, 1793. The cargo consisted " wholly of articles of barter for the Northwest Coast." When the *Fairy* sailed on November 11, Rogers took with him three men and two women who had leave to quit the colony. These women were the first to cross the Pacific from Australia to America. John Crow, a convict, swam off to the *Fairy* but was caught and brought ashore, and subsequently on December 10, 1793, he was hung for burglary.[42] The brig *Mercury* from Providence, Rhode Island, William Barnet master, reached Sydney on October 17, 1794, and sailed for the Northwest Coast of America on December 7, taking five persons belonging to the colony. One of these, an ex-convict named Hughes, deserted at Atooi in the Sandwich Islands, where he was discovered in 1796 by Captain W. R. Broughton acting as adviser to the chief Taava.[43] The *Otter* of Boston, commanded by Ebenezer Dorr, reached Port Jackson on January 24, 1796, and sailed on February 18 for the Northwest Coast.[44] She carried away Thomas Muir,[45] one of the Scottish martyrs — five political prisoners transported in 1794 —. a woman convict named Jane Lambert, and a number of male convicts. Subsequently, Muir landed at Monterey and, by way of Mexico, Cuba,

(41) " Report of Captain W. Wilkinson," *Historical Records of New South Wales,* Vol. II, pp. 295–296.

(42) David Collins, *op. cit.,* pp. 322–326. Judge Howay states that there is no record of her having been on the Northwest Coast in 1794; *see* F. W. Howay, *op. cit., loc. cit.,* p. 132.

(43) Captain W. R. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . . ,* London, 1804, Vol. I, p. 68. For further details *see* F. W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1795–1804," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Third Series, Vol. XXV (1931), section ii, p. 120.

(44) *Ibid.,* p. 123. See also *Historical Records of Australia,* Series I, Vol. I, p. 568.

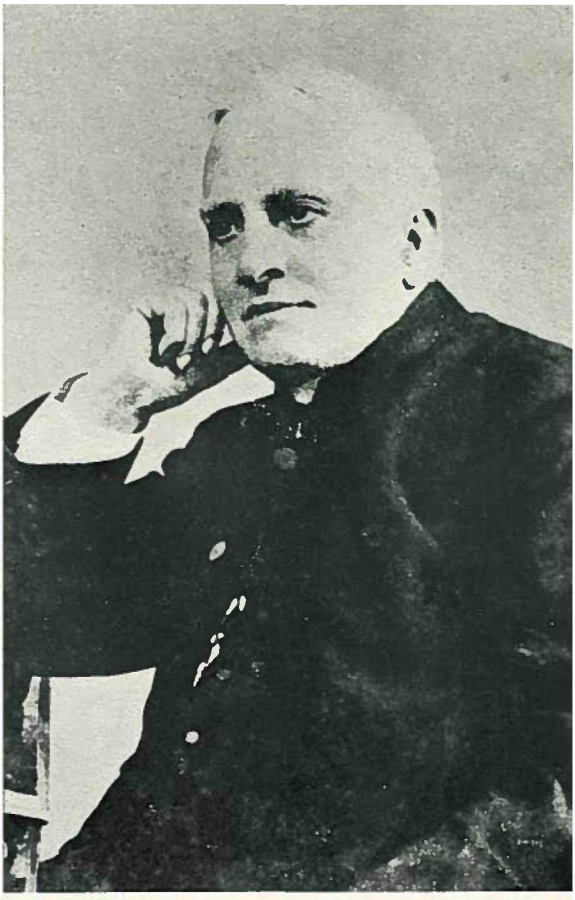
(45) Marjorie Masson and J. F. Jameson, " The Odyssey of Thomas Muir," *American Historical Review,* XXIX (1923), pp. 49–72; John Hosie, " Thomas Muir, Scottish Political Martyr and his Connection with Vancouver Island," *First Annual Report of the British Columbia Historical Association,* Victoria, 1923, pp. 28–32; *The Life and Trial of Thomas Muir,* Rutherglen, 1919.

and Spain, went to France, where he died. The last United States vessel bound for the " fur coast " of America to call at Sydney seems to have been the *William and Jane*[46] of New York, Captain Mellor, which entered Port Jackson on February 23, 1817, and sailed on April 4. By that time the great days of the sea-otter trade on the Northwest Coast of America were over.

THOMAS DUNBABIN.

OTTAWA, ONT.

(46) This vessel is not mentioned in F. W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1815–1819," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Third Series, Vol. XXVII (1933), section ii, pp. 132–144.



Rev. George Mason.

GEORGE MASON, PRIEST AND SCHOOLMASTER

Throughout the entire history of Christianity, devout men and women have cheerfully abandoned wealth, social position, and material comforts in old established communities and volunteered to carry the Gospel into new and backward areas. During the nineteenth century, graduates of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were not slow in demonstrating themselves eager and willing to continue this splendid Christian tradition. Not the least of these was the Venerable George Mason, M.A.(Oxon.), who gave up wealth, position, and convenience to assist in the evangelization of Hawaii and British Columbia.

George Mason was born in Handley, Dorsetshire, in 1828 or 1829,[1] son of Rev. Thomas Mason, a member of an aristocratic family, and his wife Emma Louisa.[2] He was matriculated as a commoner in Oriel College, Oxford, November 6, 1846, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from New Inn Hall in 1853 and that of Master of Arts in 1860.[3] As a student he " was noted for his poetical genius, his generous spirit, and the courageous skill of his horsemanship." His first choice of a profession was the law, but he was so influenced by a sermon of Edward Hobhouse, later Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand,[4] that he entered Wells Theological College in 1852,[5] and, after a year's preparation, was made

(1) Mason was 17 years old when he matriculated at Oxford and 64 when he died. Consequently, he was born in 1828 or 1829. On the other hand, C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. . . . .*, London, 1901, p. 912, shows 1830 as the date of Mason's birth.

(2) A manuscript note, supplied by Mrs. W. H. Britton, of Okehampton, Devonshire, a granddaughter of Mason, purporting to be an extract from *Burke's Landed Gentry*, shows four generations of the Mason family. The writer has been unable to find the family in the recent volumes of *Burke's* at his disposal. Thomas Mason, third son of Bryant Mason, of Bengal, was born about 1802; he received the B.A. degree from Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1824; and he died November 21, 1863, having been vicar of Shapwick cum Ashcott, 1850–1863. Joseph Foster (*ed.*), *Alumni Oxonienses . . . 1757–1886,* London, 1888, vol. iii, p. 925; tombstone, Ashcott, courtesy of Rev. Hector Morgan, vicar of Shapwick. Mrs. Thomas Mason, aged 82, died February 18, 1888.

(3) Treasurer of Oriel College to Mrs. W. H. Britton, November 17, 1947.

(4) " George Mason, Priest, In Memoriam," *Christ Church Magazine* (St. Leonard's on Sea), March, 1893. This obituary was probably written by Rev. C. L. Vaughan.

(5) Rev. H. Bryant Salmon to the author, June 5, 1947.

deacon by Dr. Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, in his cathedral on May 22, 1853.[6] For two years following he was curate at Burleston, Dorsetshire, where he officiated at eleven baptisms and one burial, in addition to the usual ministrations of a deacon.[7] On June 3, 1855, he was ordained priest by Dr. Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter,[8] after which he became curate of Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, and minister of St. James', Alfington, a chapel of ease. The registers of the mother church contain entries made by him between August 23, 1855, and October, 1856.[9]

On March 25, 1856, Father Mason was married to Ellen Mary Jones in St. Peter's Church, Bournemouth.[10] Miss Jones was the daughter of Major-General William Daniel Jones, Royal Artillery, and his wife, Elizabeth Smith. The Jones family was a distinguished military one, for two of General Jones' brothers were also generals.[11] To the Masons were born three daughters—one in England and two in Hawaii.

Father Mason wished to go out as an army chaplain during the Crimean War, but his youth prevented his appointment.[12] In or shortly after 1856 he became curate of St. Stephen's, Devonport. With the help of his wife and his sister, Miss Emma Mason, he established a home for fallen women. Soon it was overcrowded with penitents, and Mason negotiated with Rev. George Rundle Prynne, vicar of St. Peter's, Plymouth, to establish a penitentiary for the Three Towns. The Honourable and Reverend C. L. Courtenay suggested instead a penitentiary for the whole of South Devon, and this was finally established at Bovey Tracey. Nevertheless, the House of Mercy at Devonport continued under the Masons' care until they left Devonport, when it was turned over to the

(6) Salisbury Diocesan Registrar to Rev. William B. Sharp, Major, U.S.A., October 10, 1947.

(7) Rev. Canon Arthur Helps, vicar of Puddletown, to the author, August 26, 1947.

(8) *Church and State Gazette* (London), XIV, p. 354 (June 8, 1855).

(9) Rev. Bernard C. Jackson, vicar of Ottery St. Mary, to the author, August 27, 1947. Ottery St. Mary was the seat of the Coleridge family, which, considering the number of entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is the most distinguished family in modern England.

(10) Copy of marriage record from the register of St. Peter's, supplied by Mrs. W. H. Britton.

(11) Bernard and Ashworth P. Burke (*eds.*), *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage . . .* , London, 1928, p. 1315.

(12) "George Mason, Priest, In Memoriam," *loc. cit.*

sisters of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity.[13] In 1860 it would appear that Father Mason became curate of St. Peter's, Plymouth, and for a while he was associated with Rev. Joseph Leycester Lyne, later known as Father Ignatius of Jesus, O.S.B., who served a brief honorary curacy at St. Peter's.[14] On May 12, 1862, the corner-stone of St. Peter's Mission Chapel, a chapel of ease to St. Peter's, was laid by Dr. Thomas Nettleship Staley, the recently consecrated Bishop of Honolulu, who had not yet set out for his diocese.[15] The meeting of Father Mason with Dr. Staley at this time, probably, was the beginning of the negotiations which led Father Mason to enlist as a missionary to Hawaii.

With him to the Islands, Father Mason took his wife, his daughter, and a governess, a Miss Roche.[16] So hurriedly did he leave England that he failed to pay a small balance owing to one of his domestics.[17]

A farewell service for the Hawaiian missionaries was celebrated in Westminster Abbey on July 23, 1862,[18] and the missionary party sailed aboard the *Tasmanian* on August 18.[19] Their route was direct to Panama, overland across the isthmus, and by ship again to San Francisco, which they reached on September 25 and left aboard the *Comet* on the following day. Father Mason was a good sailor and did not get sea-sick during the rough crossing of the Pacific.[20] On October 10 the ship sighted land, and on the following morning it sailed into Honolulu Harbour. The pilot brought aboard sad news. The Prince of Hawaii, whose baptism was to mark the formal initiation of the mission and for whom Father Mason had been selected as tutor,[21] had died shortly

(13) A. Clifton Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne, a Chapter in the Early History of the Catholic Revival*, London, 1905, pp. 130–131.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 146. There is no mention of Mason in Baroness de Bertouch, *The Life of Father Ignatius, O.S.B., the Monk of Llanthony*, New York, 1905.

(15) Kelway, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

(16) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu, September to November, 1862*, London, 1862, p. 28. Extracts from Mason's diary appear on pages 28–35 of this work.

(17) George S. A. Godson to Bishop of Honolulu, Barnet, November 8, 1871, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 53, *MS.* in Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, England.

(18) *Illustrated London News*, July 26, 1862, Vol. XLI, p. 203.

(19) *Ibid.*, August 23, 1862, p. 203.

(20) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . .* , pp. 1–2.

(21) Letter of Ellen Mary Mason in *The Net, Cast in Many Waters* (London), February 1, 1866, p. 22.

before. " We were quite stunned," Father Mason reported. " It seemed to take from us the chief hope of the mission."[22]

No time, however, was lost in setting to work. The missionary bishopric was incorporated under the name of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, Queen Emma baptized, and both the King and Queen confirmed and admitted to their first communion.[23] Dr. Staley correctly judged his staff of three priests and, in consequence, generally assigned Father Mason the more arduous and honorific tasks. It was he who usually served as Dr. Staley's chaplain,[24] and once during the Bishop's absence he held his power of attorney.[25] On November 28, 1862, Dr. Staley appointed him examining chaplain.[26] In this capacity he scrutinized the qualifications of three laymen Dr. Staley made deacons and two deacons he ordained priests.[27]

Dr. Staley rented in Honolulu a chapel and a parsonage that had been erected for a defunct Methodist congregation. Father Mason and his family were installed in the parsonage,[28] and he and Rev. Edmund Ibbotson,[29] who had come over in the same party, were put in charge of both the English- and the Hawaiian-speaking congregations of the temporary cathedral, while Rev. William Richard Scott, who soon arrived, was sent to Lahaina, the second city of the kingdom. Like Dr. Staley, Father Mason took lessons in Hawaiian from Colonel David Kalakaua, who was later to reign as king.[30] The missionaries taught the doctrines of Anglo-Catholicism, and they introduced the ceremonial that

(22) A letter by Mason, *ibid.*, p. 21.

(23) Church Registry of Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, etc., in Honolulu of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, *MS.*, in the office of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu, p. 1. The charter is in the Interior Department, General File, Box 38, *MS.*, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu. *See also* Viator to editor, December 1, 1862, Honolulu *Polynesian*, December 6, 1862.

(24) Viator to editor, *ibid.*

(25) Records of Conveyances, XXV, pp. 215–216, *MS.*, Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu.

(26) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . . ,* p. 17.

(27) [Mildred Staley (*ed.*)] " Bishop Staley's Diary," *Hawaiian Church Chronicle,* July, 1934, p. 8; W. Kalaeloa to editor, Sebakemapa 28, 1864, Honolulu *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* Okatoba 8, 1864; Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette,* March 20, 1867. *See also* Andrew Forest Muir, " Ordinations by the Bishops of Honolulu, 1862–1902," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XX (1951), pp. 328–331.

(28) Honolulu *Polynesian,* October 18, 1862.

(29) Andrew Forest Muir, " Edmund Ibbotson (1831–1914), S.P.G. Missionary to Hawaii, 1862–1866," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* September, 1950, XIX, pp. 214–241.

(30) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . . ,* p. 32.

had thus far been regained. They wore white cambric mass vestments[31] and celebrated every day.[32] Dr. Staley, in addition, wore cope and miter on pontifical occasions,[33] the first Anglican bishop in the nineteenth century to do so. For the entire period of Dr. Staley's episcopate, the church was under criticism of the local Calvinist missionaries from New England, who called themselves the American Church in distinction to the English Church, as they referred to the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, and they were materially aided by Low-Churchmen both in England and the United States, and soon by some partial converts from dissent in Hawaii. Father Mason was probably the first to feel their spite. Within a few weeks of his arrival, he was invited to join in a prayer meeting at a Congregational chapel. He declined, on the ground that by so doing he might leave the impression that he " did not consider episcopal ordination as necessary for a Christian minister,"[34] and his refusal was widely held up as a slur on the Calvinist missionaries.[35] So long as Kamehameha IV lived, criticism kept within modest channels, but no sooner had he died, on November 30, 1863, than the Calvinists set upon the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church with a hue and cry, and so fertile were they in expediency that after seven years Dr. Staley, worried by their unabated harassing, resigned his see.

Toward the end of Father Mason's cure at the temporary cathedral, in January, 1864, he and Father Ibbotson reported that during the previous year they had celebrated divine service almost a thousand times, had baptized 174 persons, and had presented sixty-five for confirmation. The communicants then numbered a hundred, and often there were as many as 230 persons, probably the capacity of the building, present at services.[36]

In the same month Father Mason was sent to take charge of the mission at Lahaina. This transfer was made necessary by Father Scott's having fallen into debt there and having lost the confidence of the natives. Father Mason set to work with energy. He found the building used for

(31) Dr. T. N. Staley to W. T. Bullock, Kensington, undated, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 17, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(32) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . .* , p. 9.

(33) Viator to editor, Honolulu *Polynesian*, December 6, 1862.

(34) Mason to [S. C. Damon], November 4, 1862, in [T. N. Staley] *A Pastoral Address . . .* , Honolulu, 1865, pp. 41–42.

(35) *Missionary Herald*, February, 1863, LXIV, p. 36.

(36) Annual return, January 14, 1864, in *E MSS.*, 1862–1863, Archives of S.P.G.

divine service unattractive, except for a reredos that had been brought over from England. He therefore brightened up the building, introduced a choir, reassembled the congregation, and soon had a flourishing mission.[37] In November, 1864, the first Anglican sisters to set out into the mission field located in Lahaina,[38] and in February, 1865, Dr. Staley appointed Father Mason Archdeacon of Maui.[39]

Despite Father Mason's activity, Lahaina was a dying town. The Pacific whaling industry that had once been its main source of income had declined as early as the late 1850's, and during the American Civil War the Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* had virtually destroyed the remaining fleet. At the same time, sugar cultivation greatly expanded on the Island of Maui, but the central valley offered greater expanses of desirable land than the narrow strip between ocean and mountains, and so the new town of Wailuku grew at Lahaina's expense. Natural calamities added to Father Mason's burdens. Fire destroyed a portion of his mission premises in August, 1867,[40] and a four-day northerly gale completely demolished the chapel in December, 1869.[41] Nevertheless, Father Mason worked on until he was assigned elsewhere. The success of his labours may be gauged by an address his parishioners presented to him along with a silver urn:—

> We are of one mind in acknowledging the zeal and fidelity with which you have discharged the duties of your sacred calling, and we have also reason to congratulate ourselves, that, in the ordinary intercourse of life, we have found in our Pastor, the man of education and the gentleman.[42]

At the beginning of 1869 Dr. Staley returned from an unsuccessful begging tour of England, only to find that during his absence the persistent Calvinist opposition had fomented a widening rift in the English-speaking congregation in Honolulu. He immediately took energetic steps to heal the dissension, and he was fairly successful, but in doing so he alienated most of his clergy. Among these was Father Mason. The

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(37) Report of the Lahaina Mission, October, 1864, in E 15, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(38) Thomas Jay Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon, the Restorer after Three Centuries of the Religious Life in the English Church*, London, 1950, p. 223.

(39) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 11, 1865.

(40) Letter by Mason, dated August 17, 1867, Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 17, 1867.

(41) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 15, 1869; Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 11, 1869; Honolulu *Punch Bowl*, January, 1870, I, p. 48.

(42) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 26, 1869.

nub of the difficulty between them was whether Dr. Staley had resigned his see or had simply requested permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury to resign. In any case, as early as New Year's Day, 1870, it was announced that Dr. Staley was soon to leave Honolulu and that Father Mason was to take charge of St. Andrew's Cathedral in Honolulu until the arrival of Rev. Charles George Williamson, whom the English-speaking congregation had requested as pastor.[43] Father Mason moved to Honolulu and assumed the cure,[44] without, however, relinquishing Lahaina. Dr. Staley remained until July, and during the interval he recorded two refusals made by Father Mason. In May, Father Mason declined to examine a layman whom Dr. Staley was to make deacon,[45] and he declined also to invite the Bishop to confirm at Lahaina. The last entry Dr. Staley made in the cathedral register recorded this refusal.[46]

Dr. Staley's final departure from the Islands no doubt was agreeable to the English and American Low-Churchmen, who appear to have placed themselves in the anomalous position of accepting episcopacy without the episcopate, but it was alarming to loyal churchmen, both Anglo-Saxons and Hawaiians. In August, Kamehameha V asked Father Mason to journey to England and there to place before the public the true state of affairs of the Hawaiian Church and to push the appointment of a successor for Dr. Staley. Father Mason at first declined.[47] The King, nevertheless, wrote letters to England, probably to Dr. Wilberforce and to Dr. Archibald C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting a new bishop. In view of these letters, the Hawaiian Committee in England wondered whether the synod in Hawaii united in the King's request.[48] Before it could receive an answer, the King persuaded Father Mason to undertake what Father Mason regarded as the "disagreeable work"[49] of conducting negotiations in England. Bearing letters from both Kamehameha and Queen Emma, he left Honolulu on September 27.[50] On the same day, Queen Emma wrote Mrs. Mason:—

(43) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 1, 1870.

(44) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 12, 1870.

(45) T. N. Honolulu to [W. T.] Bullock, Waikiki, May 22 [1870], in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 48, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(46) Church Registry, p. 355.

(47) Mason to [E. L. Cutts (?)], Milton Abbas, November 30, 1870, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 55b, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(48) Manley Hopkins to [W. T. Bullock (?)], London, November 22, 1870, *ibid.*, No. 54.

(49) Mason to Bullock, Milton Abbas, November 30, 1870, *ibid.*, No. 55a.

(50) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, September 28, 1870.

My sympathies are with you during this new trial of separation from your husband. The Archdeacon sailed this morning at noon in the *Moses Taylor* for England fortified with a strong letter from the King, justifying the object for which he goes and that is the Continuance of the mission which the King wished heartily. He says in the letter he has and will ever have the interest of the Church at heart.[51]

Father Mason's expenses during his absence from Hawaii were paid by the King and Dr. F. W. Hutchinson, Minister of Interior, in their private capacities.[52]

He arrived in England probably in October, and both the Hawaiian Committee and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appear to have accused him of deserting his post.[53] In England, Father Mason had interviews with Dr. Wilberforce and Dr. Tait. The King had authorized him to request that Hawaii be placed under the episcopal supervision of the Bishop of London, who traditionally had oversight of all Anglicans not under the jurisdiction of any other bishop. After Father Mason reached England, however, the King communicated directly with Dr. Tait, informing him that the prosperity of the Church in Hawaii "must depend on the personal care of a Diocesan" and requesting him to consecrate a bishop for the see or to send out a bishop who had previously been consecrated.[54] The second alternative was the one accepted at the moment. Rev. George Brayton Whipple had served at Wailuku, and through this connection his brother, Dr. Henry Benjamin Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, had shown an interest in the Hawaiian Church. At the same time, Dr. Whipple's health was so poor that his physician advised a mild climate, and the Hawaiian was perfect. Dr. Wilberforce, therefore, was authorized to tender the see of Honolulu to Dr. Whipple. On his way back to Hawaii, Father Mason discussed the matter with Dr. Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York.[55] Father Mason arrived back

(51) *Wm. F. Wilson's Polynesiana Collection*, n.p., n.d., p. 47.

(52) Mason to [Cutts(?)], Milton Abbas, November 30, 1870; T. N. Staley to Bullock, Kensington, March 14, 1871, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 58, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(53) Mason to Bullock, November 30, 1870, and Mason to [Cutts (?)], November 30, 1870, *ibid.*

(54) Kamehameha to Archbishop of Canterbury, Honolulu, January 28, 1871, *MS.*, Lambeth Palace, London, courtesy of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(55) H. Potter to the Bishop of Minnesota, New York, April 25, 1871, in Henry Benjamin Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate . . .*, New York, 1912, p. 340, reprinted in *Honolulu Diocesan Magazine and Quarterly Record of Church Work in the Diocese*, April, 1901, IV, p. 316.

in Honolulu on April 19, 1871.[56] His mission had been successful. Although Dr. Whipple declined the see, later in the year the English friends of the Hawaiian Church selected Rev. Alfred Willis as bishop-designate, and on February 2, 1872, the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated him second Bishop of Honolulu.

Upon his return to Hawaii, Father Mason took up residence in Honolulu. Rev. Charles George Williamson, regarded as a Low-Churchman by the English Low-Churchmen in Honolulu but one who did not follow the Low Church party line upon his return to England in the following year, was then in charge of the English-speaking congregation, and Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, a deacon, was in charge of the Hawaiian congregation. At intervals, Williamson celebrated the Holy Eucharist for the Hawaiians. When Father Mason took up residence in Honolulu, Williamson's services were no longer required for the Hawaiian congregation,[57] apparently to his own relief and certainly to the delight of the Hawaiians and the sisters at St. Andrew's Priory.[58] At midnight on Christmas, a secular newspaper reported, " a mass was sung by the Rev. Arch Deacon,"[59] and no doubt both the terminology and the ceremonial pleased the congregation.

Dr. Willis arrived in Honolulu in July, 1872, and was immediately enthroned in his cathedral, at a service at which Father Mason read the licence under which the Bishop had been consecrated. In the evening, Father Mason preached a sermon on the establishment of the Church in Jerusalem, which a secular editor, heretofore and later a severe critic, described in glowing terms.

> We take pleasure in recording the fact that there are few men now existing in the whole world, much less in our present limited sphere, who could manipulate the subject with such mental power and vitality as Mr. Mason. We could recognize in him the polish and bouquet of Oxford, with the whole soul and poetic feeling of the Christian gentleman. There appeared the vivid intensifying electricity of " Peter the Hermit " toned by the grace and finish of a Wolsey.[60]

After ten years in the Islands, Father Mason had weathered and lived down criticism. He continued in charge of the Hawaiian congregation until the beginning of the following year.

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(56) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette,* April 19, 1871; Honolulu *St. Andrew's Magazine,* April, 1871, p. 25.

(57) *Ibid.,* July, 1871, p. iv.

(58) Sister Albertina to " Rev Father," September 1, 1885, in Alfred Willis Papers (*MS.* in private hands).

(59) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* December 30, 1871.

(60) *Ibid.,* July 13, 1872.

Throughout his eleven-year residence in Hawaii, he was known, in addition to being a faithful priest, as schoolmaster, preacher, writer, lecturer, and poet, under which heads it might be well to examine his activities.

Much of Father Mason's time in Hawaii was devoted to education, which the mission rightly considered one of its principal functions. As early as November 6, 1862, less than a month after their arrival, Dr. Staley asked Father Mason to conduct a college for boys of the superior classes. Apparently Father Mason saw before him difficulties, and at the time he referred to one of these—lack of text-books.[61] The sons of both gentlemen—that is, professional men—and tradesmen were expected to enrol.[62] Father Mason busied himself immediately, for on November 8 there appeared an advertisement of a collegiate grammar-school for boys, in which Latin, Greek, Euclid, algebra, and the usual branches of an English education were to be offered at a quarterly tuition of $12. Dr. Staley was announced as visitor and Father Mason principal.[63] The opening of the school was set for January 12, 1863.[64] At first, apparently, the school was held in the parsonage behind the temporary cathedral, in which the Masons lived, but a short while later they purchased a property in Nuuanu Valley,[65] where they seemed to have erected a building at a cost of £250. By the middle of the year there were thirty-two students, of English, French, German, Hawaiian, and half-white extraction, whose tuition totalled £250 per year.[66] Of these students, twenty were boarders. The school soon received the name of St. Alban's College,[67] and collections in the temporary cathedral for its support netted £30.[68]

Upon the removal of the Masons to Lahaina, in January, 1864, St. Alban's was left in other hands, and Father Mason proposed to begin

(61) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . .* , p. 34.

(62) Letter of Ellen Mary Mason in *The Net,* February 1, 1866, p. 24.

(63) Honolulu *Polynesian,* November 8, 1862; Honolulu *Hoku o ka Pakipika,* Novemaba 13, 1862.

(64) Honolulu *Polynesian,* December 27, 1862.

(65) Henry Rhodes to Mason, May 30, 1863, Records of Conveyances, XX, pp. 295–296, *MS.,* Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu.

(66) Letter of Dr. Staley, dated September 30, 1863, in *Mission Field,* 1864, p. 14.

(67) Entry for September 9, 1863, in Mildred Staley (*ed.*), "Bishop Staley's Journal," *loc. cit.,* p. 6.

(68) Annual return, January 14, 1864, *MS.,* Archives of S.P.G.

another boys' school at his new station.[69] He immediately leased the building near the shore formerly used by the United States consul as a hospital for American seamen and altered it to serve as a school building.[70] So onerous were Father Mason's duties in Lahaina that he was obliged to hire a teacher, G. W. Hart, to help him with the school. Within a short time the two of them obtained creditable results. At a public examination of December 22, 1864, all but nine of the fifty-six students were present, and an observer wrote that the results indicated the lads had received a superior education. At least one of them, Curtis Piehu Iaukea, who had received a prize, was to grow up to great prominence as an official of the Kingdom of Hawaii. After the examination there was light calisthenics, and then, with flags flying, drums beating, and all singing "God Save the King," the lads marched to Father Mason's lawn, where he had spread an abundant feast.[71]

By 1866 Father Mason had two boys' schools in Lahaina—one a boarding-school, with twenty-five students, and the other a day-school for Hawaiian boys exclusively, with sixty-five students.[72] Hart was principal of the latter in 1866,[73] with his salary paid by the Board of Education of the Kingdom,[74] and in the following year Father Mason was relieved of the former by Rev. Edward Warren, a deacon from the diocese of California.[75]

During the summer of 1868, undoubtedly because of financial strain, Dr. Staley decided to combine Father Mason's boarding-school with St. Alban's in Pauoa Valley, Honolulu, which had moved to the former girls' school, the combination to be effected on August 24, with Father Mason as headmaster and Rev. Charles William Turner, a deacon, as master.[76] No sooner had the Masons moved their family and children to Honolulu,[77] when it was decided to remove St. Alban's to Lahaina. Immediately before the date appointed for the opening of the combined

(69) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* January 21, 1864.

(70) *Ibid.,* February 4, 1864.

(71) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette,* January 6, 1866, Vol. I, p. 236.

(72) *Annual Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1866,* pp. 179–180.

(73) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette,* January 13, 1866, Vol. I, p. 244.

(74) *Annual Report of the S.P.G., 1867,* pp. 145–146.

(75) Warren to Secretary, S.P.G., in Letters Received, 1865–74, Honolulu, No. 1a, *MS.,* Archives of S.P.G.

(76) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* August 15, 1868.

(77) Mason to Bullock, February 11, 1870, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 46, *MS.,* Archives of S.P.G.

schools in Lahaina, the Masons, Turner, and twenty-five pupils of St. Alban's moved to Lahaina and combined St. Alban's with Father Mason's school there.[78] Apparently, for a while in Lahaina, Turner was in charge of St. Alban's and Hart in charge of the day-school, with Father Mason acting as superintendent of both.[79] Very shortly, however, Turner returned to Honolulu, where he kept a day-school with eighteen students.[80]

Father Mason found the schools a great pecuniary burden, for he had difficulty collecting tuition from the parents of his lads. In addition, a number of the boarding students were orphans who were entirely dependent upon him for support. He deplored the lack of an endowment, which would have permitted him to keep the boys in school longer, for he found their parents anxious to push them into the business world in order to add to the family earnings. A number of the boys who left the school, however, found remunerative employment—two were compositors in the Government Printing Office in Honolulu, two assistants in stores, one clerk to the circuit Judge of Maui, and another second mate on a whaling-ship.[81] In 1870, it would seem, St. Alban's returned to Honolulu. The boarding-school at Lahaina, with fifteen students, of whom nine held scholarships granted by the Board of Education, was then known as Lahainalalo College—that is, the college in Lower Lahaina—and the day-school, with thirty-five students, was under H. Higgins, whose salary was paid by the Board.[82]

When in England in 1870 Father Mason informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he was anxious to plead for funds for the establishment of a college for Hawaiian youth, complete with a theological department.[83] The Society did not encourage him in this hope, and obviously he did nothing about the matter. Upon his return to Hawaii he established his residence in Honolulu,[84] and there he became connected with Iolani College, which appears to have been

(78) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 22, 1868.

(79) C. C. Bennett, *Honolulu Directory, and Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, Honolulu, 1869, p. 74.

(80) *Ibid.*, p. 72; *Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 3, 1869.

(81) Mason to Bullock, February 11, 1870, *loc. cit.*

(82) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 25, 1870.

(83) Mason to Secretary, S.P.G., St. Andrew's Day, 1870, in Letters Received, 1865–1874, Honolulu, No. 55b, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(84) Honolulu *St. Andrew's Magazine*, July, 1871, p. iv.

Turner's day-school. His first connection with Iolani was as examiner,[85] but shortly afterwards he assumed charge of the school. Always alert to the necessity of keeping his schools before the attention of the public, he held two entertainments in 1871–1872—one at Christmas-time[86] and the other at the beginning of summer, at which a visiting actor, George Pauncefort, gave readings.[87] Father Mason's connection with Iolani was not entirely happy, for on September 8, 1872, one of the students died at the school,[88] possibly the lad was one of the orphans for whom he was entirely responsible. During the five years 1868 to 1872 Father Mason received for his schools $5,644.72 from the Board of Education.[89]

Mrs. Mason, likewise, devoted her attentions to education. Eleven days after the arrival of the mission in Honolulu, Dr. Staley, together with the Masons, discussed a family school for native girls with the King and E. H. Allen, a member of the Board of Education.[90] Queen Emma viewed the proposal with enthusiasm, for she always interested herself in every move designed for the elevation of her people, particularly the women.[91] The first seven students came to Mrs. Mason while she was still living in the parsonage, but they soon removed to Nuuanu Valley, while they awaited the construction of a school at the mouth of Pauoa Valley.[92] This building cost the King £800,[93] and shortly after its construction he undertook to build an attached chapel, in which were said the daily offices[94] and where Father Mason celebrated his first mass of Easter, 1863.[95] The school was advertised as offering an English

(85) *Ibid.*, p. 25. The present Iolani School in Honolulu, which is named in honour of Kamehameha IV (Iolani was the name he used when he wrote to his relatives and old friends), is possibly a continuation of the Iolani College here mentioned. There is no certainty that it is a continuation of St. Alban's, and certainly not Iolani nor indeed was any other Anglican church school for boys in Hawaii founded in 1862, as the present Iolani claims.

(86) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 3, 1872.

(87) *Ibid.*, June 29, 1872; Mason to the editor, July 5, 1872, *ibid.*, July 6, 1872.

(88) *Ibid.*, September 14, 1872.

(89) *Ibid.*, June 1, 1878.

(90) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . .* , p. 12.

(91) *Ibid.*, p. 34; *see also* letter of Ellen Mary Mason in *The Net*, February 1, 1866, p. 24.

(92) Letter of Mason in *The Net*, March 1, 1866, p. 42.

(93) Letter of Dr. Staley in *Mission Field*, 1864, p. 14.

(94) Entry for September 9, 1863, in Mildred Staley (*ed.*), "Bishop Staley's Journal," *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

(95) Honolulu *Polynesian*, April 4, 1863.

education and also domestic and industrial training.[96] In addition to the usual subjects, it offered French and German, calisthenics, music and dancing, drawing, illuminating, plain needlework, embroidery, and dressmaking. It was divided into two departments—the first for girls over 12 years and the second for those under that age. The tuition was $40 per quarter in the first department and $25 per quarter in the second. At first Mrs. Mason had the entire burden of instruction,[97] but two ladies were brought out from England to assist her, one of them Father Mason's sister and the other Father Ibbotson's sister.[98] There were about two dozen students, and Dr. Staley expected to draw others from the Royal School.[99] Most of the students were free exhibitioners of the King and Queen.[100] Upon the removal of the Masons to Lahaina, the school continued under the direction of the Misses Mason and Ibbotson[101] until 1867, when St. Andrew's Priory was founded by Rev. Mother Lydia, of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, into which the students were absorbed.

In Lahaina Mrs. Mason for a short time had a girls' school, which probably had been initiated by Mrs. Scott. Three sisters of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity arrived in the Islands in November, 1864, and took over this school, which they named St. Cross.[102] Although withdrawn from formal teaching, Mrs. Mason took into her home a number of girls, varying from 7 to 12 years, whom, with the assistance of a Miss Spurgin, she trained in domestic and industrial work,[103] and she advertised for a companion to be educated along with one of her daughters.[104]

Three-quarters of a century after his departure from Hawaii, Father Mason was still remembered in Honolulu as an eloquent preacher.[105]

(96) *Ibid.*, November 8, 1862; Honolulu *Hoku o ka Pakipika,* Novemaba 13, 1862.

(97) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* April 2, 1863.

(98) Letter of Dr. Staley in *Mission Field,* 1864, p. 14.

(99) *Ibid.; see also* Annual Return, January 14, 1864, *MS.,* Archives of S.P.G.

(100) Entry for September 9, 1863, in Mildred Staley (*ed.*), "Bishop Staley's Journal," *loc. cit.,* p. 6.

(101) *Annual Report of the S.P.G., 1866,* pp. 179–180.

(102) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* November 12, 1864.

(103) *Annual Report of the S.P.G., 1866,* pp. 179–180; *ibid., 1867,* pp. 145–146; Dr. Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., November 17, 1867, in Letters Received, 1859–1867, Honolulu, No. 54, *MS.,* Archives of S.P.G.

(104) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 20, 1867.

(105) Conversation with Mrs. Florence Lawrence, of Honolulu, February 9, 1947. Mrs. Lawrence, daughter of George Morison Robertson, was born in Honolulu, March 25, 1859.

There is practically no information now available on his usual sermons, but there are comments about his occasional ones. He certainly did not read his sermons, for he was so near-sighted that he could not read except at very short range.[106] It was he who delivered the first sermon after the arrival of the mission, in the temporary cathedral, on October 12, 1862.[107] Within a month of his arrival in the Islands he preached for the first time in Hawaiian, on the text " Go ye, teach all nations. "[108] He described his preparation for a Hawaiian sermon in a letter written to England:—

> First I write a foul copy; then I get my volunteer tutor [David Kalakaua] to correct it. Then I write a fair copy and learn it by heart; and finally, on the Saturday, I speak it to my tutor, who corrects my pronunciation and emphasis.[109]

Father Mason preached a eulogy on Kamehameha IV, December 6, 1863, which, like many of his sermons, showed evidence of a deep devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. In speaking of the King, he said in part:—

> You may not all know how he loved communion with his Lord. You may not all know how it was his delight in the early morn to enter the courts of the Lord's house and partake of the bread of life, after due preparation and hearty contrition for past sin. Truly to him it was the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. He ever looked upon the Holy Communion service as a sacrifice of thanksgiving, which it was his " bounden duty " to offer on all special occasions, whether of sorrow or of joy. Thus, when but a few weeks ago God visited him and his beloved Queen with a severe accident, his first thought was to send for his Bishop to celebrate privately those holy mysteries as a mark of his gratitude, and to express his consciousness of hourly dependence on the protecting hand of the King of Kings.[110]

Father Mason also preached at the ordination of William Hoapili Kaauwai to the diaconate in Lahaina, September 25, 1864;[111] on the unity of Christendom, July 2, 1865;[112] at a mass of thanksgiving for the safe return of Queen Emma from England, October 28, 1866;[113] and a eulogy on George Morison Robertson, March 17, 1867.[114]

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(106) Letter of Mason in *The Net*, March 1, 1866, p. 42.

(107) *Sandwich Islands, Extracts from a Journal . . . ,* p. 7.

(108) *Ibid.*, p. 35.

(109) Letter of Mason in *The Net*, March 1, 1866, pp. 42–43.

(110) Quoted in Staley, *A Pastoral Address*, p. 66. For comment on the sermon *see* Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 10 and 17, 1863.

(111) Report of the Lahaina Mission, October, 1864, *MS.*, Archives of S.P.G.

(112) Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 1, 1865, Vol. I, p. 21.

(113) *Ibid.*, October 27, 1866.

(114) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 23 and April 6, 1867.

One of his Honolulu sermons was published. This was a judicious and scholarly criticism of John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, which he delivered on July 12, 1863. Colenso had written that it was a " presumptuous and impious assumption " to claim that man was created in God's image. Taking as his text, " Let us make man in our image, after our likeness " (Genesis 1:26), Father Mason showed that he was " disposed to side with all advances of science," however much they appeared to contradict Scripture. He was dismayed, he said, not by Colenso's regarding parts of the Mosaic narratives as legends, but by his attacking the purpose of those legends: instruction on the origin of man, his fall, and the scheme of his restoration. Father Mason's sermon was built upon the doctrine of the Incarnation. The pre-existent Word was identical, he affirmed, with the Incarnate Word, and the mediation of Jesus Christ and the salvation of man depended on the reality of material man, which was, in some manner, made in God's likeness. He ended his sermon with a reaffirmation of the Blessed Sacrament, " the brightest earthly mirror of God's love," as the extension of the Incarnation.[115] A secular editor criticized the sermon, but Father Mason stuck to his guns.[116]

Father Mason wrote two theological tracts—one a statement on confirmation and the other on the validity of Anglican orders. The tract on confirmation he prepared at the request of Dr. Staley, and so pleased was the King with it that he translated it into Hawaiian.[117] In this tract he boldly stated the doctrines of the gift of the Holy Ghost in episcopal confirmation and of the power of the keys. Both of these were distasteful to the Calvinists, and they did not fail to seize the opportunity of attacking both Father Mason and the mission.[118] The historical work on the validity of Anglican orders was a more substantial one. In May, 1865, the Roman mission in Honolulu issued a reprint of a small portion of John Fletcher's *Comparative View of the Grounds of the* [Roman]

(115) George Mason, *Colenso on the Book of Genesis, the Creation of Man in the " Image " of God Vindicated from the Charge of Being a " Presumptuous and Impious Assumption," a Sermon Preached in the Hawaiian Cathedral, Honolulu, on the 6th Sunday after Trinity, 12th July, 1863,* Honolulu, 1863, 12 pp.

(116) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* August 27, September 3, September 17, and October 1, 1863.

(117) Letter of Ellen Mary Mason in *The Net,* February 1, 1866, p. 23. Unfortunately the author has been unsuccessful in locating a copy of this tract, either in English or in Hawaiian.

(118) *Missionary Herald,* February, 1863, LXIV, pp. 35–36.

Catholic and Protestant Churches (London, 1826), which it thought would " prove interesting and instructive for our Hawaiian community especially under the present circumstances." This was an artful statement in which Fletcher, while pretending not to deny the validity of Anglican orders, presented the worn-out arguments that the consecration of Matthew Parker, if it occurred at all, was uncanonical and illegal, that the consecrators lacked commission, that the form was insufficient, and that the consecration of Barlow was doubtful.[119] This pamphlet was eagerly seized upon by the Calvinist critics as a weapon to use against Dr. Staley, although the same critics would have been the first to deny the doctrine of apostolic succession.[120] Father Mason wrote a reply to the pamphlet, but, not wishing to engage in controversy, he abstained from publishing it until Dr. Staley, who had discovered the pamphlet in circulation among his flock, requested him to put it in print. Using primarily François Pierre le Courayer's *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church* (1723, new edition 1844) and Walter Farquhar Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,* he deftly demolished all of Fletcher's arguments.[121] The *Hawaiian Gazette* commented that the pamphlet read " like the work of a thorough scholar and one well versed in Church history,"[122] while the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* to which Father Mason did not send a copy, whined that " from the fair and temperate manner in which Mr. Mason's productions have always been received in this paper, we certainly had a right to expect that the usual courtesy would be extended to us."[123] Probably it was the " fair and temperate manner " which Father Mason wished to avoid, having been exposed to it on previous occasions. His pamphlet seems to have effectively ended the local Romanist and Calvinist criticism of Anglican orders.

On several occasions, during his residence in Hawaii, Father Mason gave public lectures and readings as a means of raising funds for civic

(119) [John] Fletcher, *The Ordinations of the Church of England,* Honolulu, 1865, 25 pp.

(120) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* May 20, 1865.

(121) [George] Mason, *A Vindication of the Orders of the Ancient Catholic Church of England, against the Objections of one Dr. Fletcher, with a Preface and Notes,* Honolulu, 1865, 35 pp. Publication of this tract was announced in the Honolulu *Hawaiian Gazette,* July 22, 1865, Vol. I, p. 47.

(122) *Ibid.,* July 29, 1865, Vol. I, p. 52.

(123) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* August 5, 1865.

improvements. The first of these was on June 22, 1863, when, in aid of the building fund of Queen's Hospital, he lectured on " The Genius of Shakespeare Illustrated from the *Tragedy of Hamlet.*" For an hour and three-quarters he spoke extemporaneously, and, according to one reporter, showed that he not only knew his subject, but also " possessed himself literary powers of no ordinary capacity."[124] It is not surprising that he was harshly criticized by Congregationalists for elevating Shakespeare above Milton, for the Calvinist mind always regarded Milton as the greatest of English poets.[125] On April 17, 1868, he gave a reading of *Hamlet* as a benefit for the Olympic Hall, a gymnastic association; this reading was received with better grace than the lecture.[126] Three years later, on August 4, 1871, he lectured on " The Indirect Influence of Popular Writers of Fiction on Social Institutions, as Exemplified by the Writings of Charles Dickens," as a means of raising funds for building a schoolroom. Although a heavy rain prevented a large audience, those who braved the elements were amply rewarded. Father Mason spoke of Dickens' influence in ameliorating poorhouses, workhouses, hospitals, and schools.[127] Again, on February 3, 1873, despite a cold, Father Mason, " with a fine voice, good taste, and correct appreciation of all the points of the subject," read selections from Shakespeare, Shelley, Poe, Tennyson, Hood, Whittier, and the *Ingoldsby Legends.*[128]

In Hawaii, Father Mason wrote a number of occasional poems. His first was a description of the arrival of the English missionaries, written on shipboard before the pilot was taken up.[129] In addition, he wrote an elegy on the Prince of Hawaii,[130] an ode to Kamehameha IV,[131] one celebrating the first observance of Kamehameha the First Day,[132] and one lauding King Lunalilo.[133]

(124) *Ibid.*, June 18 and 25, 1863.

(125) Honolulu *Friend,* July 3, 1863, Vol. XX, pp. 49–50.

(126) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* April 18, 1868; Honolulu *Friend,* May 1, 1868, Vol. XXV, p. 40.

(127) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 29, August 5 and 12, 1871.

(128) *Ibid.*, February 1 and 8, 1873.

(129) Honolulu *Polynesian,* November 1, 1862. This poem was signed G. M. A portion of it was reproduced and correctly assigned to Mason in Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands; Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors,* Boston, 1864, p. 350.

(130) Honolulu *Friend,* November 1, 1862, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

(131) Honolulu *Polynesian,* December 20, 1862.

(132) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 6, 1872. This day is still celebrated on June 11.

(133) *Ibid.*, February 8, 1873.

After almost eleven years' work in Hawaii, Father Mason, who suffered from persistent eye-trouble, concluded that a cooler climate would improve his health. In San Francisco there was a struggling Anglo-Catholic parish, St. Alban's, which was undergoing all the vicissitudes that such parishes were subjected to in the nineteenth century. Father Mason was apparently informed that a call from this organization would be forthcoming if he were in California.[134] On February 15, 1873, he obtained a letter dimissory from Dr. Willis, addressed to Dr. William Ingraham Kip, Bishop of California,[135] and three days later, without his family, he sailed aboard the *Moses Taylor* for San Francisco.[136] Upon arriving there he learned that, on February 9, St. Alban's had placed itself under Trinity Church.[137] The name had then been changed to Trinity Chapel, and Father Mason was appointed to minister to its congregation.[138] Mrs. Mason and the children followed aboard the *Costa Rica* on May 3.[139] Apparently Father Mason's arrangements with Trinity were not entirely satisfactory, for he looked about for work elsewhere. Dr. Henry J. C. Harper, Bishop of Christchurch, New Zealand, offered him a place in his diocese,[140] and Dr. George Hills, Bishop of British Columbia, did likewise.[141] Accepting the second offer, Father Mason moved to British Columbia in November.

A newspaper reported that Dr. Hills intended appointing him Archdeacon of Vancouver.[142] This rumour was premature, for Father Mason was not made archdeacon until 1880. Instead, he became pastor of Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster. His geniality and tact made him agreeable to everyone in the community, which appears to have been composed of divergent national and sectarian groups. With dissent, he was on the best of terms. For example, at an annual meeting of the New Westminster Bible Society he gave an address, "The Incorrupt

(134) *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger,* April 1, 1873, p. 30.

(135) "The Acts of the Right Reverend Alfred Willis, D.D.," *MS.*, in office of Missionary District of Honolulu, Honolulu, p. 6.

(136) Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* February 22, 1873.

(137) *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger,* April 1, 1873, p. 30.

(138) *Ibid.,* May 1, 1873, p. 38; Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* April 19, 1873.

(139) *Ibid.,* May 10, 1873; *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger,* June 1, 1873, p. 47.

(140) *Ibid.,* April 1, 1873, p. 30.

(141) *Church Times,* February 3, 1893, Vol. XXXI, p. 103, reprinted in Victoria *Colonist,* February 26, 1893.

(142) *Ibid.,* November 22, 1873.

Preservation of the Bible,"[143] a subject on which he and they were no doubt in complete agreement. His own congregation was heterogeneous in churchmanship, but through the exercise of delicacy he was able to avoid giving offence,[144] yet, in light of his fervent Anglo-Catholicism, one suspects that he surrendered no principle. He merited a local reputation as a sound and admirable preacher,[145] and his reading of the services was commended as impressive.[146] Even the secular newspaper recommended a hearty response at the offering on Easter as a reward for the pastor.[147] As always, he took an interest in children. At a Christmas party for the church school children, he distributed prizes donated by Mrs. Hills,[148] and a few weeks later he gave a treat at which he showed magic-lantern slides and provided his little guests with tea and cakes.[149]

In March, 1874, Father Mason was appointed principal of the Collegiate School at Victoria.[150] This was a work for which his experience in Hawaii had eminently prepared him. In addition to the educational work, he was licensed to minister to Cedar Hill and Lake districts near Victoria.[151] He held these positions for only five months. In August he was appointed rector of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo,[152] to which he moved in the following month, after the pupils of the Collegiate School had presented him with a leather-bound album.[153]

He served at Nanaimo for four years, during which the congregation of St. Paul's so increased in size that the parish built an enlargement to the church.[154] On November 9 his wife and he opened St. Paul's School, in which they offered the ordinary English branches, together with French and needlework if desired.[155] In addition to his parochial work, he took an interest in diocesan affairs. When a synod was constituted

(143) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian,* February 21, 1873.

(144) *Ibid.,* April 25, 1874, reprinted in Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 4, 1874.

(145) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian,* February 19, 1874.

(146) *Ibid.,* March 7, 1874.

(147) *Ibid.,* April 4, 1874.

(148) *Ibid.,* December 25, 1873.

(149) *Ibid.,* February 12, 1874.

(150) Victoria *Colonist,* March 24, 1874.

(151) Dr. Harold Eustace Sexton, Bishop of British Columbia, to the author, February 17, 1947.

(152) Victoria *Standard,* August 18, 1874.

(153) Victoria *Colonist,* September 19, 1874.

(154) Nanaimo *Free Press,* June 12, 1878.

(155) *Ibid.,* October 31, 1874.

for the diocese in 1875, Father Mason preached at its opening and became a member of its executive committee. In 1878 Dr. Hills went to England, and for the period of his absence he appointed Father Mason dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria and one of his two local commissaries.[156] Upon Father Mason's departure from Nanaimo, seventy-one members of St. Paul's congregation presented him with an address testifying to his merits "as a man and Pastor" and to his "valuable services as a Minister of the Gospel and a true and Christian friend and monitor," and the church school children gave him a memento.[157]

Father Mason was installed as dean on June 6, 1878,[158] and served for two years. Upon the ordinary's return to his diocese, he resumed his functions as dean and rector of the cathedral. Father Mason then became *locum tenens* charged with the pastoral oversight of the cathedral congregation.[159] On July 8, 1880, Dr. Hills gave him the more pretentious title of assistant rector and, in addition, appointed him Archdeacon of Vancouver, a position, like the bishopric, endowed by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.[160] Father Mason did not devote all of his time in Canada to education and his priestly duties. Mrs. Mason worked assiduously among the sick and needy in Victoria,[161] and there is an unverified statement that during their residence in British Columbia Father Mason and his wife founded and operated a hospital.[162]

In British Columbia Father Mason continued to write verse. The Mechanics' Literary Institute, of Victoria, in 1875, offered a prize of $20 for the best poem submitted in a contest sponsored by it. Father Mason easily captured the prize by a poem *Lo! the Poor Indian!* which was regarded as abounding in "fine sentiment and Christian thought."[163] In the poem he contrasted the dignity of the Indian before the arrival of the white man with his debasement following the introduction of whisky and the plunder of his lands. The poem is remarkable for the recognition of the unity of man despite racial distinctions. It contains some

(156) Bishop Sexton to the author.

(157) Nanaimo *Free Press*, June 15, 1878; Victoria *Colonist*, June 20, 1878. See also *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, September 1, 1875, p. 66.

(158) Nanaimo *Free Press*, June 6, 1878.

(159) Victoria *Colonist*, January 10, 1880.

(160) Bishop Sexton to the author.

(161) Victoria *Colonist*, August 8, 1884.

(162) *Church Times*, February 3, 1893, Vol. XXXI, p. 103.

(163) Victoria *Colonist*, October 29, 1875.

notable lines, among them the description of the Indian at the time Father Mason wrote:—

> Lo! the poor Indian now! from street to street
> In cast-off finery, with naked feet,
> Listlessly strolling, object of contempt,—
> His claims neglected and his lands pre-empt,—
> Despoiled, uncared for, destitute he roams,
> A homeless exile, 'mid his native homes![164]

Not great poetry perhaps, but certainly evidence of decent and manly commiseration for an exploited people.

A short while later he published a poem on the wreck of the steamship *Pacific,* from which only two persons had escaped with their lives.[165] This poem was sold for one bit a copy, and the proceeds were devoted to the purchase of a carpet for St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo.[166] Upon the death of Sir James Douglas, long-time Governor of the former colony, Father Mason prepared an elegy extolling his virtues.[167] His pen was not, however, devoted exclusively to the commemoration of public events, for upon the tenth birthday of his youngest daughter he presented her with an acrostic written in her honour.[168]

On July 30, 1881, Father Mason, together with his family, left British Columbia for England.[169] The exact reason for his departure is hard to determine, for no statement of his own on the subject is available. There were made by others, however, conflicting claims, on the one hand, that he went on furlough[170] and, on the other, that his wife's health required a change of climate.[171] Had he gone for the first reason, and had there been no other issues involved, he probably would

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(164) *Prize Poem, Lo! the Poor Indian! Read before the Mechanics' Literary Institute, Victoria, Thursday, October 28, 1875,* Victoria, 1875, 8 pp.

(165) *Ode on the Loss of the Steamship "Pacific," November 4th, 1875,* Nanaimo, 1875, 4 pp. This poem was reprinted in the Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* June 3, 1876.

(166) Nanaimo *Free Press,* December 1, 1875.

(167) "In Memory of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B.," Victoria *Colonist,* October 19, 1877.

(168) "Ethel's Birthday, Decr 5th 1878," *MS.* supplied by Mrs. W. H. Britton. Etheldreda Eliza Finch Nalanieula Mason was born at Lahaina, December 5, 1868, and was baptized on December 20, with Queen Emma as one of the godmothers. Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* December 19, 1868. Printed baptismal certificate supplied by Mrs. W. H. Britton.

(169) Victoria *Colonist,* July 31, 1881.

(170) *Church Times,* February 3, 1893, Vol. XXXI, p. 103.

(171) Anglican to editor, August 8, 1884, in Victoria *Colonist,* August 9, 1884.

have returned. Had he gone for the second reason, his return would have been doubtful. As a matter of fact, he never returned to British Columbia, but this does not prove the validity of the second assumption, for there was, it would appear, another issue involved: Dr. Hills did not wish his return.[172] The truth of this is not substantiated, but it is certain that adverse decisions of bishops often prevent the return of missionaries from furloughs. For a year in England, Father Mason worked for the welfare of the mission. He presented the merits of British Columbia to congregations and collected £1,200 from them.[173]

Having resigned from the mission, Father Mason helped for a year at Christ Church, St. Leonard's on Sea, where an old college friend, C. L. Vaughan, was incumbent. There he was long remembered for some notable addresses at a three hours' devotion on Good Friday. Then he served a year at St. Michael's, Southsea.[174] In the summer of 1884 Dr. Edward H. Browne, Bishop of Winchester, presented him to the living of Long Cross, Virginia Water, near Windsor,[175] where he served for eight years. By quiet teaching and example he won his parishioners to the acceptance of the full Catholic faith, and with his wife he initiated a home for penitents where he ministered daily. In addition to his work in Long Cross, he was often in demand as a preacher elsewhere. During Holy Week, 1891, while returning from an outside engagement, he suffered a stroke of paralysis which permanently crippled him.[176]

He resigned his living in the following year and retired to St. Leonard's. He last received the Blessed Sacrament on January 16, 1893, and on the following day he suffered a cerebral hæmorrhage, from which he died on January 21.[177] In a codicil to his will made the day before his last attack, he had requested that his funeral be " conducted according to the rites of the Catholic Church of England " and that it be " as simple and inexpensive as possible."[178] This wish was executed on January 24, when the burial office was said and a requiem mass in the presence of the body was sung by Father Vaughan, after which his body was buried in

(172) *Ibid.*, August 8, 1884.

(173) *Church Times,* February 3, 1893, Vol. XXXI, p. 103.

(174) " George Mason, Priest, In Memoriam," *loc. cit.*

(175) *Church Times,* February 3, 1893, Vol. XXXI, p. 103.

(176) *Ibid.;* " George Mason, Priest, In Memoriam," *loc. cit.*

(177) *Ibid. See also* Death Certificate, *MS.*, Registry General, London.

(178) Codicil, January 16, 1893, to will, March 5, 1885, *MS.*, in Principal Probate Registry, London.

the churchyard of St. Leonard's, Hollington.[179] Upon his tombstone were engraved the words, " I believe in the Communion of Saints."[180]

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BROWNWOOD, TEXAS.

(179) " George Mason, Priest, In Memoriam," *loc. cit.;* Burial Register of St. Leonard's, Hollington, courtesy of Rev. J. C. Poole, vicar of Holy Trinity, Hastings, and rural dean of Hastings.

(180) Mason's widow died January 6, 1900, aged 64 years, and her body is buried with Father Mason. Courtesy of Rev. J. C. Poole.

BRITISH COLUMBIA AND CONFEDERATION*

During the almost eighty years that have elapsed since British Columbia joined Canada the population of the Province has increased from 36,247, including Indians and Chinese, to over 1,000,000.[1] The Pacific Province is now third in population, being surpassed only by Ontario and Quebec. It may well be asked why the far-away British colony on the Pacific Coast became a Canadian Province in 1871 on terms of union that included the promise of a railway linking the Pacific seaboard with the railway system of Eastern Canada. The story of how British Columbia joined Canada has often been told, but as a rule British Columbians have failed to realize exactly where this event fits into the general picture of Canadian Confederation. It will be well, therefore, first to sketch the progress of the federation movement in the Eastern British North American Provinces, and then to fit within the framework of confederation the entrance, first, of the Hudson's Bay territory that became the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, and, finally, the steps leading to the inauguration of our Province of British Columbia.

The American Revolutionary War came to an end in 1783, when the representatives of His Britannic Majesty George III and those of the new United States of America signed a treaty of peace at Versailles, France. Thirteen of the former British colonies had broken away from the Empire and had been recognized as forming a new nation. During the war for independence the revolting colonies had signed articles of confederation that were finally ratified by all the new States in 1781. But the confederation was not a close federal union, and it was found

* The substance of an address delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association on the occasion of the unveiling of a plaque erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to commemorate the inauguration on July 20, 1871, of the Province of British Columbia. The ceremony took place in the Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C., March 9, 1951.

(1) *Canada Year Book, 1950,* Ottawa, 1950, p. xvii, gives the estimated figure for 1948 as 1,082,000. The 1941 Census gave the population as 817,861. The white population of the Province at Confederation was under 10,000. J. T. Marshall, *Vital Statistics of British Columbia,* Victoria, n.d., pp. 191–193. The figure given for 1870 was 8,576.

necessary in May, 1787, to summon a constitutional convention to meet in Philadelphia. This convention drafted the Constitution of the United States that was accepted and signed by the delegates from twelve out of the thirteen States—Rhode Island had refused to send delegates to the convention—and then submitted to the various States for ratification. The necessary nine out of thirteen States had recorded votes in favour of ratification by June, 1788, and the Constitution of the United States was formally proclaimed. The first presidential elections were held in 1789, and George Washington was declared elected as the first President and John Adams as the first Vice-President of the United States of America. The American Constitution established the first modern federal union, and its influence has been profound. The "Fathers of Confederation" in Canada were quite aware of the strength and weakness of the Constitution of the United States.

The British colonies that remained in North America could be roughly divided into two groups—the northern and the British West Indies. The latter group does not come into the picture at all and, therefore, for our purpose must be omitted. The northern group in 1783 included Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, the "old Province of Quebec," and Newfoundland. There was, in addition, the Hudson's Bay territory or Rupert's Land, held by the Hudson's Bay Company under its royal charter of May 2, 1670. Proposals for a union of the Eastern British North American Provinces were brought forward by Colonel Robert Morse, R.E., in 1784 and by William Smith, Chief Justice of Quebec, in 1790.[2] During the next half-century other similar proposals were made, but nothing came of them.

Lord Durham in his celebrated *Report* discussed the possibility of a federation of all the British North American Provinces, but in the end rejected the idea in favour of the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada. He recommended, however, that in the Act of Union provision be made for the admission of "any or all of the other North American Colonies."[3] His lordship's recommendation on this point, as on many others, was disregarded, and the Act of Union of 1840 contained no such provision.

(2) *See* R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation,* Toronto, 1924, pp. 5, 6; and A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (*eds.*), *Canada and Its Provinces,* Edinburgh, 1914, Vol. III, pp. 130, 131. Smith had proposed a federation of all the North American Provinces before the outbreak of the American Revolution.

(3) Sir Charles Lucas (*ed.*), *Lord Durham's Report,* Oxford, 1912, Vol. II, p. 323. *See also* Vol. I, pp. 132, 133, 248–255, and Vol. II, pp. 304–323.

During most of the hectic decade of the 1840's the subject that agitated the minds of British North Americans was the securing of responsible government. Nova Scotia, under the inspiration and leadership of Joseph Howe, led the way in the Maritimes, and the battle was won in 1848. The next year Lord Elgin signed the Rebellion Losses Bill and thereby accepted the principle of responsible government in the Province of Canada. In 1846 the British Parliament had abolished the Corn Laws and thereby ended preference for Canadian grain in the British market. The repeal of the Navigation Acts and the final victory of free trade in 1849 led to hard times in Canada, especially in Montreal, where leading merchants signed the Annexation Manifesto.[4] The British American League, meeting at Kingston on July 31, 1849, had already adopted a platform favouring a union of all the British American Provinces.[5] Both movements, however, failed to arouse public opinion to any marked extent or to achieve any permanent results.

In the 1850's the problem of closer union was canvassed both in the Maritime colonies and in United Canada. J. W. Johnstone, leader of the Conservative opposition in the Nova Scotia Assembly, raised the issue in 1854, but his resolution failed to pass. In Canada the political situation was becoming exceedingly complicated, and it was evident that the Union of 1841 had failed to bring harmony between the two races. The rapid increase in population in Upper Canada, or Canada West, led to a movement headed by the " Clear Grits " and championed by George Brown in the Toronto *Globe* in favour of representation by population, or " Rep. by Pop." as it was popularly called. Proposals were advanced for a federation of the two Canadas, and even for a general federation of all the British Provinces. In 1858, when the political situation was more confused than ever, Alexander Tilloch Galt, member for Sherbrooke in the English-speaking Eastern Townships, delivered a speech in the Canadian Parliament advocating a federal union of British North America. It is noteworthy that Galt stressed

(4) The text of this celebrated document is to be found in Sir Arthur G. Doughty (*ed.*), *The Elgin-Grey Papers,* Ottawa, 1937, Vol. IV, pp. 1487–1494. Among the signatories were J. J. C. Abbott, D. L. Macpherson, L. H. Holton, John Rose, Q.C., and William McDougall, all of whom later supported the movement for Confederation.

(5) "Address of the ' British American League ' to the inhabitants of Canada —adopted 31st July, 1849, in General Convention at Kingston," in *The Elgin-Grey Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 441–443. *See also* R. G. Trotter, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

the necessity of including the Northwest in the new federation. The third section of his resolution read, in part, as follows: " That a general Confederation of the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with Canada and the Western territories is most desirable . . ."[6] But Galt at the time received little support from the leading Canadian parliamentarians. Nonetheless, as O. D. Skelton has well said, " he brought the question once for all into practical politics."[7] Georges Etienne Cartier, however, the leader of the Conservatives of French Canada, was attracted by the idea of federation, and Galt, who had hitherto supported the Lower Canadian opposition, in 1858 accepted office in the Cartier-Macdonald Cabinet on condition that the Government should adopt a federation policy. Cartier, Galt, and John Ross were sent to England to discuss not only federation, but also the future of the Hudson's Bay territory and the proposed Intercolonial Railway. The British Government was not favourable, and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton gave the project of federation only lukewarm support in his dispatch to Sir Edmund Head, the Governor-General of Canada. The road to Confederation was to be long and hard.

Galt's proposals, however, aroused popular interest in Canada. A young barrister in Montreal, Alexander Morris, who had attended the British American League's Kingston convention in 1849, delivered a brilliant lecture before the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal on March 18, 1858, nearly three months before Galt had made his historic speech in the Canadian Parliament. Morris took for his title " Nova Britannia." In it he advocated the federal union of the Provinces and the taking-over of Rupert's Land. He went further and included Vancouver Island in the new federation. In a second lecture delivered during the winter of 1858 on the topic " The Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories," he carried his hearers up the Ottawa Valley and onward by the old fur-traders' route to the head of the lakes and to Rupert's Land. In his imagination he crossed the Rockies and arrived in the new gold colony of British Columbia and on to Vancouver Island. Returning from the coast he visited the Athabaska country and then dealt with the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, and Red River districts.

(6) The text of Galt's resolutions appears in O. D. Skelton, *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt,* Toronto, 1920, pp. 219–221.

(7) *Ibid.,* p. 217.

He favoured the construction of a Pacific railway and prophesied a "new English speaking nation which will at one and no distant day people all this Northern continent . . . with its face to the south and its back to the pole, with its right and left resting on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and with the telegraph and the iron road connecting the two oceans."[8]

While Alexander Morris was dreaming dreams and seeing visions, a hard-headed business-man, Sir Edward Watkin of the Grand Trunk Railway, was working out plans for the building of the Intercolonial Railway and projecting a railway to the Pacific Coast. Watkin had first visited North America in 1851, and ten years later he returned to the British Provinces. According to his account in *Canada and the States,* a rambling autobiography which sheds much light on the period, he was from 1861 to 1864 the unofficial agent of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Watkin in 1863 was commissioned by the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company to visit the Red River Settlement and to discuss with Governor A. G. Dallas "the state and condition of this Settlement, the condition of the adjoining territory, the prospect of settlement therein, and the possibility of commencing operations for an electric telegraph line across the southern district of Rupert's Land."[9]

Since 1847 the Hudson's Bay Company had been under fire. In that year Alexander K. Isbister, a native of Rupert's Land, son of a Hudson's Bay Company official, who had served as a clerk in the Mackenzie River district, had sent to Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a series of communications charging the Hudson's Bay Company with "obstructionism" toward all colonizing activity within its territory, of interference with the attempts of the settlers in Red River to trade with the Americans to the south, and, above all, of its neglect of the Indians and half-bloods and the sacrifice of their welfare to the production of dividends for the shareholders. The Company, of course, refuted these charges as best it could, but public interest had been aroused. In 1857 the House of Commons appointed a select committee to investigate the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. Chief Justice W. H. Draper attended on behalf of the Canadian Government. Canada

(8) Alexander Morris, *Nova Britannia: or Our New Canadian Dominion Foreshadowed,* Toronto, 1884, p. 89.

(9) Sir Edward Watkin, *Canada and the States,* London [1887], pp. 152, 153.

was already taking a great interest in the future of the Hudson's Bay territory. George Brown in the Toronto *Globe* and William McDougall in the *North American* advocated the taking-over of the West and challenged the monopoly rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. The investigation of 1857 let in a great flood of light on the conduct and trade of the Company and the "Committee's report heralded the end of the fur-trading monopoly in the 'fertile belt.'"[10]

As events were to prove, the fate of the Hudson's Bay territory and of Vancouver Island and British Columbia was to depend on the solution of the problem of British North American federation. Canada was not prepared to take action on her own, in spite of the promptings of the Colonial Office in London. Nonetheless, the Canadian Government sent out an exploring party in 1857 headed by George Gladman, a native of the Hudson's Bay territory, accompanied by Henry Y. Hind as geologist, W. E. Napier as engineer, and S. J. Dawson as surveyor, to investigate "the possibilities of improving the portages and extending the navigable reaches between Lake Superior and Rainy Lake" and "also to study the desirability of building a road for part of the distance from Lake Superior and also for a distance eastward from Red River."[11] In 1858 Hind made a topographical and geological survey west of Lake Winnipeg, and Dawson in the same year continued his exploration of the route between Lake Superior and Red River. The Palliser expedition, sent out by the British Government, between 1857 and 1860 traversed the southern prairies, discovered the Kicking Horse Pass, and penetrated into British Columbia.[12] The great Fraser River gold-rush of 1858 and the establishment of the Crown Colony

(10) John S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Company under Fire, 1847–62," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XXX (1949), p. 329. The *Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* as printed by order of the House of Commons is a mine of information. A. K. Isbister, former Governor Richard Blanshard, and James Cooper, of Vancouver Island, and others testified against the Company. Sir George Simpson did his best to defend the interests of the great corporation, but even he failed on occasion. The committee favoured the transfer to Canada of the Red River and Saskatchewan districts and recommended the termination of the Hudson's Bay Company's connection with Vancouver Island. *See* R. G. Trotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–243. At this time annexationist sentiment was powerful in the United States, and especially in Minnesota.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 250.

(12) J. J. Denholm, *The Palliser Survey, 1857–1860,* M.A. thesis at the University of British Columbia, in the library of that institution.

of British Columbia called attention to the Pacific Coast and the possibilities of a British North American federation which would extend from sea to sea. But the time was not yet.

In the early 1860's four outstanding events hastened the coming of confederation. The first was the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States and the subsequent secession of the South to form the Confederate States of America. The Civil War, 1861–65, profoundly affected the British North American Provinces. On the whole the British Provincials favoured the North, although some Southern sympathizers who came to Canada caused trouble. The *Trent* affair of 1861, when two Southern envoys were removed from a British vessel by *U.S.S. San Jacinto,* brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war. The defenceless state of British North America became only too evident. Canada, however, was not prepared to take on the burden of her own defence and, because of party strife, the Militia Bill of 1862 failed to pass the Canadian Parliament. As the Civil War dragged on, British North America prospered, largely on account of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which allowed certain raw material and other products to enter the United States free of customs duty. The American Government was not too anxious to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, and hard times would almost certainly result.

The second of the important events of the early '60's was the movement for Maritime Union. In 1860 Dr. Charles Tupper delivered a lecture at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute in Saint John, N.B., on " The Political Condition of British North America," in the course of which he discussed the possibility of a union of the Maritime Provinces as a step toward a broader federal union of all of British North America.[13] This theme he elaborated in a second address given at Portland, N.B., opposite Saint John. Next year, in the Nova Scotia Legislature, Joseph Howe moved, seconded by Tupper, a resolution in favour of " the union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces of British America," but nothing came of it. In 1864 Dr. Tupper, as Premier of Nova Scotia, " introduced and carried a resolution in favour of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces," explaining that he regarded it as a step in the direction of a wider union

(13) Sir Charles Tupper, *Recollections of Sixty Years,* London, 1914, pp. 14–38. G. E. M. Saunders (*ed.*), *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., K.C.M.G.,* London, 1916, Vol. I, p. 80.

in the way of which insuperable difficulties then existed.[14] As a result of this motion, the Charlottetown Conference met on September 1, 1864, with representation from the three Maritime Provinces. This Conference passed a resolution in general terms favouring Maritime Union. The arrival of the Canadian delegates, however, broadened the scope of the Conference, and the more limited legislative union gave way to Confederation.

The third important event was the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1860, connecting Sarnia on Lake Huron with Portland, Maine, and also its extension from Richmond, P.Q., to Levis and on to Rivière du Loup. It had been hoped that an Intercolonial Railway could be constructed from Rivière du Loup by way of the north shore of New Brunswick to Halifax, N.S., but this was not to come about until after Confederation.

Last on the list, but by no means least in importance, was the political deadlock in Canada that led in 1864 to the creation of a coalition government charged with the task of securing the federation of the British North American Provinces. Goldwin Smith stated that the parent of Confederation was deadlock, and the phrase has often been quoted. It was, at best, only a partial truth. Deadlock did play a part in the coming of federation, but its importance has often been overemphasized. In the decade between 1854 and 1864 there were no less than nine ministeries in Canada. Of them, six were Liberal-Conservative and three were " radical," composed for the most part of " Clear Grits " from Canada West (formerly Upper Canada) and " Rouges " from Canada East (formerly Lower Canada). The Liberal-Conservatives were led by John A. Macdonald of Canada West and Georges Etienne Cartier of Canada East. They were composed of the moderate men from both sections of the Province. The political balance between the parties was so fine that no administration could remain long in office. This was especially the case because of the " double majority " rule that demanded that a ministry should have a majority in each section of the Province.

By June, 1864, when the Taché-Macdonald ministry fell, it was obvious that not only had the Act of Union failed, but that responsible government was in jeopardy in Canada. For several years there had been proposals for a federation of Canada West and Canada East, but

(14) Tupper, *Recollections*, p. 39.

there were many counter-proposals, especially those of Alexander Tilloch Galt in 1858 and of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in 1859, in favour of federation of all the British Provinces. When a solution seemed impossible, George Brown of the Toronto *Globe*, the leader of the "Clear Grits," took his political life in his hands and approached the Liberal-Conservatives with a view to forming a coalition. After a week of negotiation a new government was formed, with Brown and two of his colleagues from Canada West, Oliver Mowat and William McDougall, as members of the Executive Council.

At this juncture a deputation from Canada headed by John A. Macdonald, George Brown, and Georges Cartier, and including A. T. Galt, Hector Langevin, William McDougall, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee, set out for the Maritime Provinces to attend the Charlottetown Conference. The project of Maritime Union was being wrecked because the Prince Edward Island delegates were unwilling to consider any scheme that did not place the capital at Charlottetown, and the larger scheme of federation was accepted. The Maritime and Canadian delegates agreed that the Conference should adjourn to meet in Quebec, and after the adjournment the Canadian delegates visited Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and won golden opinions by their able and tactful presentation of the Confederation scheme.[15]

The delegates reassembled at Quebec on October 10, 1864, and were joined by the representatives from Newfoundland. John A. Macdonald proposed a legislative union, but opinion was practically unanimous in favour of a federation. After nearly three weeks of debate the delegates accepted the Quebec Resolutions, made up of seventy-two sections. This was, in fact, the first draft of the British North America Act. The matter was then referred to the British Government, and delegates were sent to London to work out the final terms of the Bill establishing the federation, but nearly three years were to elapse before the British North America Act became law.

All was not plain sailing. Opinion in Canada was strongly in favour of Confederation, but minorities in Canada East and Canada West were

(15) The proceedings of the Charlottetown Conference have never been published, but much information on the subject and reports of the speeches of the Canadians may be found in Edward Whalen, *The Union of the British Provinces*, reprinted with an introduction by D. C. Harvey, Gardenvale and Toronto, 1927, pp. v–xix and 1–61.

very doubtful.[16] In New Brunswick the administration of the Honourable Leonard Tilley suffered defeat on the Confederation issue. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe led the anti-Confederation forces, and it was only with difficulty that Dr. Tupper avoided a general election. Eventually New Brunswick accepted Confederation, but Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland rejected the scheme. In 1867 the British Parliament passed the British North America Act, and on July 1 Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick officially became a federation under the British Crown.[17]

By the terms of the British North America Act, United Canada was divided into two Provinces—Ontario and Quebec—and the machinery of government, both Federal and Provincial, was set out in detail. Provision was made in section 146 for the admission of the "Colonies or Provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia" and of "Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory." In the first three cases the consent of the Parliament of Canada and of the respective legislatures was necessary, but the Parliament of Canada alone could apply to Her Majesty to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwest. Prince Edward Island joined the federation in 1873 and Newfoundland in 1949. The story of the entrance of Rupert's Land, the Northwest Territories, and British Columbia will now briefly be set forth.

On December 4, 1867, the Honourable William McDougall, Minister of Public Works in Sir John A. Macdonald's administration, the first Federal Cabinet of Canada, introduced a series of resolutions in the House of Commons "upon which an address to the Queen was subsequently based, praying Her Majesty to unite Rupert's Land and

(16) An excellent study of Canadian opinion may be found in Peter B. Waite, *Ideas regarding federalism in the Province of Canada, 1864–1867,* M.A. thesis at the University of British Columbia, in the library of that institution.

(17) *The British North America Act, 1867,* 30 Victoria, chapter 3, has a subtitle "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof; and for Purposes connected therewith." The preamble reads, in part, as follows: "Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their Desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom. . . ." The term *Dominion of Canada* is not officially used in this Act.

the North-Western Territory with Canada."[18] The British Government refused to proceed with the scheme until the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company had been considered and a satisfactory arrangement had been made. Cartier and McDougall were sent to London to negotiate. In April, 1869, an agreement was reached whereby the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its rights to the British Crown but retained one-twentieth of its lands in the so-called " fertile belt " and 45,000 acres adjacent to its trading-posts. The Crown then transferred the territory to Canada, and Canada paid £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company. The Canadian Parliament ratified the terms agreed upon in London and passed an "Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land." William McDougall was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and the date for the transfer was set for December 1, 1869.

Unfortunately, the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement had not been consulted and the " New Nation," le Métis, led by Louis Riel, was unwilling to accept the terms. The Red River insurrection occurred and Thomas Scott was done to death.[19] The Manitoba Act, 1870, was passed by the Canadian Parliament, and an expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent west to the scene of the disturbance. The Provisional Government, headed by Riel, collapsed, and several of its leaders, including Riel, fled to the United States. Manitoba became the fifth Canadian Province and the Northwest Territories were created. The western boundary of the Canadian federation had now reached the summits of the Rocky Mountains, but it was a long time before the ill effects of the Red River rising had worn off.

The securing of the old Hudson's Bay territory paved the way for the entrance of British Columbia to federation. Until this was accomplished there was little chance that the British colony on the Pacific Coast could effectively join hands with Canada. As is well known, the Colony of Vancouver Island had come into being in 1849 and the Crown Colony of British Columbia in 1858. There is no need here to retell the story of the development of these two colonies under the

(18) Sir Joseph Pope, *Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald*, Toronto, 1930, p. 400. *See also* R. G. Trotter, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

(19) The most complete modern account of the Red River difficulties is to be found in G. F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, London, 1936, pp. 19–106. Other useful sources are E. E. Kreuzweiser, *The Red River Insurrection*, Gardenvale, n.d., and A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, Toronto, n.d., pp. 870–909.

administration of James Douglas and the brief period from 1864 to 1866 when the colonies were under separate governors. Suffice it to say that in 1866 the two colonies were united at the *fiat* of the British Colonial Office. Governor Arthur Edward Kennedy of Vancouver Island was transferred to another colonial appointment, and Frederick Seymour became governor of the united colonies.

The years 1866 to 1871 have been termed " the critical period of British Columbia history." By 1865 the golden stream from Cariboo had begun to dry up, and hard times had come to Vancouver Island and British Columbia. The union of 1866 did not provide a satisfactory solution to the financial problems. Three courses lay open to British Columbia. She might remain an isolated British colony, she might join the United States, or she might enter the newly formed Canadian federation. The first course led nowhere. The second was attractive, but annexation was not to be the solution.[20] The annexationists were never more than a vocal minority, chiefly centred in Victoria. The purchase of Alaska in 1867 by the United States placed British Columbia, so to speak, " in the nut-crackers," but even then British Columbians were not prepared to desert the Union Jack. The only practical solution for British Columbia was federation with Canada, but the difficulties to be overcome were very great.

The greatest of these difficulties was the lack of communication with Eastern Canada. Until a railway, or at least a wagon-road, could be constructed, connecting British Columbia with Red River and with the Eastern Provinces, there could be no reality in union with Canada. The second problem was the anti-Confederationist attitude of Governor Seymour and the Legislative Council of British Columbia. Canadians and other Eastern British North Americans were none too popular in British Columbia; they were often referred to as " North American Chinamen " who sent their money home and did not spend it lavishly in the colony, as was the habit of the Americans.

Nonetheless, there was a strong movement for Confederation led by Amor de Cosmos, John Robson, John Foster McCreight, Robert

(20) On the subject of annexation *see* W. N. Sage, " The Annexationist Movement in British Columbia, 1866–1871," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, 1927, pp. 97–110; Willard E. Ireland, " The Annexation Petition of 1869," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 267–287; and F. W. Howay, W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States*, Toronto, 1942, pp. 196–201.

Beaven, George A. Walkem, Alfred Waddington, and J. Spencer Thompson. In March, 1867, Amor de Cosmos introduced into the Legislative Council a motion favouring Confederation which passed unanimously on March 17. Governor Seymour delayed action as long as possible.[21] The Confederationists, unable to secure the support of the Governor and the Legislative Council, appealed to the people. A Confederation League was formed in Victoria on May 21, 1868, under the presidency of James Trimble, Mayor of Victoria. Branches of the League were formed on the Mainland. Cariboo was strong for federation. In an open-air picnic held at Barkerville on July 1, 1868, Dr. R. W. W. Carrall and J. S. Thompson spoke in favour of union with Canada. In September, 1868, the Confederationists held a convention at Yale that suggested terms of union. Although it was an entirely unofficial meeting, the Yale Convention was, in a sense, the British Columbia counterpart of the Quebec Conference.

Governor Seymour and the majority in the Legislative Council remained adamant. In 1869 the Council passed a resolution opposing union with Canada, but in June of that year the hand of death removed Governor Seymour. By this time both the British and the Canadian Governments were anxious for British Columbia to join Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald suggested that Governor Anthony Musgrave of Newfoundland, who had first lost the battle for federation in that colony, be transferred to British Columbia. Musgrave was given the necessary authority to expedite the union of British Columbia with Canada.

In March, 1870, there occurred the memorable Confederation debate in the Legislative Council of the colony. The anti-Confederationists were ably led by Dr. John S. Helmcken, but now the majority among the officials and magistrates was also with the Confederationists. Terms of union were drafted. Governor Musgrave selected a delegation of three—the Honourable Joseph W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works; Dr. R. W. W. Carrall, a leading federationist from Cariboo; and Dr. J. S. Helmcken—to go to Ottawa to work out the final terms of union. With them travelled H. E. Seelye, a newspaper-man. The mission was successful. Terms of union were arranged, and in 1871 the enlarged Legislative Council accepted them and forwarded the necessary address asking for union with Canada. The Imperial Order in

(21) F. W. Howay, "The Attitude of Governor Seymour towards Confederation," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Third Series, 1920, pp. 31–49.

Council was issued when requested by British Columbia and Canada. On July 20, 1871, the union was proclaimed, and British Columbia became the sixth Canadian Province.

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FIRST IMPRESSIONS: LETTER OF COLONEL RICHARD CLEMENT MOODY, R.E., TO ARTHUR BLACKWOOD, FEBRUARY 1, 1859

The Royal Engineers have for long occupied a prominent place in the annals of the Mainland colony of British Columbia. It has, however, always been a matter of regret that so little material was available from the pen of their gallant leader, Colonel Richard Clement Moody, other than the official correspondence in his capacity of Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Presumably he must have submitted reports to the War Office in London, but these have never come to light. Whether or not he kept a diary during his sojourn of nearly five years in the colony is not known, but no such document nor even any volume of personal correspondence is to be found in the Archives of British Columbia.

Late in 1950, however, a packet of material concerning Moody was presented to the Archives by Major Richard C. Lowndes, Boar's Hill, Oxford, England. These papers had been in the possession of his aunt, Miss Grace Moody, last surviving daughter, and upon her demise were made available. Of particular interest in the collection is the copy of the letter that is now being published.

Richard Clement Moody,[1] the second son of Colonel Thomas Moody of the Royal Engineers, was born on February 13, 1813, in St. Ann's Garrison, Barbados, British West Indies. At the age of 14, after education by a tutor at home and at private schools, he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he remained until December, 1829, when he was attached to the ordnance survey. On November 5, 1830, he was gazetted second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers and posted to Ireland. Early in 1833 he became ill and on his recovery spent a few months in England before being sent out to St. Vincent in the West Indies. There he remained until September, 1837, when, as a result of an attack of yellow fever, he was invalided home. During his sick-leave

(1) For biographical details *see* Sidney Lee (*ed.*), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1894, xxxviii, 332–333; Madge Wolfenden, "Pathfinders and Road-builders: Richard Clement Moody, R.E.," *British Columbia Public Works*, April, 1938, pp. 3–4.

he was given permission to accompany Sir Charles Felix Smith[2] on a tour in the United States. Upon his return, in 1838 he became professor of fortification at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. That he was possessed of unusual capabilities is evidenced by the fact that in 1841, when only 28 years of age, he was selected to become the first Governor of the Falkland Islands. This colony was in a most disturbed state, and Moody was given exceptionally wide powers, which he used with moderation yet great effect. At the time of his return to England in February, 1849, he had risen to the rank of first captain. He served in various capacities in England, principally as commanding Royal Engineer at Newcastle-on-Tyne until 1854, when he was sent out to Malta, and there on January 13, 1855, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Unfortunately, he contracted Malta fever and was invalided home later that year, and after a leave spent in Germany he was appointed commanding Royal Engineer in North Britain.[3] While in Scotland, Moody was promoted to brevet-colonel on April 28, 1858, and it was from this post that he was appointed to the new colony of British Columbia as Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.

The reasons for the establishment of a Crown Colony on the Mainland in the region adjacent to the Fraser River goldfields and the decision to provide it with a corps of the Royal Engineers are well known. The fact that as experienced and qualified a commander as Moody was selected is ample indication of the importance with which the venture was looked upon by the Colonial Office, then presided over by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.[4] The detachment of Royal Engineers came out to British Columbia in three sections, and Colonel Moody and his family travelled out independently by the Panama route, leaving England on October 30, 1858. On December 21 they sailed from San Francisco in

(2) Charles Felix Smith, 1786–1858, was then a colonel in the Royal Engineers and had just completed fourteen years of service as commanding Royal Engineer in the West Indies with headquarters at Barbados. *Dictionary of National Biography,* liii, 21–24.

(3) It is interesting to note that Moody was himself a skilled draughtsman and while in Scotland prepared plans for the restoration of Edinburgh Castle which so impressed the Secretary of State for War that Moody was ordered to submit them personally to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

(4) *Speeches of Edward Lord Lytton . . . with some of his political writings . . . and a prefatory memoir by his son,* London, 1874, vol. ii, pp. 76–96; *The Life of Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton, by his grandson,* London, 1913, 2 vols., *passim.*

the steamer *Panama* and arrived at Esquimalt on Christmas Day. After a short respite Colonel Moody assumed his official duties, for he was sworn in on January 4, 1859.

Col. R. C. Moody was sworn in as Lt. Governor of the Colony of British Columbia and Commissioner of Lands and Public Works in the same by Chief Justice Cameron, on Tuesday afternoon last, at 1 o'clock. Immediately upon the close of the ceremonies, a salute was fired from the guns of the Fort, in honor of the occasion.[5]

The letter, now published for the first time, is of unusual interest on a number of grounds. For one thing it gives a fairly detailed account of Moody's first hectic month in his new position, written at a time when the events were still fresh in his mind. The letter was written to Arthur Blackwood, a senior official in the Colonial Office. Blackwood had entered the Civil Service in 1824, and since 1848 had been head of the North American Department within the Colonial Office. Doubtless, he had come to know Moody during his term of office as Governor of the Falkland Islands, and it is of no little interest to realize that Moody had such direct access to the Colonial Office, an advantage not shared by Governor Douglas. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that Moody was known personally by the then Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, for the latter, when addressing the Royal Engineers just prior to their departure from England, referred to Moody as " my distinguished friend, your commanding officer."[6]

Moody's official correspondence, as one might expect of a military man, was always direct and to the point. In consequence, it has always been difficult to recreate an impression of the man that lay behind the officer. This letter goes a long way in providing an insight into the character and personality of Colonel Moody. He reveals himself as a man sensitive to the beauties of nature and capable of expressing his sentiments in beautifully descriptive prose. There are evidences that he had a fine sense of humour, and that he was a man of devout religious conviction cannot be gainsaid. The letter sheds some additional light on the largely unsolved problem of the relations between Governor Douglas and his Lieutenant-Governor, for in the privacy of a letter to a friend personal opinions and comment are not withheld. It is, perhaps, a little startling to find him an advocate of " a Federal Union of the N. American

(5) Victoria *Gazette*, January 6, 1859.

(6) *The Life of Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton . . .* , vol. ii, p. 293.

Colonies " at so early a date, particularly when it was generally known that such an opinion was not concurred in by the Colonial Secretary.[7]

Of even greater significance, however, is the fact that this letter offers a fresh, on-the-spot account of the infamous " Ned McGowan War." Heretofore, the reports of this incident as written by Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie[8] have been accepted as the official version, for Governor Douglas was not an active participant in the event. The contemporary newspaper accounts tended to be inaccurate and contradictory, and the only other printed version from a participant appeared in *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island,*[9] by R. C. Mayne. For the first time we now have access to a narrative of events as recorded by the principal investigator of that rather remarkable occurrence.

It is not necessary here to outline in detail the incident of which Moody writes at length.[10] At that time P. B. Whannell was the resident Magistrate at Yale, and George Perrier held the similar position at Hill's Bar, about 2 miles below Yale. On Christmas Day a negro named Dixon was assaulted at Yale by two Americans from Hill's Bar, Burns and Farrell by name. Dixon complained to Whannell, and the latter issued warrants for the arrest of Burns and Farrell, and in the meantime committed Dixon to close custody in Yale. On Whannell's warrants Burns and Farrell were apprehended and taken before Magistrate Perrier at Hill's Bar. Perrier wished to secure additional information from the prosecutor and sent his constable to Yale to bring Dixon back. Whannell refused to release him and contended that Burns and Farrell should be brought to Yale for trial; this the constable refused to do, and Whannell, aroused by alleged insolence, threw the constable into jail. Perrier, incensed by this action, then issued a warrant for the arrest of Whannell and the transfer of Dixon, but now being without a constable swore in Edward McGowan and a compatriot as special constables. In company with an armed " posse " of twelve or fourteen men they proceeded to Yale, where they seized Whannell and his gaoler and brought them back

(7) R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation,* London and Toronto, 1924, p. 30.

(8) These reports and a great amount of related material are to be found in F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines* (Archives Memoir No. VI), Victoria, 1926, pp. 20–41, 54–59.

(9) R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island,* London, 1862, pp. 58–71.

(10) *See* E. O. S. Scholefield & F. W. Howay, *British Columbia,* Vancouver, 1914, vol. ii, pp. 61–65; F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858 to 1863,* Victoria, 1910, pp. 4–5.

to Hill's Bar. There they were tried by Perrier, Whannell being fined £25 for " contempt of court." Whannell promptly reported the incident to Governor Douglas, and the investigation was ordered, as from the Magistrate's account it appeared that American renegades were taking the law into their own hands. In this letter is to be found Moody's version of the incident, the end result of which has been humorously described as follows:—

> The testy magistrates both lost their commissions; the Royal Engineers had an outing; the colony paid the expenses—and heavy expenses they were; and Ned McGowan's war, as the incident was named, went on record as being even more bloodless than the ordinary South American revolution or the celebrated Battle of the Spurs.[11]

This letter is of such interest that one cannot refrain from speculating as to the contents of the others that must have followed it. Had they survived, what a commentary they would provide on an important period in the development of the colony of British Columbia. By midsummer of 1863 it became known that the detachment of Royal Engineers was to be disbanded. Most of the sappers elected to remain in the colony, but on November 11, 1863, the officers and some fifteen of the men left New Westminster on the beginning of their journey home. Colonel Moody and his family sailed in the steamer *Enterprise,* taking with them the good wishes of the sturdy little town that had been brought into being at Moody's insistence.[12] After a short sojourn in Victoria the party continued on its way to England.[13] In March, 1864, Moody, now a regimental colonel, was appointed commanding Royal Engineer of the Chatham district, and on January 25, 1866, he was promoted major-general and retired from the service on full pay. He continued to live quietly at Lyme Regis until his death on March 31, 1887, which occurred unexpectedly while he was on a visit to Bournemouth.

To-day Moody's name is commemorated in the city of Port Moody, at the head of Burrard Inlet, the original Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But his lasting memorial is to be found in the conception and execution of a scheme of public works that united the Interior

(11) *Ibid.,* p. 5.

(12) New Westminster *British Columbian,* November 11, 1863.

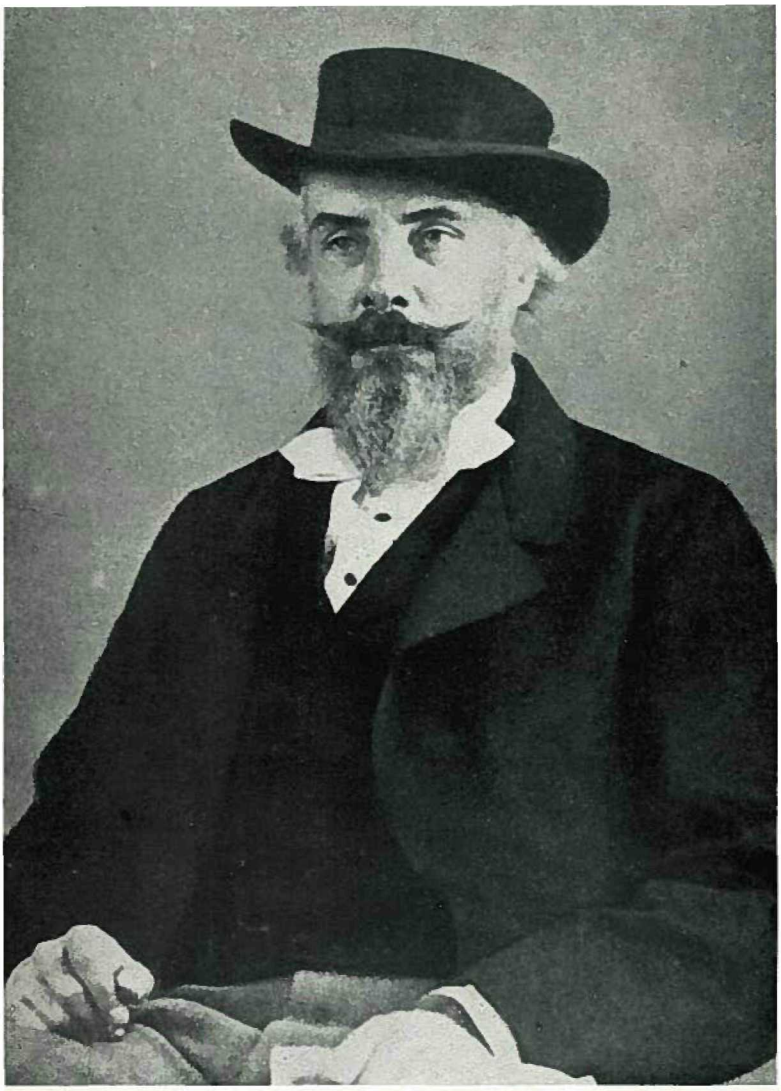
(13) An editorial in the Victoria *Colonist,* November 16, 1863, suggests that the party was to leave within a few days.

goldfields of Cariboo with the coastal seaport of New Westminster, thus giving a practical foundation to a colony born in the urgency of a gold-rush.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E.



Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie.

[Copy.]

Victoria. 1st Febry 1859.

My dear Friend

I have just retd fr a Winter's Journey into the interior, whither it was necessary for me to go at a moment's notice to put down what at one time looked like a very troublesome sort of rebellion on a small scale. I [the] day after I was sworn into my office I started for Frazer River.[14] The passage across the Gulf of Georgia was extremely captivating, a clear cold bright winter day, the sea calm, the Islands about which the Americans & English are at loggerheads (& w[hic]h I hope we sh[ould] hold on to firmly) all sunny in their sparkling, light & shade & every object reflected in the water. A glorious belt of Mountains in the distance, dazzling in their whiteness. It is quite impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the country at all events. We anchored at night in a small harbour at one of the Islands. The following day was equally splendid in sunshine. There does not exist any difficulty whatever in entering the Frazer. The channel is quite straight & of depth sufficient for any ordinary Merchant man & for most small class Men of War. There is rarely any sea on. It has no "fetch" across the Gulf. There is no room for any sea of consequence to get up and there are anchorages not far distant to run into. The channel of the River across the sands however tho' deep & straight is rarely (I believe never) with any sea of consequence on, is narrow 4 miles long, & there is no room to "beat" in with a sailing vessel. "With a wind" any vessel c[oul]d go in. Steam engs will be common thing for sailing Vessels just as at N. Castle on-Tyne.[15] By the way, the Tugs & their crews on the system of the "lay" (a sort of company) the practice at N. Castle w[oul]d be the very thing for this place & the Frazer. They wd make a great deal of money, and be an immense boon to the community. At present our American Friends run away with everything,[16] small blame to them, if the English won't come. All Steamers of any class can get into the Frazer at all times in any weather. For sailing vessels also there are some troublesome places among the Islands (races & tide-rips) It is probable therefore that for some time to come all but coasters will demand in their charter party to be towed across fr Esquimalt to Frazer River. It is not really necessary, but they will be nervous about it until well acquainted with the Gulf. To be towed across will also save time, a great maker in commercial matters. The above opinions are the result of much enquiry & information gained fr Richards[17] H.M. Surveying Vessel

(14) Moody used this spelling for Fraser river, as did many others at the time. The specific date of Moody's departure for the Mainland would appear to be in doubt. According to the Victoria *Gazette*, January 6, 1859, he was sworn in on January 4, and this would make his departure fall on the 5th, but the Victoria *Colonist*, January 8, 1859, implies that he did not leave until the 6th.

(15) Moody had served as commanding Royal Engineer at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and was consequently fully conversant with its harbour problems.

(16) *See* Norman Hacking, "'Steamboat 'Round the Bend': American Steamers on the Fraser River in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 255–280 *passim*.

(17) Captain George Henry Richards, 1820–1900, in 1856 commissioned the steam-sloop *Plumper* for survey work in the Pacific Northwest. He arrived at

Plumper,[18] who conveyed me about, also f[r] Capt[n] Prevost[19] of the Satellite,[20] & f[r] numerous Skippers of large & small craft English & American. For some years to come Esquimalt will therefore be the Chief port in the British possessions here. Most probably it will also remain so. It is greatly to be regretted that any town at all has been laid out at Victoria. I will not enter into all the reasons that led to it & to which I cannot shut my eyes. It is not necessary now, the deed is done & a great deal of Capital has been embarked in it. By & bye Esquimalt will be encouraged & folks in Victoria will murmur. I do not understand this Colonial Policy. It is not the one I am inclined to pursue. All newcomers sh[d] go at once to Esquimalt, but alas for them the land has been bought up at £1.0.0 per acre in large blocks!!! There will be a good deal of irritation at this bye & by. Indeed it has begun. Off the landheads at the entrance of the Channel of the Frazer sh[d] be placed a floating light as soon as possible. It sh[d] be among the first works in the Colony. The Pilots c[d] live on board. The entrance to the Frazer is very striking—Extending miles to the right & left are low marsh lands (apparently of very rich qualities) & yet f[r] the Background of Superb Mountains—Swiss in outline, dark in woods, grandly towering into the Clouds there is a sublimity that deeply impresses you. Everything is large and magnificent worthy of the entrance to the Queen of England's dominions on the Pacific Mainland. I scarcely ever enjoyed a scene so much in my life. My imagination converted the silent marshes into Cuyp-like[21] pictures of horses & cattle lazily fattening in rich meadows in a glowing sunset. One cannot write prosaically of such scenes as these, so pray make allowances when I get into rhapsodies at any time about this most beautiful country. The water of the deep clear Frazer (such a name! the proper one is "Tatouche") was of a glassy stillness, not a ripple before us, except when a fish rose to the surface or broods of wild ducks fluttered away. Soon we reached the woodland district. The contrast with the treeless meadows just past was very striking. All delightful to look at, but those half drowned woods promise hard work for the settler and possibly fever & ague in the autumn. The ground began to rise on the right hand, & shortly on

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Esquimalt on November 9, 1857, and remained until 1863, when he took H.M.S. *Hecate* back to England. *See* Captain John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906*, Ottawa, 1909, pp. 421–422.

(18) This auxiliary steam-sloop, 484 tons, was barque-rigged and had been launched at Portsmouth in 1848. Her speed under steam was about 6 knots. She left England on March 26, 1857, and arrived at Esquimalt on November 9, 1857. She was relieved by H.M.S. *Hecate* on January 28, 1861. Walbran, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

(19) Captain James Charles Prevost, 1810–1891, held the rank of commander on this station in H.M.S. *Portland*, the flagship of Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby, in the early 1850's. He received his captaincy in 1854 and two years later was appointed to command H.M.S. *Satellite*. When the San Juan Island boundary crisis arose, he was appointed first British Commissioner and was at this time engaged in work in this connection.

(20) This screw corvette, 21 guns, 1,462 tons, was built at Devonport, 1855–56, and commissioned by Captain J. C. Prevost on September 30, 1856. She left England on December 23, 1856, and arrived at Esquimalt on June 13, 1857, where she remained until July 30, 1860. Victoria *Colonist*, March 26, 1861.

(21) Presumably Albert Cuyp, 1620–1691, the most famous of a Dutch family that produced two generations of painters.

the left. In steaming up one fine reach at a spot 20 miles f[r] the entrance of the Channel (~~vide above~~) to the Frazer, my attention was at once arrested to it's [~~sic~~] fitness, in all probability, for the site of the first, if not the Chief Town in the Country. Further study of that ground as well as other sites has now convinced me that it is the right place in all respects. Commercially for the good of the whole community, politically for imperial interests & military for the protection of & to hold the country against our neighbours at some future day, also for all purposes of convenience to the local Government in connection with Vancouver's Island at the same time as with the back country. It is a most important spot. It is positively marvellous how singularly it is formed for the site of a large town (not a small one) to be defended against any foreign aggression. It is not adapted for a small military position, such as w[d] be required for a mere military or naval post or depot. The features are too extensive for that. It is a case of detached Earth-works and intrenched Camps. A Military Man w[d] delight in it. And all these military arrangements c[d] be made quickly at any time and not in the very slightest degree interfere with commercial & private interests. The uninitiated w[d] scarcely know any works were there "A ditch here & a bank there" Is this what Colonel Moody calls a strong place? In "war costume" how different! woods felled points outwards—Marshes inundated—muzzles of a few guns staring you in the face just where you thought yourself most secure—I have written the Governor a strong letter on the subject,[22] w[h] he promises to send to the Colonial Office. I hope both these observations & that letter may be shown to Sir John Burgoyne[23] as soon as possible. It must needs be some time before the explanatory surveys can accompany any Military Report & in the meanwhile no time sh[d] be lost in adopting the site. In a few months it may be too late. The site is not only convenient in every respect but it is agreeable & striking in aspect. Viewed f[r] the Gulf of Georgia across the meadows on entering the Frazer, the far distant giant mountains forming a dark background—the City w[d] appear throned Queen-like & shining in the glory of the midday sun. The comparison is so obvious that afterwards all hands on board the Plumper, & indeed everyone joins in thinking the appropriate name w[d] be "Queenborough"[24] We all thought for a time, of "Alexandrina," Victoria being already engaged for the Capital of Vancouver's Island. (paltry place in comparison) but it sounds so long. *I* don't dislike it however, & think it w[d] answer well, with a little practice it tips off the tongue quickly Al'exan'dri'na! Try— The Governor very properly however says, it is his intention to take instructions from Home about the Name & hopes her

(22) Moody's letter to Governor Douglas regarding the site of the capital of British Columbia is dated January 28, 1859, and was written from H.M.S. *Plumper*. It appears in *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia,* Part II, London, 1859 [Cmd. 2578], pp. 60–61.

(23) Sir John Burgoyne, 1782–1871, was one of the most distinguished of the Royal Engineers. From 1845 until 1868 he was Inspector-General of Fortifications. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VII (1886), pp. 342–344.

(24) Douglas always used the name Queensborough and Moody, Queenborough; a disagreement that continued until the new name was officially proclaimed.

Majesty may be induced to name it.[25] I trust it will be some Royal word, stamping the country as our beloved Queen's own land. A standard for her loving subjects in this distant corner of the earth. A mark to our neighbours over the frontier that the Queen's sceptre extends here. God bless her. Americans flood us & give names in all directions. It will require much perseverence and determination on our parts to prevent "Lytton" becoming fixed at "Lyttonville" or "Lytton City"[26] The latter is not bad, if it was not so intensely American. The Govr has given the name to a town wh will become very important at the junction of the Thompson & the Frazer. The first large bold mountain to wh it will apply well I sh call "Mount Bulwer".[27] Bulwer is a good sounding name for a Mountain Lytton wd be appropriate to a River, the Lytton—I sh do all I can to persuade the Govr to consent to the Thompson River being called the Lytton & give Mr Thompson something else.[28] It is not too late. The whole of the grand valley of the Frazer between Fort Hope & Fort Yale I propose to call "Glen Albert"[29]—It sounds well, & it is impossible to describe how gloriously beautiful it is, and some Mountain, with summit always in sunshine I sh call "Albert"—There is no lack of choice of fine Mountains for all the distinguished men of the day. To return again fr the above digression. I warn you my letters will be often written in a rambling way. If I have to study what I say the charm, to me, will be gone. Better write an official letter at once. We reached the new Town of Langley in the evens & Captn Grant [30] at once put into my hands some letters he had recd fr the Magistrate at Fort Yale[31] so alarming and so urgent in their

(25) The Queen's decision was announced to Douglas by the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, in a dispatch dated May 5, 1859. *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia,* Part II, p. 86. The proclamation giving effect to this decision was issued on July 20, 1859, and read, in part ". . . the town heretofore called and known as Queensborough, and sometimes as Queenborough . . . shall from henceforth be called and known as New Westminster."

(26) Douglas gave the Colonial Secretary's name to the town at the junction of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. "As a merited compliment and mark of respect, I have taken the liberty of naming the Town of 'Lytton' after him." Douglas to Carnarvon, November 11, 1858, private, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(27) This name was never perpetuated in this way.

(28) Admittedly David Thompson never saw the river that bears his name in British Columbia. His name was assigned by Simon Fraser while on his famous descent of the river in 1808. "These Forks, the Indians call Cumchin, and are formed by a large river, which is the same spoken of so often by our friend the Old Chief. From an idea that our friends of the *Fort des Prairies* department are established upon the source of it, among the mountains, we gave it the name of Thompson River." Simon Fraser, "Journal of a Voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, 1808," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Oeust,* Quebec, 1889, première série, p. 183.

(29) This name was never perpetuated in this way.

(30) Captain J. M. Grant led the second section of the Royal Engineer detachment to British Columbia. These men were mainly carpenters. They arrived at Victoria on November 8, 1858, on the steamer *Cortez* [Victoria *Gazette,* November 9, 1858] and a week later went on to Fort Langley [*ibid.,* November 16, 1858]. They were thus the first of the detachment to reach British Columbia and were present at the inauguration of the colony on November 19th.

(31) P. B. Whannell had been appointed Justice of the Peace at Yale to assist Richard Hicks, the resident Assistant Crown Commissioner, and arrived there on

nature that I had no option but instantly to go there & to take the detachment of R.E.'s with me. The Magistrate implored Military assistance. Judge Begbie[32] most fortunately was with me, & entirely coincided in the necessity. The notorious Ned McGowan,[33] of Californian celebrity at the head of a band of Yankee Rowdies defying the law! Every peaceable citizen frightened out of his wits!—Summons & warrants laughed to scorn! A Magistrate seized while on the Bench, & brought to the Rebel's camp, tried, condemned, & heavily fined! A man shot dead shortly before![34] Such a tale to welcome me at the close of a day of g[rea]t enjoym[t]. (Winter & hard frost tho' it was) We quickly made our arrangements, hired passages in the only River Steamer,[35] embarked that night & long before daylight we were steaming away up the River. The Men (22 in number) of course delighted, looking up the locks of their Rifles & Revolvers—The Judge & myself grave & thoughtful, but the Judge the most pugnacious of the two. I seriously believe I was the most peaceable man on board—*Old Soldiers don't play at Soldiering*—The weather was exceedingly severe, & finally we were all frozen in at a point f[r] whence we c[d] get neither up or down the River. Various were the plans discussed. At last a very fine fellow of the H.B. Company who knew the country well, & tough & hardy by practice as a piece of whipcord or a Mountain Ash, volunteered to push on with 2 Indians & bring intelligence—I availed myself of his services—He is an Ogilvy[36] by descent, a gentleman, and a worthy scion of the " House

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November 17, 1858. Douglas evidently knew little of his previous career, for he was an adventurer *par excellence*. His claim to having been a captain in the Victoria Yeomanry Cavalry in Australia was denied by the commanding officer of that unit, who stated further " that a person of the name of Whannell, who for some time held a situation in the Customs Department here, absconded from this Colony in the month of November, 1856, accompanied by the wife of a resident in Melbourne whose name I have not learned, leaving his own wife and family behind totally unprovided for." James H. Ross to C. Standish, May 9, 1859, *in* F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines,* p. 58. He came to British Columbia after a sojourn in California, where, according to Hicks, he had kept " a low liquor-shop at Shaw's Flat, California." Hicks to Douglas, June 3, 1859, *ibid.,* p. 22.

(32) For details of the career of Matthew Baillie Begbie *see* Sydney G. Pettit, " 'Dear Sir Matthew': A Glimpse of Judge Begbie," and " Judge Begbie in Action," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XI (1947), pp. 1–14, 113–148 *passim.*

(33) For an autobiographical sketch see *Narrative of Edward McGowan . . .* , San Francisco, 1917, a reprint of the original 1857 edition. A short sketch of McGowan's career is to be found in Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines,* pp. xiv–xvi. McGowan remained in the colony until March, 1859.

(34) On December 24, 1858, Bernard Rice was shot and killed in a saloon by a man named Foster. A garbled version of this incident is to be found in Victoria *Gazette,* January 8, 1859.

(35) The steamer *Enterprise,* owned by Captain Thomas Wright, had been built in 1855 for the Willamette River trade and brought to the Fraser in July, 1858. She was 115 feet long, 22 feet wide, and carried 80 tons of freight. Captain Wright took her off the river in the fall of 1859. For further details *see* Norman Hacking, *op. cit., loc. cit.,* pp. 272–273, 279.

(36) John Drummond Buchanan Ogilvy was then in charge of Fort Hope for the Hudson's Bay Company. Subsequently he joined the colonial service and was

of Airlie" A splendid fellow for an irregular Cavalry Corps formed f^r among the Rocky Mountain Prairie Indians who are all mounted. He has lived some time among them & knows them well—His manner has unconsciously become chieftain-like & it is quite a sight to see him tell his tales of Flood & Field—He stands erect in a superb attitude, his voice is measured & sonorous and his words are most telling. His clear grey eye is steady in its gaze & full of manly truth—His moustache & peaked beard are "à la cavalier." His reputation for judgment and discretion combined with steady firmness has gained him a position of trust as the H.B. Agent at Fort Hope. I hope to get him made a J.P. With scarcely an exception the H.B. Men are fine fellows. F^r among their young men especially I sh^d always look for SUB-AGENTS. Our young Cavalier returned in a few days & brought me intelligence that matters had come to a pause, and that in his opinion it had been greatly exaggerated, but still f^r the character of Capt^n Whannel, it was very probable an outbreak of a very serious nature might take place at any moment. In fact we had reason to believe that the turning of a straw might lead to his being "lynched" He is a man overboiling with zeal, without the slightest personal fear, & raging under a sense of outraged dignity. Ogilvy, in the dead of the night, walked thro' & among what may be termed the rebel's camp, looked in at the windows of the huts, saw them gambling round the fires, heard their conversations, & was never questioned—The dogs bothered him most—They suspected him—The very night he came back to us a thaw began w^h enabled us to push on to Fort Hope. I there left the soldiers, determining to go alone up the River to the scene of disturbance, & to quell it all quietly, if it were possible—I had great confidence in myself & always consider Soldiers as the very last dire necessity—Their presence also often exasperates. Intelligence reached me at Fort Hope that the Gov^r had sent on the Plumper & some Marines to Fort Langley below in case I might want a reinforcement. I had written to him about it.[37] (I forgot to mention above that Fort Langley was also in a disturbed state[38]—many riotous Americans, f^r across the Frontier—2 men found recently shot in the neighbourhood & no possibility of enforcing the Law) The intelligence was brought to me by L^t Mayne,[39]

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customs officer at Bella Coola, where he was murdered April 11, 1865. Victoria *Colonist*, May 24, 1865.

(37) "I received your note of the 6th on the evening of the 7th Instant, and immediately made requisition on Captain Prevost as Senior Naval Officer present for an Expeditionary Force of 50 Marines and Seamen, commanded by one or more Officers to be forwarded by Her Majesty's Ship Plumper to Fort Langley from whence they will proceed to join you at Fort Hope or elsewhere subject to your further orders." Douglas to Moody, January 10, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(38) "Several outrages had been perpetrated at Fort Langley by parties of bad characters upon residents of the town, and the newly appointed magistrate for that district was anxiously expected, in order to regulate affairs." Victoria *Gazette*, January 15, 1859.

(39) Lieutenant Richard Charles Mayne, second son of Sir Richard Mayne, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police of London, was born in 1835. He entered the Royal Navy in 1847 and came out to this coast as a lieutenant in H.M.S. *Plumper* in 1857. Promoted to commander in August, 1861, he returned to England. In 1879 he retired as rear-admiral and died in 1892. In 1862 he

R.N. Son of Sir Rich[d] Mayne, in London. I detained him with me, & attached him as an Aide de Camp & Confidential Officer. The Judge, of course, went up with me. We stopped at some of the Mining Bars, I conversed in a friendly way with all, asked about their prospects, wished them well & so on, scarcely alluded to the disturbances above & in fact acted in a manner to subdue all excitement & to allow information to go forward that I was coming up in this quiet peaceable way. Ned McGowan, I discovered afterwards has his scouts out and exact intelligence of all my movements f[r] the very first—The scenery was very grand all the way, & as "Bar" succeeded "Bar" with Miners all at their work at their "Rockers" & Sluices gathering in the Gold dust, it had a very lively cheerful look. The blue smoke f[r] their log Cabins curled up among the trees, & f[r] the brink of the River when Fires were on the Bank. The trees being chiefly Cedar and Black Spruce contrasted with the dazzling Snow. The River was alternately "Rapids" & "Still-water" reflecting every thing—Reflecting cottages, blue smoke, trees, mountains, & moving figures. A scene full of life. The sun shone splendidly over all—In Summer it must be enchanting—It was the Tyrol all over in scenery—This magnificent Valley I call "Glen Albert"—It extends f[r] a few miles below Fort Hope to the defiles above Fort Yale, a distance of about 20 miles. It was impossible not to be deeply struck with the circumstances that our conversations all the way up were with ENGLISHMEN (stanch Royalists) *Americans* (Republicans) Frenchmen, very numerous, Germans in abundance, Italians, several Hungarians, Poles, Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, Mexicans, & *Chinese*. As I sat in the boat the flood of thought that passed thro my brain is not to be described. I was deeply moved that it pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe to bring these various nations together under the protection of our Queen, & you will readily believe that I prayed very earnestly to Him to endow me, for Jesus' sake with wisdom & prudence & to guide me in the matter before me. I prayed for His blessing on all our ways & for peace. My heart was overflowing with earnest love for all these manly energetic fellows—On arriving at Fort Yale in the even[g], the River Bank was crowded, & McGowan was in the crowd, & the Hill's Bar (the rebels) men were nearly all there (this I learnt there) They gave me a Salute, firing off their loaded Revolvers over my head—Pleasant—Balls whistling over one's head! as a compliment! Suppose a hand had dropped by accident! If it was to try my nerves they must have forgotten my profession. I stood up, & raised my cap & thanked them in the Queen's name for their loyal reception of me—It struck the right cord, & I was answered by 3 long loud cheers—I passed down their ranks, saying something friendly right & left—As I lay down at night I thought my work was over & that I had but little to do of any *real* consequence. But it was not to be so easily settled—The Gov[r] had written me a despatch to dismiss M[r] Perrier[40] the J.P. at Hill's Bar & to post up notices at Hill's

published *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island,* which dealt with his experiences while on this coast.

(40) George Perrier was appointed Justice of the Peace at Hill's Bar in June, 1858. [Douglas to Lord Stanley, July 26, 1858, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.] Prior to his arrival in the colony he had been a sailor. His selection is an indication of

Bar & Fort Yale publicly announcing the fact. This was to be in addition to the legal investigations that were to take place—I talked it over with Judge Begbie—It appeared to both of us rather a sharp proceeding, & I felt very much inclined to take on myself to postpone it until further enquiry. But when I reflected he really was not fit for his post any more than Captn Whannel I thought I had better do it at once & meet the storm. I did so immediately & the " hubbub " began, & I felt I had to sit my micklesome steed warily—To rule a fierce democracy is no joke at any time be their numbers small or great—Ned McGowan in great excitement struck a ruler of the opposite party in the face—many persons were in evident terror, & one gentleman who desired to bring me information sent me word that he was besieged in his house. I knew that no indignity wd be offered to either Judge Begbie or myself—but fr the intelligence we recd fr all quarters it was very evident that to go on with the legal proceedings in a way to ensure the Peace not being broken it was necessary to bring up the detachment of R.E.'s fr Fort Hope, & I was most anxious that not even a spark shd get alight, that all shd be at once crushed, and an example be shown at [*sic*] to what we cd do. I ordered up to Fort Hope the Marines (30) fr Langley & some Seamen with 2 Field Pieces—Remember Hill's Bar is naturally a very strong place easily defended—Their numbers were considerable, among them Military men who had served under General Scott[41] in the Mexican Wars, all armed & knowing how to use their arms. When Whannel was captured & carried off to Hill's Bar the rioters threw out skirmishers under a Major Dolan[42] (a *real* Major) & lined the high opposite bank of the river fr whence they commanded the passage of the river. It must have been beautifully done, & showed Will (I have ordered the trees that gave them cover to be cut down) The language of the Town was violent & these excitable fellows were getting their blood up—I despatched Lt Mayne R.N. with 2 Indians in a light canoe—They started in the dark & pulled hard—The R.E.'s had gone to bed when he arrived—In an hour they were up & on the water under Captn Grant—By Mayne I had sent very careful written instructions to Grant as to his movements—in obedience to my orders he brought with him also a few picked Cornish Miners on whom

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the difficulty Governor Douglas faced in securing suitable British subjects as his administrative officials. As a result of his acts which resulted in the incident being described, Perrier was dismissed. " Mr. Justice Perrier appears to have acted most indiscreetly in taking proceedings against a brother Magistrate and I have therefore suspended him from office and written off his name from the list of Justices of the Peace for the time being." Douglas to Newcastle, January 10, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(41) General Winfield Scott was born in 1786 and had a long and honourable career in the United States Army. In 1846 he took over command in the Mexican War and pushed it to a successful conclusion. His political enemies for a time damaged his reputation, but he was subsequently reinstated in public esteem. In 1852 he ran for President of the United States and was defeated by Franklin Pearce. At the age of 73 he was sent out to the Pacific Northwest in connection with the San Juan Island boundary dispute in 1859.

(42) Major Thomas Dolan was originally a faro-dealer at Fort Yale who later turned to mining. He left the river with Ned McGowan in the spring of 1859 and went to New Orleans, where he enlisted with General William Walker in the famous forays into Nicaragua. Victoria *Colonist*, October 18, 1860, and May 30, 1861.

I knew I c[d] depend. These few were selected f[r] among 200 Volunteers—I sent orders that Ogilvy, in a small Canoe, was to precede the party, just keeping ahead reconnoitring in case of ambuscade f[r] the banks. To a military advance, if opposed, Glen Albert is full of danger. The night was intensely cold, but a clear moonlight—To have marched thro' the woods in the deep snow & thro' the thick underbrush w[d] have been impracticable, the boats therefore were exposed while the woody banks were deep in shade. It was only " sound " & occasionally landing at suspicious places if necessary that w[d] guide Ogilvy & his party of 2 Indians. (I must not forget a fine fellow named Macdonald[43] who accompanied him) Their senses are habitually kept alive to sound & sight. You may imagine how much I thought of Ogilvy, to give him the post of honour, viz. the post of danger. The Hill's Bar Men had stopped the Canoes going down when they seized Whannel, & they well knew the strength of their ground. Just at the Bar is a rapid difficult current to struggle up & the only channel is close to the Bar. I had thought of this, & by my orders Grant landed below on the opposite side—At Break of day the Hill's Bar Men saw the detachment filing past between the trees on the opposite bank & they ran down shouting & firing off their rifles. It might have been & probably was only a bravado. Grant says he heard no bullets, but he told me nothing c[d] be finer than the conduct of the Civilians one & all. The Cornish Men did not even turn their heads or utter a syllable, they just marched steadily on but with a look of a very determined character, while on the opposite side of the River all was shouting & excitement. I walked down to meet them after their bitterly cold night's march, Ogilvy & Macdonald in the advance & quite in their element, you saw " enjoyment " on their faces—With respect to my own good fellows I have only to say they are "*Royal Engineers*" that is surely enough. They were the same men Sir Edward so kindly addressed off Cowes when they embarked under Parsons in La Plata Steamer.[44] Please tell him this. He will know what I mean. They are not likely ever to forget his address—Of course hot Coffee & breakfast were soon ready for them—Heaps of Rowdies were present when I inspected them & dismissed them to Barracks a temporary accom[m]odation, sleeping on the floor in the Court House—F[r] the moment of their arrival everything began to change & to brighten up. Alarm vanished & Hill's Bar Men were full of assurances to everybody that they were & always had been loyal men, & that to say otherwise was to libel them. However odd it may appear,

(43) Possibly one of the sons of Archibald McDonald, and, indeed, it may even have been Ranald MacDonald.

(44) In the course of this address, Lytton had said: " The enterprise before you is indeed glorious. Ages hence industry and commerce will crowd the roads that you will have made; travellers from all nations will halt on the bridges you will have first flung over solitary rivers, and gaze on gardens and cornfields that you will have first carved from the wilderness; Christian races will dwell in the cities of which you will map the sites and lay the foundations. You go not as the enemies, but as the benefactors of the land you visit, and children unborn will, I believe, bless the hour when Queen Victoria sent you forth her sappers and miners to found a second England on the shores of the Pacific." *The Life of Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton*, by his grandson, London, 1913, vol. ii, p. 293.

I have no doubt whatever they thought they were. It requires to live among these people to understand them well—Their notion of what is loyal & our notion is rather different, & personal acts of violence even to murder are only called and only considered " *difficulties* " That is the word. When one man coolly [*sic*] shoots another in broad daylight, waylaying him for that purpose, & then finds it convenient to absent himself for a short time. The world says (I mean their world, their public society) " so & so " has gone, he has had a " difficulty " with " so & so." Ned McGowan himself told me afterwards in general conversation that when on the point of leaving California to come here " a gentleman "! stepped up to him & said " I have a personal difficulty with you Sir " & fired at him when standing close to him. The Ball passed through his clothes close to his side! Ned McGowan was a Judge in California & barely escaped by precipitate flight f^r being hung for his alledged misdeeds by the Vigilance Committee. Well! they all saw I took a totally different view of their conduct to what they did. They had a meeting & *respectfully* & earnestly invited me to be present as they wished to address me. After telling them I sh^d make no reply to their address, & that the Law sh^d have it's [*sic*] course & their declaring that all who had offended the law w^d be present to stand their trial at the hour at w^h they had been summoned before Judge Begbie (after the Sappers came one constable was quite sufficient to execute the summons anywhere, not I believe f^r fear exactly, but because their eyes were opened for the first time to see that in the Queen's dominions an infringement of the Law was really a serious matter, & not a sort of half joke as in California) (my good friends the Miners are new to this sort of thing, they are learners & have to be taught) After declaring the above I went to the Meeting accompanied by Judge Begbie, nothing c^d be more respectful than our reception. It began with 3 cheers for the Queen, 3 for Governor Douglas, & 3 for myself. They then began their address, & after proceeding very well for some time the address began to comment on Whannel the J.P. of the district. I instantly rose & stopped it, saying I w^d not allow any comments of that kind on any individual in my presence, especially on a Magistrate. They were a little taken aback (again you see they had to learn) apologized, retired for an hour, amended their address, & in addition one man in a red shirt, formerly an Alderman of San Francisco[45] made me an admirable speech, extremely clever & in the *best possible taste & feeling*—They all cultivate the art of speaking, & SOME speak very well—The address was a long defence, explanation and apology, nothing particularly clever in it—The next day the trial came off in the Court House—it was very crowded—the miners armed to the teeth—McGowan armed—the only unarmed men were the Judge & myself—I w^d not even have my " Orderly " & the Sappers were removed to the further end of the Town. Ned McGowan pleaded guilty, & made an exquisitely beautiful speech, so neat, such few words, all to the point, nothing discursive, no " bunkism," no nonsense of any kind, admirable for

(45) Judge Begbie in his report to Governor Douglas dated February 3, 1859, which gives his version of the whole incident, gives this man's name as Wilson. The report is reprinted in F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines,* p. 38.

what *he left out* as well as for what he said—It was in fact a very clever & very gentlemanly speech—dignified and yet respectful—Begbie inflicted the greatest fine he c[d] & caused him to enter into recognizances to keep the peace—He also delivered a very manly address what you might expect f[r] an Englishman who has a high courage—He gave it to McGowan very heavily, & stripped bare all their false definitions of right & wrong. The fine was paid down at once & recognizances entered into, and all was at an end. Then came a series of investigations by Begbie & myself. It w[d] take up far too much space to tell you the particulars. We have done so to the Gov[r] however. There can be no doubt f[r] the gross corruption & pusilanimous conduct of a M[r] Hicks,[46] a Gold Commissioner & Magistrate, a miserable creature. The bold, insane, reckless zeal, & utter ignorance of Capt[n] Whannel who is incorruptible, full of courage, and despotic as a Czar—the total want of an effective police—the organization of a Vigilance Committee of California, for their self-defence (as Gov[t] had not sufficient Police & force at hand) against the Hill's Bar Men & having among them numbers of the Vigilance Committee of California who hunted after McGowan to hang him—the presence of McGowan (Hill's Bar is only 1½ miles distant f[r] Yale) ruling a band of determined men who positively seem to idolize him.[47] There can be no doubt to the above combination of circumstances is to be attributed the past disturbances & I look upon it as a most merciful interposition of Divine Providence that I came among them at the time I did and that His Grace was upon me enabling me to act as I did, guiding me in His goodness, & causing these poor fellows to look upon me as a friend. By this influence I was able to turn their attention to a proper respect for and obedience to the Law. I sh[d] mention to you also, my dear Friend, that the day after my arrival at Fort Yale was a Sunday & I sent round to invite everybody to meet me at Divine Service in the Court House—It was the 1st time in B. Columbia that the Liturgy of our Church was read.[48] The first time that we know of that people had assembled together for Public Prayer of any kind in the Colony[49]—To *me* God in His mercy granted this

(46) Richard Hicks was appointed Assistant Commissioner for Crown Lands at Yale at the same time as Perrier became the Justice of the Peace at Hill's Bar. [Douglas to Lord Stanley, July 26, 1858, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] His correspondence at this time is published in F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, pp. 1–22. Judge Begbie referred to him as "a weak and corrupt magistrate." *Ibid.*, p. 39.

(47) Judge Begbie's analysis of the situation was as follows: "As to the origin of the outrages, it appeared that Yale and its vicinity are chiefly inhabited by citizens of the United States of N.A. more or less connected wth California; and, like other Californians, deeply imbued with party spirit; and, like all United States citizens, very fond of political excitement and meetings, particularly when they conceive that some legal right has been infringed. Yale is chiefly inhabited by partisans of the 'Vigilance Committee'; Hill's Bar by partisans of the 'law and order' party in San Francisco." *Ibid.*, p. 38. For details of the San Francisco situation *see* F. M. Smith (*ed.*), *San Francisco Vigilantes Committee of 1856*, San Francisco, 1883; and James O'Meara, *The Vigilantes Committee of 1856*, San Francisco, 1887.

(48) Moody himself read the service according to Begbie's report.

(49) Moody's claim may be correct. Rev. William Burton Crickmer came out to British Columbia at the same time as Moody [Victoria *Colonist*, January 1,

privilege. The room was crowded full of Hill's Bar men as well as others, old grey bearded men, young eager eyed men, stern middle aged men, of all nations knelt with me before the throne of Grace. My heart was in the utterance I gave to the beautiful prayers of our Liturgy. When it was concluded, I gave them a few words in wh I must have expressed my affection for them, & I prayed God to bless them & to prosper them in all their labours. Can any one say how much this solemn meeting may have influenced their better conduct at the close of affairs. Let us hope it did! I have since heard that at one of the Bars a Log Hut is now building as a Church, being built by the Miners themselves, no Clergymen is there among them! Oh! for some of England's Gentlemen, young & ardent as Ministers of God's words. How many Curates there are of ample private means, to whom pay wd be nothing, I mean Cadets of good families, warmhearted, generous, noble as well as pious, full of faith & real humanity in Christ, who burn to serve their Master's Cause. Let a few such men come here, & take post against the enemy of those Miner's Souls. Take post at intervals along the lovely Banks of the glorious River of Gold. Such fine fellows as these Miners wd win their best affections. They are emphatically *Men*, and they are Men without a friend at hand. If it please God I sh visit them as often as I possibly can but they need someone to dwell among them as a Clergyman, & the Missionaries to send among them must be men of a particular stamp. The day after the trial I told the Hill's Bar Men I wd now come & see them & go over their works & make their acquaintance, on the distinct understanding there shd be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever (I now feared their excess of loyalty they are so impulsive) But my health unfortunately broke down the following morning—The excessive cold the daily wet feet, cold up to my knees in snow & sludge, sleeping on all manner of things. All the time I was at Yale, I slept on three boxes in a passage! (My Orderly & the Judge side by side on the floor) very bad indigestible food &c. &c. and not a little pressure of thought on my brain, all combined upset me at the last—The whole party Judge & Soldiers had had cholic & diarrhea more or less fr the continued exposure, bad living with constant cold & wet & I had escaped hitherto. I suppose "Mind" had kept my body going but when all was quiet I broke down—Almost fainted & became vulgarly sick, our medical man, one lent from a Man of War, immediately insisted on my lying on a bed made up. Begbie, Mayne (who had retd to me) and Brue[50] [*sic*] who had also come up the country went to Hill's Bar

1859], and he may have spent some time in Victoria before going to Fort Langley, where he performed Divine service in the newly constructed church for the first time in April [Victoria *Gazette*, April 26, 1859]. The date of his arrival at Fort Langley is not known, nor is there any proof that service was conducted in any other building prior to the event described by Moody. There is every reason to believe that Rev. R. J. Staines may have performed Divine service when he visited Fort Langley from Fort Victoria, but this was before the establishment of the colony.

(50) Chartres Brew reached Victoria after a most exciting series of adventures on November 8, 1858, in the same ship that brought Captain Grant and the second section of the Royal Engineers. He came out as Inspector of Police and had a long and honourable career in the colonial service until his death May 31, 1870. *See* Margaret A. Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1950), pp. 64–71.

& were very well rec^{d}. So much disappointment was expressed at not seeing me that I determined to call on my return down the River. I now ordered the Marines up to relieve the R.Es, & sent the latter down to Langley to their work. The Marines I thought it prudent to leave for a short time. The following day in dropping down the River I called at Hill's Bar and was very properly rec^{d} everywhere. The men all busy at work. Ned McGowan pressed me to enter his Hut gave me an excellent *Glass of Champagne!* The best I have almost ever tasted, & with me drank her Majesty's health! He gave me a very great deal of useful information & I seriously entertain the hope I may convert him into a valuable subject of the Crown eventually, but he needs *watching*. He assured me the difficulties w^{d} always be f^{r} acts of violence arising f^{r} personal quarrels only, never f^{r} any opposition to the Gov^{t} except what might arise on the spur of the moment & which some *judgment* on the part of the Magistrate might generally if not nearly always, avoid. He urged me to put down the excessive gambling that exists—He stated that it is a regular business, certain professed gamblers who do nothing else, go f^{r} place to place among the Miners & fasten to them like Blood-suckers and are the source of all the mischief. That they had some at Hill's Bar that were beyond his controul [*sic*] but that our conduct had frightened them off now. The day after the trial they all decamped up the River & he assured me I w^{d} have to follow them up in the Spring. How odd all this must appear to you in England. Our journey down the River was far more charming than our journey up. At Fort Hope I picked up the Seamen & we all went down the River together & went on board the "Plumper" off Langley—I ret^{d} with an immense amount of valuable information, knowledge of the people, the river, & the prospects of the country. As you may suppose my enquiries on every subject were incessant. Be assure[d] that among all her Majesty's Colonies there is not a finer one or one with more valuable resources than this, and as a dwelling place for Englishmen few in any way can compare with it. The Gold is in extraordinary abundance, River mining is scarcely thought of now. The workings go on a mile back f^{r} the River, & up to the farthest north we hear daily of fresh discoveries. It seems to us incredible that people f^{r} home do not come out & this is attributed to the influence of the American Press who do all they can to run it down, while Americans at the same time are literally streaming into it. It will be an American Country before long, if not neutralized by the presence of many Englishmen coming out at once—Now for a few words about the new Town of Langley—I dare scarcely enter on the subject with the freedom I w^{d} wish, I w^{d} have to say so many severe things. I will try & put it into a few facts & leave you to draw your own deductions. First, I will mention my own Officer Capt^{n} Grant, earnestly protested against it & urged I w^{d} soon be on the spot. His advice was set aside, the Town was laid out, & the lots sold. I know money was sorely needed & this sale brought grist to the Mill. No public announcement of any kind was made that this was to be the chief town, but public Officers bought Lots, among them Capt^{n} Grant

himself, who firmly believes it is to be the chief town.[51] A Court House & Jail was promised besides a Church & Parsonage and these are being built or about to be built at this moment.[52] The prevailing opinion is that it is to be the Chief Town. It is on the Frontier side of the River, a level country easily crossed, a sort of road now exists. American Soldiers come up to ours & try to fraternize smuggling of every kind goes on—The Town may be said to be an American Town with it's [*sic*] port at Semiamoo in American territory & if the Chief Town of the Country is to be at that spot, Semiamoo,[53] American, cannot fail to be the Chief port of the district, Americans will be, I believe they now are the chief holders of lots. There are no Military features towards the frontier of w^h^ to take advantage to cover & protect the Town in time of War. At any moment the Americans c^d^ & w^d^ have their grip on the very throat of B Columbia; the site itself, in itself, is not bad for a Town & that is it's [*sic*] sole recommendation. By not at present selling any more lots, nor any rural lots between it & the Frontier it's [*sic*] progress w^d^ be at once arrested & for ever, for all commercial interests w^d^ centre too strongly at the better place for British interests namely Queenborough, & Semiamoo w^d^ die. The new town of Langley *abuts close on* in fact adjoins the 10 mile claim of the H.B. Company—You have instructed the Gov^r^ to deal liberally with the H.B. claims & Sir Edward in so

(51) The first notice regarding the sale of lots at the Langley townsite was issued under the signature of J. D. Pemberton, Surveyor-General for Vancouver Island, on October 1, 1858 [enclosed in Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858, *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*, Part II, p. 2]. Douglas' report of the sale was sent to the Colonial Office in a dispatch dated November 29, 1858. "The first operation disposing of public lands in British Columbia took place here [Victoria] on the 25th instant. . . . The spot selected for sale was the site of a former establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, known as 'Old Fort Langley.' . . . On the whole it is a place to which public attention was strongly directed as being a very advantageous site for a commercial town. I therefore directed that it should be surveyed, and laid out into convenient lots for sale. . . . The highest price obtained for single lots was $725, and about 187 lots were sold on the first day's sale, and 155 lots on the second day, the whole yielding a sum of about 13,000 l., on which a deposit of 10 per cent. was paid down, and the remainder is to be paid in the course of a month, or the lots will be resold." *Ibid.*, p. 37.

(52) "I propose building a small church and parsonage, a court-house, and gaol immediately at Langley, and to defray the expense out of the proceeds arising from the sale of town lands there." Douglas to Lytton, December 14, 1858, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

(53) The following description of the American settlement at Semiahmoo is taken from the Victoria *Gazette*, August 13, 1858: "Just off Point Roberts, to the East, is the Bay of Semiahmoo, around the shores of which two towns of the same name have recently been laid off. One is on a 'spit,' or narrow tongue of land, which projects into the Bay, about one mile and a half long, and from a quarter of a mile to a few yards in width. . . . The 'town' on the spit . . . consists of six frame houses and about a dozen tents. All the frames are used as stores and eating and drinking houses. . . . Directly opposite, and about a mile and a half distant across the water, is the town of Semiahmoo No. 2. . . . There are three or four frame houses finished, and two or three others in the course of construction, and some few tents. . . . The projected trail or wagon road, to connect the town with Fort Langley, is to start immediately from the rear, and it is said that an excellent wagon road can be cut for less than $10,000, passable at all seasons. The distance is about twenty miles."

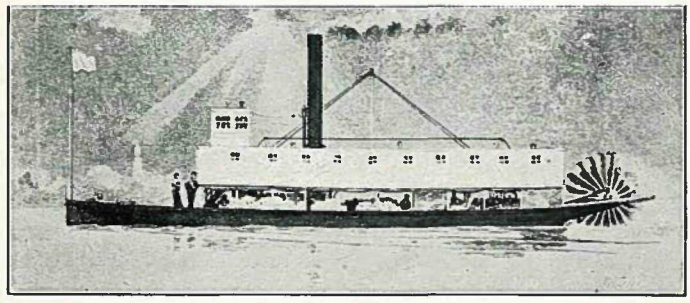
doing acts both wisely & justly—They deserve every consideration I freely confess, I came out somewhat prejudiced agst them, I now think the Gov^{t} of England are much indebted to them, & their Servants are worthy enterprizing men, keen at making a bargain, & occupied in accumulating wealth. That is their business, & they persue [*sic*] it with Will, prudence, forethought & energy & if they get to windward of the Gov^{r} it may perhaps be thought a laudable victory. I do not grudge them in the least all the gain they may get by the juxtaposition to Langley of their rich claim—By all means do not withhold it—That does not influence me—My objections are strong "Imperial Interest" objections to the locality—I have urged the matter very earnestly on the Gov^{r} in a military point of view & he has promised to send my letter home—He admits all my facts, so does Judge Begbie, approves of my policy, *and we have drawn up a proclamation in w^{h} it is stated* that a town is to be laid out (at my "site") w^{h} is to be the port of Entry & *Capital of B. Columbia & that lots may be exchanged.* But the proclamation is not made public yet, & day after day passes.[54] If it is stated to Colonial Office that the matter has gone too far, it will be an error. Scarcely any buildings of consequence are up, except a building intended to receive some of my men, built I presume by the Gov$^{r's}$ orders, certainly with his sanction. I trust a "cry" will not be raised that it is not too far gone to change the site. A "cry" is easily got up. At present the public only wish to know w^{h} is to be site. They are ready for either. Why the announcement is postponed I know not, every day increases the evil. I am sorry, very sorry for it—The people pester me, & comment on the Gov^{r}. Suspicions of the most odious kind are rife. Now, observe, unless a very decided order comes f^{r} Sir E^{d}, Langley will be adopted. Among other extreme inconveniences by the delay will be extra cost when the "Thames City"[55] arrives. I ought now to be preparing for their reception & I don't know what to do. If Queenborough is to be the place then the site for the Barracks & Engineer Stores must be in the neighbourhood. If at Langley they must be in that neighbourhood. If built at Queenborough now they w^{d} never answer for Langley, & vice versa, & then by any change money w^{d} be thrown away. It is very perplexing—If I feel this on Gov^{t} account, what must others feel on their private acct^{s}? I hope Sir Ed's orders will come by return of post. In the mean while B. Columbian interests pine & Vancouver with Victoria flourishes. F^{r} Langley I went in the Plumper to Burrard's Inlet & afterwards to Semiamoo to notice the Boundary Line & to Point Roberts. The loss of the latter is a serious thorn in our side—A smuggling town is being built on the American portion & by & bye there will be a Citadel of the 1st Class. Depend on it the Military considerations affecting the Capital or principal Town at the entrance of the Frazer is of the very greatest weight & sh^{d} take the lead. It is in vain to hope to get

(54) The Proclamation embodying these provisions was finally issued by Governor Douglas on February 14, 1859. Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859, *Papers relative to the Affairs of British Columbia,* Part II, pp. 65–66.

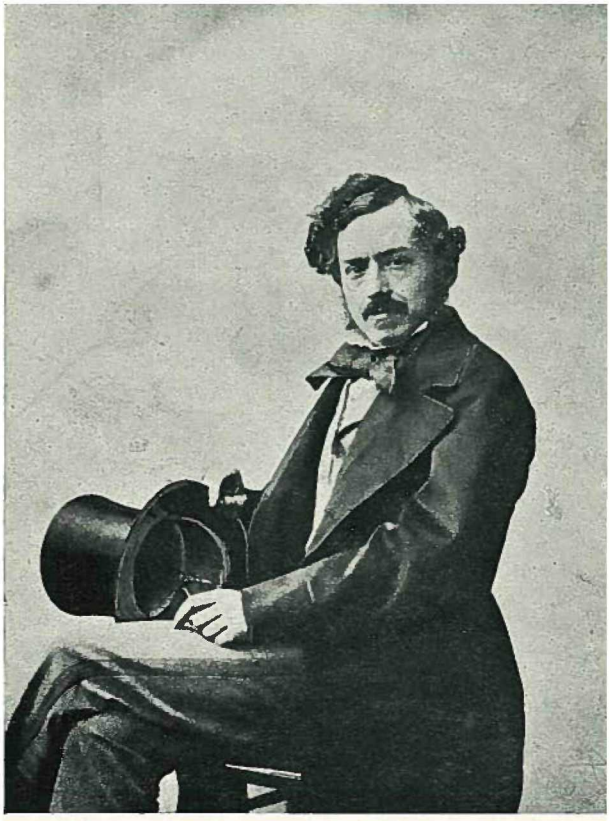
(55) The *Thames City,* 557 tons, commanded by Captain Glover, brought the main body of the Royal Engineers to British Columbia with Captain H. R. Luard in charge. She sailed from Gravesend on October 10, 1858, and reached Esquimalt on April 12, 1859.

Pt Roberts fr the Americans I fear. This loss makes it more important than ever that we shd not yield in the matter of the Water boundary between the Islands—I have, of course, heard all that is to be said on the subject, & I confess the matter seems to me to be very simple as a matter of fairness & equity. First we have no right whatever to Pt Roberts, that is a clear case—Secondly, the terms of the treaty are very general as to the " line going down the middle of the Channel " " between the Mainland & Vancouver's Island "—The Channel may very fairly (taking a broad view) be taken to mean the *whole width between & having within it sundry Islands.* We show that the Channel " proper "—the Channel that all sailing Vessels wd naturally take—is between the Islands & the Mainland—This wd give us *all* the Islands—The Americans declare that the Channel wh separates Vancouver's Island fr the Main[land] is the Channel next to Vancouver's Islands & that the other islands properly belong to the Mainland!! This wd give the Americans *all* the Islands! It appears to me neither of these definitions cd have been in the mind of the Framers of the Treaty nor do they represent a just reading of the treaty. If the middle of the whole space between Vancouver's Island & the Mainland be taken as the proper boundary it will cut across Orcas Island, a fine large Island—I wd propose to give up our share of Orcas for Pt Roberts—I feel perfectly certain fr what I know of America & Americans & I know them now for the 2nd time in my life, & I have noted the growing & changing phases of their national Character, I am quite certain if we hold on with determination to the middle boundary we sh get our own way & perhaps by throwing some sop to them we shd get the whole of the Islands. There are very few of them who do not believe they will eventually get the whole country, & it wd not be worth a war to stand out for a portion *now*. I trust & believe they will be mistaken as to their getting the whole country—I hope it may be united some day fr Canada as a great nation forming in some federal manner an integral portion of the whole Empire of wh it is now a Colony—Say what we may & explain away as we please politically Colonies do not FEEL as if they were *integral* portions of the empire. I have lived a great portion of my life among Colonies & know the feeling wh (perhaps insensibly) moves them at that disagreeable phrase to them " Dependency "—Colonists are sensitive people—I don't despair after a Federal Union of the N. American Colonies shd have been brought to pass, to see a very satisfactory sort of Federal union of all the British Empire. It may appear to be only a name, but names & words are things of tremendous force at times, dis[s]olving or uniting Policies with extraordinary power—Sometimes slowly, sometimes explosively—I studied the Military features of the country very carefully while at Semiamoo—As soon as I got back again, the Govr, Begbie & I set to work to lay the foundations of the Colony of B. C. & we work together very satisfactorily—Poor Gosset[56] is, on the whole, behaving very well towards

(56) Captain William Driscoll Gosset, R.E., held the appointment as Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster of the Colony of British Columbia. He had formerly served as Colonial Surveyor in Ceylon and arrived at Victoria in the same ship that brought Colonel Moody. Gosset and Douglas were in disagreement over almost every issue that arose, and the latter's opinion of his official was extremely



Steamer *Enterprise.*



Captain William D. Gosset.

me. He has fallen foul however of the Gov^{r} and got a sharp reproof—He has managed to offend everybody already—We all really think his illness in Ceylon must have been a very serious matter. He is quite impracticable, I fear, altogether mistaking his position. Poor fellow, he is beginning at last to look upon me as his best friend. By & bye I trust to turn that feeling to good acc^{t}. for the service but he is so uncertain that one can never reckon on his being in the same frame of mind for 2 days together. If I was bona fide Gov^{r} of any Colony I w^{d} not mind having him as my treasurer, he w^{d} then recognize me as his Master as I know all the twists of his Mind and all his good & valuable points & I feel sure I c^{d} manage him if he was fairly under my orders. Still I cannot wonder at everybody being irritated with him. You remember I promised to spin you a long yarn, I have done so I hope it will not be voted a bore. Some even^{g} read it when quiet at home & you have nothing particular on his [your] mind. You will see by all the blunders that I have felt quite at home in writing to you. It is verily a letter written amidst 10,000 distractions, & snatched at the intervals of business——Never do I believe did a man "work" under greater disadvantages than I am now doing—No Office, no Clerks, a very tiny house full of my dear Children but whose shouts sometimes "fun" sometimes "wailings" do not tend to compose the thoughts. I hope sincerely it may soon cease, & that I may receive orders as to our future location f^{r} the Gov^{r}—

Remember me most affect^{ely} to your dear Son, oh! what w^{d} I not have given to have had him with me, but God has willed it otherwise for some wise & good purpose to both of us—I am sure he will not forget me any more than I s^{h} ever forget him. Remember me most kindly to y^{r} dear Wife, I am sure she will be interested in my rambling story. Finally remember me most kindly (were it not for the wide difference in our positions, I w^{d} say affect^{ely}) to my Chief—Sir Edward Lytton—& believe me my dear Friend to be

Your's [*sic*] faithfully
(signed) R. C. Moody—

Arthur Blackwood Esq^{re}
Colonial Office.

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low; "My experience of Captain Gosset, has not been happy. Except as a mere Treasury Clerk, he has been of no use to me. As a financial officer he was valueless. I have invariably found him defective in judgment. His temper is capricious, and I cannot recall a single instance of any useful suggestion made by him. I could never rely on his cordial co-operation in combined measures, and I am moreover persuaded that he encouraged disaffection, and wilfully misrepresented my government, through the public Press, both in this Country and abroad. In short, I believe him to be *politically faithless* and *unprincipled*." Quoted in R. L. Reid, *The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint at New Westminster* (Archives Memoir No. VII), Victoria, 1926, p. 96. A summary of his career is to be found in *ibid.*, pp. 92–96.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Hotel Grosvenor, Vancouver, B.C., on Friday, January 19. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by Mr. D. A. McGregor, Second Vice-President. Captain C. W. Cates, Chairman of the Vancouver Section, welcomed the members to the annual meeting and in particular the three representatives from the Victoria Section. The greetings of this latter section were expressed by its Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland.

The President's report was read by the Secretary, Miss Helen R. Boutilier, at the conclusion of which a resolution of appreciation to Mr. Campbell for his services as President and an expression of regret that his recent illness had made it impossible for him to be in attendance was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary's report made particular mention of the special meetings held in both Victoria and Vancouver to mark the centenary of the establishment of British government on the Pacific Coast. Although membership had declined throughout the year, nevertheless both sections had had active programmes. The Treasurer's report indicated a bank balance of $335.30, but a marked decline in membership had to be recorded—383 as compared with 466. Of these, 122 were affiliated with the Victoria Section, 138 with the Vancouver Section, and 123 were members-at-large. The delay in the publication of the *Quarterly* was felt by many to be a major contributing factor to the decline in membership, and the Editor in his report expressed the hope that regular publication would soon be achieved again. Total circulation for the *Quarterly* is in excess of 450.

The forms prepared for distribution by the special Anthropological Committee were presented and approved for circulation. A resolution urging the formation of a Provincial Historic Sites and Monuments Board was presented from the Vancouver Section and unanimously endorsed. The many years of service of Miss Inez Mitchell, of the staff of the Provincial Archives, who has been responsible for the preparation of the index to the *Quarterly*, was recognized in a resolution conferring an honorary membership.

The presidential address, entitled *The Kootenay Mail: Revelstoke's Second Newspaper*, was read for Mr. Campbell by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby. By virtue of his long association with this newspaper, Mr. Campbell was able to give many interesting facts relating to earlier events in the Revelstoke district. The text of the address is printed in this *Quarterly*.

The report of the scrutineers was then presented. A total of 103 valid ballots was returned to the Honorary Secretary. The new Council met immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, when the following officers were elected:—

Honorary President	Hon. W. T. Straith, K.C.
President	Major H. Cuthbert Holmes.
First Vice-President	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Second Vice-President	Mrs. R. B. White.
Honorary Secretary	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. H. C. Gilliland.

Members of the Council—

Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Miss Helen R. Boutilier.
Rev. John Goodfellow.
Mr. J. K. Nesbitt.
Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Dr. W. N. Sage.

Councillors *ex officio*—

Mr. Burt R. Campbell, Past President.
Mr. H. C. Gilliland, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Captain C. W. Cates, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, *Quarterly*.

VICTORIA SECTION

A regular meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, November 16, with the Vice-Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, presiding. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. Wilson Duff, Provincial Anthropologist, who had chosen as his subject *Fraser Valley Indians at Work*. This description of the old life of the Indians indicated that it was a busy one, characterized by a close integration of his work with his art, his religion, and his social life. The fishing carried on by the Indians on the Lower Fraser in the 5-mile stretch above Yale was used as an illustration of their aboriginal work. Fishing was not just a means of livelihood, but an exciting experience involving a seasonal migration and social contact with old friends and new. The continued seasonal fishing carried on at this spot to this day and the yearly migration to the hop-fields of the Fraser Valley and across the Border into Washington are indications of the lasting appeal of this form of life. Mr. Duff also showed two delightful coloured films taken by himself of the Indians fishing in the Lower Fraser Canyon and of hop-picking in the valley. Dr. D. L. McLaurin moved a most hearty vote of thanks to the speaker.

The annual meeting of the Victoria Section was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday evening, December 12. Owing to the unavoidable absence of the Chairman, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, Vice-Chairman, presided and opened the meeting by expressing the thanks of the Section to the Provincial Government for the use of the reading-room of the Provincial Library as a meeting-place. The annual report of the Secretary, Mr. F. Henry Johnson, was read and approved, and Miss Madge Wolfenden presented the Treasurer's report, which showed the financial standing of the Section to be creditable. The report of the scrutineers of the ballots for the election of the Council was accepted. The speaker of the evening was Mr. James K. Nesbitt, popular Victoria journalist, who spoke on *The Life and Work of Emily Carr*. This was not the usual biographical study, but a delightful tribute to a great artist, illustrated with anecdotes typical of the many facets of her character and of the wide variety of experience encompassed by her life. Major H. Cuthbert Holmes expressed the appreciation of the audience.

The new Council met immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting, at which time the following officers were elected:—

Chairman - - - - - - -	Mr. H. C. Gilliland.
Vice-Chairman - - - - - -	Mr. F. Henry Johnson.
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Mr. R. E. Potter.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Members of the Council—	
Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Dr. D. L. McLaurin.
Mr. R. P. Bishop.	Major H. T. Nation.
Mr. A. F. Flucke.	Miss Hazel Sargent.
Mrs. Kenneth Drury (*co-opt.*).	Miss K. Graham (*co-opt.*).
Mr. Wilson Duff (*co-opt.*).	Mr. Willard E. Ireland (*ex officio*).

The first regular meeting of the new year was held in the Provincial Library on Tuesday evening, January 16, when, despite inclement weather, a large audience was in attendance to honour the speaker on that occasion, Mr. B. A. McKelvie. A veteran journalist and prolific writer on the legend, lore, and history of this Province, Mr. McKelvie chose as his subject *Ways and Wars of Colonial Times*. While Indian troubles in the early days were not as spectacular in British Columbia as they were south of the Border, the reason is not solely because our native people were milder or less warlike. Rather, the reason is to be found in the wise policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, with its insistence on respect for law and equal justice for the Indians. Governor Douglas was a master in the enforcement of this policy. Mr. McKelvie's primary interest was in recounting the story of the *Victoria Voltigeurs*—the first local defence force on Vancouver Island. The group was formed by Chief Factor Douglas in the first instance to satisfy Governor Blanshard's desire to have some military force at his disposal. Made up of French-Canadians, one-time servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, this force was really a sort of rural police. They were established as an outpost village on the shores of Selkirk Water in Victoria harbour. Their subsequent use by Governor Douglas in connection with Indian outbreaks was also brought out. Mr. McKelvie was at his best in depicting the colour, the anxiety, the bravery, and the humour of the various clashes with the Indians on Vancouver Island, through all of which emerges the wise and understanding nature of James Douglas. Mr. B. C. Bracewell fittingly expressed the thanks of the meeting.

A regular meeting of the Section was held on Thursday evening, February 15, in the Provincial Library, at which time Mr. Willard E. Ireland read portions of an article written for this *Quarterly* by Mr. G. Hollis Slater entitled *The Career of Rev. Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator*. During the past few years much additional information has come to light on this the first clergyman of the Church of England to reside on Vancouver Island. The results of Mr. Slater's researches in this connection have already appeared in this *Quarterly*. The appreciation of the meeting was expressed by Mr. B. A. McKelvie and transmitted by letter to Mr. Slater, who unfortunately was unable to be present for the reading of his paper.

The meeting of the Section in March was preceded by the unveiling of a plaque commemorative of the entry of British Columbia into Canadian Confederation. This ceremony took place on Friday evening, March 9, in the rotunda in front of the Legislative Chamber in the Parliament Buildings, after which the members

moved into the Provincial Library, where Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, read a paper entitled *British Columbia and Confederation,* which is published in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Mrs. Kenneth Drury moved the vote of thanks to the speaker on this occasion.

The Chairman presided at the regular meeting of the Section on Thursday evening, April 26, in the Provincial Library, when Mr. Cecil Clark, formerly Deputy Commissioner of the British Columbia Provincial Police, spoke on *The History of the British Columbia Police.* Mr. Clark joined this force in 1916 and was with it until its disbandment in 1950, so was eminently qualified to speak of the long and honourable career of this force. It had its origin in the gold-rush days, when in 1858 Chartres Brew of the Royal Irish Constabulary arrived in the colony to organize a similar force for British Columbia. On November 19, 1858, he became the Chief Inspector of Police, a title which he retained until 1866, when it was changed to Superintendent of Police. The efficiency of the force is attested by the excellent state of order that prevailed under most difficult conditions in a new country in the throes of a gold-rush, with thousands of new-comers from all parts of the world. J. H. Sullivan succeeded Brew in 1872 and was Superintendent until 1875, when he lost his life in the sinking of the steamship *Pacific.* His successor was Charles Tod, the last to do battle with Indians in the Saanich area. H. B. Roycroft was the next Superintendent. Each succeeding Superintendent seemed to encounter peculiar difficulties in his tenure of office. Superintendent Roycroft had to face the Oriental riots and excitement of Canadian Pacific Railway construction days, whereas his successor, Frederick Hussey, found stage-coach robberies and train robberies were his particular problem. The next Superintendent was Colin Campbell, for whom labour troubles, emphasized by the Nanaimo coal strike, were the chief worry. W. G. McMynn followed; he was on the force for thirty-eight years and, like all other Superintendents, had worked his way up from the ranks, a practice which contributed in large measure to the *esprit de corps* of the force. J. H. McMullen was the next Superintendent, and he was responsible for the introduction of scientific police work, the use of short-wave radio communication, and many other new features. Thomas Parsons, John Shirras, and Roger Peachey were the last three Superintendents. The British Columbia Provincial Police was the oldest territorial force in North America and had the highest physical requirements of any force in Canada. Mr. Clark, as well as outlining the history of the force, recounted several of the major cases they had solved, which gave ample evidence of the skill and efficiency of the organization. Miss J. E. M. Bruce thanked Mr. Clark for a most informative and interesting address.

VANCOUVER SECTION

The regular meeting of the Vancouver Section was held on Tuesday evening, November 14, in the Hotel Grosvenor, with Mr. George Green presiding. The speaker on that occasion was Dr. W. N. Sage, head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, who had chosen as his subject *Canada at the Mid-century.* Sir Wilfrid Laurier had claimed that the twentieth century belonged to Canada, and the first fifty years have been a period of amazing

development and achievement in which, in effect, British colonials have grown up to become full Canadians, despite the fact that the outward trappings of nationalism in the way of a national flag and anthem are lacking. The speaker was able to present several contrasting aspects of Canada of 1900 and Canada of 1950. In the intervening years two world wars, in which Canada had played a significant role, had produced a complete change in outlook. At the beginning of the century Canada, with the tradition of peaceful relations with her neighbours well established and basking in the security of the *Pax Britannica,* stood almost apart from the international scene. The mid-century, however, found her right in the midst of world affairs, playing an important part, not only as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but as a full member in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well as the United Nations. Canada's position had changed in many other respects, for she had become one of the great trading nations of the world, with greatly increased resources, wealth, and population. The passing of fifty years has seen a slow but steady growth of national unity, albeit a unity in diversity. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to Dr. Sage by Dr. G. H. Raley and Mr. Noel Robinson.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, December 12, with Mr. George Green in the chair. In an interesting oral report, Mr. Green outlined the activities during his term of office and took the opportunity to thank Mr. E. G. Baynes for his continued generosity in providing a convenient and comfortable meeting-place. The Secretary and Treasurer also presented their reports. The report of the nominating committee was received and adopted, as follows:—

Honorary Chairman	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Chairman	Captain C. W. Cates.
Vice-Chairman	Mr. J. E. Gibbard.
Honorary Secretary	Mr. Don. Buchanan.
Honorary Treasurer	Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

Members of the Council—

Mr. D. H. Elliott.	Miss K. H. McQueen.
Rev. G. Forbes.	Miss Eleanor Mercer.
Mr. D. W. McGregor.	Dr. W. N. Sage.

The speaker on this occasion was Erna C. von Engel-Baiersdorff, F.R.A.I., curator of the Anthropological and Palæontological Departments of the Vancouver Museum and formerly associated with the Vienna Natural History Museum. Her address, *Prehistoric Anthropoids and Prehistoric Man,* was originally delivered in Pecs, Austria, before the International Federation of University Women, and to it had been added accounts of later discoveries down to the present. The speaker, a pupil of the famous anthropologist, Sir Arthur Keith, was eminently competent for the task she had undertaken, which dealt with anthropological discoveries through the ages. The earliest discovery in Egypt was the lower jaw-bone of an anthropoid ape, estimated to be 35,000,000 years old, and from this slim evidence the picture of a full-grown ape little larger than a new-born human child was pieced together. The story of other fossil-ape discoveries was told, which hint at man's origin culminating in the discovery of a few skull fragments in

England, suggesting the existence of primitive man living there 500,000 to 1,000,000 years ago. The shape of modern man became more clear as of 30,000 years ago, as established by the more complete fossils, tools, and even works of art discovered in the Cro-Magnon caves in France. Madame Engel-Baiersdorff stressed that apes were kin to man only and not ancestors, tracing the story told by bone fragments to the better documented times a few thousand years ago.

"Over fifty years of liquid history," sometimes turbulent, generally salty, always entertaining, were covered by Captain F. W. Pamphlet in his talk *S.S. "Beaver,"* given to the Vancouver Section at its meeting held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, February 20. His narrative was essentially a personal one, relating to his own adventures and those of his family, going back to 1830, when they had first become established at Fort Vancouver. Captain Pamphlet's mother was born at Fort McLoughlin on Milbank Sound in 1836—the year incidentally which witnessed the arrival of the *Beaver* on this coast. Subsequently the Pamphlet family moved north from Oregon Territory to Fort Victoria with the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Companys' headquarters to Vancouver Island. Captain Pamphlet's father, Captain Tom Pamphlet, first saw Burrard Inlet in 1854 in the S.S. *Otter* while in search of Cowichan Indians involved in murders the previous year. In 1856 he sailed the inlet in S.S. *Beaver,* and in 1860 became her skipper, carrying mail between Victoria and Nanaimo. The *Beaver* was sold by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1874 to a group of Victoria merchants, Stafford, Saunders & Morton Company, and engaged as a coastwise freighter and tug under various owners until her destruction "for the last time" off Prospect Point in 1888. She was first sunk in 1883 in the Narrows while towing for the Moodyville Mills, beached with the aid of floats and taken to Cook's Ways, Victoria, where she lay for two years before being again placed in service. Her last skipper, 1878–1888, was Captain George Marchant. Of Captain F. W. Pamphlet's numerous anecdotes, the most significant for Vancouver residents might be entitled "Captain Tom and the Holdin' Bottom." Joseph Stamp, of Alberni lumber fame, in 1863 decided that Brockton Point in Stanley Park would be an ideal site for a lumber mill. The machinery was brought in on scows, the rafts for pile-driving assembled, and everything prepared for the founding of an industrial empire over the heated protests of Captain Tom Pamphlet, who claimed there was "no holdin' bottom." Came the following day and the seat of empire had vanished with the tide. Captain Tom grabbed a rowboat and after two hours of "town planning" proposed the site of Hastings Mills at the foot of Dunlevy Street, where it remained for many years.

Captain Pamphlet emphatically denied that the "walking beam" in Stanley Park is a relic from the *Beaver.* Only four steamers on the coast had "walking beams"—S.S. *Enterprise,* S.S. *Olympia,* S.S. *Amelia,* and S.S. *Yosemite.* The *Beaver* was a "side lever engine" built by Bolton & Watt and had one of the first steam-engines in history. Efforts were made to salvage her after she ran aground off Prospect Point. Americans offered to buy the wreck to place her on view in Tacoma. Captain C. W. Cates' father offered to raise her for $600, but no financial settlement could be reached with the owners, and by 1892 the *Beaver* had

broken up. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to Captain Pamphlet by Mr. D. A. McGregor.

Captain C. W. Cates was the speaker at the meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, March 27, on which occasion the Vice-Chairman, Mr. John E. Gibbard, presided. In addition to being a recognized authority on Indian lore, Captain Cates is a member of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs and is much interested in the social and economic problems of the Indians of this Province to-day. Captain Cates first became interested in Indian mythology while working with the Indians in his father's stevedoring business, and much of the information in his address *The Legendary History of the B.C. Coast Indians* was gathered at first hand. In common with many cultures, that of the coastal Indians includes stories of a great flood inflicted on their ancestors as a punishment for evil living. There are certainly numerous evidences on the North Shore of calamity in recent geological times. Twice, according to Captain Cates, glaciers covered the Lower Mainland and extended as far south as Oregon. Benches on the North Shore are in reality old beaches, probably depressed by the ice. Stumps have also been found there in alluvial gravel 200 feet below the surface. Apparently the area witnessed vast floods when glacial lakes, left by the retreating ice, broke through their retaining barriers and covered the landscape with huge deposits. Many may have already been established on the Coast when these tremendous events transpired. According to legends, the gods visited pestilence and drought on the Salish Indians in the interests of spiritual salubrity, but no one could take the hint, so a great flood descended upon the Lower Mainland. Only two canoes weathered the rising water: one containing an uncle and his nephew was tethered on Mount Garibaldi and the other found refuge on Mount Baker. There are also stories of a decline in civilization and a great hero from Point Grey named Hi, who with supernatural powers strove to arrest this decline. Stories of this hero are common along the Coast.

The Indians had a very rigid caste system. Their ruling members or royalty were either descendants of the hero or his deputies. The senior member of each royal family had a "talking staff," which at meetings was the symbol of lineage and authority. Captain Cates displayed at the meeting a replica of a "talking staff" made from yellow cedar. Potlatches were held by the chief to choose his successor and to refer his choice to the tribal council for approval. The size of the party and the number of gifts bestowed on the guests were the index of royalty —the more royal the party, the more royal the host. All Indians respected the dignity of royalty, although apparently at a considerable degree of sharp personal discomfort for a royal personage if he were captured in war. He was not forced to live the degraded life of a captive but was dispatched on the spot, his head being an honoured trophy. Potlatches, in addition to their dynastic function, also had their literary aspects. They were a time for story-telling. Many of these stories concerned animals. The mink, for instance, had a very bad character from coast to coast. According to legend, as told by Chief Scow to Captain Cates, the mink was originally a man whose father was the sun and whose mother was a woman. He used to visit his father on condition that he must not disturb the clouds. This he did in defiance of his father's orders and was thrown out of heaven

as a mink. The Indian was an easy-going fellow, dependent on bountiful nature and ruled by an aloof aristocracy which lost power when the white people came. One of his favourite pastimes, particularly among the Haidas, was wife-hunting. These captive wives handed on to their offspring the old legends of their parent clan, and thus a common mythology grew up along the Coast in spite of the barrier of tongue and the absence of writing. Mr. A. P. Woolacott moved a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Cates.

YUKON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

During the past ten years several perfunctory efforts have been made to form an Historical Society in Whitehorse, but with little success. In the early winter of 1950 Mr. F. R. Arnot, Canadian Immigration Inspector, called a meeting to discuss the formation of a society, and the decision was reached to proceed with the organization of the Yukon Historical Society. Its objects were: "The collection and preservation of all items and historical documents of cultural and educational value pertaining to the Yukon Territory and eventually to display same in a museum for the information of the general public." George Black, P.C., K.C., a member of the executive, assumed responsibility for securing the necessary papers for incorporation. There are twenty charter members, and the following are its first officers:—

President	Mr. A. F. Arnot.
Vice-President	Mrs. W. S. Copland.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mr. W. D. MacBride.

Several committees have been formed and already a fair amount of material has temporarily been stored away in anticipation of the time when a museum building will have been acquired.

KOOTENAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Late in the fall of 1950 the decision was reached by a group of interested citizens in the Nelson region to organize a Kootenay Historical Society, and to that end a provisional committee for the Nelson Branch was set up, as follows:—

Chairman	Mr. Ross Fleming.
Secretary	Mrs. B. Miller.
Treasurer	Mr. R. R. Brown.

Members—

Mr. Boyd C. Affleck.	Mrs. Vincent Fink.
Mr. John Applewhaite.	Mrs. C. H. Hamilton.
Mr. G. Benwell.	Mrs. James McGregor.
Mrs. R. H. Dill.	Mrs. W. J. Sturgeon.

Mr. Howard Thurman.

When the general membership has reached a satisfactory number, permanent officers and a Board of Directors will be elected. In the meantime active steps are being taken to collect historical material relating to the Kootenay country, and an excellent exhibit was arranged for display at the time of the fall exhibition. The Nelson City Council has granted the Society use of a building for head-

quarters, and it is anticipated that soon a flourishing organization will be under way.

THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

This *Quarterly* is happy to welcome still another local history publication in the Pacific Northwest with the appearance of Volume I, No. 1, of *The Montana Magazine of History* for January, 1951. Published by the Historical Society of Montana, which was founded in 1865, its editor is Albert J. Partoll, and the subscription rate is $3 per year. Judging by the calibre of the articles in the first issue and the excellence of its format, Montanans may well be proud of this periodical.

PLAQUE COMMEMORATING BRITISH COLUMBIA BECOMING A PROVINCE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

An interesting ceremony took place on Friday evening, March 9, in the rotunda in front of the Legislative Chamber in the Parliament Buildings, Victoria, on the occasion of the unveiling of a bronze plaque commemorating British Columbia's entry into Canadian Confederation. Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, President of the Association, was in charge of proceedings and called upon Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, to make the formal presentation of the plaque. Dr. Sage, in a few well-chosen words, described the purpose of the Board and read the inscription.

British Columbia Becomes
a Province of Canada, 1871.

> To this land of mountains, lakes, rivers, islands and inlets came explorers, fur traders, gold seekers and settlers. During the middle years of the nineteenth century the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were founded and the Stikine Territory was organized. These colonies were united in 1866 as British Columbia which became the sixth Province of the Dominion on 20th July, 1871. Hon. Joseph William Trutch was the first Lieutenant-Governor and Hon. John Foster McCreight the first Premier.

The Honourable W. T. Straith, K.C., Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education, accepted the plaque on behalf of the Government of British Columbia and unveiled it. At the conclusion of the ceremony those present proceeded to the reading-room of the Provincial Library, where an address was delivered by Dr. Sage.

A NOTE ON "COAL-SEEKERS ON PEACE RIVER, 1903"

The following additional information on several points mentioned in the diary of J. S. Leitch, as edited by Dr. W. N. Sage and published in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XIV (1950), pp. 83–108, has been provided by Mr. A. F. Buckham, Nanaimo, B.C.:—

"In this article, J. S. Leitch says that the chief of the party of coal-seekers was a civil engineer named Davies, who had been in the area before 1896 as a member of 'what was probably the first Dominion Government geological survey in that

part of B.C.' (p. 83). A trail encountered by the coal-seekers is referred to as the 'Du Pont trail of 1896' (p. 101).

"The Government expedition with which F. de C. Davies was connected was one sent out by the Department of Railways and Canals with which department he was apparently still connected in 1903. During the rush to the Klondike goldfields an agitation was started for the construction of a railway from a point on an existing Canadian railway (the nearest point was Edmonton), and also one from a Canadian port on the Pacific, both to reach the Yukon via Canadian territory solely. In response to this agitation, the department sent out parties to survey such routes in 1898, 1899 and 1900. The parties were headed by John S. O'Dwyer, engineer-in-charge, and also V. H. Dupont and C. F. K. Dibblee. During the season of 1898, Dupont proceeded from Edmonton to the junction of the Finlay and the Parsnip, the commencement of Peace River proper, thence returning he located a route for a railroad along the south bank of the Peace easterly for about 200 miles to the eastern boundary of British Columbia. This was the party of which Dupont was a member.

"The parties did do some geological work, for they took notes on and collected specimens of the rocks encountered on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada. Indeed, the next year, 1899, Dupont made the first recorded discovery of coal in the Groundhog coalfield, northwest of Hazelton. G. M. Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey, from Dupont's 1899 work, added a large area of Cretaceous rocks to the geological map of Canada and predicted that large and important coalfields would be found in the Groundhog area.

"The official publications concerning these surveys are in the following annual reports of the department, which were also published in the *Sessional Papers* of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada:—

> *"Annual Report, Department of Railways and Canals, for the fiscal year from July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1899,* Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1900.
>
> *"Annual Report, Department of Railways and Canals, for the fiscal year from July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900,* Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1901.
>
> *"Annual Report, Department of Railways and Canals, for the fiscal year from July 1, 1900, to June 30, 1901,* Ottawa, King's Printer, 1902."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Burt R. Campbell, Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, has been associated with the printing trade and newspaper publishing in this Province for well over half a century. Now a resident of Kamloops, B.C., he is active in the affairs of the Kamloops Museum Association, as well as being associated with the Okanagan Historical Society.

Thomas Dunbabin, now a resident of Ottawa, Canada, served for several years as Press Attache to the office of the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in Ottawa.

Andrew Forest Muir, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of History at Daniel Baker College, Brownwood, Texas. As a graduate student in American History of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, he spent some time as an educator in the Hawaiian Islands, later returning to the University of Texas, where he obtained his doctorate.

He has contributed several articles to the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

Walter N. Sage, Ph.D., is head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia and the British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

F. H. Soward is a professor in the Department of History of the University of British Columbia and Director of International Studies at that institution.

Wilson Duff is anthropologist of the Provincial Museum at Victoria, B.C.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

Copy-book of Letters Outward &c begins 29th May, 1680 ends 5 July, 1687. Edited by E. E. Rich, with an introduction by E. G. R. Taylor. Toronto: The Champlain Society; and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1948. Pp. xli, 415, xv.

James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743, and Notes and Observations on a Book Entitled "A Voyage to Hudson's Bay in the Dobbs Galley," 1749. Edited with an introduction by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnston. With a joint letter from the Chairman of the Champlain Society and the Chairman of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. Toronto: The Champlain Society; and London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1949. Pp. cv, 352, xv.

The appearance of James Isham's *Observations* brings to an end the collaboration between the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society that has produced twelve excellent volumes from the treasure-house of Canadian history to be found in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, England. That this has been a mutually profitable and advantageous association cannot be gainsaid, and it is equally gratifying to realize that the publication programme of the Hudson's Bay Record Society will in no way be impaired by the cessation of the joint publication plan.

Considering the vast amount of material pertinent to Canadian history in the London Archives of the Company, in terms of the long range of years as well as of the large territory involved, it was only to be expected that all volumes would not be of equal interest to all regions. The Pacific Northwest, however, has fared particularly well in this respect, although neither of the two volumes under review is of any great local significance.

The volume of *Letters Outward*, despite the terminal dates specified in the copy-book itself, actually contains letters from 1679 to 1694. Consequently, it constitutes an excellent supplement to the three volumes of *minutes* already published, which in effect gave only the bare bones of Company procedures, plans, and techniques. The letters provide much of the details of administration, thus making more intelligible many of the decisions recorded as *minutes*. The period under review was one of the most critical that the Hudson's Bay Company had to face. Not only was it meeting all of the problems inherent in the founding of a grand commercial undertaking that was being operated by remote control from London, but it was hampered internally by disloyalty, if not dishonesty, on the part of some of its employees, and externally by the active and frequently all too successful competition from New France. This series of letters ends at probably the darkest moment in the Company's history—the Bay posts of Albany, Rupert, and Moose had been seized by the French and the surviving personnel transported by the rigorous overland route to New France.

The selection of Dr. Eva Taylor, Professor Emeritus of Geography of the University of London, to write the introduction to this volume was a most happy

one, for any analysis or examination of Company affairs at this juncture necessarily implies cartographical research. While this volume deals primarily with a series of disasters, there was at least one glimmer of hope, for Henry Kelsey's penetration north of Churchill and in the Nelson River area was undertaken between 1689 and 1692. These were important undertakings that promised well for the future, but unfortunately nothing of any consequence appears in the *Letters Outward* concerning them, and one can only hope that subsequent volumes will prove to be more informative. As usual, the material has been ably edited. The concise biographical sketches that are so extremely useful have been continued and, in addition, there is an excellent dictionary of posts.

The two items from the pen of James Isham that comprise the twelfth volume of the publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society give ample evidence not only of the wealth of material deposited in the Company's archives but also of the wisdom of making these resources more easily accessible. Indeed, it probably would have been greatly to the benefit of the Company in the mid-eighteenth century had their own officials, to say nothing of the general public, been aware of the existence of these two manuscripts, for at that time not only was authentic information concerning the Hudson Bay region lacking, but misinformation was all too freely available, thanks largely to the activities of Arthur Dobbs and Henry Ellis.

The introduction, in this instance, has been contributed by E. E. Rich, who, as general editor of the series for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, has been amazingly self-effacing hitherto. It is admirable in every respect. Not only does it provide a careful summary of the governorship of Sir Bibye Lake during the critical year 1742–43 and the necessary detail concerning James Isham's career in the Bay region, but it is particularly valuable for the clear and concise sketch of the events leading up to Arthur Dobb's attack upon the Hudson's Bay Company that culminated in the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1749.

Neither the *Observations* nor the *Notes* are lengthy documents, but they are at times surprisingly detailed and also, incidentally, quite self-revealing. While they do contain considerable information of interest to historians, as for example Isham's advocacy of the establishment of posts in the interior country contrary to the Company's policy of clinging to the shores of Hudson Bay, by and large the students of natural history have gained the most. Isham was a pioneer in the description of the flora and fauna of this portion of North America and, indeed, as the editor has pointed out, "Isham made a genuine and original contribution to knowledge" in his descriptions of birds. Anthropologists have not fared quite so well. There are many interesting passages descriptive of Indians and Indian life and useful illustrative sketches, but frequently they are disappointing largely because of Isham's lack of appreciation, if not of understanding, of that which he was observing. He was in the employ of a company engaged in trading furs, and that necessarily was his first consideration. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the vocabulary of English and Indian words and sample conversations that he included. Useful and all as they are—and certainly unintentionally revealing of Company practices—as an aid to linguistic studies they cannot but be a disappointment because of the very narrowness of their coverage. Of more than passing interest is the anthropological material extracted from

Andrew Graham's "Observations on Hudson's Bay," written in 1775, included in an appendix.

Five years elapsed between the writing of the *Observations* and the *Notes*, and while in so far as subject-matter is concerned they are complementary, one distinction should be borne in mind—the former were a voluntary effort whereas the latter were produced at the Company's request to refute statements published in Henry Ellis' *A Voyage to Hudsons Bay*. For that reason the decision to include still another Isham document was a wise one. Appendix A contains Isham's journal of occurrences at York Factory during the period that the *Dobbs Galley* and the *California* were in the Bay. This is more than a diary, for it includes letters that passed between Isham and the captains of the two ships, William Moor and Francis Smith.

As is to be expected, the editorial work for both of these volumes is of a high order and the same fine standard of book-making is in evidence.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Arthur Currie, the Biography of a Great Canadian. By Hugh M. Urquhart, with a foreword by Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1950. Pp. xix, 363. Maps and ills. $5.

This painstaking and revealing biography was a labour of love for its author. Begun in 1934 shortly after Currie's death, delayed by the dismaying gaps in the records which Colonel Urquhart managed to fill in in large part by personal interviews, laid aside for five years by the pressure of military duties in the Second World War, completed under the strain of increasing ill-health which resulted in the author's death before his book appeared in print, it stands as a fitting memorial to Canada's greatest soldier, who deserved better treatment than he received at the hands of his countrymen.

That Currie was a really great soldier was known and recognized before this biography appeared. Smuts, who was in a position to know, wrote in his discerning foreword, "He may not have had the flair of a Foch, but I do not see why he could not have adequately filled the role of any of the other leaders on our side, if he had been given the authority." Three of his superiors, Generals Alderson, Byng, and Haig, were warm in their praise of his leadership and supported his rise in rank. Three future field marshals of the British Army who served on his staff were equally warm in their appraisal of Currie as they knew him. Colonel Urquhart gives ample evidence for Currie's qualities as a leader, and himself sums it up as being based upon "common sense and a balanced outlook." The man never lost his head in a crisis, even as nasty a one as the second battle of Ypres, and never accepted unthinkingly the policies of his superiors, as he showed at Passchendaele. As Sir Arthur once said, "Things that some people might call genius I would call common sense, and many things we were ordered to do I would call foolishness." It was this independence of judgment which made possible Sir Robert Borden's indictment of the policies of Sir Henry Wilson, C.I.G.S., at a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet in June, 1918. The voice was Borden's but the views were Currie's, supplied at the Prime Minister's

request, and they had a marked effect upon Lloyd George, who later even thought of making Currie commander-in-chief, with Sir John Monash, of the Australian Army, as his chief of staff.

That Currie had defects of personality, whch kept him from being idolized by his soldiers, was known by every "old sweat" who served in France. Here again Colonel Urquhart is equally frank and fair in his judgment and gives chapter and verse in support of the criticism. Had Sir Arthur possessed the temperament of a Robert E. Lee, or, in his own command, of a Cy Peck, he might have been spared in later days the sharp criticisms which he received from angry veterans that were utilized by others for baser reasons. He might also have been given by the Government and the people of Canada a warmer welcome home than the coldly official one received.

What was not known in detail before this biography appeared was the extent of the intrigues which developed against Currie during the war. Even before it he had tangled with the Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, but had managed to hold his ground and win that ebullient politician's confidence. To that was due his first war-time appointment as commander of the Second Brigade, an appointment which released him from a civilian career that had ended in a humiliating financial crash. But Currie's firm refusal to promote the Minister's son beyond the rank he believed him capable of filling, and his determination to keep politics out of his brigade, his division, or his corps, made Sam Hughes an implacable enemy and caused him endless worry. The cabal which formed in London, and which found an ally on occasion in Lord Beaverbrook, used every possible weapon against Currie, from his legacy of debts of civilian life to his alleged wastefulness of his troops' lives. His enemies failed in their purpose, but the story of their efforts makes painful and disgraceful reading.

In a sense Currie's life after his return to civilian life was an anticlimax. He laboured diligently as Principal of McGill University, and his biographer works equally hard to make a satisfactory assessment of his efforts but with the same lack of complete success. He was deeply respected by the officers who had served under him—some of whom sponsored this volume—but he had to launch a libel suit almost ten years after the war to defend his military reputation. His death in 1933 was overshadowed by the clouds of difficulties that the depression had caused. With the passage of time, more and more of his countrymen will agree with Colonel Urquhart that Currie was a great Canadian.

F. H. SOWARD.

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Petroglyphs of Central Washington. By H. Thomas Cain. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950. Map and ills. $1.

This attractive little paper-bound volume assembles most of the recoverable data on the Indian rock pictures of Central Washington, extending northward to the Canadian Border the area covered by such systematic surveys. Its title is somewhat misleading, largely because it reflects the present confusion of terminology on this subject. A petroglyph is generally accepted to be any figure "carved, incised, pecked, or abraded into the rock surface" (p. 4); a pictograph

" any figure developed by the use of color " (p. 4); but no general term embracing both has yet gained general acceptance. Cain suggests *petrography* as the inclusive term, but balks at using it in the title because of its geological connotation. Neither does he use it often in the text, preferring *pictography*—e.g., " the two basic types of pictography " (p. 4). Considering this confusion of terminology and the fact that his survey includes 257 pictographs and only 152 petroglyphs, it is difficult to see why Cain used the title he does.

The survey covers forty sites through the centre of Washington from the Canadian Border, along the Columbia River and its tributaries, almost to Oregon; and the description of these sites takes up the largest single section of the book. Forty-six text figures based on field sketches show the rock pictures, and the location and character of the sites are described. This reviewer would have liked to see a rather fuller description of each site, specifically notes on the size of the figures and a list of the names which Cain applied to each element for purposes of analysis. A second large section discusses the distribution of fifty of the most common design elements. Here the subjective element looms rather large, as the writer has grouped under admittedly arbitrary names—e.g., " spoked wheel," " sunburst "—design elements which are seldom identical in detail, and has analysed the distribution of each group. Thirty of the elements are plotted on small maps, the other twenty are briefly noted, and a chart at the end of the book analyses the distribution of these fifty elements over the forty sites. The remaining quarter of the book is given over to a discussion of pictographic art, general considerations, and conclusions.

Rock paintings can be studied from the view-point of the motivations that produced them or from the view-point of art and the diffusion of art styles. In one case it is the reason they were done that is of primary interest; in the other it is the picture *per se*. Similar designs may not always carry the same cultural implications. Ethnographic accounts indicate that in local areas such as the Interior of British Columbia at least pictographs were used to record powerful supernatural experiences and other events of importance in an individual's life. However, there is no assurance that they were so motivated elsewhere. Failing further ethnographic information, Cain's study and others like it can throw some light on this matter of the motivations behind rock pictures. Their wide " continuity of motifs and methods of execution " show them not to be mere doodling. Pains were taken to place the work in " an attractive and conspicuous spot " (p. 5). In this observation Cain seems to ignore cases like Site 3, where it had been " necessary for the artist to work lying flat on his back " (p. 8). Rock pictures were placed at definite types of places, usually near habitation sites. Pictographs and petroglyphs were made at the same type of sites and employed the same design elements. It is interesting to note that these last two conclusions are the opposite to what J. H. Steward reported in *Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States*.

The analysis of the design elements and their distribution fails to bring to light any design areas or local art styles. Cain does distinguish three petrographic areas in Washington, but these are based on the medium employed rather than the design elements themselves. The first of these is the north central part of the State, where the sites are exclusively pictographic; the second and third are the

geographic centre of the State along the Columbia River, where exclusive petroglyphic and combined pictographic and petroglyphic sites respectively are found. This situation, he admits, might be largely due to the type of rock present in these areas.

Certain of the design elements link the art style of this area with other areas to the south and the west. Cain finds the style here "merely an extension of the lower Columbia petroglyphic art" (p. 49) and adds that "the forms in this whole area show a striking similarity to the petrography of Oregon, which has been shown to be related to the appearances in the Great Basin to the South" (p. 54). He deplores the lack of published information on the known wealth of rock pictures in the Interior of British Columbia, which precludes any comparisons in that direction. As for a comparison of his area with the pictographs of the British Columbia Coast, Cain states with a certainty, which this reviewer, for one, does not share, "In no case is it possible to show the slightest connection between the two" (p. 49).

Further and more detailed conclusions, which will carry profound implications of culture contact and diffusion, will have to await further detailed surveys in such areas as the Interior of British Columbia. This little volume is a step in that direction.

WILSON DUFF.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM,
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Canada. Edited by George W. Brown. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. Pp. xviii, 621. $6.50.

At the time of the creation of the United Nations in San Francisco the University of California hit upon the happy idea of publishing a series of volumes upon its member nations which would make clearer their backgrounds, policies, and purposes. This volume, the tenth in the United Nations Series, is a credit to Professor George W. Brown, of the University of Toronto, who was its editor, and his twenty-five contributors. Co-operative book-making is no easy art, and it says much for Mr. Brown's patience and tenacity that he has succeeded in assembling the most balanced account of Canada that has yet appeared.

The editor divided the volume into six sections, dealing respectively with the Setting, Historical Background, Economy, Political and Constitutional Scene, Social and Cultural Institutions, and External Relations. By this arrangement the reader is able to get a broad survey of Canadian development which covers topics not often adequately described, such as Local Government, the Social Services, the Cultural Pattern, and Religion and Religious Institutions, the latter coming rather unexpectedly from Professor A. R. M. Lower. To read R. M. Dawson on the constitution, D. G. Creighton on the genesis and integration of the Dominion, J. B. Brebner on the North Atlantic Triangle, and H. A. Innis on fundamental and historic elements in the Canadian economy, is to obtain from the acknowledged authority in the field a concise exposition which often represents the distillation of his work in several previous books. In addition to his editorial duties, Mr. Brown contributed a thoughtful introduction in which he

summarizes Canada's problem as having to meet simultaneously "the baffling difficulties of geography and sectionalism, the necessity of developing and harmonizing two types of culture, and the problem of reaching political maturity within a complex and rapidly changing network of external relations." In his judgment, Canada has been most successful in her material and institutional development, but there are hopeful signs in recent times of "a maturing cultural development."

The volume includes maps, illustrations, a select bibliography, and an index. Regrettably, but in keeping with the publishing trend, the foot-notes are at the back.

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