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The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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Nos. 1 TO 4

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Some Early Historians of British Columbia.</i>	
By Walter N. Sage	1
<i>The First Capital of British Columbia: Langley or New Westminster?</i>	
By Dorothy Blakey Smith	15
<i>Welsh Gold-miners in British Columbia during the 1860's.</i>	
By Alan Conway	51
<i>The Abuse of Greatness.</i>	
By James A. Gibson	75
<i>The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858–1859.</i>	
Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Dorothy Blakey Smith	83
<i>British Columbia: A Bibliography of Centennial Publications, 1957–1959.</i>	
By Nina Napier	199
THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF:	
Ormsby: <i>British Columbia: A History.</i>	
By W. Kaye Lamb	221
Watters: <i>British Columbia: A Centennial Anthology.</i>	
By Rodney Poisson	223
Roy: <i>Ready for the Fray: The History of the Canadian Scottish Regiment (Deas Gu Cath) (Princess Mary's), 1920–1955.</i>	
By Harry T. Logan	227

SOME EARLY HISTORIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA*

British Columbia in 1958 is celebrating its centenary: "A Century to Celebrate." It is hardly necessary to remind members of the British Columbia Historical Association that we are commemorating the birth of the Crown Colony of British Columbia and not the centenary of the Province. There seems to be some doubt in the public mind on this subject. Let us hope that many of us here will live to see the hundredth anniversary of British Columbia's entry into the Canadian federation, which took place officially on July 20, 1871.

In this centennial year it seemed useful to discuss with you certain of the early historians of British Columbia. I have chosen six—Hubert Howe Bancroft, Alexander Begg, C.C., Rev. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., R. E. Gosnell, E. O. S. Scholefield, and Judge F. W. Howay. H. H. Bancroft was a San Francisco bookseller who collected a huge library of source materials on the history of the Pacific Slope from Central America to Alaska, including British Columbia, employed a large staff, ran a "history factory," and produced *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* in thirty-nine volumes. Alexander Begg, C.C. (Crofter Commissioner), was born in Scotland, lived in Ontario, and came to British Columbia in 1887. In order to avoid confusion with Canadian-born Alexander Begg, author of the *History of the North West* and editor of the *British Columbia Mining Record*, Scottish-born Alexander Begg, who was appointed in 1888 by the Government of British Columbia Emigration Commissioner to investigate the settling of Scottish crofters on Vancouver Island, appended the letters "C.C." to his name. His one important work, *The History of British Columbia*, published in Toronto in 1894, will be discussed later.

Father Morice was a devoted missionary priest of the Roman Catholic Church, who was distinguished as a historian, an anthropologist, a philologist and linguist, a printer and publisher, and the adapter of Rev. James Evans' syllabic Cree alphabet to the Athapascan or Déné lan-

* The presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held in Nanaimo, B.C., January 17, 1958.

guages. An extremely able, versatile priest, he was fond of controversy, and was no admirer of H. H. Bancroft.

R. E. Gosnell and E. O. S. Scholefield, however much they differed from each other in character, training, and attainments, may well be considered together. They had one thing in common: they helped to found and build up the Provincial Library and the Provincial Archives at Victoria. Gosnell was an old-time journalist who had a vision of what the library, and later the archives, might become. Scholefield, who was Gosnell's assistant, and became his successor, was also a man of vision. Above all, he was a collector of books and manuscripts, who, in the stirring days of Sir Richard McBride, secured the funds for the library and archives addition to the Parliament Buildings. It should, however, never be forgotten that Scholefield built upon the foundation laid by Gosnell. Scholefield co-operated with Gosnell in the writing of that large leather-covered volume, produced in edition de luxe, and entitled *British Columbia: Sixty Years of Progress*.

The standard history of British Columbia during the last forty years has been the first two volumes of a four-volume work produced by His Honour Judge F. W. Howay and E. O. S. Scholefield. The full title of these first two volumes is *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*, that is to 1914. This history will, doubtless, be succeeded by the centennial history of British Columbia, which is now being written by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.

Judge Howay is usually recognized as the outstanding historian of British Columbia. Born in Ontario, he was brought west by his mother at an early age. His father had already found employment in the Cariboo. Frederic William Howay's boyhood was spent in New Westminster, a city then filled with memories of the Cariboo and of the Royal Engineers. One of young Howay's friends was a good-looking lad called Richard McBride, better known to us as Sir Richard McBride. Another great friend was a Nova Scotian, Robie Lewis Reid, whom Howay met when they were both trying the examinations held in Victoria for third-class teaching certificates. Reid persuaded Howay to accompany him to Halifax, where they both entered Dalhousie Law School. "Dick" McBride followed them a year later. While attending Dalhousie, Howay began his literary career by writing letters dealing with Nova Scotian affairs to the New Westminster papers. Howay and Reid became law partners in New Westminster and prospered greatly during the early years of this century. In 1907 F. W. Howay became the Judge of the "County Court of Westminster holden in the City of New Westminster." By this

time he had begun his serious study of British Columbia and Northwest Coast history and was building up one of the finest private libraries then in existence in this field.

Judge Howay was "learned in the law" and was an extremely accurate and indefatigable worker. He was also a good citizen and interested himself in the New Westminster Public Library. He founded the Fellowship of Arts and was a strong supporter of the Dickens Fellowship. He was a British Columbian, and a "mainlander." He knew Vancouver Island well and was highly regarded in Victoria, but his home was in New Westminster, and as a lawyer he had also practised in the Cariboo. The great contribution of his later life was in the field of the maritime fur trade. Nor should it be forgotten that he was the first President of the British Columbia Historical Association, founded in 1922, and that he held that office until 1926.

Before going more fully into the lives and writings of this group of historians of British Columbia, it would be well to pause for a moment to point out and emphasize the difference between historical source material and historical works. Source materials for historical writing may be drawn not only from archives and libraries, but also from "historical field work," the collection of old-timers' stories, of old letters, newspapers, and pamphlets. Nor can the historian afford to neglect anthropology and its allied sciences. So far we have tended to neglect the history of the native peoples of British Columbia. One important historian, Rev. A. G. Morice, was also a noted anthropologist and a student of linguistics. He was, in fact, an anthropologist before he was a historian. Ever since the early voyages, scientists have been interested in the native peoples, as well as in the flora and fauna of the Northwest Pacific Coast. For well over half a century anthropologists have been working in the British Columbia field, but even the historians have not yet paid sufficient attention to their work.

The historian to-day must be a jack of all trades. He must not only be a frequenter of archives and libraries, he must also be a field worker and collector. He must know enough of the techniques of fur-trading, mining, smelting, lumbering, pulp and paper, fishing, agriculture, hydro-electric power, transportation by land, sea, and air, not to mention atomic energy and guided missiles, to be able to write intelligently on these various and varied subjects. He must be, if not "learned in the law," at least a student of legal, constitutional, and political history. He should be able to read, if not to speak, languages other than his own. Curiosity should be one of his main characteristics. He should always

be asking questions, many of which he will never be able to answer. He can never study local history in a vacuum. He must be able to relate it to national, international, and world development.

Above all, the real historian should be humble. He realizes that he knows so little even concerning his chosen field. He should be prepared to admit his ignorance even in his special field and to answer "I don't know." A genuine historian is not a bluffer, nor should he exhibit a "false front" to the world. If possible he should be a man of wide experience and broad sympathies. He must be ready to weigh evidence and criticize. He cannot allow his feelings and emotions to get the better of him. He must stand aside from his work and view it objectively, and yet at the same time be part of his work, just as his work is a large part of him.

In a word, the historian finds and uses source materials, but from them he creates his historical work. It isn't enough to be a good collector, a wide reader, an assiduous searcher in libraries and archives, a scientific weigher of evidence; the historian must also be an artist in the presentation of his materials. He writes best who loses himself in his writing. Then Clio the Muse descends upon him and real creative historical writing begins. It doesn't happen often. Most histories are not masterpieces, but the work of journeymen or craftsmen, who are paid well for what they do but fall short of being great historical writers.

Judged by these severe standards, probably none of the six historians under discussion would reach the topmost rating. That is hardly to be expected. But all of them were important, and at least three of them—H. H. Bancroft, Rev. A. G. Morice, and Judge Howay—made outstanding contributions in the field of British Columbia history.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, 1832–1918, was a Californian of the Californians. In no other State of the Union, and probably in no other place in the world, could a successful bookseller have become the proprietor, manager, and inspiration of a "history factory," which produced volumes on the history and anthropology of the Pacific Slope, but specialized in Old California. He was born on May 5, 1832, at Granville, Ohio, of New England stock and brought up in what he termed in his volume on *Literary Industries* as "an atmosphere of pungent and invigorating puritanism."¹ In 1848 H. H. Bancroft left home to go to Buffalo, N.Y., where he entered the employ of his brother-in-law, George

(1) H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, San Francisco, 1890, p. 63, quoted in John W. Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946, p. 7.

H. Derby, a bookseller. He started at the bottom and hadn't climbed very far up the ladder when, six months later, he was dismissed by the head book-keeper. His brother-in-law provided him with a supply of books on credit and Bancroft went back to Ohio, where he obtained valuable experience as a book-pedlar. By the end of the summer he was able to pay up his debts to his brother-in-law, to buy a suit of clothes and a silver watch. He was invited back to Buffalo to a regular clerkship at the then satisfactory salary of \$100 a year.

Azariah Ashley Bancroft, the father of Hubert Howe, in 1850 caught the gold fever and left for California. Two years later George Derby decided to send his young brother-in-law to California with a consignment of \$5,000 worth of trading goods. H. H. Bancroft, with his friend George L. Kenny, sailed from New York to Aspinwall, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and took ship from Panama City to San Francisco. A new day was dawning for Hubert Howe Bancroft.

Professor John Walton Caughey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, has traced in detail in his *Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of the West* the adventures of the young Ohioan in the mining camps and boom towns of California. He underwent an extensive and severe training, but in the end he prospered. On a trip east in 1856 he obtained a line of credit and bought \$10,000 worth of books and stationery. In December of that year he started in business in San Francisco along with his old friend George L. Kenny. The name of the firm was H. H. Bancroft and Company. Although times were very hard, the Bancroft shop prospered. Kenny was an expert salesman and Bancroft was an excellent office manager.

During the Civil War, California remained on the gold standard at a time when the rest of the country was using depreciated paper currency. Bancroft's business prospered greatly, and the proprietor had sufficient money to visit not only New York, but London and Paris as well. His brother, Albert L. Bancroft, had arrived in San Francisco in 1858, and in 1859 was placed in charge of the blank-book and stationery shop operated by both brothers under the title of A. L. Bancroft and Company. In 1858 H. H. Bancroft married his first wife, née Emily Ketchum, a rather strait-laced young lady, who in the best Victorian tradition undertook to convert her free-thinking husband. Until her death in 1869, Hubert Howe Bancroft was, outwardly at least, very religious. His scepticism reappeared later.

On his various journeys, Bancroft learned much. Even in the Eastern United States he found certain customs and mores which shook his

early puritanism. California had remade him, and on his travels to and from New York via Panama he had glimpses of Latin-American civilization. Europe was also a revelation to him. He was much impressed by the European leisured classes, although he despised their disdain for work. He realized that there was something more in life than the accumulation of money. He would use money as a means to an end, and that end was cultural rather than plutocratic. Already he was dreaming dreams.

There is no time even to outline how Bancroft gathered his library, found able assistants, and became a historian. Suffice it to say that if he had not made that vast collection which has been since 1905 the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, it would have been quite impossible for later historians and others to have recovered what would undoubtedly have been lost. Even in the case of British Columbia, if Bancroft in the 1880's had not visited Victoria, talked with the pioneers, obtained Sir James Douglas's private papers, and the manuscript histories and narratives of Alexander Caulfield Anderson, John Tod, and many others, we would have lost much valuable material concerning not only the fur trade and the colonial period, 1849-1871, but even the early days of our Province.

Three of H. H. Bancroft's volumes deal with what is now British Columbia: *The North West Coast*, Vols. I and II, and the *History of British Columbia*. Even now at this late date they are essential. No doubt there are errors; for example, Bancroft says that James Douglas married Nellie Connolly. Her name was Amelia. Mrs. Dennis Harris told me over thirty years ago that her father always called her mother Amelia. Bancroft also states that Connolly's first name was not William but James. But these are minor defects. In his review of Caughey's *Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb quotes with approval a sentence from Bernard De Voto's *The Year of Decision, 1846*: "I have found that you had better not decide that Bancroft was wrong until you have rigorously tested what you think you know."²

One charge often levelled at H. H. Bancroft is that he purloined manuscripts, by borrowing them from their authors and refusing to return them. This story was still going the rounds in Victoria thirty to forty years ago. The late James R. Anderson, son of Alexander Caulfield Anderson, told me that Bancroft had stolen his father's manuscript on the *North West Coast*. It is interesting in this connection to note

(2) *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, X (1946), p. 305.

that practically all original narratives in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley are in transcript form. The original manuscript of the *Fort Langley Journal*, 1827-1830, is in the Provincial Archives at Victoria.

Bancroft's historical methods were, to say the least, unconventional, and his works were by no means all his own compositions. He never claimed that they were. His merchandising tactics were also open to criticism. He was, none the less, a great figure in the historiography of the Pacific Slope, and his reputation will, in all probability, increase rather than diminish with the years.

It is, unfortunately, impossible to make a similar statement regarding Alexander Begg, C.C. His one book of importance, *The History of British Columbia*, has always been and still is almost impossible to use. As indicated above, Alexander Begg, C.C., was a Scot. He was born at Watten, Caithness, Scotland, on May 7, 1825, the son of Andrew and Jane Taylor Begg. He was educated privately but later obtained a teaching diploma at Edinburgh Normal School. He taught school for a time at Cluny, Aberdeenshire. Emigrating to Canada in 1846, he taught school in Ontario. His next move was into journalism. In 1854, with H. F. Macmillan, he founded the *Bowmanville Messenger*; later he established the *Brighton Sentinel* and published the *Trenton Advocate*. He sold out his interest in the *Advocate* to his brother Peter, probably in 1855. In 1858 at Brockville, Ont., Alexander Begg married Emily Maria Lake. They had eleven children—six sons and five daughters.

Begg was employed in the Department of Internal Revenue at Ottawa for several years. Apparently he found the comparative safety of the Civil Service preferable to the wear and tear of journalism. In 1869 he accompanied Lieutenant-Governor McDougall on his ill-fated expedition to Red River. Begg had been appointed Collector of Customs for the North-west Territories, but Louis Riel thought otherwise. At Pembina, Begg was turned back, as was McDougall, by Louis Riel's "men of the new nation."

In 1872 Begg, while on a visit to the land of his birth, was appointed Emigration Commissioner in Scotland for the Province of Ontario. His headquarters were in Glasgow, but he lectured all over the country. He persuaded many thousands of crofters to settle in Canada. About two years later the indefatigable Begg was establishing a temperance colony at Parry Sound. He turned once more to journalism and became owner and editor of the *Muskoka Herald* and founded the *Canadian Lumberman*.

The *Toronto Mail* in 1881 sent Alexander Begg as its correspondent in the Canadian North-west. He travelled by Chicago, St. Paul, and Bismarck, N.D. For a time he tried his luck at Dunbow Ranch, Alberta, and imported horses and cattle from Montana. His son Robert A. Begg eventually took over the ranch, and it flourished under his management. Another son, Roderick Norman Begg, in 1887 left Alberta to take a position with the *Daily Colonist* in Victoria, B.C. His father followed in a few months and was appointed in 1888 Emigration Commissioner for British Columbia. It was then that Alexander Begg appended the letters "C.C." to his name.

Alexander Begg, C.C., went to England in 1889 and took up his residence in London, where he remained until 1897, directing the Crofter Settlement scheme. During this period he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Colonial Institute. In 1894 his *History of British Columbia from its Earliest Discovery to the Present Time* was published by William Briggs, Toronto. It is a tedious work, which has no index, and it cannot be classed among the more successful volumes in the British Columbia field.

In 1903 the Beggs left Victoria and settled in New York, where five of their sons and one daughter were engaged in professional work. In March, 1905, at the age of 80, Alexander Begg, C.C., died in New York and was buried in Orillia, where he and his wife had lived for several years beginning with 1877. Mrs. Begg died at the age of 93 in the year 1932. "Old Paste and Scissors," as Begg has been termed by more recent investigators in the British Columbia field, was not a great historian, but in his day he made a useful contribution.³

Rev. Adrien Gabriel Morice, O.M.I., 1859-1938, was noteworthy as a missionary, an anthropologist, and a historian. Born at St. Mars-sur-Calmont, France, on August 27, 1859, and educated at Oisseau and the Ecclesiastical College at Mayenne, he was early attracted to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. He made his final vows in that order in 1879 and was sent to British Columbia in 1880. He had not yet been ordained but, with his companions N. Coccola and J. D. Chiappini, was a scholastic brother of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. In 1882 he received ordination and was sent to labour among the Chilcotins, whose language he learned to speak. It was one of the Athapaskan language

(3) For the above information on Alexander Begg, C.C., see Madge Wolfenden, "Alexander Begg versus Alexander Begg," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I (1937), pp. 133-139.

group and introduced Rev. A. G. Morice to the study of what he later termed "The Great Déné Race."

In 1885 he was placed in charge of the Stuart Lake mission at Fort St. James. There he worked out his Déné Syllabery and gave to the Athapascan peoples a written language. What is more, he provided the Carriers of Stuart Lake with a printed language and produced valuable works on his printing-press. Morice became intensely interested in anthropology and linguistics. He talked to the old chiefs and gleaned from them what they knew of the dim period before the white man came. His first book, *Au Pays de l'Ours Noir*, was published in 1897. *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, commonly called New Caledonia* followed in 1904. Bernard McEvoy, of Vancouver, well known to many of us as "Diogenes" of the *Daily Province*, praised Morice's manuscript so highly that the publishing firm of William Briggs, Toronto, accepted it unseen. It was a great success. *The History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada* appeared in 1910, in two volumes. A three-volume French edition was published in Winnipeg in 1912. During his long life (he survived till 1938) Father Morice published many books and articles in the fields of anthropology and history. He wrote well in both French and English, and his writings attracted wide attention in Europe as well as in North America. For a time he was lecturer in anthropology in the newly established University of Saskatchewan, which honoured him by granting him its first B.A. in 1911 and its first M.A. in 1912. These degrees were not honorary, but the reverend father was not required to sit for any examinations.

Rev. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., made a most valuable contribution to the writing of the history and anthropology of British Columbia and the prairies. Of his ability and his versatility, there is no doubt. He was a careful researcher and his work was authoritative. Above all, he was a true son of Holy Mother Church. His devotion to Roman Catholicism led him at times to pass very unfavourable comments on Protestants and other non-Roman Catholics. He disliked H. H. Bancroft, and he was unduly severe in his comments on the Right Rev. W. C. Bompas, successively Anglican Bishop of Athabasca, Mackenzie River, and the Yukon. Although he was always obedient to the rules of his order, he was none the less an individualist, and rumour hath it that his fellow members of the Oblate Order found him somewhat difficult at times.

Father Morice spent nineteen of his best years in British Columbia, nearly all in his beloved New Caledonia. He then crossed the mountains and took up his residence in the Prairie Provinces. He was for

years in Winnipeg, and part of his later life was spent at La Fleche, Saskatchewan. He made a great contribution to his church and to Western Canadian culture. Probably the greatest stroke of luck in his life was the finding by Alexander C. Murray, then the Hudson's Bay Company's manager at Fort St. James, of a treasure-trove of old letters and other documents in the attic of the old fort. From these manuscripts Father Morice derived much of his best source material for the *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, which is usually considered his finest piece of historical writing.

R. Edward Gosnell, 1860-1931, was born at Lake Beauport in the Province of Quebec in the year 1860 and was educated in Ontario. For a time he was a school-teacher, then he became a journalist and worked for various Ontario newspapers. Gosnell came to British Columbia in 1888, the year after his marriage to Miss Alice White, and was associated with the *Vancouver News* and *News-Advertiser*. In November, 1893, he was appointed Provincial Librarian, and the next year played a large part in securing the passing by the British Columbia Legislature of "An Act to establish and maintain a Library for the use of the Legislative Assembly and constitute a Bureau of Statistics." He found a library of about 1,200 volumes which was sadly lacking in organization. He had vision and industry and laid the foundations of the present Provincial Library. In 1894 E. O. S. Scholefield became his assistant. Gosnell in 1896 became secretary to the Premier, and held both positions until September, 1898, when Scholefield succeeded him as Provincial Librarian. Mrs. Gosnell died in 1898, a blow from which R. E. Gosnell seems never to have completely recovered. He became restless and changed his posts frequently. He remained secretary to the Premier until 1901, when he was appointed secretary of the Bureau of Provincial Information. Organization was his strong point, and the Bureau prospered. In 1904, however, he lost this position.

Gosnell was always a journalist at heart, and in 1906 he became editor of the *Victoria Colonist*. The next year, 1907, he was a delegate to a conference on education held in London, England. Premier McBride at this time visited England asking "better terms" for British Columbia. He found R. E. Gosnell a useful assistant, and probably a quite convivial travelling companion.

When the Provincial Archives was separated from the Provincial Library in 1908, Gosnell became the first Archivist of British Columbia. He held this position until 1910, when he was succeeded by E. O. S. Scholefield. In 1910 and 1911 he performed special services for the

Attorney-General's and the Treasury Departments. From September, 1915, to December, 1917, he was again secretary to the Premier.

After 1917 we lose sight of R. E. Gosnell for a time. He went back to Ontario and lived for several years in Ottawa. He seems to have been in the employ of the Federal Government for a while, and he also represented the *Vancouver Star* in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. I met him once in 1922, in the Public Archives of Canada, but he was then but a wreck of his former self. He lingered on in Ottawa, but in April, 1931, returned to Vancouver, where he died on August 5th. In many ways his life was a tragedy. He was brilliant, wrote well, and possessed organizing ability. Unfortunately he lacked both stability and sobriety.

None the less, R. E. Gosnell made a great contribution to British Columbia. In 1897 he issued the first *Year Book of British Columbia*, a storehouse of useful information, historical and statistical, concerning our Province. In 1906 he published *A History of British Columbia*. Two of his best works were done by collaboration. R. H. Coats, Dominion Statistician and "Father of Canadian Statistics," took Gosnell's manuscript on Sir James Douglas, prepared for the Makers of Canada series, revised it, drastically cut down its length, and rewrote the volume. It was not really a life of Douglas, but a most useful one-volume history of British Columbia. Dr. R. H. Coats many years ago told me the story of the revision of this volume. My memory may be at fault, but I am almost certain he said that he had never met R. E. Gosnell. Gosnell also joined E. O. S. Scholefield in the production of *British Columbia, Sixty Years of Progress*, which appeared in 1913. It was a weighty tome, beautifully printed, and handsomely bound. Gosnell wrote Part II, the period since federation. On the whole, it was a good piece of writing, probably his best. He was a keen analyst of British Columbia politics and politicians, and he was also well acquainted with the economic development of the Province. R. E. Gosnell may be forgotten to-day, but historical students should study his writings carefully. He knew a great deal about British Columbia and he told it well.

Ethelbert Olaf Stuart Scholefield received much of his early training in library and archives methods from R. Edward Gosnell. He succeeded Gosnell first as Provincial Librarian and later as Provincial Archivist. Was this the result of chance, or of skilful manipulation, or was it by merit? At this late date it is difficult to tell. Probably all these factors entered into Scholefield's advance and Gosnell's decline. By inference we may state that Gosnell was a bit of an enthusiast who dreamed

dreams, worked out schemes, did well for a time, and then got tired. Scholefield was a collector and builder. His real monument is the Library and Archives Building and much, if not most, of its contents.

Born at St. Wilfrid's Ryde, Isle of Wight, on May 31, 1875, Scholefield came to British Columbia, along with other members of his family, in 1887. His father, Rev. Stuart Clement Scholefield, was an Anglican parson who was for a time in charge of a church in New Westminster and later was rector of Esquimalt. Ethelbert, in the best English tradition, attended a private school conducted by Rev. W. W. Bolton. He later entered the Victoria High School, where he had a distinguished record. On leaving school he entered the service of the Provincial Library. In 1894 he was assistant to R. E. Gosnell, whom he succeeded as Provincial Librarian in 1898. In 1910 he became Provincial Archivist. These positions he held until his death, after a lengthy illness, on Christmas Day, 1919.

Scholefield was intensely interested in the early voyages of discovery to the Northwest Coast and in the development of Vancouver Island. He was fortunate in his collaborators—R. E. Gosnell and Judge F. W. Howay. The Judge often spoke to me with kindly affection of "little Scholefield," and sometimes commented on his acuteness. He had been a page boy in the Legislature, and he early learned how to get along with men and how to get the best out of politicians. He planned the Archives Memoirs series and edited three of them, which were published in 1918, the year before his death. He died before he was 50, and had he lived out the allotted span he probably would have written much more.

C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, writing in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* shortly after Scholefield's death, after praising him and his work, criticizes him rather severely for his broken promises. He always lived under a terrific nervous strain and was continually making engagements he could not fill. He wrote, as has been well said, "with the printer's devil at the door." His work suffered as a result, but he gave all he had to the Provincial Library and Archives of British Columbia.⁴

And now, at long last, we come to His Honour Judge Frederic William Howay, 1867–1943. How is it possible to recapture the Judge and to contain him within a few manuscript pages? The main events

(4) C. B. Bagley, "Death of E. O. S. Scholefield," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI (1920), pp. 35–36. I wish to thank Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, for his kindness in providing me with material on both Gosnell and Scholefield.

of his life have been rapidly sketched above. He was a British Columbian by adoption, but no native-born son could have loved our Province more nor done more to advance the writing of our history. He was easily the greatest historian that British Columbia has as yet produced.

As a boy in New Westminster he became steeped in the early history of the Lower Mainland and of the Cariboo. His father-in-law, William H. Ladner, had come in with the gold-seekers in 1858 and had later taken up land at Ladner's Landing, now Ladner, B.C. The Judge grew up with British Columbia. He witnessed the coming of the railway and vividly recalled "the battle of the terminals." He was a "mainlander," and his sympathies in the struggle between "mainland" and "island" in the 1870's and 1880's were all with the "mainland." It is sad, but amusing, that his resignation of the presidency of the British Columbia Historical Association in 1926 was due to a difference of opinion, which became an open quarrel, between himself and a learned Justice of the Supreme Court, residing in Victoria, on the date of the birthday of British Columbia. Judge Howay was adamant in upholding the date, November 19, 1858, and the place, Fort Langley, B.C.

The Judge was a tireless worker and he was also fiercely accurate. He checked and rechecked his references, and although he made mistakes—we all do—he tried to keep them to a minimum. He exhibited his legal training in his handling of materials. On the whole he wrote well, but he spoke better than he wrote. There are few brilliant passages in his writings, but he has checked his facts, and the burden of proof is now, as it was during his lifetime, on anyone who challenges his statements. But under all this legal and historical armour there beat a kind and generous heart. He did not "suffer fools gladly," but to any serious historical student he would open his stores of learning and his wonderful library. Time meant nothing to him on such an occasion. I owe the Judge a debt which I can never repay. He checked over the manuscript of my thesis on "Sir James Douglas and British Columbia," not only chapter by chapter and page by page, but line by line. It was excellent training, from which I profited greatly.

Law and history, however, were only part of the Judge's repertoire. He was widely read in English literature, especially in Dickens. He was himself not only a Dickensian, but to a great extent a character which had walked right out of *Pickwick Papers*. He was a bit of an actor and delighted in dressing up and taking part in the Twelfth Night revels of the Fellowship of Arts. He wrote for many years the addresses to be spoken by the May Queen and the May Queen-elect at New Westminster.

ster. He was once awarded a good citizenship medal, and an elementary school in New Westminster was named after him.

To list all the historical and other honours Judge Howay was awarded would be tedious. He had an international reputation. A Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of London, he was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, of which august body he was president in 1942. He received the Tyrrell gold medal in history from the Royal Society of Canada. He was for many years the representative of the four western provinces on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. There are now four members carrying on the work which once he attempted alone.

After Judge Howay's death in 1943, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb prepared a bibliography of his writings which was published in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January, 1944. There are in it 286 items, stretching from 1902 to two posthumous publications in 1944. Later Dr. Lamb added a few more items. There is no time to discuss this lengthy list, but it proves beyond argument that Judge Howay worked and wrote hard.

There was, of course, another side to the story. There always is. Judge Howay, as was Father Morice, was often involved in historical arguments, and I have known him to become quite heated. Usually he had the backing of the older and more reputable Canadian historians, but occasionally he and they went just a bit beyond what was needful in trying to smash an opponent. Dr. J. B. Tyrrell and Judge Howay tried on one occasion to demolish Dr. A. S. Morton, but Morton put up a good argument and, as usual, was unconvinced.

These six early historians of British Columbia all made their contributions. Without them there would be irreparable gaps, not only in source materials, for they were all collectors with the possible exception of Alexander Begg, C.C., but also in the comprehension of what actually occurred in the early days of the white man on the Northwest Coast and on the Pacific Slope. It would be hard to find six men more unlike, but their work somehow now seems to intertwine and to form a firm foundation upon which we and subsequent generations of historical investigators in British Columbia can build.

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THE FIRST CAPITAL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA: LANGLEY OR NEW WESTMINSTER?

The distinction of having been chosen as the first capital of British Columbia has been claimed for Langley and for New Westminster. If by "British Columbia" is meant the colony formed by the Act of August 6, 1866,¹ which united Vancouver Island with the mainland, the colony which five years later entered Confederation as the Province of British Columbia, there is, of course, no argument: New Westminster was the first capital. The Act clearly states that "the Power and Authority of the Executive Government and of the Legislature existing in *British Columbia* shall extend to and over *Vancouver Island*"; and in 1866 the capital of British Columbia was New Westminster. The site had been designated as the capital, though not named, by the Proclamation of February 14, 1859,² and it was not until May 25, 1868, that the seat of government was moved to Victoria.³ If, however, the term "British Columbia" is limited to the mainland colony established under that name by the Act of August 2, 1858,⁴ there is some justification for a review of the evidence.

The question of the first capital of British Columbia is so closely interwoven with the question of the first port of entry that it has proved impossible here to discuss the one without involving the other. As soon as the colony of British Columbia had been officially proclaimed at Fort Langley on November 19, 1858,⁵ the Government was obliged to consider the establishment of a capital, or seat of government, and of a port of entry, or seaport town,⁶ where customs dues could be collected. Three townsites had already been laid out in British Columbia—at Fort

(1) 29 & 30 Vict., chap. 67, published in *British Columbia Government Gazette*, November 24, 1866.

(2) Great Britain, Parliament, *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia* (hereafter cited as *BCP*), Part II, London, 1859 (Cmd. 2578, 1st series), p. 65.

(3) *British Columbia Government Gazette Extraordinary*, May 25, 1868.

(4) *BCP*, Part I, 1859 (Cmd. 2476), p. 1.

(5) *BCP*, Part II, p. 34.

(6) The terms *port of entry* and *seaport town* are used interchangeably in the contemporary dispatches.

Hope, at Fort Yale, and at Old Fort Langley⁷—and of these the Langley site was clearly the most promising. It was the nearest to the mouth of the Fraser, and consequently to the Vancouver Island colony which Governor James Douglas had also to administer, and beyond Langley the river was navigable only with difficulty.⁸ Excluding Hope and Yale, there were still several courses open to the Government. Langley could be made the seat of government and the port of entry. Or another site, nearer the mouth of the river, could be selected for the port of entry, and the seat of government established at Langley. Or, if a site other than Langley were chosen for the port of entry, then this site could be made the seat of government also. It was the third of these possibilities which eventually became fact; but before New Westminster was finally confirmed as both port of entry and capital, six months of indecision, frustration, and delay were to elapse. A survey of this period of uncertainty is not without interest, for wider issues than the rival claims of Langley and New Westminster are involved: the relations between Governor Douglas and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia, Colonel Richard Clement Moody (who also held a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor), and the attitude of the Imperial Government toward the new colony on the Pacific Coast.

The establishment of a commercial town in the neighbourhood of Langley, as distinguished from the fort which the Hudson's Bay Company had established as early as 1827, was not in the first instance due to the Government at all, but to what can only be described as a fortuitous concatenation of circumstances. On August 30, 1858,⁹ Douglas had left Victoria for the Fraser River, on what was to be "an excursion of nearly a month's duration,"¹⁰ his purpose being to enforce the law

(7) Governor James Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, October 11, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 38.

(8) Douglas himself comments on the Fraser between Langley and Fort Hope: ". . . though much abated in force, from being less swollen than it was in summer, still running at some points with a force and impetuosity almost insurmountable by the power of the steamer"; and beyond Hope his party "proceeded . . . in three large boats . . . walking nearly the whole way, attended by the boats." Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 3-4, 5.

(9) Captain J. C. Prevost to Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes, August 31, 1858. Public Record Office Transcripts, Great Britain, Colonial Office Papers, Series 60 (hereafter cited as CO 60), Vol. II, Part 1, 1858, p. 28 [of transcript]. This *MS.* and all other *MSS.* and maps subsequently cited may be found in the Archives of British Columbia.

(10) Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 7.

among "the motley population of foreigners now assembled" there, and "to assert the rights of the Crown" by introducing a form of gold licence.¹¹ During his stay at Fort Yale (which he reached, presumably, on September 12),¹² he received information from Victoria that some speculators, taking advantage of [his] absence, had squatted on a valuable tract of public land near the mouth of Fraser's River, commonly known as the site of old Fort Langley, and employed surveyors at a great expense to lay it out into building lots, which they were offering for sale, hoping by that means to interest a sufficient number of persons in the scheme as would overawe the Government and induce a confirmation of their title.¹³

On September 14 the *Victoria Gazette*, in an item headed "Wholesale Squatting at Fort Langley," warned the public against the unauthorized operations of "one James H. Ray, a well known land speculator"; and on September 23 the *Gazette's* travelling correspondent wrote from Port Douglas that the Hudson's Bay Company were now having a general survey made of their lands about Fort Langley,

being incited thereto I suppose, by the operations of the Day-Kanaka party, who under the pretext of laying out a town, have well nigh spoiled a nice potato patch, in a bit of clearing some mile or two below the Fort, running over it in the most reprehensible and reckless manner. The older residents of Langley are not a little entertained with the assurance of the principals in this scheme in assuming to own the lands thus about to be sectionized into city lots; and when solicited to invest therein cast upon the projectors a get-behind-me-Satan-sort of look, implying the utmost distrust in the enterprise. . . .¹⁴

The promoters of what Douglas describes to Lytton as this "swindling scheme, which, if tolerated, would give rise to other nefarious transactions of the same kind," had written to the Governor from Fort Langley on September 7 (by which time, of course, he had left for the Fraser River), to inform him that believing that "it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to . . . encourage the colonization of the Mainland [and] that those of Her Majesty's subjects, who shall settle upon, survey Land, and file boundaries of same, with full description shall have the priority of purchase," they and their associates had set-

(11) Douglas to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, August 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 29.

(12) Douglas left Victoria on August 30 (*see above*, n. 9); he reached Fort Langley "on the evening of the second day after leaving Victoria, and in two days more . . . arrived . . . at Fort Hope; . . . after a week's sojourn at Fort Hope . . . proceeded . . . to Fort Yale; . . . [the journey] occupied two days." Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 3-5.

(13) Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 6-7.

(14) *Victoria Gazette*, September 28, 1858.

tled upon and were now occupying a tract of land a few miles below Fort Langley. The letter was signed by Henry N. Peers and James H. Ray,¹⁵ and in a pencilled endorsement Douglas stated his opinion of the latter in indignant terms:—

Mr. Rae [*sic*] is an American citizen bears a very bad character at San Francisco and all over California—where he lived entirely by scheming—as he has no property, nor means to bring immigrants from Europe or Canada—the present being simply a scheme to impose upon the credulity of the Government and his one object being to make money out of that land by his fictitious title—This attempt at squatting must be put down by the strong hand, being a flagrant violation of the rights of the Crown and if overlooked would lead to the pre-occupation of the whole country, and a system of discrediting violence and confusion.

On September 15, no doubt as soon as he received the news, Douglas issued from Fort Yale a proclamation warning all persons

that no lands at or near Langley, or elsewhere on Fraser's River, have been in any manner encumbered or sold, and that the title to all such lands is vested in the Crown, and that any person found occupying the same without due authority from me, will be summarily ejected; and all persons fraudulently selling the same will be prosecuted and punished as the law directs.¹⁶

Douglas was, of course, well aware that as yet he himself had actually no legal power to grant titles to land,¹⁷ and while at Fort Hope and Fort Yale on this same expedition he had got round the difficulty by granting to those inhabitants who wished to settle "a right of occupation for town lots, under a lease terminable at the pleasure of the Crown."¹⁸ But now that speculators had made him aware of the financial possibilities of the Langley townsite and had spared him the expense of a preliminary survey, he was ready to waive the strict legal point, and a few days after his return to Victoria¹⁹ notice was given, on October 1, of

(15) H. N. Peers and James H. Ray Correspondence. For Henry Newsham Peers, see *The Letters of John McLouglin from Fort Vancouver . . . Third series, 1844–46*, ed. E. E. Rich, Champlain Society, 1944 (Hudson's Bay Series, VII), Appendix B, pp. 318–320. He had entered the company's service in 1841; had been associated with A. C. Anderson in the opening of a practicable brigade route from Kamloops to Fort Langley in 1848 and 1849; had been a clerk at Fort Langley in the season of 1850–51; and was in charge of the Cowlitz Farm from 1851 to 1857, when he went on furlough. He went to England in the autumn of 1858, and retired from the company's service as of June 1, 1859, returning to Victoria shortly after, and dying there in 1864.

(16) Enclosure 3 in Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 2–3.

(17) Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) On September 26. See Prevost to Baynes, October 11, 1858. *CO* 60, Vol. II, Part 1, 1858, p. 43.

the intention of the Government to survey "the land in the vicinity of, and including the site of Old Fort Langley" for a townsite, and to sell the lots by auction.²⁰ The *Victoria Gazette*²¹ hoped that the Governor might counteract this order, as encouraging speculation, and would have preferred the arrangements at Fort Hope and Fort Yale, whereby the lands were leased, not sold. But Douglas was in need of revenue for the new mainland colony, and by October 11 he had received dispatches from Lytton pointing out that

the disposal also of public lands, and especially of town lots, for which I am led to believe there will be a great demand, will afford a rapid means of obtaining funds applicable to the general purposes of the Colony.²²

On October 23 he forwarded for Lytton's approval an interim form of title,²³ and the town lots at Langley were duly sold in Victoria on November 25, by the Colonial Surveyor, J. D. Pemberton. "The prices brought surprised everyone," says the *Gazette*, and were "the best proof that could be possibly given of the confidence entertained in the ultimate prosperity of these Colonies."²⁴

The site of this "first operation disposing of public lands in British Columbia"²⁵ was the site on which James McMillan, in 1827, had erected the original Fort Langley. By 1839 this fort had become overcrowded and dilapidated, and a second one was built by James Murray Yale, some 2½ miles farther up the river, nearer to the company farm. This establishment was destroyed by fire in 1840, but a new and larger fort was at once constructed upon the same site and this was the building known as Fort Langley in 1858.²⁶ The site of the original fort of 1827 had thus been long abandoned, and it was this clearing which the speculators, and Douglas after them, laid out as a town.

Its origin, as well as its proximity to Fort Langley, caused a good deal of confusion in the names later applied to it. It has been suggested²⁷ that the first speculators christened their new town "Derby," but no

(20) Enclosure 2 in Douglas to Lytton, October 12, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 2.

(21) *Victoria Gazette*, October 1, 1858.

(22) Lytton to Douglas, July 31, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 45.

(23) Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, October 23, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 8.

(24) *Victoria Gazette*, November 27, 1858.

(25) Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 37.

(26) For an account of the various establishments at Fort Langley, see B. A. McKelvie, *Fort Langley: Outpost of Empire*, Vancouver, 1947, pp. 54-59.

(27) Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley 1827-1927*, Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, 1927, p. 24, says that "speculators . . . had sur-

confirmation of this has been found. In correspondence, both official and private, and in the contemporary newspapers, the town was referred to, for at least the first six months of its existence, as "Old Fort Langley," or as "the new town of Langley," or simply as "Langley." On March 19, 1859, the *Victoria Gazette* carried an item headed "Change of Name of Langley, B.C.":—

We understand that the name of the new town of Langley is to be changed to that of Derby—in compliment to the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

This may well have been the case, for in February, 1859, Derby became Prime Minister for the second time, but no official confirmation has been found. In printed official correspondence the name "Derby" seems to have been first applied to the town, by Douglas, on October 18, 1859;²⁸ but it had been used in private correspondence earlier than this;²⁹ and the Rev. W. Burton Crickmer, writing to Douglas on April 27, 1859, says:—

I find the proper designation of "Derby" universally known, and now colloquially in some vogue.³⁰

Additional information, though of a somewhat confused nature, it must be admitted, is supplied by contemporary maps and charts. One map "compiled from the surveys & explorations of the Royal Navy & Royal Engineers, . . . Nov^r 24th 1859," marks "Derby (F^t. Langley)" as the only settlement on the south side of the river, and places it at the site of the old fort.³¹ Another, from the same source and of the same date, marks "Derby" (in large letters) on the site of the original fort

veyed a townsite, which they apparently called Derby, at the site of the Old Fort." In the second edition of this booklet, 1947, an added introduction, by George Green, says that the speculators "had named the place Derby, and this name Douglas accepted." McKelvie, *op. cit.*, p. 84, says that speculators subdivided the site "into lots, to be sold as being 'in the town of Derby.'"

(28) Douglas to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, October 18, 1859. *BCP*, Part III, 1860 (Cmd. 2724), p. 67.

(29) See, for example, Moody to Douglas, July 30, 1859 (British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, Correspondence Outward, March–August, 1859); Douglas to Rev. W. B. Crickmer, August 30, 1859 (Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, May 27, 1859, to January 9, 1864).

(30) Crickmer Correspondence. Crickmer speaks also of "Langley (more recently called Derby)" in an extract from a letter which, in the Archives transcript of a transcript loaned by the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, immediately follows an extract dated January 6, 1859; but in view of the reference to the change of name in the *Victoria Gazette* of March 19, quoted above, it seems doubtful whether the second extract actually belongs to the same letter as the first.

(31) *BCP*, Part III, following p. 78.

of 1827, and "Langley" (in small letters) on the site of the new fort erected in 1840.³² An Admiralty chart of 1859-60 (No. 1922) obscures the situation somewhat by marking "Derby or New Langley" on the site of the old fort, and "Old Langley" on the site of the new; and a Bartholomew map tentatively dated 1860 makes this confusion worse confounded by marking "New Fort Langley" on the site of the old fort, and "Old Fort Langley" on the site of the new. But the name of "Derby" does not appear to have been in use very long: a map dated July 16, 1861, marks Fort Langley only, on the site of the new fort.

Whatever the name given to the town at various stages of its development and decline, the site itself had, as Douglas himself pointed out to Lytton on November 29, 1858, both advantages and disadvantages. The anchorage is good, and the river deep enough for ships close into the bank. With a cheerful aspect, a surface well adapted for buildings and drainage, it has the disadvantage of being in part low, and occasionally flooded by the river. The greater part of the site is, however, a dry, elevated table land, closely covered with bush and lofty pine trees.

From the financial point of view, Douglas added, the result of this first experiment is highly satisfactory, as intimating the confidence entertained by the public in the resources of British Columbia, and at the same time yielding a needful supply of money for defraying the necessary expenses of the public service.³³

The highly satisfactory result of the Langley sale would seem to have been due, however, not only to this "confidence entertained by the public in the resources of British Columbia" but, more specifically, to the general impression that Langley would be the capital of the new colony. True, the proclamation of British Columbia at Fort Langley in the historic ceremony of November 19, 1858, had made no mention of any site for a future capital, and the affairs of the mainland colony were being administered from Victoria. But in the Government survey of Old Fort Langley "the best situated lots and reserves [had] been kept by the authorities for the special purposes of government";³⁴ the sale of lots "under the auspices and with the encouragement of the Governor of British Columbia"³⁵ had given further grounds for the "general impression that it was to be *the* capital of the Colony";³⁶ and

(32) *BCP*, Part IV, 1862 (Cmd. 2952), following p. 8.

(33) Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 37.

(34) *Victoria Colonist*, January 22, 1859. The editor was Amor De Cosmos, and he, it may be noted, had bought half a dozen lots at the Langley sale.

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) *Victoria Gazette*, February 1, 1859.

among the original purchasers had been not only Captain J. M. Grant of the Royal Engineers, but the Speaker of the House, Dr. J. S. Helmcken.³⁷ "Of course it was never guaranteed [*sic*] that Langley was to be the capital of British Columbia,"³⁸ but "every honest and unprejudiced person, possessing common sense, had good reason to believe that Langley would be a Port of Entry, and the principal town on the Lower Fraser,"³⁹ and felt that "the new town of Langley [had been] tacitly intended by the authorities, the first capital of the government in British Columbia."⁴⁰

But the public, of course, knew nothing of Colonial Office instructions in the matter of a site for the capital; and it was these which were responsible for the Government's delay in making a final choice, and thus for the accusations of "humbuggery, . . . mis-application of the prerogatives of government,—double dealing and uncertainty"⁴¹ which were to be levelled at Douglas by the disappointed purchasers of the Langley lots. The authorities in London had determined that the matter of a site was to be left to Douglas to decide, but only after consultation with Colonel Moody of the Royal Engineers, and Moody was not even to leave England until October 30.⁴²

In a dispatch of July 31, 1858, which Douglas acknowledged on October 11, Lytton wrote:—

You will, probably, at an early period take steps for deciding upon a site for a seaport town. . . . A party of Royal Engineers will be despatched to the Colony immediately. It will devolve upon them . . . to suggest a site for the seat of Government . . .⁴³

On August 3 Herman Merivale, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, explained to the Under-Secretary for War that this party of Royal Engineers would be required "to suggest a site for the seat of

(37) See the list of purchasers and prices in the *Victoria Gazette*, November 30, 1858.

(38) *Victoria Gazette*, May 3, 1859.

(39) *Victoria Colonist*, February 19, 1859.

(40) *Ibid.*, January 22, 1859.

(41) *Ibid.*, February 5, 1859.

(42) Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 70.

(43) Lytton to Douglas, July 31, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 45. Acknowledged in Douglas to Lytton, October 11, 1858 (*BCP*, Part I, p. 37).

Government and for a sea-port town,"⁴⁴ and Lytton's instructions to Moody on the eve of his departure from England were quite specific:—

11. . . . You will consult with the Governor as to the choice of sites for a maritime town, probably at the mouth of Fraser's River, and for any more inland Capital to which the circumstances of the territory will suggest the most appropriate site.

12. You will not fail to regard with a military eye the best position for such towns and cities, as well as for the engineering of roads and passes, or the laying the foundations of any public works.⁴⁵

In his capacity as the future Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Moody was also instructed by Merivale that "it is to be distinctly understood . . . that the Governor is the supreme authority in the Colony,"⁴⁶ and Lytton echoed this instruction in his farewell letter:—

10. . . . Whilst I feel assured that the Governor will receive with all attention the counsel or suggestions which your military and scientific experience so well fit you to offer, I would be distinctly understood when I say that he is, not merely in a civil point of view, the first magistrate in the State, but that I feel it to be essential for the public interests that all powers and responsibilities should centre in him exclusively. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the prosperity of the Colony than a conflict between the principal officers of Government.⁴⁷

It was not until December 28, after Moody's arrival, that Douglas acknowledged the copy of this letter sent him by Lytton on November 1,⁴⁸ but by November 4 he had had copies of the two letters from Merivale to Moody,⁴⁹ and thus by the time the Langley lots were put up for sale he was well aware of the general attitude of the Colonial Office.

Obviously, this attitude created a very difficult situation for both Douglas and Moody. Douglas had the responsibility of financing the new colony, and the Colonial Office was continually reminding him that British Columbia must be made self-supporting as soon as possible.⁵⁰ Yet he was not given a free hand in the choice of townsites to be sold for revenue; for although the final decision concerning the site of a sea-

(44) Merivale to the Under-Secretary for War, August 3, 1858. Enclosure 2 in Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 53.

(45) Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858. Enclosure in Lytton to Douglas, November 1, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 74.

(46) Merivale to Moody, August 23, 1858. Enclosure 5 in Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 55.

(47) Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858. Enclosure in Lytton to Douglas, November 1, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 74.

(48) CO 60, Vol. I, Part 2, 1858, p. 236.

(49) Douglas to Lytton, November 4, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 21.

(50) See, for example, Lytton to Douglas, July 31, August 14, September 2, December 30, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, pp. 45, 48, 56, 75.

port town and of a capital was to be his, yet he must wait for Moody before making it. And Moody, who in spite of the Royal Engineers' belief that their colonel had the authority to select the site of the capital,⁵¹ could do no more than "advise," "suggest," and "consult," had received the most urgent instructions from his superiors that the site of both seaport town and capital must be wisely chosen from a military point of view.

Sufficient evidence of this urgency is provided by Moody's instructions to Captain R. M. Parsons and Captain J. M. Grant before they left England with the first detachments of the troops. To Captain Parsons, the first to leave, Moody wrote:—

I think it would be well for you to draw the attention of the Governor to the circumstance that *military considerations of the very gravest importance* (seeing the nearness of the Frontier) enter into the question of determining the site of the chief town and also of the one to be laid out at the entrance of the River. If it be absolutely necessary to commence some occupation at the latter place it should be confined to the north side and I hope the Governor would be able to make it a temporary tenure.⁵²

To Captain Grant a fortnight later, Moody pointed out that

it is very evident there will have to be a large Military Reserve at the extremity of the North Shore at the entrance of the Fraser River. . . . There will also have to be another Reserve at the angle higher up the entrance still on the North side, and looking down both entrances of the Fraser. . . . On each site will have to be erected some small Barrack with store and magazine and this quite independant [*sic*] of the site of the Chief town wherever it may be.⁵³

Moody sent Captain Parsons a chart on which he had marked the spots to be reserved, but no copy of this has come to light. However, Captain Parsons arrived in Victoria on October 29, 1858,⁵⁴ and since he seems to have remained there until he and his detachment accompanied the Governor to Fort Langley for the ceremony of November 19,⁵⁵ there was ample time for him to communicate Moody's views to Douglas.

Even before Captain Parsons' arrival, however, Douglas had acted on Lytton's dispatch of August 31 and had taken some "steps for deciding upon a site for a seaport town."⁵⁶ On October 14 he had asked Captain G. H. Richards of H.M.S. *Plumper* for "a report of the general capacities of the harbours of Vancouver . . . [and] of the

(51) *The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette*, January 29, 1859, p. 1.

(52) Moody to Parsons, September 1, 1858. Moody Correspondence.

(53) Moody to Grant, September 16, 1858. *Ibid.*

(54) Douglas to Lytton, November 8, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 25.

(55) Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 34.

(56) Lytton to Douglas, July 31, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 45.

mouth of the Fraser's River, as the site of the entry into British Columbia, apart from the island."⁵⁷ On November 3, presumably on the basis of this report, which Captain Richards had sent him on October 23,⁵⁸ and presumably, too, after Captain Parsons had pointed out to Douglas the military considerations involved, the Governor submitted to Lytton some "remarks on the subject of establishing a seaport town for the Colony of British Columbia."⁵⁹ In this dispatch Douglas put forward two proposals. One of these, "open to adoption only should Vancouver's Island be incorporated with British Columbia," followed Captain Richards' suggestion⁶⁰ that, as Douglas put it,

the safe and accessible harbour of Esquimalt, Vancouver's Island, should be made the port of entry to sea-going vessels for both Colonies, leaving the navigation of the Gulf of Georgia and other inland waters for a class of steam vessels calculated to do the work with safety and despatch.⁶¹

The other alternative—and Douglas seems to have anticipated that the suggestion of Esquimalt, while "very popular with the property holders of Vancouver's Island, who are generally desirous of having the seaport town of British Columbia at Esquimalt or Victoria, where it now is," might well "appear objectionable to Her Majesty's Government"—was to place the seaport town on the site which he described as follows:—

7. The ship channel into Fraser's River winds in a somewhat tortuous and narrow passage through those sands, and has a depth of water sufficient for vessels drawing 18 feet.

8. Beyond the sands the river increases in depth and the current in force and velocity. The banks for the first ten miles are low, being only a few feet above the water level, and there is a wide extent of wet marshy country on both banks of the river, intersected by creeks and covered with sedge, willows, and coarse grass.

9. That low, wet district passed, the country presents a new aspect, being more elevated and covered with pines and other forest trees.

10. That is the point where the seaport town can be established to the greatest advantage, and for this reason, that it is accessible to sailing vessels, which, owing to the lofty banks on both sides of the river, beyond that point, can rarely depend upon a fair wind, or ascend further without using the warp, or by the help of steam.

(57) Douglas to Richards, October 14, 1858. Vancouver Island, Governors Blanshard and Douglas, Correspondence Outward, June 22, 1850, to March 5, 1859. Quoting Lytton's dispatch to him of August 14, 1858 (*BCP*, Part I, p. 49).

(58) Richards to Douglas, October 23, 1858. Enclosure 7 in Douglas to Lytton, October 26, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 12–16.

(59) Douglas to Lytton, November 3, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 19–20.

(60) Richards to Douglas, October 23, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 14.

(61) Douglas to Lytton, November 3, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 19.

11. The "Port of Entry" for all ships entering Fraser's River for trade should be established somewhere about that point known as H.B.C. Tree, the first explorers of the river having marked a tree with those letters. . . .

12. The accompanying chart, showing the character of the country, near the mouth of Fraser's River, and the point where it is here proposed to place the seaport town, will be found useful for reference.

13. . . . if that plan [i.e. that Esquimalt should be made the port of entry for both colonies] should appear objectionable to Her Majesty's Government, then there will remain the alternative of selecting the point before described, about ten miles from Port [*sic*] Pelly, up Fraser's River, where the land is level, dry, and otherwise well adapted as a town location.⁶²

The interpretation of this description so as to identify beyond question the site suggested by Douglas is by no means simple, for the key phrases—"somewhere about that point known as H.B.C. Tree," and "about ten miles from [Point] Pelly"—are far from specific. J. D. Pemberton, who as Colonial Surveyor might be expected to know what was in Douglas's mind, wrote in 1860:—

Subsequently to the establishment of British Columbia as a Crown Colony in 1858, the ruling authorities decided that a separate capital for British Columbia—one seaport, and that of the greatest consequence—to be established somewhere in the neighbourhood of Fraser River, was indispensable.

A point on the left bank, nine miles from the entrance, was first proposed; but afterwards abandoned (in November, 1858) in favour of a point sixteen miles further up the river, on the same side.

The spot selected was the site of a former establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, known as "Old Fort Langley."⁶³

Pemberton's phrase "a point on the left bank, nine miles from the entrance" may perhaps be equated with Douglas's "somewhere about that point known as H.B.C. Tree," this tree being on the south bank of the Fraser, directly opposite Annacis Island. And yet it hardly seems likely that in face of the instructions from Moody which Captain Parsons must surely have relayed to Douglas, the latter should have suggested to the Home Government a site on the south or frontier bank of the river. Pemberton's statement that the site first chosen was abandoned for Langley in November, 1858, is supported by the fact that the town lots at Langley were sold on November 25. And yet in this dispatch of November 3, 1858, Douglas certainly cannot be referring to Langley, which is some 30 miles up the river, not "about ten miles from Point Pelly."

(62) *BCP*, Part II, pp. 19–20. The transcript of this dispatch in CO 60, Vol. I, Part 1, 1858, p. 251, reads *Point* Pelly, not Port.

(63) J. D. Pemberton, *Facts and Figures Relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1860, p. 51.

Indeed, it would appear that the site described by Douglas in the dispatch of November 3 is rather to be identified with the site of the future New Westminster, or at least with a spot somewhere between the present city and Mary Hill, at the junction of the Pitt River—for the land at New Westminster itself could certainly not be described as “level.” “About ten miles from Point Pelly” would indicate, roughly, the site of New Westminster; and although the city is on the opposite side of the river from the H.B.C. Tree itself, the site could not unfairly be described as “somewhere about that point known as H.B.C. Tree.”

If we had the original chart which Douglas enclosed with his dispatch, the matter would be settled, but it seems that we have not. A marginal note opposite paragraph 12 of the dispatch says, “This Chart will be found at the end of this Paper.” Presumably, then, it is to be identified with the “Plan of Part of Fraser’s River Shewing the Character of the Ground from the Entrance to the Site of Old Fort Langley,” which is bound at the end of Part II of *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia*. On this plan, which was lithographed by John Arrowsmith in 1859, the site of New Westminster is marked, and actually so named. Obviously Douglas could not have used this name in November, 1858, though he could have marked the site; and it seems a fair inference that since these *Papers* were published on August 12, 1859, after the name “New Westminster” had been chosen (in May of that year)⁶⁴ by Her Majesty, Douglas’s chart was amended in this respect before it was printed. It may be, too, that London was responsible also for the incorrect marking of Point Pelly on the north instead of the south side of the south channel.⁶⁵

That Douglas did in fact indicate on his chart the approximate site of the future New Westminster is borne out by a letter from the Admiralty to Merivale, who had sent them on January 26, 1859, Douglas’s dispatch of November 3, 1858:—

My Lords are not aware . . . that a better [site] can be found . . . than . . . at the spot pointed out by Governor Douglas, just above Annacis Island

(64) Lytton to Douglas, May 5, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 86.

(65) Admiralty Chart No. 1922 (1859–60) marks Point Pelly on the south side of the south channel, as do later maps, and marks Garry Point and North Bluff on the north side of the channel. These names do not appear on the Arrowsmith chart based, presumably, on Douglas’s chart; the name Point Pelly is so placed as to cover the stretch of land between these two promontories.

of the charts, on the north bank of the stream, at about 14 nautical miles within the sand heads, and 10 miles below Fort Langley.⁶⁶

Further confirmation is provided by Moody's comment in his report to Douglas of January 28, 1859, which recommended the New Westminster site:—

I am under the impression it is the same or nearly the same site to which you did me the honour to direct my attention as the proper position for the port of entry;⁶⁷ and additional evidence may be found in Captain Grant's letter to Douglas dated November 17, 1858, in which, after stating his objections to Langley, he added:—

Your Excellency in a conversation with me expressed an opinion that a site near the Pitt River 10 miles below this [i.e. Old Fort Langley], and which is named by Colonel Moody in his instructions to me, would afford a very advantageous position.⁶⁸

It would appear, then, that up to and including the date of his dispatch of November 3, Douglas had made no official suggestion that Langley should be either the port of entry or the capital of British Columbia.

On November 8 Captain Grant arrived in Victoria,⁶⁹ and was advised by Douglas "to proceed without delay to Fort Langley . . . and to put up buildings there for the accommodation of his own party and of the other troops expected from England"⁷⁰ on the *Thames City*. Actually he did not leave Victoria until the 15th,⁷¹ which would give him plenty of opportunity to consult with the Governor concerning the military reserves mentioned to him by Moody (the second of which would appear to be the approximate site of New Westminster) and "the ground around the junction of the Pitt River and the Fraser," which Moody had also enjoined him to examine if there were time before his own arrival.⁷² Immediately after reaching Langley, on November 17, Captain Grant wrote to Douglas, heading his letter "Old Fort Langley":—

Having as far as a very limited visit allows, made myself acquainted with the site of the proposed Town in this locality & adjoining which you have expressed the desire that I should erect temporary buildings for the Troops now in British

(66) W. G. Romaine to Merivale, May 10, 1859. Enclosure 1 in Lytton to Douglas, May 24, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 93.

(67) Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859. Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, February 4, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 60.

(68) Grant to Douglas, November 17, 1858. Grant Correspondence.

(69) Douglas to Lytton, November 9, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 26.

(70) Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 35.

(71) *Victoria Gazette*, November 16, 1858.

(72) Moody to Grant, September 16, 1858. Moody Correspondence.

Columbia and those expected to arrive in February next; I beg respectfully to submit, in reference to my instructions from Colonel Moody R.E., and with the view of delaying the sale of any land which will tend to establish a Town, without fuller information being obtained—the following views which I deem to be of the utmost importance to the future success of the Colony.

1. It is evident that the proper site of the Chief Town will be at that point which limits navigation to ships of large draft, provided the neighbourhood is suitable and the anchorage good; The position of Old Fort Langley appears to possess these advantages, but at the same time there are disadvantages politically & commercially which must weigh against it—. With respect to the former, it appears unadvisable to locate a Town (in the first instance) so close to the American Territory, trade & speculation will at once give it an impetus, and tho' perhaps not intended, it will gain such importance as must militate most seriously against any other position which may ultimately be selected for the Chief Town & Port of Entry, and commercially, from its proximity to the Frontier, the open trails & easy country which I understand exists between Fort Langley and Semiamoo an American Port distant 16 miles, it will surely (if any duties are imposed) become a resort for smuggling and ruin the trade of the Fraser River, thus making Semiamoo the real Port of Entry—

2. Your Excellency in a conversation with me expressed an opinion that a site near the Pitt River 10 miles below this, and which is named by Colonel Moody in his instructions to me, would afford a very advantageous position—The Anchorage there, I understand is the best on the River, the current less rapid than at Langley, is less encumbered with ice in winter, has more span, and what is of great importance, I beleive [sic] that for 4 months in the year viz from June to September, the wind blows directly up the River [deleted] Fraser. R. as far as the Pitt R., above this point it is uncertain, and would render towing necessary, whereas shipping could sail with ease to good anchorage at the entrance of the Pitt R., and moreover the position being at the confluence of the two Rivers, and if the report proves correct that the country along the Pitt is auriferous, a large influx of miners may be expected & the necessary supplies, for some time at least, would be taken up to Langley, only to be carried back again, a measure detrimental to all interests—

3. Under these circumstances I would recommend to your Excellency the suspension of the contemplated sale of Town lots, and further that no buildings however temporary be commenced till such information is obtained as will indicate for certain, the true site for a Chief Town.⁷³

No acknowledgment of this letter by Douglas has been found. The day before it was written, he had left Victoria for Fort Langley, where the official ceremony at which the new colony of British Columbia was

(73) Grant to Douglas, November 17, 1858. Grant's fears concerning smuggling are borne out by the appointment in April, 1859, of an "Assistant Revenue Officer in the neighbourhood of Langley, in order that the smuggling which it is believed is now carried on to some extent in that quarter may as far as possible be intercepted." W. A. G. Young to W. H. Bevis, April 9, 1859. British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 10, 1858, to May 30, 1859.

proclaimed took place on November 19. Captain Grant was, of course, present, so that there was opportunity for him to put forward his views to the Governor in person. But Douglas paid no attention whatever to any representations made by Grant,⁷⁴ and on the return to Victoria Captains Grant and Parsons were left with the troops at the site of Old Fort Langley,⁷⁵ where they were reported by Douglas on December 27 to be "in good health and spirits, and busily engaged at this present time in erecting houses for themselves and the main body of Engineers at Fort Langley."⁷⁶ Meanwhile Douglas had proceeded with the sale of the Langley lots: they had already been surveyed and advertised for sale; he was in need of funds; and until Moody's arrival there was no possibility of any other site of importance being put on the market. In order to encourage the sale of the Langley lots, he proposed "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."⁷⁷ Tenders were called for these buildings on December 1.⁷⁸

However, Douglas went no further for the moment in the development of Langley, at least in his official capacity. On December 3 he issued a proclamation declaring the port of Victoria to be "for the present . . . the port of entry for British Columbia, until arrangements are made to collect the duties at some point on Frazer's River,"⁷⁹ there being "at present no Officer in British Columbia empowered to levy the duties aforesaid, nor any station in the said Colony, at which the said duties can conveniently be levied."⁸⁰ The *Victoria Colonist* of December 11 commented indignantly on this arrangement:—

(74) Moody to Arthur Blackwood of the Colonial Office, February 1, 1859. "First Impressions: Letter of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E., February 1, 1859," ed. W. E. Ireland, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* (hereafter cited as *BCHQ*), XV (1951), p. 103.

(75) Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 34.

(76) Douglas to Lytton, December 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 48.

(77) Douglas to Lytton, December 14, 1858 (*BCP*, Part II, p. 45); and cf. Pemberton to Douglas, November 30, 1858 (Enclosure 1 in Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858, postscript dated December 1, 1858), *BCP*, Part II, p. 38: "Unless some improvements are made, and buildings commenced to encourage the wavering, I believe that [many purchasers at Langley will default]."

(78) *Victoria Gazette*, December 2, 1858.

(79) Douglas to Lytton, December 4, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 41.

(80) Proclamation. Enclosure 2 in Douglas to Lytton, December 4, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 43.

Why were not the interests and convenience of British Columbia consulted instead of the convenience of an officer? It cannot be supposed that Gov. Douglas wishes the public abroad to understand that Langley is an unfit place for a station. . . . By order of Gov. Douglas lots were sold at Langley to a very large amount. Did it occur to His Excellency that in making this [i.e. Victoria] the port of entry that [sic] it was virtually a direct injury to the purchasers? Why was it not made known at the time of sale?

Such was the state of affairs when Colonel Moody arrived in Victoria on December 25, 1858, "not in time," says Douglas regretfully, "to take part in our Christmas festivities, which would have been all the gayer for his presence."⁸¹ In a private letter written two days later, Moody recorded his own impressions of Governor Douglas and his hopes for a harmonious working relationship—

I venture on the liberty of writing a few private and confidential lines to say that my first and second interviews with Governor Douglas are full of promise the most satisfactory. I have entirely disarmed him of all jealousy and neutralized any little mischievous attempts to introduce a wedge between us. He clearly understands that I have had the honour to be selected and placed at his disposal by you to aid and assist in every way not only in command of troops & surveys and works but in any other way he may be disposed to think my Counsels and Services may be of value to him. I have assured him I understand my instructions to be that *I am entirely under his orders* and that he will find me support him loyally—that where I may venture to offer him an opinion and even to urge it when such opinion may entirely differ from his own, it will be urged in a spirit of duty to himself & not of opposition—that when such opinion of mine may be rejected by him, he will find me carry out his instructions as cordially in every respect as if they had originated with myself. We gave each other a grip of the hand most significant of the understanding between us—& my prayer to God is for grace and wisdom to do my duty heartily always and cheerfully in a spirit which you will I trust approve of to the last—I will do nothing "by halves".⁸²

The letter goes on to mention a number of specific "points that will most probably come before you in an official form from the Governor before long." Included in these is:—

The reconsideration of the site of the principal town on the Fraser. I believe the Governor has not committed himself to the adoption of Langley—but I fear I shall have the misfortune to differ as to the site. He may give way and I trust my reasons will bring about that happy result.⁸³

(81) Douglas to Blackwood, December 27, 1858. Douglas Correspondence.

(82) Moody to [Blackwood?], private, December 27, 1858. CO 60, Vol. III, Part 2, 1858, pp. 80–81. Merivale appended a minute: "I do not see anything to do on it," to which Blackwood added, somewhat cynically, "Nor I—but I would suggest that it be registered, as it makes abundant promises of subordination to the Governor—which it will be well to remember in case of conflicts hereafter."

(83) CO 60, Vol. III, Part 2, 1858, p. 81.

It seems clear from this letter that although Douglas was not free to make an official choice of the site for a capital until Moody arrived, he himself had Langley in mind, and further official evidence in this respect is supplied by Blackwood's minute on the dispatch of February 5, 1859, in which Douglas reported to the Colonial Office the final decision in favour of the New Westminster site:—

This choice of Colonel Moodys for the site of the capital Town of B. Columbia sounds very satisfactory. The spot first chosen, & where the sales of Land took place, which produced so much money, was very unfavorable, inasmuch as the River was in the rear, & in a military point of view exceedingly unsafe.⁸⁴

Lieutenant R. C. Mayne, too, remarked that "the site hit upon by Colonel Moody was . . . both in a military and commercial light . . . infinitely preferable to the spot which had previously been fixed upon for this purpose higher up and on the opposite side of the river;"⁸⁵ and reference has already been made to J. D. Pemberton's statement that in November, 1858, the site of Old Fort Langley had been selected for the capital of British Columbia.⁸⁶ Unlike the Home authorities and Lieutenant Mayne, Pemberton approved of this selection, and so did the Rev. W. Burton Crickmer, who as "chaplain for the gold fields of British Columbia" came out in the same ship as Moody,⁸⁷ and after consultation with the Governor left Victoria almost immediately for Langley to begin his missionary work.⁸⁸ In a private letter to Douglas, written on August 26, 1859, at "a critical time for Derby," Crickmer stated explicitly that the site of Langley, which he calls "the noblest town-site on the Fraser for every reason, geographical, local, civil, military, commercial and social," had been "chosen under Your Excellency's sanction and approval." Indeed, he went so far as to say that "the decadence of British Columbia has dated from the time that Your Excellency permitted so magnanimously your own choice or approved choice to be set aside for specific professional wisdom to act without let or hindrance"; and he fully believed that Douglas's "reasons for permitting Derby to be selected, surveyed, and sold [would] will some day be vindicated by facts before the world."⁸⁹

(84) CO 60, Vol. IV, Part 1, 1859, p. 121.

(85) R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1862, p. 72.

(86) . . . *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, p. 51. See above, p. 26.

(87) *Victoria Gazette*, December 16, 1858; *Victoria Colonist*, January 1, 1859.

(88) Douglas to Crickmer, January 7, 1859. *British Columbia*, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859.

(89) Crickmer Correspondence.

It seems clear therefore that at the time of Moody's arrival Douglas would have preferred to establish the port of entry and the seat of government for British Columbia at two different sites. With respect to the port of entry, he had already suggested to the Colonial Office, and now suggested to Moody,⁹⁰ the approximate site of the future New Westminster, a site closer to the mouth of the Fraser, and hence more convenient for shipping, than was Langley. With respect to the capital, however, he wished to establish the seat of government at Langley, and hoped that Moody would approve his tentative choice of this site, on which a considerable amount of work had already been done, for the capital of the new colony.

Moody was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia and as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works on January 4, 1859, and left for Fort Langley aboard the *Beaver* the day after.⁹¹ Arriving there on the evening of January 6,⁹² he was met by the news of the trouble at Hill's Bar, and with "admirable promptitude," as Douglas records,⁹³ he left that same night, at 11 p.m., for Fort Yale, taking with him Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, who had accompanied him up the river, and the detachment of Royal Engineers at Langley. "The Ned McGowan War" is another story; but after the excitement was over, Moody dropped down the river again to Langley, where the *Plumper* was now awaiting him. He left Langley on January 23,⁹⁴ and spent the next four days examining the banks of the Fraser and the adjacent coast. He tells his friend Blackwood:—

Fr[om] 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 consid-

(90) See Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 60.

(91) *Victoria Gazette*, January 6, 1859. The *Victoria Colonist*, January 8, 1859, is in error in implying that Moody left Victoria on the 6th. Cf. his own statement in his letter to Blackwood, February 1, 1859: "I [the] day after I was sworn into my office I started for Frazer River"; and Begbie to Douglas, February 3, 1859 (Begbie Correspondence): "I left Victoria for Langley in company with the Lieut. Gov^r . . . on Wednesday, the 4th ulto. [actually Wednesday was the 5th]."

(92) The *Beaver* anchored on the night of the 5th at one of the islands in the Gulf and arrived the following evening (Thursday) at Langley. *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 91, 94.

(93) Douglas to Lytton, January 8, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 56.

(94) R. C. Mayne, Journal kept in H.M.S. *Plumper*, February 17, 1857, to December 31, 1860. Entry for January 23, 1859.

erations affecting the Capital or principal Town at the entrance of the Frazer is of the very greatest weight & sh^d take the lead.⁹⁵

On January 28, still aboard the *Plumper*, "off Vancouver's Island," Moody wrote his official report for Douglas:—

After a very careful study of the question, I have now the honour to submit to your consideration that the site which appears to be best adapted for the capital of British Columbia is about 10 miles below the new town of Langley, and on the north bank of the Frazer.

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

It is the first high ground on the north side after entering the river, and is about 20 miles above the Sand Heads.

There is abundance of room and convenience for every description of requisite in a seaport and the capital of a great country. . . .

As a military position it is rare to find one so singularly strong by nature, in connexion with its adaptation as the capital of a country.

After analyzing in enthusiastic detail the military position, Moody continued:—

I would further submit that, in any war with our neighbours, our best, I may say our only chance of success in this country . . . would be an immediate offensive advance. I am so strongly impressed with these views as to venture (but, believe me, with the utmost deference) to press on your consideration that, should it be determined not to occupy this site in the manner suggested, concentrating there, as early as possible, a condensation of political, military, and commercial interests, growing and increasing in force in all time to come, it would seriously peril, if not lose, to Great Britain the possession of the mainland.

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

Following which tactful comment, Moody gave his opinion of Langley:—

This report would not be complete unless I added that the site of Langley is open to the gravest objections as to the site of a capital, or even a town of importance. It is sufficient to say it is on the frontier side of the river, and no amount of expenditure and skill could effectually rectify the strong military objection to its position.⁹⁶

In the afternoon of January 28 the *Plumper* reached Victoria,⁹⁷ but it was not until the following day that Moody sent the foregoing report to Douglas, with a covering letter dated January 29:—

(95) Moody to Blackwood, February 1, 1859. *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 105.

(96) Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859. Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, February 4, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 60–61.

(97) *Victoria Gazette*, January 29, 1859.

. . . I cannot refrain from adding a few private lines just to assure you that though I may appear to submit my observations in a somewhat urgent manner it is in a spirit of entire deference to my chief.

I have the satisfaction of knowing you are disposed to agree with me in the main in this matter—

I beleive [*sic*] I mentioned to you it is part of my duty to communicate to my Military Superiors in England my views on all Military Questions affecting the Colony as part of the whole Empire— . . .

I hope you will confer also with Mr. Begbie on this question we talked it over together—⁹⁸

Douglas acknowledged report and letter on the same day on which they were sent, Saturday, January 29, adding that he would “take the first opportunity of conferring with [Moody] in person.”⁹⁹

This conference must have been held within the next three days, for on the following Tuesday, February 1, from “a very tiny house full of [his] dear Children but whose shouts sometimes ‘fun’ sometimes ‘wailings’ do not tend to compose the thoughts,” Moody completed a letter to his friend Arthur Blackwood of the Colonial Office:—

You remember I promised to spin you a long yarn, I have done so I hope it will not be voted a bore. . . . You will see by all the blunders that I have felt quite at home in writing to you.¹⁰⁰

In this very important letter, Moody gave a lengthy, detailed, and highly diverting account of his experiences in the Ned McGowan War, recounted his subsequent exploration of river and coast in the *Plumper*, and then added:—

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—¹⁰¹

The site of the capital would be, of course, a major point for settlement; and this letter to Blackwood is of very great interest in that it reveals to no small degree the situation which actually existed beneath the veneer of the official dispatches.

Writing unofficially to Blackwood, Moody reiterated the opinion expressed in his official report regarding the military fitness of the site

(98) Moody to Douglas, private, January 29, 1859. Moody Correspondence.

(99) Douglas to Moody, January 29, 1859. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, January 7 to September 13, 1859.

(100) Moody to Blackwood, February 1, 1859. The original of this letter is not available. In 1950 a copy was presented to the Archives by a member of the Moody family, and this was edited, with an introduction and notes, by Willard E. Ireland in “First Impressions,” *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 85–107. All quotations are from the text in this article.

(101) *Ibid.*, p. 106.

which he had suggested (and which elsewhere in the letter he refers to as "Queenborough"), and was even more critical of the Langley site:—

In steaming up one fine reach at a spot 20 miles fr the entrance of the Channel . . . 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. . . . I have written the Governor a strong letter on the subject, wh he promises to send to the Colonial Office. I hope both these observations & that letter may be shown to Sir John Burgoyne as soon as possible. It must needs be some time before the explanatory surveys can accompany any Military Report & in the meanwhile no time shd be lost in adopting the site. In a few months it may be too late. . . . Now for a few words about the new Town of Langley—I dare scarcely enter on the subject with the freedom I wd wish, I wd 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 Captⁿ Grant, earnestly protested against it & urged I wd 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 Captⁿ Grant himself, who firmly believes it is to be the chief town. A Court House & Jail was promised besides a Church & Parsonage and these are being built or about to be built at this moment. 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, American, cannot fail to be the Chief port of the district. . . . There are no Military features towards the frontier of wh to take advantage to cover & protect the Town in time of War. At any moment the Americans cd & wd 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 wd be at once arrested & for ever, for all commercial interests wd centre too strongly at the better place for British interests namely Queenborough, & Semiamoo wd die.¹⁰² In some quarters, "executive reluctance"¹⁰³ to place the capital at any other site but Langley was accounted for by the Governor's former con-

(102) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 93, 103–104.

(103) *Victoria Colonist*, February 5, 1859.

nection with the Hudson's Bay Company, and Moody gives some support to this view:—

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 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—¹⁰⁴ But Moody's own objections to Langley had nothing to do with any Hudson's Bay claim. "That does not influence me," he continued:—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 wh^h it is stated that a town is to be laid out (at my "site") wh^h is to be the port of Entry & Capital of B. Columbia & that lots may be exchanged.*¹⁰⁵

It would appear, then, that Moody had carried his point; but as he goes on to tell Blackwood, "The proclamation is not made public yet, & day after day passes." Rumours were current in Victoria as early as the 1st of February, when the *Gazette* printed an item headed "The Capital of British Columbia—Langley or Queensburgh?" and on February 5 the *Victoria Colonist* discussed the question at length:—

Is there to be a new town laid out at Pitt River, called Queensboro, which will place Langley in a secondary position? Or, is the site of Langley to be changed for another? . . . On apparently good authority it is said that Lieut. Gov. Moody—whom everybody agrees should be a good judge of location—is favorable

(104) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 104–105. For the H.B.C. claims see the Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, December 7, 1858 (*BCP*, Part II, pp. 44–45); and the "Statement of Claims" and Report by Moody, enclosed in Douglas to Lytton, May 31, 1859 (CO 60, Vol. IV, Part 2, 1859, pp. 161 ff.). These claims include New Fort Langley and adjacent farms (10 square miles) and 60 lots (10 acres) at Old Fort Langley, "being part of the town as now surveyed. The whole of the cleared land at Old Langley is claimed by the Hudson's Bay Coy.—as having been cleared and occupied by them. This land was surveyed and sold by Government against the remonstrances of the Officers of the Company, and the portion stated above being inferior in position, is now claimed as only a portion of what they consider they are entitled to." Apparently the company claimed squatters' rights on land occupied before the influx of the miners. T. W. Berens, Deputy Governor of the company, to Lytton, October 12, 1858. CO 60, Vol. II, Part 1, 1858, p. 124.

(105) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 105.

to change while His Excellency Gov. Douglas is not disposed to do so. . . . The public in general, and those owning Langley lots in particular, want to know from the government, whether another town is to be laid out for a Port of Entry at Pitt river? Or whether Langley will be made a Port of Entry? That a town must be built some where near the mouth of Fraser's river, is a matter beyond doubt, but two towns would injure both. . . . The idea of making Queensboro the Port of Entry, and Langley the principal town, is perfectly preposterous. . . .

Now is the time to decide,—and if a blunder has been made—and for the honor of the country we would rather hear that such was the case than that H.B. Co's land claim gave the preference for Langley—let it be promptly remedied.

But it was not until February 14 that the proclamation was actually published,¹⁰⁶ and Moody obviously believed that Douglas was playing for time in the hope that Langley might after all be selected. His letter to Blackwood continues:—

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 Govr's orders, certainly with his sanction. I trust a "cry" will not be raised that it is not [*sic*: for *now*?] too far gone to change the site. A "cry" is easily got up. At present the public only wish to know *wh* 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 Govr. Suspicions of the most odious kind are rife. Now, observe, unless a very decided order comes fr Sir Ed, Langley will be adopted. . . . I hope Sir Ed's orders will come by return of post.¹⁰⁷

It would appear, then, that despite Moody's statement to Blackwood that he and Douglas and Begbie worked together "very satisfactorily," there was a somewhat reluctant unanimity as far as the site of the capital was concerned. Officially, however, unanimity on this point was achieved, and more quickly than Moody's forebodings had suggested. On February 1 Douglas wrote to Moody, instructing him "to adopt instant measures for surveying and laying out a Town upon the site proposed

(106) Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, pp. 65-66.

(107) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 105. The R.E. building had been erected at Langley by Grant on the "advice" and "desire" of Douglas that he should do so. Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858 (*BCP*, Part II, p. 35); and Grant to Douglas, November 17, 1858 (Grant Correspondence). As for "the people pester me," the *Victoria Colonist*, January 15, 1859, was convinced that "the immediate supervision of British Columbia now devolve[d] on Lieut. Gov. Moody," and Moody was obliged to set matters right in a letter of January 28 which the paper published the next day: "I serve under His Excellency Governor Douglas, receive his instructions, and carry out his orders in all matters relating to British Columbia."

by you.”¹⁰⁸ On February 4 he forwarded to Lytton, as he had promised, Moody’s report on the site of the capital, adding that “the views which the Lieutenant-Governor has so ably developed generally coincide with my own impressions on the subject, and I am satisfied of the soundness of his conclusions”;¹⁰⁹ and the following day he wrote again to Lytton, requesting that Her Majesty would name the new capital.¹¹⁰

The view has been put forward from time to time that Douglas and Moody disagreed concerning the name of the new capital, Douglas always calling it “Queensborough” and Moody, “Queenborough”; and that the Queen, appealed to as arbiter in the dispute, settled the matter by rejecting both forms in favour of the name New Westminster. The available evidence does not appear to support this view.

That Moody did propose the name *Queenborough* seems almost certain, in the light of the following passage in his letter to Blackwood:—The site is not only convenient in every respect but it is agreeable & striking in aspect. Viewed fr the Gulf of Georgia across the meadows on entering the Frazer, the far distant giant mountains forming a dark background—the City wd 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 wd be “Queenborough.”¹¹¹

In this otherwise extremely frank letter Moody made no mention of any dispute about the name, but merely added:—

The Governor very properly however says, it is his intention to take instructions from Home about the Name & hopes her Majesty may be induced to name it.¹¹²

Making this request to Lytton on February 5, Douglas says that “it has been determined, for the necessary sake of convenience, to distinguish the town by the name of ‘Queensborough,’¹¹³ and the *Victoria Gazette* of February 1 inquired “whether Queensburgh (the reported name of

(108) Douglas to Moody, February 1, 1859. British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859.

(109) Douglas to Lytton, February 4, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 60. Merivale added a minute to this dispatch: “I am very clad [*sic*] the two are agreed about it, as it is just one of the points on which a difference of opinion might have been expected.” CO 60, Vol. IV, Part 1, 1859, p. 121.

(110) Douglas to Lytton, February 5, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 61.

(111) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 93.

(112) *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94.

(113) *BCP*, Part II, p. 61. The Colonial Office did not like the temporary name. Merivale added a minute: “‘Queensborough’ sounds prosaic, and reminds one also of an English borough of indifferent fame,” and Lytton’s comment was scathing: “Queenboro is not only prosaic—it is the quintessence of vulgarity.” CO 60, Vol. IV, Part 1, 1859, p. 131.

the new town) [was] to be merely a military station, or a new Government town." But that there was any long and bitter dispute concerning the two forms of the name is not borne out by the evidence. Between February 1, 1859, when Moody first used the name Queenborough, and July 20, 1859, when the name New Westminster was proclaimed, the Moody-Douglas letters, the letters of other Government officials, and the newspapers of the time all use the two forms indiscriminately, both sometimes appearing in the same letter.¹¹⁴ It is true that Douglas may be said to lean toward the use of Queensborough and Moody toward Queenborough;¹¹⁵ but had there been any real quarrel about the name, one would have expected to find each making a point of always using the particular form which he had recommended.

The earliest reference to any such disagreement which has been found occurs in a letter in the *Victoria Colonist*, July 27, 1859:—

Two great men quarrel as to whether a certain town shall be spelled with an "S" or without one; the issue of the mighty contest is referred to Her Majesty, the Queen, who decides . . . that the name shall be neither Queensborough nor Queenborough, but New Westminster.

The same story of "a sort of quarrel about the name" and of the settling of the matter by Downing Street was told by Dr. J. S. Helmcken in 1892.¹¹⁶ A much more picturesque and circumstantial account is given by R. E. Gosnell in *The Year Book of British Columbia*, published in 1897:—

Before the Colony was proclaimed the Governor had fixed upon Langley, a level country belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company around the fort, as the Capital of British Columbia, but Colonel Moody, R.E., who had come out with a corps of 400 Royal Engineers . . . , at once opposed the selection of Langley as being on the wrong bank of the river, and indefensible on military grounds, and with his officers sought a suitable site on the right bank proper, and, against the advice of his officers, at first fixed on Mary Hill, a fine and elevated site near the mouth of

(114) For example, Moody to Douglas, April 19, 1859, headed Queenborough, has marginal comments in the handwriting of Douglas using both Queenborough and Queensborough; and Moody to Douglas, May 20, 1859, headed Queensborough, has a marginal note by Douglas using Queenborough. Moody Correspondence.

(115) The statistics are: For Douglas, out of 17 instances, 6 for Queenborough and 11 for Queensborough; for Moody, out of 53 instances, 32 for Queenborough and 21 for Queensborough. These are apart from the official dispatches, in which Douglas always uses Queensborough. Moody to Douglas, June 8, 1859 (Moody Correspondence), encloses a copy of a printed certificate "that will be issued from the Lands and Works Department in respect of every lot purchased" at the sale on June 1 and 2. This reads "Queenborough Sale."

(116) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, 1892, Vol. IV, pp. 11, 97.

Pitt River, in preference to a still finer site a couple of miles lower down on the right bank, and ordered his senior captain—Capt. Jack Grant, as he was familiarly termed, now General Grant, RE,—to take the axe and make the first cut at one of the trees nearest the river. He was in the act of swinging his axe to deliver the blow, when he was so much impressed with the mistake they were making that he said: "Colonel, with much submission I will ask not to do it. Will you yourself be pleased to take the responsibility of making the first cut?"—respectfully giving his reasons. These were of so cogent a nature . . . that the Colonel was convinced, rowed down the river and ordered the first cut to be delivered on one of the huge cedars with which the hill was covered, and named the new town "Queenborough."

But so great already was the jealousy in Victoria against the projected new city, that Queenborough was considered by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. A. G. Young, as too nearly a paraphrase of Victoria, the only permissible Queen City, that [sic] after a great inkshed and a long acrid correspondence the name was proclaimed to be not the *Queen* borough, (Victoria) but *Queensborough*, which was quite another thing. . . . The matter was taken up by the Home Government, Her Majesty was engaged to finally fix on the name, and by Royal Proclamation, *Queensborough* (a convenient name) was converted into a Royal City and the Capital of British Columbia under the name of *New Westminster*, (an inconvenient one) and on the faith of that many invested their all in it. But it "would not stay fixed", for the Victorians exerted their political and financial influence, with the Home Government against it, and in a hot and hostile discussion year after year, and with such effect that on the 19th of November, 1866, the union of the two separate Colonies under the name of British Columbia was accomplished and proclaimed, and the Capital changed from *New Westminster* to *Victoria*.¹¹⁷

Gosnell provides no documentation for his story, and this account of the choosing and naming of the site of Queenborough is at obvious variance with Moody's own, as given in the letter to Blackwood quoted above. Nor does it find confirmation either in the account given in 1862 by R. C. Mayne, who was one of the party aboard the *Plumper* with Moody, or in the recollections of Walter Moberly, who in 1885 wrote:—Colonel Moody wished me to go down the river to the proposed new city, and getting a week's rations, a tent, and picking up a man and an old leaky boat, I tied her to the steamer *Beaver* as she ran down the river, and we were shortly on shore at the site proposed. The trees, as a general thing, were of enormous size, and the underbrush dense. We made a little pathway for a few hundred feet and came

(117) R. E. Gosnell, *The Year Book of British Columbia*, Victoria, 1897, pp. 45–46. This is a semi-official publication. An announcement on page 399 says: "Since the publication of the *British Columbia Year Book and Compendium* by the author three years ago, the copies remaining unsold have been purchased by the Government. . . . In the next issue, while preserving the main features of the 1897 edition, it is hoped to present not only what has been omitted in this, but much entirely new matter." Gosnell himself was described on the title page as "Librarian Legislative Assembly and Secretary Bureau Statistics."

to a magnificent bird's eye maple tree, under which I pitched the tent, and founded the city of Queenborough, now known as New Westminster.

What is more, Gosnell was explicitly, though privately, contradicted by Grant himself, who on receiving a copy of the *Year Book* wrote from London on April 15, 1898, to Sir Henry Crease:—

. . . The New Westminster site was the Chief Commissioners own selection, personally I never liked it, principally on the ground that the Site should be either as high up the river as navigation permitted, or failing that, then as near the River mouth as possible.¹¹⁸

And since, at the most, only three days elapsed between Moody's return to Victoria and Douglas's decision to refer the matter to the Home authorities, it is also difficult to see how "a great inkshed and a long acrimonious correspondence" about the name could possibly have taken place. Later writers who refer specifically to the supposed dispute either consider the controversy so much a matter of fact that no evidence need be quoted, or else quote this passage from Gosnell as their only authority.¹¹⁹

(118) Crease Correspondence. Grant also corrects Gosnell's figure of 400 Royal Engineers: "The total strength of the Detachment was 172—then 2 strong companies of Royal Marines came from Japan." For the relevant passages in Mayne, see *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, 1862, p. 72, and also his Journal kept in H.M.S. *Plumper*, entries for January 23 and 24, 1859. For Moberly's account see *The Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, 1885, p. 29.

(119) See E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II [by F. W. Howay], p. 67; Lillian Cope, "Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in British Columbia," University of British Columbia M.A. thesis, 1940, p. 85; Margaret L. McDonald, *New Westminster 1859-1871*, University of British Columbia M.A. thesis, 1947, p. 31; Willard E. Ireland, ed., "First Impressions," *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 93, n. (24). In his *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 251, W. N. Sage says merely that the capital was "first known as Queenborough, or Queensborough," but discussing the choice of the site, he points out that though "Douglas is careful in his despatches not to suggest that there was ever any disagreement with Moody," nevertheless "it is evident from the testimony of 'old-timers' that such disagreements did occur." And again (p. 299), "it is a matter of common knowledge among the 'old-timers' of British Columbia that Moody and Douglas often found themselves in profound disagreement. . . . Such is the tradition in New Westminster where Douglas was always less popular than he was in Victoria." Gosnell (1860-1931) may be reckoned an 'old-timer,' though he spent the latter part of his life in Eastern Canada, only returning to British Columbia just before his death. His story of the dispute over the name of the capital may therefore be part of the "tradition" of disagreement. That this "tradition" is founded on fact is clear from the correspondence of Douglas and Moody between 1859 and 1863, but it does not appear that the naming of the capital of British Columbia was one of the points of disagreement.

Neither form of the name appears in the proclamation of February 14, which simply says: "It is intended with all dispatch to lay out and settle the site of a city, to be the capital of British Columbia, on the right or north bank of Fraser River."¹²⁰ "As the Government [was] desirous of concentrating the commercial interests of the Colony in and around the capital,"¹²¹ it was also laid down that the purchasers of town lots at Langley would be allowed to surrender them and "have their money transferred, either as a whole or part payment for lots in the new town";¹²² and the proclamation also stated that "the proposed

(120) Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 65. It is possible that the vagueness of this whole passage is intentional. On February 10 it was still Moody's intention to lay out the capital at the site of the future New Westminster, according to the sketch enclosed in his letter to Douglas of that date, in which he proposes a canal between the Fraser and Semiamoo Bay (Moody Correspondence). But there was clearly some idea in official circles that the barracks, if not all the Government buildings, might be placed at Mary Hill, some 4 miles farther up the Fraser, at the junction of the Pitt River. See Moody to Parsons, May 12, 1859 (British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, Correspondence Outward, March-August, 1859): "We thought first of placing the Barracks at Mary's Hill." On March 1, the day before Moody left Victoria for the Fraser to begin the survey of the site for the capital (see *Victoria Gazette*, March 3, 1859), he instructed Captain W. D. Gosset that if the *Thames City* should arrive during his absence, measures were to be taken "for getting her (or in any case the men & stores) up the Fraser River as far as Mary's Hill." See British Columbia, Royal Engineers, Correspondence Outward, February-May, 1859, p. 12. On March 7, over the signature of "Walter Moberly, Superintendent Public Works, British Columbia," tenders were called "for the erection of certain Government Buildings etc., at Mary Hill"; but on March 11, from the "Office of Lands and Works, the Camp, Queenbro," Moody wrote to the editor of the *Victoria Gazette* (which had published Moberly's notice on March 8), asking him to cancel it and to insert another, calling for tenders "for the erection of certain Government Buildings at Queenbro." It may be that this cancellation was the basis for Gosnell's story concerning the change in the location of the capital from Mary Hill to Queenborough. But no evidence has been found to support Gosnell's statement that Captain Grant was the first to recognize the superiority of the latter site. Indeed, from Moody's letter to Blackwood of February 1, there seems little doubt that it was Moody's military eye which from aboard the *Beaver* first picked out the Queenborough site on the way up to Langley at the beginning of January, 1859, although it was not until "afterwards," when on the return journey aboard the *Plumper*, this and other possible sites were being studied, that "all hands on board the *Plumper*, & indeed everyone joins in thinking the appropriate name wd be 'Queenborough.'"

(121) *BCP*, Part II, p. 66.

(122) Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1850. *BCP*, Part II, p. 65.

capital will be declared to be a port of entry so soon as the necessary arrangements shall have been provided, which will be done with all convenient despatch."¹²³ On February 17 the Governor approved, in part only, Moody's request for permission to construct certain public buildings at the site of the capital: he allowed "a small Church, Offices of Land and Works, Residence for Lieutenant Governor . . . , Barracks . . . , Custom House, Treasury," but added that "a Court House and Jail being already in progress at Langley I think it would be advisable to defer the erection of similar buildings at the Capital until the present more immediate wants are somewhat satisfied."¹²⁴ It was to be over three months before the survey of the new site was completed and the land offered for sale. The site was, as Pemberton later pointed out in his defence of Langley, "too elevated, expensive to grade, and heavily timbered";¹²⁵ and Moody himself in a friendly and informal letter to Douglas written from Queenborough on March 17, 1859, gave a vivid picture of the situation:—

I beg to thank you for your kind note. We are struggling here against very tiresome difficulties and delays arising from most atrocious weather. The rain is incessant and gusts with mist—snow half thawed is deep throughout the woods—the thickets are the closest and thorniest I ever came across. My clothes are becoming ragged! and the men's hands are torn in every direction. I am sending to Victoria for some stout strong common leather gloves for them if such can be procured. It will be well repaid in saving time and money. I stand by and sometimes help a little, so I see with own eyes [*sic*] what a loss of time it is giving a wince and rubbing your hand when a thorn as big and strong as a shark's tooth tears across it.

The woods are magnificent, superb beyond description but most vexatious to a surveyor and the first dwellers in a town. . . .

. . . Mr. Burnaby and Lt. Blake . . . have been away now 3 days in the most deplorable weather. The rain was in torrents all last night and it is streaming down still in *Tropical* torrents—nothing would gladden my eyes more than to see them back. I am just off with Captain Parsons to fix "observation Poles" in the mud! Indian rubber waterproof boots are the only wear here at present.¹²⁶

Reporting these difficulties to Lytton on March 25, Douglas added:—I fear that consequently there will be no land for sale for some time to come; and, unfortunately, the commencement of the survey of the new town has entirely put a stop to any further sale of land at Langley.¹²⁷

(123) *BCP*, Part II, p. 66.

(124) Douglas to Moody, February 17, 1859, Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, January 7, 1859, to September 13, 1859.

(125) *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, 1860, pp. 52–53.

(126) Moody to Douglas, March 17, 1859. *Lands and Works Correspondence*.

(127) Douglas to Lytton, March 25, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 71.

A fortnight later, on April 8, Douglas amplified this dismal theme:—

7. The removal of the intended sea port town, from Langley to Queensborough, has caused a depression in the Public Revenue, arising from sales of town lands, which ceased entirely at the former place, with the first announcement of the proposed change in the seat of Government.¹²⁸

Taken in isolation, this passage would certainly appear to suggest that Douglas not only had intended to make Langley both the port of entry and the capital, but had made public announcement to that effect, for the “announcement of the proposed change in the seat of Government” presupposes an earlier announcement of a decision to place the capital elsewhere. It is natural enough in the context of this passage to identify “elsewhere” with Langley, but the fact is that no announcement of Langley as the seat of government has come to light.¹²⁹ Indeed, Moody explicitly states that “no public announcement of any kind” to that effect was ever made;¹³⁰ the newspapers were bitterly critical of Douglas for *not* making such an announcement;¹³¹ and it is difficult to see how such an announcement could possibly have been made in the face of the Colonial Office instructions that Douglas must consult with Moody in the matter of the capital.

(128) Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859. *BCP*, Part III, p. 2.

(129) The closest approach to an official announcement which has been found comes at second hand from a foreign source. On January 15, 1859, the *Colonist* carried an item quoted in its entirety from the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* of December 22, 1858, and headed “Necessity of a New American Port of Entry near the Mouth of Fraser”: “Gov. Mason, in a message delivered at the meeting of the Legislature of Washington Territory, at Olympia, on 9th Dec., urged the necessity of the creation of a new American port of entry, somewhere near the mouth of Fraser River. He says:

“‘I will call your attention to the necessity of a new port of entry, at some point to the north, near the boundary line. Fort Langley, near the mouth of Fraser river, has been selected as the seat of Government for British Columbia, and is to be made a port of entry.’ . . .” The Archives file of the Journals of the House of Representatives does not include the volume for 1858, and in the light of all the other evidence, no further investigation has been made. No letters between the two Governors appear to be in the Douglas correspondence, and Governor Mason was probably basing his remarks (presuming, that is, that he was correctly quoted by the *Bulletin*) on the general impression concerning the future status of Langley.

(130) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 103; cf. Moody to the Colonial Office, December 27, 1858 (CO 60, Vol. III, Part 2, 1858, p. 81): “I believe the Governor has not committed himself to the adoption of Langley.”

(131) See, for example, *Victoria Gazette*, February 1 and 8, 1859; and *Victoria Colonist*, January 22, February 5 and 12, March 12, 1859.

As for Langley having been "the intended sea port town," Douglas flatly contradicts his own statement to this effect in a dispatch written to Lytton about a month later, on May 12. By this time he had received Lytton's comments on the sale of lands at Langley on November 25, and Lytton, while expressing satisfaction at the financial results of the sale, had been critical of the actual site. "It has been suggested to me," he says, "that supposing the advantages to be in other respects equal, it might have been preferable to place the town on the banks of the river which is furthest from the American frontier."¹³² Douglas replied that the choice of Langley was "a financial measure rather than one founded on any cogent reason of policy"; that the land had "realized a larger return of revenue than any other spot on the river would have done"; and then added:—

You will doubtless have perceived from my Despatch No. 9, 3rd November last [in which he had suggested a site in the vicinity of the future New Westminster—see above, pp. 26–28] that I never proposed constituting Langley the sea-port town of Fraser's River, for which purpose it would not, in my opinion, have been adapted, owing to the obstructions caused by ice in the winter, and its greater distance from the sea than the proposed port of entry, Queensborough.¹³³

In view of the conflicting evidence, it does not appear that the dispatch of April 8 can be taken at face value. This whole dispatch is concerned with the "Revenue and Expenditure of the Colony of British Columbia."¹³⁴ Is it a fair inference that, deeply concerned over the depressed state of the finances, and deeply resentful, too, of the cutting-off of his only source of revenue, as yet, from the sale of lands, Douglas was for once off guard? Did the official mask slip a trifle, revealing his private and unofficial hopes for Langley—hopes to which the proclamation of February 14 had now put a definite end?

But if Douglas had now been forced to abandon the idea of Langley as the port of entry and the capital, he had still not given up the struggle to develop Langley as a commercial town of some sort. On April 30 the *Victoria Gazette* carried an item headed "Queenborough vs Langley":—

A report is current on the streets, that New Langley, or Derby, is soon to be declared a port of delivery by proclamation from the Governor. Whether this rumor is true or not we cannot say, but we hear it from so many sources that we are disposed to attach some credence to it. At any rate if not contradicted before the sale of lots at Queenborough, now daily threatened, this report will have a

(132) Lytton to Douglas, February 11, 1859. *BCP*, Part II, p. 80.

(133) Douglas to Lytton, May 12, 1859. *BCP*, Part III, p. 11.

(134) Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859. *BCP*, Part III, p. 1.

damaging effect upon the sale. On the other hand, if such a proclamation is in contemplation the Government owes it to itself and the public to make such intention known before the day of sale. Whether Langley is or is not to be a port of delivery, is of very material importance to the property of Queensborough, whose only supposed advantages over Langley consist in the intention of the Government to make it the port of entry and delivery, and the Capital of British Columbia. The rumour was not contradicted, and two weeks later Douglas was still considering making Langley a port of delivery, for on May 14, Moody wrote to him:—

You did me the honor a few days since to express to me your opinion that it might be desirable to declare Langley a Port of Delivery, at the same time that Queensborough is declared the Port of Entry—

The subject has since engaged my closest study, and the result is, I would most earnestly dissuade [*sic*] you from taking such a step—

Your Excellency is aware of the Political importance of establishing thoroughly and as early as possible the Capital [*sic*] now chosen, of inducing Commercial interests [*sic*] to centre there, and of doing all that may legitimately lay [*sic*] in your power to dissuade them from rooting on the opposite or frontier side of the River— . . .

I am informed had it not been for a rumour of the possibility of Langley being made a Port of Delivery all the Lots would have been transferred to Queensborough and even now, if your Excellency proclaim Queensborough the Port of Entry without any illusion [*sic*] to Ports of Delivery up the River it is possible the transfer would be complete— . . .

I have never withheld from Your Excellency the strong and decided views I take in reference to the occupation of the belt of Land between the River and the frontier . . . while British residents are so few and United States subjects so numerous it is clearly incumbent on the Imperial Government to discourage settlement on these frontier Lands, at Least until there is some prospect of an extensive British settlement.

I go the extreme length of urging the settlement of this land by free grants to British subjects on Feudal tenure for 21 years— . . .

By disposing of it in the above manner, a loyal population would be on the ground ready for immediate Military Service of [*sic*: for *if*?] the frontier be threatened at its weakest point; and the land would be yielding sustenance instead of lying waste—

I maintain also that your revenue would not suffer because the above mentioned are persons of whom you can have to [*sic*: for *no*?] hope of as purchasers of land except to an insignificant extent—

Any step in this direction I submit with reference to this tract of land, would naturally induce the immigration we want from Canada and the Mother Country—

I have connected this latter question with Langley as it is in fact the Chief exponents of the Views entertained by me politically with regard to Langley and the frontier—

Your Excellency is already aware of my opinion that Langley is inferior in every respect to Queensborough as the Site for a *Commercial* city, and for intended communications to the interior by railways and other modes—

As this question is one of very grave importance perhaps Your Excellency will be good enough to pardon my requesting that the opinion entertained by me, may be made known to H.M. Government, as from the instructions I received at home, an opinion on a matter of this kind would be expected from me—¹³⁵

In the face of so strong a protest, and especially of the implications of the last paragraph, Douglas could hardly persist in making Langley a port of delivery. It would almost appear, however, that he wished Moody to take the public responsibility for declaring the new capital the sole port of entry, for Moody wrote to him on May 17:—

With reference to the verbal instructions yesterday received from Your Excellency to include in the general notice of the terms of sale of Town lots at Queensborough a declaration that the said Port is from the 1st June, to be the sole Port of Entry for the Fraser River District B. Columbia—I would respectfully submit it is necessary a notice of such importance should be embodied in a Proclamation having the Force of Law, and so not be liable, in any way, to a cavil as to its validity.¹³⁶

At last, on June 2, Douglas issued from Victoria a proclamation declaring that “from and after the 15th day of June now next, the port of Queensborough shall be the sole port of entry for all vessels entering Fraser River, and for all goods imported by sea into the ports of British Columbia adjacent to Fraser River,”¹³⁷ and on June 15 a further proclamation, issued ironically enough not from Victoria, but from Langley, imposed tonnage, pilotage, and harbour dues at the port of Queensborough.¹³⁸

On June 1 and 2 the town lots at Queensborough were put up for sale at Victoria. Douglas reported that “the result has proved most satisfactory as a financial operation, and indicates a general confidence in the future of the colony.”¹³⁹ Finally, the new capital was given its permanent name. Rumours of the change from Queensborough to New Westminster were current in early July,¹⁴⁰ and the change seems to have been received with no great enthusiasm. To quote the *Victoria Gazette* of July 9:—

The change of the title of the capital of British Columbia to New Westminster, seems to be a fixed fact. In this connection, the *Canadian News* says:

(135) Moody to Douglas, May 14, 1859. *British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, Correspondence Outward, March–August, 1859.*

(136) Moody to Douglas, May 17, 1859. *Moody Correspondence.*

(137) Enclosure 3 in Douglas to Newcastle, September 13, 1859. *BCP, Part III, p. 55.*

(138) Enclosure 4 in Douglas to Newcastle, September 13, 1859. *BCP, Part III, p. 56.*

(139) Douglas to Lytton, June 6, 1859. *BCP, Part III, p. 16.*

(140) *Victoria Gazette*, July 7, 1859; *Victoria Colonist*, July 8, 1859.

It is announced that the title of the capital of British Columbia is to be New Westminster, which is not by any means an improvement of [*sic*] the name of Queensborough, as originally proposed by Gov. Douglas. Queensborough is not only genuine Anglo-Saxon, but also appropriate and avoids confusion. We had hoped for better things from the Colonial Office, under its present distinguished head, than the old and worn-out prefix "New". We have New Yorks, New Orleans, New Caledonias, &c., enough, in all conscience, already.¹⁴¹

But "Her Majesty [had] been graciously pleased to decide"¹⁴² on the new name, and on July 20 the Governor of British Columbia duly proclaimed that "the town heretofore called and known as Queensborough, and sometimes as Queenborough, in the Colony of British Columbia, shall from henceforth be called and known as New Westminster."¹⁴³

What the *Victoria Gazette* called the battle between the "Phantom City" of New Westminster and the "Swamp City" of Langley¹⁴⁴ was finally over, and from this time on the fortunes of Langley steadily declined. That Douglas still hoped Langley might be an important commercial town is made clear in a letter of August 30, 1859, to the Rev. W. Burton Crickmer, the first incumbent of the church at Derby, or Old Fort Langley, which had finally been opened for worship on May 8:—¹⁴⁵

I had lately the pleasure of a communication from you marked private, representing the present state of Derby and the measures which you suppose would if immediately and energetically carried out, tend to restore public confidence in the place.

2. Your reasoning on the subject appears correct and no serious objections to the measures you propose occurs [*sic*] to me at this moment except on the grounds of expediency.

3. As you justly presume I feel a deep interest in the place, and a higher degree of confidence in its great capabilities as a commercial station, and I think there is little reason to doubt that the land will be eventually sold in town lots as surveyed, and occupied by a commercial population, but for the present reasons of state policy require that it should not be too prominently brought forward. . . .¹⁴⁶

(141) *The Canadian News, New Brunswick Herald, and British Columbian Intelligencer* was published fortnightly in London. The earliest issue in the Archives file, No. 120, is dated January 3, 1861. The "present distinguished head" of the Colonial Office was the Duke of Newcastle, who had succeeded Lytton on June 18, 1859.

(142) Proclamation of July 20, 1859.

(143) Enclosure in Douglas to Lytton, August 17, 1859. *BCP*, Part III, p. 39.

(144) *Victoria Gazette*, March 26, 1859.

(145) *Ibid.*, May 14, 1859.

(146) Douglas to the Rev. W. B. Crickmer, August 30, 1859. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, May 27, 1859, to January 9, 1864. Douglas was replying to Crickmer's letter of August 26, 1859, cited above, p. 32.

But the Governor's hopes proved unfounded. According to Denys Nelson, writing in 1927:—

The church was taken apart and floated over the river about the year 1882. . . . The barracks, gaol and parsonage house have all been burned, only the marks of their foundations being left to tell the tale.¹⁴⁷

On the basis of the available evidence, therefore, it would appear that New Westminster, and not Langley, was the first capital of British Columbia. Clearly, Douglas had hoped to make Langley the capital, and without interference from Moody he would probably have carried out his original plan. But however reluctant his acquiescence, he could hardly go against the wishes of the Imperial Government. In the mind of the Home authorities there were very grave fears that Great Britain might soon be forced into a war with the Americans, and Moody had accordingly received strict instructions that the site for both the capital and the port of entry must be regarded with a military eye. The newly established colony of British Columbia could not be considered as an independent political unit; she was the western outpost of the British Empire. Thus in Douglas's final decision to place the capital at the site of the future New Westminster, despite his own preference for Langley, considerations of Imperial military strategy outweighed all others. As Moody frankly put it, Queenborough was "the better place for British interests."¹⁴⁸ This point of view made inevitable the rejection of Langley, a town already established and of no little historic significance, but on the frontier side of the Fraser River, in favour of a potential site on the opposite bank, steep, densely wooded, and hitherto untouched. No doubt it was a site in which "a Military Man w^d delight,"¹⁴⁹ but it brought the first surveyors and settlers almost to despair, and effectively frustrated any hopes which Douglas might still have entertained for the rapid and easy development of a capital city in the mainland colony. Whatever the effects of this choice on the subsequent history of the Province—and they were undoubtedly far reaching—the final responsibility must rest not with Governor James Douglas, but with the Home authorities, whose imperial policy dictated the establishment of New Westminster as the first capital of British Columbia.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

DOROTHY BLAKEY SMITH.

(147) Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley*, 1927, p. 25. The Church of St. John the Divine, which is still in use, was moved to Maple Ridge in August, 1882. See *New Westminster Mainland Guardian*, August 30, 1882.

(148) *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 104.

(149) *Ibid.*, p. 93.

WELSH GOLD-MINERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING THE 1860's*

In 1849 Vancouver Island was proclaimed a British colony, but British Columbia had to wait until the discovery of gold on the Mainland brought a rush of miners seeking their fortunes in its sand-bars and mountains before it could achieve that status. Gold had been discovered in California in 1848, and by 1850 the in-rush of "forty-niners" had made of the region a fully fledged State of the Union. Fortunes were made, but only by a comparatively few, and many who had gone to California with high hopes remained there with diminishing expectations, until in 1858 news of the discovery of gold on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers reached San Francisco and touched off still another gold-rush. Shipping companies who could see the opportunity for high profits in transporting the fortune-hunters to the diggings advertised widely the wealth which could be made in the new El Dorado. Victoria and Vancouver Island found themselves prospering overnight. In August, 1858, Governor Douglas estimated that there were 10,000 miners in the valley of the Fraser prepared to organize some form of territorial government. For the most part, these miners were Americans, and the unpleasant prospect faced the British that, unless action was swiftly taken, the story of Oregon might be repeated north of the International Boundary. Douglas acted with energy and speed and left none of the miners in any doubt that they were in British territory. Parliament followed up Douglas's initial moves by creating the Colony of British Columbia in August, 1858. By agreeing to relinquish his position as chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas was made Governor of the new colony, which office he formally assumed on November 19 at an appropriate ceremony held at Fort Langley. Soon a capital was established at New Westminster, and attention was almost immediately given to the question of building roads into the mining regions and the establishment of law and order. The miners, seeing the advantages to themselves from both undertakings, co-operated well and agreed to the raising of funds by a system of mining licences and tolls.

* The original article, of which this is an expanded version, appeared in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, X (1958), pp. 375-389.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4.

Of necessity, the gold deposits on the sand-bars of the lower reaches of the Fraser River were soon worked out, and the prospectors began to follow the stream upwards. When the upper waters of the river produced little gold, its tributaries, in turn, were prospected, particularly the north branch of the Quesnel River, deep in the Cariboo Mountains. A strike at Keithley Creek in 1860 was followed in 1861 by others at Williams Creek, flowing into the Willow River, and at Lightning Creek, flowing into the Cottonwood River. It was the mines of the Cariboo region which thus saved the colony from being virtually still-born by bringing in a fresh influx of miners from all over the world, in response to the news of the riches being brought out. The *Times* correspondent wrote from Victoria on December 9, 1859:—

All accounts agree that the individual earnings of the miners are much larger than in California or Australia. It is very common to light upon a man going to San Francisco with several thousand dollars. . . .¹

More specific evidence was provided by him on January 25, 1860:—The other day four Germans came down from Quesnell's River with \$24,000, which they dug out of a small stream, a tributary of that river, in the short space of five weeks. . . . For the last few months so many successful miners have returned to California with "piles" that we are promised a considerable immigration from that country in the Spring. It is now admitted that the average earnings are much greater in British Columbia than in the older gold fields, where the surface diggings are worked out.²

Such favourable reports as these undoubtedly convinced many waverers. Welshmen, both in Wales and in the United States, caught the fever to emigrate to British Columbia, and emigrants from Aberdare, for instance, began selling their possessions under the hammer preparatory to leaving for the goldfields.³ A handbook to British Columbia was put on the market for 4d., and emigration agents in Liverpool, catering specifically for the Welsh, like Lamb and Edwards and D. Davies, offered passage to would-be emigrants to British Columbia.⁴ From Rhymney, despite good prospects of work during the summer, young men were leaving for the goldfields,⁵ and it was estimated that in July one in three of the working population was keen on emigrating.⁶ Soon the local newspapers began to publish accounts of life and conditions in

(1) London *Times*, January 30, 1860.

(2) *Ibid.*, March 15, 1860.

(3) Merthyr *Telegraph*, April 12, 1862.

(4) *Y Gwladgarwr* (The Patriot), April 26, 1862.

(5) Merthyr *Telegraph*, May 3, 1862.

(6) *Ibid.*, July 19, 1862.

the distant gold colony as letters from emigrating Welshmen were made available to the editors.

One of the first letters from British Columbia to be given wide circulation was from a well-known bard, Thomas Gwallter Price ("Cuhelyn"), who had emigrated in 1856 to Minersville, Pennsylvania. Later he moved on to California, from whence in March, 1859, he sent the following letter to Governor Douglas:—

Montgomery House, 19 Jackson St.,
San Francisco, California,
March 19th, 1859.

To His Excellency,
James Douglas,
Victoria, V.I.

Hon. Sir:—

Although fully conscious that your official duties are such as will not permit you to waste time for the gratification and benefit of strangers like myself, who burden you with applications for favors, &c., I assume the liberty of addressing you thus, trusting that your excellency will pardon my intrusion—and, furthermore, that my appeal to your excellency's generosity will not be in vain.

I am a native of South Wales, G.B.; my age is 29 years. Was a commercial traveller at home. Came to this country—that is, to the States—in 56. Was first employed to write a Welsh Biography of Col Fremont, and to "stump" for him in the Welsh settlements of Pennsylvania.

After the election (the Presidential) I started two papers in Minersville, Pa.,—"The Workman's Advocate"—a paper devoted to the interests of the miners of Pa.,—the majority of whom are emigrants from Gt. Britain—and "The Bard"—a semi-monthly Welsh literary journal.

Being a "foreigner," and not a citizen of the U.S., and fighting against an overwhelming monopoly—I, naturally enough, became an object of odium in the eyes of "Native Americans" and oppressive employers; and with a view of suppressing my paper, I was constantly annoyed with libel suits. Not having a large capital when I commenced business as publisher—and the miners being unable to sustain me against the persecutions of moneyed employers and the prejudice of corrupt judges, I was compelled to close my business at the end of the last year without even a chance of selling my establishment.

I managed to raise \$200 with a view of emigrating to Victoria, and left my young wife behind me to sell the establishment. By the time I reached here, my money was getting short, and not having a chance to sail immediately, I had to spend what I had to pay my boarding bills, so that by the time the late steamer was ready to sail from here, I had no means to pay my passage.

What I crave of your excellency is, an answer to this appeal, and a promise of *some kind* of employment under your excellency's government. With such hopes before me, I could easily raise sufficient means here to carry me to Victoria.

Testimonials as to my moral deportment, &c., can be immediately produced—I am known to the Right Hon. Sir Benjamin Hall and his lady, who, I am satisfied,

will willingly recommend me to your excellency upon an application being made to them—as will Crawshaw [*sic*] Bailey, Esq., M.P. and other eminent citizens of South Wales.

Trusting that your excellency will pardon my audacity, and that my ardent prayer will be countenanced,

I beg to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most humble
and obedient servant,

Thomas G. Price.⁷

No doubt Price was disappointed to hear from Charles Good, the Governor's secretary, in May that it was "not in His Excellency's power to comply with your request so many applications being constantly rec'd besides which the complement of governt employees is fully made up"⁸ and temporarily he abandoned his plan to go to British Columbia. But by the spring of 1862 he had arrived in Victoria, for on March 20 he wrote a letter in which, without minimizing the hazards and the hardships of the venture, he virtually threw out a challenge to those with courage and endurance to try their luck in Cariboo:—

My dear Ll—,

I have left California for the colonies of your noble Queen, cause—"a thirst for gold." California has become a poor place now in the estimation of the adventurous people who inhabit the Pacific Shores. The cry is Salmon River and Cariboo; every steamer brings five or six hundred people from San Francisco. As it may interest you, I will give you some idea of the cause of this emigration and first I shall write of Salmon River. This place is in the Nez Piercez country, Washington territory. All the rivers in that country are reported to be rich in gold, but can only be worked in the summer season on account of the abundance of snow. It is also a dangerous country on account of unfriendly Indians—the Shoshones and Nez Piercez. The former are the most treacherous. Although the Nez Piercez hitherto, have been somewhat friendly with the whites, it is expected that they will join the Shoshones the coming summer to attack the whites, as it is well known that the class of the latter who are gone into the country will commit all kinds of mischief on the Indians. The very worst characters in California are gone out there—gamblers, prostitutes, pimps, thieves, murderers and bad characters in general. Thank God, there are but few of such characters coming into British colonies, for they will know that they cannot carry on their fiendish practices in countries owned by the British Government. Allow me to tell you that I am entirely sick of America and Americans; I am disgusted with the liberty and independence of Americans. It is the liberty of going about armed to the teeth like bands of smugglers or highwaymen, and depriving people of their lives for the least provocation. Their independence is nothing but vulgar

(7) Thomas G. Price to Governor James Douglas, March 19, 1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(8) *Ibid.*, from the endorsation dated May 3, 1859.

bouncing. . . . I must give you the distance and probable cost to Salmon River. From San Francisco you take the steamer for Portland, Oregon. Portland is a small city of three or four thousand inhabitants. The cost to Portland is \$20 in the steerage. Then you push your way eastward along the course of the Columbia, the Snake and Clear Water and Salmon rivers. The distance from Portland is about 475 miles by water and land. To accomplish this it will take you about twenty or twenty-five days; it will cost you \$75 between your fare and food. Your bed is mother earth—the roof of your house, the sky, unless you carry a tent. The same steamer that takes you to Portland will for the same price carry you to Victoria and there you will find yourself under the protection of Queen Victoria. Your next step will be to Cariboo. The Cariboo is a kind of wild deer or elk and the country it inhabits has been named after it. There are two routes to Cariboo—first you go from Victoria to New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia; then you take either the Douglas route via the chain of lakes Harrison, Pemberton, Anderson, and Seaton, to Lilloet on the Frazer river, 213 miles; or the Fort Yale route which follows mostly the left bank of the Frazer river. The distance from this place (Victoria) to the mines discovered last season is some six or seven hundred miles along rivers, across lakes, through valleys, up and down mountains and precipices, and heaven only knows how much, and by some most of this distance is done on foot, having their blankets and food upon their backs. Sometimes the poor fellows get lost in the woods, and are days without food, oftentimes they get lost in the snow; they trespass also on the rights of the savage and the bear, and are in constant danger of being punished by them; still they go, for hope tells them that there is gold to be had. To go from here to Cariboo will take twenty days, and will cost \$60, but the next question is when can we go? There are thousands here waiting for the Frazer river to fall so as to enable them to go up, but great fears are entertained by those who have experience in the country that we cannot leave for three months, (but I am off for Cariboo in a fortnight's time), and that the country will not be fit for "prospecting" until July, so that we shall have no more than about three months time to "prospect" this season.—The extent of the Cariboo country is unknown as yet, but what has been explored of it has been proved to be rich in gold; mining was done last season within fifty miles of the Russian possessions. The poor fellows who adventure this season will have to push on further. As to the cost of living in Cariboo, those miners who camp near the pack train routes are able to exist on poor diet for about \$12 per week, but those who live far from the route have to pay more. Everything costs a dollar per pound for packing, so you see that flour, potatoes and meat cost high. What think you of paying 4s. 6d. for a pound of flour or potatoes? Eat a peck a week and your flour alone will cost you £3. 5s; but these miners don't eat a peck a week, they cannot afford that much of luxury. With regard to implements, a person of but little means cannot afford to take many tools with him, for walking up mountains which are almost perpendicular is no joke; then how bring tools unless you have a pack of mules? For this reason tools are scarce and sometimes fabulously dear; for instance, there have been cases where men have paid \$50 for a shovel or an axe. Then again the risk is great, health and even life is con-

stantly in danger. It is said that as far as the country has been explored that any man may make from ten to twenty dollars a day, but ten dollars a day would not suffice for the risk on account of the mining season being so short. Then when the season is over you have to traverse on foot a most dangerous country some 700 miles, and winter here or in San Francisco; as for me and my wife we intend continuing at the diggings; . . . The rich diggings are what the miners term "spotted," few and far between; therefore while one poor fellow will "prospect" (a mining term for testing the richness of the ground) for seasons and still be unsuccessful, another may "strike" it at once. A friend of mine, Mr. David Grier, of Aberdare, Glamorganshire, has been prospecting for two years. The first season he failed to strike anything, but suffered much for his pains, being three days and nights without food or fire. The last season, however, it was his good fortune to strike a good claim, by which he made \$10,000, and expects to make \$50,000 during the next season; . . . By this you will see that a fortune is not a certainty, yet while there are spots immensely rich, you persevere and hope on. "Would I advise you to come out." I must pause ere I answer. Are you healthy? Can your system sustain hardships? Are you fond of adventure? Can you brave danger? If so—come. As for me, I would rather brave all the wrath of the elements of creation, and dare all the torments of human invention to acquire an independency than crawl like a worm through the mire of poverty. There are thousands who will perhaps curse the day that brought them here in search of gold, while thousands will bless the spirit of enterprise that led them hither. For, my dear Li—, money is power. . . . If I ever reach Cariboo, I promise to write to you, but you must not expect a letter soon, for I shall want to know the country before I write again. "When to emigrate and the probable cost?" By leaving Wales in March, you will probably reach here in the latter end of May, that will be early enough for the next season. The price in Steamers from Liverpool to New York will be £6 more or less; from New York to San Francisco £21; and to Victoria £5, in all £32—. The cost from here to Cariboo I have given you; of course you will have to spend money while waiting for the steamers in New York and San Francisco. . . . "What will you bring with you?" A change of clothing, a good shot gun, and a Sheffield sheath knife, which you can use to cut your bread and cheese, cut open what game you meet, scalp an Indian or dissect a robber, should the latter two molest you. Write to me and think of me in your orisons. God bless you, yours ever,

CUHELYN.⁹

At the time of writing, Price had not been long in Victoria and had yet to visit Cariboo, so he was dependent for much of his information upon those who had left the gold region to winter in Victoria. Gold-seekers are an optimistic breed of men, and his friend, David Grier, was no exception. In his early ventures Grier had been fortunate. Indeed, the Vancouver Island and British Columbia exhibit at the International Fair in London in 1862 included "A Present from Cariboo"—Three nuggets

(9) *Merthyr Telegraph*, May 31, 1862.

found and exhibited by Mr. David Grier, a miner in that gold-field."¹⁰ Whether in Victoria or in Cariboo he took an active and prominent part in community affairs.¹¹ As a shareholder in the Ericson claim—"which has thrown all others into the shade by its extraordinary yield"¹²—for a time his expectations were realized, but his success was transitory, for he reinvested in less fortunate claims and by August, 1865, when haled into Court for failing to pay back wages in the amount of \$445 he stated: "I have spent \$80,000 in this country, and have not a cent left. The \$21,000 I received out of the Ericson claim I have paid away for the Grizzly company—mostly all other people's debts."¹³ This latter company was not a success,¹⁴ but, optimistic that he was, Grier remained in the country at least until 1867, when it was reported: "Mr. D. Grier, who is interested in the Discovery co'y [on Canadian Creek] . . . is satisfied he has got a good thing."¹⁵ It can only be assumed that once again fortune eluded him, for no further references to him have been found.

In the early 1860's one of the major difficulties which faced those heading for Cariboo, as Price had pointed out in his letter, was the difficulty of transportation. Of the two routes he mentioned, that by way of Harrison Lake consisted of short stretches of hastily built road between the various lakes and, at best, the Fraser Canyon route could only be considered the roughest kind of a trail. Even the most primitive

(10) *Victoria Colonist*, August 16, 1862.

(11) In 1863 he was the president *pro tem.* of the newly organized St. David's Charitable Society [*ibid.*, January 27, 1863] and was, presumably, its president the following year [*ibid.*, March 3, 1864]. In the summer of 1864 he was one of the committee which arranged the complimentary dinner to Governor Seymour on the occasion of his visit to Williams Creek [*ibid.*, August 23, 1864]. In 1866 he was a member of the grand jury at the Cariboo Assizes [Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, June 18, 1866] and the following year he addressed a meeting on St. David's Day [*ibid.*, March 15, 1867].

(12) *Ibid.*, July 29, 1865. The 1863 dividends had not been great, but for 1864 they amounted to about \$8,000 to each interest, and for 1865 it was reported that they would run above \$13,000 per share.

(13) *Ibid.*, August 19, 1865.

(14) The *Cariboo Sentinel*, June 6, 1865, reported that the Grizzly Company had been working all winter but that they had been "informed by Mr. David Grier, the foreman, that it has not paid expenses." Later that year, following the flood on the creek, it was reported that the Grizzly claim was "caved in and is in bad condition" [*ibid.*, September 9, 1865]. In 1866 Grier was still foreman of the company but there were only four men at work [*ibid.*, May 28, 1866].

(15) *Ibid.*, May 13, 1867.

of vehicular traffic over these routes was impracticable and, in consequence, most of the miners, of necessity, made the journey on foot carrying their provisions with them. William Jones, writing from Lytton on June 22, 1862, underlined the considerable physical effort which was needed even to reach the "diggings":—

By now we have learned to live without the support of a woman. After leaving Victoria and crossing the Gulf of Georgia and going to the Fraser we saw nothing but high mountains with their heads covered in snow. The first place we came to was New Westminster. On Saturday we came to Port Hope and then moved on another three miles. The following Saturday we reached Union Bar, a wild place in appearance between high mountains with no-one there but a few Indians and Chinese living mostly in tents. By Monday we reached a place called Fort Yale. I would like our friends to have seen us leaving this place, each of us with his swag on his back making the best of the road to the gold country and indeed of all the clothes we had brought from old Wales, not one of us had very much left. What we have mostly now is some flour, rice, tea, biscuits and bacon . . . each one carrying as much as possible for 350 miles. We saw very few houses, perhaps one every five or ten miles. The road we are travelling is through woods and valleys and over mountains and along paths like sheep tracks at the edge of the rocks with some thousand feet of a drop below us on the left side and the Fraser on the right . . . but as the English say "practice makes master" and so we are by now. To my mind, the Indians are the most simple men in creation and surely as honest if not more so than many Welshmen I have seen. They enjoy helping the white man on the road. We meet many of them during the day and they are almost certain to turn off the path to let us by, laughing and greeting us in their own language.

We meet some coming back every day from Cariboo having spent all their money there and because of this being forced to return. It is a comfort to us to have been assured that we are going up at the right time of year, but all in all, the news is not so good as it was in Kendal. If some would like to come here let them remember not to be in too much of a hurry because walking fifteen to twenty miles a day through such country, preparing ones own food and in the evening putting up tents for a little comfort is not a pleasant life, but in spite of all this we are content. The land beneath our feet is as if it had had no rain for a year yet at the same time the mountains and their summits are covered in snow. To travel the Cascade and Jackass Mountains once in a lifetime is enough for any man. . . .¹⁶

As provisions for those at the diggings had to be brought in either by the route thus described or by its equally difficult counterpart, the price of food in Cariboo became prohibitive for all but those who had ample funds to begin with or were able to find gold quickly and in sufficient quantity to enable them to withstand the scarcity prices of essential provisions. After the successful season of 1861 in the Cariboo gold-

(16) *Y Gwladgarwr*, September 20, 1862.

fields, Governor Douglas moved energetically to provide the miners with improved means of communication. All through 1862 work on the Cariboo Road was prosecuted with vigour. From the head of navigation on the Fraser River at Yale to Quesnel was a distance of 400 miles, and the building of this wagon-road imposed a severe strain on the finances of the young colony. From Quesnel a wagon-road was built to Cottonwood in 1864 and on to Williams Creek the following year. The difficulties of the terrain meant that progress could not be swift, and for some time the prices prevailing in the Cariboo prevented many miners from remaining at the "diggings" long enough to do much prospecting, and they had no alternative but to return to Victoria in search of work. By September, 1862, the *Merthyr Telegraph* was warning its readers that British Columbia had been painted much too brightly by the *Times* correspondent and provided proof in the shape of a letter written from Victoria on July 23, 1862, by a former inhabitant of Aberdare:—

My dear wife and children,

I will try to give you some idea of this country that has been the cause of drawing people from all parts of the world. There are hundreds and hundreds from New Zealand, Australia, etc., arriving here in Victoria with only a few pounds in their pockets. They start up to Cariboo to the gold mines—about 800 miles from here—and after reaching that place they are bound to return, owing to the high price of provisions. The flour is there six shillings per pound, and bacon seven shillings per pound. All other provisions are in proportion. It is impossible to get a day's work at Cariboo at present. Only six or seven parties have "claims" there, and no doubt they are doing well. It requires at least, to start from this place, £100 to go up and be able to find out what is to be done there. All the parties that came from Aberdare have been part of the way up, and seeing that they could get no further, some of them returned and got work on the roads, some two or three hundred miles from this place. Thomas Treharne, William Harris and many other Aberdarians have gone back to California. Myself and Mr. Roberts, late of the Glo'ster Arms, are working in the copper mines about forty miles north of this island.¹⁷ Our wages are £12 per month and board. I don't like the place, owing that we don't see a white man from one

(17) Presumably this refers to the operations of the Sansum Copper Mining Company. Although this company was not formally organized until 1863 [Victoria *Colonist*, November 23, 1863, and January 18, 1864] a copper lead on the shores of Sansum Narrows had been located in 1861 by Charles McK. Smith [*ibid.*, January 9, 1862]. Early in 1862 Smith applied for a lease on behalf of the "Sansum Mining Company" [Smith to W. A. G. Young, January 10, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.] and during the summer extensive work was begun under his superintendency [Victoria *Colonist*, June 9, 1862]. Evidently £12 was the going rate of pay for miners in copper mines, for Francis Poole gives the same figure with reference to the Queen Charlotte Mining Company's operation on Moresby Island in 1862 [Francis Poole, *Queen Charlotte Islands*, London, 1872, p. 97].

month to another. The Indians have behaved very well towards us so far but we must not depend upon them. However, I intend to stop in the copper mine for some time as we get more wages than are given anywhere else in this island. The wages the Hudson's Bay Company give at present is six shillings per day without victuals. Two Aberdarians—Elias, a collier from Bwllfa and Herbert, from Mr. Rhy's pit—are working under them. It is shocking to see and think of the many hundreds, if not thousands, of strong, able men returning to this place from Cariboo, half starved and without a farthing in their pockets. Indeed, I do not know what will be the end of these things if the government will not find something for them to do. Mr. Partridge, late of Aberaman works, came here the same time as I did. We started with others to Cariboo and travelled about three or four hundred miles, when he failed to go further, his money having failed him. He got sick, too, and was obliged to lie down on the ground without any kind of covering and, alas, without anything to eat. In this state he was left by his partners, dependent on the mercy of Providence. Poor fellow, it makes my heart bleed to think of his fate! Mr. Howells, draper, from Dowlais, having been part of the way to Cariboo, returned to this place where he remained very ill and I don't think he will ever be able to return from here. Please inform Mrs. Nichols of the Iron Bridge of him. I believe if the correspondent of the Times were here now, that those letters which he caused to be published in the English newspapers would cost him his neck. He has represented the island to be the finest place in the world. I, with thousands of others, think it is the very worst place to emigrate to, no land to cultivate, the little that is here being in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company and a few others. The rest I would not give a penny for, nothing but barren rocks and trees growing in the crevices. Please do tell Morgan J. Thomas that Lodwick and Walter have returned to this place to-day, after working three weeks on the road, tell William Treharne that David his son is with them. They are in good health and intend to go to San Francisco as soon as they can. . . .¹⁸

Further testimony to the same effect was provided by William Jones writing to his parents from Victoria on July 28, 1862:—

Dear Parents,

You will be astonished to find our letters from this place. . . . In my last I said that we had left Victoria, June 12th., and had travelled as far as Lytton! . . . Well we kept together until we came to Williams Lake, 470 miles from this place, daily meeting parties coming down from Cariboo, who gave a most wonderful account of the place; provisions went so very high in price and not enough to meet the demands; so there we came to a standstill, and called a committee, and the resolution we came to was that Richard Partridge and Henry Phillips¹⁹

(18) *Merthyr Telegraph*, September 13, 1862.

(19) The *Victoria Colonist*, September 10, 1862, reported: "Mr. Henry Phillips, who left Grier's claim on Williams Creek on the 20th August, reports that the claim was yielding on the average of one hundred ounces of dust every twenty-four hours to twenty hands employed. The hands receive \$10 per day each, finding themselves."

should go on to Cariboo and that William Miles and myself should return back to Victoria.

So we gave all the money we could spare to them and parted . . . all of us thought we were doing quite right because the man that lives near the lakes informed us that about 1,500 had gone back and that above 100 a day were leaving Victoria. It required some capital to go up to such a place, where food is scarcely to be had for any price. They are in Cariboo this fortnight and we here depend on Richard and Henry striking a good claim so that we may go up and work it. No one would believe the hardships and privations we have gone through since we left England, but thank God we all of us enjoyed good health when parting. The first day after having repaired to Victoria, when walking about town, we met James Williams and Matthew Parry and we four are now living in a small shanty. . . .

The description that has been given, as a most delightful and healthy climate, is downright falsehood; and if the Times correspondent was here, many would make sharp work of him; he resided in this place but is now, I expect, in London, writing Articles on British Columbia. . . . He as well as Donald Frazer, ought to bear the treatment that General Haynau once had; but should many Californians meet him, he would be made an example of, which I hope will be shortly, for writing such articles to delude people from their homes. . . .²⁰

To overcome the almost insuperable obstacle of the high cost of provisions in the Cariboo, the method was adopted of forming companies of perhaps half a dozen miners, two of whom would go on to the gold-mining region whilst the remainder took what employment was available in or around Victoria or wherever work could be found, until such time as they knew whether or not their friends had found a likely place in the Cariboo. John Price²¹ wrote from Victoria to his wife and children on July 22, 1862, describing such a venture:—

The roughness of the journey is beyond the imagination of anyone who has not made it. It is strange that we are even alive. We saw many dead and undoubtedly there will be many more. We travelled 800 miles in a steamer (from San Francisco) and reached a place called Esquimalt. After this we travelled on foot for miles until we came to Victoria, British Columbia. The next morning we went up the Harrison river for 100 miles and reached New Westminster in the evening. Next morning we left this place and went up this same river for eighty miles to a place called Port Douglas. We then travelled on foot for thirty miles and found a lake about eighteen miles long. We walked another twenty-six miles until we came to two other lakes which we had to cross. These were about thirty miles and we had another four miles again until we reached the Fraser River.

(20) *Merthyr Telegraph*, October 4, 1862.

(21) Although in this letter Price intimated that he might soon return home, if he is the John Rees Price, an experienced Welsh miner, who wrote a letter about the Harewood Coal Mine published in the *New Westminster British Columbian*, August 13, 1864, it is evident that he did not immediately do so.

We have now finished with all the rivers and lakes. We have another 300 miles to go before reaching Cariboo, to be covered on foot and our packs were very heavy. . . . There is some kind of road but it is extremely rough. I know of nothing in the Old Country as rough . . . it is terrible in every sense. There are thousands of people and only horses to carry their food and these horses are very poor and scores of them are to be seen dying here and there. The men who drive them behave towards them like wild animals rather than as men. It is a wild, mountainous country and the mountains are at present white with snow. There is a little flat land here but very sandy and there is nothing worth having except a little gold picked up by those who are looking for it and those who get hold of the yellow gold are very few in number compared with those who get none. One must have a fair amount of gold before coming here because of the high price of things. I will note the foods as they are. Flour 5s. per pound, bacon 6s. per pound, sugar 8s. per pound, tea 24s. per pound, butter 8s. per pound, peas 5s. per pound, cheese 8s. per pound. You can see that it is no good for men without money to come here. Thousands like myself would like to see these things published in the papers instead of all the lies. I do not know what thousands of emigrants will do. There is no work here except a little gold mining. I had thought that if I did not succeed in getting gold that I should get work by the day fairly easily but quite the reverse, there is no work. Six of us travelled together for 120 miles and our money was getting short when we met numbers coming back describing their hardships, so that we judged that two of us should go on to see the quality of the country and the others turn back and so we did. John and the others returned to look for work and David Jones and myself went on. After going to the "diggings" as they are called and making every effort to succeed and failing we decided that it was better to return before spending all we had. We returned to Victoria on 20 July and heard that John and the other boys are working on a road some 200 miles from Victoria and we have not seen them as yet. Today we have been looking for work but with no luck and it is very difficult to get a day's work as so many have returned from the diggings. There is almost no work for stone masons because houses are built mostly of wood in this country. We think that we should go to join the other boys. We do not know what we shall do yet but we intend coming home as soon as possible unless things improve pretty soon. We do not see any chance at present of making good because so many thousands have come here from every part of the world. The wages for working are 6s. to 8s. a day. Most of the Welsh who came out with us went back to California without going to the diggings. I would like this to be made as well known as possible to prevent others coming out and being cheated by those who spread lies to get men to come out here. I am ready to say like Jacob: "All this is against me." We sometimes think that there is a judgment on all of us. . . .²²

Howell Jones, late of Llwydcoed, Aberdare, another member of the party, showed clearly in a letter from San Francisco of August 21, 1862,

(22) *Y Gwladgarwr*, September 20, 1862.

that those who were looking for work faced as much competition as those who sought gold in the Cariboo:—

. . . I write to let you know that I am well and in good spirits. . . . Six of us started from Victoria on the 3rd of June last for Cariboo—myself, John Price, Joshua Price (brother of the latter), David Jones, a man from Glyn-Neath and John Powell, a moulder, late of Richard Lewis's foundry, Aberdare. We travelled until we got within 100 miles of Cariboo where we halted and came to the determination that four of us should return to work on the roads and hand over all our spare cash to the other two, who were to go up and start "prospecting" against the summer. This arrangement we, of course, made in consequence of the high price of provisions at the gold diggings. We (the four of us) worked on the road until August. I was engaged in blasting, getting £12 per month and my food. As there would be no work going on the roads in the winter, we thought it better to secure permanent quarters in Victoria before the rush from Cariboo would take place. When we arrived at the former place, however, to our astonishment there were thousands of idle men there—men who had come down disappointed from Cariboo. Amongst these, we found our two comrades: they had come down by a new route, after stopping at Cariboo only eight days. They found provisions fearfully dear there and had to pay £30 for 100 lbs of flour, it being sometimes difficult to get it at any price. Somewhat discouraged by all this, I and John Powell started off with the next boat for this place and we arrived here yesterday. Things are looking a little more brisk here than in Victoria. Joshua Price has been talking to a man in Cariboo who had seen my brother Richard in New Zealand. He was told that the latter had made his pile and had left for England. I have not seen anyone that has seen my brother Tom. Excuse this short letter as the mail is on the start. . . .²³

Disillusionment became increasingly evident from the letters of Welsh miners as 1862 drew to a close, although the news of rich "strikes" made them reluctant to cut their losses and leave the territory. Evan Evans, of Merthyr, writing on August 10, 1862, from Vancouver Island, castigated the correspondent and the editor of the *Times* for spreading lies about the prospects in the Cariboo:—

I have been here for more than six weeks. I came here like thousands of others intending to get a little of the yellow dust but according to the signs it is unlikely that I shall see any. There are two gold mines, Cariboo and Stickeen. The former is about 800 miles from here and the latter a little less. Let no-one think of coming here and taking a chance in the mines unless he has £100–£500 after reaching this place. Everything here for the maintenance of life is terribly expensive in the above places and on the way there. One meal of any kind of food costs 10s. One cannot get to Cariboo under three weeks at least from here. The trail is so rough it is almost impossible to travel along it and only one in a hundred reaches Cariboo. They return in their hundreds, some short of money, others without their health and strength and others because they have lost heart.

(23) Merthyr *Telegraph*, October 11, 1862.

They tell me that the mosquitoes are enough to discourage the bravest if there were nothing else. They kill many animals and nearly ended the life of one of the men from Aberdare. . . . If success were certain at the end of it, it would be encouraging but the worst is yet to come and that is the risk of prospecting. There are no more than half a dozen claims in Cariboo that pay. Wherever gold is found in Cariboo it pays well but I am afraid that there is not much there as there has been so much prospecting and so few places where gold has been found. It is feared that Cariboo has been the ruin of hundreds and thousands of men who have left good jobs to come here and make their fortune and here they are without the means to return and unable to do any kind of work even if they had the chance, like cobblers, tailors, shop-keepers, clerks and an extraordinary number of the children of the minor gentry. Indeed sometimes I have difficulty in not laughing in the midst of my sorrow seeing so many of this type looking like poets composing elegies. The usual wages for work here are \$1 to \$1.50 a day and find your own board and lodgings out of this too. Things look very black at present. They have already started to kill one another in Cariboo. About three were killed on their way up there last Saturday and two the previous week for their money. The general opinion here is that some dirty trick was planned between the editor of the *Times* and the correspondent here before they could get together to write such lies about the country. The correspondent here has had to flee for his life. I would not like to be in the shoes of the editor of the *Times* either. . . .²⁴

An unknown writer to the *Flintshire Observer* reported, however, that great fortunes could still be made in the Cariboo:—

Nearly every steamer brings a number of young fellows from home to try their luck at the mines, who are sadly disappointed, however, on landing, as they had been led to believe that the steamer would convey them to the mining district, instead of which they have to travel nearly five hundred miles before they can think of commencing operations. At the same time provisions are extremely dear—bacon, 6s per pound; flour 5s. and everything else in proportion. . . . Many . . . are obliged to sell their clothes and guns, in order to prevent themselves from starving. The people when once they get to Cariboo make it pay well from all accounts. One lucky fellow actually got the value of £750 in one day, but it is seldom that such enormous luck as this is met with. Victoria is half mad with excitement. Intelligence only came down yesterday that a "claim" up at Cariboo named "Cunningham Claim" could not be bought for less than 35,000 dollars or 45,000 dollars per 100 feet. . . . The Governor had a letter from this same "Cunningham" who said that the last thirty days they have been taking gold out at the rate of 3,000 dollars every twenty four hours. . . .²⁵

Morgan Lewis, writing to the Rev. D. R. Lewis from New Westminster on October 29, 1862, regretted the lack of facilities for worship and described the "frontier" conditions under which they were living:—

(24) *Y Gwladgarwr*, September 27, 1862.

(25) *Flintshire Observer*, September 26, 1862.

There are many Baptists here but I do not know if there is a single minister in the township. A man of the ability of Mr. Price could do unbelievable good in this place. By now I realise the importance of the missionary society and every Christian undoubtedly feels the same. There is a small chapel belonging to the Wesleyans a little way from here and I go there whenever I can. . . . I am almost ashamed to tell you of our way of living. . . . I am one of four living in a plank house without one woman, remember, and you can imagine what an unpleasant situation this is. Considerable value is placed on a good woman in this country. Our first task when returning home is to light a fire and, after cleaning up and getting a little food, each one is bound to his chore. The first does the dishes and cleans the cabin, the second plies the needle, the third bakes bread and the fourth washes etc. . . . On the whole I am doing better than those of my fellows who are disappointed as I am working quite regularly while hundreds are out of work. I fear the worst this winter. . . .²⁶

Early in 1863, William Harris, late of Aberdare, known as Bili Sion Hari, had seen the futility of the situation and, after working on the roads being built into Cariboo, had returned to California. On January 24, 1863, he wrote to his father and mother:—

We were cheated very much because by the time we reached Victoria we found that a man has to have a heavier pocket when reaching Cariboo than when he started from home. We met many men who had been there and had spent \$500 but had found no gold and some of those swore that there was no more gold in the country than in the couple of claims that they had the previous year. But we saw men who had been there after this and had claims and gold and are going up again this year. There is gold to be had there but the great difficulty is to get hold of it and this is the reason why so many turn back after spending all their money and are glad to get work to save them from starvation. It is said in the Old Country that the wages for workmen are from £8 to £10 a day but by the time we reached here the pounds had turned into dollars. You get \$10 a day for working in Cariboo and five of these ten go for living. Thousands have gone to Cariboo with no money to stay there and there were some with claims from the previous year giving work to a few. But what is that in the face of the thousands that have gone and are going there. Each one who is short of money has to turn back as soon as they can. . . . There is no doubt that the Indians, by their generosity have kept many alive on the way back and it is three weeks walk before getting a boat for Victoria. After reaching the boat things often become riotous and those who have no money threaten to shoot the captain unless he takes them aboard. Cariboo is a very cold and hard place in which to live with so much ice and snow. . . . It rains nearly every day in the summer. Many lose their lives from distemper. Things will improve with the years when regular roads are built. After we learned that there was no point in going to Cariboo we went up to the Frazer to work on the roads leading to Cariboo and after working a day and a half we left and went further up where they gave more

(26) *Seren Cymru* (Star of Wales), January 23, 1863.

wages. The wages were £8 a month and food and £12 for blasting in the quarry and 300 men were wanted for Jackass Mountain. By the time that we got there there was no working tackle to be had for love nor money and we had to turn back towards Victoria. We were here for a fortnight looking for work, some getting it and some failing. Thomas Treharne, myself and Thomas Price left here for California and had work in a coalmine. Within two months David Treharne and two sons of Morgan Sion Thomas came to join us. The work was poor and we soon moved to another coal mine.²⁷

T. Gwallter Price ("Cuhelyn"), as determined as ever, was still in British Columbia. Presumably he went to the mines in 1862 but returned to Victoria for the winter. There in January, 1863, he called together some sixty Welshmen for a meeting to consider "the establishment of a benevolent society," from which meeting the St. David's Society emerged.²⁸ Back in Cariboo in 1863 it can only be presumed that he had not struck it rich, for in November he wrote about having taken up land at Williams Lake, a considerable distance away from the gold-fields.²⁹ Still later that month, in a letter published in the *Victoria Colonist*, he complained in forceful language about one of the serious problems of Cariboo:—

To use a vulgar term, a great many of our miners are bad eggs. They have too much liking to Victoria, California, &c. They come up here and get sick of the place in about three months, and must run down to Victoria and elsewhere. Surely this chicken hearted proceeding is injurious to the country and to its people. Hired men, of course, cannot stay here when they cannot get work, for the majority of them have not the means to do so, but were the claim owners a little more plucky—a little less delicate as to cold weather—and stay here and work their claims as long as they can be worked, and give employment to all they can, we would be considerably better off and so would all.³⁰

It can be assumed that Price did spend the winter of 1863–64³¹ and the whole of 1864 in the Cariboo, but by then his patience was exhausted,

(27) *Y Gwladgarwr*, March 28, 1863.

(28) *Victoria Colonist*, January 15, 1863.

(29) *Y Gwladgarwr*, February 27, 1864. The land records available to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia do not substantiate this claim to 640 acres of land.

(30) *Victoria Colonist*, December 19, 1863. The letter is dated November 30 at Williams Creek.

(31) In a letter dated April 10, 1864, at Williams Creek, signed *Cuhelyn*, he noted that the congratulatory address from the Victoria City Council to the newly arrived Governor, Arthur Edward Kennedy, "was cased with silk, and embroidered with the rose, thistle and shamrock" and asked "And why not the *leek*, Mr. Editor?" *Ibid.*, April 21, 1864.

for late in March, 1865, he left the colony "with the intention of returning to [his] native land."³²

In November, 1863, he wrote of conditions in the Cariboo:—

There are only a few Welshmen here at the moment. . . . We have had extremely mild weather until now, the snow had not been above twenty inches in the creek but bitter frosts will come. Beef has risen to 75 cents per pound and no more animals are to come in this winter. A company of Welshmen have come out here this summer under the leadership of Mr. John Evans of Machynlleth. They are on Lightning Creek fifteen miles from here. They are all boys from North Wales. I had a conversation with Mr. Evans on my way to Williams Lake about 150 miles from here where I have 640 acres of land. There is a small village called Van Winkle about twelve miles from here and Lightning Creek runs down past it. About three miles from Van Winkle is the village of the Welsh company. . . . There is no mistaking the Welsh lads from any other nation with their fustian jackets, corduroy trousers and 3s 6d caps. . . . There are twenty four of them and they have until next summer to prospect the country and if they strike a good thing, the workmen get half and if they strike nothing their expenses are paid back to Wales, if they want. Their families get £3 or £3. 10. a month while they are away. They are all craftsmen. . . .³³

The reference to John Evans and his party of compatriots is interesting, for this was one of the better organized attempts to secure gold in the Cariboo.³⁴

John Evans, a native of Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, in North Wales, was a close personal friend of Henry Beecroft Jackson, a successful Manchester cotton-manufacturer, who underwrote this scheme for two years. A group of men selected by Evans was outfitted and transported to the Cariboo,³⁵ and in addition a subsistence allowance paid to their families in Wales during their absence. All prospects made by the members of the group were to be shared and all profits divided, half to the men in equal shares and the other half to be equally divided

(32) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1865. This announcement was made at a meeting of the St. David's Society on the occasion of the presentation of a farewell address to Price, "late president." Previously it had been intimated that he had "undertaken to extend the hand of fellowship to the St. David's Society of New York" on his return East [*ibid.*, March 20, 1865]. Presumably he left the colony as planned, for the Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, August 2, 1866, lists a "T. G. Price" among *Unclaimed Letters*.

(33) *Y Gwladgarwr*, February 27, 1864.

(34) For details on this venture see R. L. Reid, "Captain Evans of Cariboo," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), pp. 233-246.

(35) The costs must have been considerable for the *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* was advertising passages to British Columbia for £33:10 in February and for £39 in April.

between Evans and Jackson. The men came from Carnarvonshire and Flintshire, and on December 22, 1862, a party of twenty-six sailed from Liverpool in the *Rising Sun* and arrived at Victoria, by way of Cape Horn, on June 10, 1863.³⁶ Evans himself did not leave until February 17, 1863, and taking the faster route by Panama, arrived at Victoria on April 15. While awaiting the arrival of his men he made a quick trip into the Interior as far as Quesnel and back. On June 16 he and his party set out for the mines, using the Harrison Lake route, as that by the Fraser Canyon was considered impracticable for so large a body of men. After a laborious journey of five weeks they reached their destination, Van Winkle on Lightning Creek, on July 21. The venture was not a success, for in the spring of 1864 eight of the men left the Cariboo and found their way to Nanaimo, where they worked in the coal mines until they got sufficient money to pay for their return to Wales. The remainder stayed on until the expiration of their contract on October 1, 1864, by which time only \$450 in gold had been recovered at an expenditure of over \$26,000. A few of the men remained in the Cariboo,³⁷ but many returned discouraged to Wales. Evans himself continued on in the Cariboo until his death at Stanley on August 25, 1879, at which time he was one of the representatives of Cariboo in the Legislative Assembly.

(36) The following list of names of this party is a composite derived from the passenger lists published in the *Victoria Evening Express*, June 10, 1863, and its contemporaries the *Chronicle* and the *Colonist*, of June 11, 1863: Jeremiah Wynn, William Jones, David Perry, Edward Jones, Edwin Jones, William Williams, Thomas Williams, Edward Parry, Richard Roberts, Taliesin Evans, William Jones, David Roberts, Hugh Jones, John Lumley, Humphrey Jones, William Owens, William Griffiths, William Jones, Henry Jones, Edwin Lloyd, Edward Blackwell, J. Jones, Robert Roberts, Robert Prithart, David Jones, Benjamin Conway.

(37) Henry Jones, for example, remained until 1875 and did well according to information written by John Evans to his daughter, Mary Ellen, November 6, 1875 [*MS.*, Archives of B.C.]: "Henry Jones of Portmadoc is about returning home having made a good deal of money, he dropt into a good claim all at once." Evans's own son, Taliesin, who had been in charge of the men on their outward passage in the *Rising Sun*, did not fare so well: "Among the recent departures was Mr. Taliesin Evans, who had been mining in Cariboo for several years . . . one of the most unlucky among the unlucky ones . . . but he is still of opinion that Cariboo is one of the richest mining countries in the world" [*Barkerville Cariboo Sentinel*, November 13, 1869]. He went to San Francisco, where he became a journalist and in 1875 was the city editor of the *Bulletin* [John Evans to his daughter, Mary Ellen, November 6, 1875, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.].

The true gold-rush to the Cariboo region was short lived because the surface mining soon came to an end and was superseded by deep diggings, for which heavy capital expenditure was necessary. The casual, independent prospector disappeared to other more promising localities, and his place was taken by companies of miners with the money and equipment needed for large-scale operations. The particular skills of the Welsh miner were still in demand for this type of mining, and E. W. Davies, writing on November 12, 1863, to his grandfather, mother, and sister, revealed how the type of mining operation in the Cariboo was changing:—

I have now returned from the steel mines [*sic*] of Cariboo. We started our journey towards Cariboo mines on 10 March by way of Fort Yale and three of us reached Williams Creek on 3 April. On 4 April we started working for 10 dollars a day and worked for a fortnight. After this I went to sink a pit at 12 dollars a day. I worked here seven weeks and as I was successful I had offers from many places after this at 14 dollars a day. Three Companies had tried to sink pits in Conklin's Gulch and could not get down because of the quicksands and water in that place. They valued their claims at 2,000 dollars and one of their chief men came to our tent to ask if I would take an ounce a day, that is 16 dollars a day. I said the place was wet and dangerous but I went down the pit to see. The pit was fifty three feet deep with planks from top to bottom to keep the sides in place and very weak. I told them that the pit was nearly falling down and by Saturday night the pit collapsed. On Sunday I agreed with the Company to sink a new pit for them. I sank the pit safely in three months, ninety six feet, but after we reached the bottom the Company lost heart. . . .³⁸

Operations during the winter were normally suspended, which meant that by the next year the pits were full of water and had to be pumped out before work could begin. Morgan Lewis³⁹ wrote to his brother-in-law, David Llewelyn, from Williams Creek on June 14, 1864:—

I have been here since 25 April and I had a pretty comfortable journey with dry weather most of the way. Everything looked pretty dead at the Creek when I arrived. There was about four feet of snow covering the whole of the place and most of the pits were full of water but the snow has disappeared by now and the sun has melted the ice, the wheels have started turning and everything looks more lively. But there are hundreds without work and many going back every day cursing the country and the inhabitants. Things are cheaper here than they were last summer but the wages are lower by 8s. a day. The price of flour at present is 2s. per pound, butter 8s. per pound, bacon 6s. per pound and other things the

(38) National Library of Wales, MS. 337E, Aberdare Collection I.

(39) Writing to his son and daughters, October 9, 1873, John Evans noted: " . . . I beleive an old partner of mine who has left here lately will visit Manchester before long and see you—Morgan Lewis of Aberdare " [MS., Archives of B.C.].

same. Clothes are very expensive but most people bring enough from Victoria for the summer. When I came here I paid £4 for a pair of waterproof shoes. . . . Our Company started work on 25 April but we have not found any gold yet but we are working on in hope. Some pits pay well but their number is few in comparison with the hundreds that pay nothing. There are many hundreds of Welshmen here, many of them Aberdare boys. . . .

The mail has been running regularly since the first of the month between Cariboo and Victoria bringing letters up for about 1s. instead of for 10s. as last summer. . . .⁴⁰

The continued progress made on the Cariboo Road meant that, by 1864, wagons could get to within 60 miles of Williams Creek, but many still preferred to make the journey on foot, if only to conserve their money because provisions still remained high due to the last stage of the road being only suitable for mules. Life continued to be very primitive and the scarcity of women meant that the miners lived a hard life. John Davies wrote to his wife and children from Williams Creek on July 17, 1864:—

There are three ways of getting to Cariboo. The first is to take a carriage which will take you to within sixty miles of the mines and will cost 50 dollars besides food and lodgings, which is one dollar a meal and one dollar a bed until you reach half way and then the price is doubled. The other way is to walk, eating and sleeping in the houses at the side of the road about every five miles, sometimes more, as water is convenient. The last way and the cheapest is to buy food and cook it yourself and sleep in the open air. We chose the last way. We were eight in number when we set out and we bought a sack of flour and shared it between us. The flour bags here are small, weighing forty-eight pounds. Sometimes great argument took place as to who should bake first as everyone was of the same opinion that it was easier to carry the flour in the stomach than on the back. Our food for the whole journey was a little tea, sugar, bacon, and bread with a meal sometimes at a house. The dishes necessary for the journey are a small tin pan for making dough, a coffee pot, a tin mug and a frying pan. The last is useful for baking bread as well as for frying meat. At night we would cut a bundle of mountain feathers to put under us, that is lops of fir trees. You can believe that we sleep as well as a king in his palace and better if one can go into the houses alongside the road and sleep on the floor without paying anything. But by doing so it is likely that you will leave there the next day with more lives on your person that you would wish. One would think from these houses that we were in Egypt at the time of the plagues. . . . We were a fortnight and three days on our journey and we walked 400 miles over ice and snow, mud and dirt. The last day there was nothing but snow under our feet and we measured our length several times in it during the day. It is much more difficult to walk in snow now than a month ago because the snow is starting to melt. However we reached the end of our journey safely and well on 3 May 1864.

(40) *Seren Cymru*, September 2, 1864.

It is called Cariboo from a creature of that name in the neighbourhood. It is like a young stag. The country is very mountainous for scores of miles around and is completely the domain of the fir trees and the mosquitoes. A great deal of the land by the road has been taken as farming land. A man can take as much as 160 acres for nothing and one dollar an acre for as much as he wants over this. If this turns out to be good land for food many of the poor farmers of Wales should emigrate here. Food for man and beast is brought from California and Oregon. Unless it turns out to be an agricultural country it will be a poor country for ever, because it does not seem likely that the diggings will have enough wealth to enable the diggers to pay the price at present for food. Many diggings are being abandoned at the moment that would pay for working if the food were the same price as in California. It is very poor and miserable here this year and hired work very scarce. Hundreds of men have been here and have had to go back without a day's work. I was here for a whole month without getting anything to do and in the end it was from a Dutchman that I got work. It is necessary for a man to have a good deal of money on arrival because he cannot rely on a steady wage and it is not the best man who gets the work but the one with the most friends. . . . I would not advise anyone to come here without a friend in whom he could trust and that friend able to do something for him. There are three reasons for it being so difficult for a man without money to make a living, the food is so expensive, the summer is so short and the diggings so deep, not because there is no gold but because one cannot get at it. The papers do not make many mistakes when publishing about the claims in this place. Their fault is to say that everyone does well here when hundreds go back disappointed. Some claims are richer than anything in this world, they pay £200 a head each day but such things do not last. The depth of the pits is from sixty to eighty feet and many of the companies take the summer getting to the bottom of the pit because there is so much water and quicksand in the country. If this land were in the Old Country, opening a pit would be no difficulty because of pumps to raise the water, iron pipes of every kind and engines for everything. But here there is nothing but timber and canvas for every difficulty. Summer begins in June and ends at the end of September and then the claims are left until next year and there will be almost as much work in the second year as in the first because the place will be full of water. The gold fever is very high here, more so than in California. Men tend to be uncaring one for the other. There is no talk here of brotherhood or patriotism. In general, the men live a hard and meagre life and this is to be put down to the high price of food. 48 pounds of flour for 4 guineas, tea 6s. per pound, coffee 6s. per pound, sugar 3s. per pound, rice 2s. per pound, broad beans 2s. per pound, salt 6s. for 5 pounds, bacon 4s. per pound, beef 1s. per pound, wether 2s. per pound. Things were much more expensive when we arrived than they are at present. At that time we paid £5 for a sack of flour and 8s. per pound for butter that is now selling for 6s. The reason for the food being so dear is that the distance is so great and very difficult and every pound that comes here has to be packed in on the backs of mules for sixty miles which is the nearest point that can be reached by waggons. It is said that there are 4,000 people in this region. This creek, in size, is rather like Cwmdar. It has been taken

up for about four miles and as it goes down it gets wider and the diggings deeper and more scattered. There are quite a few other places around here but there is not much evidence that they pay very well. So much for the diggings. . . .

I live in a cabin by myself and sometimes I cannot do anything to my own satisfaction but I have no room for grumbling or blaming anyone else but myself. I have not washed or swept the kitchen floor since I have been here. When the works are closed I take a shovel to clean the place. Half the cabin belongs to T. Price who works about sixty miles from here and comes home every fortnight. We lived in a tent for the first month. This was first rate except that it let in the rain like a sieve. This cabin is all wood except for the roof which is of bark and the doors and windows that are of canvas. It stands thirteen feet by fourteen feet on freehold land. A man feels quite puffed up when he is a freeholder. . . .⁴¹

By 1866, although the picture at Williams Creek was far from bright, some hung on in the hope of wealth, worked when they could and reverted to trapping to augment their incomes. John Davies, "Crwy-dryn" (The Wanderer),⁴² wrote on May 21, 1866:—

Wherever there are people there will be Welshmen and wherever there are Welshmen there will be men from Aberdare. . . . It is said in the English papers that 700 people wintered on the banks of the Cariboo last winter. We are having a much milder winter than last winter and the winter before that. The mercury froze twice in the winter of 1864 and in 1865 it did not freeze once. In the winter of 1865–1866 the mercury from the beginning of December was from 35 to 37 degrees below zero and on 17 January 1866 it was as low as 37 degrees below zero. . . .

The life of a goldminer is a hard one at the best of times. We live here not as we wish but as we can. It is true that some can live more happily than others in this place through what the Englishman calls "Practice makes master." We have had four years living like this, but as yet, worst luck, we have not yet half mastered it. We have no more idea now how to polish than we had four years ago. As for washing we do not care who has our share of it and as for baking we are ready to give up the job tomorrow morning. When we come home from our work the first thing to do is to light the fire and prepare some food as best we can. Probably we have to bake bread before we can eat, having come to the cabin from work without a mouthful of bread in the house. After eating we wash the dishes (sometimes), split kindling wood for the night and for the next morning; washing and polishing take their turn. Most of us do as little of these things as possible. . . . Williams Creek is the centre of the gold diggings in British Columbia. Gold has been found here since 1861. Since then until now not one place of importance has been found in this neighbourhood. There is

(41) *Y Gwladgarwr*, November 5, 1864.

(42) It is quite probable that this is the John Davis who was reported by the Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, December 31, 1866, as chairman of a Welsh meeting at Christmas and some months later, March 15, 1867, as having recited at a meeting to commemorate St. David's Day.

gold to be found in almost every part of the country but it is difficult to get hold of enough to pay for working it. This country is enough to break the heart of the man trying to prospect it. The animal nature of man can be seen by going to the prospecting fields in this country more than in any other part of the world. Remember, there is no way of taking a horse outside of Williams Creek in any direction so a man has to pack on himself everything necessary for prospecting. A pair of blankets, a pick, a shovel, an axe, a pan and food for a fortnight all have to be carried on his back. . . . After a few weeks like this a man loses heart. If the Government were to cut paths through the trees wide enough for horses to go through, undoubtedly more diggings would be discovered. . . . Travelling through the snow is unpleasant and impossible without snowshoes. These are strange contraptions made in the shape of a paper kite but a yard to four feet long and one foot wide, and sewn with narrow thongs. With their help one can travel over any depth of snow quite happily but not without the legs knowing it and your thighs will be happy when the feet are freed from the slavery of the snowshoes. . . . Many make good money catching martins, the skin of which is worth 12s. here and 20s. each in Victoria. The Hudson's Bay Company have made a good deal of profit in past years from these skins. About sixty Welshmen wintered here last winter and I am glad to say that our religious feelings resulted in the beginning of a Sunday School and religious meetings. Our number was small in the beginning but we are glad to see the number increasing swiftly. There is a lot of snow still on the ground although it is May. . . .⁴³

In 1867 there were still eighty Welshmen at Williams Creek, which by this time was assuming more of the appearance of a township, and St. David's Day was celebrated with two meetings for singing and speech-making and an excellent dinner.⁴⁴

R. Davies wrote to his brother on March 6, 1867:—

This is a very rough country of woods and mountains with no order to them. . . . The trees make travelling difficult because the rotten timber falls one across the other and in consequence travelling is difficult. . . . One can travel fairly well at this time of the year using snow shoes which are peculiar things made in the shape of a kite, woven from narrow webbing and strong enough to hold the weight of the traveller. . . . The weather is very cold and in winter the thermometer has sometimes been as low as thirty six degrees below zero . . . when the bread freezes and the bedclothes are as stiff as a board. . . . The thermometer seldom goes above freezing point in the winter. At the moment there are from four to six feet of snow on the ground. . . . If we have a dry summer there will be a shortage of water for working the mines. . . . The Indians live beside the lakes, hunting and fishing but some lower down the country cultivate the land a little. The Indians generally are harmless and peaceful. . . . Many earn a living packing food for the miners and cutting wood for the taverns

(43) *Y Gwladgarwr*, July 28, 1866.

(44) An interesting account of this celebration is in the Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, March 15, 1867.

and shops. There are also half a dozen squaws (Indian women), here who make their living by breaking the seventh commandment. . . . Many more men have stayed here this winter than ever before and one may meet with people from every civilised country and among them about eighty of the seed of Gomer. St. David's Day was a great day with us. It was a kind of eisteddfod. Two meetings were held at two o'clock and seven o'clock and we had some fine singing and enthusiastic speeches. We had an excellent dinner at five o'clock with about seventy Welshmen dining together.

The claims here are much the same as usual—some had some good and the wages drop from one year to the next. Seven dollars or £1 8s. 0d. a day is the highest wage here but as low as £1 a day in summer. The price of food is high, higher than this time last year. The price of flour is £2 12. a hundredweight, butter 6s. to 7s. a pound, sugar 2s. a pound, best tea 6s. a pound, cheese 4s. a pound, beans 2s. 6d. a pound, potatoes 7 pounds for 4s., swedes 8 pounds for 4s., beef 15 to 18 pence a pound, mutton 20 to 25 pence a pound. The price of one week's food is £3 12s. 0d. and food by the meal is 6s.⁴⁵

The gold-rush to the Cariboo did not last long, and no sooner had Douglas cut roads to one area which might have drawn profitable returns than gold would be found elsewhere, and the demand for more roads was again heard. Cariboo was succeeded by a rush to Wild Horse Creek in the Kootenay, which in turn was abandoned in favour of a strike at the Big Bend of the Columbia River. What emerges quite clearly from the letters of the Welsh miners is the fact that in the Cariboo, as in most other gold-rush regions, more were ruined than rewarded for their efforts and that wealth could only be secured, in any amount, by the organization of mining on business lines and the individual prospector had to give way to the corporation. The romance and high adventure of the gold-rush faded, but many of those who sought gold and failed remained as the nucleus of permanent settlement.⁴⁶

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(45) *Y Gwladgarwr*, June 15, 1867.

(46) For further information on the Welsh company of miners in the Cariboo, see the series of weekly articles by Harry Jones, as told to Louis Lebourdais, which appeared under various titles in the *Vancouver Province*, January 5–April 6, 1935.

(47) The writer is indebted to Miss Judith Lewis for her assistance with the translations from the Welsh. The elisions in the text of letters quoted are those of the writer.

THE ABUSE OF GREATNESS*

The honour that this company does me and members of my family on this centennial occasion is visibly enhanced by recollections of a lively connection which goes back many years. Over forty years ago, well before Victoria College had migrated to its present and beautiful site, the then glacial wastes of this area were a playground in youth for my brother and sisters and myself, all of whom came to be numbered among the graduates of this institution. Some thirty years ago my father took in hand the work of beautification of the grounds surrounding the central building, and to the end of his busy life the emerging freshness and colour of an unmatched setting remained one of the abiding satisfactions of a real labour of delight. It is with the greatest pleasure that I find myself to-day in an atmosphere familiar in youth and respected in age, and under the ægis of so friendly a body as the principal, council, faculty, and students of Victoria College.

The title of my address has been suggested, in this centennial year, by a concern for our history: for the way we read it, teach it, savour it. It has been prompted by a further concern for our attitude toward the example of the historic past, the reality of the historic present, the prospect of the future yet to be.

The first abuse of greatness consists in this: that except upon "special occasions" we tend to take our history too much for granted; we never enter into the imaginativeness of our history. As a consequence, a second abuse is that too many people regard our history as dull. They assume that it is indifferently, if not indeed badly, taught, and that the quality of dullness (assuming it to be deserved) is a necessary counterpart of any large-scale approach to the historical problems bound up with the political development of Canada.

Such an attitude is a great disservice to historical scholarship. If it were to prevail over any long period, we might resolutely abandon the teaching of history as a lively art, and leave it, a little wistfully, on the fringes, as the limited preserve of the antiquarians. If we were to do so,

* An address given in the centennial year of British Columbia at the fall assembly of Victoria College held in the auditorium of the Victoria High School on October 17, 1958.

we should lose all the value of history as an intellectual discipline. If we were to persist in any such attitude, we should do violence to many of the humane virtues of curiosity, thoroughness, and fairness in standards of human conduct. In short, we should cast aside or do without the serious study of history, and all its imagery and charm, only at the imminent peril of intellectual ossification.

Consider for a moment the background of this centennial year in this Province and this community, to which our assembling here is at once a recognition and a tribute. Between the earliest voyages of discovery by British subjects and the proclamation of civil government, some eighty years had elapsed. After the voyages of Cook, Vancouver, and a certain array of traders in furs, it was over forty years before there was any real revival of maritime interest. It was a far cry from the days of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* to the pioneer voyages of the steamer *Beaver*.

Yet in this interval there had been other brave voyages by land: Alexander Mackenzie across the whole breadth of this Province, overland to tidewater; Simon Fraser down the surging river which now bears his name; David Thompson, the most renowned geographer of all, adding meticulously to the store of knowledge of what was still, in metropolitan terms, a far-off corner of Empire.

Two generations of rivalry in the fur trade pushed settlement west of the Rockies, southward to the Columbia, and led to the establishment in 1843 of Fort Victoria as the westernmost headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company. The lure of gold which gripped the minds and hearts of vagrant men from mid-century onward set its impress upon this Province. It was the occasion for the formal proclamation of British authority throughout the mainland region almost exactly 100 years ago; and from the eager surging of a reckless human torrent, some nucleus of permanent settlement remained. The exploitation of abundant natural resources began once the steel bands of main-line railways had made a physical union of Canada from sea to sea, and the process of development is still apparent on every hand.

Though the centennial observances spring from the political beginnings of the larger Province, civil government in this island community was several years older. There was a flavour of the dramatic in the establishment of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. The verbal excesses of presidential election campaigns in the United States, the signature of the Oregon Boundary Treaty, the faintly reluctant concession of the principle of responsible government in Nova Scotia and in

Canada, the resurgence of annexationist sentiment, a mounting uncertainty about the territorial future of the Hudson's Bay Company, some vision of a vaster Empire—all of these must have been in the mind of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for War and the Colonies when he recommended the appointment of Richard Blanshard, Esquire, barrister-at-law, of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, to be Governor of Vancouver Island. Here was a figure on the scene, undertaking the lengthy voyage from Britain to Panama and up the Pacific Coast to Victoria, reading out his Commission of Appointment before the bastion of the fort, presiding for several months over a seagoing government; writing eight only formal dispatches to Downing Street (the originals of which I have read in the Public Record Office in London); resigning early in the day because of the default of any business to require his attention; and having to wait many months before receiving a reply instructing him in what form to hand over his government.

How little, in retrospect, we know of him: it is half-ironic to find his name in the catalogue of appointments during Lord Grey's tenure at the Colonial Office as not being previously known to His Lordship. Yet who will say that these first beginnings were unimportant or inconclusive? It may have seemed a workaday world, and perhaps a grim world, to the earliest permanent settlers. But Vancouver Island (it had only lately lost the possessive "s") held a great fascination for armchair travellers in Great Britain. When changes of consequence had to be made in 1866, the details received very scrupulous consideration in Downing Street; and though the administrative ups and downs may have been troublesome at a distance, Vancouver Island was throughout an entity to be reckoned with.

It is useful therefore to remember that our local history has never been far removed from the concerns of the larger world: restless, grasping, opportunist, it may be; and yet having to take some account of humane and just standards of human conduct. It was a combination of scientific and maritime interest that first brought Captain Cook to these shores. He had been trained in a rigorous school, including the St. Lawrence, the coasts of Newfoundland, and the circumnavigation of the world; and it was thus no mere adventurer who sailed into these waters in 1778. He did as much as any man of his lifetime to shear away the uncertainties of a north-west passage. He traced out more of the coasts of New Zealand and of Australia than any previous navigator;

and for his contributions to knowledge of the oceans, of astronomy, of public health in the prevention of the dread disease of scurvy, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London.

What Cook began, Vancouver and his officers and men continued. Between 1778 and 1792 Britain had acknowledged the independence of the new United States, though she had not yet relinquished her last footholds upon United States territory. The Parliament at Westminster had enacted a statute under which representative government began to function (in 1792) at Quebec and at Niagara-on-the-Lake. While Captain Vancouver was charting straits and sounds and passages and treating with captains of Spain, two new legislatures were grappling with myriad problems of government: the one in the midst of a stable, sober, politically quiescent community settled for many generations from old France; the other in the wilderness where some of the noisier overtones of a combative democracy were already audible.

Vancouver had set sail from Falmouth (April 1, 1791) when the French Revolution was already perplexing many minds in Georgian England. It was fortunate that the spirit of scientific discovery still prevailed. For when he reached Vancouver Island, Vancouver found himself diplomat and negotiator as well as naval commander. There is nothing dull or passive about his conduct of an expedition that was absent from England for upwards of four years, which added immeasurably to the detailed knowledge of this Pacific Coast, and which kept watch over the dwindling remnant of a momentary outpost of the Empire of Spain. The publication of his *A Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, in six volumes in 1801, kept alive the great saga of discovery by sea, of which we in this island have great reason to be proud.

One other facet of history deserves attention, especially in a centennial year.

The French historian Marc Bloch (writing under the title *The Historian's Craft*¹) in asking "What is the *use* of history?" speaks first of its unquestionable fascination. He then lists other roles for history—the spur to action, the charm, the claim upon the imagination. He states that these features are true of any intellectual discipline, but that history has "its peculiar æsthetic pleasures." Above all, in the spectacle of

(1) Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (translated from the French by Peter Putnam, with an introduction by Joseph R. Strayer), Manchester University Press, 1954, pp. 7-9, 17-18.

human activity, "thanks to its remoteness in time and space, it is adorned with the subtle enchantment of the unfamiliar."

You will observe therefore that I am not speaking of our history as *familiar* history; I am suggesting that it is what is *unfamiliar* which ought to be our chief goal, the spur for realistic teaching, the illumination for a much wider public consciousness.

I think I detect that Bloch (who was a singularly brave and unaffected man) is saying that our interest in history is nothing to be ashamed of. Two strands are, I think, discernible: one, the sense of poetry; the other, the sense of the historic past which is all about us. As to the first, Bloch warns us to guard against stripping the *science* (of history) of its share of *poetry*. Let me quote from what is to me the most moving passage in his whole book:—

It would be sheer folly to suppose that history, because it appeals strongly to the emotions, is less capable of satisfying the intellect. . . . Surely, in a world which stands upon the threshold of the chemistry of the atom, which is only beginning to fathom the mystery of interstellar space, in this poor world of ours which, however justifiably proud of its science, has created so little happiness for itself, the tedious minutiae of historical erudition would deserve condemnation as an absurd waste of energy . . . were they to end merely by coating one of our diversions with a thin veneer of truth. Either all minds capable of better employment must be dissuaded from the practice of history, or history must prove its legitimacy as a form of knowledge. . . .

Our mental climate has changed. . . . For certainty, new theories of the universe have substituted the infinitely probable; for the strictly measurable, the notion of the eternal relativity of measurement. Their influence has even affected the countless minds which, thanks to defects in intelligence or early training, have been able to follow the great metamorphoses only at a distance and as if by a reflected light. . . . We find it far easier to regard certainty as questions of degree. We no longer feel obliged to impose upon every subject of knowledge a uniform intellectual pattern. We do not yet know what the sciences of man will some day be. We do know that in order to exist—and, it goes without saying, to exist in accordance with the fundamental laws of reason—they need neither disclaim nor feel ashamed of their own distinctive character.

The poetry of history is part of this distinctive character of history. It is not idle fancy which leads a contemporary critic of the poetry of John Keats to call the poet "Cortez-Keats" and to add:—

With him we stare at the Pacific: it is not exactly Chapman's *Homer*, but rather his vast and rolling idea of poetry and his own poetry to be; and if we are at all his men we feel the tremor of a wild surmise; surely not less thrilling because the peak in Darien is found in the final enquiry to be situated somewhere between the cliffs of Margate and the heights of Hampstead Heath.²

(2) John Middleton Murry, *Keats*, London, 1955 (4th ed.), pp. 161–162.

Our own peaks in Darien may be no further off than our own workaday worlds. We might here well wish to substitute Mount Tolmie for Hampstead Heath, and Race Rocks for Margate, but the sense of poetic feeling would be much the same.

The second strand—the sense of identity with the historic past—is closely linked with the first. Our own sense of history—kept alive with visible reminders in this very island—springs however imperceptibly from contact with long tradition. But, as Sir Maurice Powicke rightly reminds us, for men of vision and purpose, our land and its tradition really are inseparable from the past—the past is not so much antiquity as part of the present—and it becomes (in Powicke's phrase) "a source of strength and encouragement, and at the same time of discipline and restraint."³

It would be a real Abuse of Greatness if the sense of identity with history should leave us intellectually untouched, or if it should evade us or elude us, and pass by on the other side. It would be an additional Abuse of Real Greatness if a sudden, almost breathless, preoccupation with technology should exclude many other strands in education. We may, indeed, be under imperative pressures to give more concerted attention to the implications and the applications of scientific knowledge. But there is a vast difference between scientific application divorced from every other strand of learning and comprehension, and scientific knowledge which "fits in" with the general reaching-out of all human knowledge.

For let no one suppose that progress in scientific achievement can really be separated from the intellectual climate in which a whole society lives. Do we really think we can work prodigies in science and live in an intellectual ice age so far as other areas of learning are concerned? Can we be content if other humane disciplines—including history—are consigned to a long glacial twilight, in which wanderers in the wastelands can never emerge into intellectual daylight?

This, then, is the case against the Abuse of Greatness: first, that we do not take our history for granted; secondly, that we do not automatically regard our history as dull; thirdly, that we do not lose our sense of identity with history; and, fourthly, that we do not exclude the educative, broadening, and, it may be, uplifting effects of history.

All these "safeguards" against abuse require both collective interest and individual attention. The collective interest is demonstrated on such

(3) Sir Maurice Powicke, *Medieval England*, London, 1931, pp. 16–18.

an occasion as this. It is demonstrated by the whole commemorative importance of this centennial year, and yet it must not be supposed that pride in our history is merely a matter of local patriotism which reaches a high pitch of enthusiasm on festival occasions. We should have constantly in mind the words—the affectionate words—of a man who never saw British Columbia, but whose love of country was very great. It was Joseph Howe who wrote:—

A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual references to the sacrifices and glories of the past.

The importance of the individual's attention perhaps is overlooked. You recall that fine phrase from Bloch which spoke of the countless minds who follow "only at a distance and as if by a reflected light." The serious reader is accustomed to think in terms of distance as well as of degree, and he should not disdain even the phenomenon of reflected light. Have you ever read what Keats thought of the effect of poetry upon the reader? In 1818 he wrote:—

The rise, the progress, the setting of Imagery should like the Sun come natural to him (the reader) shine over him and set soberly although in magnificence leaving him in the Luxury of twilight.⁴

If with poetry, so with history. History is meant to be experienced, but it can be read. The best recitals of our history should be read, and read repeatedly, and aloud. The better the reading, the better the writing which may be expected to follow; and the better shall readers range into that "subtle enchantment of the unfamiliar" which is the ultimate warrant for the study of history. The reader, equally, is the ultimate resource against the imposing of any uniform intellectual pattern upon the broad realms of history.

In Shakespeare's play of *Julius Cæsar* it is the troubled Brutus who says:—

Th' abuse of greatness is when it disjoins
Remorse from power: and, to speak truth of Cæsar,
I have not known when his affections sway'd
More than his reason.

History in various ages has been the record of a continuing struggle for power; even to-day we are prone to talk about power politics. Over the long roll of the centuries there has evidently been plenty of remorse, in the sense in which we understand the word. In any struggle between

(4) Murry, *Keats*, p. 149.

good and evil we are accustomed to hope that reason will prevail over blind emotion. Perhaps, reviewing the whole calender of human virtues (with which Shakespeare's play was genuinely concerned), we can finally elevate the notion of the affections. For it is the human qualities, whether exercised individually or collectively, which in our acquisitive society will save us from the worst excesses of other human beings; and this, perhaps, is the real hope of history.

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THE JOURNAL OF ARTHUR THOMAS BUSHBY, 1858-1859

In the spring of 1858 accounts of the extraordinary richness of the gold mines of the Fraser River were beginning to reach San Francisco, and from that city, by means of the Special Correspondent of the *London Times*, were being relayed to all parts of the British possessions.¹ In July of that year the Imperial Government established "British Columbia" on the Pacific seaboard; and "lured . . . by the glowing descriptions of the Colony which appeared in the columns of the *Times*,"² many a younger son with a taste for adventure left his comfortable home in England and his settled, if somewhat staid, prospects there, to join the rush towards the gold regions. Among those who in 1858 came out to British Columbia, to use his own phrase, "on spec," was Arthur Thomas Bushby. He made no fortune here, and indeed encountered at first considerable hardship and discouragement; but he stayed on in the infant colony to become "an upright, consistent and fearless public officer"³ in the service of the Government, and to be accepted as son-in-law by Governor James Douglas. The journal which he kept for his own eyes, fragmentary though it is, has great interest: not only is it an intensely human document, recording the impact of the Furthest West in 1858 on a sensitive, intelligent, generous-hearted, and sometimes rather naïve young man who had come from the very centre of British civilization, but it is also, in its frank and immediate comment on men and affairs in early British Columbia, a record of no inconsiderable value to the historian.

(1) See, for example, *London Times*, June 26, 1858, p. 5.

(2) Governor Frederick Seymour to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, April 8, 1868. *British Columbia, Governors Seymour and Musgrave, Dispatches, 1868-1871*, MS, Archives of B.C. (Except as otherwise indicated, all MS material cited may be found in the Provincial Archives.) Seymour's reference is specifically to Bushby, with whom he seems to have been on very good terms. Bushby often travelled back and forth to Victoria on the Governor's yacht, and was later executor of his will.

(3) Bishop George Hills, in a memorial sermon preached on May 23, 1875. *Columbia Mission, Seventeenth Annual Report, 1876*, p. 20.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4.

Arthur Thomas Bushby was born on March 2, 1835,⁴ the son of a highly respectable London merchant, Joseph Bushby, of No. 3 Halkin Street, Grosvenor Place, partner in the firm of Bushby & Lee of St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, and owner of two West Indian estates (with the enchanting names of "Williams Delight" and "Water Ground") on the Danish island of St. Croix. Arthur Bushby's mother, born Anne Sarah Stedman, was an accomplished linguist, speaking five languages. She made a number of translations from the Danish, the most noteworthy being Hans Christian Andersen's *The Ice Maiden*, which she published in 1863, the first English edition to be recorded in the British Museum catalogue. She also contributed articles to magazines under the pseudonym of "A.W.I." (for "A West Indian," she having lived in the West Indies), and is said to have suggested the idea of "safety islands" in the streets of London.⁵

Arthur's elder brother, Joseph William, appears to have taken over the family business on his father's death on December 12, 1866. There were five sisters in the household: one of them, Matilda Maria, was married in 1853 to Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral Sir) John Edmund Commerell;⁶ Ella M. and Lucy also married, their names being Wood and Salmon respectively; Jane Margaret and Anne were unmarried at the time of their mother's death in 1872 and lived on in Halkin Street with their brother Joseph, their home serving as a hospitable centre for all the visiting family connections from British Columbia.

When he left England in November, 1858, Arthur Bushby was 23 years of age. According to the letter of introduction which he presented to Governor Douglas from the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company,⁷ he had "been employed in the same way"

(4) See the entry in his journal, March 2, 1859. Except as otherwise indicated, the personal information in this introduction is drawn from Bushby's own journals, from the wills of his father and mother, photostat copies of which are in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, and from the records of Somerset House.

(5) The information concerning Bushby's mother comes chiefly from a memorandum in the Archives made by her granddaughter, Mrs. W. Fitzherbert Bullen. It has not been possible to trace any of the magazine articles referred to, nor to confirm the statement regarding the "safety islands."

(6) For an account of Admiral Commerell see John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names 1592-1906*, Ottawa, 1909 (hereafter cited as Walbran), pp. 540-541.

(7) Thomas Fraser to Governor James Douglas, September 28, 1858. Fraser Correspondence.

as his father, and was "about to proceed to Vancouver's Island with the intention of establishing himself there as a merchant." But from the journal which he kept before he left London, it seems clear that the business world had little attraction for him and that his "mercantile pursuits" were strictly a means to an end. Later, as he tramped the rough trails of British Columbia or pitched his tent beside some mountain stream—"my sponge in my bag was quite frozen and all the horses tails were frozen" and a hornets' nest barred the way at the most enticing place for bathing—he built "a fine castle" in the air:—⁸

After having made a fortune neat little Villa on bank of Father Thames near Hampton Wick nice boat house—2 or 3 beautiful little boats—pulling about every evng—musical friends often down—2 spare rooms—nice little carriage & horses to drive and ride. family down often much pleasing father—happy & comfortable—Agnes &c spending abt £1000 a year

And in one moment of despair, when he was homesick for old days and pleasant associates, when his prospects were far from bright, and his love affair with the Governor's daughter Agnes was running far from smoothly, he burst out that he was "not fit for business at home"; not even fit for the minor official appointment he had by that time obtained in British Columbia; "music after all," he says, "is the only thing I am fit for"; and he almost decided then and there upon "throwing overboard everybody & everything and of rushing head long into the musical profession—go to S. Francisco & have a try."⁹

It is quite possible that Bushby might have succeeded in such an enterprise, for he was a highly trained and versatile amateur musician, whose evenings before he left London had been crowded with rehearsals, concerts, and informal music-making at home. He had a fine tenor voice, and was a member of the Amateur Musical Society, a group originally formed to sing madrigals and in Bushby's time under the distinguished leadership of Henry Leslie. He was a violinist, spending much time playing second violin in a chamber-music group; he was a pianist; and he was a composer of occasional pieces, a number of which are still preserved in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. The "Florence Polka" of 1856 is a souvenir of the summer he spent in Italy studying voice, piano, and Italian; the other pieces range from a fragmentary "Valentine" of 1859, written shortly after his arrival in Victoria, to an undated setting of "Lead, Kindly Light" and the "March of the New Westminster Rifles," which he wrote in 1874.

(8) Journal, September 27, 1860.

(9) *Ibid.*, September 19, 1859.

Bushby sailed from Southampton on November 3, 1858, among his fellow-passengers being one other Englishman heading for British Columbia, C. J. R. Bedford, who was later to become a Magistrate at Langley and lessee of the Hudson's Bay Company's farm there. In New York the pair encountered Robert Burnaby, who was to play a prominent role in colonial affairs; and when the trio went aboard the *Moses Taylor* for Aspinwall they found themselves in the company of a little group of officials already appointed by the Imperial Government to the recently proclaimed colony of British Columbia: Colonel Richard Clement Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (with a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor), who, as officer commanding the detachment of Royal Engineers which Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had decided to send out for the assistance of Governor Douglas, was proceeding to Victoria several months in advance of the main body of his troops; Captain W. Driscoll Gosset, Treasurer of the new colony; and the Rev. W. Burton Crickmer, appointed "chaplain for the gold fields of British Columbia." On the fringe of this Government group were several young men of no official status but a similar social background, who, like Bushby, were going out "on spec" to try their fortunes in the new colony; notable among these were Thomas Elwyn and John Carmichael Haynes. From Aspinwall the party proceeded by way of the Panama Railroad, completed three years before, to Panama City, where they boarded the *Sonora* for San Francisco. They reached that city on December 15, and finally, having been almost two months on the way, they arrived at Esquimalt, on board the mail steamer *Panama*, on Christmas Day, 1858.

Fort Victoria had now been in existence for 15 years, and the tiny settlement round the Company post had by this time grown into a town of between one and two thousand inhabitants.¹⁰ Despite the fears of some of the London newspapers of the time, which seem to have regarded the Furthest West as a land full of "red Indians and gold diggers . . . the offscourings of the civilized world,"¹¹ Bushby found many pleasant and cultivated people in Victoria, where the basic structure of colonial society had already been firmly laid by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, the people in charge of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's operations, and the officers of Her Majesty's

(10) A census taken in February, 1860, gave 2,020 as the figure. *Victoria Colonist*, February 21, 1860.

(11) *Illustrated London News*, March 12, 1859.

Navy stationed at Esquimalt. This was a social structure far too substantial to be more than slightly shaken by the influx of California miners which in the spring of 1858, en route to the gold diggings of the Fraser, disrupted for a time the ordered ways of Victoria; and Bushby was soon at ease in his own appropriate and comfortable niche. He had the right sort of connections in England, his musical ability was soon realized and most thoroughly exploited in a society which by reason of its geographical isolation was compelled to provide its own entertainment, and his own fun-loving and engaging personality made him a host of friends.

It is possible that Bushby had already made the acquaintance of Matthew Baillie Begbie in London: going to church on the morning after his arrival he found that the "rather decent bass voice in the choir" belonged to Begbie—although when they met coming out of church the Judge did not recognize him at first, owing to his "rough dress, beard and moustache." But the two soon became "capital friends," and Begbie was able to introduce the newcomer to all the best people in Victoria, and especially of course to those who were musical. Naturally Bushby joined the choir—"glad to get me it seems—blarney!"—and on January 26, 1859, he helped to found the Victoria Philharmonic Society, the first amateur musical society in what was to become the Province of British Columbia. There, too, he was "rec^d with open arms," and was made honorary secretary, Begbie being elected president. Other invitations came "fast and thick": he dined aboard the *Satellite* in Esquimalt Harbour; he spent quiet evenings at the Cridges, trying "a lot of 4 part things"; and at "the very nice country house" of the Pembertons, where, "the drawing room looked quite nice a piano & candles carpet curtains—table with punches & a fine large wood fire," he and Miss Pemberton and B. W. Pearse sang all the evening, and then adjourned for supper to "nice snug dining room with another roaring wood fire."

Three days after his arrival he presented his letters of introduction to Governor Douglas, who received him "very kindly" and at once invited him to dinner. Soon Bushby was on such intimate terms with the whole family that on one occasion before dinner he "set to and tuned the piano"; and in his journal he even refers to the dignified Governor as "a jolly brick," to Mrs. Douglas as "a good old soul," and to the two teen-age daughters of the house as "regular romps." Miss Agnes Douglas he characterizes further as "a stunning girl—black eye & hair & larky like the devil," and her gaiety and high spirits must have chimed with Bushby's own. For he was no prig: he enjoyed dancing and flirting

and "whiskey & cigars ad lib," even to the extent of getting "half screwed" on occasion; and he records with glee one uproarious evening at the lodgings he shared with Burnaby and Elwyn (which they had christened the Mad House). Here they were joined by other Victoria bachelors and by some of the junior officers from Esquimalt, and "all the fellows" made such "a grand row singing and laughing" that they were "blackguarded upside and down" by the landlady and threatened with the horsewhip by the landlord. Two of them, Burnaby and Bushby, were summonsed the next morning "for indecent and riotous conduct," Bushby in addition being "accused of being drunk." "All grossly untrue," he declares firmly, and proceeds to recount with relish the scene in Court when the whole Bar appeared for the defendants, plans of the house were produced by official surveyors, naval witnesses gathered from Esquimalt in full uniform, and, no landlord appearing, the summonses were dismissed with costs.

Bushby had arrived in Victoria with no capital to speak of, and soon, on Colonel Moody's suggestion, he was planning to start a steam sawmill as a "good spec"—with Robert Burnaby as "the Victoria man and capitalist," John J. Cochrane, who had also been aboard the *Sonora*, as engineer, and himself as manager. Accordingly he and Cochrane went up to Langley on January 5, in the same steamer as Colonel Moody, who, having been duly sworn into office, was now making his first trip to the mainland. Bushby and Cochrane spent several days at Langley exploring the neighbourhood for "a convenient place for starting a saw-mill," but with no result; the creek across from the Fort "would not do," and although on their return to Victoria the Governor approved the general idea and even suggested that the partners should squat on some unsurveyed land at Langley, the speculation—for some reason which Bushby does not record—was soon "all knocked on the head."

Colonel Moody now advised his young friend to try his fortune at the mines; but as Bushby was by this time making a little money copying law papers for Henry Pering Pellew Crease, and had also found a place in Dickson Campbell's office with A. F. Main, he did not leave Victoria, and on February 8 the Governor made him private secretary to Judge Begbie at £250 a year: "This I am glad of," says Bushby, "as it is just the thing I want." On March 7, 1859, he and Begbie set off on the Judge's first circuit in British Columbia. As soon as they arrived in the mainland colony Begbie appointed his "private secretary" to be "clerk of the court, assize clerk, registrar, clerk of the arraigns &c," although,

says Bushby, "as I had never been in a ct of justice before & the thing seemed strange indeed to me . . . however I got through all right & once I heard my voice tell at the other end of the room I bawled away like fun." By way of Fort Hope, Fort Yale, Lytton, the Fountain, Lillooet, and the chain of lakes in the valley of the Harrison River, this somewhat unconventional Court of justice reached Port Douglas on the 11th of April, and thence returned to Victoria.

There Bushby remained till the end of June, arranging for the first concert of the Philharmonic Society, spending his leisure in riding parties, picnics, and dances, and growing more and more friendly with the Douglas girls, who had by now adopted him as a brother.¹² He was officially appointed Registrar of the Supreme Court of British Columbia on May 4, 1859,¹³ and at the end of June he and Begbie were off again to the mainland, their circuit this time being by way of Langley, Port Douglas, Yale, and Hope. It was during this journey that Bushby realized that he was beginning to return Agnes Douglas's obvious liking for him, and that he must make up his mind whether or not to "go in for her." When he got back to Victoria at the end of July Agnes insisted on breaking off her understanding with young John Work, and Bushby finally determined to ask the Governor for his daughter's hand. This the Governor refused, "in a quiet kind way," in spite of his "great regard & esteem" for Bushby: "his daughter & I were both so young—& . . . my income is so small (why the d—— does he not make it larger)" the journal records on August 30, 1859. Any decision was deferred for a year, Bushby being put on his honour not to "pay particular attention" to Agnes. He and the Judge left again for British Columbia on September 6, and parts of his journal during this trip make somewhat distressing reading in their agonized soul-searchings and scruples, for Bushby was a sensitive, high-principled "man of honour," as he indeed calls himself; he was afraid that he did not love this "high spirited warm hearted affectionate impetuous girl" as deeply as she deserved; frankly, he said, "it is the love of home & the thought of leaving for ever the pleasure & enjoyments of my English home which frightens me."¹⁴

(12) Journal, June 23 and 25, 1859.

(13) British Columbia Blue Book, 1859. Douglas's "Confidential report on Officers" says that he was appointed in February, 1859 (Douglas Papers), and the date February 8 is given in the "return of provisional appointments" in *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia* (hereafter cited as *BCP*), Part III, 1860 (Cmd. 2724), p. 31. Cf. the entry in Bushby's journal for February 11, 1859.

(14) Journal, September 10, 1859.

By the beginning of November, after a strenuous journey by way of Port Douglas, Hope, over the mountains to Kamloops, and thence to Lillooet, Lytton, Yale, Hope, and Port Douglas again, Bushby was back in Victoria, and since the journal breaks off on Christmas Day, 1859, we do not know just when the Governor gave his consent to the marriage of Bushby and his daughter. By the time the next fragment begins, in September, 1860, Bushby had made up his own mind concerning his "dear Agnes" and was even planning, as he journeyed with Begbie from Cayoosh to Fort Alexandria, "how we should keep house & entertain the Gov when he dined with us."¹⁵ By February, 1861, Bushby was building "a very pretty house upon his property" in Leopold Place, New Westminster,¹⁶ and in August of that year, "in consequence of high testimony borne to his character & services by the Judge," he was appointed Registrar-General of Deeds for British Columbia, at a salary of £500 a year.¹⁷ In a confidential report on his colonial officers Douglas spoke of him as "a most worthy man, careful and attentive to the duties of his office"; and the following year, on May 8, 1862, the wedding of Bushby and the Governor's daughter took place in Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, with all due pomp and ceremony—three clergymen, seven bridesmaids, and a number of Royal Engineer officers in full dress uniform, led by Colonel Moody, being involved.¹⁸ The honeymoon was spent at Belmont, the residence of the bride's uncle, Chief Justice David Cameron,¹⁹ and when the couple arrived in New Westminster "a number of gentlemen, in token of the high esteem in which Bushby was held and out of compliment to Mrs. Bushby, proceeded to his residence about the 'wee sma' oors ahint the twall' and sang a number of very pretty pieces" under the lady's window.²⁰

By the citizens of New Westminster, as well as by his friends in Victoria and the people he met on his official journeys throughout British Columbia, Bushby was soon both respected and loved. As an official of the Government he held a variety of positions. He served as Registrar-

(15) Journal, September 18, 1860.

(16) New Westminster *British Columbian*, February 13, 1861.

(17) Douglas, Confidential report on Officers; W. A. G. Young to Bushby, August 29, 1861 (British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, July, 1860, to September 1861).

(18) *Victoria Press*, May 8, 1862.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) New Westminster *British Columbian*, May 24, 1862.

General until 1870; was made Acting Postmaster-General in 1866²¹ and Postmaster-General in 1870;²² and he was a member of the Legislative Council from 1868 to 1870. In 1864 he accompanied Arthur N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, to the Kootenay mines and brought back the Government gold dust from Wild Horse Creek.²³ In July, 1869, he took over from Henry Maynard Ball the full charge of the District of New Westminster, receiving his commission as County Court Judge on July 20 and as Stipendiary Magistrate on August 1, 1869.²⁴ In December, 1872, he was sent to the Cariboo to act as Stipendiary Magistrate and Gold Commissioner during the temporary absence of Ball, now the resident Magistrate there. "Notwithstanding the hardships and fatigue of a journey from New Westminster at this season of the year," says the *Cariboo Sentinel*, he "assumed the duties of this office the following day," and during his three months' stay he "won the good-will of all with whom he has been brought in contact."²⁵ Bushby enlivened his official duties by taking part in the local concerts, and received the thanks of the Cariboo Amateur Dramatic Association for his assistance in their charitable benefits.²⁶ In the fall of 1874 he was again holding Court in the Kootenay country,²⁷ and late in December he made a trip to Jervis Inlet, to settle a difficulty with the Sechelt Indians, in which dispute "his cautious and temperate course" produced eminently satisfactory results.²⁸ As the resident Magistrate at New Westminster, Bushby was concerned with the administration of the gaol; and both his humane feelings and his conscientious discharge of his duty are evidenced in his various representations to the Government, as for instance in his recommendation that the prisoners should have fish or venison twice a week in

(21) *Victoria Colonist*, April 16, 1866.

(22) *Government Gazette*, June 18, 1870, shows that he signed as "Acting Postmaster General" on May 20, 1870, but as "Postmaster General" on June 10, 1870.

(23) He wrote an account of this trip in his journal, August 31 to October 26, 1864.

(24) Charles Good to Bushby, July 20 and August 9, 1869. British Columbia Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, January 4, 1867, to December 30, 1870.

(25) Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, December 28, 1872, and March 8, 1873.

(26) Frank Perret *et al.* to Bushby, March 6, 1873. Miscellaneous Papers relating to A. T. Bushby.

(27) He gives an account in his journal, September 11 to November 27, 1874.

(28) New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, December 24, 1874.

season instead of the usual meat ration, which besides providing variety would also effect "a considerable saving" in costs.²⁹

In a semi-official capacity Bushby was "foremost in every good movement of a public character that transpired" in New Westminster.³⁰ When the Royal Columbian Hospital was founded in 1862, he was the honorary secretary, and until 1871 he was a member of the Hospital Board, writing in September, 1870, from his personal knowledge of the institution, a full and detailed report of its history and present condition.³¹ When in 1868 the New Westminster Public Library (founded in 1865 with the collection of books left behind by the Royal Engineers as its nucleus) was reopened after a brief closure, Bushby was the secretary of the new Board.³² His involvement in educational matters began in 1864, when he was asked to report on Mrs. Moresby's school in New Westminster, which had been continued by the Government after the departure of the Royal Engineers. "In submitting this report," he writes, "I would beg to mention that the task is a novel one to me and that my very limited experience of the subject must be my excuse for its shortcomings."³³ Along with John Robson and W.J. Armstrong he formed the first Board of School Trustees for New Westminster, and served as secretary, resigning as trustee only when the Common School Ordinance of 1869 required that the New Westminster Municipal Council should henceforth act as the Local Board in educational matters.³⁴ A year later he accepted the position of school inspector for the District of New Westminster.³⁵ Bushby was also very active in the New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps, founded under the command of Chartres Brew immediately after the departure of the Royal Engineers in 1863. He was elected the first ensign of the Corps, and when on the 24th of May, 1867, at the May Day celebrations, Governor Frederick Seymour's wife

(29) Bushby to Colonial Secretary, September 21, 1869. Bushby Correspondence.

(30) *Victoria Colonist*, May 20, 1875.

(31) Bushby to Colonial Secretary, February 14, 1862, and September 22, 1870. Bushby Correspondence.

(32) Madge Wolfenden, "Libraries in Colonial British Columbia," *British Columbia Library Quarterly*, Vol. XXII (1958), p. 4; Bushby to Colonial Secretary, July 22, 1868 (Bushby Correspondence).

(33) Bushby to Colonial Secretary, November 3, 1864. Bushby Correspondence.

(34) Bushby to Colonial Secretary, January 8, 1867, and July 1, 1869. *Ibid.*

(35) Bushby to Colonial Secretary, May 3, 1870. *Ibid.*

presented the new colours to the New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps, it was Ensign Bushby who "stepping forward and kneeling, received the flag from the hands of Mrs. Seymour."³⁶ In 1870 Bushby became Captain Commanding; four years later he was placed on the Retired Canadian Militia List as Captain.³⁷ But despite these multifarious offices and his strong sense of public duty, Bushby had a very proper sense of his own dignity too, and finding that the Agricultural Society had without his knowledge made him a Director, he commented sharply: "decline of course. Cool impertinence to put me on without my consent."³⁸

In more purely social matters Bushby was equally in demand in the community, especially, of course, because of his musical training, his adaptability, and his agreeable disposition. All his journals are full of music making, the later as well as the earlier. In the Cariboo in 1872 he sang glees with Welshmen, and during a concert at Williams Creek "presided at the piano [and] favored the audience with an original composition containing many local hits," which drew forth great applause from the miners.³⁹ In Westminster, at dances sponsored by local organizations, he played violin or piano and, on occasion, even the cornet and drum.⁴⁰ On the 3rd of July, 1873, he writes that he has been "invited by Johnny Irving to accompany Str round to Burrard Inlet . . . leaves at 6 a.m. tomorrow & am supposed to fiddle all day—a martyr indeed"; but on Dominion Day, 1874, he admits to having enjoyed himself very much at a celebration at Raymur's Mill, although he "left per stage @ 7 a.m., never got back to N.W. till 5 next mg. Much too late—" On this occasion he "played Cornet in Nanaimo brass band—rather cheeky." In the May Day celebrations on which New Westminster was already concentrating he took a large part, and seems to have been particularly popular with the children, recording that on one picnic with about eighty children there he "was almost pulled to pieces by them all & don't know how I escaped alive"; at the end of the day they all "marched home en masse singing."⁴¹ At concerts in aid of

(36) Henry Holbrook to Douglas, December 2, 1863 (Holbrook Correspondence); New Westminster *British Columbian*, May 29, 1867.

(37) *Victoria Colonist*, September 18, 1870; New Westminster *Mainland Guardian*, January 15, 1874; *Journal*, March 11, 1874.

(38) *Journal*, April 30, 1873.

(39) Barkerville *Cariboo Sentinel*, February 15, 1873.

(40) *Journal*, April 26, May 26, August 27, 1873; May 2 and 28, 1874.

(41) *Ibid.*, September 20, 1873.

worthy causes Bushby was as popular a performer in New Westminster as he had been when he first arrived in Victoria; and his name still appeared also on concert programmes in Victoria, where he was a frequent visitor at the Douglas home.⁴² In 1873 he even tried acting for the first time, and the following year was elected president of the Dramatic Club of New Westminster.⁴³

With equal enthusiasm Bushby threw himself into the work of the Anglican Church in New Westminster. Archdeacon H. P. Wright, revisiting the city after Bushby's death, reported that he "sadly missed" him, for he "had from the first been a noble example of holy life."⁴⁴ To modern ears the Archdeacon's tribute is perhaps not too happily phrased; but Bushby's journal makes it perfectly clear that underneath his surface gaiety and his obvious enjoyment of the pleasures of this life there ran the strong current of a simple piety which sustained him in adversity and loneliness. To him the services of the church were more than a mere social formality: on his first journey in the wilds of British Columbia he writes of a Sunday on which "Begbie Nicol & myself read the evng service by the light of the camp fire" before turning in; at Fort Hope the following October the Rev. A. D. Pringle "read prayers to O'R[eilly] the constable & myself (small congregation)"; and a month earlier he had written: "Sunday I read part of the morning prayers. I wish I were a true Christian." During his family's absence in England in 1873, when "sick & weary, faint & dull, sad deserted all forgot" he was often "in bad spirits," he "stayed to Hol: Com: " and was "much comforted"; and on September 7, 1873, he recorded:—

I have been mch happier today and hope and think I have passed the day profitably—prepared myself for Holy Com: during week—up in decent time—selected day's Hymns—pulled a Bell. Mg service—Holy Com: visited gaol—enabled to grant lighter irons to two prisoners—Sunday school Capital Attendance Pulled a Bell evng service: walk with the Bp—home read 2 Chapters of St. Matthew from Barnes on the Gospels noted same Chat with Tait & to bed—Thought of dear Agnes & the boy—they must be near Panama—would that they had passed that unhealthy spot! Trust in Providence.

As this passage makes abundantly evident, Bushby did not believe in faith without works. At the first meeting of the congregation after the dedication of Holy Trinity Church in 1860 he was elected a church-

(42) See, for example, *Victoria Colonist*, March 2, 1870.

(43) *Journal*, April 25, 1873; December 11, 1874.

(44) *Mission Life*, Vol. VIII (1877), p. 530.

warden,⁴⁵ and he seems to have filled that office until his resignation in April, 1875, not long before his death.⁴⁶ As "a zealous member of the Church of England, to which he was attached by conviction, and whose principles he advocated at all times without compromise,"⁴⁷ he was asked by the Bishop of Columbia to sit as assessor in the trial of the Rev. Edward Cridge in 1874, and he carried out what must have been a most unpleasant duty with his usual conscientiousness.⁴⁸ In the absence of a clergyman, Bushby read the services at Holy Trinity Church; he read the lessons; he "pulled a bell" when he was needed; he was superintendent of the Sunday School, which under his command steadily increased in numbers, and he trained the Sunday School choir; he also gave up his time for such minor and tiresome duties as collecting pew rents and drumming up subscriptions for the parish magazine.⁴⁹ The erection of a memorial window to him in Holy Trinity Church was indeed fitting, the *Colonist* remarking, on June 28, 1877: "The beautiful window . . . bears the inscription 'The memory of the Just is blessed' and we are sure that no one will question the appropriateness of this quotation in respect to one who was universally loved and respected."

The married life of the Bushbys seems to have been a very happy one. Agnes Douglas, according to her father, had "a sunny mind and is not easily damped, as long as Arthur is on hand," and in the pioneer city of New Westminster they "got on merrily enough, stumps notwithstanding."⁵⁰ They had five children: Annie Amelia (1863-1956), who married William Fitzherbert Bullen in 1884; Agnes Jane (1865-1944), who married the Rev. William Washington Bolton in 1889; George Gordon (1867-1932), well known as a member of a marine engineering firm in Vancouver and as a businessman in Prince Rupert, besides being, like his father before him, "in the forefront of every movement de-

(45) New Westminster *Times*, December 15, 1860.

(46) *Journal*, April 5, 1875.

(47) Bishop George Hills, in *Columbia Mission Report*, 1876, p. 21.

(48) *Journal*, September 10, 1874; *Victoria Colonist*, September 11, 1874. Bushby sat only for the first day of the trial, for he had orders to start for the Kootenay country on the 11th; hence he did not sign the Assessor's Report with the three others.

(49) *Journal*, October 26, December 13, 1873; January 10, 1875; August 31, September 21, 1873; April 14, 1873; July 13 and 27, 1873; January 27, 1874. See also *Columbia Mission Report*, 1874, p. 33.

(50) Douglas to Jane Dallas, February 22, 1869. Douglas, *Correspondence Outward*, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870 (Private Letter-book).

signed for the good of the community and the advancement of British Columbia";⁵¹ Mary Matilda, who was born in 1870 and died in infancy; and Ella Gertrude (1874-1954), who married Lieut. Herbert Reginald Hopwood of the Indian Cavalry in 1894. Bushby was devoted to his "darling little girls,"⁵² and when in August, 1872, shortly after his mother's death in London, his wife and children went to England,⁵³ he was "overcome by his emotions," says his father-in-law, "and wept like a child."⁵⁴ As the months went by he missed his family more and more: "somewhat low-spirited," he records in his journal; "how miserable & unhappy I feel . . . can stand this life no longer."⁵⁵ In September, 1873, he applied for leave of absence, but before this could be arranged Agnes had decided to leave the two girls with Bushby's sisters in London, and to return to British Columbia with the 5-year-old George. "She never leaves me again—that is quite certain," Bushby wrote.⁵⁶ The travellers arrived via San Francisco in October, 1873,⁵⁷ and Bushby went to Victoria to bring them back to their New Westminster home.

Less than two years later, on January 16, 1875, Bushby had what he calls "the first skate" of the season on the frozen river. He fell and sprained his knee badly, but continued to go about his business; he also played the piano at the Volunteer Ball two weeks later for "30 dances on end" and was working hard on the theatrical performance planned for February 9. Soon erysipelas developed in his leg, and the performance was put off—but only for one day. Bushby did not spare himself: he "wrote & recited a prologue—took part in the Musical interlude and acted the part of Funk in the Farce Caught by the Cuff!" On February 20 he sent in another application for leave, but before this could be granted he died, after a short acute illness, described as "a severe inflammation of the lungs," on May 18, 1875.⁵⁸ He was only 40 years of age.

(51) *Victoria Times*, May 19, 1932.

(52) *Journal*, July 13, 1873.

(53) They left on the *California* for San Francisco on August 13, 1872, accompanied by Martha Douglas, who was being sent to England to complete her education. See *Victoria Colonist*, August 13 and 14, 1872.

(54) Douglas to Martha Douglas, August 13, 1872. Douglas, *Letters to Martha*, October 30, 1871, to May 27, 1874.

(55) *Journal*, May 31, 1873.

(56) *Journal*, July 30, 1873.

(57) *Journal*, October 7, 1873.

(58) *New Westminster Mainland Guardian*, May 22, 1875; *Victoria Daily Standard*, May 20, 1875.

Every mark of respect that the citizens of New Westminster could devise was paid to his memory. The Fire Company, of which he was an honorary member, draped their Hall in mourning, and the flags throughout the city and on the ships at the wharves were flown at half-mast. He had desired that there should be no public demonstration at his funeral, but "the large concourse of mourners" testified to the esteem in which he was held, and during the ceremony "there was a complete cessation of business throughout the city."⁵⁹ He was buried in the Anglican cemetery at Sapperton.

Agnes Bushby survived her husband for over fifty years. For a number of years after his death she lived in Victoria; George was sent to school in England and his two elder sisters remained in charge of the Misses Bushby in London,⁶⁰ returning to British Columbia in 1882.⁶¹ At the time of her mother's death in 1890 Agnes was living in California; presumably she had gone there to be with her son, who, after leaving school, was apprenticed for four years to the Union Iron Company of San Francisco; he returned to Victoria in 1891 to engage in "Victoria Harbour submarine work" for the Dominion Government.⁶² The latter part of her life Agnes spent with her youngest daughter, Mrs. Hopwood, in England, dying there, at the age of 87, on January 10, 1928.⁶³

In 1931 Mrs. W. Fitzherbert Bullen gave to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia a notebook containing her father's journal of a trip to Wild Horse Creek at the time of the gold excitement in 1864, and in 1956 her son, Mr. Douglas B. Fitzherbert Bullen, presented two manuscripts containing other journals written by his grandfather. The material thus made available to the Archives covers, though with very considerable gaps, Bushby's life from 1855, three years before he left England, to a date in 1875 scarcely more than a week before his death.

The two manuscripts presented by Mr. Bullen are both written on sheets of the same blue-grey paper, measuring roughly 20¾ by 8¼ inches, folded in half and fastened together by red tape; the later MS. has a rough brown paper cover on which the word "Journal" has been lettered by hand. The first manuscript contains the "Journal of a tour

(59) *Victoria Colonist*, May 23, 1875, quoting the [New Westminster *Dominion Pacific*] *Herald*.

(60) A. G. Dallas to Helmcken, May 5, 1881. J. S. Helmcken Papers.

(61) Letter from [Agnes Bushby] to [George Bushby], September 24, 1882. A. T. Bushby Papers, Irving House, New Westminster.

(62) *Who's Who*, 1930-31.

(63) *London Times*, January 12, 1928; *Victoria Colonist*, January 14, 1928.

to the Pyrenees made by G. S. Cobham & myself," 1855; a record of Bushby's musical activities in London, 1856; the "Journey England to British Columbia," 1858; and an untitled series of entries dating from December 25, 1858, to March 2, 1859. Between the twelfth and thirteenth pages of this manuscript the "Journal of a Tour to Italy," 1856, written on large-size notepaper, is fastened in with red tape. The second manuscript contains the "Journal of trip to Cariboo," 1872, followed by entries covering March 20, 1873, to September 10, 1874. At this point is inserted "Journal trip to Kootenay & bk," September–November, 1874, written on sheets roughly 16½ by 6¾ inches, folded and fastened in with string. Then follow entries covering November 28, 1874, to May 10, 1875.

From the point of view of publication, the most interesting part of all this manuscript material appeared to be that portion of the earlier manuscript presented by Mr. Bullen which covers the period from November, 1858, to March, 1859. The first part of this, the "Journey England to British Columbia," gives a lively and detailed account of a journey from Southampton to Victoria by way of the Panama, a route which, unlike the voyage round the Horn, has not up to the present been documented to any extent; and the hazards and discomforts of this Panama journey are clearly evidenced in Bushby's diary of his trip. Moreover, he travelled in company with a number of the men who were soon to become the administrators and builders of the new colony of British Columbia, and his comments on such figures as Moody, Burnaby, Crickmer, Elwyn, and Haynes are fresh and illuminating. The second part of this section of the manuscript runs from Bushby's arrival at Esquimalt on Christmas Day, 1858, to the time of his departure for British Columbia as clerk to Judge Begbie in March, 1859, and it is equally illuminating in its comments on many prominent figures in the Victoria of 1859 and in its recording of the social and musical life of the city in those early days.

This 1858–59 journal was in process of being prepared for publication when the trustees of the New Westminster Historic Centre at Irving House brought to the attention of the Provincial Archivist an unidentified manuscript, which had been given to them by Mr. Ivan E. Hambly, editor of the New Westminster *British Columbian*, who in turn had received it from a member of the Bushby family.⁶⁴ On examination,

(64) Ivan E. Hambly to the Board of Trustees, Irving House, New Westminster, February 18, 1959.

this manuscript proved to contain the journal of Arthur Bushby from November 8, 1858, to December 25, 1859, plus the "Journal trip Cayoosh to Ft Alexandria," 1860, and some miscellaneous memoranda. Further investigation revealed that the 1858-59 diary in the manuscript presented by Mr. Bullen, which it had been proposed to publish, was actually not his grandfather's original journal at all, but a rewriting of the relevant portion of the Irving House journal, a rewriting made by Bushby himself in 1873, when his wife and family were away in England. On April 9, 1873, "somewhat low spirited," he records that he "read over old love journals"; on April 28 he "wrote again to dear Agnes & also wrote up a lot of my old Journal"; and on July 15 also he was "busy writing up old journal." He got only as far as March 2, 1859, in this 1873 redaction, which breaks off quite abruptly, in the middle of a sentence.

A comparison of the two versions is not without interest: Bushby makes few major changes, but a number of minor alterations in expression or emphasis point the lapse of fourteen years. "Carrying our own trunks," for instance, becomes "packing our own trunks," and "people" becomes "folks." On first acquaintance Mrs. Douglas "seems a good old soul," but she "seems a dear old soul" as her son-in-law relives the past. And as Bushby is reminded of the England he had left (perhaps, he thinks, for ever), "the British flag" of the 1858 version becomes "the dear old flag."⁶⁵

As soon as the relation between the various manuscripts had been determined, and it was quite clear that the Provincial Archives did not, as had previously been thought, possess the original manuscript of the 1858-59 journal, the Trustees of the New Westminster Historic Centre graciously agreed to allow the Provincial Archivist to publish the document in their possession, instead of the journal in the Archives which it had been his original intention to publish. The document printed below, therefore, by permission of the Trustees of the New Westminster Historic Centre and Mr. Douglas B. Fitzherbert Bullen, consists of that portion of the Irving House manuscript of the 1858-59 journal which covers the period from November 8, 1858, when Bushby left England, to the end of April, 1859, when he returned to Victoria from the mainland after his first circuit with Judge Begbie. The text is that of the original journal of 1858-59, but any significant variations in the 1873

(65) Entries for December 26, 1858; January 26, 1859; January 20, 1859; December 20, 1858.

redaction (which comes to an end, however, on March 2, 1859) have been given in footnotes marked with an asterisk. Bushby's own spelling has been retained throughout; the punctuation is also his, with the omission only of the many superfluous dashes with which he sprinkled his pages. The original manuscript is written on sheets of small-size notepaper, not even fastened together, and much of the writing is faded and hard to decipher, for Bushby often wrote up his journal "on a log—by side of the lake," or "scribbling on a pile of blankets in the tent" or "sprawling with his coat off on a bundle of blankets." The manuscript was carried about in his travelling bag, and in places the edges are crumpled or torn away. In these cases, conjectural emendations on the basis of the 1873 redaction have been supplied in square brackets. Bushby illustrated his original manuscript with pen-and-ink sketches drawn on the spot; some of these, which being on separate sheets could be detached from the rest, he inserted as illustrations in the 1873 redaction; others remain perforce in the Irving House manuscript of 1858-59.

Since Bushby's journal gives so concentrated and vivid a picture of the people, places, and events of the period which it covers, it has been annotated in considerable detail. For convenience' sake, however, the notes which supply biographical information on figures of some importance have been arranged alphabetically in an appendix, reference to which is made by means of a dagger sign in the text.

DOROTHY BLAKEY SMITH.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

EXTRACT FROM
THE JOURNAL OF ARTHUR THOMAS BUSHBY

NOVEMBER 3, 1858-MAY 1, 1859

Wednesday morn'g 3rd Nov 1858 left London 8 o'clock for Southampton—went on board the Vanderbilt (5000 tons—2500 Horse power) which was to have sailed for New York at ½ past one but in consequence of an accident—viz the [run] [*scored out*] touching of the keel against a sunken wreck*—she had to go into dry dock & we thus were detained until Thursday 4th Nov when we steamed out at ½ past 12 o'clock heartily glad to get away; passage £20—a great mixture on board—Americans Germans French Italians Spanish & English—Two of the seamen already been chained up for insubordination!!** table so so

Friday 5th Nov 1858.

Beautiful weather. quite warm—awoke at 7 o'clock by the violent sounding of a gong—much amused at the Americans—but disgusted with their spitting propensities.—a large shoal of porpoises followed the vessel for abt an hour jumping & blowing away in the most extraordinary manner—

Saturday 6th Nov 1858—

Sunday 7 " "

Monday 8 " "

Fair weather good deal of fun on board card playing—draughts &c making abt 300 miles a day—

Tuesday 9th Nov 1858

Played some practice jokes on some of the passengers last night—took two planks out of one man's berth—& tied another man's legs to a post—Had a regular pitch fight with beans & cards &c—Met an Englishman named Bedford†—going to Vancouver. besides a Mr Rhodes—a good natured but very sick old gent—the only Britishers on board, scraped up an intimate acquaintance with a pretty, lively American girl—has evidently taken a fancy to me!! to the prejudice of a German who seems much disconcerted—sic transit &c—I am getting quite accustomed to the sea life & like it very much—shipped a heavy sea & smashed the binnacle &c

Wed 10 Nov 1858

Grand flirtation with the American girl Miss Rillie—nicknamed several of the passengers viz Old Fool—Mr Fish. Capt Beans—Mr Oyster Mr Rogue (Rhodes)—I like the sea life very much indeed & am getting quite used to it

Thursday 11 Nov 1858

On the fishing banks of Newfoundland—expect to near Cape Race (1000 miles from N York) in a short time—, slight snow storms, saw a large shark & lots of dolphins—getting thicker & thicker with Miss Rillie Bruckman

* The 1873 redaction reads *rock* for *wreck*.

** The 1873 redaction reads *hoisted by the thumbs for insubordination—a cruel punishment*.

† See Biographical Appendix.

She made & adjusted a poultice for my thumb which has all festered in consequence of a little cut; wind dead in our teeth & not making more than 200 miles, very poor table & attendance, water bad—& some one stole $\frac{3}{4}$ of a bottle of brandy—for which I paid \$2 Americanism—10 spot of spades (10 of spades)

Friday 12 Nov 1858—

Weather rather rough—stood on the deck alone last night at abt 11 o'clock. the waves & swell running very high—a heavy storm of hail wind & rain came on—& was succeeded by the moon just peeping through the clouds & casting a ghastly hue over every thing—several snow storms during the day—cold weather now—& the wind so high that I was obliged to hold on by the shrouds—was awoke this morning out of a fair sleep by that infernal 6 feet wool headed nigger who goes the round of the vessel at 7 o'clock violently beating an immense gong to the certain destruction of any further sacrifice to the shrine of Morpheus. Breakfast 8 to 10—lunch 12 o'clock—dinner 4 o'clock Tea or supper $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock—light put out in the cabin @ 11 o'clock—water bad on board—saw the lights on Cape Race last night—Now at the [mouth] of the St Laurence—threw the mail overboard with a flag & buoy attached—picked up by a small coaster & so sent on overland—

Saturday 13 Nov 1858

Nothing worth remarking—except indeed that we had a musical night—for the first time—cut Miss Bruckman & taken up with a pretty German girl—weather smoothe[r], saw a large vessel quite close

Sunday 14 Nov 1858.

We had quite a musical Eveng last night & finished up by dancing for a short time—this morn'g abt 4 o'clock a sudden & fearful squall overtook the vessel & laid her on her beam ends the passengers were very much alarmed—the wind blew like mad & they wd not allow any of the passengers to go on deck (altho' a great many had turned out from fear.—) lest they should be blown overboard—

Monday 15 Nov 1858

Arrived at N York at abt 2 o'clock.* bad weather snow & rain Could see nothing come along. Huddled on board a river Str. & pitched luggage** & all on an open wharf after great difficulty got the luggage** examined every thing very badly managed Got a large fly & stuffed every thing on top & drove with Bedford & Rhodes to the Astor House Hotel—write more to-morrow.

Tuesday 16th

Wednesday 17th

Thursday 18th November 1858. New York

Astor House Broadway

I have been mooning about—

The Hotel is quite a sight—a fine large building immense size—anybody goes

* 1873: adds (11 days).

** 1873: For luggage read baggage.

in—beggars. hawkers—cigar sellers—etc—and the hall which is a fine open place is actually crammed day and night with a regular mob of strangers—porters shoe blacks hawkers &c all chatting smoking spitting & lolling abt in the most droll costumes & attitudes—There are public drawing Rooms for the Ladies & gents. Eating goes on all day from an early hour in the mornng until late at night. One charge for board & lodging—some 2½ or 3\$—The Hotels here are quite wonders—The St Nicholas Broadway is the largest. Should advise all Englishmen to go to the Clarendon—by all means quiet & clean; dined there yesterday with Burnaby†—The streets are badly paved—& there seem to be no local regulations people have all the merchandize on the pavements—coals heaped up—planks placed from the carts to the shop doors & one has to go into the road at every step—The cafés are superb Taylors especially—can form no idea of them without having seen them—The shops or rather warehouses are immense also—the buildings very handsome but no great show in the windows as at home—The Broadway presents much the appearance of the Boulevard at Paris. Omnibuses pretty thick The exteriors of the Theatres are not fine—The Exchange is a fine granate Building with an immense dome—The State House is a pretty fine pile—nothing wonderful—The business parts of the town are crowded not only with people but also with merchandize which is accounted for from the fact that there are no docks & which is again accounted for from there being so little fall & rise in the tide

The Bay of New York is very fine—

A slight description of some of the passengers on board the Vanderbilt. Capt Beans (Lowenthal) as he was called a german who was much struck with Miss Rillie Bruckman good hearted fellow.

Osterman—a fat german very fond of singing, much to the disgust of the Spaniards—

Miss Buck (Ada Clare)—an excentric young lady Mr Wilson paid her great attention.

Mrs Mills (vulgar dame)—Miss Mills & young Mills—snob Yeaton [?] snob also—German family girl with another her age nice girl—played piano well—American Captain & his wife & little boy (Joey) named Drinkwater sat at table with us. Old Virginian gent Mr McGrell [?] Mr Rhodes nice old English gent came to N York with us at the Astor House &c &c

Miss Bruckman is at the Hotel with us. asked me why I cut her so at the end of the Vanderbilt trip told her the truth. that I had seen Mills sitting by her side one mornng & could not possibly compete with him he was such a snob; she liked me I know. asked her this mornng if she wd elope with me & go to Victoria p "Moses Taylor". She declared she wd. don't see my way clear—so dismiss the idea—not quite enough education for me—sic transit gloria mundi.

O[y]sters very big here—apples small—Buckwheat cakes good for nothing—

† See Biographical Appendix.

Saturday 20th November 1858

Went on board the "Moses Taylor" Str. 1600 tons & at 2 o'clock started for Panama—Bill at Astor House expensive—Friday night went to Niblo's Theatre¹ with "Peggy" &c—*

Wretched accommodation on board the "M. Taylor"—2nd cabin passage—met a great many British Columbians Mrs & Col: Moody† an excellent person—The clergyman Mr [Crickmer]† & his wife—a civil engineer Mr Cochran† & his wife—Treasurer to the Colony Capt Gosset† & his wife—Bedford & Burnaby on board also a young fellow, named Elwyn†—going out on speck. Sleeps in my cabin—Some 21 of us including women & children—we have a brandy & water club meeting every Ev'ng Col Moody in the chair—This vessel is very uncomfortable & people very uncivil—had first sight of the Bahama's yesterday—nothing particular except that the weather except on Sunday is beautiful—

Sunday 21 }
Monday 22 }
Tuesday 23 }
Wednesday 24 }

Thursday 25 } Nothing worth noting—except indeed to mention the shocking accommodation in 2nd cabin—men women & children all sleep in one large cabin with side bunks between decks—one common washing place towel changed once in 3 days—salt water to wash in—never take off our clothes—the floor is always wet with water & spittle children screaming all night—& the smell something awful. however Elwyn (who is in my bed) & myself grin & bear it—

Friday 26. Saturday 27th Nov 1858.

Vessel pitching like mad every thing being banged abt in fine style—Vessel took fire day before yesterday—crew went to work & it was out in half an hour.

We had a superb view of the Island of Cuba—going pretty well a mile from the shore—saw every thing quite plainly—a superb island—mountains & creeks in every shape & form—as we were passing it the sun began to set & the effect was grand in the extreme—we passed so near Cuba that we could not see St Domingo & as the vessel does not want coaling we shall not touch at Kingston Jamaica—which is a gt. pity. The cabin in which 2nd Cabin passengers sleep is the most terrible hole imaginable—the heat is now intense & I went down there last night—& stopped there ¼ of an hour—had I stopped longer I should have fainted—passed my night on a chair & on the deck—We had a long chat—Burnaby & my self last night at 12 o'clock on

(1) The famous Niblo's Garden on Broadway. This enterprise had originally been limited to a Summer Garden, but when the Bowery burned down in 1828 William Niblo "shrewdly built an attractive little theatre in his garden and set up a coach service to bring his patrons from the Astor House to the play." M. C. Crawford, *The Romance of the American Theatre*, new edition, New York, 1940, p. 445. The original theatre was burned down in 1848, but rebuilt the following year.

* 1873: For Niblo's Theatre with "Peggy" &c read Rillie Niblos violent flirtations in public Drawing Room much to disgust of old Lady—gave Rillie keepsake.

† See Biographical Appendix.

the deck alone with a true specimen of a Yankee the fellow was half drunk —& insisted upon our feeling the weight of several rolls of dollars he had in his possession & then he said if any one molested him all he did was to present his pistol at his head & suiting the action to the word he took from his pocket a revolver loaded & cocked & presented it within 2 inches of our heads this was not comfortable as the ship was rolling & the fellow was drunk—no harm was done—

Sunday 28th Nov 1858.

Arrived at Aspinwall² [*sic*] at ½ past 10 o'clock—how delighted we were to find ourselves in sight of land! & the prospect of quitting the "Moses Taylor" *—my shooting Boots I never found the old Steward brought forth my pocket Book & I had to give him the 5\$—The entrance to Aspinwall is beautiful. Mountainous & magnificent verdure to the very waters edge.—The whole scene on nearing the wharf is was [*sic*] something wonderful what with the fine trees large leaf palms &c black half naked Indians & niggers strange dresses &c—we went & engaged rooms at the Howard House, best place but afterwards found that Col Moodys party were to go on at once p rail to Panama³—the price of the Hotel was \$4 for bed breakfast & dinner not so dear!! Aspinwall is a most unhealthy spot & consists of nothing but a row of houses (made of wood) along the shore—the place is dirty & mostly rains [*sic*] all day.—We had to work hard & at last pitched all our baggage & passengers into one large car (as they call them here) & after a good deal of bother—there being no manner of order—& after having actually bundled two niggers out of the window of the car neck & crop—off we went The country through which the train goes is as damp swampy & unhealthy as possible & has cost the lives of hundreds of Irish poor devils—it is a cosmopolitan railway⁴ it is abt 48 miles long & took us abt 3 hours—and how

(2) The modern Colón. Founded in 1850 and named in 1852 after William H. Aspinwall, a prominent member of the company which built the Panama Railway.

(3) The Panama Railway was surveyed in 1849, and clearing operations were commenced the following year. The most formidable obstacles of terrain and climate were encountered, and the line was not opened until 1855. The construction account was closed in January, 1859, the entire cost to date having been eight million dollars. For a full account see F. N. Otis, *Illustrated History of the Panama Railroad*, second edition, revised and enlarged, New York, 1862.

(4) Cf. Otis, *op. cit.*, p. 34: "At times there was a force of several hundred men employed [on the erection of a bridge across the Chagres River]; but they were mostly Irish, unable to endure the effects of the climate, and, being also badly cared for, their numbers were soon so thinned by sickness and death that the contractor found himself unable to accomplish any part of the contract for the price agreed upon . . . and the Company were obliged again to take the enterprise into their own hands. . . . Their working force was increased as rapidly as possible, drawing laborers from almost every quarter of the globe. Irishmen were imported from Ireland, Coolies from Hindostan, Chinamen from China. English, French, Germans, and Austrians, amounting in all to more than seven thousand men, were thus gathered in, appropriately as it were, to construct this highway for all nations. . . . But it was soon found that many of these people,

* 1873: For *Moses Taylor* read the "*Rolling Moses*"!!! According to Walter Moberly, who also came out to Vancouver Island in 1858, the *Moses Taylor* was "at that time generally known as *The Rolling Moses*." *The Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, London, 1885, p. 10.

charming & novel the scenery was—quite wonderful. the foliage so green & of such a large extraordinary description—here and there we came upon a native village—wretched miserable huts—How they can exist in this damp swampy land I cannot imagine—they were almost naked & of course as black as possible—We stopped at one village and were besieged by them offering cocoa nut cakes—oranges cocoa nuts pines banana & other fruits for sale. Of course we had a good gorge as they were so refreshing—& cheap.—We arrived at Panama when it was dark & as our party had some 30 or 40 packages we got them all out of the carriage ourselves.⁵ Counted them & seized some 12 niggers; sent the ladies on before & then surrounded the niggers & so escorted them to the small tug which took us off to the Steamer "Sonora"⁶ (3000 tons) these fellows are such thieves that we had to keep a sharp look out on them—We got on board all safe—our party consisting of

Col Moody Mrs Moody. nurse. James man servant

& 4 children Dick Zeffie Charly & baby

Capt Gosset & wife—nurse & child—

Revd Mr Crickmer wife & child

Mr Cochrane & wife

Bedford Burnaby & Elwyn

The "Sonora" is a palace compared to the Moses Taylor & fitted up beautifully—our 2nd Cabin not so bad altho' even more indecent than on board the Sonora [*sic*: for *Moses Taylor*?] men & women being [huddled] together—it was so hot last night I turned in (in the dark) quite naked—this morn'g however there was a woman quite close to me sitting & I had to get up & dress as best I c^d—I did not care however one gets accustomed to anything—the rats are so numerous that you not only hear them but see them constantly. Bedford had his boots all eaten away.—they only give us salt water—

from their previous habits and modes of life, were little adapted to the work for which they were engaged. The Chinamen, one thousand in number, had been brought to the Isthmus by the Company, and every possible care taken which could conduce to their health and comfort. Their hill-rice, their tea, and opium . . . had been imported with them—they were carefully housed and attended to. . . . But they had been engaged upon the work scarcely a month before almost the entire body became affected with a melancholic, suicidal tendency, and scores of them ended their unhappy existence by their own hands. Disease broke out among them, and raged so fiercely that in a few weeks scarcely two hundred remained. The freshly-imported Irishmen and Frenchmen also suffered severely, and there was found no other resource but to reship them as soon as possible, and replenish from the neighboring provinces and Jamaica, the natives of which (with the exception of the Northmen of America) were found best able to resist the influences of the climate."

(5) The passenger fare from Aspinwall to Panama was twenty-five dollars; children under 12, half price; children under 6, quarter price. The passengers' baggage (50 pounds free) was carried at 10 cents per pound. *Panama Star and Herald*, December 4, 1858.

(6) One of the four steamships owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company on the Panama-San Francisco run. Her master was Captain F. R. Baby. A first-class passage cost \$200; 2nd class, \$175; steerage, \$100 (*Panama Star and Herald*, baggage (50 pounds free) was carried at 10 cents per pound. *Panama Star and Herald*, December 4, 1858.

Monday 29th Nov 1858

Tuesday 30th „ „

Yesterday a party of us went ashore & were carried from the boat (the Steamer is lying some 2 miles out) to the shore on the back of some nigger—What a superb place Panama Bay is. The mouth is protected by some half dozen beautiful & mountainous little Island[s] covered all over with the most pungent verdure—& then the mainland is a succession of most beautiful mountains & the little town of Panama⁷ lies in a beautiful spot its old cathedral with its two spires being its most prominent object—well we went on shore & were delighted They say it has somewhat the appearance of C[onstantino]ple in the distance & of Aden inside—I never saw so droll a place—what with the natives their different dress & color—the old looking houses the beautiful scenery & atmosphere I was quite charmed. We bought a lot of cool clothes fruits brandy & a whole supply. We went all over the cathedral called on the consul Mr Bidwell⁸ a very nice fellow—had biscuits & beer—& met there Capt Lambert of the “Alert”⁹ which is lying in the Bay along with another English vessel—& an American after marching abt & being exceedingly amused at every thing the stores caffees [sic] &c we returned to the Str—I bought a real fine Panama hat for 6\$. Cheap!! The heat is most oppressive—& we are detained here waiting for the arrival of one or two more Strs—this vessel generally takes from 1500 to 1700 passengers—not a bad complement—

Wednesday 1st December 1858.

Awfully hot! A whole lot more passengers came on board yesterday and another lot this mornng @ 4 o'clock among them a Mr C[oo]per† his wife 4 children & nurse—going to Victoria V.I. as Harbour Master, also, a young fellow named “Defrese”—snob. must keep clear of him.—Yesterday a

(7) One of the oldest white settlements in continental America, founded in 1519. The ruins of the old city, destroyed in 1671 by Henry Morgan the buccaneer, are some 5 miles east of the town which Bushby visited. Rebuilt in 1673 so as to be nearer the port, this town was entirely surrounded by a granite wall. The cathedral was built in 1760.

(8) Charles T. Bidwell, the British Vice-Consul. *Panama Star*, November 30 and December 4, 1858.

(9) Bushby is confused here. According to the Memoranda of the *Sonora's* current voyage, in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 15, 1858, there were then “In port, at Panama, U.S. steamer *Saranac* and H.B.M. steamers *Alert* and *Vixen*.” The *Alert*, a screw corvette of 17 guns, built at Pembroke in 1856, and on the Pacific station 1858-1861 (Walbran, p. 17), was commanded at this time by Commander William A. R. Pearse. The *Vixen*, a paddle-wheel steam sloop, was then under the command of Commander Lionel Lambert, and the Navy Lists show him still in command of her in December, 1859. Lambert had already been on this coast in 1857, as flag lieutenant in the *Ganges*, and according to (Walbran p. 300), he “had previously held the same position with Admiral Baynes on board the paddle frigate *Retribution*, 1855-1856, stationed in the Black sea during the Russian war.”

† See Biographical Appendix.

steerage passenger fell overboard (drunk) & was drowned¹⁰—the soldiers had several fights*—one of them for stealing had [his] *[scored out]* a large board with "thief" painted on it fastened to his back & was doomed to march the deck 4 hours on 2 hrs off, no doubt that fellow stole my Boots. Blow him—The rats in our 2nd cabin have made a meal off my shoes—& on turning in I f^d a thundering big one had taken possession of the bunk below mine—I hunted him out however. The sharks are swimming abt like fun & the whole bay is full of fish & fowl

etchings from cabin window B of Panama

[2 sketches in text: one approx. 1½" x 1¾", showing rocky cliffs; the other approx. 1⅞" x 1¾", showing building and flag on rock surrounded by water.]

Thursday 2nd }
Friday 3rd } December 1858

Sailed from Panama midday—Wednesday 1st Dec 1858 and glad we all were to get away not only because we were anxious to arrive at our journey's end but also to escape from that sickly place Panama—just before leaving an officer and a seaman of H.M.S. "Alert" died of yellow fever

We had a magnificent view of the Bay while steaming out & what a sight it was!! Scene after scene opened out—the bay is almost land-locked from a succession of beautiful little islands at its mouth. We passed the little town of Bogota situated on the very waters edge & backed by a good high mountain—we had scarcely steamed out more than an hour [when] we were all surprised & delighted on perceiving a large sperm whale value abt £400—not long after we saw two large sword fishes they just looked like two great beams bobbing up and down—Flying fishes we had seen in heaps the other side of the isthmus—And before leaving Panama we were much amused watching the manœuvres of two sharks hovering round a dancing bottle—

Yesterday I was very unwell indeed—bad cold headache & fever. Col Moody was so kind he insisted upon my laying** down on the sofa of his stateroom & brought me iced claret and water—eau de cologne biscuits & in fact nothing c^d be more kind Mr^s Moody also & Burnaby called the ship's doctor & insisted upon my occupying his state room [while] he slept upon a sofa—he gave me 3 pills & this morn'g, beyond a bad cold, I am all right—the clergyman & every one was so kind—I felt quite at home it is a dangerous thing to get fever in this country—they told me today that in some of the trips of this very vessel "the Sonora" they had thrown as many as 200 bodies overboard in one day—no wonder for they pack them so close there are some 1000 on board now—& they have carried 1700—The 2nd

(10) Cf. the Memoranda of the *Sonora's* voyage, *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 15, 1858: "... an Irishman, named Robert Carson, disappeared on the night of November 30th, whilst lying at anchor in Panama Bay; he is supposed to have fallen overboard in a fit of intoxication—he was from Lanesborough, Mass."

* 1873: For the soldiers had several fights read *A Detat: of U S Soldiers on board—fighting & no discipline.*

** 1873: For laying read *lying.*

cabin is so awfully hot & close that, for the future, I shall sleep on deck¹¹—
On leaving Panama we steared 90 miles S. before we changed our course to W—We call at Acapulco which we expect to reach in 4 or 5 days—

The ship [steamed] 230 miles yesterday & 240 up to noon today—

Saturday 4th Dec 1858.

I have quite got rid of the fever and today there is a charming breeze which makes it quite pleasant—

I slept last night on deck with a buffalo rug under me—it was quite delightful met an Irishman [Haynes]† on board who is going out to B. Columbia; seems a decent sort of a fellow. I had a long conversation with Mr Crickmer and also with Col Moody. We came to the conclusion that the mixing of the masses & different classes together—in this country—tended more to debase the whole than to elevate them—At Panama our party stocked itself well with oranges Pines claret Brandy &c—Ice is actually 1/- p lb on board—I wished myself home for the first time today; one has nothing to do on board—

distance 3300 from Panama to S. Francisco

Sunday. 5th Dec. 1858.

We had service on board today in the saloon. Mr Crickmer officiating by the request of the passengers and in the afternoon he went forward and gave the steerage passengers a service it was most impressive—the burnt & hairy faces of the rough miners paying such evident attention to the word of God This mornng a man was buried at 6'ock. his body, sown up in canvas was placed on a plank & slid into the ocean¹²—

Last night I had a violent attack of fever which lasted some 4 or 5 hours—quinine is the only remedy—The vessel ran 260 miles today.

Monday 6th Dec 1858—

Came in sight of some very high lands—the co[a]st of Mexico—The heat is oppressive today—They never make the beds here and [rats] run abt in perfect liberty & insects crawl abt in the same way—there is a nasty old tub of salt water out of which you have to obtain the water to wash in & then the only towel you get is a nasty dirty wet one—nothing of importance happened today

(11) That Bushby did not exaggerate conditions aboard the *Sonora* is confirmed by the fact that on arrival at San Francisco one of his fellow-passengers sued the Company for \$20,000, claiming that he had "lost his health" through having been placed "in a state-room which subjected him to all the benefits and disadvantages of the Thompsonian steam-bath; that his state-room had no ventilation; that offensive odors arising from the machinery, cattle stalls, and vegetable and other matter packed on the guards in front of his state-room, made the place uninhabitable; that, finally, he was made unwell and driven from his state-room, and, owing to a large excess of passengers, beyond the capacity of the *Sonora* to accommodate, was unable to find sleeping quarters." *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 15, 1858.

(12) Cf. the Memoranda of the *Sonora's* voyage, *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 15, 1858: "Stewart Card, late of McComb county, Michigan, died, December 5th, of chronic diarrhoea. . . ."

† See Biographical Appendix.

Tuesday 7th Dec 1858 wrote home to mother

At 5 o'clock we arrived at Acapulco¹³—a small town on the pacific coast of Mexico—As soon as it became light we found ourselves safely moored in what seemed a regular little lake—but it turned out to be a most snug little harbour quite land locked the entrance being quite “round the corner[”]. The little harbour is surrounded by bold mountain scenery reminding me very much of Wales—except the groves of palm & cocoa nut trees—in a very short time the Steamer (which was watering one side & coaling the other) was besieged by native canoes with all manner of things for sale—they make you send down the money in a basket & then they send up the fruit cigars &c—a most amusing sight was the cluster of little niggers swimming abt & diving for coins—not caring one atom for the sharks &c

Col Moody & a party of us went on shore we went to the English Consul—a Mr Johnson who was very civil—we then scrambled abt the little town—half Spanish—half Indian—principally composed of Huts. we ascended a hill & had a beautiful view of the surrounding scenery so rich in verdure—with all the tropical plants & fruits—oranges c nuts shaddocks¹⁴ &c &c It also seems pearls are found in great abundance here—We then went to see the old spanish fort, which is very well situated & has a pretty walk (shaded by trees) up to it—there is a dilapidated old church & a market-place—& some 3500 or 4000 inhabitants & a very fair race of beings—slim but well built—it was very hot but well worth the visit—On steaming out abt 12 o'clock half a hour after having fired a canon [*sic*] we were delighted with [the] magnificent appearance of the Mexican coast said to be one of the finest in the world as regards scenery—high mountains from the waters edge & a succession of higher ranges behind—also one of the first sights which greeted [*sic*] our view was a whale spouting away in fine style—

Wednesday 8th Dec 1858—

We are still coasting along the shores of Mexico at abt 4 miles off and the scenery is splendid to a degree hitherto we had a fine sandy beach but this morning the rocks & mountains [*rise*] abruptly from the water edge—

Acapulco was the creat [*sic*: for *great*?] seat of Montezumas¹⁵ exploits there is a large stone something in the shape of a chair at the further end of the fort, surrounded by water & this they call “Montezumas' seat”—We are to pass a very high mountain today some 12000 feet high called [*blank in MS.*]¹⁶ it is seldom seen, but as it is a clear day I trust we may be fortunate enough to catch a glance at it, rising abruptly from the sea almost, it must be a grand sight—

(13) One of the oldest ports on the Pacific Coast, founded in 1550, and long the port of entry for the rich Spanish galleons from the Philippines.

(14) A pear-shaped citrus fruit resembling the grapefruit; named after Captain Shaddock, who brought the seed from the East Indies to the Barbados in 1696.

(15) Montezuma II, Aztec Emperor of Mexico, 1502–1520, made use of by Cortes to further the Spanish designs for conquest.

(16) Presumably Teotepac, in the Sierra Madre del Sur, the highest mountain in south-west Mexico. (12,149 feet).

Thursday 9th Dec 1858

We have been coasting along the whole day. the scenery is very fine indeed—not quite what one would expect to see for it is all very barren & rocky. they [say] a little way into the interior there is some fine table land at abt 5 o'clock we wound round inshore & came into a snug little harbour with one or two little schooners riding in safety and some dozen native huts and which (considering the quietness & seclusion of the spot) looked—for all the world—like a piratical rendezvous—this however was the port of the town of Manzanilla¹⁷ a place some few miles inland—and they ship [specie from here]—as the whole of this is the great Mexican mining district. We did not stop there long—but steamed out again after half an hours delay—later in the Eveng we commenced to pass the mouth of the gulf of California the wind freshened & it has given the vessel a greater tossing than we yet had on the Pacific—in a short time we shall regain sight of the land and not lose it again—

A Mexican gent. came on board from Manzanilla—and seemed glad to find some one to speak french to, I gained a good deal of information from him abt his country.¹⁸

Friday 10th Dec 1858

The weather has been rather boisterous while crossing the mouth of the Gulf of California we now see land—

what with Panama fever and home sickness my time has not passed very pleasantly these last few days

Saturday 11th Dec 1858—

We came in sight of Cape Lucas after having had rather a boisterous passage across the Gulf of California—the coast appeared dreary & barren commencing with a deep sandy beach & backed by barren high mountains—1150 miles from Cape Lucas to S. Francisco

Sunday 12th Dec^r 1858. “Sonora”—N.W. We have now steamed into nice cool weather and it is quite absurd to see the sudden [change] of clothing on board—divine service today at 10 o'clock—weather fine—we keep gaining & losing sight of land—

Monday 13 Dec 1858.

Wind dead ahead—and blowing freshly—230 miles—we shall not reach S. Francisco until Wednesday mornng—

I had a long chat with Col Moody. he advises me to buy some 100 acres of land near the intended capital of B. Columbia & then go on up to the diggin[g]s & try my luck there—I shall follow his advice—

(17) Manzanillo was first visited by Cortes in 1525, and here he had a number of ships constructed for the exploration of the Pacific. In 1565, some of the ships of the armada destined for the conquest of the Philippines were built at Salagua Port, the harbour of Manzanillo.

(18) Between 1858 and 1861 Mexico was involved in civil war between the reactionary party and the Republicans under Juarez, who advocated the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church. The 1873 redaction reads *his unfortunate country*.

I must own that I feel a little homesick—I [*sic*] without knowing whether I shall succeed or not—I feel a sort of regret at having left old England* ones home, friends & associations—but cheer up we will give the place a fair trial & should all trades fail—home we go—amen—

Tuesday 14 Dec 1858—N W—

We have just passed Santa Cruz—head winds & slow progress—the weather fine & cool—we (the British Columbians) are making all sorts of plans & arranging all sorts of floating ideas—to be carried out on arrival at the promised land, one is going to farm—another breed cattle another speculate smally [*sic*] in land close to the new town a fourth will try for a government appoint^t a fifth will try his luck at the digging a sixth determine to enter the police & they have laid out the following plan for me—to go to the diggings—dig work & make myself popular with my fiddle & when I become known set up a grog & music shop—my fortune will be made—

Wednesday 15th Dec 1858.

At 9 o'clock we passed the Golden Gate and in an hour's time we[re] fairly along side one of the wharves of San Francisco California—

The entrance to the harbour is superb and the golden gate admits of an entrance by a strait—the scenery is fine & bold—altho' S.F. itself is built upon "*water and sand*"—it is a wonderful place and one is astonished how the city could have sprung [into existence] in so short a space of time¹⁹

Col Moody & the whole of his party (myself included) are stopping at the "International" Jackson Street—The best Hotel²⁰—board & lodging from 2.50 to 3.50 p day! cheap indeed for such a place!! We are delighted with the Hotel & the food is first class & never shall I forget my first lunch off brown bread fresh butter, cold beef & hot coffee!!

I have walked abt S.F.—the whole of the frontage by the sea is blt upon sunken wrecks &c & is nothing but a succession of wooden frame works propt up—the city is between two large sand hills & covered with wooden & brick houses. "Montgomery" is the principle Street & there are others very respectable indeed—but mostly wooden streets & pavements. The place is all alive & busy Strs going to and fro &c

Heaps of Chinese here—droll being[s]—at every corner you see "Lin Sin—washing &c &c" they used to get their pig tails pulled & to prevent this they stuck in their pins &c—

(19) The Spanish presidio and mission had been founded in 1776, and the village, by that time known as Yerba Buena, had been taken for the United States during the Mexican war, in 1846. The town became officially known as San Francisco in 1847, and was incorporated in 1850. At the time of the discovery of gold in California the population was about 800; two years later it was some 25,000, and the city had become the chief gateway to the mines.

(20) Cf. the advertisement in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 17, 1858, which speaks of the new furniture, every bed supplied with "J. G. Clark & Co.'s Celebrated Patent Spring Mattresses," ensuring "the most luxurious rest imaginable"; of "our table, so well known to be unsurpassed in the United States"; and of "the cleanliness and good order that prevails everywhere." The traveller is warned to "Beware of interested runners from inferior Hotels, who report that we are full and cannot accommodate any more! The International coach can always be found at the Landings ready to convey passengers to the House."

* 1873: For *old England* read *dear old England*.

Thursday 16th Dec 1858—

The Str for V.C. Island does not leave until Monday or Tuesday—

There was a fire today in some part of the city & it was a wonderful sight to see all the different fire engines crowding to the spot—there is a constant look out from a commanding spot & they give the alarm by ringing the Church Bells two strokes at a time—

Of course there is a general look of want of finish abt the place & dirt by the bushels—The weather is charming altho' they complain of the cold here—
wrote home

Friday 17th Saturday 18th Sunday 19th Monday 20th December 1858—

We have been knocking abt. S. Francisco from day to day anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Panama²¹ from Victoria—she came in this morn'g (Monday) & we hope to be off in a couple of days—Bedford & 3 or 4 of us had serious thoughts of going by a sailing vessel which starts tomorrow we shall now stop for the Steamer—

I went to the Lyceum Theatre²² & was much amused at the splendid ranting. Lucrezia Borgia was the drama—They do operas at McGuire's Opera House²³ & not badly I believe—they have Minstrels²⁴ here—but very little else in the shape of amusement. Billiard Tables it is true—

(21) See *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, ed. E. W. Wright (hereafter cited as *Lewis & Dryden*), Portland, 1895, p. 69: "One of the original three steamers built for the Pacific Coast trade after the discovery of gold had been announced in the East, the *California* and the *Oregon* preceding her. . . . When the Pacific Mail turned its northern routes over to Ben Holladay, the *Panama* was continued on this line until 1868, when she was sold to the Mexican Government, who fitted her up as a revenue and transport steamer and ran her on the west coast of Mexico under the name of *Juarez*." Her master on Bushby's voyage was Captain Watson (*Victoria Gazette*, December 28, 1858).

(22) This "elegant place of amusement" had been opened in the early spring of 1858 (George R. MacMinn, *The Theater of the Golden Era in California*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1941, p. 61), and was now advertising in the *Evening Bulletin* the "Best Stock Company in California," with Dress Circle and Orchestra seats priced at 50 cents and the Parquette at 25 cents. On December 16 there was a benefit for Mr. A. R. Phelps, the plays presented being *Ben, the Boatswain* and *Lucrezia Borgia* [by Victor Hugo]. On the following night the Extravaganza of *Pocahontas* [or *Ye Gentle Savage*, by J. Brougham] was accompanied by the comedy of *Old and Young*; on Saturday the 18th, *Pocahontas* and the drama of *The Emperor and the Soldier* were played; and on the 20th, the night before the *Panama* sailed for Victoria, *Pocahontas* and *Pizarro*, a play adapted by Sheridan from Von Kotzebue's romantic tragedy in five acts.

(23) On December 16 Maguire's Opera House was advertising a "Grand Opera Night, on which occasion will be produced The Entire First and Third Acts of Bellini's Grand Opera of NORMA, Together with selections from *I Masnadieu* [sic: for *I Masnadieri*] and *Il Trovatore*. In all of which the Celebrated Artistes, Signor and Signora Bianchi, will appear." On the 17th, the performance commenced with "the Comedietta of *Ticklish Times*," followed by "Brougham's Extravaganza, entitled Po-ca-hon-tas." The title-role was played by "the Queen of Comedy and Song, Mrs. Wood," this being "the 11th night of [her] re-appearance." On the three following nights (the theatres were open on Sundays) *Pocahontas* was repeated; and the supporting pieces were two comedies: *Spitalfields Weaver*, and *Rights and Wrongs of Women* [a farce by John Maddison Morton]. The prices of admission at Maguire's were: Dress Circle and Orchestra, a dollar; Private Boxes, five and ten dollars; Parquette, fifty cents; and Family Circle, twenty-five cents,

Mr. Crickmer & myself went abt looking at the churches & we met with much civility. The clergyman of the Episcopal Church²⁵ asked us to dine with him—I did not go—but I asked permission to sing in the choir on Sunday & on their being told that I was a member of H Leslie's Choir²⁶ it was at once accorded—I went & was much pleased a young fellow nm^d Schulters played the Harmonium & he leads the band at the Lyceum One of Chrystys Minstrels was the alto—Campbell by name—they had a fine deep bass a German & a powerful soprano the tenor had a bad cold so he was much [obliged] at having some one to take his place—The music was all new to me but I managed to get through pretty well—They were very civil to me—This is the first music of any consequence I have had since I left old England.

Haines & myself took a long 5 hours walk into the country & walked through the "Lone Mountain Cemetery"²⁷—most of the rough graves were those of young people (men) from 20 to 30 yrs old—This climate altho' it seems so fair is very deceitful—& colds are most common.

Called upon Falkner Bell & Co.²⁸ they put my name down at the "Union Club"—I lunched there today. Went with a young Anglais to see the boats of the S. Francisco club. queer!!

It is an odd place this with odd people in it, how glad we all shall be to get under the British flag* again!!

though the advertisement was careful to point out that "Children in arms [were] not admitted." For further information on Maguire and his theatrical enterprises see Lois Foster Rodecape, "Tom Maguire, Napoleon of the Stage," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XX (1941), pp. 289-314; XXI (1942), pp. 39-74.

(24) The American Theatre, the second of that name, built in 1854, was now advertising the "Farewell Engagement of the Star Troupe, Geo. Christy's Minstrels" in "New Songs, Solos, Acts, Dances, &c." with an entire change of programme nightly. Upper Circle seats cost twenty-five cents; Second Circle, fifty cents; Dress Circle and Parquette, a dollar.

(25) The San Francisco Directory for 1858 lists two Episcopal churches: Grace Church, on Powell Street, between Jackson and Pacific, served by the Right Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, D.D., Rector, and the Rev. F. C. Ewer, Assistant Minister; and Trinity Church, on Pine Street, between Montgomery and Kearney, where the Rev. S. C. Thrall was Rector. Both churches were in the neighbourhood of Bushby's hotel.

(26) Henry (David) Leslie (1822-1896) was the Honorary Secretary of the Amateur Musical Society in London from its formation in 1847 until 1855. The choir which bore his name was actually formed by Joseph Hemming in 1853 and conducted at first by Frank Moir; Leslie became conductor in 1855. At first the membership was limited to sixty voices, but this number was afterwards increased to 240, so that a large work might be undertaken in place of the madrigals for the singing of which the choir had originally been founded. Leslie remained as conductor until 1861, when the Society was dissolved. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edition, ed. Eric Blom, London, 1954, p. 45.

(27) Some 2 miles west of Montgomery Street. According to the 1858 Directory, "This cemetery was dedicated in June 1854. . . . It contains an area of 160 acres. . . . About 2,000 interments have already been made within the inclosure. . . ."

(28) Evelyn R. Falkner and James Bell were commission merchants whose office was at 128 California Street and who lived at the Union Club Rooms on the corner of Montgomery and California Streets.

* 1873: For the British flag read the dear old flag.

There is nothing particular to see at S. Francisco some of the streets are Montgomery — Commercial — California Sacramento Jackson Ful-some Sansome &c & all along the sea they have what they call Port 1. 2 3 &c piers jutting out—

People are constantly missing here—no doubt they either get murdered or else they fall down the holes in the wood paved streets & so get [swept] into the sea—

The Chinese are very numerous here—they do a great deal of fishing ironing & washing but are not at all liked by the Americans they swarm in different parts of the city—& live upon nothing—they are very dirty & their women most immoral—The usual dress here is a slouch wide-a-wake a red flannel shirt breeches with the ends tucked into long knee boots.

A great many—in fact almost all the houses a little way out are built of wood & form a very pretty appearance—

I went all over the "J. L. Stevens"²⁹ which is going East today full of passengers & I had a long conversation with a miner who this mng ret^d from Victoria p Panama [Str] he gives a good a/c of the place—no one can tell what it will be—some cry it up others cry it down so we must wait & judge for ourselves—

Fruit is most dear here 1 pc [fc?] for an apple.³⁰ everything in fact is dear—clerks &c get good wages 400 to 500 £ p an but then their expenses are great in proportion—

Tuesday, 21st Dec 1858.

The "Panama" arrived from Victoria yesterday, discharged her cargo & passengers coaled took in fresh cargo—and we all got on board with our traps and she sailed today at ½ past 4 o'clock—Glad we all were to be en route again—The Hotel Bill was \$18—\$3 p day—they charge so much for cleaning each pr of shoes—& you give a trifle to the Porter—but not a cent to any one else—The "Metropolitan" is a cheaper Hotel, I believe, and very good indeed—

Wednesday 22nd Dec 1858

We have the "Panama" almost entirely to our selves which makes it very pleasant & the young fellows of our party they have taken into the 1st cabin at the reduced price of \$40—

It is very rough & a head wind; the mountains along which we are coasting are covered with snow—

I laid in a stock of Manilla cigars at S. Francisco—& am becoming a smoker by degrees.

We made the acquaintance of a young fellow named Vidal—& the night before we started from S. Francisco was the jolliest we have had since

(29) The *John L. Stephens*, Captain Wm. F. Lapidge, sailed for Panama on December 20. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 21, 1858.

(30) The abbreviation is probably to be read as "pc.," for "piece of eight," the Spanish dollar. Cf. the following passage from "A Belgian in the Gold Rush. A Memoir by Dr. J. J. F. Haine," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVII (1958), p. 320: "Little apples from the Sandwich Islands sold for 2 piastres apiece." A piastre was the equivalent of one dollar.

we left old England—After dinner at the Hotel we smoked a cigar had a long conversation subject—"Music"—then 4 of them had a rubber—cold whiskey punch during the same—then we strolled to the Union Club, some more punch Billiards cigars &c—some more whiskey—strolled bk to Hotel some more do [i.e. *ditto*: written just below *whiskey*]—& to bed—during the day Vidal had shown me the boats of the S. Francisco Boating Club—rather rough concerns

Wednesday 22nd }
Thursday 23rd } Dec^r 1858

It is very dirty weather, the wind however is favorable and we hope to reach Victoria by Xmas morn—

Friday 24
Saturday 25 Xmas Dec^r 1858 }
Sunday 26 }

The voyage p "Panama" S. very pleasant. All the officers on board very agreeable the living good & Xmas Eve we had a regular musical bout finished by the Purser handing us round a bowl of whiskey or sherry—On [Tuesday] night we had a fearful gale—& got close in shore thanks to a dark night we had to heave to—until daylight & on Saturday morn Xmas day we came in sight of old Vancouver Island—& by 10 o'clock we steamed into Esquimalt Harbour

The island itself from the sea view looks quite like the scotch coast fir trees to the waters edge—Esquimalt Harbor is quite land locked. The *Satellite*³¹ & *Plumper*³² are at anchor & some merchantmen & lots of Indian canoes with natives long haired flat faced paddling & fishing. We were landed at the rough wharf bag & baggage & went to the only grog shop & drank a Merry Xmas in a glass of good scotch w[h]iskey we knocked abt the harbor & wharf all day I shot a gull my first trial & at last a little Str³³ came round from

(31) A screw corvette of 21 guns, 1,462 tons, and 400 h.p. built at Devonport 1855–1856, and on this station 1857–1860, under the command of Captain (afterwards Admiral) James C. Prevost. Walbran, p. 442.

(32) An auxiliary steam sloop, barque rigged, of 484 tons and 60 h.p., launched at Portsmouth in 1848. She was armed with two long 32-pounders and ten short ones of a pattern out of date by Walbran's day. The *Plumper* was on this coast as a survey ship from November 9, 1857, until January, 1861, when she was relieved by the *Hecate*. Captain (afterwards Admiral) George H. Richards was in charge of the survey and continued the work in the *Hecate* when the *Plumper* returned to England. Walbran, p. 384.

(33) Probably the sidewheeler *Caledonia* or *Caledonian* (her officially registered name), Captain James Frain, built by James Trahey for Falkner, Bell & Co., of San Francisco, at the Songhees Indian Reserve across Victoria Harbour, and launched on September 8, 1858, the first steamboat to be launched in the two colonies. For further details see Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* (hereafter cited as *BCHQ*), X (1946), pp. 2–4. On October 28, 1858, the *Victoria Gazette* advertised that the *Caledonian* would "carry freight and passengers, at moderate rates, to and from all steamers and sailing vessels . . . anchoring in the outer harbor or Esquimalt"; and during the winter the guests at various balls and entertainments aboard the *Ganges* were taken ashore in the ship's boats, some "to find their way home over the muddy roads, while others were transferred to the little steamer

Victoria & took us all on board we carrying* our own trunks on our shoulders & away we steamed for Victoria getting there at Dusk they landed us at the wharf & we wended our way to the Hotel de France³⁴ & bunked on the floor with Haines two others in the same room—much astonished at the magnitude of the place

M'day 27 }
T'day 28 } Dec 1858 wrote home
W'dy 29 }

On getting to the Hotel Xmas day—we determined to have a good dinner so some 12 of us sat down to [sic] at 5/6 a head—12 bottles of ale what a treat & we enjoyed ourselves in the vengeance After that we adjourned to a large drinking saloon & regaled ourselves with hot whiskey punch & saw a number of fine specimens of miners— next mng Burnaby & I went to church³⁵ a nice little place**—I met Begbie† coming out who did not recognize me at first on a/c of my dress*** & beard & moustache—he was glad to see me—he then introduced me to the clergyman³⁶ & Mr Pemberton³⁷ & then

Caledonian, and came home by water." See *Victoria Gazette*, November 25, 1858; and cf. *Victoria Gazette*, December 11, 1858, and J. R. Anderson, Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia . . . , [1925?], Transcript, p. 240.

(34) See Edgar Fawcett, *Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria*, Toronto, 1912, p. 60: "The two-story wooden building [on Government Street] in the middle of the block, between Trounce Alley and Fort Street, is the Hotel de France, kept by P. Mansiet, and one of the two principal hotels of that day." It was totally destroyed by fire in 1868 (*Victoria Colonist*, November 4, 1868).

(35) The Victoria District Church was built between 1853 and 1856, "exactly according to the plan" suggested by Andrew Colville of the Hudson's Bay Company. See James Douglas to Colville, January 17, 1855 (Douglas Correspondence Outward, 1854-1857—Miscellaneous Letter- and Scrap-book). By October, 1853, the stone foundation had been laid and the timber for the framework hewn and drawn from the woods. See Douglas to Archibald Barclay, October 21, 1853 (Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, May 16, 1850, to November 6, 1855). But the work progressed but slowly, for there were "no Mechanics in the Colony who will undertake the construction of the whole building, we must therefore do it by degrees with hired workmen" (*ibid.*). Still unfinished, it was opened for divine service on August 31, 1856 (see the extracts from the Minute Book of Christ Church Parish made by Major F. V. Longstaff, 1953). Later named Christ Church after the Rev. Edward Cridge's former church in London (see "Bishop Cridge Recalls Memories of the Past," *Victoria Colonist*, December 22, 1907, p. 29), it was consecrated the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Columbia on December 7, 1865 (*Victoria Colonist*, December 8, 1865).

(36) The Rev. Edward Cridge. See Biographical Appendix.

(37) There were two men of that name in the colony at the time, both belonging to the same distinguished Irish family: Joseph Despard Pemberton and his uncle Augustus Frederick. See Biographical Appendix. It was probably A. F. Pemberton to whom Bushby was introduced on this occasion, for he had been "requested to act as churchwarden by Mr. Cridge" on August 2, 1856, according

* 1873: For carrying read packing.

** 1873: For a nice little place read a neat little conventicle.

*** 1873: For dress read rough dress.

† See Biographical Appendix.

Mr Brew† who made me acquainted with a Mr Crease† a barrister living next door—

We are paying at the Hotel \$1 per bed \$1 dinner & \$½ for breakfast

We hunted for lodgings & at last found one Burnaby & myself in 1 room for \$5 per mo.

On Monday Burnaby Bedford Elwyn & myself went into Creases where we met a man named Robertson³⁸—whiskey & cigars order of the day—

Tuesday went & presented my letters to the Gov;³⁹ he rec^d me very well & before I left he invited me to dine that evng. I went almost full dress & met there Mr & Mrs Dallas† Two Miss Douglas's⁴⁰ Begbie & Capt Gossett—a most pleasant evng we had & a good dinner—music & cards. I got on very well with them & the Gov: a jolly brick one of his daughters is pretty—the other I should say bad tempered—Mrs Dallas a jolly little woman Walked home with Begbie with whom I am capital friends—

Before going into Creases on M'day night B.B.E. [i.e. Burnaby, Bedford, and Elwyn?] & myself went over to Col Moody's empty hut⁴¹—the rough furniture all abt we made a jolly wood fire rigged a table up lit our pipes & had a rubber held a council of war & then paid Main† a visit, this man we had letters to—in fact Falkner & Co gave me a letter of credit for £25 on him a good fellow he is too—he has Capt Stamps† house to let—& we called there & had some whiskey &c & then went on to Crease's

to his diary, and took an active part in the affairs of the Victoria church. On July 4, 1858, he noted: "Attended Church & was called upon to act officially, as church-warden, in the case of Mr. McKay for disturbing Divine service."

(38) Probably Mortimer Robertson, who was one of seven persons, including Crease, Bedford, and Walter Moberly, who early in 1859 applied for lots in the town of Port Douglas. See Crease to J. D. Pemberton, January 14, 1859 (Crease Letter-book, 1858-1861, p. 20). In May, 1859, he dissolved "the business connection lately subsisting at Port Douglas" between himself and one Allan Macdonald (Victoria Gazette, May 21, 1859).

(39) James Douglas (1803-1877) had succeeded Richard Blanshard as Governor of Vancouver Island in 1851, and had been proclaimed Governor of the mainland colony of British Columbia on November 19, 1858.

(40) Agnes, aged 17, and Alice, aged 14. For further details concerning Agnes Douglas, see Introduction, *passim*. For Alice, see Biographical Appendix.

(41) Colonel Moody and his family "were domiciled, until they went to the mainland [in May, 1859] in a wooden one-storey house, next door to the Custom House [on Government Street] and a counterpart of it" (J. R. Anderson, Notes and Comments, p. 239). Immediately on the arrival of Colonel Moody's official party on Christmas Day, they had been provided by Governor Douglas with "temporary house accommodation." See Douglas to Arthur Blackwood, December 27, 1858 (Douglas Correspondence). On December 28, Douglas informed J. D. Pemberton that "the new Building nearest the Post Office is assigned as the temporary residence of The Lieutenant Governor and Officer in Command of Her Majesty's forces in British Columbia," and instructed him "to get the slight alterations and additions required to make it suitable for this purpose executed without delay" (Douglas Correspondence).

† See Biographical Appendix.

We are living very well here—rather expensive—but this afternoon we go into our lodgings⁽⁴²⁾—Victoria now consists of the old fort⁽⁴³⁾ surrounded by its stockade & enclosing a large store—police Court Treasury & other offices—outside is the Gov. House⁽⁴⁴⁾ & this excitement has knocked up several fine streets—beautifully constructed altho' not yet fined down the stores are only of wood but time will remedy that then outside are a whole lot of straggling huts a Protestant church* the Gov private residence⁽⁴⁵⁾—some 200 acres set aside for a park** & the whole on as fine a sight [*sic*] for a town as you could wish to see—Victoria Bridge⁽⁴⁶⁾ across the inner basin or Harbor leads to the Indian village a queer looking place & through that is the rather rough road to Esquimalt—The Harbour—or sits [*sic*: for *its*?] mouth rather is too shallow for big vessels but as soon as they get money it will [be] dredged & rectified—the scenery round abt is fine but on the opposite coast it is grand snow topped high mountains—

The Indians are a miserable race—badly clad in blankets &c & some painted all colors. The Chinook Jargon is mostly spoken I am learning it—We find every thing very dull here—& nothing to do so we must sit idle till a good time comes.

(42) Presumably in the house inhabited by Mr. and Mrs. John Copland. Cf. the entry for February 4-7, 1859.

(43) Established in 1843 by Chief Factor James Douglas, then a member of the Board of Management in charge of the Western Department of the Hudson's Bay Company. When in 1849 the Company transferred its headquarters from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia to Fort Victoria, Douglas was placed in charge there.

(44) The house built for Governor Blanshard in 1850. For a description of the building and the difficulties encountered in its erection, see W. Kaye Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," *BCHQ*, XIV (1950), pp. 1-4.

(45) The Douglas family had quarters in Fort Victoria until the Governor's residence at James Bay was erected. The move to the new house, which "was considered to be a very grand affair and the most up-to-date house in the Colony" (J. R. Anderson, *Notes and Comments*, p. 188), was made some time between June 1, 1851, when James William Douglas was born, according to Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, "in the Fort," and December 27, 1852, when Dr. Helmcken married Cecilia Douglas and, the house he was building next to the Governor's at James Bay not yet being completed, had to live for some months in Governor Blanshard's old quarters. Helmcken says that his courtship of Cecilia was carried on first at the Fort and then at the Douglas residence at James Bay. See his *Reminiscences*, 1892, Vol. III, pp. 41, 56-60, 65; and cf. Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby to the Secretary of the Admiralty, July 7, 1851 (Public Record Office Transcripts, H.B.C.—C.O., 1822-1852, Vol. 725, p. 209): "Mr. Douglas has a commodious dwelling, nearly completed, on his farm, near the Fort. . . ."

(46) A wooden bridge built in 1854-55 by "the hands attached to the Surveying department." See Douglas to A. Barclay, August 26 and December 20, 1854 (Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, May 16, 1850, to November 6, 1855). It was demolished in 1862, other bridges having been built in 1861 at Rock Bay and Point Ellice (*Victoria Colonist*, May 14, 1862).

* 1873: For a Protestant church read the Ch: on the hill. The site of the Victoria church, later Christ Church, was on the rocky eminence directly west of the present Cathedral.

** 1873: For park read park on Beacon Hill.

The mud is something awful here & we go abt in high top boots which are never cleaned—the streets are not yet lighted⁴⁷ So when you go out in the night a lantern is indispensable—

The weather is fair with occasional frosts & rain but suits us all—and we enjoy excellent health the only thing which mars our enjoyment is not knowing when we shall get employment—

Thursday 30th Dec 1858—

(29")

In the afternoon Burnaby & myself called on Begbie & we stuck on our revolvers and started forth into the back woods to see if we could get any fun—We went to *Beacon Hill*—which stands S E by S of Victoria & is in the centre of the park (200 acres) set apart for the public. The Governors farm⁴⁸ adjoins & thus a large fine open space will always be kept clear for the town—The park in some parts is exactly like Richmond Park. Once on the brow of the Hill & a superb & grand sight presents itself on the right is the entrance to Esquimalt & Victoria Harbour. On the left the mainland of British Columbia in front the [sea] [scored out] American mainland (Washington Territory) in the rear the beautiful site of the town of Victoria—with its already commenced little town & at the base of the Hill the dashing sea against the rocky shore—we marched some distance along the shore & the quantities of huge pieces of timber cast high & dry is something wonderful—As it was too dark then to shoot—we had staid so long admiring the scene—we returned to our quarters & to a hearty dinner—We got through the Eveng as best we could & turned in for the first night into our new lodgings—By [i.e. Burnaby] & myself one room & B^d [i.e. Bedford] & En [i.e. Elwyn] in another. We pay \$4 p month each—As I had no bedding except two blue blankets which I bought for \$7½ I laid them down & myself on top of them—covered myself over with a coat or two with another for my pillow & fell asleep—but woke up in the middle of the night cold enough—as we have as yet very little furniture we are rather put [to shifts]

Thursday 30th Dec. 58.

Started at 11 o'clock with By—to pay a visit to the "Satellite" put on my knee boots trowsers we tucked in—and my waterproof coat rolled up & strapped round my waist & an oil skin cap on—passed over Victoria Bridge & through the Indian village along the Esquimalt road & after ½ hour's walk or rather wade through mud—and occassional diversions into the bush to avoid the bad trail—we came to the "Rough & Ready" which is a large wooden Hut on the side of the road(?) we [*sic*: for *where*?] a fellow sells grub & coffee—and is patronized by the officers of the ships—from this place we hired a boat & pulled to the "Satellite" were welcomed on board by a young middy "Ren-

(47) Gas was lighted for the first time in Victoria on September 30, 1862, "in Carrall's liquor store, and in the street in front of the same premises." *Victoria Colonist*, October 1, 1862.

(48) The Fairfield farm estate, listed in the census of 1855. "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," ed. W. Kaye Lamb, *BCHQ*, IV (1940), p. 52.

shaw"⁴⁹—whom we had spoken to before & went down into the officers cabin—I presented my letter from S [*rest of name illegible*: Swinton? Swinburn?] to Lieut Gooch† & Burnaby his to Lieut Peil⁵⁰—they then wanted us to have lunch—which we declined but drank away at Beer & sherry some half dozen officers were there—the Marine officer Jones† among them & they made us as welcome and jolly as possible we stopped there at least 3 hours & most delighted we were with our reception one of the fellows knew Teddy Hunter another knew Wm Conolly In fact we made the best of friends with them. Gooch asked me to mess with them on Sunday & they wd give me a bed on board of course I accepted. before leaving Capt Haig⁵¹—Artillery & another officer & Elwyn came in—introduced of course—they all saw us over the side & we set out home—met Col & Lady & Cap Prevost† of Satellite were introduced as we were to Cap Richards† of Plumper, it came on an awful shower & than[k]s to knee boots cap & waterproof I got home all dry abt 5 o'clock had capital dinner—knocked abt & here I am—11 o'clock writing my journal in our room on two portmanteaus the rain pouring outside & I thanking my stars at being under shelter By has just manufactured a bed for the two—On going to Esquimalt we met a fellow on horseback I stopped him for a light for my cigar & in the course of conversation he asked us to the engineers barracks, he being of the R.E. named Wilson,† shall go of course enough for tonight as I am getting cold & candles are dear (one burning)—

Friday 31st Dec 1858—

Walked with Haines to Esquimalt and saw after my gun. The "Plumper" was firing away like mad—In the Evening we dined some 6 of us together @ \$1 p head it being New Years Eve—after dinner we sloped to our quarters & finished off no end of hot whiskey punch—smoking all the time—then returned to the Hotel where some cove was handing round "Tea Punch" Went in for that, & then popped into Crease's—had some more cold whiskey & water cigars &c and there & then drank the New Year in—

Thy Gun, thy Razor & thy wife	} Crease—
See thou lend not for thy life	

There we were some half dozen in a little room round the stove & the rain pelting outside—swigging & smoking away & so the Year 1859 was ushered

(49) Francis B. Renshaw was appointed acting mate in 1860 and lieutenant in 1862. He was lost in the wreck of H.M.S. *Captain* of the Channel squadron on September 7, 1870.

(50) Mountford Stephen Lovick Peile was on this station as first lieutenant in the *Satellite*, 1857-1860. He retired with the rank of captain in 1875. Walbran, p. 377.

(51) Captain R. W. Haig, R.A., was the Chief Astronomer of the British party which in the summer of 1858 had been appointed to the joint Commission for determining the boundary line along the 49th parallel. Marcus Baker, *Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861*, Washington, 1900 (U.S. Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 174), p. 21.

† See Biographical Appendix.

in!! At one o'clock we turned in, Elwyn & myself making up a bed on a buffalo robe &c

Yesterday in the course of conversation some strange facts came out abt the manners & customs of the salmon here. One man asserted that when they go up the [strea] [scored out] rivers (to spawn against stream he has actually seen the snout worn away & the eye & the tail in shreds &c Some 300 Queen Charlotte Islands [Indians] came down here yesterday in large canoes⁵²—with the King of the Island—a half caste named Enderby⁵³—they are very warlike & are encamped some mile out of town I shall go and pay their camp a visit when I shall be able to write more about them—

Saturday 1st January 1859—

After breakfast on going to my room I found a letter from Begbie inviting Burby B^d & my self in the name of the Governor to his house in the Eveng—Pater could not go so Bob & I toggged out Maine lending me his big India Rubber Boots & with our lantern alight at ½ past 8 away we sped & a fine Eveng we had—they were most civil—& had us in after the ladies had left table & gave us some fine port—afterwards we bunked to the D room & I sang Goodbye sweetheart⁵⁴ & then we played cards Brew Bob Miss Aggie Douglas & myself—they say she looks with no savage eye on me—& true she is a stunning girl. black eye & hair & larky like the devil half a mind to go in for her—Govr civil met Mr and Mrs Young† & walked home with Begbie—good friends with him, in fact breakfasted with him on

Sunday 2nd January 1858 [sic]

he gave me some music to look over so as to sing with him & we then went to church together in the organ loft⁵⁵—sang away & in coming out

(52) Some 300 Indians in thirty canoes had arrived from the north on December 30 and were encamped at the Indian village near Roderick Finlayson's farm, with their wives, children, and household effects (*Victoria Gazette*, January 1, 1859). The *Gazette* reporter visited the camp and found the Indian hospitality "quite proverbial," but soon the inhabitants of Victoria were complaining of "repeated and audacious thefts by the Hyder Indians" (*ibid.*, March 3, 1859), and on March 16 the natives were sent back to their northern homes, escorted by the Navy as far as "Johnson's Pass" (*ibid.*, March 17, 1859).

(53) The Chief of the Islands at this time was actually the celebrated Edenshaw (1812?–1894), who in middle life travelled a great deal between Sitka and Victoria, where his visits appear at times to have been rather embarrassing to the authorities—we hear of the Governor supplying him with rum and blankets to induce him to leave. Charles Harrison, *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific*, London, 1925, pp. 165–176.

(54) "Goodbye, sweetheart, goodbye": words by F. Williams, music by J. L. Hatton (1809–1886), whose solos and part-songs were then very popular.

(55) At the services held in the mess room of the Fort there had been "no instrument and no organized choir" ("Bishop Cridge Recalls Memories of the Past," *Victoria Colonist*, December 22, 1907), and according to Dr. Helmcken (*Reminiscences*, undated, Env. E.E. H37) "the young ladies led the singing." In May, 1858, A. G. Dallas sent the Rev. Mr. Cridge "a Melodeon & Instructor . . . Heard afterwards that it cost 12 guineas" (Cridge, *Diary*, entry for May 15, 1858); and Mrs. W. A. Mouat played this instrument for the first time in church on May 16 (*ibid.*, May 16, 1858). The melodeon, later called the American

† See Biographical Appendix.

Begbie was commissioned by Miss Pemberton† to ask me to tea with them unfortunately I c^d not go, at the same time I met the Douglas's and Aggie Douglas asked me to come home with them again I was obliged to refuse—left them & met another man & at the same time Crease lugged me off to a Mr Perks†—Crown attorney—to taste some fine whiskey stopped there an hour and then walked to Crease had lunch with him—& then set out with them for Esquimalt having promised to dine with the “Satellites” so I got on board abt 4 o'clock had a capital time, the fellows making me quite at home, had a good dinner lots of lush⁵⁶—& turned into Gooche's bunk early.

Got up

Monday 3rd Jany 1858 [sic]

Breakfasted with them—quite at home. [Edge of leaf torn away.] Promenaded the ship with 1st leff. Peil—good fellow, swigged with the Mids also ward [room] Shook hands with skipper—lunched with [the] fellows & had a shove ashore in the [pinnacle] with Gooch went & saw the fellows at [the] military barracks good fellow [Wilson?] & reached Victoria at 4—Gooch dines w[ith] me this Eveng—Jolly mids on board the Sat[ellite] Young Renshaw in particular—Capt eviden[tly] ordered the men to the gun practice for my edification—fine life this but no money coming in & lots going out. N.B. So jolly that I'll be hanged if I can write Coming home we visited an Indian Hut with some 8 families located therein

[Tuesday 4th Jany 1858] [the preceding four words scored out] See enclosed sheet part written at Langley

13/1/59

Bravo Jack Rivaz⁵⁷ & H. Leslie⁵⁸ for writing me so soon I don't ever remember having read any letters with so much unfeigned pleasure

[Here are inserted two folded sheets of notepaper approximately 1" longer than the rest; 4 pages written on 1st sheet, 2 pages on 2nd sheet.]

Tuesday 4 January 1859

We started early in the morning and marched out to the Saw Mill⁵⁹ on the road to Esquimalt with Cochrane & Bob—we were much pleased with the

organ, was a kind of small reed organ with suction bellows worked by treadles; it was popular in early colonial churches because of the comparative ease of its transportation.

(56) I.e., liquor.

(57) One of Bushby's musical friends, whose name occurs frequently in the London journal of 1856. “Rivaz Sr.” played the flute, and “Rivaz Jr.” the violoncello, in the chamber-music group in which Bushby played second viola.

(58) See note (26) above.

(59) Cf. the entry for January 14, and the following advertisement in the *Victoria Gazette*, July 14, 1858: “NEW SAW-MILL. Thomas Donahoe, of the well-known firm of Donahoe & Co., San Francisco, Iron Founders, takes this method of informing the public, that he has imported into this colony, the machinery for a large and complete SAW-MILL, and is erecting the same on the harbor of Victoria, one mile and a half northwest of the town, and about an equal distance in a south-easterly direction from Esquimalt, and that in the course of

† See Biographical Appendix.

Saw Mill, the owner of it, showed us all over and then invited us into the wooden hut and gave us a sumptuous repast of Pork & beans—potatoes bread—and molasses, we marched on & came to Mr McKenzie's† farm one of the first scotch farmers in the Island he gave us a hearty welcome—whiskey & shortbread & an invitation to come & see them again—We then marched on to Mr Skinner's† farm he & his family gave us a most kind reception & insisted upon our stopping to dinner—Mrs Skinner is a most delightful person & after giving us a regular farm house dinner & a good bottle of port he had the cart out & drove us home to Victoria— [Col M] *[scored out]*

Col Moody having suggested to Bob the good spec it would be to start a steam Saw Mill we talked it over, Cochrane to be the engineer myself the managing man & Bob the Victoria man & capitalist—Cochrane had promised to start up the river next morning p Steamer for Langley So as we did not like him to go alone on

Wednesday 5 January 1858 *[sic]*

I started with him for Langley p "Beaver"⁶⁰ Col Moody Begbie & Capt Parsons being on board⁶¹ we had a very jolly time of it & the Capt⁶² gave us wine & spirits ad lib; we got to Langley abt 2 o'clock on

a couple of weeks he will be prepared to manufacture lumber of all description on short notice. . . ." At the end of May, 1859, Donahue moved his mill to the mainland, and in February, 1860, it was sold for \$2,400, Donahue having been in failing health for some time. See W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *BCHQ*, II (1938), pp. 112-113.

(60) The *Beaver*, the first steamer to ply the waters of the North Pacific, was built for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835 and reached Fort Vancouver, under sail, the following year. When her paddle-wheels had been fitted and her engines tried she entered the coastal trade, and at the time of the gold rush was engaged in carrying passengers between Victoria and Fort Langley. For further details see Norman R. Hacking, "Paddle Wheels and British Oak in the North Pacific," *The Beaver*, March, 1935, pp. 25-28, and W. Kaye Lamb, "The Advent of the 'Beaver,'" *BCHQ*, II (1938), pp. 163-184.

(61) Colonel Moody's party was going to the Fraser to consider the site for the capital of the mainland colony. For full details of this expedition see Moody's own account in "First Impressions: Letter of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E., to Arthur Blackwood, February 1, 1859," ed. W. E. Ireland, *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 85-107. Robert Mann Parsons had arrived in Victoria on October 29, 1858, in charge of the first party of Royal Engineers to be sent out. See Douglas to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, November 8, 1858, (*BCP*, Part II, 1859 [Cmd. 2578], p. 25). He returned to England in 1863, when the detachment was disbanded.

(62) Captain John Swanson (1827-1872) had arrived on this coast from England in 1842 (Walbran, p. 480), as apprentice in the *Cadboro* (Victoria *Colonist*, October 22, 1872). Becoming a master mariner in 1855, he was in charge of a number of Hudson's Bay Company vessels between 1858 and 1870, and in 1871 testified before the Commission in the San Juan boundary dispute (Walbran, *loc. cit.*). On his solicitude for his passengers see Victoria *Colonist*, October 22, 1872: ". . . instead of considering his own good he always studied the happiness and comfort of those around him at his own expense."

† See Biographical Appendix.

Thursday 6 Jany 1858 [sic]

And as they had no room on board the "Recovery"⁶³ for us we went on to Fort Langley⁶⁴ and met one or two men we knew—pigged in a room with some 20 or 30 others at \$1 p head and the man who got into the bed next to me at first adjusted his revolver & then exposed a thundering large knife & finished up by spitting all over the floor—Fort Langley is full of low blackguards most desperate fellows at the same time some of the miners are very good fellows for instance we espied a large wood fire on the sea shore* at some distance, we went up to it & were welcomed to draw a log round and make ourselves comfortable—they slept in their boat & were making their fire & cooking their bacon & baking their bread. I took a lesson—they were very civil & seemed most pleased when I offered them a cigar—As we had come to explore for a convenient place for starting the saw mill we tried to get a boat but were unsuccessful so on

Friday 7 Jany 1858 [sic]

we started by the trail 3 miles for Langley—the new town⁶⁵—where [Capt] [scored out] Col Moody Begbie Capt Grant† & 24 of the sappers having gone up the river to quell a riot—Capt Parsons gave us a bunk on board so we got a boat & explored a creak⁶⁶ [sic] just opposite the new town and had some terrible work breaking through the ice but got up some 2 miles—not much pleased with the prospect—came back after a most fatiguing day & just had time to pull our boat back to the Fort get our Blankets & get back in time to save the light & a good hearty dinner—

(63) The Hudson's Bay Company brigantine *Recovery* was anchored off the new town of Langley (later known as Derby), for the accommodation of the first and second sections of the Royal Engineers, under Captain R. M. Parsons and Captain J. M. Grant, who were engaged in the erection of buildings there for the accommodation of the main body of the Engineers, due to arrive from England in the *Thames City* in the spring of 1859. Cf. the entry for January 8.

(64) The first Fort Langley had been built in 1827 by Chief Factor James McMillan. In 1839 the old fort, small, crowded, and by this time in a dilapidated condition, was abandoned for a new and larger establishment a few miles farther up the river. In 1840 this second fort was destroyed by fire, but it was rebuilt the following year on approximately the same site. When the gold-rush swept up the Fraser the fields around the Fort were "white with tents," cedar-bark shelters fringed the edges of the forest, and the sales in the Fort Langley trading store rose as high as \$1,500 a day. See B. A. McKelvie, *Fort Langley: Outpost of Empire*, Vancouver, 1947, pp. 18-62, 79-80.

(65) Late in the summer of 1858 the abandoned site of the original Fort Langley had been taken over by land speculators from Victoria, who hoped that a town might develop there. As soon as he learned of these squatters, Governor Douglas evicted them, claimed the land for the Crown, had it officially surveyed by J. D. Pemberton, and caused the lots to be sold at auction in Victoria on November 25, 1858. See Douglas to Lytton, October 12 and November 29, 1858 (*BCP*, Part II, 1859, pp. 2-3, 6-7, 37-38). The sale was a great success (cf. Bushby's entry for January 12: ". . . the lots are all sold . . ."). But when, after months of uncertainty and speculation, the capital of British Columbia was officially established at New Westminster, the fortunes of the new town of Langley rapidly declined.

(66) The present Kanaka Creek.

* 1873: For *on the sea shore* read *on the river bank*.

† See Biographical Appendix.

Saturday 8 Jany 1858 [sic]

We are safely housed on board the "Recovery" which is a small ship moored to the shore for the accommodation of the Engineers who are building a barracks—We started again on our exploring expedition & got some mile further hard work indeed breaking the ice & pushing through it—Came back rather disappointed—

Sunday 9 Jany 1858 [sic]

A man named Leonard⁶⁷ came on board—a very nice fellow who had [been] travelling for pleasure & had been up the river—he stops on board—We walked together to Fort Langley—saw Mrs Grant & several others—Newton† Mr Yale† &c very civil indeed—wine & whiskey ad lib:

Monday 10 Jany 1858 [sic]

Weather so bad, ice so abundant, we dared not put out

Tuesday 11 Jany 1858 [sic]

Weather better so got a boat & started for the creek again—place won't do—at least as a permanent locality. Came back at 2 o'clock & found the cook shop on fire⁶⁸ set to work & cleared it out & built a floor of brick & worked away like a Trojan. Our work was satisfactorily [sic] & before we & [crew?] had done the "Plumper" drew in sight & Capt Richards & Gossit came on board board [sic] to see abt Col Moody's party who are frozen some 80 miles up the river—

No mercantile Str can get up here so here we are stuck in the ice—

Wednesday 12 Jany 1858 [sic]

The "Plumper" is anchored some ½ mile up the River and is going to send or to try and send 50 blue jackets & marines with a brass gun up the river to Col Moody's assistance⁶⁹ it is a fine plucky thing the "Plumper" coming up to our assistance—Strs which know the river well dare not come and here we have the little surveying vessel dashing thro' every[t]hing—ice—cold—shallow water & dense fog she fired shotted guns all the way along

(67) Son of Sir George Lennard, Bart. Cf. the entries for January 13 and February 8–11.

(68) See *Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859; "Later from Langley. . . . The brig Recovery took fire in the river at Langley, but the flames were suppressed before any material damage was done." The old word for a ship's galley was "cook-room."

(69) Moody had reached Langley on January 6, and being met there by the news of the trouble at Yale usually known as "the Ned McGowan War" had gone straight on in the *Enterprise*, sending a note to Douglas to inform him of the situation. Douglas "immediately made requisition on Captain Prevost . . . 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." See Douglas to Moody, January 10, 1859 (British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, January, 1859, to September, 1860, p. 19). Prevost at once dispatched "all the available Marines in the Satellite," amounting to some thirty men, under Lieutenant Howard S. Jones, and fifteen seamen, with Mr. Hall, midshipman, under Lieutenant T. S. Gooch, together with a 12-pound brass howitzer. See Prevost to Douglas, January 10, 1859 (Navy Correspondence—H.M.S. *Satellite*).

† See Biographical Appendix.

so that in case there should be a row at Langley they might possibly know that she was not coming up for nothing—

All along the different Fort's on the river are congregated large masses of miners and loafers waiting until the river and weather become more favorable for their operations and at each of these spots they have only one Magistrate—who is generally as ignorant of the first principles of the law which he is supposed to administer as it is well possible—and one or two constables—this force is quite insufficient to keep the miners in cheque—So constant rows are by no means uncommon—& as these fellows all carry revolvers in their drunken revels they are nasty customers—

The spot we are now stopping at is the site of the new town of Langley⁷⁰—the lots are all sold but the weather is so severe no one has yet commenced to build—There are living here a large body of Kanakas—a mixed race half Indian half Sandwich Islanders⁷¹ they are very steady people quite favorable to ourselves but not so to the Americans—

The entrance to the mouth of the Frazer is low & flat but as you advance it becomes beautiful—the bank itself is not high but the mountains begin to

(70) On the disorderly state of Langley at this time and also the general ignorance of the Magistrates, see Chartres Brew to Douglas, January 12, 1859 (Brew Correspondence): "A number of the well disposed inhabitants at the little village of Langley complained to Captain Richards and myself today of the riot and outrage which almost nightly occur and requested that some measures would be adopted for their protection. . . . The place is in a most disorderly state and requires a Magistrate and peace officers." Brew was expecting the immediate arrival of C. J. R. Bedford, who had been appointed Justice of the Peace for Langley on January 10, but Douglas endorsed Brew's letter of January 12 as follows: "Mr. Bedford is in training for the proper discharge of his duties as Magistrate and will be sent to Langley, by the first safe conveyance." He did not leave Victoria until January 19 (see the entry for that date, below).

(71) On the relations between the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Coast, see G. V. Bennett, "Early Relations of the Sandwich Islands to the old Oregon Territory," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, IV (1913), pp. 116-126; and H. W. Bradley, "The Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Fur Trade, 1785-1813," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXX (1939), pp. 275-299. From the time of their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 the Islands grew in importance for the traders on the Pacific Coast, and the increasing number of vessels which touched at Hawaiian ports gave many natives the opportunity to leave the Islands for America. Many were employed in the service of the fur-trading companies, some returning home with enough property to live in comfort, others settling on the northwest coast. When Fort Langley was founded in 1827, McMillan's party of twenty-five included two Sandwich Islanders (see the Journal of the Voyage from Fort Vancouver to Fraser's river and of the Establishment of Fort Langley . . .); and the crew of the *Cadboro*, which had "on board the Outfit for Fort Langley" had been augmented by "five half Breeds and Six Owhyees." See John McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, July 6, 1827 (*The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825-38*, ed. E. E. Rich, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, Hudson's Bay Series, IV, p. 43). When Bishop Demers visited Fort Langley in 1841, he found among the twenty odd men employed "à des travaux d'agriculture," "huit canadiens, un iroquois, et les autres Kanaks, habitants des îles Sandwich; tous ayant femmes et enfans à la façon du pays." See Demers to Mgr. de Juliopolis, November 10, 1841 (Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Quebec, *Rapport sur les missions du diocèse de Quebec . . . juin 1843, No. 5*, Quebec, [1843], p. 63).

rise some mile or two back & if these same mountains could be taken away at different places one could imagine oneself on the old Thames

The range of snow mountains is superb & then you have Mount Baker 17,000 high & mount Olympus 13,000 and other high peaks

Mr. Main 1st luff of the Plumper came on board this morning—he is going up the river with despatches for the Colonel⁷²—

In the course of the afternoon the "Otter"⁷³ came—Parsons & myself pulled on board—Mr Crickmer was there also Moore who has been appointed to the police⁷⁴—Elwyn & Pat Haines are on board the Plumber [*sic*]

(72) The despatches reached Moody at Fort Hope, and informed him that the Governor had "sent on the Plumper & some Marines to Fort Langley below in case [he] might want a reinforcement." See Moody to Blackwood, February 1, 1859, *BCHQ*, XV (1951), p. 96. For "Mr. Main" see R. C. Mayne, in the Biographical Appendix.

(73) A Hudson's Bay steamer built at Blackwall in 1852 to assist the *Beaver* in the coastal trade. She arrived at Victoria in June, 1853, her first commander on this coast being Captain W. A. Mouat, who was still her master in 1859. Walbran, pp. 367-368.

(74) Moore's career as a policeman provides a vivid commentary on the difficulties which confronted Governor Douglas when he attempted, with such officer material as he had at hand, to extend the rule of law to the new colony of British Columbia. On January 12 Brew appointed "Thomas Ronaldson and Mr. William Moore as peace officers in Langley" and himself proceeded up the river to Fort Yale. See Brew to Young, March 27, 1859 (Brew Correspondence). But when Magistrate Bedford returned to Langley on February 18, after a brief absence, he found that Moore had arrested Ronaldson two days before, on a charge of being drunk and riotous. At first it seemed that "both the constables had been drinking deeply"; however, on further investigation Bedford found that while Moore had "exceeded his duty and acted otherwise very indiscreetly," he had been sober and had received considerable provocation; Bedford therefore suggested his transfer, a step which the Governor endorsed. See Bedford to Young, February 19 and 25, 1859 (Bedford Correspondence). Some two months later, however, on March 27, 1859, Brew wrote to Young:—

"I am informed that some weeks since these gentlemen got into a row in consequence of which Mr. Ronaldson resigned and Mr. Moore was suspended. I received no official account of the transaction but it appears that Mr. Moore was reinstated and ordered to be sent up to me. He has arrived here and I really do not know what to do with him. Recommended as he believes he was when he arrived from England he hopes to occupy a more respectable position than that of Constable and if he is to be appointed to a higher post I should be unwilling to order that he should be placed on Constable's duty with the class of men who are constables here—

"The only duty I could put Mr. Moore to would be to collect duties on the River but until I know something more of him I do not wish to trust him on a duty of this nature; he appears to have been while at Langley so very foolish— He left the place in debt, did not pay for his passage up the River and arrived here without one farthing in his pocket— . . . I shall give him some office work until I receive orders respecting him."

The Governor quite agreed that Mr. Moore was "unfit for that duty" and endorsed the letter further: "You are to employ him in the constabulary and should he not be useful to be discharged." When the force at Yale was reduced some time later, Moore was discharged, and Douglas refused to employ him further in the public service. See Brew to Young, July 22, 1859 (Brew Correspondence); and C. Good to Moore, July 12, 1861 (Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, May 27, 1859, to January 9, 1864).

they have also got appointments in the same force @ \$100 p month—Bedford has been appointed Chief magistrate of Langley—

Thursday 13th

The "Otter" was to pass the "Recovery" at 11 o'clock so Cochrane & myself got all things in readiness and launched the dingy—and as she passed we popped our blankets on board—Lennard (son of Sir Geo Lennard Bart) —took one oar & I took the other & in good Thames style we were soon on board the "Otter"—where we found Mr Crickmer & the Capt Mr Mowatt† being a Londoner I soon made friends with him & in a short time we had bid adieu to Langley and by 11 o'clock at night we anchored in Victoria Bay. Mr Crickmer made a proposition to me to the following effect in short terms that I should come & [live] with him board & lodging free at his rectory at Langley & study Latin Greek &c with him at the same time work up theology —organise the choir help in the service & in fact work hand in hand with him—in time be ordained by the Colonial Bishop deacon & so on till I took holy orders—he seems to have taken a fancy to me; of course he could offer me at first no salary but that wd come eventually—The idea pleased me much but I thanked him & told him slightly how I was situated as regards the saw mill & if Bob was determined to go into it I was pledged to him—

Before going home I dropped into the French Hotel found several men I knew. they made me drink some whiskey & finished up with coffee & bread butter & cigars—at abt 1 o'clock I went home and later Bob & several others all round the stove some grog was consumed—& many questions asked abt the River & we turned in—At abt 2 o'clock we were awoke by Cooper & Mr Langford† wanting a shake down this was managed for them

I must not omit to add that I found a letter waiting for me from dear old Jack Rivaz & a small one enclosed from Hy Leslie—good fellows to think of the absent one—I shant forget this kindness

[End of inserted sheets.]

Friday 14th Jany 1858 [sic] & Saturday 15 Jay

Called upon Mrs Moody—how comfortable she is, with all her children round her and what a nice sweet, person she is—

The owner of the saw mill—Mr Donochu—promised to take us. Bob Cochrane & myself in his boat to his mill. I provided myself with my gun and at [12] o'clock off we started—my 1st shot [knocke]d over a fine large gull, which we bagged [edge of leaf torn away] broke a fellows leg & my 3rd missed—[word missing] two or three more but killed no more—[word missing] a jolly dinner with Donochu—at the mill [wen]t into the details of machinery &c and were [word missing]d back to Victoria I now set abt writing [word missing] home—Occupied with the same agreeable [word missing] to-night. So here goes for another scribble—

[Su]nday 16th Jany 1859—

Rose very late and had a hurried breakfast—[ju]st in time for church—after which took [a long] & beautiful walk along the shore with Crease and Bur-

† See Biographical Appendix.

naby. back in time to dine at the Commercial⁷⁵ with them—then went in home glass of whiskey & so turned in at 11 o'clock—Rev Mr Cridge gave us an excellent sermon abt Evil Communications corrupting good manners—shall try to act up to it—

Monday 17th Jany 1859

Busy all day. after breakfast went to Paddy Haines' rooms & packed his things as he requested me—Then called at Government House upon the Governor with Bob & explained to him that we wished to erect & work as soon as possible a Steam Mill in part of Langley & stated that the ground was not surveyed but he advised us to go on with it—squat in fact—& assured us of his support & also said he w^d give us a written authority—everything satisfactory—[Asked] [*scored out*] Douglas's asked Bedford & myself to go there this Eveng—shall go—

Left the Governor's & were on our way to Cochrane's when we met the [Cochrane's—I asked] [*scored out*] Crickmers, I asked Mr Crickmer to dine with me at the French Hotel this Eveng. Coming—I shall then tell him that I am engaged with the mill & must decline his kind offer for 12 mos at least. Went on to Cochrane's—arranged with him abt the mill—Then came back & went to Mr Andersons & put my name down for two shares (£200 ea) for the new steamer⁷⁶ to ply between Langley & Fort Hope—good spec but where the money is to come from I know not—Went with him all over the "Gov Douglas" I introduced to Cap Murray†—in passing Crease's went in & had some lunch bread oysters & whiskey & then promised him while idle that I s^d be helper to drawing a writing for him—

Had Mr Crickmer to dinner with me at French Hotel told him abt the mill & he keeps his offer open for me—After dinner dressed & went to Governor's—pleasant Eveng, sat next to Miss Agnes at Tea also while playing cards—Am asked to go there on Wednesday & dine with them alone—& music in Eveng—

Tuesday 18th Jany 1859—

Lounged abt as well as the rainy day w^d permit in the Eveng Pater.⁷⁷ Maine. Heaton† Bob & I dined together @ French Hotel and then adjourned to our Hall joined by Crease & Pearce† & Bartlett† & had a first rate musical Eveng really very good—whiskey & cigars ad lib—

(75) The Commercial apparently became the Colonial Restaurant a few weeks later. This was on Government Street nearly opposite the Post Office, and advertised that it possessed a "Conversation Saloon" (*Victoria Gazette*, February 5, 1859).

(76) Alexander Caulfield Anderson (1814–1884), a retired Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company and the first Collector of Customs at Victoria, was one of the chief backers of the Victoria Steam Navigation Company, owners of the first sternwheeler to be built at Victoria, the *Governor Douglas*. She was launched on October 30, 1858; made her trial trip to Esquimalt and back on January 22, 1859; and a few days later cleared for Langley under the command of Captain Murray with passengers and freight. See Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser . . .," *BCHQ*, X (1946), pp. 4–5.

(77) i.e., Bedford. See entry for January 1, 1859.

† See Biographical Appendix.

Wednesday 19th Jany 1859.

Went down to the "Beaver" to see old Bedford off—lent him my last 7½ dollars—he goes as Magistrate to Langley—I suppose we shall soon follow him with the Mill—He is a good fellow at heart—and will do good there—Our clique what with the absence of "Prep" [Press? Pup?] (Elwyn) Paddy Haines & Bedford—has been quite broken up—

They have a strange way here of moving the houses from one place to another without taking them to pieces—on rollers—

I dine at the Governor tonight alone—and Mr. Cridge the clergyman has asked Bob & I* to tea there tomorrow—

Thursday 20th Jany 1859.

Yesterday Capt Prevost of the "Satellite" paid us a visit & had to seat himself on the bed—it was very civil to call—on going away he asked Bob & I to dine with him on Friday that he wd send a boat for us & give us a shake down for the night we are going—

I dined in the Eveng at the Governors—they begged me to make myself quite at home—which I did & before dinner set to & tuned the piano—dined quite en famille. Mrs Douglas came to dinner. Seems a good old [sole] [scored out] soul**—Had music in the Eveng & a good deal of chaff with the girls had a polka with Agnes & she gave me a lot of toffee for my cold which unfortunately I left behind—the girls have promised to bind all my music with silk—and made me promise to go there again on Saturday—

Mrs Dallas is a nice sweet person & the two girls are romping sort of things for instance one took the chair from under the other & down she went laughed & did not seem at all abashed invitations come fast & thick. Governor's yesterday Cridges today—Prevost tomorrow & Gov^{ns}. on Saturday—these last few days have been busy writing home—

Friday 21st Jany 1859.

We had a quiet Eveng at Cridges—the old gent plays the violoncello very well⁷⁸ & we tried a lot of 4 part things—broke up early—

Saturday 22nd January 1859

Yesterday started at 4 o'clock with Burnaby & Dr Tuzo† for Esquimalt. "Satellites" boat came for us at ¼ to 6 o'clock & dined with Cap Prevost—there Roche†—Hewitt⁷⁹ Haig Wilson & an officer of U S Army Woodward⁸⁰

(78) Edward Cridge was one of the organizing members of the Peterhouse Musical Society (later the Cambridge University Musical Society), founded in 1843 and at first devoted mainly to the practice of instrumental music. See the biographical article "By his oldest friend [i.e., Edgar Fawcett]," in *Episcopal Recorder*, May 22, 1913 (clipping in the Cridge Papers).

(79) Presumably the James D. R. Hewitt who, on November 15, 1859, became acting mate of the *Satellite*, and who later served as lieutenant in the *Cameleon*, on this station 1861-1862.

(80) Possibly to be identified with the "Capt. Woodruff who commands the troops of the United States commission," characterized by Lieutenant Wilson of the Royal Engineers as "a very good sort of old fellow & quite a gentleman, according

* 1873: For I read me.

** 1873: For a good old soul read a dear old soul.

† See Biographical Appendix.

pleased dinner part—Cap P.—gave me a swing Hammock to bunk in a bit before turning in walked the deck with officer of the watch & listened to seamen singing in parts. breakfasted at 8 o'clock Peil joining us—visited Wardroom saw all the fellows & saw the "Northerner"⁸¹ mail Boat come in—letters from England Capt P. put us on board of her in his gig—and then rushed back to Victoria for the letters—no papers & no letters from Halkin St. One from Cobbe⁸² & Jack. Good news. delighted to get their scrawls Went out & bought two English papers, lit a weed & enjoyed myself reading them by the fire. Go to the Governors this Eveng—The mill business is all knocked on the head can't be helped—Wrote letters home to Mother Father Jack Cobbe. Leslie. Coleridge⁸³ & Mr Lee⁸⁴—

Sunday 23rd Jany 1859.

last night I had a quiet Eveng alone at the Governors. Very kind to me & the girls very jolly they have bound all my music—Invited their [*sic*] again for Tuesday.

Went to church & then home with the Cridges & lunched there—to church again in the afternoon—the choir glad to get me as it seems—blarney!! in the afternoon went with Crickmer to the Hospital⁸⁵—& had a walk after—

to English ideas, which is a rare thing amongst the Yankees that I have as yet met with." See the Journal of Service of Lieutenant Charles William Wilson, R.E., with Boundary Commission April 20, 1858, to June 11, 1860, entry for January 21, 1859.

(81) Built in New York in 1847 for the Charleston trade, the *Northerner* came to the Pacific Coast in 1850 and was operated by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company on all the routes out of San Francisco. She went to pieces near Cape Mendocino on January 5, 1860 (*Lewis & Dryden*, pp. 95–96). In January, 1859, her master was Captain Dall (*Victoria Gazette*, January 25, 1859).

(82) I.e., G. S. Cobham, another of Bushby's musical friends in London. The two made a tour of the Pyrenees in the summer of 1855, and when in 1873 Bushby received the news of Cobham's death, he spoke of him as "my poor dear old friend" (*see his journal*, entry for December 4, 1873).

(83) Presumably Derwent Coleridge (1800–1883), principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, from 1861 to 1864. Under his guidance sacred music was made a large part of the training of the students, and he established choral services in the college chapel. On January 9, 1856, Bushby's journal records: "Amateur choir, first met Coldridge," and Coleridge came for the first time to Bushby's home on February 8, when "15 fellows" took part in "Beethoven's Sonatas Orpheus glees," and Bushby pronounced it a "Good meeting." At the Amateur Musical Society concert on December 1, 1856, "Coleridge sang."

(84) John Lee, partner of Bushby's father in the firm of Bushby & Lee.

(85) In September, 1858, the Rev. Mr. Cridge had been entrusted by the Governor with "the service of attending to the relief of the destitute sick," and a temporary hospital had been opened on November 30 (Cridge to Douglas, May 5, 1859, Cridge Correspondence), in a rented building on Broad Street (*Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859). Dr. James Trimble was the medical officer, and W. C. S. Seeley the steward (*Victoria Colonist*, July 3, 1860). By the middle of January, 1859, measures were under consideration to establish the hospital upon a "permanent and improved basis" (*Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859, Report of the Grand Jury). In another month the contract for building "The Royal Hospital" had been signed: it called for a wooden building of two stories, "36 feet front and 30 feet deep . . . capable of accommodating 20 patients" (*Victoria Gazette*, February 19, 1859). By the end of March a site had been "selected on the Indian Reserve, fronting the harbor, where there is a cross erected"; the

wards. then passed 2 hrs with Mrs Moody—had some tea. joined Heaton glass whiskey & cigars—went to Andersons glass sherry & pipe—and so home Bob. & two or three others came home from Skinners rather tight—had supper with Crease Klock Klock⁸⁶ &c to bed—

Monday 24 Jany 1859

Tuesday 25 Jany 1859—

Nothing particular—copied some law papers for Crease earned my first \$5—am copying some more—am to get \$10—

Wednesday 26 Jany 1859

[Last nig][scored out] Yesterday afternoon took a walk gun on my shoulder—on Beacon Hill met M^{rs} Dallas joined her—and in the Eveng went to the Governors. Haigh & several others there played @ Muggins⁸⁷ & things went off pretty well—made Latham⁸⁸ come up & have some whiskey—Today have been busy copying Law Papers. Dined at French Hotel with Pearce—champagne in abundance. good fun. afterwards went with him to Franklins†—(Anchor Rooms) where there was a meeting to form rules &c

Governor had "granted the use of the land and appropriated \$2,000 for the building, . . . which is to be immediately proceeded with" (*Victoria Gazette*, March 26, 1859). By the end of 1859 the building was practically completed. See *Victoria Colonist*, January 18, 1862: "Statement of the Income and Expenditure of the Royal Hospital . . . 1858-59-60 and continued to 30th June 1861." In 1863, through the efforts of the ladies of the community, a female ward was added to the hospital on the reserve (see Patience Day, *Pioneer Days: Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital*, Victoria, 1924, pp. 11-13; *Victoria Colonist*, June 17, 1863), but by the following year the Ladies' Committee, with the help of public subscriptions, had begun the erection of the Female Infirmary at Spring Ridge (*Victoria Colonist*, November 24, 1864). By the end of 1868 they had removed their patients from the female ward in the hospital in "the Indian village, always offensive, and sometimes dangerous, for the visiting ladies," to their own "handsome building on a noble site" (Report of the Annual Meeting, 1865, quoted in Day, *Pioneer Days*, p. 14). Four years later the amalgamation of the Royal Hospital and the Female Infirmary was being urged (Day, *Pioneer Days*, pp. 19-20), but it was not until 1872 that tenders were called for alterations and additions to the Female Infirmary. See *Victoria Colonist*, June 7, 1872, and see also Cridge to Provincial Secretary, May 29, 1872 (Cridge Correspondence), for details of the alterations required. The patients from the Royal Hospital were "moved into their new quarters" on August 9, 1872 (*Victoria Colonist*, August 10, 1872), and the building on the Indian Reserve, which they abandoned, was converted into the Provincial Lunatic Asylum (*ibid.*, October 4, 1872).

(86) The Chinook for *oysters*, more usually spelled *klogh*.

(87) *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862-1863*, ed. A. C. Doughty and G. Lanctot, Ottawa, 1931, p. 295, refers to muggins as "a kind of complicated Patience."

(88) In the summer of 1858 Wells Fargo & Company had opened an office in Victoria (*Victoria Gazette*, July 17, 1858), and their first agent, Samuel Knight, had been succeeded in September of that year by James H. Latham (*Victoria Gazette*, September 14, 1858). Latham was replaced by C. C. Pendergast in 1859; was subsequently agent at Virginia City; and died, on his way back to New York from Queenstown, in 1876. See *Victoria Gazette*, June 30 and July 2, 1859; *Victoria Colonist*, June 8, 1870, and June 27, 1876.

† See Biographical Appendix.

for the "Victoria Philharmonic So——".⁸⁹ people seem to have been puffing up my musical abilities for I was rec^d by some 30 fellows with open arms —& in the course of the Eveng—after the business was over some actually drank the health of Mr Bushby & the Philharmonic—constitution & bye laws were regularly formed & passed some 40 members @ \$5 entrance fee enrol[l]ed & from henceforth 3 black balls kills a fellow out—good bye laws —after business we had music until 12 o'clock some dozen instruments there I had a violon⁹⁰ lent to me—singing duets chorus &c they made me sing *Una furtiva*⁹¹ & seemed pleased it strikes me they are making much too much fuss abt y^r humble servant—it was gratifying at least—felt quite at home—afterwards had supper with some dozen of them—champagne again—& rolled home abt 2 o'clock—success to the Victoria Philharmonic So——

Thursday 27 Jany 1858 [sic]

Earned another \$5 from Crease & have been writing best part of the morning for him. in the afternoon took a nice walk, met lots of people I knew—smoked. came home washed some socks & p.h's—& (6 o'clock) am now abt to start with Pearce for the Pembertons—some musical family

Friday 28th Jany 1858 [sic]—

The Pembertons (Miss P & her brother) have a very nice country house⁹² some 2 miles out of town—they were very glad to see me & the drawing room looked quite nice* a piano & candles carpet curtains—table

(89) The Victoria Philharmonic Society, the first amateur musical society in Victoria, flourished for the next few years and gave a number of concerts. But as the *Victoria Colonist* pointed out on February 25, 1863, so many of the vocalists were Cariboo miners that it was almost impossible to hold such an organization together. In 1863 an attempt was made to reorganize it (*Victoria Colonist*, April 2, 1863), and the Society gave concerts in that and the following year (*ibid.*, March 5 and 19, 1864); but it then ceased to exist as an organization, although the names of many of the individuals who composed it continued to appear on concert programmes.

(90) In the 1858–59 journal Bushby normally uses the French spelling; in the 1873 redaction, the English *violin*.

(91) "Una furtiva lagrima," the tenor aria from Donizetti's *L'elisir d'amore*. According to Mrs. I. W. Powell, who came to Victoria in 1863, Bushby "possessed a tenor voice of beautiful quality and his solos and duets were rendered with true artistic skill. . . . Some of the grand old compositions as sung by Sir Matthew Begbie and Mr. Bushby made the listener feel he had suddenly been transplanted to Paris or Milan." See N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843–1866*, Victoria, 1927, p. 235.

(92) According to Augustus F. Pemberton's diary, he began to repair and improve the original house on "Greyhill Farm" (i.e., the Gonzalo Farm mentioned in the census of 1855) as soon as he moved there in January, 1856, and later in the same year an addition to the house was built (see the entry for August 8, 1856). The house, including a verandah with "ornaments," was completed in the spring of 1857 (see the entries for March 30, April 2, and April 16, 1857), and "Susan sowed seeds in garden" on April 29. On June 30, 1857, Augustus recorded: "Brought furniture from Fort. (S.P. came)." When Bushby visited the house in 1859 it was inhabited by Miss Susan Pemberton and her brother Joseph Despard Pemberton; Augustus, presumably, had left the farm on his appointment as Commissioner of Police in July, 1858.

* 1873: For quite nice read quite home like.

with punches [?] & a fine large wood fire Pearce Miss P & I sang all the Eveng We then adjourned to a nice nice [sic] snug dining room with another roaring wood fire & had supper & a good one finishing up with cigars & hot brandy & water—said goodbye & started home—had another cigar at Creases. Gave Heaton a bunk in my room—Bob being away.

[Saturday 29] [scored out]

When we awoke this mornng found the ground covered with snow—In the afternoon went to the practice of the church choir at 2 o'clock. So so—Mrs Dallas there—go to Franklins tonight

Saturday 29th Jany 1859—

Had a musical Eveng with the Franklins & some others last night—good fun enough—made the acquaintance of several more of "Plumpers" officers & went home together & had supper at Creases went to bed rather so so—

Col Moody & Begbie returned from mines—Labouchere⁹³ arrived from England & altogether quite a Commotion in the place—took a long walk with Bob Crease & Begbie on the sea shore blowing like mad. 2nd meeting in the Eveng of the Philharmonic So at Franklins Begbie elected Pres: self Hon Sec:—

S'dy 30 Jay 59—

To church in the mng—breakfasted with M.B.B.—had a pull to the rapids. Came bk had a long talk with Dr Tuzo who made me his confidant—love affair (Mary Work⁹⁴ a rum 'un—dined with Franklins—came home raced who could smoke a cigar the fastest lost—& to bed.

M'day 31 Jay 59

T'day 1 Feby 59

Had a long jaw with the Col: he strongly advised me to go to the mines went to Pembertons with Begbie & Maj Foster†—worked out the V.I. game

(93) The third of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading steamers on this coast, "nearly the size of the steamers Panama and Pacific—very sharp and clipper modeled" (*Victoria Gazette*, February 1, 1859). Built in England in 1858 and named after Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies from November, 1855, to February, 1858, she was brought out by Captain John F. Trivett. Early in 1866 she was overhauled for the regular mail and passenger service between San Francisco and Victoria, but on her second trip she was wrecked near Point Reyes in a heavy fog. For further details see Walbran, p. 295; *Lewis & Dryden*, pp. 82-83, 153.

(94) There were three marriageable daughters in the family of John Work at this time; all three married other suitors before the end of 1861. Dr. Tuzo himself, according to his sister, went back to Canada some time in 1859 and there became engaged to Miss Louisa Gowan of Quebec, a sister of Lady Joly de Lotbiniere, who, as wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, lived in Victoria from 1900 to 1906. Dr. Tuzo came back to Victoria in 1859, accompanied by his sister, and Miss Gowan apparently died soon afterwards; for after "mourning her untimely death" for some years, Dr. Tuzo went to England in 1872 and married his cousin, Letitia Coxhead, the daughter of a London merchant. See the memorandum by his sister, Anna Maria (Mrs. E. G. Alston), in Miscellaneous material relating to H. A. Tuzo.

† See Biographical Appendix.

laws⁹⁵ over a good fire & glass of punch. Asked to the Gov. this evg Had a regular fit of the blues. & shall either go home or go to the mines am quite tired of doing nothing but spend money

W'day 2nd }
T'day 3 } Feby 59

Wed: Main proposed that I should go with him for a mo @ \$50 & room office life very different here free & easy—attended Phil meeting & the evg after dined with Lennard & Foster

F'day }
Satdy } 4 }
S'day } to } Feb 59—
M dy } 7 }

[Shine] with Mr Copland†—lot of fellows in the Mad House Heaton Lennard Crease Foster Franklin Mrs C called us all sorts of names no gentlemen the more she slanged the more we sang & made a noise on going away some of the fellows made a great noise in the passage—when Copeland sang out from his bedroom who is that fellow making that noise—I will horsewhip him &c Mrs. C at the same time beseeching him not to do anything of the sort—altho' of course he never did intend anything—next morning—I rec^d a letter from him—Preliminary to legal proceedings &c—for the insult offered to himself & wife an apology w^d suffice &c—no notice has been taken of the note so I am expecting daily a legal notice let it come ha ha ha —On Sunday I went with Crease & Heaton to Mackenzies they made us dine there & sleep—good breakfast in the morn'g & lots of toddy over night kind people—The mail has passed the Sound so I am expecting letters from home—I am now in Dickson Campbell⁹⁶ office with Main & have moved my quarters from the Mad House—this is pro tem—

Tuesday 8th Feby 1858 [sic]

Wednesday 9th

Thursday 10th do

Friday 11th

On Tuesday I was sitting quietly in Maines office writing when Begbie came in and said the Gov: wished to see me in half an [h]our so I washed my hands & off I went. It seems B—— had spoken to him abt having a private secretary—& had mentioned my name so when I went down it was arranged there and then that I s^d become his secretary pro tem £250 a year—This I am glad of as it is just the thing I want—on leaving the Gov: asked me to dine with them so Begbie & I went off together at 6 o'clock I must not fail however to mention that on going to Maines to dress I f^d the door

(95) "A Bill to Provide for the Passage of an Act for the Preservation of Game" passed the Council on April 11, and the House of Assembly on April 20, 1859; it was printed in the *Victoria Gazette* on April 23, 1859.

(96) Dickson, Campbell & Company were associated with Dickson, De Wolf & Co. of San Francisco, and advertised themselves as commission merchants (*ibid.*, December 21, 1858).

† See Biographical Appendix.

locked—I came back to the Mad House and stuffed on a complete suit of Bobs traps all a little too small for me especially at the neck & arms. I was in agony.—

On the Monday Evng there was another grand row at the Mad House We collected all the fellows together & one or two of the Satellites & sang & laughed away—whereupon abt ½ past 10 o'clock Mrs. C—— came out in an awful rage & blackgarded Major Foster up side & down & Copeland finished by sending for a policeman & pointed out Lieut. Roche as the man—another jaw sang God save the Queen and all was quiet. Next morning Burnaby & I rec^d summonses for indecent & riotous conduct & I was accused of being drunk All gross falsehoods—The thing created quite a sensation—the whole bar determined to appear for us. Witnesses were subpoenaed & Cochrane aided by Scott⁹⁷ were sent to take a ground plan of the House—and made a beautiful chart of the same & we determined to have the best piece of fun going—Thursday at 10 o'clock we appeared in Court & that was filled by lots of fellows come to bear witness & in uniform and oh such a fuss—No Copeland appeared summonses dismissed with costs—Crease \$50 Crosby† \$50 Cochrane for the plan \$10—and all the witnesses \$10 apiece—So this piece of foolery will cost him a pretty penny—\$200 at least—In the course of the day Lennard knocked at the Rooms & made an app^t to see Copeland—went again, saw him & asked him coolly for the whip with which he threatened to whip him—so as to be able to deposit it in the B Museum as a curiosity—So the affair ends—

The mail came in on Thursday. Got a letter from Home—

On Wednesday some 12 of us dined with Lennard—went to the Phil: afterwards—& Franklins after that. Dropped into Begbie's at 11 o'clock & then took a walk with him came back in time for a champagne breakfast with Major Foster & some 8 others at the French Hotel—moonied abt with the fellows—had some more champagne & cigars—then started for Esquimalt with Begbie Crease Bob & Lennard to see him off p steamer—but as she did not sail until 12 o'clock Friday mornng—Skinner (who was with us) insisted upon our turning off at his House—dined us there—& gave us all a shake down—in the drawing room on blankets—I dont know when I have not had such a day of it for a long time from early in the mornng till 10 o'clock at night—Two mids Wrenshaw & Well [?] of the Satellite were stopping in the House so after breakfast (Friday mng) we had some pistol practice & marched back to Victoria after saying goodbye to old Lennard who put off for the Northerner & who will be in old Engla^d in abt 2 mos I gave him a letter to Mother & I hope he will call upon her as he promised

Saturday 12th Feby 1858 [sic]

Last night after the Philharmonic meeting I went home with Bayley†—he is inspector of the police here—& lives with his wife & family in a little wooden hut—they have the only good piano in the place & Johnny plays it

(97) Possibly the "Mr. Conway Scott, C.E.," who, in 1874, "severed his connection with the Lands & Works Department." *Victoria Colonist*, October 20, 1874.

† See Biographical Appendix.

beautifully he brought out cake & a bottle of champagne [his] life is quite a romance he was 10 yrs at the Duke of Yorks school⁹⁸ brought up to the musical profession made money in America & then came here during the excitement & jumped into this good post—spent a very jolly at the same time curious Evg with him am going tonight to pay some dues [*sic*: for *play some duos*?] with John his son. Today has been a strange day 1st had breakfast at Maines laid the table & did all that ourselves—then came W—dropped in to Creases & copied some papers for him then went & f^d Begbie out so promenaded abt with Heaton—f^d Begbie worked for him—copied some letters for the Gov: & so got my lunch as reward took a walk with Begbie had some pistol shooting. sing at the church met Dallas & his wife asked to dine at the Gov: c^d not go, dined at French Hotel—got my fiddle home— —[*word illegible*] do & am off to Bayleys—

Sunday	13	} Feby 1859—
Monday	14	
Tuesday	15	

On Sunday went to church and had the new Barrel organ⁹⁹ for the first time it seems to work very well—the church was full & a collection was made for the Hospital—After church Crease Bob Main & myself walked down to the “Rough and ready” Got a boat & pulled across the bow of the “Tribune”¹⁰⁰ which had arrived from China that mornng—we then explored the inner Harbor of Esquimalt—and delighted we were with it. it is a superb

(98) The Royal Military Asylum for boys, founded in 1801 at Chelsea by Frederick, Duke of York, for the education of children connected with the army.

(99) In May, 1858, Mr. Cridge had been requested by Governor Douglas “to order from England a barrel organ for ye Church. I mentioned from 45 to 60 guineas—to wh. he assented & said it was better to get a good one while we are about it.” See Cridge’s diary, entry for May 6, 1858. The Rev. A. J. Ram, Vicar of West Ham, Essex, acted as agent in the purchase, the cost being between £60 and £70. See Douglas to W. G. Smith, June 25, 1858 (Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. Colony, December 11, 1855, to July 8, 1859). The organ was built especially for the Victoria Church by Messrs. Bates & Co. of London (*Victoria Gazette*, February 12, 1859). According to Edgar Fawcett, who as a lad was the first organ blower, it had three barrels, colored red, green, and yellow, and each barrel was good for ten tunes (*Victoria Colonist*, August 4, 1907). Soon a keyboard was improvised by W. C. S. Seeley, of the Australian House, who, in 1871, was advertising himself as an organ and pianoforte builder (*Victoria Colonist*, October 8, 1871), and who is said to have been at one time the organist of Durham Cathedral (*Victoria Colonist*, December 30, 1888). The organist was then able to play the instrument in the regular fashion at the morning and afternoon services; in the evening the keyboard was removed, and the organ blower of the earlier services then “ground out the hymn tunes.” See Edgar Fawcett, “Victoria 1859–60,” *Victoria Colonist*, July 17, 1904. This instrument was in use until 1862, when a “new organ, purchased in England with money subscribed in this town,” was installed, at the same time as the church was enlarged and the old gallery, in which the barrel organ had stood, was taken down (*Victoria Daily Press*, October 12, 1862).

(100) A screw frigate of 31 guns, 300 h.p., 1,370 tons, built at Sheerness in 1853 and on this station, under the command of Captain Geoffrey T. Phipps Hornby, 1859–1860. Walbran, pp. 494–495.

place and the two Harbors combined wd bare [sic] comparison with any in the world so completely land locked are they—We landed and roamed abt the island then put C & Bob ashore near MacKenzie's—pulled back & walked home from the "R & R"—dined quietly at the French Hotel came back to Maines & put out all the things from my portemanteau into a draw[er] & a sheet and made myself quite comfortable & cosy. On Monday after working hard with B. we started in the afternoon for the Pembertons where he had a capital Tea—hot bread &c—then came music then hot grog & cigars & they insisted upon our stopping all night—a good breakfast next morning & a walk to Victoria thro the snow (which had fallen pretty thick during the night) brought me to the office again—

I am so busy now that I am afraid my journal rather suffers from it. The P. [blank in MS.] and the A. [blank in MS.]¹⁰¹ men of war arrived from China yesterday also the Guadalete¹⁰² from Lo—quite a spirt in the shipping line—

Things are going on well here and I am very comfortable with B—Bedford came down from Langley this morn'g & goes back tomorrow—Judge Cameron† asked me to go and see him whenever I had a spare Evng—& they are already thinking of getting up a concert I am booked of course¹⁰³—I leave off this to go out with B. for a walk & shooting match—

(101) The *Pylades*, a screw corvette of 21 guns, 1,267 tons, 350 h.p., built at Sheerness in 1854, was on this station from 1859 to 1861, under the command of Captain Michael De Courcy (Walbran, pp. 405-406). She arrived at Esquimalt on February 14, 1859, the day after the *Tribune* (*Victoria Gazette*, February 15, 1859). Apparently these were the only two men-of-war to arrive from China at this particular time; but Bushby's abbreviation "A." may possibly refer to H.M.S. *Amethyst*, which was also expected in Victoria. She was transferred from the East Indies and China station to the Pacific in 1858, and sailed for Victoria on October 11, a delay ensuing when she was forced to put back to Singapore with "sprung bowsprit." See *Victoria Gazette*, January 11, 1859, and *Colonist*, February 12, 1859. According to Captain John Parry, R.N., "Sketch of the History of the Naval Establishments at Esquimalt," *Victoria Times*, February 2, 1906, the *Amethyst* was in British Columbia waters in 1859, and the Navy Lists show her on the Pacific station until 1860; but the exact date of her arrival at Esquimalt has not been traced. Bushby's 1873 redaction reads *Two men of war arrived from China yesterday*, but gives no names.

(102) "The A 1 British bark 'Guadalete,' Captain Satchel [sic: for Tatchell], 550 tons burthen" arrived on February 14. See *Victoria Gazette*, February 15 and March 3, 1859.

(103) The first concert of the Victoria Philharmonic Society did not take place until May 6, 1859, after Bushby had returned from his first circuit on the mainland with Judge Begbie; and according to Bushby's journal, May 8, 1859, "almost all the work musical and otherwise has fallen on my shoulders." For a critique of the performance, see *Victoria Gazette*, May 10, 1859, which calls it "the first public musical performance worthy of the name" that had occurred in Victoria. Bushby records that "the tickets were \$2.50 apiece & we had the finest collection of people ever assembled in Victoria— . . . The Gov & Col Moody came in state & everything went off to full satisfaction—The charity [i.e., the Royal Hospital] recd nearly \$275— . . . On Saturday I recd nothing but congratulations the fact is I worked at the thing con amore & having been accustomed to this sort of thing they leant upon me."

† See Biographical Appendix.

Wednesday 16th

Last night I went to the Assembly Ball¹⁰⁴ by invitation & what fun we had—most of the naval officers were there en grande tenue—it was naturally a rather free and easy affair—for myself I was half screwed & figged out in white tie &c I flatter myself I kept place with the uniforms—girls were very scarce—but some how or other I managed to dance every dance with the exception of 3—not so bad when you consider I did not know one single girl in the room before going there—how we danced—the finest fun was racing the whole length of the room [with] *[scored out]* against Pender† one of the “Plumpers”—how tight we held the girls to [?] of course they objected—one—and one of the prettiest—declared if I held her so tight she would not dance any more with me on the strength of that I managed to engage her for a schottische & galop—not knowing their names I checked them down in my card as Miss White, Blue &c the colors of their dresses—You can have no fun here at parties unless you are half screwed—dancing commenced at 9—and I did not get home until 2 o'clock!!

Thursday 17

Friday 18

Saturday 19

} Feby 1859.

I am so busy all day now that I really find little or no time to write up my journal even—

Yesterday I lunched on board the *Princess Royal*¹⁰⁵ with Dallas & Begbie made very welcome—she is a fine ship & how strange that I should be lunching on board of her out here—in Victoria Harbor, when on her arrival in England some 5 mos ago I had not even an idea where the place was she came from—It was arranged that we s^d have a good substantial tea at the Governors in the Eveng so I went up to Maines abt 7 o'clock to dress when I found our horrid nigger had locked up all my clothes so I was done & c^d not go—

Dined at the new Hotel¹⁰⁶ with Begbie day before yesterday Capital dinner—and we did justice to it for we had been out shooting all the afternoon—

(104) Cf. the advertisement in the *Victoria Gazette*, January 20, 1859: “ASSEMBLY ROOMS. Broad Street. The Upper Story of this building to be let for Balls, Concerts, &c . . .” The concert of the Philharmonic Society on May 6, 1859, was also held there.

(105) Built for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1853–1854, the barque *Princess Royal* had brought out to Nanaimo on her maiden voyage a party of Staffordshire miners, and had since made an annual trip between London and Esquimalt. See Barrie H. E. Gault, “First and Last Days of the ‘Princess Royal,’” *BCHQ*, III (1939), pp. 15–24. On February 2, 1859, she arrived under the command of Captain Sinclair (*Victoria Gazette*, February 3, 1859), and sailed again for London on March 23, 1859, under Captain J. F. Trivett, with twelve passengers, 472 packages of furs (stored in “a large water-tight compartment . . . styled the ‘fur room’” and valued at \$150,000), and sixty bales of wool, valued at \$6,000 (*ibid.*, March 24, 1859).

(106) The Metropolitan Hotel on Government Street, between Yates and View Streets, had just been “opened for the accommodation of the public . . . the rooms carpeted and stoves throughout the house, feather beds and everything to make a home comfortable.” The terms were \$8 per week or 50 cents a meal, and full board and lodging could be had from \$10 to \$13 a week. *Victoria Gazette*, January 15, 1859.

† See Biographical Appendix.

Begbie has left me alone the whole day & I have been rather down in the mouth thinking of home—

Sunday 20 Feb 1859.

Yesterday dined with Gooch & some 3 others at the Colonial—in the Evng went to meeting abt the annexation of V I with B. C great humbug¹⁰⁷—dropped into Wells Fargo's after—had a cigar & then into Franklin's had some whiskey—and so to bed got up at 12 o'clock this morn'g. made a good breakfast boiled our own eggs & ham & jolly—

Monday 21st Feb 1859—& Tuesday 22 Feb 59

Have been very quiet yesterday and today so nothing to chalk down—except indeed that today is the anniversary of Washington's birth—and the Gov: w^d not permit the Americans to fire salutes &c at which they are very angry indeed¹⁰⁸—

Tuesday	22	} Feb 1859
Wednesday	23	
Thursday	24	
Friday	25	
Saturday	26	

On Thursday I wrote home to Mother Thompson & Flood¹⁰⁹—Nothing particular has happened this week if I except a dinner party at Angelo's† where we all got pretty well screwed and finished up the Evng by kissing in a furious manner the Work daughters—pretty little girl one of them—We shall be going up the river shortly—

Sunday	27	} Feby 1859
Monday	28	

Lunched at the Governors on Saturday afternoon & took a long walk in the Evng.

Sunday dined at Col Moodys—Monday very busy—writing—A batch of Chinamen have arrived¹¹⁰ & most of the "Tribune" have got leave so the town is quite alive—

(107) See the account in the *Victoria Gazette*, February 22, 1859. Alfred Waddington, "the gentleman most conspicuous in getting up this meeting," spoke at some length in favour of the idea, and was opposed by one Alphonse Kaandler, who "read an address which he had written for publication on the subject [in] a strong French accent" which the audience found "highly amusing." The *Gazette* published this address, in the same issue.

(108) See the correspondence in the *Victoria Gazette*, February 22 and 24, 1859.

(109) The names of Thompson and of Flood (there were two persons of the latter name among Bushby's musical acquaintances) occur in his London journal, February 1 and 7, 1856.

(110) Cf. *Victoria Gazette*, March 1, 1859: "We are informed that arrangements have been entered into with one of the Chinese companies of San Francisco, for bringing 2,000 Chinese immigrants to Vancouver Island and British Columbia, all of whom are to be landed at Victoria within the next three months. They are

† See Biographical Appendix.

Tuesday 1 March 1859

Wednesday 2 " - - My birthday 24—I intend to devote half an hour to my journal—Poor old Capt Brochiet† died two days ago and was buried yesterday the Governor and a large concourse of people were present at the funeral, the cemetery¹¹¹ is so marshy that the grave was half full of water—I am very comfortable here—and Begbie and I are quite chums [sic] Col Moody and a whole lot went up the river¹¹² in the Beaver this morn'g at 6 o'clock it seems the Str was crowded with miners—so it is to be hoped that the reaction has set in—We do not go until Friday

I do not yet see my chance of making a fortune here—I have £250 p an as Begbie' Secty I have a share in the new Steamer (£200 worth) which I hope will pay £100 p Cent—on arriving into B.C Begbie is going to appoint me Clerk of the Assizes—I don't know whether there will be a salary or not—but anyhow some fees will attach—so all together considering that I arrived here with no capital I am not doing badly and shall therefore not think of going home just yet—The only thing which bothers me is the idea that if I stop out here for 8 or 10 years on going home I shall find so many people dead gone away or married that it will be no longer the same home—and when I consider that I left my comfortable home and good prospects without any really good cause—I cannot help blaming myself—it is all for the best—and now I am here I shall make the best of it—There is one thing I am quite determined upon viz: never to draw upon the governor¹¹³ for another half-penny. and not to return back until I can pay my own way and refund what the Governor has advanced for my expenses in coming out—of this I am quite determined—and it is wise—

Burnaby has been made Col Moody's Secretary—

to be chiefly employed in mining on the Upper Fraser." This particular group arrived on February 28 by the steamer *Pacific*, Captain Patterson, which brought "85 passengers, 25 of whom are Chinamen" (*Victoria Gazette*, March 1, 1859).

(111) Brochiet was buried in what was then the new Quadra Street cemetery (now Pioneer Square) which had been laid out in 1855. For this date, see Bishop Modeste Demers to Douglas, November 8, 1860 (Demers Correspondence): "When, about five years ago, the present cemetery was laid out. . . ." The bodies in the original graveyard at Johnson and Douglas Streets were removed to the new cemetery by the chain-gang some time between 1859, when Cridge gave his consent to their "re-interment (when so removed) in the Burial Ground on the Church Reserve" (Cridge to J. D. Pemberton, February 2, 1859, Cridge Correspondence), and 1861, the work being still in progress in August of that year (*Victoria Colonist*, August 9, 1861). On the condition of the Quadra Street cemetery cf. Fawcett, *Some Reminiscences*, pp. 130-131: ". . . in many cases men might have been seen bailing out the grave. . . . And I have known when it was necessary to hold the coffin down in the water with shovels or have a man get down and stand on the coffin until enough soil was thrown on it to keep it down."

(112) To survey the site which Moody had recommended to Douglas on January 28, 1859, for the capital of British Columbia, later named New Westminster. See *BCP*, Part II, 1859, pp. 60-61.

(113) I.e., his father.

† See Biographical Appendix.

I like all the men out here very much—there is good old Crease—the father of the bar with his large head and mass of hair on it—a regular cornish man—so generous and kind hearted with his favorite song—

Qui veut ouir qui veut savoir

Comment les officiers aiment

Ils aiment si brusquement

Se sont de si brusque gens

Qu'on les entend toujours dire—

“Oui ou non Madame, je n'ai pas le temps a perdre”—

In his little room beside old Smith† the grocers—then there is the celebrated Mad house with the long flight of steps Mr & Mrs Copland—oh. the good sheriff Heaton—a fine young fellow with his “Simon the cellarer”¹¹⁴ Then “John Burnaby's coming to dinner” with the knot in his stomach—and the demon John of Whiskey—The Chief and Mobelly† [*sic*: for *Moberly*] opposite The little editor of the Gazette—Bartlett.† Many is the lark we had had [*sic*] round the big stove in the M H—Then I must not forget to mention Main & Sullock¹¹⁵ and the samples of the Guadalete—how I pitch into them—sherry port Brandy Old Tom Ginger Brandy Beer pickles sugar butter cheese &c Hams &c

Some half dozen generally meet and dine at the Colonial—and have a pipe cigar and a song afterwards—yesterday we dined Begbie Crease Burnaby Main Jeffry† Wilson (R E) & Capt Blake (R M)† together & then four of us had a game at whist at Begbies cigars and sherry there. I am quite a dap¹¹⁶ at arms cleaning as I keep 3 guns & 2 pistols in good order—Today we are going to MacKenzies a little towards Esquimalt to get his boat and have a cast for some salmon, we shall take the guns with us—

Thursday	3	} March 1859.
Friday	4	
Saturday	5	
Sunday	6	
Monday	7	
Tuesday	8	

My journal has been neglected but the fact is we have been starting every day and always been put off. However on Monday night at 12 o'clock Begbie & I assisted by Main shouldered our blankets & a little carpet back [*sic*: for *bag*?] & stowed ourselves away on board the “Gov Douglas” two prisoners (murderers) were on board & one actually dined at the same table as Begbie—(Judge)—we had a very fair passage and arrived here

Fort Langley—9th March 59—

There was a regular mess with the prisoners & altho' in charge of 2 [?] constables they might have escaped so as no one wd take upon themselves to

(114) A very popular song of the period: words by W. H. Bellamy, music by J. L. Hatton.

(115) Charles Sullock was connected with the firm of Southgate & Mitchell, commission merchants. See *Victoria Gazette*, January 20, 1859.

(116) I.e., a *dab*, meaning an expert.

† See Biographical Appendix.

direct anything I went on board ordered a boat alongside & shipped them off to New Langley to the gun brig—¹¹⁷

We have got a shake down at the fort a lot of fellows are here. Bedford Crease Barnston† Perks Newton &c Ogilvy†—

I entered Crease on the roll today \$15 first fee!!—I don't know how I shall do the prisoners are tried tomorrow—

Wednesday	9	} Mar 1859
Thursday	10	
Friday	11	

I may record these few days as some of the most remarkable in my life— Since my arrival in B.C. Begbie had appointed me clerk of the court assize clerk registrar clerk of the arraigns &c—As I had never been in a ct of justice before the thing seemed strange indeed to me—

The general assizes were held in the Barracks at Langley and the place was nicely fitted up for the purpose I had to open the proceedings by reading the proclamation of silence O Yes O Yes O Yes which I did at the top of my lungs—then I had to read aloud the different commissions—the Queens to Begbie and of oyer & terminer & gaol delivery &c swear the grand jury—petty jury witnesses &c read the indictments twice through—ask the prisoner whether he was guilty or not and in fact had most of the business of the court to do—besides which I shall have to pay and keep an a/c of all expenses &c take down the records &c.

It was most strange work however I got through all right & once I heard my voice tell at the other end of the room I bawled away like fun

The case Regina v Niel¹¹⁸ was for killing a man in a gaming saloon nothing but a sort of brutal duel à la americaine—the jury c^d not or w^d not agree and were locked up for 4 hrs. the shelters we boarded so that had no light & then they only gave a special verdict which Begbie construed into manslaughter 4 yrs. p.s.—The Americans wanted to acquit the English to convict¹¹⁹—I am now living half at the Fort & half at the barracks & on board the Recovery—

(117) I.e., the *Recovery*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *gun brig* as a two-masted ship of war, now obsolete.

(118) Mathias Niel was charged with the murder of William Hartwell at the forks of the Fraser and Thompson's River. After escaping from custody he had been captured and secured on board the *Recovery*. See Richard Hicks to Douglas, November 12, 1858 (Hicks Correspondence).

(119) For a full account of the trial see Begbie to Douglas, March 10, 1859 (Begbie Correspondence): "The jury were [divided] partly from the necessity of the case, partly from the prisoner being entitled to have half foreigners on his jury: not necessarily citizens of the U.S., but foreigners of some sort. . . . I charged the jury pretty strongly for manslaughter: in fact it appeared to me a case too clear for them to require to turn round in their box. They did not however come to a decision until they had been locked up for nearly 5 hours. . . . They could not in the end agree to guilty or not guilty: so at my suggestion, made 3 hours before, they at last sent in a special verdict. . . . This verdict I received long after dark, having resolved to take up my quarters in an empty room at the back of the court house, purely for Ogilvy's sake, who was on the jury & suffering from a bad gumboil. Had it not been for him, I shod have gone back to the Fort, and left the obstinate jury here all night, without coal food or candle. They were all

† See Biographical Appendix.

Saturday 12 Mar 59

The "Recovery" was towed down from Langley to Queenborough this morning at 10 o'clock—by the "Enterprise" river steamer—so we packed up all our traps necessary viz blankets and embarked on board to pay Col Moody a visit after abt a couple of hours steaming we came in sight of the future town of Queenborough 15 m from Langley & the sand heads—as yet there are only two wooden huts there one for Col Moody & the other for the men—what a glorious sight the downright wooden log hut, a fireplace big enough to roast an ox & such a fire logs too big for me to lift we had a regular pic-nic lunch. then Crease & myself jumped into a regular canoe & paddled away some 3 m. up a creek to shoot ducks—got wet through after a regular exploring excursion, had a jolly supper and shook down our blankets in the corner of the hut as best we could—I slept like a top—(With the exception of the turning round) next morning—Sunday—rambled about after after descended—and washed in the river—cold, but a capital bath—Col Moody read service—present—sappers—Capt Parsons—Blake (marines—Mobily [*sic*] Crease—Begbie, Burnaby & Mitchell¹²⁰ (naval surgeon) & myself—Queenborough is a beautiful site—and the life there as yet is savage and jovial in the vengeance—In the afternoon we got Kirks† boat (revenue officer) 4 men—and had a long and cold pull of some 5 hours back to Langley (Fort) had a good supper at the Fort and turned in on the boards & blankets next morning

pretty glad to get out, and seem determined never to come on a jury again: each party calling the other a set of obstinate fools. . . . I shall take advantage of your late proclamation & sentence Niel to penal servitude in Victoria: you may afterwards do with him what you please." A draft of this proclamation is enclosed in Begbie to Douglas, March 2, 1859; under its third section a criminal sentenced in British Columbia could be detained in custody in Vancouver Island, at the expense of British Columbia. This proclamation was apparently never printed, but Niel was actually detained in Victoria, where after serving one year of his sentence "in a most exemplary manner," he was pardoned by the Governor, to the "universal satisfaction" of the citizens, who had circulated a petition in his favour, and subscribed \$200 for his assistance. See *Victoria Colonist*, May 24, July 3 and 5, 1860.

(120) In response to a request from Douglas for a medical officer to remain with the troops stationed at Fort Langley, Admiral R. Lambert Baynes had placed "Mr. J. Mitchell, Supernumerary Surgeon of the 'Ganges'" at His Excellency's disposal. See Baynes to Douglas, December 7, 1858 (Navy Correspondence—H.M.S. *Ganges*). The following year Dr. J. F. Mitchell, R.M., was at "Camp Lillooet" with the troops helping to build the Harrison-Lillooet road. See C. S. Nicol to Mitchell, September 23, 1859 (Nicol Correspondence). The letter requests the doctor to attend an Indian prisoner in the Douglas gaol who had been wounded by the officer apprehending him—the net result of the business being, as Begbie points out in an attached memorandum, "that the public pay \$50 for curing a prisoner, in order to have to pay \$100 for hanging him. But I conceive that the public are bound to find medical attendance in such a case."

† See Biographical Appendix.

Monday 14th March 1859

during a regular shower we started for Fort Hope¹²¹ Begbie Nicol† and 5 Indians in one large canoe. Ogilvie myself Martin¹²² and two other Indians in a smaller one—we had all our small baggage besides food for 3 days brandy and a good tent—We had not proceed[ed] 2 miles but it cleared up—we had some blankets laid at the bottom of the canoe so could lay down at our ease capital time we had of it racing like mad—it is a most delightful way of travelling at about 5 o'clock we came to a nice spot and landed and up tents—as this was quite novel to me—I looked on and saw the whole process the Indians dispersed themselves every where in the wood—by stripping off the bark of a tree and twisting it they soon lit a good fire & then felled some small trees and brought a good supply of wood for the night two others cut in the twinkling of an eye tent poles and pegs and up went the tent—cedar leaves first laid down and a waterproof on top and then the blankets All the baggage being stowed away at the back all this time Martin had boiled some oates—cooked potatoes &c and we had a fine meal—the Indians had some bacon which they all stuck on the end of sticks and grilled before the fire—We then had a song and a smoke and turned in—Begbie and I had a go at felling trees and found it hard work. At the dawn of mornng we all started up—struck tents loaded canoes and off we went.

Tuesday 15th March 1859

Paddled away until abt 10' o'clock and then landed—while the Indians were making a fire and others cooking &c. Begbie and myself set to and cut down a couple of trees—much to our satisfaction After a very good breakfast—during a tremendous hail and snow storm, we started off again and abt 4 o'clock we camped again—glorious fun—drunk drunk drunk—

Wednesday 16 th	} March 1859
& Thursday 17 th	
& Friday 18 th	
& Saturday 19 th	
& Sunday 20 th	

After racing all day with the other canoe—we came to a nice spot got all our traps out and camped again—made a glorious fire notwithstanding the rain and made ourselves very comfortable for the night—at 5 next mornng up tents and off again—We had all the brandy in our canoe with which we plied the Indians and so after having landed and breakfasted we started and got into Fort Hope one good hour before the others—

(121) Fort Hope had been established in the winter of 1848. The newly opened brigade trail over the Cascade Mountains to Yale had proved so difficult that it was abandoned, for the time being, in favour of the route through the Coquihalla Valley, discovered in 1847 by A. C. Anderson. See A. C. Anderson, *History of the Northwest Coast*, 1878, Transcript, p. 45. In 1858 a townsite near the Fort had been surveyed, and lots leased to would-be settlers (*BCP*, Part II, 1859, p. 4).

(122) Cf. Begbie to Douglas, March 19, 1859 (Begbie Correspondence): "The only interpreter we could trust was Martin, a Carrier Indian, Mr. Nicol's servant, who seems a first rate fellow."

† See Biographical Appendix.

We had 8 Indians all together and rum fellows they were—see how they lit the fires—they first stripped some bark, crushed it, put a spark to it and blew it into a flame (holding it in the hand) and then a roaring fire was soon in a blaze—their meals consisted of strips of hard bacon which they put on the end of sticks and all stood round the fire and so cooked it—when they wanted to drink in the canoe they dipped the paddle into the water and swallowed the drops which fell as they raised it in a perpendicular position—they kneel in the canoe and paddle then sometimes use poles and rig up an extempore sail of a blanket fastened to the poles and are full of all these dodges—Ogilvie and I had one canoe to ourselves, and laid planks of wood down first then a waterproof and blankets on the top and a cover over all so we were comfortable—

The scenery along the river gets grander and grander—the river is very low at present and a good deal of snow on the ground—At Fort Hope (60 m from Langley) Begbie & Nicol put up at a small restaurant where we boarded and very well too—and Ogilvie knocked me up a bed on the floor in his room in the H B Co's store—What a nice fellow he is such a fine fellow—we had our cigar in bed before going to sleep and a cup of hot coffee and a cigar before getting up—There are a g^t many frenchmen and french canadians on the river—and their language is much spoken—Before arriving at Fort Hope we saw the first mining operations on the Banks—rocking they were—and seemed very jolly—Fort Hope is beautifully situated with high mountain scenery all around and a rapid river flowing in front—the place is well stocked with wooden huts and there is a very respectable attempt at laying out streets—they have a post office and jaol [*sic*]—and a fine H.B.Co's store (Ogilvie being in charge)—We had a civil case to try—and bagged \$21.50 fees—and on

Saturday 19th March 1859

we started at 11 o'clock in two canoes for Fort Yale.¹²³ Ogilvie was most kind and generous and supplied us with every thing and also gave me a gold nugget [weighing] [*scored out*] value \$16—

The river from Hope to Yale is very rapid and dangerous however passed through all right and in 5 hours (15 m) reached Yale—miners and the cabins abound on both sides of the banks they locate on bars as they call them—they run as follows viz. S. Island Texas P Sound Emery-Hill—Bars—and Cornish or Murderers Bar before reaching Hope.¹²⁴ There we saw

(123) "Early in the spring of 1848 (though the exact date is uncertain) a small unstockaded post called Fort Yale, in honour of that courageous little man, James Murray Yale, Chief Trader, was erected at the end of the 'horse road' [to Kamloops] near the Indian village below the little canyon." See F. W. Howay, "The Raison d'être of Forts Yale and Hope," Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, 3rd series, XVI (1922), section 2, p. 56; and cf. Chief Factors Douglas and Work to H.B.C., London, November 6, 1847 (Correspondence concerning Fort Langley, 1830-1859, Transcript, from H.B.C. Archives, quoted by permission). A town site was laid out in 1858 (*BCP*, Part I, 1859, p. 38).

(124) I.e., Strawberry Island, about 7 miles above Hope; Texas Bar, on the right bank opposite Strawberry Island; Puget Sound Bar; Emory Bar, 4 miles from Fort Yale; Hill's Bar, about 2 miles below Fort Yale on the left bank, "the earliest-

mining going on in a vengeance—rocking but better still sluicing—they are doing pretty well and seemed jolly enough with their immense mass of hair—rough clothing high waterproof boots and queer looking cabins—We found old Haines & Elwyn at Yale—also Kelly† Capt Wannell† &c everything very jolly—the situation of the place is perfect and grand in the extreme—Elwyn & the others have given me a shakedown they live together and cater and cook for themselves and are very jolly in a little wooden hut—romance itself—I went in the eveng to Wannells (magistrate) to help Nicol to draw out some summonses and in the eveng had to find my way back it was snowing hard and I stumbled head foremost into 3 feet of snow several times extinguished my lantern—& got in a wretched mess fortunately I did not miss the trail altho' it was all covered up with thick snow when I got back I got a lot of hot water and had a downright good scrub—

Yale is a larger place than Hope but not near so well laid out—they have a small steam saw mill¹²⁵ at work close by.

Sunday 20th Mar 1859

Had a good breakfast off venison &c and then attended a methodist meeting¹²⁶—went to see an Indian who was nearly murdered by a black man—the fellow was arrested this morning—

There are several cases to be tried here and among others one for murder of 2 white men (Boston men) by 3 Indians¹²⁷—we examined one at Hope thro' an interpreter and had the chief of the tribe present, most amusing it was¹²⁸—Took a walk up to the cañon a narrow pass in the river through which the river rushes at high water—with g^t force—there is lots of snow on the ground to get a better view of the ca[n]ñon [first n scored out] Elwyn & I

worked, longest-worked, largest, and best-paying bar on the Fraser"; Murderer's or Cornish Bar, 3 miles below Fort Hope. See the list of bars in E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present* (hereafter cited as Scholefield and Howay), Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, pp. 38–40; and the footnotes appended to the letter from Richard Hicks to Douglas, October 26, 1858, in F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, 1926 (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. VI), pp. 5–7.

(125) Land, Fleming & Co. had obtained a permit from Douglas to erect a sawmill at Fort Yale in 1858. See their letter to W. A. G. Young, August 24, 1859 (Land, Fleming & Co. Correspondence).

(126) Cf. Begbie to Douglas, March 18, 1859 (Begbie Correspondence): "The Wesleyans . . . are in one respect *mucho hombres* they got a canoe at Langley & paddled up to Fort Yale by themselves camping out: so I am told—Tell that to Mr Crickmer with my compliments. They gave very good sermons, so considered, both here [i.e., Fort Hope] & at Fort Yale."

(127) Cf. Begbie to Douglas, March 19, 1859 (*ibid.*): "Another Indian was brought up today charged with murder of a "Boston man" last summer. But it appeared pretty clear that the accuser, also an Indian, had got up the charge out of jealousy: and the case was dismissed."

(128) Cf. Begbie to Douglas, March 23, 1859 (*ibid.*): "Trials: the Indians have been discharged—the grand jury ignored the bills. I certainly charged them pretty strongly for the accused—& sho^d not have allowed such a case as I suspected this to be to go to the petty jury for a man's life. Pohanac[?] the old chief at Fort Hope who had seemed really anxious to have them hung, and appeared as a witness agst them rubbed his hand on the pit of his stomach & said his heart was glad." Cf. also the entry for March 25, below.

† See Biographical Appendix.

mounted up and scaled a very steep overhanging rock we proceed[ed] with great difficulty but to return was the devil—however we sat down and so cralled [*sic*] back—a very foolish and dangerous adventure—

On the way we examined an Indian Burial ground queer place a lot of horrid looking wooden figures—some with real guns in their hands—figures of Bears dogs &c—and behind all this a lot of human bodys exposed and all eaten away—one or two dead bodies sitting up in their canoes—

In the winter time a good many of the Indians abt dig great holes and cover them over with a mound of earth supported by rafters—and a great pole in the middle with notches up which they climb like bears¹²⁹—these camps or as they call them Indian Rancheries are horrid holes—smoky and crowded, they are very civil when you go in and shake hands with you &c—

Monday 21 }
Tuesday 22 } March 1859

I have been very busy here—deep in the law and now begin to see my way clear great ruff miners call and state their grievances to me as tho' I were capable of giving them advice¹³⁰—Large quantities of men are wending their way every day up into the upper country Haines & Cox† went along the different bars to collect the mining tax—with little success they found lots of the miners huts quite deserted for the upper country they leave their huts rude bunks chairs and every thing behind—and all you have to do en passant is to enter spread your blankets light the fire & make yourself at home—The assize opens tomorrow with one or two Indian murder cases—Heaps of business is pouring in—the Americans are desperately litigious people and all the summons are made returnable at Langley 10 July or at the different towns sh^d assizes be held previously—

The life in our Hut here is capital—we make our breakfast and dinner bed (blankets) wash the things up sweep up &c and are as jolly as possible—There [*sic*] are felling the trees round abt and this and the falling snow make the noise of thunder—

Our hut is quite a rendezvous for the hungry this morning We had a mule which always comes round for spare potatoes &c then came 3 Indians (1 man & 2 women) Thompson River Indians starving—with Halo muck

(129) For the winter house of the Interior Salish Indians see British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Our Native Peoples, Vol. 3, Interior Salish*, Victoria, 1952 (British Columbia Heritage Series No. 1), pp. 19-21. The white men called the structure a "keekwillie" house, from the Chinook *kee-quil-ly*, meaning *below, under*.

(130) Cf. Begbie to Douglas, March 23, 1859: "There are *heaps* of civil causes here. I don't know how many came rushing at me. Summonses have been issued right and left. . . ." Begbie remained a day longer than he had planned to do at Fort Yale in order to assist Brew in examining into the disputed claims for town lots. "The whole of the difficulties," he says, "appear to have arisen from the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Hicks," who in at least one instance had "recorded the same piece of land to three different persons within one week" (Begbie to Douglas, March 27, 1859). Richard Hicks had been dismissed from his post as Assistant Gold Commissioner on January 8, 1859. See Brew to Young, February 20, 1859 (Brew Correspondence).

† See Biographical Appendix.

a muck¹³¹—we gave them a small piece of bread and the remains of a little hashed venison and a mouthful of tobacco then came a large hungry dog which licked out the stew pot & we finished up with several poor pigs—The mining operations on the river has [*sic*] spoiled the salmon season and a great many of the Indians are starving—poor devils!!

—We get no letters up—I had intended writing home today but some business has just come in—adios—glosch¹³²—

Wednesday 23 Mar 1859

Thursday 24 Mar 59

Friday 25 Mar 59

On Wednesday mornng the assizes are opened in the usual way (as at Langley)—two Indians were indicted for murder happily the grand jury found “no Bills”—they were discharged after having been well lectured by Begbie through an interpreter & their own chief. Begbie has been hearing one or two cases in equity¹³³—And what with granting summonses filing them &c we have bagged a good many fees—the work is strange to me but I am now getting into it.

The poor Indians are starving abt here this mornng there was a little steak and gravy left in our black pot and 3 women and 3 children came to our cabin starved I gave this to them and a hearty meal they made and were most thankful—one of the little girls happened to expose a pack of cards so I told the mother they were “wake glosch”¹³⁴ with a frown so she made the child throw them away—poor things how grateful they were for the food—we always treat the Indians well that come to our door. Gambling is the great sin among them and they wd gamble everything they possess—We had intend[ed] to have started for Lytton yesterday mornng but the weather was so bad (snow) we are detained here—there is in consequence another case coming forward this afternoon—more suits—

(131) Chinook *halo* (none) *muck-amuck* (food).

(132) Chinook *klosch* (good).

(133) *Equity* is defined by the *OED* as a system of law existing side by side with the common and statute law, and superseding these when they conflict with it; the recourse to general principles of justice to correct or supplement the provisions of the law. Originally, a decision “in equity” was one given in accordance with natural justice, in a case for which the law did not provide adequate remedy, or in which its operation would have been unfair. But these decisions were soon taken as precedents, and thus “equity” early became an organized system of rules, not less definite and rigid than those of the law, although the older notion long survived in the language of legal writers and to some extent continued to influence the practice of equity Judges. In England, equity was formerly administered by a special class of tribunals, but since 1873 all the branches of the High Court administer both “law” and “equity,” it being provided that where the two differ, the rules of equity are to be followed.

To hear a case “in equity” would obviously be congenial to Begbie, who, according to Mr. Justice J. F. McCreight, rarely consulted [authorities], but was content with the legal notes of the *Times* newspaper and his own conception of what was right and wrong.” See “Judge Begbie: Memoirs and Documents,” ed. W. Kaye Lamb, *BCHQ*, V (1941), p. 133.

(134) Chinook *wake* (not) *klosch* (good).

Commenced to write a letter home to Mother.

This is a most primitive [town] [scored out] life & I like it very much—

Saturday 26 March 1859

Yesterday while in court 2 letters from home were handed to me. Joy—
The Gov: promises me £1000—as capital—

Sunday 27th March 1859—**Wrote home** M & F. Yale.

Quiet day—Ogilvie paid us a visit from Fort Hope—& dined with us and then we passed the Evg at Allards†

Monday	28	} March 1859
Tuesday	29	
Wednesday	30	
Thursday	31	

Friday 1 April 1859

We started (Begbie Nicol & Kelly) with 1 chief and 8 Indians on our voyage¹³⁵—Indians packing our traps baggage and provisions and a fine time we had of it starting early—walking 3 hours then Breakfast starting again and camping abt ½ past 4 o'clock dining &c and to bed—The scenery is beautiful—very grand at first and gradually becoming flatter and prettier—we first had to cross a tremendous snowy gorge and hard work it was—came to the 4 mile house and had cup of coffee—this was a rum way for a Judge to go on circuit—after passing 4 mile hut we commenced the descent and very good fun we had Indians and all sprawling and scrambling right and left—sliding tumbling and rolling—and by no means safe—as—had we slid off the trail we must have gone . . . goodness knows where—we then came in sight of the Fraser winding its way through immense rocks and precipices—a superb sight it was from the height we were at. We got down to the little cañons and commenced skirting the rocks. Awfully dangerous and had the foot once slipped we must have been dashed to pieces—Kelly had great difficulty in climbing and rounding some of the difficult and slippery rocks and one time was seized with violent cramps from his exertions—We camped this side of Spuzzum I do not recollect the whole days exploits but shall mention some little things I noticed—

(135) The journey from Fort Yale to Lytton, some 60 miles, occupied five days. For Begbie's account of it see his report to Douglas, April 25, 1859 (Begbie Correspondence). This was printed in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXI (1861), pp. 237-248 (Read, December 12, 1859), and also, with some omissions and minor differences, in *BCP*, Part III, 1860 (Cmd. 2724), pp. 17-25. Begbie confirms Bushby's account of the dangers of the trail: "There being a considerable quantity of snow on the ground we could not follow the mule-trail, but kept on the right bank of Fraser River until two or three miles below Quayome or Boston Bar. . . . The trail between Fort Yale and Quayome, by which we advanced, is by this time, I should think, utterly impassable for any animal, except a man, a goat, or a dog. . . . In many places a very painful and dangerous ascent and descent of 20 minutes, in the whole course of which the traveller depends almost as much on his hands as on his feet, brings the path to within a few yards of the projecting precipice, through which a few pounds of

† See Biographical Appendix.

We lived on bacon biscuit and brandy the Indians cook the bacon on sticks and let it drip on the biscuit—I had a good bath in the river one mornng and while bathing (cold as ice) saw a little bird some 30 yds off killed him dead with my pistol much to the joy of the Siwashes (Indians) Two or three places we descended although almost perpendicular by the aid of one or two trees which had been partially cut so as to hang down—deuced dangerous—another pass I caught hold of a piece of rock to save myself it gave way and I saw it bound down an immense height into the river happy was I did not follow it—another place was a very perpendicular sand hill of great height along this we had to scramble and on reaching it I spied poor Kelly at the bottom who had slipped & had a very narrow escape of breaking all his bones—he refused to try it again and waited for a chance canoe to carry him round he advised me not to try it but I did & got over all safe. The Jackass pass was most dangerous—most of the Indians had on moccasins but I had great knee wellingtons with nails in them—very bad—I had to cut a great hole in the ancle and cut the upper leather quite off. We washed some sand while resting one time and found a few flakes of gold without trouble—we were walking on gold the whole way—a good deal of snow and it was just like walking on diamonds. We had to walk over snow—ice—mud—sand earth rocks & slate—through water and over trees a miserable trail and tremendous work—they say we made a good tramp of it. The Indians we had with us were very fine fellows—they carry the packs right down below the back and never seemed to get tired altho' their feet were very sore—I marched ahead with one or two of them and altho' I know only a few words of their lingo with the aid of a little Chinook and signs I managed to keep up a conversation all the way. We camped once at a place called Nlec[k?]takosh and to supply our fire the Indians demolished a wooden hut close by—and by morning we had burnt all the wood—this night I made the tent more comfortable by fastening the ends down with stones and making a bank of sand air tight—

The Indians cut great holes in the trees to extract the bullets—whenever they see any signs. A fellow the other day talking of an individual who was very fond [proud?] of duelling declared that he had enough lead in him to make a pewter pot—We passed some fine slate quarries and large flats of good land and what a relief it was to come to a flat piece!!!!

We always kept up a roaring fire before the tent door and after serving out the Indians the food—had our own dinner which Martin had been preparing then had a good smoke round the fire having first put on our slippers a glass of hot grog and to bed—

We [sic] is quite strange to see how soon the Indians detect the Boston men & how they dislike them and how much they like King Georgie man—

On the road we met all sorts and kinds of men—English, American, French, Canadian, Chinese—&c

powder would have made an easy way. But it suggested itself as extremely doubtful whether it would be worth while at present to engage in any improvements on this part of the line until the far easier Lillooet route be rendered practicable, as it might for a considerable extent very readily be, for carts."

We passed lots of capital little huts deserted by the miners who seem all to have gone up country—

We noticed what a very little animal life there was about all I saw was 1 squirrel—a few little birds some crows and some ducks!! the severe winter has killed them off.

In coming down a slippery trail I fell twice shook myself very much and cut my hand all over—

On nearby Clicumchin (Fort Dallas)¹³⁶ I saw the finest butterfly and flowers since I left England—Summer weather entirely—Our last days march I had great difficulty in getting the Indians to push on to the Forks—their feet were sore and they wanted to camp out and so get another days pay—however after a good rest I summoned up all my knowledge of Indian as did Lord Dufferin his Latin at Iceland and tell them in an emphatic man[ner]

“Haylo Thompson Haylo muckamuck” this coupled with a wholesome regard they had for my pistol practice—after my lucky shot at the bird—brought them to their senses—up they all jumped and I headed the procession and walked the old chief into Lytton at the rate of 4 miles an hour—tired as

(136) The modern Lytton. The Indian village at the junction of the Fraser and the Thompson is named *Tl'cumjane* on the Arrowsmith map accompanying the letter from Douglas to H. Labouchere, April 6, 1858. See Great Britain, Parliament, . . . *Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District*. . . , London, 1858 (Cmd. 2398), p. 11. According to A. C. Anderson, *History of the Northwest Coast*, Transcript, p. 44, the Indian name for Lytton was *Shilkumcheen*, and on the map compiled from his routes, in *BCP*, Part I, 1859, Appendix 1, the confluence of the two rivers is marked *Thlikumcheen or Great Fork*. When in 1857 gold was discovered on the Thompson River, Douglas formed “a transport corps for the purpose of pouring supplies into the interior by Frasers River,” and at the end of December announced his intention to “form a Depot at the junction of Thompsons River with Frasers River.” See Douglas to William Fraser Tolmie, December 28, 1857, postscript dated December 29 (Fort Victoria, *Correspondence Outward*, 1850-1858). While on a visit to Fort Langley in the following March, Douglas “dispatched a party to build Fort Dallas.” See Douglas to W. G. Smith, March 25, 1858, encl. in John Shepherd to Lytton, June 3, 1858 (*Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District*, p. 12). The new post was named after Douglas's son-in-law, A. G. Dallas (see Henry De Groot, *British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1859, p. 12). For further details see Dallas to Young, December 13, 1860, encl. in Young to J. D. Pemberton, September 12, 1861 (Colonial Secretary, V.I. *Correspondence*, 1861). According to Dallas, the building of the Fort cost the Company “about \$3,500,” and they had no use of it, for “by His Excellency's orders, dated 15 July 1858, it was handed over to Mr Travaillot, Government Commissioner.” O. J. Travaillot had been appointed “Revenue Officer for the District of Fort Dallas, or Forks of Thompson's River.” See Douglas to Lord Stanley, July 1, 1858 (*BCP*, Part 1, 1859, p. 20). Early in the following year, however, Travaillot received orders from Moody to let a contract for “the building of a log-house for Government's service,” and this was completed, at a total cost of \$2,158, by the middle of May, 1859. See Moody to Travaillot, January 18, 1859; Contract, February 2, 1859; and Account of Expenses, May 17, 1859 (Travaillot *Correspondence*). It would seem that some of the materials for this new building came from Fort Dallas: under the contract the Government was to furnish “Window Sashes, glass, hinges and locks for doors, with their screws”; and Dallas, declaring that “to this hour the Post has never been used by the Company, nor is it likely ever to be,” says that “some of the Window frames, doors &c were used for Government purposes” (Dallas to Young, December 13, 1860).

I was We got there a good two hours before the others—I ordered supper at the only eating place—and in the evg we had a shake down in the unfinished governmt log hut—we made a good fire & spread our blankets on shavings and slept like tops—

Lytton (The Forks)—

Saturday 2nd April 1859

This is an excellent spot for a town being a good flat piece of land—and a gentle rise at the back and at the East end the Thompson and Fraser river join—there are nothing but a few huts here at present.

We had beautiful weather coming along paid our Indians \$2 a day and grub. We are very jolly and this sort of life just suits me it is rough as possible but good health hardy work—

Sunday 3 Apl 1859.

On the sight [*sic*] where they intend to build the town of Lytton there are the remains of several Tyhees' tombs among other things they deposit around the tomb and on top of poles his guns canoes pots & pans clothes and his horses and kine and surround the whole with grotesque wood carvings.—I went out with Begbie and he tried the Thompson with a fly but with no success—while I lounged on the sand in the sun a cigar en bouche and the Chinook vocabulary en main!! We went to visit the barn or saloon where Neil killed his man—it is a large immense log hut and is now general property—miners going in there cooking their meals sleeping there—all free—no owners to the house—

Provisions are dear—this is the first time I ever came in contact with this sort of thing I went out to lay in a stock for our tramp—small loaves \$1 apiece—potatoes 50 c p lb—ham 90 c, bacon 75 c beans 40c and other things in proportion! Our meals in a rough log hut cost us \$3 a meal!!¹³⁷

It is lovely weather up here now quite like summer—

Monday 4 Apl 58 [*sic*]. received letters from Home—M & F

Court sat today.

Tried some trivial cases and rec^d some deputations great disgrace of the manner things are carried on here—rec^d letters from home

Tuesday 5 Apl 59—

Started from Lytton for the Fountains 3 horses and an Indian—Begbie Kelly Nicol and Martin ferried across the Thompson and then packed the animals and started on the way I tried my hand at rocking but with little or no success—we had started so late that we did not breakfast at all but just had a piece of bread marched on till 5 o'clock We had a good deal to do having no Indians, but happily we had superb weather—The scenery along is very fine and we passed a good many good agricultural patches of land—rolled a whole tree down & put it on the fire

(137) And according to Begbie's Report, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXI (1861), p. 239, each meal consisted "mainly of bacon and hearth-made bread."

Wednesday 6 Apl 1859—

Up at 5 o'clock and packed and started at ½ past 6 o'clock never stopped except for breakfast till we arrived at a camping place in the midst of snow at the foot of lake Neepotum (Indian name) The Indian wanted us to stop at ¼ to 3—but I wd not so we found ourselves, abt ½ past 5 in the middle of the snows—and but little forage for the beasts however we did pretty well and made our selves very jolly in camp—getting accustomed to this sort of thing. We passed Foster Bar some fine flats about—struck away from Fraser R¹³⁸—

Thursday 7th Apl 1859.

Had breakfast before starting. 8 o'clock and marched into the Fountains at 1 o'clock. Situated in some immense flats of beautiful land a store or two a few Indian huts and a dozen or two tents found there was nothing to do there so after having partaken of a good dinner (rough style) off some fresh meat & tripe (quite a treat) which was kindly furnished to us gratis by a Mrs Kelly¹³⁹ away we started for Lillooet¹⁴⁰—some 7 m off—We had much difficulty in getting our party together but by dint of patience perseverance and hard work we managed to pitch our tent in a rough manner at abt 8 o'clock. —Coming along from Fountain to Lillooet we had some superb views of the Bridge River &c—had bad throat.

Friday 8 April 1859—

As we shall be stopping here a few days we determined to move our goods & tent across the river¹⁴¹ & make ourselves [easy] [*scored out*] comfortable—which after a long interview with a hyas tyhee¹⁴²—and a great deal of bother packing getting into the boat—across the river & up the hill the other side we pitched our tent in first rate style. I cut capital ridge &

(138) Cf. Begbie's Report, p. 241: "In consequence of the dangerous nature of one part of the trail, called the 'Slide,' a few miles above Foster Bar, 18 miles from Fountains, the mule-trail quits the Fraser at Foster Bar and ascends a small stream to an elevated plateau, descending by a beautiful valley to the plateau above the Fountains.

"On the top of the pass we found (7th April) three lakes all frozen."

(139) Cf. Begbie's Report, pp. 241-242: "We had fresh meat here, the first since leaving Fort Yale. . . . There were notifications of the new ditch orders, and that one Mr. Kelley, who kept stores there, was appointed to receive payment of mining-licences and other Government moneys."

(140) Cf. Begbie's Report, p. 242: ". . . the place called Lillooet in this neighborhood, i.e. the spot where the Lillooet route falls on the Fraser, and which I shall designate by the name Cayoosh."

(141) Cf. Begbie's Report, p. 242: "The trail . . . at 4 miles below Fountains crosses by the ferry recently granted by Captain Travillot to Aimable Bonnet and Calmel." For further information concerning Amable Bonnett (as he himself spells his name) and his later dispute with Elwyn over the ferry privileges, see Elwyn to Young, November 28, 1859 (Elwyn Correspondence). Begbie adds that "the tolls are, perhaps, not too high for the present rate of wages and provisions. The right is only granted for a year, and at the end of that time, or of a second year, they might probably be revised." The rates were 3 shillings a passenger, 2 shillings per 100 pounds of freight, and 6 shillings for animals; Elwyn thought them "rather high, considering the large amount of traffic." They were reduced the following year to 2 shillings, 1 shilling, and 4 shillings respectively. See Elwyn to Young, March 14, 1860 (Elwyn Correspondence).

(142) Chinook *hyas* (great) *tyhee* (chief).

supporting poles got everything tight & in order inside washed myself by a neighbouring brook. Martin is cooking before a good wood fire. The Indians for a trifle have brought in a whole bundle of good wood it is splendid weather & I am sprawling with my coat off on a bundle of blankets writing my journal. We made some bread for the first time time mornng—and it was good—As we were sitting round the fire abt 8 o'clock we were startled by the arrival of 2 chiefs & 3 attendants on horseback who came up full gallop & stopped just short of the fire—they came to have a grand waw waw¹⁴³ with Begbie—we told them to take up their abode round the fire for the night gave them some tobacco and said we should speak to them tomorrow—

Saturday 9 April 1859

I wrote to Victoria Gazette—The court was opened some trifling things disposed of and at 1 o'clock we struck tents and by great labor got some Indians to pack our things to the nearest lake on the Lillooet Trail Lake Seaton—pretty walk a good natural trail some 2 m long—Lillooet is a thriving place—and beautifully situated on the Fraser. It is extraordinary the number of french & Canadians there are about—

This was our best camp and a lovely spot it was quite close to a stream of water and a willow copse—food is very dear however—but we lived in the camp—The Indians are all starving round about—

We got to Seaton Lake in the afternoon and pitched our tent a little distance from the ferry¹⁴⁴—baked our bread fried some bacon and had our dinner—

Sunday 10 April 1859.

Bitterly cold night—snow and wind—when we were abt to prepare our breakfast (7 o'clock) we found the Indians had come in the night & taken it all except a little flour—it was at the back of the tent—they have taken the provisions and left the bags—at ½ past 8 o'clock we left in a large whale boat—and crossed the lake with a fair wind in 2 hours—15 m long—fine bold scenery—a great many Nova Scotians here—Indians starving everywhere abt some few winters ago 3000 died of starvation—

We warmed ourselves by the fire of a log hut—then procured 5 Indians—and loaded ourselves & started for the Lake Anderson—1½ m off—I am now writing up my journal on a log—by side of the lake every thing wild and still around except Begbie & the others were abt baking some bread a

(143) Chinook for *talk*. For the substance of the discussion see Begbie's Report, pp. 242–243: "They complained of the conduct of the citizens of the United States in preventing them from mining, in destroying and carrying away their root-crops without compensation, and in laying wholly upon the Indians many depredations on cattle and horses which these Indians informed me were in part, at least, committed by 'Boston men.'"

(144) When the Harrison-Lillooet trail was made by the miners in 1858, large boats were built to ferry the traffic across the three lakes involved. See Douglas to Lytton, November 9, 1858 (*BCP*, Part II, 1859, p. 29). It was not until the summer of 1860 that the stern-wheel steamer *Champion* was launched for service on Seton Lake (Hacking, *BCHQ*, X (1946), p. 12).

(145) This boat was replaced in the early summer of 1860 by the *Lady of the Lake*. Hacking, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

little way off—There is a boat on this lake also¹⁴⁵ & we are waiting to see if it comes today or whether we shall have to pitch our tent—

The Lillooet Trail cost govt some \$50000¹⁴⁶ as yet we have seen no traces of any works except a bridge & a little levelling done by some private individual—

No boat makes its appearance so we pitched our tent on a nice sheltered spot & set to work and cut a large tree down had a good deal of fun in bringing it to the fire but when we did, what a fire we had!! a roaster! we put all the provisions in the middle of the tent and placed Martin as a guard—bitterly cold night.

Monday 11th April 1859.

As no boat seemed inclined to come we seized the old govt. punt—rigged up a sail out of our tent and put all the things in and set sail. We had capital fun on board—a fair wind for some part of the way then it dropped altogether so we took turns to pull the heavy oars Nicol and I Kelly & Martin half hour at the time Begbie steering after a very hard pull through the Lake Anderson which is very fine we arrived at the other side at 5 o'clock met the boat half way they did not know what to make of it—some enterprising fellows have built a good log wharf and one or two good huts¹⁴⁷—we camped close by and on

Tuesday 12th April 1859

Got two Indians and an old white horse packed them and set off at ¼ to 7 o'clock breakfasted on the road and camped abt 3 m the other side of the halfway house¹⁴⁸ in a very pretty spot among a bunch of cedar trees—we had some beans and rice for dinner which were capital quite a relief to the [beans] [scored out] bacon—on the road we met at least 50 Chinamen at different times—some white men Indians and lots of mules—It is strange to see how different nations carry their loads the Indians on their backs suspended by a band from the head—the Chinese on long poles over the shoulders—the Englishman on the shoulders The Chinese seem good peaceful people—they chat away & are very polite The mule trains all have a Bellmare—that is to say a mare with a bell attached to her neck—they never leave her day or night and get quite attached to her it is amusing to see how they bite and kick each other so as to be near the Bellmare en marche. It is an extraordinary provision of nature that these beasts cannot interbreed—so it is with mule birds &c. On the road we passed a small frozen lake¹⁴⁹—The trail is a very good natural one but notwithstanding the immense sum s^d to be spent on it art has done very little for it a few corde de roi bridges which are

(146) Cf. Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859 (*BCP*, Part III, 1860, p. 1): "The construction of the Harrison or Lillooet road has been the great source of outlay this season, that work having cost the Colony nearly 14,000 l."

(147) Cf. R. C. Mayne, Report, July 7, 1859 (*BCP*, Part III, 1860, p. 35): "Port Anderson is at the south end of Lake Anderson. There is a large restaurant there for the entertainment of muleteers, &c. &c.;" and H. Spencer Palmer, Report, May, 1859 (*ibid.*, p. 46): "A good jetty has been built by the men who have settled there and own the boats that convey passengers across the lake."

(148) About 12 miles from Port Anderson.

(149) Presumably Summit Lake, about 9 miles from Port Anderson.

nothing but a few small logs fastened together resting on some big logs and thrown across streams &c We stopped at the ½ way house and had some bread and treacle how we pitched into it!!! The old white horse gets on very slowly and has had nothing to eat this Evng.

Wednesday 13 April 59.

Started early after a good breakfast off beans &c K. mentioned the spec of 1400 acres near Lillooet for cows &c I joined him—we shall see how it turns out—met a lot more chinamen—old white horse gave in—I sped on to Pemberton to get assistance but no Indians wd go and help so after waiting Martin & the Indian brought the thing in—

We had an excellent meal at Mr. O'Brien's[?] store—how we did just peg into it, after living for a month on bacon & flour!! Pemberton is at the foot of Lillooet Lake and will be a rising place—carried our own packs off to the sand flats and camped there I have just been down to the lake and had a good wash (not before I wanted it) My boots are all given way and my flannel shirt which I have had in constant wear since 8 Mar is getting rather dirty—beard is getting long and shaggy hands & face & arms well browned and scratched—hands hards [sic] and feet d[itt]o—in capital condition I am now scribbling on a pile of blankets in the tent in the very lap of luxury and am now off with Nichol to try and get a shot at some ducks

Thursday 14 Apl 59

Packed up and made a start in a large life boat¹⁵⁰ to get across Lake Lillooet (16 m) were obliged on a/c of heavy wind to lay up in a safe little cove landed and made a glorious fire—at least 5 yards long—wind cont'y so put back then it dropped and made another try for it no go so put back again & reached Pemberton at 9 o'clock eveg—had some supper pitched the tent on our old spot and

Friday. 15 Apl 1859

Up at 4 o'clock packed and started at 5 o'clock at 10 o'clock got to the other side of the lake had some breakfast at the little old hut & started with Nicol along the trail for the lower lake Lillooet¹⁵¹ —9 m—in 3 hours were there found Begbie Kelly & Martin comfortably camped on a very pretty spot—they having gone round by water—Begbie went fishing and caught a nice sized trout which we cooked and demolished for dinner along with some beans—we felled a couple of good sized trees. Then I balanced my cash notwithstanding the musquitos which are beginning to be very troublesome indeed—they are frightful in summer—so we are told—Our camp was the most picturesque we have yet had, it was pitched in the centre of a clump of cedar trees the lake at the foot backed by some high snow mountains—a glorious wood fire throwing a bright glare on the white canvas of the tent and lighting up the different figures standing and sitting around and a beautiful clear moon sparkling through the cedars and in its turn giving a light silvery effect to the whole, we

(150) Replaced by the *Marzelle*, launched on June 12, 1860. Hacking, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

(151) Little Lillooet Lake, often called *Tenass*, from the Chinook for *little*.

all agreed that a finer scene could not be imagined and I must say I never saw anything so beautiful and truly romantic in my life—We made a soft bed of cedar leaves and slept soundly as we had had a small share of that commodity the night before It is no difficult matter to sleep well as toiling up and down these hills is rather blowing work and I don't think any of us c^d boast as did Kelly of one of his horses after having run a race "That she would not blow a pinch of snuff off the hand"—

I am afraid our "stomachs often thing [*sic*] our throats must be cut"—if we may judge by the justice we generally do our frugal meals

Saturday 16 Apl 1859

We have been waiting for Indians to take our packs on to Port Douglas. 3 have just come in sight hurra! There are only 3—we must pack them well—the beggars they w^d not take our packs they s^d they were too heavy so we told them to clat.a.wa¹⁵² and made a show of putting up the tent thinking that that might induce them to come to terms but no—happily a canoe came by so we shipped all the baggage we could & called the Indians back they however wanted \$3 ahead whereupon we lost all patience kicked them off and shouldered our own packs—we had not gone far when we met a chinaman & 3 mules who, much to our delight, took our packs so on we went. I endeavoured to hold a conversation with "John" but c^d not understand him at all—We got that afternoon to the Hot Springs ¹⁵³ where we camped—it is a very pretty spot the rock from which the spring emmenates is in the midst of a cedar wood and each side of the Hot spring are two cold ones. An Irishman is building a modern Hotel and a bath House over it—we bathed of course, the first time I have been really clean since I left S. Francisco.

Sunday 17 Apl 1859

Started with 3 Indians for the 10 mile Hut—passed a party of Frenchmen who were very jolly & civil—also the grave of a white man who had been found drowned

We also passed some beautiful waterfalls. I had great difficulty in getting the Indians on—coming along the quiet lonely trail I often found myself lost in silent musings—my thoughts always carrying me back to the "Old

(152) Chinook *klatawa* (to go).

(153) Cf. Begbie's Report, p. 245: "There are some very curious hot-wells about 13½ miles from the lower end of Lillooet Lake. The water issues from a mass of conglomerate 6 or 8 feet high, and the same width partially imbedded in the hill-side. From the centre issues the hot spring, large enough to fill a trough of the area of 4 inches square, probably at the height of about 2 feet from the bottom of the rock. On each side, out of the same mass of conglomerate, there issues a spring of cold pure water of about the same bulk, and all three unite in a small pool, and form one stream, which falls into the Lillooet about 100 yards off. The trees in the neighbourhood are of a singular vigour and beauty, both hemlock, cedar, &c., and also maple and other deciduous trees. The water is extremely soft and agreeable to wash in; it has a slight sulphureous taste, and also is slightly chalybeate. It has a very perceptible odour, but is perfectly clear and colourless. We had no means of testing its temperature accurately, but even after some admixture of the cold springs it is hotter than the hand can bear; I should say probably 140° F. We gave to it the name of 'St. Agnes' Well.'"

Folks at Home"—We camped at the 10 mile Hut, had a decent dinner—and then Begbie Nicol & myself read the eveng service by the light of the camp fire and turned in—

Monday 18 Apl 1859—

Up at 4 o'clock—started at 5—much amused watching the Mexican packers with their mules (some 24) how well they manage to pack them—we passed another grave—also some fine waterfalls—had g^t difficulty in keeping my ground on a/c of my worn boots—Breakfasted at the 4 mile house kept by an old Englishman a polite old man who had seen much better circumstances—I helped him in a letter he was writing to Col Moody for a grant of land—

We arrived here at Port Douglas at 12 o'clock—there are several houses here—Robertson¹⁵⁴ also who gave us some London Porter we all agreed that it was much better to be in a wild state than in a semi civilised condition—you cant go out and cut yr own wood or anything. Kelly is bothering me abt making out the a/c of which he is to pay ¼ &c

Tuesday	26	Apl	59	} <u>Wrote home</u> <u>Mother Rivaz & Lewins</u> [?]	
Wednesday	27	"	"		
Thursday	28	"	"		
Friday	29	"	"		
Saturday	30	"	"		
Sunday	1 May 1859				

I have been unable to write up my journal as it was mislaid or rather left at P Douglas¹⁵⁵ All the week I have been very busy—a/cs from above are very depressing all things are very dull—

(154) Cf. note (38), above.

(155) Cf. Nicol to Moody, April 23, 1859 (Nicol Correspondence): "Please tell Bushby I have sent his bag to him by this boat I have not time to write now to him." Nicol had accompanied Begbie's party as far as the mouth of the Harrison River and had then returned to Port Douglas by canoe. Begbie and Bushby had continued to Langley, where they had taken the steamer *Eliza Anderson*, arriving in Victoria on April 23 (*Victoria Gazette*, April 26, 1859).

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

ALLARD, OVID

Ovid Allard (1817-1874) was born in Montreal and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at Lachine in 1834. He was sent to the west with a party which later established Fort Boise, and in 1839 was posted to Fort Langley as Indian trader and supervisor under James Murray Yale. In the winter of 1847-48 he carried out the orders for the erection of Fort Yale,¹ and the following year he constructed Fort Hope. After a dispute with his superior officer, Allard was transferred from Fort Langley, and in 1853 was made superintendent of Indian labor in the new coal mines at Nanaimo.² When the gold-rush to the Fraser River began five years later, Douglas sent Allard to reopen Fort Yale (abandoned when Fort Hope had been established on the new brigade trail) in order to keep the Indians in check. In 1864 Allard returned to Fort Langley as officer in charge,³ and he died there on August 2, 1874.⁴ See the Biographical Notes concerning Ovid Allard, made by his son Jason in 1928; Jason Allard's *Sketches of Early Life in British Columbia*, Transcript; Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley 1827-1927*, Vancouver, 1927, pp. 15-26, *passim*; B. A. McKelvie, "Jason Allard: Fur-trader, Prince, and Gentleman," *BCHQ*, IX (1945), pp. 244-252, *passim*.

ANGELO, CHARLES AUBREY

According to his own account in the *Victoria Gazette*, February 15, 1859, C. A. Angelo was born in London of English parents and educated in England. "The near relative of an officer in Her Majesty's service," he had spent twenty years in India and China, "to [his] sorrow connected with the press," before coming to Victoria. He was employed as a clerk in the Customs House, but was convicted of falsifying the accounts and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.⁵ In January, 1860, he petitioned Governor Douglas, asking to be released on condition of "the absolute and complete surrender" of his property, for his wife and his eight children were "almost in a state of destitution"; and he petitioned again in June to have the remaining three weeks of his sentence remitted on the same grounds. The Governor, however, did not "consider it expedient in the present case to interfere with the strict course of justice."⁶ After his release Angelo left the colony. He died in San Francisco on May 30, 1875, at the age of 65.⁷

(1) J. M. Yale to Sir George Simpson, December 28, 1847. Correspondence relating to Fort Langley from the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives. Transcript. Quoted by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(2) J. W. McKay to James Douglas, July 17, 1853. Nanaimo Correspondence, August, 1852, to September, 1853.

(3) Robie L. Reid, "Early Days at Fort Langley," *BCHQ*, I (1937), p. 85.

(4) *Victoria Colonist*, August 6, 1874.

(5) *Ibid.*, August 13, 16, and 20, 1859.

(6) Angelo to Douglas, January 20, 1860, and June 20, 1860 (endorsed by J.D.). Angelo Correspondence.

(7) *Victoria Colonist*, June 10, 1875.

BARNSTON, JOHN GEORGE

John G. Barnston was a native of Montreal who in 1858 established himself in Victoria as a barrister and attorney at law.⁸ By 1863 he had moved to New Westminster, and ten years later he was practising law in Barkerville.⁹ He represented Cariboo in the first Provincial Parliament after Confederation. For some years before his death he lived in Nanaimo, but he died in Victoria, on December 22, 1883. His full name, according to the voters' list in the *Victoria Colonist*, December 1, 1859, was Johnston George Hillbride Barnston. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, December 23, 1883.

BARTLETT, COLUMBUS

Columbus Bartlett, joint editor (with Henry C. Williston) of the *Victoria Gazette*, came from California in the summer of 1858, having been "one of the proprietors and conductors of the Evening News, of [San Francisco], and more recently . . . the Sacramento correspondent of the Bulletin."¹⁰ The *Gazette* ceased publication on November 26, 1859, and presumably Bartlett returned to California with the proprietors of the paper.¹¹

BAYLEY, JOHN

John Bayley and his family came to Victoria from San Francisco in 1858 on "the magnificent American Clipper Ship Oracle."¹² In July, 1858, he was appointed Superintendent of Police,¹³ but he returned to England in 1861 for the sake of the education of his children, three of his sons later becoming "accomplished musicians." He died at Winchester on July 7, 1871, being then bandmaster of the 46th Regiment of Foot. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, October 5, 1871. His daughter Felicité returned to Victoria in 1873 and six years later married Colonel Richard Wolfenden, late of the Royal Engineers.¹⁴

BEDFORD, CHARLES JOHN RILAND

C. J. R. Bedford was presumably a member of the Riland Bedford family, which in 1889 had held the living of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire for three hundred years. He served in the Warwickshire Militia, in the 9th Regiment of Foot during the Crimean War, and in the 92nd Highlanders.¹⁵ On January 10, 1859, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the

(8) *Victoria Gazette*, December 25, 1858.

(9) *Victoria Directory*, 1863 and 1868.

(10) *Victoria Gazette*, June 25, 1858, quoting the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, June 12, 1858.

(11) *Victoria Colonist*, November 29, 1859.

(12) See the memorandum concerning Felicité Caroline Wolfenden, and *Victoria Gazette*, September 10, 1858.

(13) *Victoria Gazette*, July 17, 1858.

(14) *Victoria Colonist*, September 16, 1879.

(15) See the testimonials enclosed in his letter of introduction from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, October 7, 1858. Bedford Correspondence.

District of Langley;¹⁶ but less than three months later he resigned this office¹⁷ and leased for a period of three years the Hudson's Bay Company's farm at Langley.¹⁸ On February 1, 1860, he pre-empted land "at the end of the Prairie 4 miles south of Langley on the Semihmoo road," and on the same date "Campbell Ryland Bedford" and "Francis Ryland Bedford" pre-empted adjoining land; but none of these claims were completed, and from the description the location cannot be definitely determined.¹⁹ That Bedford may have been in some financial difficulty is suggested by a report in the *Victoria Colonist*, April 5, 1860: "He was formerly Justice of the Peace at Langley, B. C., and lessee of the Hudson Bay Company's farm at that place. He left B.C. in a canoe to avoid service of process from the Court here, and upon proceedings being taken against him, was secreted by a friend. . . . It is surely time that steps were taken to organize some society for the protection of creditors, and the punishment of parties aiding and abetting the escape of fraudulent debtors." This report, however, has not been confirmed, and no further trace of Bedford has been found.

BEGBIE, MATTHEW BAILLIE

M. B. Begbie (1819-1894) was appointed Judge of the Crown Colony of British Columbia in September, 1858,²⁰ and "arrived from San Francisco on the evening of the 15th [of November], just in time to take part in . . . the ceremony . . . performed at Fort Langley, with becoming solemnity, on the 19th."²¹ For a full account of Begbie's career *see* the four articles by Sydney G. Pettit in *BCHQ*, XI (1947).

BLAKE, GEORGE LASCELLES

G. L. Blake, of the Royal Marines, was appointed first lieutenant in 1849 and served in the East Indies and China from 1853 to 1858, presumably arriving at Esquimalt in the *Tribune* on February 13, 1859. It would seem that he left Victoria with Moody for Queensborough on March 2,²² for on March 10 he sent the colonel a seven-page report of a journey on which he had been ordered to collect information regarding the transportation and accommodation which might be available "at the different Posts . . . on the river" for the main body of the Royal Engineers, who were to arrive in April.²³ Moody also sent him with Robert Burnaby on a "four

(16) Memorandum, signed Richard Golledge, Secretary, in British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859, p. 75.

(17) Bedford to Douglas, March 30, 1859. Bedford Correspondence.

(18) A. G. Dallas to J. M. Yale, March 25, 1859. Cited in Robie L. Reid, "Early Days at Old Fort Langley," *BCHQ*, I (1937), pp. 83-84.

(19) F. W. Laing, "Colonial Farm Settlers on the Mainland of British Columbia 1858-1871," Victoria, 1939, typescript, p. 163.

(20) Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858. *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia* (hereafter cited as *BCP*), Part I, 1859 (Cmd. 2476, 1st series), p. 62.

(21) Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, 1859, (Cmd. 2578), p. 34.

(22) *See* the entry in Bushby's journal for that date.

(23) Blake to Moody, March 10, 1859. Blake Correspondence.

days journey into the interior northwards, to bring back information . . . and also to trace the route to Burrard's Inlet."²⁴ According to the nominal roll enclosed in Douglas to Moody, April 12, 1859 (Douglas Correspondence), Blake served as first lieutenant under Captain Thomas Magin in the detachment of Marines sent from Victoria to Queensborough in April, 1859. He was promoted to the rank of captain in May, 1859, and later served in the *Ganges*, which returned to England in September, 1860. He retired in 1870, and died apparently some time between July, 1883, and April, 1884.

BREW, CHARTRES

Chartres Brew (1815-1870) was sent out by Lytton, after fourteen years' experience in the Irish Constabulary, to serve as Inspector of Police in British Columbia and to establish a police force for the maintenance of law and order among the miners.²⁵ He arrived in Victoria on November 8, 1858.²⁶ For further details of his career see Margaret A. Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days," *BCHQ*, XIV (1950), pp. 64-71.

BROTCHIE, WILLIAM

Captain William Brothie (1799-1859), of the Hudson's Bay Company, came to this coast first in the *Dryad* in 1831. Later, he commanded the *Cadboro* (from 1835 to 1838) and other Company vessels on this coast.²⁷ From 1849 to 1855 he was engaged in cutting spars on Vancouver Island, in what was to prove the vain hope of selling them to the Admiralty.²⁸ In 1858 he was appointed Harbour Master for Vancouver Island,²⁹ but the following year he died, after a long illness. His funeral was attended by the Governor, all the Government officials, and the officers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the Victoria Cricket Club went into mourning for thirty days.³⁰

BURNABY, ROBERT

Robert Burnaby (1828-1878) was the fourth son of the Rev. Thomas Burnaby, of Blakesley, Northants. After seventeen years in the Comptroller's Office of the Customs House in London, he came out to British Columbia in 1858, "in partnership with a capitalist whose business he is to manage."³¹ The capitalist was Edward Henderson, and the firm carried on business as Henderson & Burnaby, both in Victoria and in London, where

(24) Moody to Douglas, March 17, 1859. British Columbia, Lands and Works Department Correspondence.

(25) Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 70.

(26) *Victoria Gazette*, November 9, 1858.

(27) Captain John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names 1592-1906* (hereafter cited as Walbran), Ottawa, 1909, p. 64.

(28) W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island. Part I: 1844-1855," *BCHQ*, II (1938), pp. 33-38.

(29) *Victoria Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

(30) *Ibid.*, March 3, 1859.

(31) See the enclosure, undated, signed D. Colquhoun, in Lytton's letter of introduction, October 8, 1858. Burnaby Correspondence.

they were "agents to the Columbia Mission."³² Soon after his arrival in Victoria, Burnaby was made Colonel Moody's private secretary,³³ and assisted him in the sale of town lots at Queensborough. When Moody was ordered by Governor Douglas, "now hard pushed for money," to dispense with all civilian assistance in the Lands and Works Department,³⁴ Burnaby joined with Walter Moberly, dismissed for the same reason from his post of Superintendent of Works for British Columbia, in an abortive scheme to develop the coal deposits on Burrard Inlet.³⁵ Burnaby was later engaged in various business enterprises, including the Antler Bedrock Flume Company, the Queen Charlotte Mining Company, and the British Columbia and Victoria Navigation Company.³⁶ From 1860 to 1865 he was a member of the House of Assembly for Esquimalt District, and in 1860 he installed the officers of the first Freemasons' Lodge established in British Columbia.³⁷ According to Dr. J. S. Helmcken,³⁸ Burnaby was "a pleasant myrthful active honest pleasant little fellow" until his health began to fail. He returned to England in 1874 and died there four years later, having been an invalid for some six years. For further details of his family and career see G. Hollis Slater, "Robert Burnaby, District Grand Master, E.R., First Past Grand Master, B. C.," *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons of British Columbia*, 1944, pp. 137-153; Walter Mackay Draycott, "The Early History of the Burnaby Family," *Burnaby Advertiser*, July 17, 24, and 31, August 7, 1947; and Hollis Slater and George Green, "The Biography of Robert Burnaby," *ibid.*, August 21 and 28, September 4, 1947.

CAMERON, DAVID

David Cameron (1804-1872), the brother-in-law of Governor Douglas, came from Demerara to Victoria with his family in July, 1853, to take up an appointment from the Hudson's Bay Company at their coal mines in Nanaimo.³⁹ On December 2, 1853, the Council appointed him Judge of the Supreme Court of Vancouver Island, but only "for the time being, since he was not a professional lawyer."⁴⁰ This appointment, in spite of the opposition which it aroused from the Cooper-Langford faction, was confirmed

(32) Columbia Mission, *Report . . . for . . . 1863*, London, 1864, p. 75. Archives Microfilm No. 198A.

(33) See Bushby's journal, entry for March 2, 1859.

(34) Douglas to Moody, June 27, 1859. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, May 27, 1859, to January 9, 1864.

(35) Moody to Douglas, July 21, 1859. British Columbia, Lands and Works Department, Correspondence Outward, March 1 to August 25, 1859. See also Walter Moberly, *The Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, London, 1885, pp. 31-32.

(36) See the Burnaby Correspondence.

(37) *Victoria Colonist*, August 22, 1860.

(38) *Reminiscences*, 1892, Vol. IV, p. 72.

(39) Cameron to Colonial Secretary, February 2, 1863. Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, . . . *Correspondence Relative to the Appointment of Chief Justice Cameron . . .*, London, 1863 (H.C. 507), pp. 32-33.

(40) Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, January 7, 1854. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

in 1856.⁴¹ In face of this difficult situation, Cameron "succeeded in a remarkable manner";⁴² but he resigned in 1865⁴³ in deference to the public feeling that with the union of the colonies about to be negotiated, "judicial offices should be filled by men who had a professional training."⁴⁴ He died in Victoria on May 14, 1872.⁴⁵

COCHRANE, JOHN JAMES

J. J. Cochrane had given great satisfaction as a civil engineer in Scotland before coming to British Columbia,⁴⁶ and in 1859 accepted an appointment as surveyor at Queensborough, the future New Westminster.⁴⁷ After the dismissal of Moody's civilian staff, Cochrane undertook "the superintendence of the Works, on the Race Rocks,"⁴⁸ and in 1861 he served with John Gastineau and J. W. Trutch on a Commission to enquire into the state of Victoria Harbour.⁴⁹ He advertised himself as "Land Agent, Surveyor and Architect,"⁵⁰ and also served as one of the assessors of real estate for the districts of "Victoria Town, Victoria County, and Esquimalt Town."⁵¹ He was also engineer of the Victoria Gas Company and secretary of the Victoria Market Company,⁵² a member of the General Board of Education,⁵³ and a real-estate auctioneer.⁵⁴ He was also involved, along with George Hunter Cary, the Attorney-General, in what the *Victoria Colonist* referred to as "The Water Imbroglio." With a view to forming a water company the two men had bought from A. G. Dallas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, the land round the springs which had previously been reserved for public use; and great was the indignation of citizens and watermen, who upset the watchman posted by the purchasers and demolished and burned the fence surrounding the pumps.⁵⁵ Cochrane was a member for Saanich in the Legislative Assembly from 1864 to 1866. The following year he died suddenly of apoplexy, "aged about 40 years, [leaving] a wife and four beautiful children to mourn his untimely end."⁵⁶

COOPER, JAMES

James Cooper entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1844, and for the next six years he was master of one or other of their

(41) H. Labouchere to Douglas, May 5, 1856. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

(42) E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the earliest Times to the Present*, Vancouver, 1914, Vol. II, p. 661.

(43) *Victoria Colonist*, October 12, 1865.

(44) Walbran, p. 80.

(45) *Victoria Colonist*, May 15, 1872.

(46) See his letters of introduction in the Cochrane Correspondence.

(47) Cochrane to Moody, March 18, 1859. Cochrane Correspondence.

(48) Cochrane to J. D. Pemberton, September 27, 1859. *Ibid.*

(49) Cochrane to W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary, July 19, 1861. *Ibid.*

(50) *Victoria Colonist*, May 6, 1861.

(51) Cochrane to Young, December 31, 1860. Cochrane Correspondence.

(52) *Victoria Colonist*, November 1, 1861.

(53) Cochrane to H. Wakeford, Acting Colonial Secretary, May 19, 1865. Cochrane Correspondence.

(54) *Victoria Colonist*, January 17, 1867.

(55) See the files of the *Colonist* from April 26 to June 20, 1861.

(56) *Ibid.*, March 7, 1867.

annual supply ships. He was associated with a group of London capitalists who in 1850 made an unsuccessful attempt to organize the first Vancouver's Island Steam Sawing Mill and Agriculture Company, and when this scheme was abandoned he came out to this coast as an independent settler, arriving at Esquimalt in May, 1851, in the *Tory*. With a fellow-passenger, Thomas Blinkhorn, he took up land at Metchosin, and the two also traded in all manner of goods, from coal to cranberries.⁵⁷ From 1851 to 1856 Cooper was a member of the Council for Vancouver Island; but in the spring of 1857 he returned to England "in circumstances of some [financial] embarrassment,"⁵⁸ and there he gave evidence concerning the "mal-administration of the government of the Hudson's Bay Company" before the House of Commons Select Committee.⁵⁹ "No discreditable conduct" having been proved against Cooper, Lytton directed Douglas to appoint him Harbour Master at Esquimalt, "chiefly for the purposes of British Columbia."⁶⁰ Douglas could hardly be expected to welcome back a man who had been so bitterly hostile to him and to the Company which he had formerly served; indeed, he told the Home Government bluntly that "Mr. Coopers office is a sinecure, there is literally nothing for him to do, the entering and clearing of vessels being effected at the Custom House. His services would be no acquisition in any other department, and his pecuniary embarrassments present an obstacle to his being employed as a collector of revenue."⁶¹ In January, 1860, Cooper was elected, along with Dr. J. S. Helmcken, to represent the Esquimalt and Metchosin District in the Legislative Assembly, styling himself a "Reformer," but he was obliged to resign his seat later in the same year, when he was ordered to reside at New Westminster.⁶² Here he remained until his resignation in 1869, on the eve of Confederation, when he was given eighteen months' pay in lieu of continuing in office, and bought the Beehive Hotel in Victoria, an "old and well-known establishment."⁶³ After Confederation he became the Dominion Agent for the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Inspector of Lights and Inspector of Steamboats for British Columbia,⁶⁴ and from his subsequent career in this office it would seem that Douglas had made a shrewd estimate of his ancient enemy. It is true that in 1878 Cooper won a suit for slander against one R. Westmoreland, who, according to Cooper, was merely reviving charges

(57) W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island. Part I: 1844-1855," *BCHQ*, II (1938), pp. 41-42, 47.

(58) H. Merivale to Cooper, September 8, 1858. Cooper Correspondence.

(59) Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report* . . . , London, 1857 (H.C. 224 and 260), pp. 190-210.

(60) Merivale to Cooper, *loc. cit.*; and cf. Lytton's letter of introduction to Douglas, September 29, 1858 (Cooper Correspondence): ". . . whose appointment to the office of Harbor Master at Esquimalt I notified to you by my dispatch No. 15 of the 2nd instant. . . ."

(61) Confidential Report on Officers, [1863?]. Douglas Papers.

(62) Cooper to Acting Colonial Secretary, October 17, 1860. Cooper Correspondence.

(63) *Victoria Colonist*, February 1, 1869.

(64) *Ibid.*, November 5, 1872.

already submitted to Ottawa and rejected by a Royal Commission.⁶⁵ But in October of the following year Cooper was charged in the Municipal Police Court, by the Superintendent of Police, with obtaining money under false pretences while Agent of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, about June 26, 1876. Magistrate A. F. Pemberton granted bail and sent the case to the Supreme Court.⁶⁶ But when the case was called the defendant failed to appear. J. F. McCreight, appearing for the prosecution, moved that his bail be estreated, and application was then made for a bench warrant.⁶⁷ No further reference to the case has been found in the newspapers, but on June 25, 1880, by Order in Council, Captain Cooper's "appointment was cancelled, evidence having been submitted which showed that he had been guilty of fraud in the transaction of business as agent of the Department. The Hon. W. Hamly [*sic*], Collector of Customs at Victoria, was placed in temporary charge as Agent, until the appointment of Mr. F. Revely by Order in Council of 11th July last."⁶⁸ Walbran (p. 111) says merely that Cooper was "Agent of Marine and Fisheries for British Columbia, 1872-1879, when he was succeeded by Captain F. Revely, subsequently leaving with his family for California." It would seem that Captain Cooper's departure may have been rather more precipitate than Walbran indicates, but no further trace of him, either in California or elsewhere, has been found.

COPLAND, JOHN

John Copland served the legal term of five years as clerk to a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh and studied law at the University there during the session 1847-48. But before he had passed the necessary examinations and presented himself for admission as a Writer to the Signet, he emigrated to Australia, where he spent six years. At the time of the Fraser River gold-rush he came to Victoria, where he found that under the Rules of Court then governing the admission of barristers and attorneys, only those who had been admitted to the Bar in Great Britain were considered qualified to practise. However, so great was the shortage of qualified persons (there being indeed in 1858 "no Practitioners in the Colony who were qualified for admission") that temporary permission to practise was granted to members of the Canadian and the California Bar, and Copland, "although never enrolled in any Court," was allowed to practise on the same temporary basis.⁶⁹ He apparently entered into partnership with George John Wight, an English attorney, but the association was dissolved on May 7, 1859,⁷⁰ Copland later suing Wight for moneys loaned.⁷¹ Not satisfied, however, with his limited privilege to practise, Copland petitioned in February, 1859, to be admitted to the Bar in Vancouver Island and in British Columbia, but

(65) *Victoria Colonist*, December 17-22 inclusive, December 25, 1878.

(66) *Ibid.*, October 15, 1879.

(67) *Ibid.*, December 16, 1879.

(68) Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries, *Annual Report . . . for . . . 1879*, Ottawa, 1880, p. xxvi.

(69) See Chief Justice David Cameron's report on Copland. Cameron Correspondence.

(70) *Victoria Gazette*, May 17, 1859.

(71) *Ibid.*, July 26, 1859.

was refused "because he did not shew that he had been admitted to practise in Scotland."⁷² In September he petitioned again; and after a long wrangle (in the course of which he served for a year with D. Babington Ring, was again refused, and finally petitioned the Queen) he was at last admitted—in 1864.⁷³ Meanwhile he had been elected to the first City Council, in 1862, and he twice ran for Mayor, losing to Thomas Harris in 1863 and to Lumley Franklin in 1865.⁷⁴ He also contested the House of Assembly election of 1860 on Saltspring Island, and threatened to sue the High Sheriff for illegal registration of voters when he lost.⁷⁵ Copland was frequently involved in legal actions, including actions for assault and battery; and while no report of the "grand row at the Mad House" seems to have reached the Victoria newspapers, a case in which Copland was involved in 1861 would appear to have some parallels with the affair recounted in Bushby's journal for February 8-11, 1859. When a quarrel arose concerning a bucket of sand taken from before Copland's premises by one William Muir, Mrs. Copland urged her husband to knock Muir down, and herself struck Muir several times, calling him a liar and a thief. "Counsel on both sides concluded that it would be good taste not to put the lady on the stand," and Judge Pemberton found it his "very painful duty" to fine Copland twenty shillings and to "leave the ladies of Victoria to pronounce a sentence proportionate with the offence" of Mrs. Copland; for, he added, "if women of this kind enter society and associate with young ladies they are apt to exert a very injurious effect upon their minds."⁷⁶ Copland went bankrupt in 1866,⁷⁷ and seems to have left the colony for San Francisco some two years later.⁷⁸ He is last heard of at Clyde, Scotland, where he had a severe fall from his horse in 1873.⁷⁹

COX, WILLIAM GEORGE

W. G. Cox arrived in Victoria from Ireland in December, 1858, with "very high testimonials," and was recommended to Governor Douglas and to Chartres Brew, Inspector of Police, by J. D. Pemberton. Arriving at Fort Yale on February 16, 1859, he was appointed constable there, and remained until July, 1859, when he was appointed Deputy Collector of Customs at Rock Creek on the American frontier. "In consequence of efficient conduct of duties" there he was made a Magistrate; Douglas indeed spoke

(72) See his petition to Chief Justice Begbie, February 18, 1859, and cf. Chief Justice Cameron's Report cited above.

(73) For a summary of this affair (which should, however, be read in conjunction with Cameron's report) see the editorial in the *Victoria Colonist*, July 7, 1862, entitled "How Chief Justice Cameron, Governor Douglas, and Mr. Young have Wronged Mr. John Copland," and the "Abstract of Correspondence of Mr. John Copland with the Colonial and Imperial Governments" in the same issue.

(74) *Victoria Colonist*, August 19, 1862; November 9, 1863; November 11, 1865.

(75) A. F. Flucke, "Early Days on Saltspring Island," *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 176-179.

(76) *Victoria Colonist*, June 29, 1861.

(77) *Ibid.*, May 3, 1866.

(78) *Ibid.*, June 19, 1868.

(79) *Ibid.*, December 17, 1873.

of him as "peculiarly well adapted, for frontier service, where tact and a resolute will, are indispensable qualities in managing the rough characters, met with there."⁸⁰ In the spring of 1863 Cox was appointed Justice of the Peace and Assistant Gold Commissioner for Cariboo West,⁸¹ and he played a prominent part in the Chilcotin Expedition of 1864. In 1867 he was sent to the Columbia District,⁸² and later that year he was appointed a County Court Judge.⁸³ He sat on the Legislative Council in 1867 and 1868. In 1869 he left British Columbia for San Francisco, where "he gained a livelihood as an artist, his talents as a delineator of animals being of a high order"; he died in California on October 6, 1878, at the age of 56.⁸⁴ For further details see Margaret A. Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days," *BCHQ*, XIV (1950), pp. 67-75, *passim*.

CREASE, HENRY PERING PELLEW

H. P. P. Crease (1823-1905) was the son of Captain Henry Crease, R.N. He received his B.A. from Cambridge in 1847 and was called to the Bar in 1849. Immediately afterwards, he went to Canada, and there he joined a surveying and exploring party on Lake Superior. Returning to England in 1851 he became the manager of the Great Wheal Vor United Mines near Helston, "the greatest tin mine in the world," but in "the commercial distress" of 1857 he was obliged to relinquish this enterprise.⁸⁵ He arrived in Victoria on December 15, 1858; on the following day he presented his letters to Governor Douglas and applied to be made a Q.C. in both colonies; on December 18 he was called to the Bar of British Columbia by Judge Begbie and to the Bar of Vancouver Island by Chief Justice Cameron.⁸⁶ Introducing his son-in-law to Lytton, August 14, 1858, Dr. John Lindley spoke of Crease's qualifications as "peculiarly valuable in a Colony like British Columbia. A strong constitution, a robust frame, a resolute temper, a practical knowledge of Indian life, & the difficulties to be encountered in the N. American Bush, a skill in the control of large bodies of miners being united in his person with the manners & education of a gentleman, and the professional knowledge of a member of the English Bar."⁸⁷ In 1861 Crease became the Attorney-General of British Columbia,⁸⁸

(80) For the foregoing details see Douglas's Confidential Report on Officers; and Chartres Brew to Moody, February 20, 1859 (Brew Correspondence).

(81) W. G. Cox to Young, April 3, 1863. Cox Correspondence.

(82) Cox to A. N. Birch, April 27, 1867. *Ibid*.

(83) Charles Good, Assistant Colonial Secretary, to Cox, October 2, 1867. British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, January 4, 1867, to December 30, 1870.

(84) *Victoria Colonist*, November 13, 1878.

(85) For the foregoing details see the testimonials and letters of introduction in the Crease Papers.

(86) See the entries in his diary for the above dates.

(87) Crease Papers. Dr. Lindley is quoting almost verbatim Captain Crease's recommendation of his son, which was sent to a number of influential persons at this time. With this description cf. Bushby's comment in his journal, March 2, 1859.

(88) Young to Crease, October 14, 1861. Crease Papers.

and in 1870, a Puisne Judge.⁸⁹ He was knighted on his retirement in 1896.⁹⁰ For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Times*, February 27, 1905, and the address "On the Life of the Late Sir Henry P. Pellew Crease," given by his son Lindley Crease to the Sir James and Lady Douglas Chapter of the I.O.D.E. on March 14, 1930 (Transcript in Miscellaneous information relating to H. P. P. Crease).

CRICKMER, WILLIAM BURTON

W. Burton Crickmer, M.A. (Oxon.), curate of St. Marylebone, was appointed in 1858 as "a missionary chaplain for the goldfields of British Columbia";⁹¹ he was sent out by the Colonial Church and School Society.⁹² Before his arrival in the colony, tenders had been called for the erection of a church and parsonage at the new town of Langley,⁹³ and Crickmer, like most other people in British Columbia, took for granted that the capital would be established there, although no official pronouncement to that effect was ever made.⁹⁴ At Governor Douglas's suggestion⁹⁵ Crickmer "accepted Langley as [his] missionary sphere,"⁹⁶ and the Church of St. John the Divine was opened for worship on May 8, 1859.⁹⁷ But the proclamation of the capital at New Westminster in February, 1859, caused so great a decline in the population of Langley that the following year Crickmer was transferred to Yale.⁹⁸ He returned to England in 1862, becoming P.C. of Beverley Minster in 1864.⁹⁹

CRIDGE, EDWARD

Edward Cridge (1817-1913), son of John Cridge, a Devonshire schoolmaster, received his B.A. from Cambridge in 1848 and before coming to Victoria was P.C. of Christ Church, West Ham.¹⁰⁰ In 1854 he was appointed to replace the Rev. Robert J. Staines as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria, where he arrived on April 1, 1855.¹⁰¹ He held services in the mess room of the fort until the Victoria District Church (later called Christ Church) was opened for worship in 1856.¹⁰² When it

(89) *British Columbia Government Gazette*, May 14, 1870.

(90) *Victoria Colonist*, January 3, 1896.

(91) *Victoria Gazette*, December 16, 1858.

(92) Rev. A. D. Pringle to editor, *Victoria Colonist*, October 14, 1859.

(93) *Victoria Gazette*, December 2, 1858.

(94) See the Crickmer Correspondence, copied from transcripts loaned by the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.

(95) Douglas to Crickmer, January 7, 1859. *British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward*, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859.

(96) Crickmer to editor, *Victoria Colonist*, April 12, 1861.

(97) *Victoria Gazette*, May 14, 1859.

(98) *Victoria Colonist*, April 12, 1861; Bishop George Hills to Arthur N. Birch, January 21, 1867 (Bishop of Columbia Correspondence).

(99) *Crockford's Clerical Directory* for 1868.

(100) *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. J. A. Venn, Part II, 1752-1900, Cambridge, 1944.

(101) See the account in his diary.

(102) "Bishop Cridge Recalls Memories of the Past," *Victoria Colonist*, December 22, 1907, p. 29.

was designated the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Columbia in 1865, Cridge was made Dean;¹⁰³ but in 1872 he became involved in a theological dispute with Bishop George Hills,¹⁰⁴ and two years later he joined the Reformed Episcopal Church, which elected him a bishop the following year.¹⁰⁵ A large part of the congregation, including the Douglas family, seceded with him, and in 1875, on land donated by Douglas, they built the Church of Our Lord, opened on January 16, 1876, where Cridge served as rector until 1902.¹⁰⁶ For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, May 7, 1913.

CROSBY, ELISHA OSCAR

E. O. Crosby, an attorney at law, was a native of New York. He was in California by April, 1849, took part in the Constitutional Convention of California, and sat in the State Senate during the first and second sessions. He was in Victoria by September, 1858, when he was made Commissioner of Deeds for California, and he was briefly in partnership with George Pearkes.¹⁰⁷ By the end of November, 1859, he was back in San Francisco,¹⁰⁸ and he served as United States Minister in Guatemala from 1861 to 1864. He died in California in 1895. For further details see the correspondence between G. Hollis Slater and the Committee on Masonic History, Grand Lodge of California, 1945 (Crosby was one of the founders of the first Masonic Lodge in Victoria in 1858); and *Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby: Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864*, ed. Charles Albro Barker, Huntington Library, 1945.

DALLAS, ALEXANDER GRANT

A. G. Dallas (1816-1882) was elected a director of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1856, after a successful business career in England and China, and the following year he was sent to Victoria to give general assistance to Douglas in the business administration of the Company, and more particularly to straighten out the confused affairs of the agricultural establishment, the Puget's Sound Company. This task he accomplished, and by February, 1858, he was ready to return home. On March 9, 1858, he married Jane Douglas (1839-1909), the second daughter of the Governor,¹⁰⁹ and planned to proceed on his cross-country journey accompanied by his wife: "She is young, strong & a capital rider & her father sees no difficulty whatever. We purpose starting with some of the parties going to the gold regions in May, & thence by Kamloops, Colville, Jasper's house &c to Edmonton Norway

(103) *Victoria Colonist*, December 8, 1865.

(104) For a full account of "The Cridge Controversy" see the files of the *Victoria Colonist*, August-October, 1874, and *Trial of the Very Reverend Edward Cridge . . . , Documents, Evidence, Correspondence and Judgments . . .*, Victoria, 1875.

(105) *Victoria Colonist*, October 30, 1874, and June 10, 1875.

(106) *Ibid.*, January 18, 1876, and March 21, 1902.

(107) *Victoria Gazette*, September 23, 1858, and February 1, 1859.

(108) Charles A. Barker, "Elisha Oscar Crosby: A California Lawyer in the Eighteen-Fifties," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (1948), p. 137.

(109) See Christ Church Cathedral, Marriage Register. Photostat.

House & Red River. I shall endeavour to get to Montreal before the winter sets in. . . ."¹¹⁰ On May 19, 1858, A. F. Pemberton recorded in his diary: "Mr and Mrs Dallas left in the Otter for Langley to cross Rocky mountains"; but actually Dallas was still in Victoria in July—the town crowded with would-be miners and he himself struggling with the difficulties created by Douglas's refusal "to allow anyone to act for the Company." Dallas writes: "There has been great speculation in Town lots, & extravagant prices are asked & given. . . . A few days ago we had 3,000 arrivals in one day by two large steamers. . . . All comfort in living here is at an end, & we get no rest from morning to night. No place or hour is sacred from intruders. They walk in upon us at our meals, and ask all sorts of questions."¹¹¹ On September 9, 1858, Berens requested Dallas "to abandon the idea of leaving Vancouver's Island, until . . . we know whether Mr. Douglas will accept the appointment of Governor of British Columbia for H.M. Government";¹¹² and when Douglas did accept, the Company transmitted to Dallas a Commission appointing him President of the Council and representative of the Company for the Western Department. This Commission, which, as the Company pointed out, gave him "despotic powers,"¹¹³ arrived towards the end of December, 1858, but Dallas considered it better to hold it and make no further move in the matter for the time being.¹¹⁴ However, on March 4, 1859, Berens instructed him to "present [his] Commission as the Company's representative, and to deliver the letter sent therewith addressed to Mr. Douglas," adding: "I need not state to you that it is painful for us to be compelled to make this severance, but we are called upon to do so. . . ."¹¹⁵ Dallas and his wife left Victoria for Scotland on March 24, 1861,¹¹⁶ and in 1862 he succeeded Sir George Simpson as Governor of Rupert's Land. Dallas apparently left the active service of the Company on May 31, 1866, although he remained a stockholder until 1875.¹¹⁷ In his retirement he kept in close touch with affairs on the Pacific Coast. At the time of the union of the two colonies he formed, with Gilbert Malcolm Sproat and Donald Fraser, the "London Committee for Watching the Affairs of British Columbia," and was a strong advocate of the rights of Vancouver Island and of the desirability of moving the capital to Victoria.¹¹⁸

(110) Dallas to H. H. Berens, March 6, 1858. H.B.C. Archives, F. 12/4, fos. 353-4, 360, cited in a Memorandum from the Hudson's Bay Company, London, in Miscellaneous Papers relating to Alexander Grant Dallas. Material quoted from this Memorandum is published by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(111) Dallas to John Shepherd, July 12, 1858. *Ibid.*, F. 12/4, fos. 398, 449.

(112) *Ibid.*, A.7/2, fo. 103.

(113) Berens to Dallas, October 22, 1858. *Ibid.*, A.7/2, fo. 110.

(114) According to the H.B.C. Memorandum cited above.

(115) *Ibid.*, F. 12/4, fo. 456, and A. 7/2, fo. 127d.

(116) *Victoria Colonist*, March 25, 1861.

(117) H.B.C. Memorandum.

(118) Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, *History of British Columbia*. Cf. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 24: "Donald Fraser, Dallas in England gave great and awfully valuable assistance . . . and upon the partisans in England the battle depended, for they had to bring influence on HM Government in behalf of Victoria."

Prior to Confederation Dallas "nobly maintained in London" along with "Drs. Rae and Cheadle, Capt. Richards, Whympers, Waddington, and others of greater wealth, rank and influence," the matter of the Overland Route from Canada to Victoria.¹¹⁹ For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, January 7, 1882, and B. A. McKelvie, "Successor to Simpson," *The Beaver*, September, 1951, pp. 41-45.

DOUGLAS, ALICE

Alice Douglas (1844-1913) was of a less "yielding disposition" than her sister Agnes, who postponed her marriage to Bushby for three years in deference to her father's wishes. Alice had "a strong will," was as "proud as Lucifer," and was apt to "resent interference."¹²⁰ Her story is not without interest as a commentary on mid-Victorian domestic relationships in general and on Douglas's complete assumption of the rôle of Victorian father in particular. In 1861, at the age of 17, she eloped with Charles Good, son of the Rev. Henry Good of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, who had arrived in Victoria early in 1859, shortly after taking his degree at Oxford, and had been appointed Chief Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office.¹²¹ The two were married at Port Townsend aboard a British schooner, the *Explorer*, by an American Justice of the Peace;¹²² but on their return to Victoria the following day Douglas, uncertain of the validity of a marriage performed in Washington Territory, caused them to be married again, on August 31, 1861, in the Cathedral.¹²³ The marriage did not turn out well. No public criticism was apparently made of Good in his official capacity, and he later served as Clerk to the Legislative Council and as Deputy Provincial Secretary; but in his personal financial affairs he seems to have been quite irresponsible, exasperating Douglas to such a point that he finally refused his son-in-law any further aid and referred to him privately as "an incurable idiot [who] ought to be interdicted."¹²⁴ By 1869 Good was "over head and ears in debt"¹²⁵ and Alice had "taken an inconceivable dislike to Good, so much so that she can hardly bear to see him."¹²⁶ She had "now taken her own income in hand, which is enough to keep her in a quiet way";¹²⁷ and early in 1870, in spite of the inclement weather, she insisted on going to England with her three children, chiefly "to get away from him, a most unchristian course," said Douglas, "only redeemed in a measure, by her strong desire to get education for her children."¹²⁸ The following year Good went to England

(119) *Victoria Colonist*, July 20, 1868.

(120) Douglas to Jane Dallas, April 26, 1869, and January 22, 1870. Douglas Correspondence Outward, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870 (Private Letter-book).

(121) Good to Governor Anthony Musgrave, March 14, 1871. Good Correspondence.

(122) *Victoria Colonist*, August 30, 1861, and *London Times*, August 3, 1883.

(123) *Victoria Colonist*, September 2, 1861.

(124) Douglas to Jane Dallas, June 11, 1869. Douglas Correspondence Outward, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870.

(125) *Ibid.*

(126) Douglas to Jane Dallas, November 13, 1869. Douglas Correspondence Outward, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870.

(127) Douglas to Jane Dallas, September 5, 1869. *Ibid.*

(128) Douglas to Jane Dallas, January 22, 1870. *Ibid.*

and brought his family back to British Columbia; but in spite of the efforts of her father and Bishop Hills to make her realize "the folly and wickedness of ceasing according to her marriage vows to love and obey her husband" Alice refused to be reconciled to him.¹²⁹ For although she was "a charming girl, very ladylike," and had "the quiet easy manners of a woman of the world, under that placid exterior [lay] a world of determination which nothing [could] move."¹³⁰ Her unhappy situation elicited from Douglas some heart-felt comments to his youngest daughter, then at school in England: "How carefully young people should eschew mystery and secrecy in the all important step in life, doing nothing that may compromise their future happiness, without the full knowledge and consent of their Parents. . . . Very dearly has [Alice] paid for the one false step, she made in youth. . . . Had she trusted her Father more, and put less faith in Good, how different, and how much more happy would her lot in life have been."¹³¹ Good returned to England in 1876, leaving Alice with her father; but at the time of Douglas's death in 1877 she was in California, and in January, 1878, she obtained in a San Francisco Court a decree for the dissolution of her marriage. Believing this "American divorce to be good the world over," she was married in California on September 9, 1878, to Augustus E. F. de Wiederhold. Five years later, having discovered that the American divorce had "no legal effect" in England, Charles Good instituted divorce proceedings and obtained a decree nisi.¹³² According to the record in the Douglas family Bible, Alice died at "Compton [Los] Angeles" on December 9, 1913.

ELWYN, THOMAS

Thomas Elwyn, the eldest son of Lieutenant-General Thomas Elwyn, of the Royal Artillery, was born in Ireland. Early in January, 1859, when news of the trouble at Hill's Bar reached Douglas, Elwyn was appointed, along with John C. Haynes and Thomas Ronaldson, to act as constable under Chartres Brew, Commissioner of Police.¹³³ In June he was appointed Gold Commissioner and Stipendiary Magistrate at Lillooet.¹³⁴ In the spring of 1861 Douglas placed him in charge of the gold escort,¹³⁵ and when the escort was

(129) Douglas to Jane Dallas, November 13, 1869, *ibid.*; to Martha Douglas, January 30, 1874 (Letters to Martha, October 30, 1871, to May 27, 1874).

(130) Douglas to Jane Dallas, September 5, 1869, and January 22, 1870. Douglas Correspondence Outward, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870.

(131) Douglas to Martha Douglas, May 1 and September 15, 1873. Letters to Martha, October 30, 1871, to May 27, 1874.

(132) For the foregoing details see *London Times*, August 3, 1883, p. 3. The co-respondent was referred to in 1878 as "Baron de Wiederhold" (see A. G. Dallas to J. S. Helmcken, November 15, 1878, Helmcken Papers), and was presumably therefore related to Augustus Ernest Louis, Baron de Wiederhold, whose death in Lisbon was announced by the *Victoria Colonist*, July 29, 1869. C. C. Pemberton, in a note on the entry for June 1, 1863, in one of his father's notebooks, says that Alice's husband had "changed his name" from Augustus E. Siffken, and that he and his brother (William C.) were pioneer merchants in Victoria. This firm is listed in the directory, 1863-68; in 1874 "A. E. S. De Wiederhold (see De Wiederhold & Co) Coal and wood merchant" is listed; and in 1882-83 W. C. Siffken is listed under De Wiederhold & Co.

(133) Brew to Moody, January 12, 1859. Brew Correspondence.

(134) Elwyn to Young, June 24, 1859. Elwyn Correspondence.

(135) Elwyn to Douglas, March 6, 1861. *Ibid.*

revived two years later, Elwyn was second in command to P.H. Nind.¹³⁶ Meanwhile, in the summer of 1862, he had been transferred to Cariboo, dividing the district with Peter O'Reilly and making his headquarters at Williams Creek.¹³⁷ But he resigned his appointment at the end of the year, for he owned a share in a claim on Williams Creek which, he said, has "of late become so valuable that I cannot in justice to myself abandon it."¹³⁸ This was presumably the claim of Billy Barker and Co., who had "struck it rich" in August, 1862;¹³⁹ Elwyn is said to have owned half of Charles Hankin's share.¹⁴⁰ In the Chilcotin Expedition of 1864 Elwyn served under Brew,¹⁴¹ and in 1866 he accompanied the Western Union Telegraph Expedition as Stipendiary Magistrate, the Government paying half his salary.¹⁴² While on this expedition Elwyn reported progress to the Colonial Secretary, and attached to his letter of September 4, 1866, is a detailed description of the 330 miles of country through which the line passed from Quesnel to "Espeyox [*i.e.*, Kispiox] on the Skeena."¹⁴³ In 1877 Elwyn succeeded Charles Good as Deputy Provincial Secretary, and was spoken of at that time as "an old and valued public servant."¹⁴⁴ Two years later he married Rebecca McNeill, daughter of the late Captain W. H. McNeill of the Hudson's Bay Company's service.¹⁴⁵ He died on September 11, 1888, at the age of 51. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, September 12, 1888.

FOSTER, GEORGE FOSTER

George Foster Foster served in the Crimea as "Major Commanding 2nd Battalion Military Train,"¹⁴⁶ and on the formation of the Vancouver Island Volunteer Rifle Corps in 1861 was elected lieutenant colonel.¹⁴⁷ He sat as member of the Legislative Assembly, first for Lake District and then for Esquimalt Town, from 1860 to 1864, and in the latter year was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate and Gold Commissioner at Sooke.¹⁴⁸ When his

(136) *Victoria Colonist*, June 5 and July 27, 1863.

(137) Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, July 20, 1862. Elwyn Correspondence.

(138) Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, October 30 and December 9, 1862. *Ibid.*

(139) Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, August 22, 1862. *Ibid.*

(140) *Victoria Colonist*, September 12, 1888. No confirmation has been found in the mining records, but the statement is supported by the fact that when Elwyn appeared before Judge Begbie as a bankrupt on June 28, 1865, his debts being \$10,300, three of the four creditors were W. Barker, C. Hankin, and H. P. Walker, all members of the original Barker Company, according to Louis Le Bourdais, "Billy Barker of Barkerville," *BCHQ*, I (1937), p. 165.

(141) Brew to Colonial Secretary, May 23, 1864; to Governor Seymour, August 18, 1864; to Colonial Secretary, September 8, 1864. Brew Correspondence.

(142) E. Conway to Col. Charles S. Bulkley, March 17, 1866 (Conway Papers, Letter-book); Conway to A. N. Birch, April 20, 1866 (Conway Correspondence).

(143) Elwyn Correspondence.

(144) *Victoria Colonist*, November 11, 1877.

(145) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1879.

(146) Foster to Seymour, January 29, 1869. Foster Correspondence.

(147) *Victoria Colonist*, July 8, 1861.

(148) Foster to H. Wakeford, August 18, 1864, and to Colonial Secretary, December 2, 1864. Foster Correspondence.

appointment was abolished he sought Governor Seymour's "intercession with the Secretary of State for the Colonies" for his further employment in the public service,¹⁴⁹ and in 1871 he received an appointment in Sierra Leone.¹⁵⁰ He died at Demerara on July 31, 1887.¹⁵¹

FRANKLIN, LUMLEY, and FRANKLIN, SELIM

Selim and Lumley Franklin were the sons of Lewis Franklin, a Liverpool banker. Selim, born in 1814, was in business in San Francisco in 1849, and became the first auctioneer in the Colony of Vancouver Island,¹⁵² advertising himself in the first number of the *Victoria Gazette* (June 28, 1858) as an auctioneer and land agent. A few weeks later he was joined by his brother Lumley, and the two soon became prominent in business and social circles. Selim represented Victoria in the Legislative Assembly, 1860-63 and 1864-66. Lumley was Mayor of Victoria in 1865 and "discharged his duty with fidelity and ability";¹⁵³ he refused to stand for re-election in 1866 and 1870. In 1871 he went to San Francisco to administer the estate of his brother Edward; he was struck with paralysis, and died there two years later, at the age of 53.¹⁵⁴ Selim appears to have left the colony in 1866 and was afterwards in England and in San Francisco, where in 1885 he met with a serious accident;¹⁵⁵ the exact date of his death has not been ascertained. The Franklins were both "performing members" of the Victoria Philharmonic Society and were accomplished musicians — Lumley indeed, like Bushby, having "had the advantage of an Italian musical education"¹⁵⁶ and being a composer as well: at one concert he sang his own setting of Byron's "Adieu, adieu, my native shore."¹⁵⁷ For further details of the Franklin brothers see David Rome, *The First Two Years: A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1858-1860*, Montreal, 1942, pp. 52-105.

GOOCH, THOMAS SHERLOCK

Thomas S. Gooch served as mate (sub-lieutenant) of the *Rattler* and acting lieutenant of the *Fox* during the Burmese War, 1852-53. He was on the Pacific station as second lieutenant in the *Satellite*, 1857-60, and retired with the rank of captain in 1873. He died on February 16, 1897, at the age of 65. For further details see Walbran, p. 209, and the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist* (quoting the *London Mail*), March 13, 1897.

GOSSET, WILLIAM DRISCOLL

Captain W. Driscoll Gosset, of the Royal Engineers, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, was appointed Surveyor-General of Ceylon in 1855, and in 1858 became the first Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster of

(149) Foster to Seymour, January 29, 1869. Foster Correspondence.

(150) *Victoria Colonist*, March 10, 1871.

(151) *Ibid.*, September 28, 1887.

(152) S. Franklin to Moody, February 28, 1859. Franklin Correspondence.

(153) *Victoria Colonist*, August 10, 1873.

(154) *Ibid.*, July 11 and August 10, 1873.

(155) *Ibid.*, May 22, 1885.

(156) *Ibid.*, June 27, 1861.

(157) *Ibid.*, May 9, 1865.

British Columbia. In September, 1862, after almost four years of constant friction with Douglas, Gosset returned to England, and there rose steadily in the service, retiring in 1873 as major-general on full pay. For further details see Robie L. Reid, *The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint at New Westminster* . . . , Victoria, 1926 (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. VII), pp. 92-96.

GRANT, JOHN MARSHALL

Captain J. M. Grant arrived at Esquimalt on November 8, 1858, in charge of the second advance section of Royal Engineers to be sent out.¹⁵⁸ This "active and indefatigable officer"¹⁵⁹ was later to be commended in the highest terms for his part in the making of roads in British Columbia, notably the Harrison-Lillooet waggon road and the rocky stretch of the Cariboo Highway 6 miles northward from Yale, which the New Westminster *British Columbian* described as "an enduring monument of engineering skill and patient toil."¹⁶⁰ Grant returned to England with the main body of the Engineers in 1863.

HAYNES, JOHN CARMICHAEL

J. C. Haynes (1831-1888) was born in Ireland and brought with him testimonials from the Mayor and Magistrates of Cork.¹⁶¹ He hoped to be appointed to the police force which he had understood was being organized, and in January, 1859, along with Thomas Elwyn, he did accompany Brew to Yale as special constable.¹⁶² By November, 1859, he was acting as Chief Constable at Yale,¹⁶³ but he was soon made a Collector of Revenue, first on the Fraser and then at Rock Creek and at Wild Horse Creek. In 1864 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace,¹⁶⁴ and in 1866, a County Court Judge.¹⁶⁵ He represented Osoyoos and Kootenay in the Legislative Council, 1864-66. For further details see the account by his daughter, Hester E. White, "John Carmichael Haynes: Pioneer of the Okanagan and Kootenay," *BCHQ*, IV (1940), pp. 183-201; and Margaret A. Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days," *BCHQ*, XIV (1950), pp. 61-82, *passim*.

HEATON, GEORGE WILLIAM

George W. Heaton (1833-1909), the eldest son of the Rev. George Heaton of Cheltenham, took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1856. Introduced to

(158) Douglas to Lytton, November 9, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, p. 26.

(159) Douglas to Newcastle, October 9, 1860. *BCP*, Part IV, 1862 (Cmd. 2952), p. 23.

(160) See the issue of July 18, 1863, cited in Scholefield and Howay, Vol. II, p. 100.

(161) Brew to Douglas, December 29, 1858. Brew Correspondence.

(162) Brew to Young, March 19, 1859. *Ibid*.

(163) Haynes to Brew, November 16, 1859, enclosed in Brew to Young, December 1, 1859. *Ibid*.

(164) A. N. Birch to Haynes, June 14, 1864. British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, November, 1863, to September, 1864.

(165) Haynes to Acting Colonial Secretary, August 4, 1866. Haynes Correspondence.

Douglas by Lytton in October, 1858, he was appointed Sheriff of Vancouver Island on January 10, 1859.¹⁶⁶ On June 1, 1860, Heaton was informed that "for financial reasons" his services would no longer be required, but that the Governor would appoint him to another office,¹⁶⁷ his services having been performed in "a very creditable manner and to the satisfaction of H.E."¹⁶⁸ But on July 9 he was succeeded as Sheriff by W. B. Naylor;¹⁶⁹ and two years later he was still applying to the Governor for an appointment in the public service. By this time he had "passed two seasons in the 'Upper Country' of this Colony" in order to acquaint himself with "its nature and resources"; but he found himself "disabled," he says, "by an accident which befel me in the discharge of my duty on Vancouver Island from availing myself . . . of the ruder resources of this country."¹⁷⁰ He had also made application for "a charter for a Toll Road from the N.W. Coast to Fraser River."¹⁷¹ Subsequently he went back to England, was admitted at Lincoln's Inn in 1864, and called to the Bar in 1868, being appointed Special Pleader.¹⁷²

JEFFRAY, WILLIAM

W. Jeffray was appointed Inspector of Customs and Gauger of Imports into British Columbia early in 1859,¹⁷³ and Port Warden of Victoria and Esquimalt Harbour in June the same year.¹⁷⁴ Dissatisfied with his salary as Customs Inspector he resigned on August 15, 1859,¹⁷⁵ and became a "Traveling Agent for the merchants shipping goods from this port to Fraser river [offering] to attend to the business of paying duties on merchandise shipped . . . and to see it forwarded to its proper destination."¹⁷⁶ In 1860, in partnership with W. H. Thain, he founded Jeffray & Co.'s Express,¹⁷⁷ but he sold out to F. J. Barnard at the end of 1861.¹⁷⁸ He immediately set up as a "Broker, Commission and Forwarding Agent,"¹⁷⁹ and his wife was also in

(166) Douglas to Lytton, February 8, 1859. Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas, Dispatches to London, December 10, 1855, to June 6, 1859, cited in David M. L. Farr, "The Organization of the Judicial System of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1849-1871," University of British Columbia Graduating Essay, 1944, p. 28.

(167) Heaton to Colonial Secretary, June 16, 1860, and to Douglas, September 3, 1861. Heaton Correspondence.

(168) Endorsation on Heaton to Douglas, June 10, 1861. *Ibid.*

(169) Young to Heaton, July 9, 1860. Vancouver Island, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, September 14, 1859, to September 21, 1860. According to the *Victoria Colonist*, July 21, 1860, he was later arrested for alleged neglect of duty.

(170) Heaton to Douglas, September 3 and November 26, 1861. Heaton Correspondence.

(171) Heaton to Douglas, November 26, 1861. *Ibid.*

(172) *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part II, vol. 3.

(173) *Victoria Gazette*, January 29, 1859.

(174) *Ibid.*, June 4, 1859.

(175) Jeffray to Wymond Hamley, August 1, 1859 (Customs Department Correspondence), and *Victoria Gazette*, August 18, 1859.

(176) *Victoria Gazette*, August 16, 1859.

(177) *Victoria Colonist*, March 20 and April 3, 1860.

(178) *Ibid.*, December 7, 1861.

(179) *Ibid.*, December 23, 1861.

business in Victoria as an importer of millinery and dry-goods.¹⁸⁰ In 1864 Jeffray resigned the office of Port Warden on the ground that he was "about to leave the Colony of Vancouver Island."¹⁸¹ He was still in Victoria, however, in October of that year;¹⁸² but by the end of 1868 he had returned to California, where he had been a member of a Masonic Lodge from 1854 to 1857.¹⁸³

JONES, HOWARD SUTTON

Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir) Howard Sutton Jones (1835-1912) entered the Royal Marines in 1853 and served in the Baltic Expedition of 1855. He served as first lieutenant in the *Satellite* with the Boundary Commission from 1857 to 1861, and "received the thanks of the Governor and Colonial Government for his services in command of a force of Marines which was engaged in quelling the riots and restoring order among the gold-mining community at Forts Hope and Yale on the Fraser River, British Columbia." In 1882 he was with the expeditionary force in Egypt, being three times mentioned in dispatches. He was awarded the C.B. and made A.D.C. to Queen Victoria. In 1897 he was knighted, and he retired in 1900. For these and other details see the obituary in the *London Times*, December 10, 1912.

KELLY, WILLIAM

William Kelly applied to Douglas early in 1859, from Fort Yale, for governmental employment, on the basis of his "experience as a magistrate in the home country, and the knowledge of mining matters . . . attained during a long practical sojourn in the goldfields of California and Australia."¹⁸⁴ Two months later, he made specific application for the position of Sheriff of British Columbia, but this post had just been granted to C. S. Nicol.¹⁸⁵ In May, Kelly headed a petition from the inhabitants of Yale, suggesting that the houses already erected on the bench of land where the front portion of the city had been laid out should be moved back so that the bench might be mined.¹⁸⁶ In June, 1859, he published a card stating that "William Kelly, Barrister at Law, Yale [would] undertake the Collection of Accounts, Debts, &c., &c., in any part of British Columbia, having appointed responsible agents in the different cities and settlements in the Colony."¹⁸⁷ The following year he was in Victoria, supervising for the Yale Steam Navigation Company the building of the *Idahoe* (later christened the *Fort Yale*), a vessel owned principally by the merchants of Yale; she was launched on October 13, 1860, and blown to pieces by the explosion of her boiler in

(180) *Victoria Colonist*, December 18, 1861, and cf. their joint advertisement in the *Victoria Directory*, 1863.

(181) Jeffray to Douglas, January 18, 1864. Jeffray Correspondence.

(182) Jeffray to Colonial Secretary, October 3, 1864. *Ibid.*

(183) See the Memorandum [by G. Hollis Slater?] concerning the founding members of Victoria Lodge No. 1085, A.F. & A.M.

(184) Kelly to Douglas, January 21, 1859. Kelly Correspondence.

(185) Kelly to Douglas, March 4, 1859, and draft reply. *Ibid.*

(186) *Victoria Gazette*, May 28, 1859.

(187) *Ibid.*, June 7, 1859.

1861.¹⁸⁸ During this stay in Victoria Kelly was charged with assaulting Captain J. W. Torrens; Magistrate Pemberton found the charge of assault not proven, but bound Kelly over to keep the peace because of his "vile and improper language."¹⁸⁹ It would seem that Kelly left the colony shortly after: the notice of his marriage at Boulogne to Madame Emile Mertens on February 1, 1861, appeared in the *Victoria Colonist* on April 17, 1862; and he is probably to be identified with the William Kelly, F.R.G.S., who in May, 1862, addressed the Royal Geographical Society on the subject of British Columbia, and who spoke of himself as having had "two years and six months residence in British Columbia."¹⁹⁰ It seems probable also that he is to be identified with the "William Kelly, J.P." who wrote *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada. With a Stroll through the Diggings and Ranches of that Country*, published in London in 1851, and a book on Australia entitled *Life in Victoria; or, Victoria in 1853, and Victoria in 1858, Showing the March of Improvement Made by the Colony . . .*, London, 1859.

KIRK, JAMES

James Kirk was appointed by Douglas early in 1859 to establish a "Special Revenue Service" of a "provisional and temporary" nature, "at and in the neighbourhood of Queensborough," his station being on the south bank of the Fraser, opposite the future capital.¹⁹¹ This establishment, together with that at Langley, was taken over in May, 1859, by Wymond Hamley,¹⁹² who had been appointed by the Queen in 1858 as Collector of Customs for British Columbia,¹⁹³ and who had arrived at Esquimalt along with the main body of the Royal Engineers on April 12, 1859.¹⁹⁴ As Kirk pointed out, the Queensborough station had been established "in a new place, with many unforeseen contingencies,"¹⁹⁵ and it is therefore not surprising that Hamley found "a great deal of confusion" in the accounts.¹⁹⁶ Further friction seems to have developed between Kirk and his chief,¹⁹⁷ and he apparently resigned his post in the fall of 1859.¹⁹⁸ No further trace of him has been found.

(188) *Victoria Colonist*, July 17 and October 16, 1860, and April 18, 1861.

(189) *Ibid.*, August 31, 1860.

(190) Royal Geographical Society, *Proceedings*, VI (1862), pp. 107-111, 231-235.

(191) Young to Wymond Hamley, April 18 and May 3, 1859 (British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859); Kirk to Douglas, October 26, 1859 (Kirk Correspondence); and Hamley to Young, May 4, 1859 (Customs Department Correspondence).

(192) Hamley to Young, May 4, 1859. Customs Department Correspondence.

(193) *Victoria Gazette*, December 16, 1858.

(194) *Ibid.*, April 14, 1859.

(195) Kirk to Hamley, June 23, 1859, enclosed in Hamley to Young, July 22, 1859. Customs Department Correspondence.

(196) Hamley to Young, July 22, 1859. *Ibid.*

(197) Kirk to Douglas, October 26, 1859. Kirk Correspondence.

(198) Hamley to Young, October 5, 1859. Customs Department Correspondence.

LANGFORD, EDWARD EDWARDS

E. E. Langford came from England in the *Tory* in 1851 as bailiff for the Puget's Sound Company and was placed in charge of the farm at Colwood. For a full account of his career in the colony see Sydney G. Pettit, "The Trials and Tribulations of Edward Edwards Langford," *BCHQ*, XVII (1953), pp. 5-40.

McKENZIE, KENNETH

Kenneth McKenzie, a native of East Lothian, came to Vancouver Island in the *Norman Morison* in 1853 as one of the three bailiffs appointed to manage the farms of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. He was in charge of Craigflower Farm. He died on April 10, 1874, at the age of 62. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, April 2, 1874; and N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866*, Victoria, 1928, pp. 73-82, an account based on the recollections of McKenzie's daughter.

MAIN, ALEXANDER FINDLAY

A. F. Main was in Victoria by the summer of 1858,¹⁹⁹ and it is possible that he had come from Australia, for on January 20, 1859, the *Victoria Gazette* thanked him for files of Australian newspapers. In February, 1859, he was in the office of Dickson, Campbell & Co. and was also acting as agent for Captain Edward Stamp.²⁰⁰ By October, 1859, he had left Dickson Campbell and set up for himself;²⁰¹ and the following year he was said to be "well known to our mercantile community" and to have "purchased the *Prices Current*, Mr. Stenhouse having terminated his connection with that journal."²⁰² In 1861 he was secretary of the newly formed Victoria Gas Company,²⁰³ and later of the Alberni Mining Company²⁰⁴ and of the Sooke Copper Mining Company, acting as liquidator when this company was wound up in 1866.²⁰⁵ The same year he was advertising himself as a "real estate agent and Custom House broker";²⁰⁶ and two years later he was involved, along with W. F. Tolmie, H. A. Tuzo, W. J. McDonald, and others, in a venture to explore for coal on certain lands on Baynes Sound.²⁰⁷ No further trace of him has been found.

(199) *Victoria Gazette*, August 28, 1858.

(200) See Bushby's journal, February 4-7, 1859, and the biographical note on Captain Edward Stamp, below.

(201) Main to Moody, October 14, 1859. Main Correspondence.

(202) *Victoria Colonist*, August 24, 1860.

(203) *Ibid.*, January 1, 1862.

(204) Main to Young, April 22, 1864, enclosed in P. M. Backus to Henry Wakeford, November 2, 1864. Backus Correspondence.

(205) Directors to Young, December 4, 1863 (Main Correspondence) and *Victoria Colonist*, September 19, 1866.

(206) *Ibid.*, November 30, 1866.

(207) Main to Young, February 25 and March 21, 1868. Main Correspondence.

MOBERLY, WALTER

Walter Moberly (1832-1915) was born in England, emigrated to Canada with his parents in 1834, and was trained as an engineer in Toronto. He came to Victoria in 1858 by way of Cape Horn, arriving in San Francisco aboard the *Herman* on November 27, 1858,²⁰⁸ and reaching Esquimalt aboard the *Panama* on December 15, 1858.²⁰⁹ His object in coming to the Pacific Coast was to "try if such a thing as an overland communication could not be accomplished," for he had been greatly interested in the descriptions of the West given by his friend "the celebrated painter, Paul Kane."²¹⁰ He therefore refused the offer of a Government appointment made to him by Douglas, to whom he had been introduced by Sir George Simpson, and set off at once to explore the Fraser River country. On his return to Victoria he was "attached to the corps of Royal Engineers in a civil capacity,"²¹¹ and assisted Colonel Moody in the founding of Queensborough, later New Westminster. When a few months later the civilian staff was reduced for reasons of economy, Moberly joined with Robert Burnaby in exploring for coal on Burrard Inlet,²¹² and he was later engaged in surveys of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers and in the construction of the Cariboo Road. In the summer of 1865 he discovered and named the Eagle Pass through the Gold Range.²¹³ He sat as member of the Legislative Council for Cariboo West, 1864-65, resigning his seat in order to act as assistant to the Surveyor-General, J. W. Trutch, an office which he held from March, 1865, until it was abolished on January 1, 1867.²¹⁴ On February 27, 1867, he left British Columbia on the *Active*,²¹⁵ and for the next four years he was engaged in exploration and railway building in the United States, returning to British Columbia in 1871 as engineer in charge of railway surveys from Shuswap Lake to the Rocky Mountains.²¹⁶ For further details see "Walter Moberly's Report on the Roads of British Columbia, 1863," ed. W. N. Sage, *BCHQ*, IX (1945), pp. 37-47.

MOODY, RICHARD CLEMENT

Colonel R. C. Moody, R.E., was placed in command of the Company of Sappers and Miners which in the summer of 1858 Lytton decided to send out to the colony for the assistance of the Governor,²¹⁷ and he was also "selected for the office of Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in British Columbia."²¹⁸ Before Moody's departure two small parties of engineers had

(208) *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, November 27, 1858.

(209) *Victoria Gazette*, December 16, 1858.

(210) Moberly, *The Rocks and Rivers of British Columbia*, London, 1885, p. 9.

(211) *Ibid.*, p. 29.

(212) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

(213) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

(214) Moberly to A. N. Birch, January 4, 1867. Moberly Correspondence.

(215) Moberly to J. W. Trutch, March 5, 1867 (*ibid.*), and *Victoria Colonist*, February 28, 1867.

(216) Moberly, *Rocks and Rivers*, p. 62.

(217) Lytton to Douglas, July 30, 1858. *BCP*, Part I, p. 44.

(218) H. Merivale to Moody, August 23, 1858, enclosed in Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

already been dispatched, and plans had been made for the main body to follow in the spring of 1859. Moody himself left England on October 30 in the *Asia*,²¹⁹ and arrived at Esquimalt on December 25, 1858. His wife was Mary Susanna, daughter of Joseph Hawks, J.P., D.L., of Newcastle-on-Tyne. When in November, 1863, the detachment was disbanded, Moody returned to England, and he died there in 1887, survived by his wife and eleven children. For further details see Madge Wolfenden, "Pathfinders and Road Builders: Richard Clement Moody, R.E.," *Journal of the Department of Public Works*, April, 1938, pp. 3-4.

MOUAT, WILLIAM ALEXANDER

Captain W. A. Mouat (1821-1871), a Londoner by birth, came to this coast in 1845 as second mate of the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Mary Dare*. He served in her for some years, trading between this coast and the Sandwich Islands, and took her back to England in 1853. He was again on this coast in 1855, and was in charge at various times of the *Otter*, the *Enterprise*, and the *Labouchere*, being in command of the latter when she was lost in April, 1866.²²⁰ Later that year he was given command of the *Marten*, the first steamer on the Thompson River.²²¹ He was afterwards in charge of the Company's trading-post at Fort Simpson, and he died at Knight's Inlet in 1871 while on a canoe trip from the inlet to Fort Rupert.²²²

MURRAY, ALEXANDER SINCLAIR

Captain A. S. Murray was born in Scotland in 1827 and went to Australia while still in his teens. In 1849 he came to San Francisco, and subsequently learned river navigation on the Columbia and the Willamette. At the time of the gold-rush in British Columbia he was one of the "pioneer steamboat captains," and it was through "his energy and enterprise that the British Columbia Steam Navigation Company was organized and elevated to its present high state of efficiency."²²³ When in 1860 business on the Fraser began to decline, he sold his interest in the company to Captain William Irving, and returned to Australia, where he was a pioneer in steam navigation on the Murray River. In the 1890's he was still running one of his own steamers out of Sydney. For further details see *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, ed. E. H. Wright, Portland, 1895, p. 33.

NEWTON, WILLIAM HENRY

W. H. Newton came from England in the *Tory* in 1851 as "Assistant Agricultural"²²⁴ to E. E. Langford, bailiff of the Puget's Sound Company's farm at Colwood, but he was soon in the direct employ of the Hudson's Bay

(219) F. W. Howay, *The Royal Engineers in British Columbia*, Victoria, 1907, p. 2.

(220) For the foregoing details see Walbran, p. 344.

(221) Norman R. Hacking, "Steamboating on the Fraser in the 'Sixties," *BCHQ*, X (1946), pp. 35-56.

(222) *Victoria Colonist*, April 19 and 23, 1871.

(223) *Ibid.*, November 3, 1860.

(224) See the passenger list of the *Tory*. Transcript.

Company and one of "the frequenters of Bachelors Hall" in Fort Victoria. According to Dr. J. S. Helmcken²²⁵ he was "a nice agreeable young fellow—a stripling—Langfords factotum and almost relative." In 1856 he married the daughter of Chief Trader John Tod,²²⁶ and the following year he was transferred to Fort Langley,²²⁷ taking over the charge of the fort from James Murray Yale and being himself replaced by Ovid Allard in 1864.²²⁸ Soon afterwards he retired from the service of the Company to engage in farming on his estate at Port Hammond, adjoining the Katsey Indian Reserve. When Allard died in office in 1874, Newton was recalled by the Company and again placed in charge of Fort Langley, where he died on January 21, 1875, at the age of 42. For further details see the obituary in the *New Westminster Mainland Guardian*, January 28, 1875.

NICOL, CHARLES SAMUEL

C. S. Nicol was appointed High Sheriff and Justice of the Peace for British Columbia on March 1, 1859.²²⁹ He was also engaged in surveying for the Government, sending to Moody a sketch for the plan of "Hoptown"²³⁰ and to Young "a plan of the town of Douglas as I have laid it out."²³¹ At the latter town he was resident Magistrate, and "in consideration of the many extra Services . . . so cheerfully undertaken" the Governor raised his salary.²³² However, Nicol resigned his various posts in August, 1859,²³³ although it was not until October that he was relieved by John Boles Gaggin.²³⁴ By the end of 1860 Nicol was in Nanaimo as manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's mines there,²³⁵ and he remained as manager when in 1862 these operations were transferred to the Vancouver Coal Mining Company.²³⁶ He resigned his position in 1869 and took up residence in San Francisco.²³⁷

OGILVY, JOHN DRUMMOND BUCHANAN

J. D. B. Ogilvy was the brother of David Alexander Nelson Ogilvy, who came from Quebec to join him in 1859 and who was afterwards one of the party to make the first ascent of Mount Baker, in the summer of 1868.²³⁸

(225) *Reminiscences*, 1892, Vol. III, p. 52.

(226) See Christ Church Cathedral, Marriage Register. Photostat.

(227) N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island 1843-1866*, Victoria, 1928, p. 108.

(228) Robie L. Reid, "Early Days at Old Fort Langley," *BCHQ*, I (1937), p. 85.

(229) See the Commissions in the Nicol Correspondence.

(230) Nicol to Moody, March 23, 1859. *Ibid.*

(231) Nicol to Young, May 5, 1859. *Ibid.*

(232) See the draft reply to Nicol's letter to Douglas of June 20, 1859, in which he had pointed out the smallness of his stipend. *Ibid.*

(233) Nicol to Douglas, August 23, 1859. *Ibid.*

(234) Nicol to Moody, October 4, 1859 (*ibid.*); Gaggin to Young, October 1 and 6, 1859 (Gaggin Correspondence).

(235) W. H. Franklyn to Young, December 12, 1860. Franklyn Correspondence.

(236) *Victoria Colonist*, November 29, 1862.

(237) *Ibid.*, September 18, 1869.

(238) *Ibid.*, August 17 and 25, 1868; and August 17, 1918.

J. D. B. Ogilvy was a clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company when James Robert Anderson was at school in Fort Victoria, 1850-1852, and he was still in their employ there when Anderson revisited Victoria in 1856.²³⁹ In 1857 he was a clerk at Fort Shepherd (then known as Fort Pend d'Oreille),²⁴⁰ and two years later he was the Company's agent at Fort Hope, giving Moody "most valuable aid" in the disturbance at Hill's Bar in January, 1859, and winning the colonel's admiration for his "judgment and discretion, his calm courage, powers of endurance and perfect indifference to hardship."²⁴¹ Writing more informally to a friend in the Colonial Office, Moody described him as "tough & hardy by practice as a piece of whiplash or a Mountain Ash," and added that he was "an Ogilvy by descent, a gentleman, and a worthy scion of the 'House of Airlie.'"²⁴² At the end of January, 1859, "having made up [his] mind to settle permanently in British Columbia," Ogilvy applied to Moody for land at the junction of the Harrison and Fraser Rivers.²⁴³ But he did not settle there: on April 18, 1859, he was married to Mary Caroline Kennedy, daughter of the late Dr. John Frederick Kennedy, of the Hudson's Bay Company,²⁴⁴ and took up permanent residence on Victoria Arm.²⁴⁵ After the Bute Inlet massacre of 1864, Ogilvy was a member of the Chilcotin Expedition, and became second in command of W. G. Cox's party when Donald McLean was shot by the Indians.²⁴⁶ As an eye witness of the surrender of the murderers to Cox on August 11, 1864, he was able to correct certain erroneous statements in the newspaper account of this incident.²⁴⁷ When the Chilcotin war was over, it was reported that the Indian women and children were starving, and Governor Seymour sent up "flour to feed our late enemies"; he placed Ogilvy in charge of this mission, he says, because he "possesses an intimate knowledge of Indian character and has I believe Indian blood in his veins."²⁴⁸ In December, 1864, Ogilvy was sent by Seymour to Bentinck Arm, where he interviewed the Bella Coola chiefs and the chief of the western branch of the Chilcotin

(239) Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia . . . , [1925?], p. 168.

(240) See the Memorandum on Fort Shepherd, endorsed "June 5, 1933. From Douglas Mackay, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg," in *Env. H.* 167.19, Part 8.

(241) Moody to Douglas, February 17, 1859. *Lands and Works Correspondence*.

(242) "First Impressions: Letter of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E., to Arthur Blackwood, February 1, 1859," ed. W. E. Ireland, *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 95-96.

(243) Ogilvy to Moody, January 23, 1859. *Ogilvy Correspondence*.

(244) *Victoria Gazette*, April 23, 1859; Anderson, *loc. cit.*; *Victoria Gazette*, April 5, 1859.

(245) *Victoria Colonist*, June 14, 1860; November 20, 1861; April 1, 1864.

(246) Seymour to Cardwell, February 25, 1865. *British Columbia*, Governor Seymour, Dispatches to London, September 14, 1863, to December 31, 1867.

(247) Ogilvy to editor, *New Westminster British Columbian*, September 17, 1864.

(248) Seymour to Cardwell, November 23, 1864. *British Columbia*, Governor Seymour, Dispatches to London, September 14, 1863, to December 31, 1867.

tribe, Anaheim; they promised him to do their utmost to apprehend the Bute Inlet murderers still at large.²⁴⁹ Seymour himself appointed Ogilvy "constable and collector of customs at Bella Coola, North Bentinck Arm,"²⁵⁰ and it was in the discharge of these duties that Ogilvy was murdered on May 6, 1865, aboard the schooner *Langley* at Bella Coola. A reward of \$1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the murderer, but he was never tried, being shot by an Indian, in self-defence, later that year.²⁵¹ For a full account of the murder, see *Victoria Colonist*, May 24 and 29, 1865. Seymour spoke of Ogilvy as "an excellent and valuable public officer,"²⁵² and granted his widow a pension of £100 a year for five years.²⁵³ The Government continued the pension until her death on January 20, 1873, and then voted her daughter a gratuity of \$300.²⁵⁴

PEARKES, GEORGE

George Pearkes (1826-1871), a native of Guildford, Surrey, came from Canada to California about the time of the 1849 gold-rush, and to British Columbia in 1858. In August of that year he was appointed Crown Solicitor and Attorney for Vancouver Island,²⁵⁵ and in this capacity accompanied Governor Douglas on his visit to the Fraser River at the time of the gold-rush.²⁵⁶ In 1860 he was appointed Commissioner for California in Victoria,²⁵⁷ and in 1865 he served as Acting Registrar-General.²⁵⁸ In 1869 he married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of John Dorman, of Victoria,²⁵⁹ and at the time of his death on March 17, 1871, he would appear to have been a partner in the legal firm of Pearkes and Edwin Johnson, established the year before.²⁶⁰ For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, March 18, 1871, and the memorandum [by G. Hollis Slater?] concerning the founding members of Victoria Lodge No. 1085, A.F. & A.M.

PEARSE, BENJAMIN WILLIAM

B. W. Pearse (1832-1902), a native of Devonshire, was a civil engineer who came to Victoria "as Assistant Colonial Surveyor and Engineer in May 1851 being after due examination selected from among 40 candidates by the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose selection was approved and

(249) Ogilvy to Seymour, February 6, 1865. Ogilvy Correspondence.

(250) Seymour to Cardwell, February 25, 1865.

(251) Daniel Pender to Admiral J. Denman, October 17, 1865. Navy Correspondence—H.M.S. *Beaver*.

(252) Seymour to Cardwell, June 3, 1865. Governor Seymour, Dispatches to London, September 14, 1863, to December 31, 1867.

(253) See the Memorandum signed by P. J. Hankin, attached to Mary C. Ogilvy to Governor Anthony Musgrave, December 6, 1859. M. C. Ogilvy Correspondence.

(254) See the Public Accounts for 1870-1873, in British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*.

(255) *Victoria Gazette*, August 28, 1858.

(256) *Ibid.*, September 28, 1858.

(257) *Victoria Colonist*, May 17, 1860.

(258) *Ibid.*, August 9, 1865.

(259) *Ibid.*, May 1, 1869.

(260) *Ibid.*, December 11, 1870.

confirmed by the Secretary of State."²⁶¹ In 1862 he married the daughter of the Rev. Arthur Gore Pemberton, of Kensal Green, London, a brother of A. F. Pemberton.²⁶² On the resignation of J. D. Pemberton, in 1864, Pearse was appointed Surveyor-General,²⁶³ and after Confederation he became Provincial Engineer for the Federal Works Department,²⁶⁴ a position which he resigned in 1879.²⁶⁵ When the Vancouver Island Volunteer Rifle Corps, formed in 1861 and disbanded in 1862, was reorganized in 1864, Pearse was elected to the office of lieutenant;²⁶⁶ and in 1867 he was appointed captain,²⁶⁷ an office which he resigned in 1869.²⁶⁸ He died on June 17, 1902. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, June 18, 1902.

PEMBERTON, AUGUSTUS FREDERICK

In the summer of 1855 Joseph Despard Pemberton, who had come out to Victoria in 1851, was on a visit to England, in the course of which he "persuaded his youngest and favourite uncle," A. F. Pemberton, "to join him in prospective development of agricultural enterprise on Vancouver Island."²⁶⁹ On July 31, 1855, the two signed an agreement of partnership by which A. F. Pemberton was to manage a farm to be purchased by J. D. Pemberton, in return for a half-share of the profits.²⁷⁰ A. F. Pemberton arrived in Victoria on December 23, 1855,²⁷¹ and by January 18, 1856, he had moved from the Fort to "Greyhill Farm," where he remained until the beginning of August, 1858, keeping a record of his management and from time to time going "to the Fort to consult with Joe" when special purchases were to be made or when his Indian workmen "became troublesome." Outside A. F. Pemberton's diary, no other reference to "Greyhill" or "Grey Hills" Farm has been found; but the evidence available points to its identification with the "Gonzalo Farm" listed in the census of Vancouver Island which Douglas sent to Archibald Barclay in July, 1855,²⁷² and later purchased by J. D. Pemberton as the nucleus of his Gonzales estate. It is clear from the diary that Greyhill Farm included a swamp, across which lay the

(261) Pearse to Seymour, November 20, 1866. Pearse Correspondence.

(262) See the Memorandum in Miscellaneous information relating to B. W. Pearse. Her sister married C. F. Cornwall in 1871 (see *Victoria Colonist*, June 9, 1871). The first Mrs. Pearse died on December 25, 1872 (*ibid.*, December 27, 1872), and in 1876 Pearse married Sarah Jane (Jennie) Palmer, daughter of the late Henry Palmer of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk (*ibid.*, June 9, 1876), who died at the age of 100 in 1954 (*ibid.*, January 26, 1954).

(263) *Ibid.*, October 12, 1864.

(264) *Ibid.*, October 6, 1872.

(265) *Ibid.*, September 5, 1879.

(266) *Ibid.*, April 23, 1864.

(267) *Ibid.*, April 15, 1867.

(268) Pearse to Colonial Secretary, March 5, 1869. Pearse Correspondence.

(269) See the Memorandum by Evaline Mary Pemberton, A. F. Pemberton's daughter, in Miscellaneous information relating to A. F. Pemberton.

(270) See the copy of this agreement in the Crease Papers, and cf. the Memorandum by C. C. Pemberton, A. F. Pemberton's son, in Miscellaneous information relating to A. F. Pemberton.

(271) See his diary, December 23, 1855, to August 2, 1858. Transcript.

(272) "The Census of Vancouver Island," ed. W. Kaye Lamb, *BCHQ*, IV (1940), p. 52.

boundary marking off the property of Mrs. Isabella Ross, and a large plain, known as Pine plain, on the east side of which a boundary fence 283 yards long was erected; that another fence was "near Mr. Douglas"; that the Governor "kindly gave (verbally) the entire pasture of the Governor's Reserve for the sheep"; and that a road over which carts could travel to the farm from the Fort was finished late in 1856. The farm formed part of the Governor's Reserve: when on March 5, 1856, Douglas wrote to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company to suggest that the Governor's Reserve (as well as the Fur Trade and Clergy Reserves, released for sale by the Committee on October 8, 1855) should be thrown open for purchase, he added:—

"An application has been made to me for the purchase of a part of that Reserve, by Mr. Augustus Pemberton, an intelligent and enterprising Gentleman who lately arrived in this Colony; but I could not grant his application without referring to the Committee for instructions.

"The Fur [Trade] concern having formerly a Dairy, on [that] Reserve, from which, as a matter of [economy] the people have been withdrawn, [I proposed] to Mr. Pemberton to occupy the buildings valued at the sum of £40 Sterling, and authorised him to lay out a further sum of £60 in repairs and improvements on Fur Trade Account, which he is to repay over and above, the cost of the land, if the Committee agree to the sale of the Governors Reserve, a measure which for the reasons before stated I strongly recommend."²⁷³

According to William Fraser Tolmie, Gonzalo Farm was purchased by J. D. Pemberton in 1855,²⁷⁴ and this date is accepted by Pemberton's daughter;²⁷⁵ but according to other evidence in the Pemberton Papers the purchase took place the following year.²⁷⁶ A. F. Pemberton apparently gave

(273) Douglas to W. G. Smith, March 5, 1856. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C. on affairs of V.I. colony, December 11, 1855, to July 8, 1859. This MS is mutilated, the corner of the leaf having been torn away, and the words in square brackets have been supplied from the copy taken by J. D. Pemberton and certified by M. W. Tyrerwhitt Drake, May 11, 1864 (Pemberton Papers).

(274) Tolmie to Secretary Fraser, November 13, 1861. Copy of a fragment of a letter, Pemberton Papers.

(275) See Harriet Susan Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821-93," *BCHQ*, VIII (1944), p. 120.

(276) One memorandum records that J. D. Pemberton himself, in reply to a question put by the Crown Lands Committee on May 10, 1864, stated that he purchased Section 68 (on which it would appear that "Greyhill" or "Gonzalo" Farm was situated) in August, 1856, and paid for it on August 10, 1856. This statement is confirmed by a page from his Hudson's Bay Shop Account: an entry for that date reads "Transfer Cr. Land office £28.8.4." and a note is written across the page: "see Land office Cash Book entry of same date/ 1856/ Aug. 10 To J. D. Pemberton (on act of 351 ac. V.D.) order / £28.8.4." In another memorandum headed *Titles to Country Lands* is the following item: "H.B. Co. Shop Acct. Notice of 1st payt made on Pemberton's land 10.8.56." Cf. H.B. Co. Accounts with Government Departments, 1852-1859, p. 196: "Land Sales a/c. From J. D. Pemberton on a/c 113 Acres £28.8.4." There is no mention of any land sale to Pemberton in the 1855 Land Sales a/c in the same ledger.

up any active interest in the farm in August, 1858, when his diary comes to an abrupt end. He had already, on April 28, "received a commission from Gov as J P for Victoria District," and in July, when the gold-rush to the Fraser was sweeping through Victoria, he was appointed Commissioner of Police.²⁷⁷ He died on October 18, 1891, at the age of 83. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, October 20, 1891, and the biographical sketch in Scholefield and Howay, Vol. IV.

PEMBERTON, JOSEPH DESPARD

J. D. Pemberton (1821-1893) was appointed in 1851 as Colonial Surveyor and Engineer for the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island and was appointed for a further term of three years in 1855;²⁷⁸ on the expiration of this second term he was retained by Douglas on behalf of the colony.²⁷⁹ He was a member of the first House of Assembly, elected in 1856 and dissolved in 1859, and in 1860 he was appointed Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island.²⁸⁰ On his marriage in 1864 he resigned all his appointments and devoted himself to the management of his country estate, "Gonzales," and to his own business affairs. For further details see Harriet Susan Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821-93," *BCHQ*, VIII (1944), pp. 111-125.

PEMBERTON, SUSAN FRANCES

Susan F. Pemberton, sister of J. D. Pemberton, arrived at Esquimalt on the *Princess Royal*, along with the two sisters of the Rev. Mr. Cridge, on December 17, 1855.²⁸¹ At first she and her brother had rooms in the Fort,²⁸² but by July, 1857, they were established on the farm which later developed into the Gonzales estate, where their uncle, A. F. Pemberton, had superintended the repairing and enlarging of the original farm-house.²⁸³ In 1866 Miss Pemberton became the principal of the Ladies' College, which had recently been transferred to the new building named after Angela Burdett-Coutts;²⁸⁴ but she was obliged to return to England in 1869, her health having "been sadly shattered by her assiduous and successful exertions as Principal of Angela College."²⁸⁵ She died in France on April 13, 1870. For further details see the diary of A. F. Pemberton, 1855-1858, *passim*, and H. S. Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton," *BCHQ*, VIII (1944), pp. 121-122.

(277) *Victoria Gazette*, July 17, 1858.

(278) See the original contracts in the Pemberton Papers.

(279) See Thomas Fraser, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, to J. D. Pemberton, November 25, 1858. Pemberton Papers.

(280) See the original Commission in the Pemberton Papers.

(281) Lugrin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island*, pp. 33-34; "The Dairy of Robert Melrose," ed. W. Kaye Lamb, *BCHQ*, VII (1943), p. 218.

(282) Lugrin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

(283) See No. (92) of the notes on the text, and the biographical note on A. F. Pemberton, above.

(284) *Victoria Colonist*, October 13, 1865, and January 10, 1866.

(285) *Ibid.*, June 30, 1869, and May 26, 1870.

PENDER, DANIEL

A member of a West of England family who had served in the Royal Navy for several generations, Daniel Pender became a second master (navigating sub-lieutenant) in 1853, and served in the *Britannia* during the Crimean War before commencing his fourteen-year service on this station on November 9, 1857, when he arrived at Esquimalt in H.M. surveying vessel *Plumper*. On June 21, 1859, he was promoted to the rank of master, and when John Augustus Bull died suddenly at Esquimalt on November 14, 1860, Pender succeeded him as master of the *Plumper*. The *Plumper* returned to England in January, 1861, and Pender was transferred, along with the rest of the navigating staff, to the *Hecate*; he became her master and senior surveying officer. When the *Hecate* sailed for England on December 22, 1862, Pender was placed in command of the *Beaver*, hired by the British Government from the Hudson's Bay Company, and continued the survey. This assignment terminated in 1870, and Pender, who had been named navigating lieutenant in 1867 and staff commander (for services rendered in this colony) on January 1, 1869, returned to England on January 12, 1871,²⁸⁶ accompanied by his wife, a sister of the Rev. Frank Gribbell, of St. Paul's Church, Esquimalt, whom he had married in 1869.²⁸⁷ He was then engaged in the Hydrographic Office in London, and finally became Assistant Hydrographer to the Admiralty. He retired with the rank of captain in 1884, and died on March 12, 1891, at the age of 58. See the obituary in the *London Times*, March 18, 1891, and Walbran, pp. 71, 236, 378-379, and 384.

PREVOST, JAMES CHARLES

Captain (later Admiral) J. C. Prevost (1810-1891) came to the Pacific Coast in 1850 as commander in the *Portland*, the flagship of Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby, whose daughter he had married. In December, 1852, he was transferred to the *Virago*, also on the Pacific station, and remained in command of her until January, 1854. The same year he was promoted to the rank of captain, and in 1856 he took command of the *Satellite* as "first commissioner to determine that part of the line which runs through 'the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's island.'"²⁸⁸ Subsequently he was an important witness before the Emperor of Germany, who, in 1872, acted as arbitrator in the final settlement of the San Juan boundary. Prevost remained on the Pacific station until 1860, and was afterwards in charge of the naval establishment at Gibraltar, 1864-1869, when he retired with the rank of rear-admiral. He became an admiral in 1880, and died in 1891.²⁸⁹ While on this coast Captain Prevost was largely responsible for the establishment of the Indian Mission at Metlakatla. In the summer of 1853 the *Virago* made a survey of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Impressed with "the highly intelligent character of the natives

(286) *Victoria Colonist*, January 12, 1871.

(287) *Ibid.*, October 28, 1869.

(288) Marcus Baker, *Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861*, Washington, 1900 (U.S. Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 174), p. 73.

(289) For the foregoing details see Walbran, pp. 398, 400-401, 514-515.

. . . and their total destitution of Christian and moral instruction," he made representations to the Church Missionary Society on his return to England, writing a memorandum on the subject, which was printed anonymously in an article entitled "Vancouver's Island" which appeared in the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, VII (1856), pp. 167-168. When in 1856 Prevost was posted to the *Satellite* he offered, "with the sanction of the First Lord of the Admiralty . . . a free passage, and every assistance in his power, to any Missionary whom the Society might be willing to send with him";²⁹⁰ and William Duncan was sent out, arriving at Esquimalt in the *Satellite* on June 13, 1857, and at Metlakatla by steamer on October 1.²⁹¹ Some twenty years later Admiral Prevost came out from England to visit the mission which he had helped to establish, and on his return home he addressed a meeting of the C.M.S. Committee, expressing his delight in the "material prosperity" and the "simple and truthful Christianity" which, under Duncan's ministrations, had replaced the "savagery and heathenism" of the past.²⁹² The following summer Prevost returned to Metlakatla and spent five weeks there.²⁹³ When he left Victoria for England on December 30, 1879, the *Victoria Colonist* of that date remarked that "this venerable and honored gentleman . . . has actively assisted in the great work of Christianizing the savage tribes on the Northwest Coast, and has also taken a prominent part in advancing other good works." For additional information concerning Prevost's early career see William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1849.

RICHARDS, GEORGE HENRY

Captain (later Admiral Sir) George H. Richards (1820-1896) had been employed on surveying duty in many parts of the world before coming to Vancouver Island. In 1835 he was appointed to the *Sulphur* for surveying service in the Pacific, and took an active part in the Chinese war of 1838-40. From 1842 to 1845 he was in the *Philomel*, surveying on the southeast coast of South America; and when in 1845-46 his ship took part in the operations conducted by the French and British squadrons against Juan Manuel Rosas, the tyrant of Buenos Aires, Richards was promoted to the rank of commander "for gallantry in storming the forts in the river Parana."²⁹⁴ From 1847 to 1852 he was employed in surveying the coasts of New Zealand. He was then appointed to the *Assistance*, under Captain Sir Edward Belcher, and played a large part in the Arctic expedition of 1852-54 in search of Sir John Franklin, performing in 1853 what Walbran calls "one of the most extraordinary sledging journeys on record."²⁹⁵ Promoted to the rank of

(290) Church Missionary Society, . . . *The British Columbia Mission; or Metlakatlah*, London, 1871, p. 6.

(291) *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

(292) *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, III (new series, 1878), p. 701.

(293) *Ibid.*, IV (1879), p. 694.

(294) Walbran, p. 421.

(295) *Ibid.* For a full account see Edward Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, London, 1855, Vol. I, pp. 242 ff., and Captain Sherard Osborn, "Notes on the late Arctic Expeditions," Royal Geographical Society, *Proceedings*, I (1857), pp. 106-108.

captain on his return from the Arctic in 1854, Richards commissioned the *Plumper* in 1856 and arrived at Esquimalt on November 9, 1857, as second commissioner in the Boundary Commission charged with the survey of these waters. When in January, 1861, the *Plumper* was replaced by the *Hecate*, Richards continued the survey in the *Hecate*, taking her back to England in December, 1862, and leaving the survey in charge of Daniel Pender in the *Beaver*.²⁹⁶ He was appointed Hydrographer of the Navy in 1864, retired in 1874, was knighted in 1877, and promoted to the rank of admiral in 1884. For further details see the obituary in the *London Times*, November 17, 1896.

ROCHE, RICHARD

Richard Roche entered the Navy in 1845 (Walbran, p. 427). The following year he was in these waters as midshipman under Captain Henry Kellett in the *Herald* (*ibid.*), which in the course of her surveying duties visited Fort Victoria in July, 1846.²⁹⁷ Roche was appointed mate in 1851, and served in the *Resolute*, again under Captain Kellett, on the Arctic expedition of 1852-54 in search of Sir John Franklin. In the "Travelling Operations during the Spring of 1853" Roche was in command of the sledge named *Beauty*, with the motto "Mon Dieu est ma Roche"; he was absent from the ship 78½ days and travelled 1,039 miles.²⁹⁸ He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in April, 1854, while still in the Arctic, and was serving in the *Russell*, in the Baltic, in 1855. In 1857 he was posted to the *Satellite* as third lieutenant, and was on this station until she returned home in 1860. In 1862 he was first lieutenant in the *Trafalgar*, flagship in the Mediterranean, and was promoted to the rank of commander in 1864. After several years' service with the Coast Guard, he became commander in the flagship *Hibernia*, stationed at Malta, 1873-75, and retired with the rank of captain in 1879.

SKINNER, THOMAS JAMES

T. J. Skinner came to Vancouver Island in the *Norman Morison* in 1853 as bailiff for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company and was placed in charge of the farm at Constance Cove. A native of Essex, he had been in early life in the service of the East India Company.²⁹⁹ He sat as member for Esquimalt in the first Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, 1855-59. He died on June 1, 1889, at the age of 77. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, June 2, 1889, and Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island*, pp. 8-86.

(296) Walbran, pp. 236, 384, 421-422.

(297) See Berthold Seeman, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald during the Years 1845-51, under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., C.B.; being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and Three Cruises to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin*, London, 1853, pp. 99-106.

(298) George F. McDougall, *The Eventful Voyage of H.M. Discovery Ship "Resolute" to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin . . .*, London, 1857, pp. 520-528. Walbran gives the days of absence as seventy-eight and the distance travelled as "over 798 miles."

(299) Walbran, p. 460.

SMITH, WILLIAM BURRINGTON

W. B. Smith established the Victoria Family Grocery on Government Street, opposite the Fort, in 1858, advertising "a choice stock of Foreign and Domestic Groceries, Provisions, &c., selected with special care and attention for this market."³⁰⁰ By 1864 he had made enough money to retire to England, and he died on January 21, 1882, at Bristol, having acted as American Vice-Consul in that city since 1881.³⁰¹ At the time of his death he was still the owner of the *Colonist* building in Victoria.³⁰²

STAMP, EDWARD

Captain Edward Stamp, an English shipping master and commission agent, was engaged during 1858 in contracting for spars and lumber on Puget Sound. He owned a house in Victoria, two doors from the Convent of the Sisters of St. Ann, his immediate neighbour being Dr. H. A. Tuzo,³⁰³ and when, towards the end of 1858, he went to England on business, he left the house in charge of A. F. Main.³⁰⁴ Arriving in San Francisco on December 8,³⁰⁵ he continued to Panama aboard the *J. L. Stephens*, whence he wrote to Moody on December 24, regarding the purchase of some 300 acres of land on the Semiahmoo trail, a transaction in which he designated A. F. Main as his agent. He remarks that he thought it well to add: "Although I have made considerable purchases of land in Vancouver Island, Victoria, & Langley, I am not a Land Speculator; but have a family of six boys who I am desirous of providing for in this way."³⁰⁶ In England, Stamp entered into negotiations with the British Government with "reference to a postal service between [British Columbia] and San Francisco," and these had reached the contract stage when there was a change of Government and the consequent delays "obliged [him] to return to this country and give the matter up."³⁰⁷ He was back in Victoria by 1860, when he was instrumental in founding the Anderson sawmill at Alberni.³⁰⁸ He sat as member for Lillooet on the Legislative Council of 1867-68, and, in 1871, "at an age when most men seek repose from active business pursuits," he left for England with the object of forming a company to engage in packing salmon at New Westminster.³⁰⁹ He died suddenly in London on January 17, 1872.³¹⁰

(300) *Victoria Gazette*, October 19, 1858.

(301) *Victoria Colonist*, June 5, 1881.

(302) *Ibid.*, January 25, 1882.

(303) See the Memorandum by Mrs. E. G. Alston (Anna Maria Tuzo), in Miscellaneous material relating to H. A. Tuzo.

(304) See Bushby's journal, entry for December 27-29, 1858.

(305) *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, December 8, 1858.

(306) Stamp to Moody, December 24, 1858. Stamp Correspondence.

(307) Stamp to A. N. Birch, Colonial Secretary, April 19, 1865. *Ibid.*

(308) For this and other details of Stamp's business career see W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island. Part II: 1855-1866," *BCHQ*, II (1938), pp. 97-111, and F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet: 1863-1870," *BCHQ*, I (1937), pp. 8-20.

(309) *Victoria Colonist*, November 22, 1871.

(310) See the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, January 27, 1872.

TUZO, HENRY ATKINSON

H. A. Tuzo (1832-1890) was born in Quebec, the son of H. A. Tuzo, a West India merchant. He received his M.D. in 1853, and entering immediately upon a five-year contract as a doctor with the Hudson's Bay Company he was sent to Fort Victoria. In 1870 he left the Company to become the manager of the Bank of British North America in Victoria,³¹¹ and four years later he was transferred to New York as manager-in-chief.³¹² In 1876 he retired to England, where he died in 1890. For further details see the obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, September 6, 1890, quoting the *Caterham Free Press*, August 16, 1890, and the memorandum of September 14, 1910, by his sister, Anna Maria (Mrs. E. G. Alston), in Miscellaneous material relating to H. A. Tuzo. See also No. 94 of the notes on the text of Bushby's journal.

WHANNELL, PETER BRUNTON

P. B. Whannell arrived in Victoria in the fall of 1858 with an introduction from the British Consul in San Francisco, in which he was styled "Captain Whannell formerly of the Nizam's service in India."³¹³ Shortly afterwards, Douglas appointed him Justice of the Peace and Revenue Officer at Fort Yale,³¹⁴ the announcement in the *Victoria Gazette* styling him "Captain P. B. Whannell, of the Victoria Yeomanry Cavalry, in Australia, and late of the Nigarris [*sic*] Cavalry in the East Indies."³¹⁵ When this item was copied by a Melbourne newspaper, the Australian authorities informed Douglas that Whannell had been merely a trooper in the Yeomanry Corps, and had left the colony in 1856, accompanied by the wife of a resident of Melbourne, where he had been employed by the Customs Department.³¹⁶ By the time that Douglas received this information, Whannell had been involved in the dispute with Magistrate George Perrier which led to the "Ned McGowan war," Moody commenting in that connection on his "bold, insane, reckless zeal, & utter ignorance," and characterizing him as a man "raging under a sense of outraged dignity . . . incorruptible, full of courage, and despotic as a Czar."³¹⁷ On August 23, 1859, Douglas dis-

(311) *Victoria Colonist*, April 27, 1870.

(312) *Ibid.*, July 3, 1874.

(313) William Lane Booker to Douglas, August 2, 1858. Whannell Correspondence.

(314) Douglas to Richard Hicks, October 28, 1858 (British Columbia, Governor Douglas, Correspondence Outward, July 14, 1858, to May 30, 1859). His commission as J.P. was issued on November 9, 1858 (Memorandum, unsigned, *ibid.*, p. 35).

(315) *Victoria Gazette*, October 30, 1858.

(316) Governor Sir Henry Barkley to Douglas, May 31, 1859, and enclosures. One of these enclosures (Jas. H. Ross, Lt.-Col. Commanding R.V.Y.C., to the Chief Commissioner of Police, Melbourne, May 9, 1859) is printed in F. W. Howay, *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, 1928 (Archives Memoir No. VI), pp. 58-59.

(317) Moody to A. Blackwood, February 1, 1859, ed. W. E. Ireland, *BCHQ*, XV (1951), pp. 94 and 101. Cf. the recollections of Jason Allard, whose father, Ovid Allard, was in charge of Fort Yale at the time: "Magistrate Hicks was

missed Whannell from his office at Fort Yale, and declined to employ him elsewhere in the Government service³¹⁸—apparently without any further investigation of the Australian charges against Whannell's professional and private character. All these charges Whannell denied with the utmost vehemence, calling them "the angry ebullitions of a distorted, malicious, vindictive, and wicked mind," "a tirade of malicious falsehoods framed by one individual in Melbourne [Lt.-Col. J. H. Ross of the Yeomanry Corps]," and declaring his intention of forwarding all letters and documents to Downing Street for the vindication of his own and his wife's character.³¹⁹ On his return from Yale to Victoria he opened a hotel on Broad Street called the Clifton House,³²⁰ but this venture failed, he says, for want of the patronage of his "own countrymen (my house being the only English house of the kind in Victoria) who preferred patronizing the French and German Establishments."³²¹ Whannell then "took up a claim of 160 acres" on San Juan Island, and tried his hand at farming, but without either capital or experience (for he had been "brought up to the profession of Arms") he found himself in 1861 "left without a single dollar, consequently not able either to leave this island, or get a living on it." He then applied to his brother Masons in Victoria for "assistance for self and family to enable him to return to his home in England."³²² This the Lodge found itself unable to supply, but by the end of the year Whannell had got as far as San Francisco, still imploring the Governor of British Columbia for information which would help him to vindicate his character in the eyes of the Home authorities.³²³

succeeded by Capt. Peter Brunton Whannel, a dark military appearing man with black whiskers and a mustache and a young Australian wife. Captain Whannel stayed with us for a time, reorganized the police force and insisted on salutes. He wished to station a sentry outside the door of my father's house but my father objected" (Sketches of Early Life in British Columbia, transcript, p. 14). "I also can see Captain Whannel strutting around in his gaudy stolen uniform—his gold lace military cap tilted to one side on three hairs, and his sabre and sabretache dangling about his legs." Jason Allard to B. A. McKelvie, March 6, 1928 (Allard Correspondence).

(318) Young to Whannell, August 23, 1859. British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, May 31, 1859, to July 24, 1860.

(319) Whannell to Douglas, October 13, 1859, and to W. A. G. Young, July 19, 1860. Whannell Correspondence.

(320) Whannell to "the Worshipful Masters, Officers, and Members of the Lodge of F. and A. Masons organized and Working in Victoria Vancouver Island," February 9, 1861. Transcript. (Whannell, Petition to Victoria Lodge.)

(321) Whannell to Moody, November 27, 1860. Whannell Correspondence. The building was apparently taken over by G. T. Seymour as a "furniture warehouse" and in 1881 became a livery stable (see *Victoria Colonist*, June 8, 1881), being finally pulled down to make way for the new office of the *Colonist* (*ibid.*, July 14, 1897).

(322) Minute Book, Victoria Lodge, A.F. & A.M., No. 1085, March 28, 1861. Transcript. (Whannell, Petition to Victoria Lodge.)

(323) Whannell to Young, December 20, 1861, and March 5, 1862. Whannell Correspondence.

WILSON, CHARLES WILLIAM

Lieutenant (later Major-General Sir) Charles W. Wilson, R.E. (1836-1905), was appointed Secretary of the British Boundary Commission in February, 1858, and arrived at Esquimalt on July 12, aboard H.M.S. *Savannah*.³²⁴ On February 16, 1860, he pre-empted, at Sumas, land which later formed part of the Vedder family property,³²⁵ but he returned to England with the Commission in July, 1862. For details of his subsequent distinguished career see the *D.N.B.*, 2nd Supplement, Vol. III, and the *Life*, by Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, R.E., London, 1909.

YALE, JAMES MURRAY

J. M. Yale entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service at Montreal in 1815, and was transferred west of the Rockies in 1821. In 1828 he was in charge of Fort Langley, where he remained until 1859, when he was granted a year's furlough prior to his retirement to Victoria the following year. He died on May 7, 1871, at the age of 73.³²⁶ For further details see *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*, ed. E. E. Rich, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1938 (Hudson's Bay Series, I), Appendix B, pp. 473-474.

YOUNG, WILLIAM ALEXANDER GEORGE

W. A. G. Young (1827-1885) entered the Navy in 1841.³²⁷ He was appointed Clerk in 1845 and Paymaster on December 23, 1853. He "served as Secretary to several Flag Officers upon different Foreign Stations,"³²⁸ and in 1855-56 was in the flagship *Duke of Wellington* in the Baltic. "By special selection" he was appointed "secretary to the commission for determining the Northwest Boundary,"³²⁹ and arrived in the *Satellite* on June 13, 1857.³³⁰ On March 20, 1858, Young married Cecilia Eliza Cowan Cameron, step-daughter of Chief Justice David Cameron and niece of Governor Douglas.³³¹ Early in 1859 he was appointed Colonial Secretary for British Columbia and Acting Colonial Secretary for Vancouver Island,³³² and when the two colonies were united he continued in office.³³³ Three years later,

(324) See his Journal of Service, April 20, 1858, to July 17, 1862.

(325) F. W. Laing, "Colonial Farm Settlers on the Mainland of British Columbia 1858-1871," Victoria, 1939, p. 191.

(326) See *Victoria Colonist*, May 9, 1871. E. E. Rich says he was born "about 1796."

(327) Douglas to Edward Cardwell, May 28, 1869. Douglas Correspondence Outward, March 22, 1867, to October 11, 1870 (Private Letter-book).

(328) Douglas to Lytton, November 13, 1858. *BCP*, Part II, 1859, p. 33.

(329) Douglas to Cardwell, *loc. cit.*

(330) J. C. Prevost to the Earl of Clarendon, June 14, 1857. F.O. 5, Vol. 810, cited in John W. Long, Jr., "The Origin and Development of the San Juan Island Water Boundary Controversy," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLIII (1952), p. 208, n. 99.

(331) Christ Church Cathedral, Marriage Register. Photostat.

(332) *Victoria Gazette*, January 18, 1859; Lytton to Douglas, March 3, 1859 (*BCP*, Part II, 1859, p. 81); Douglas to Cardwell, *loc. cit.*

(333) Young to Governor Frederick Seymour, May 4, 1869. Young Correspondence.

however, he was superseded without cause, through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, by Philip J. Hankin.³³⁴ Young returned to England in 1869³³⁵ in order to put his case before the Colonial Office, and Douglas wrote most warmly to Edward Cardwell on his behalf: "As a rapid, clear headed, hard working man of business Mr Young has few equals and his character is, in all respects irreproachable. He is moreover a very sensible fellow, most able, and trustworthy to the last degree."³³⁶ Young afterwards received various colonial appointments, and was Governor of the Gold Coast at the time of his death. For further details *see* the obituary in the *London Times*, May 27, 1885.

(334) Douglas to Cardwell, *loc. cit.*, and cf. The Memoirs of Captain P. Hankin, R.N., Transcript, p. 65.

(335) *Victoria Colonist*, May 31 and June 22, 1869.

(336) Douglas to Cardwell, *loc. cit.*

BRITISH COLUMBIA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CENTENNIAL PUBLICATIONS, 1957-1959

Prepared in the Provincial Archives

The royal princess had gone home, the last speech had been made, the last plaque unveiled, and the flags and bunting came down. It was the end of 1958, and the centennial party was over. It was time for reports and summaries. When we read the report of the Centennial Committee, we realize that 1958 was much more than a year of celebration.

First of all, it was a year of construction in a very real way. Nearly every community in the Province has a souvenir of the party, a tangible reminder of the one hundredth birthday in the form of a park, a community hall, a museum, an art gallery, or other centennial project.

It was, too, a year of publication, and this bibliography is another tangible reminder of the centenary. Here are listed the books not only of professional historians, but of local writers who worked devotedly to record the histories of their communities. The Province has been well served by historians and their works fill numerous volumes, but never before has the history of British Columbia touched the imaginations of so many of its citizens. They have become aware of the past, they have been reminded that they are living where the trails of the fur-trader, explorer, and gold seeker passed. They have sought out the older resident and made of him the honoured pioneer, and written down his reminiscences before the memory was lost. In this undertaking, the local newspapers also played their part, and published many fine centennial editions.

Accustomed as they are to succoring the historian, the research worker, and the student, 1958 was an unusually stimulating year of work for the archivists in the Provincial Archives. Much of the research for the centennial anthology was done here, and Dr. Margaret Ormsby's centennial history was practically written on the premises. The archivists had a parental interest in most of the publications. There was scarcely a writer of book, pamphlet, or article who did not use the resources of the Archives for research and illustration.

The works listed in this bibliography vary widely in accomplishment and format; they range from the writing of the professional historian to the school yearbook. A survey of the titles shows that British Columbians have been pretty thoroughly documented, reported, and analysed. The titles range from Dr. Ormsby's modest *British Columbia: a History* to the controversial "British Columbians Are Snobs," an article in *Maclean's* by Lister Sinclair. The format varies from the excellent typography and binding of the centennial anthology and history to a booklet such as *Gitwangag 1858 to Kitwanga 1958*, mimeographed and carefully illustrated by hand by the pupils of Kitwanga school.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4.

Two books have received prizes. The award of the American Association for State and Local History was given in 1958 to *The Skeena, River of Destiny*, by Richard Large, and in 1959 to *British Columbia: A History*, by Margaret Ormsby.

There is, however, no need for complacency. The recording of the history of British Columbia has not been exhausted, and there are many gaps waiting to be filled by future historians. Although centennial histories were written for the cities of New Westminster, Nanaimo, Kamloops, and Vernon, there was none for Victoria, the capital, nor for Vancouver, the metropolis.

Vancouver Island and its environs are well represented in the bibliography, from Sointula and Alert Bay in the north to the Sooke district and Saanich in the south. Well covered, too, are the districts and municipalities around Vancouver, including Chilliwack, Langley and Harrison, Sumas and the Delta, Burnaby and Richmond. The Okanagan Valley, where interest in local history is fostered by the Okanagan Historical Society, produced histories of Penticton, Naramata, Rutland, Ellison, Okanagan Mission, and other places. Ever an attractive subject for writers, the gold-rush and historic Cariboo were depicted in such books as *Quesnel, Commercial Centre of the Cariboo Gold Rush*, by Gordon Elliott, *The Cariboo Story*, by Frederick Lindsay, and *Gold in the Cariboo*, by A. W. Ludditt. From the Cariboo, also, came one of several centennial cook-books, *Buckskin Cookery*, by Gwen Lewis, with her own delightful illustrations.

All together, the local histories make an impressive geographical showing, from Dawson Creek and François Lake in the north to the "land of the Peace Arch" on the border, from Golden and Revelstoke in the east to five-year-old Kitimat in the west.

Apart from the general and local histories, several publications deal with particular aspects of the history of the Province. Such are the histories of pioneer commercial enterprises, the B.C. Sugar Refining Company, Oppenheimer Brothers, and Woodward Stores. Other special publications include *The Anglican Church in British Columbia*, by F. A. Peake, and *Three Bar, the Story of Douglas Lake*, by Campbell Carroll, notable not only for its interesting story of the cattle ranch but also for its fine typography and illustration.

The bibliography does not include everything published in British Columbia during the centennial period. It lists writings directly sponsored or encouraged by the Centennial Committee and its local counterparts, others inspired by the occasion of the centenary, and many items connected with the celebrations.

NINA NAPIER.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

British Columbia: A History. By Margaret A. Ormsby. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958. Pp. x, 558. Ills., Maps, Bibliography. \$4.75.

Dr. Ormsby undertook no easy task when she agreed to write this new history of British Columbia—the first large-scale account of the Province to appear since 1914. Her assignment was to write a single-volume centennial history that would attract the average reader and would give him some comprehension of the earlier days of the Province, and some understanding of its distinctive character and qualities. In view of the limited space available, some things had to be left out, and others had to be referred to very briefly. Miss Ormsby decided to make her history the story of the white man in British Columbia, which meant that she could say nothing about the Indians, and she decided further to make no attempt to deal with economic history in any detail. Although not formally so divided, her book consists essentially of two parts. The first, devoted to exploration and early days, tells who came to British Columbia, when they came, and why. The second, devoted to the last hundred years, sets out to explain what life in British Columbia was like at various periods—in the days of the boom before the Great War, during the depression of the 1930's, and so on. The main thread of the narrative follows the political history of the Province and centres upon the half dozen personalities that have dominated it. All this Miss Ormsby has done much better than anyone has done it before. Her fine book is both a notable centennial publication and a study that will remain a standard reference for many years to come.

The book strikes a just balance between the story of early days and that of more recent times. In the past, quite disproportionate attention has been centred upon the thirteen years between the beginning of the gold-rush in 1858 and the union with Canada in 1871, to the detriment of the description of later developments. But British Columbia as we know it to-day is very largely the product of the years since 1871, and what has happened since then is therefore of vital importance. Dr. Ormsby has succeeded in keeping her account of exploration and colonial days within reasonable bounds, and it occupies only slightly more than half her book. Moreover, she has accomplished this by skilful pruning and not by the sacrifice of any essentials. Her account of the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia is notable, for it is the first to make adequate use of the full range of source materials that have become available in recent years. Microfilms of the long files of papers relating to British Columbia that are preserved in the Public Record Office, in London, and original documents acquired by the Provincial Archives, such as the Crease Papers, have added a new dimension to our knowledge of the period. It is interesting to find that James Douglas now looms larger than ever in the colonial picture, and we can gain a clearer appreciation of some of the difficulties with which he was faced, particularly in the first years of the gold-rush. Not the least of these was the fact that in the

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4.

short space of fifteen months, when the excitement was at its height, there were three changes of government in Great Britain, and four different Colonial Secretaries.

But the outstanding feature of the book is the account of life and politics in British Columbia in the last sixty years. The Provincial Archives has been so fortunate as to acquire several outstanding collections of private papers relating to this period, including those of Sir Richard McBride, the Hon. T. D. Pattullo, and the Hon. John Hart. These have been put to excellent use, and the events and personalities of the time come alive as they have not done in any previous account. McBride and most of the succeeding premiers—and in particular “Honest” John Oliver and “Duff” Pattullo—become human, understandable characters, struggling with issues and problems that many of us can still remember. The study of politics is clearly Miss Ormsby's first love, and if she can be given an opportunity to develop some of the characterizations she has sketched in this volume into larger-scale biographical studies, the written history of the Province will be greatly enriched.

There are a few errors in the narrative. Alexander Mackenzie lost his ammunition in the Bad River (James Creek), not in the Parsnip (p. 32); D. B. Hanna was not “an American industrialist”—he was a railroader all his life, and was only briefly in the United States in the 1880's (p. 357); Richard McBride cannot have chosen the motto of the Province, which was in use at least as early as 1897, before he was first elected to the Legislative Assembly (p. 403). Miss Ormsby is not quite at home with ships and the sea, and there are a good many slips of fact and expression in her references to things maritime. But all this is of no great consequence; it simply indicates that the reviewer has read the book with some care.

The illustrations are numerous, varied, and interesting. They include a score of cartoons, ranging in date from one inspired by the Nootka Sound crisis of 1790 to a recent gem by Norris, taken from the *Vancouver Sun*. Eight attractive prints dating from colonial days are reproduced in colour, and more recent times are reflected in thirty-two pages of photographs, many of them striking and few of them familiar. It is to be regretted that the maps do not match the illustrations either in quality or interest. All five are taken from the admirable *Atlas of Resources*, published in 1956, but the reproductions are on such a small scale that they are almost useless. This is a fault that should be corrected in future printings; half a dozen clear, uncluttered maps would be a most welcome addition to the book.

Robert Reid and the publishers are to be congratulated upon the attractive format and the high standard of book-making that the volume represents. It was a happy thought to place the seal of the old Crown Colony of Vancouver Island on the front cover, and in this way acknowledge that it existed before the first page was written in the history of the mainland colony.

W. KAYE LAMB.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA,
OTTAWA.

British Columbia: A Centennial Anthology. Edited by Reginald Eyre Watters. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1958. Pp. xvi, 576. Ills. \$5.

This is a book that a native son may regard with a curious and critical eye. He is curious to see what has been disinterred from the shallow graves of his too recent past and critical of what may be claimed as representative of his country. For, though diffident, he has his own feelings about British Columbia—feelings which he does not usually identify with the slogans of tourism and which he may be naturally shy of entrusting to a committee, centennial or other. If, therefore, he mistakenly associates this volume with the purveyors of publicity and totem-poles, he may approach the *Anthology* with some misgivings or—worse still—he may not bother to look at it. It would be a pity for him to give it the cold shoulder; it was written for him. And he will best appreciate it.

No one with an eye for a book, however, could refrain from opening the *Anthology*. It is attractive and very well bound. The design and typography are in good taste and give every encouragement to the reader. It is remarkable, too, that though it contains a generous selection of all sorts of things it has not the obesity with which omnibuses are usually afflicted.

"The five sections of this Centennial Anthology," says the Preface, "attempt to portray in words and pictures the varied life of British Columbia in both the past and present." This is a modest statement of a considerable undertaking; and, in fairness, the critical reader must consider both the rightness of the purpose and the difficulty that confronts the editor.

The undertaking, it could be observed, was handicapped from the beginning. A raw community only just now attaining a degree of articulateness does not have an abundance of distinguished writing and painting to draw upon for such a record as is proposed. Even artists with the camera are far scarcer than might be imagined. The realization of the undertaking, then, must have been bedevilled by a good deal of poor writing and inferior art. True, it would not have been too difficult to fill a book of some six hundred pages with competent writing by a score of British Columbians. But if the writing had to be about British Columbia such a task would have been far from easy. Now, the *Centennial Anthology* draws from over 150 sources. All touch life in this Province. It would be little short of miraculous if the writing were not uneven.

The first part of the book, "Days of Our Years," is committed to an ingenious plan—that of a composite calendar of days from years extending from 1786 up to the present time. Reportage in one form or another dominates the selections—half the items are newspaper clippings, and the usual banality and inadequacy of such writing are unavoidably present. At first glance the pages might be interpreted as a mere scrap-book. The need to achieve representative coverage of time and place is apparent and may well have embarrassed editorial strategy. The New Year does not find the daily paper at its best, and the first two pages make a weak bid for attention. Coming after the rhetoric of the "Eulogy" (Lister Sinclair), they are, indeed, flat.

But this calendar is only the frame for a subtler pattern, which is soon perceptible: a pattern which can make two pieces of dull writing more interesting than one; which juxtaposes laconic understatement and inconsequential garrulity; which by excerpts of artless and mindless reportage suggests how unself-conscious

history in the making really is. Thus the *Daily News Advertiser* struggles to rise to the occasion of May 23, 1887:—

"At 12:45 while all were straining their eyes eastwards, the loud whistle of the engine was heard. 'Here she comes! Here she comes!' was heard on all sides. . . . A minute later, amidst the cheers of the people, ringing of bells, and the shrill cry of the locomotive whistle, THE FIRST THROUGH PASSENGER TRAIN entered the station and pulled up in Vancouver" (p. 30).

Here and there are little ironies, nuances achieved by sensitive and alert editorship. Cliché-studded sentiments of a reporter who heard history recalled at a Board of Trade (Requiem?) luncheon for the Old Vancouver Hotel—"the noblest Roman of them all" (!)—stand beside R. M. Patterson's Sikanni Chief River narrative. "Rivers were the only highways of the North in those days," Patterson concludes, "and only a river could have produced unrehearsed buffoonery of that calibre" (p. 28). Again, pointed juxtaposition makes witty comment:—

"July 20, 1871, *Victoria Daily British Colonist*.—Today British Columbia and Canada joined hands and hearts across the Rocky Mountains, and John Bull the younger stands with one foot on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific—with his back to the North Pole and his face looking southward—how far we will not now venture to predict. . . .

"At 12 o'clock last night there were manifestations of great rejoicing in the city. Bells were rung, guns fired, blue lights and Roman candles burned, and crackers snapped. And people met on the streets and shook hands with and congratulated each other, and cheered and cheered and cheered. . . . They were celebrating the Birth of Liberty."

"WE SUPPOSE, of course, it must be that British Columbia will secede from the Union. We can assure our friends on the Pacific Coast that there is no small proportion of the people of the Dominion who would gladly welcome a serious proposal for the repeal of that Union which has made British Columbia a member of the Canadian Confederation."—*Times* (Ottawa, 1874).

Change, far more than settlement, is the characteristic of the West. And this is one of the themes the editor has unobtrusively played upon. A paragraph from Simon Fraser's account of his passage over the rocks of the canyon at Hell's Gate stands beside a press report of the first leg of a pioneer flight from Vancouver to Calgary. Fraser records that he was "kindly entertained" by the natives. "The two flyers were guests of honour at a banquet and ball" at Chilliwack. From Fraser the reader learns something of the difficult passage: "steps which are formed like a ladder . . . by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of immense precipices and fastened to both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the Natives"; the paper reports that "the aviators flew over the sixty-five miles"—in fifty-five minutes. Such contrasts tell a story. Far from being a mere scrap-book as one reviewer has suggested, the section is cleverly arranged and full of interest.

In "The Sea Our Doorway," the next division of the *Anthology*, the organization is less involved: selections in one way or another all touch life on the Coast.

The sequence is skilfully ordered to give the strongest impression of variety in subject and in tone. If the writing is occasionally lame, the general level is sustained by such able prose and verse as "The Stare" (Emily Carr), "Diplomat's Fish" (Roderick Haig-Brown), "Harmony Island" (George Woodcock), and "Pacific Door" (Earle Birney). No doubt personal tastes would make certain changes. The selection from Malcolm Lowry does not do him justice. The local allusions to Stanley Park possibly account for the choice of "The Bravest Boat." It is true, Ethel Wilson has written better stories than "Hurry, Hurry!" yet who would omit from the *Anthology* the passage about the sandpipers, which "ran along the wet sands as if they were on wheels," which "whispered and whimpered together as they ran, stabbing with their long bills into the wet sands. . . ."

For the Coast dweller much of the pleasure to be found in this section will be owing to his discovery and recognition of the character of the places and of the life around him to-day and yesterday. To be sure his interest should be in no way limited to "The Sea Our Doorway."

The third division of the book, "Mountains Enfold Us," commits itself to carry out the same kind of design followed in "The Sea Our Doorway." With some truth it has been said that the chief feature of the Province is its emptiness; and there is not much writing, it may be supposed, whereby to reflect life among the mountains of the Interior. The masterly sonnet "So They Went Deeper into the Forest . . ." (Roy Daniells) does not really belong here but rather in "Corridors of Our Spirit." The natural opener for this section is the Gallic commentary "Divided into Three Parts" (Bruce Hutchison). One can talk about the geography of the country, it seems, but mountains are inarticulate; and people who are enfolded by them are, even when found, not often communicative of anything distinctive. The editor is perhaps whimsically aware of his difficulty. The subscript wittily chosen to follow the above article does not, of course, commit the editor, nor the reader, nor anyone else for that matter—except the man who wrote it: "I WOULD NOT give the bleakest knoll on the bleakest hill of Scotland, for all these mountains in a heap.—Captain John Gordon (1844)." But it is the kind of thing that has been said with feeling again and again about British Columbia by the exiles who have formed a considerable number of its first people and whose sons and daughters are native British Columbians. The paradox of our wild and spacious land is that it is largely inhabited by an urban population, who have little or no love for the wilderness except to drive through it in luxurious cars on expensive highways—the faster the better. "The Call of the North is pretty faint by the time it reaches me," writes the comic—and most British Columbians can safely laugh at themselves in "Declined with Thanks" (Eric Nicol) within the privacy of their own reading. As Erasmus said, only the fool can speak the truth. Here at least is part of the truth, and it is one of the themes that subtly emerges as a result of conscious editing. The third selection, again, is a sensitive little poem entitled "Down Beacon Hill." It communicates a familiar experience—but the sentiment and the place are well out of reach of those mountains.

Still, the range of interest widens considerably. "Gold Rushing with Father" (Guy Lawrence) is the real thing and bears rereading very well. "Bush Pilot" (Pierre Berton) is a vivid but unassuming piece of writing which communicates

the reality of the hazards quietly accepted by the modern pioneer. There is much besides, which supports the counter theme. The writing is honest and not forced.

In the latter sections of the *Anthology*—"The Glow of Our Lamps" and "Corridors of Our Spirit"—the editorial mood appropriately changes. The principle of arrangement is less confining, the material is consequently more diversified, and the quality of the writing is better sustained. Poetry and imaginative writing appear more often. Because almost everywhere there is a surer touch, the editor has to resort less often to skilful juxtaposition and surprising subscript.

Within "The Glow of Our Lamps" occur attitudes and moods as diverse as the gentle nostalgia of "Smoke Dreams" (Frederick Niven) and the unsentimental independence of "Greenville" (Emily Carr). Thus, the story of the Schuberts' grim journey overland and by raft to Fort Kamloops in 1862 ("Kamloops Baby," by Joan Greenwood) is direct and circumstantial; whereas the tale of the lonely Englishwoman who came out to the Gulf Islands to survive on a pittance but died in penury is filled with pathos ("Mrs. Absalom," by Anne Marriott). Yet both experiences are endemical. Again, one is grateful for such pieces as "A Day in Fort Victoria" (John Sebastian Helmcken) and the amusing history of St. Peter's in Windermere ("Bell, Book and Scandal," by Alec Shaw). Nearly all selections somehow contribute to the total consciousness of belonging to this country.

The strength and individuality of much of the verse throughout the volume and especially in these last sections is remarkable. The contribution of the poets to the book is far greater than the mere volume of their writing. They say much that the prose writers do not attempt to say. To mention only one poem, for instance, which is particularly hard to shake off, "Pacific Afternoon" (Floris McLaren) distils from the felling of a lonely tree the sharp consciousness of the change from wilderness to suburbia. The poem defies piecemeal quotation.

"Corridors of Our Spirit" is, perhaps, most memorable for the portraits of significant figures in the life and manners of British Columbia: "Frontier Judge" (Sydney Pettit), "The Lady Nobody Knows" (Marion B. Smith), "Canadian Citizen Number 0388" (McKenzie Porter), "Mr. Good Evening" (Norman Cribbens), and "The Passionate Princess" (Jack Scott). Belonging with these is the poem "Emily Carr" (Wilfred Watson), a worthy tribute to the artist whose indomitable and passionate spirit achieved the signature that is more certainly of this place than anything else we can claim:—

. . . as for John of Patmos, the river of life
Burned for you an emerald and jasper smoke
And down the valley you looked and saw
All wilderness become transparent vapour,
A ghostly underneath a fleshly stroke,
And every bush an apocalypse of leaf.

In bringing writing of such vigour and sincerity within the knowledge of the common reader, surely this delightfully modest volume performs a service to both reader and writer. Good taste and wise editing have made more than a mere contribution to the Centennial Year.

More praise is due, it is felt, to the words than to the pictures. The photographs judged as photographs are of a certain standard of excellence, but, occasionally, editing comes too close to the sort of thing that the slick picture maga-

zines have made commonplace—not to mention travel brochures. With firmer discretion, for example, "Follow the birds to Victoria" would have been omitted. Again, the selection is not fairly representative. Vancouver Island has far more than its due share. Some significant aspects of life and scene which, it is felt, ought to have been included, are overlooked.

It might have been better to have depended only upon the paintings and drawings of B.C. artists on B.C. subjects to complement the writing, and to have restricted the photographic subject to the work of art. Where such art is reproduced as full page illustrations, the book is the better for them; but the huddle entitled "A Gallery of Contemporary B.C. Painting" does nothing for the book or for B.C. painting. Other pages, also, are cluttered by trying to include too much. Indeed, the task of collecting and publishing photographs and art reproductions might well have been devoted to a separate volume.

RODNEY POISSON.

VICTORIA COLLEGE,
VICTORIA, B.C.

Ready for the Fray; The History of the Canadian Scottish Regiment (Deas Gu Cath) (Princess Mary's), 1920-1955. By R. H. Roy. Vancouver: The Trustees, The Canadian Scottish Regiment (Princess Mary's), 1958. Pp. xiii, 509. Maps and Ills. \$6.50.

The broad areas and events of World War II are not likely to be lost sight of in the near future; we have witnessed in recent years a spate of memoirs written by war leaders. But a war is fought and won, not only by the concerted action of large numbers of units, but also by the courage and competence of the individual soldiers who compose them and do the actual fighting. Their story is told in part by war diaries, official reports, operation orders, and other similar documents; but much more of the details repose in private papers and in the memories of those who have survived the events. For these reasons it is of the utmost importance that regimental histories be written as soon as possible after the happenings they chronicle.

The Canadian Scottish must consider itself fortunate in having found Mr. R. H. Roy to write the story of the regiment and in having it published within less than a decade and a half after the end of hostilities. Mr. Roy, who served in the infantry throughout the war, has the keen eye of a soldier and the trained pen of a historian. Though not a member of the Canadian Scottish, he reveals a close intimacy with its traditions and achievements. The generally serious tone of the narrative is relieved by frequent touches of humour.

Reliable and interesting histories of military units are not numerous. Colonel C. P. Stacey's work, *The Canadian Army, 1939-1945*, set a standard for readable historical writing within such a broad frame of reference. *Ready for the Fray* is on this level of literary merit and at once takes its place in the forefront of works in its own genre. Here we see the various portions of this regiment coming into being, acting in peace and war as part of the nation's armed forces at home and abroad, playing their role on the stage of world events, and stepping aside when their task is done.

Five chapters, viz., I, II, III, V, and XIII, tell of the regiment's origin and of its activities in Canada; the remaining chapters recount the war service overseas of the 1st Battalion. The book begins with a clear account of the organization of the different units of the regiment in the years of peace from 1920 to 1939. The story of the difficulties faced by the Non-Permanent Active Militia in 1920 is patiently told—difficulties which had to be surmounted again in the 1940's under changed conditions. The history of the 2nd Battalion, Active Force, is given in interesting detail—its thorough training and far-flung coastal guard duties on the home front—from its mobilization in September, 1939, to its disbandment, at 13 years of age, in October, 1943. The author deals fairly with the problems consequent on the passing of the N.R.M.A. in June, 1940, by which "H.D. men were called up for continuous service in Canada for the duration of the war." These men were posted in large numbers to the 2nd Battalion Canadian Scottish to take the place of recurring volunteer drafts for overseas service.

A brief account is included of the laudable activities of the 3rd (Reserve) Battalion. Founded in 1940 "in order that training of additional troops could be most expeditiously effected," it carried on training at local H.Q. like a pre-war N.P.A.M. Unit. It kept alive regimental traditions "while the 1st Battalion was overseas and following the disbandment of the 2nd Battalion." Eight hundred all ranks passed through it into the active force.

Throughout the history the author shows a notable appreciation of the long and intricate process by which a man is prepared for a soldier's career, and especially for modern combat duties. "Training starts when the recruit is taught how to march in step and goes by progressive stages to a point where he is one of a battalion team in which the entire unit moves, thinks, and acts as a unified hard-hitting force."

A graphic description is given of the realistic training and coastal guard duties of the 1st Battalion from its arrival in England in August, 1941. Frequent exercises of increasing complexity were held, weaving into the Unit's preparation the lessons learned at Dieppe and in Allied operations in Africa and Italy. From July, 1943, to June, 1944, the battalion underwent "a programme of combined operations training which would test the brains as well as the brawn of every individual in the Unit."

One such period was spent at Inverary in Argyllshire, where, in the words of one of the officers, "the sound of the pipes and drums at the head of the battalion marching through the Highlands was an unforgettable experience." All training was now directed "to break and penetrate the enemy defences on the coast of France and to establish a bridgehead for the forces which would follow behind them." Exercise Fabius III, April 27 to May 7, 1944, was "a full-dress rehearsal for D-day."

The author succeeds in conveying the atmosphere of growing tension as the time for launching Operation Overlord approached. Then, on the evening of June 5, the assault forces in their armada of 5,000 ships "drew away from the Isle of Wight until darkness and blackout blotted out the last sight of England." The author adds, dramatically, "It was time to turn in. Reveille on June 6 was early."

The battle story of the battalion, from the beach landings in Normandy on D-day to Operation Duck at the mouth of the River Ems, April 26-30, ten months later, is told in vivid and vigorous language. Here are the six chapter headings: VII, D-day and the Putot Counter Attack; VIII, The Normandy Campaign, Caen; IX, The Breakout—from Hill 168 to Calais; X, The Leopold Canal, The Scheldt and Nijmegen; XI, Clearing the Rhineland—from Nijmegen to Emmerich; XII, From the Rhine to the North Sea. The accompanying maps, skilfully done by Captain C. C. J. Bond, R.C.E., are adequate for the text. A general map of the European war area might have been included. An index would also be useful, both for these chapters and for the rest of the history.

Certain features of this epic story are specially noteworthy. All ranks of the battalion showed conspicuous valour in the offensive battle, waged with varying degrees of intensity from Normandy to the North Sea. In the performance of their tasks the medical personnel gained "a reputation . . . based solidly on courageous work amid hazardous conditions." Hitherto untried in battle, the regiment carried on the fight victoriously against an enemy who were "led by veterans of Russia, Africa, and elsewhere." The history records that by 5.30 o'clock on the evening of D-day, "of all the infantry battalions of the assaulting brigades in the British Second Army landing . . . the Canadian Scottish . . . had gone farthest through the enemy's defences"—a penetration of 6 miles from the beach.

The narrative records an interesting coincidence as the troops moved forward into Germany. On March 26, 1945, near Emmerich, when the battalion marched across the Rhine "over the wobbly pontoon bridge . . . the pipes played them over as had other pipers 'played over' the 16th Battalion C.E.F. a quarter of a century previously." Frequent examples also are cited of the important role of the Pipe Band in restoring or maintaining the morale of battle-weary soldiers.

As in World War I, the end came abruptly for the Forces in the field when, on May 4, word was received from the brigade that "as of eight o'clock on the following morning, May 5, a 'cease fire' would come into effect." The battalion war diarist made this entry: "It was hard to realize that it was true and there would be no more fighting." They were inside Germany on the Netherlands border, a few miles from the great naval port of Wilhelmshaven.

On the afternoon of May 5, in the old Lutheran church in Aurich-Oldendorf, a very moving service of thanksgiving and remembrance was held, which the historian records as "one of the largest congregations since the Unit left England." Some of those present would doubtless recall that on September 10, 1939, the day on which Canada formally declared war, "the Canadian Scottish attended a special service in Christ Church Cathedral," (Victoria). Of this earlier occasion the author writes: "What had to be accomplished in the years ahead could not be completed by physical strength alone."

The story of the subsequent tasks of the 1st Battalion in Germany and Holland is completed in Chapter XII, which takes the Unit via Nijmegen and Calais to Aldershot in the second week of November. This chapter also describes the formation of the 4th/1st Battalion and outlines its duties with the "Occupational Force" until the battalion was dissolved in England, in April, 1946.

Chapter XIII brings the 1st Battalion home "to a tumultuous welcome by the people of Victoria and the surrounding districts." The account of the post-war activities of the regiment is then carried forward to 1955 when the history is brought to an artistic and appropriate end with a description of the visit to Victoria of the Colonel-in-Chief, Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal, who has written a warm-hearted letter to accompany her photograph as the frontispiece of the book.

Each of the eight appendices has its own special interest. Three contain casualties, Fatal, Non-Fatal, and Prisoners of War. One appendix each is devoted to Awards and Decorations; The Women's Auxiliary (to whose work frequent tribute is paid in the body of the history); The Cadet Corps; Names of Regimental and Battalion Commanders; List of Battle Honours. General H. G. D. Crerar, C.H., C.B., D.S.O., writes the Foreword.

This volume is a worthy companion to *The History of the 16th Battalion (Canadian Scottish) Canadian Expeditionary Force*, whose author, the late Colonel H. M. Urquhart, D.S.O., M.C., did so much to promote the welfare and esprit de corps of the "daughter" regiment.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI

ARTICLES:	PAGE
<i>Some Early Historians of British Columbia.</i> By Walter N. Sage	1
<i>The First Capital of British Columbia: Langley or New Westminster?</i> By Dorothy Blakey Smith	15
<i>Welsh Gold-miners in British Columbia during the 1860's.</i> By Alan Conway	51
<i>The Abuse of Greatness.</i> By James A. Gibson	75
<i>British Columbia: A Bibliography of Centennial Publications, 1957-1959.</i> By Nina Napier	199
DOCUMENTS:	
<i>The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858-1859.</i> Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Dorothy Blakey Smith.....	83
THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF:	
<i>British Columbia: A History.</i> By W. Kaye Lamb	221
<i>British Columbia: A Centennial Anthology.</i> By Rodney Poisson	223
<i>Ready for the Fray.</i> By Harry T. Logan	227
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE	230
INDEX	231

INDEX

- A. L. Bancroft and Company, 5
Abuse of greatness, The, 75-82
 Acapulco, 110
Adams River spawning grounds, October 10-13, 1958, Salute to the sockeye, B.C. unique centennial event, 210
Adventures in cooking, 212
Agassiz-Harrison valley, history and development, The, 213
 Alberni Mining Company, 182
Alert Bay and district, A history of, 206
Allen heart, The, 204
 Allard Jason, 161, 195, 196
 Allard Ovid, 151, 161, 185, 195, 196
 Alston, Mrs. Anna Maria, 135, 194, 195
 American Theatre, San Francisco, 114
Amor De Cosmos, 212
 Anderson, Aili Sophia, *History of Sointula*, 201
 Anderson, Alexander Caulfield, 6, 18, 130, 133, 146, 153
 Anderson, James R., 6, 186
 Anderson Lake, 156, 157
 Angela College, Victoria, 190
 Angelo, Charles Aubrey, 141, 161
Anglican Church in British Columbia, The, 200, 209
 Annacis Island, 26, 27
 Antler Bedrock Flume Company, 165
Architects of British Columbia, The early, 218
 Armstrong, W. J., 92
 Arnold, Abraham Jay, *Sing and dance, a narrative script for folk festivals*, 201
Artists, What B.C. means to nine of its best, 217
 Aspinwall, William H., 105
 Aspinwall, 105, 106
 Assembly Rooms, Victoria, 140
Au Pays de l'Ours Noir, 9
 Auld, W. H., comp., *Opening of the far West, a pictorial history of British Columbia*, 206
 Australian House, Victoria, 138
Ayrshire cattle breeding at Edenbank Farm, 1858-1958, 212
- B.C. celebrates its centenary*, 216
B.C. centennial, 214
B.C. centennial is continuous many-ringed circus, 216
B.C. sketch book, 216
B.C. sugar, 202
 Baby, Capt. F. R., 106
 Bagley, C. B., 12
 Baker, Mount, 128, 185
 Ball, Henry Maynard, 91
 Bancroft, Albert L., 5
 Bancroft, Azariah Ashley, 5
 Bancroft, Mrs. Emily, 5
 Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 1, 2, 4-7, 9
 Bancroft, H. H., and Company, 5
 Bancroft Library, 6, 7
 Bank of British North America, Victoria, 195
Baptist Churches of British Columbia, 1882-1958, The Convention of, 204
Barbara Pentland, 217
 Barker, William, 176
 Barker Company, 176
 Barnard, F. J., 179
- Barnston, John George, 144, 162
 Bartlett, Columbus, 130, 143, 162
 Bayley, Felicité, 162
 Bayley, John, 137, 138, 162
 Baynes, Admiral R. Lambert, 107, 145
 Baynes Sound, 182
 Beacon Hill Park, Victoria, 119, 120
Beaver Valley & Pend d'Oreille districts, History of, 213
 Bedford, Charles John Ryland, 86, 101, 102, 104, 106, 113, 118, 120, 122, 127-131, 139, 144, 162, 163
 Bedford, Francis Ryland, 163
 Beehive Hotel, Victoria, 167
Beekeeping in British Columbia, 1858-1958, One hundred years of, 211
 Begbie, Matthew Baillie, 33, 35, 37, 38, 87-90, 94, 98, 99, 117, 118, 120, 122-125, 135-151, 154-160, 163, 176
 Begg, Alexander, 1
 Begg, Alexander (C.C.), 1, 7, 8, 14
 Begg, Mrs. Emily Maria, 7, 8
 Begg, Robert A., 8
 Begg, Roderick Norman, 8
 Belcher, Capt. Sir Edward, 192
 Bell, James, 114
 Bella Coola, 187
 Belsham, Alice, comp., *History of Fort George*, 201
 Bennett, William Andrew Cecil, *British Columbia celebrates, a message and invitation*, 214
 Bentinck Arm, 186, 187
 Berens, H. H., 173
 Berton, Pierre, *A native's return to B.C.*, 214
Bessborough district, The, 212
Bibliography of centennial publications, 1957-1959, British Columbia: A, 199-220
 Bidwell, Charles T., 107
 Big Bend, Columbia River, 74
 Birch, Arthur N., 91
Birth of British Columbia, The, 217
Bit of Okanagan history, A, 206
 Blackwell, Edward, 68
 Blackwood, Arthur, 30-33, 35-39, 41, 43
 Blake, George Lascelles, 44, 143, 145, 163, 164
 Blanshard, Richard, 77, 118
 Blinkhorn, Thomas, 167
Blue duck's feather and eagle down, a one-act verse play, 208
 Bolton, Rev. W. W., 12, 95
 Bolton, Mrs. W. W., 95
 Bompas, Rev. W. C., 9
 Bonnett, Amable, 155
 Boston Bar, 151
Bowen Island story, The, 205
 Boyer, David S., *British Columbia, life begins at 100*, 214
 Brew, Chartres, 92, 118, 122, 127, 128, 149, 164, 175, 178
 Bridge River, 155
 Bridges, Victoria, 119
 Briggs, William, 9
Bright, Cedar, Cranberry and Oyster districts, lying approximately between Bush Creek and Nanaimo River, A history of, 204

- British Columbia: a bibliography of centennial publications, 1957-1959, 199-220*
British Columbia: a centennial anthology, 212; review of, 223-227
British Columbia, a century of progress and prosperity, 214
British Columbia: a history, 199, 200, 209; review of, 221-222
British Columbia and Victoria Navigation Company, 165
British Columbia celebrates a centennial, 214
British Columbia celebrates, a message and invitation from the Hon. W. A. C. Bennett, Premier of B.C., 214
British Columbia centenary, a century to celebrate, 1858-1958, 206
British Columbia centennial, 216
British Columbia Centennial Committee, British Columbia sings: Centennial school songs, 201; Day of prayer, April 27, 1958, 201; Ethnic groups in British Columbia, a selected bibliography, 201; From wilderness to wonderland, a pageant of British Columbia history, 201; From wilderness to wonderland, a pageant of British Columbia history, expanded version, 201; A guide to community organization of the B.C. centennial celebrations, 201; The report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, 201; So you want to write your community's history, 202; Then and now, a film strip, 202
British Columbia centennial year, 215
British Columbia, Dept. of Education, Division of Curriculum, Teaching programme for the centennial, 202
British Columbia, 1858-1958, 217
British Columbia from the earliest times to the present, 2
British Columbia, Government Travel Bureau, British Columbia, land of romance, "from wilderness to wonderland," 202
British Columbia Historical Association, 1, 3, 13
British Columbia in pictures, 205
British Columbia, land of romance, 202
British Columbia: life begins at 100, 214
British Columbia Mining Record, 1
British Columbia official centennial record, 1858-1958, 202
British Columbia official centennial record, 1858-1958, revised edition, 202
British Columbia sings: centennial school songs, 201
British Columbia: Sixty Years of Progress, 2, 11
British Columbia Steam Navigation Company, 184
British Columbia Sugar Refining Company, 200; B.C. Sugar, 202
British Columbia: The first capital of, Langley or New Westminster? 15-50
British Columbia: the people's early story, 205
British Columbia, with Canadian Rocky Mountain national parks, 211
British Columbians are snobs, 199, 217
British Columbia's centennial calendar, 1958, 212
British Columbia's centenary, 216
British Columbia's first century, 216
British Columbia's peripatetic press, 217
Brotchie, William, 142, 163
Brown, Wallace William, Port Mellon, B.C., 202
Bruckman, Rillie, 101-103
Buckskin Cookery, 200, 207
Bull, John Augustus, 191
Bullen, Douglas B. Fitzherbert, 97-99
Bullen, Mrs. W. Fitzherbert, 84, 95, 97
Bullen, William Fitzherbert, 95
Burgoyne, Sir John, 36
Burnaby, Robert, 44, 86, 88, 98, 103, 104, 106, 108, 117, 118, 120-124, 129-131, 133, 135, 137-139, 142, 143, 145, 163-165, 183
Burnaby Historical Society, Prize winning essays on Burnaby history, 202
Burns, Flora Hamilton, The grand collaboration, 215
Burrard Inlet, 164, 165, 183
Burton, British Columbia, "our days before yesterday," 209
Bushby, Agnes Jane—see Bolton, Mrs. W. W.
Bushby, Anne, 84
Bushby, Mrs. Anne Sarah, 84
Bushby, Annie Amelia—see Bullen, Mrs. W. Fitzherbert
Bushby, Arthur Thomas, 83-160; extract from the journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 101-160
Bushby, Mrs. Arthur T., 85, 87, 89, 90, 94-97, 99, 118, 122, 123, 130, 131, 174
Bushby, Arthur Thomas, The journal of, 1858-1859, 83-198
Bushby, Ella Gertrude—see Hopwood, Mrs. Herbert Reginald
Bushby, Ella M., 84
Bushby, George Gordon, 95-97
Bushby, Jane Margaret, 84
Bushby, Joseph, 84
Bushby, Joseph William, 84
Bushby, Lucy, 84
Bushby, Mary Matilda, 96
Bushby, Matilda Maria, 84
Business in B.C.: poorest boom in years shows upward climb, 215
Cameron, Cecilia Eliza Cowan, 197
Cameron, David, 90, 165, 166, 169, 197
Canada, Dept. of National Defence, Navy, Orders for the British Columbia centenary naval review and fleet visits, 9-23 July 1958, 203
Canada, Dept. of National Defence, Navy, Souvenir programme of the British Columbia centenary naval review, by H.R.H. the Princess Margaret, and associated naval activities, 203
Canada, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fort Langley, national historic park, 203
Canadian Creek, 57
Canadian Lumberman, 7
Canadian News, 48, 49
Canadian Rocky Mountain national parks, British Columbia, with, 211

- Canadian Scottish Regiment (Princess Mary's), ready for the fray (Deas gu cath); The history of the*, 210; review of, 227-230
Capital of British Columbia, The first: Langley or New Westminster? 15-50
 Card, Stewart, 109
 Cardwell, Edward, 198
 Cariboo, 52, 54-74
 Cariboo Amateur Dramatic Association, 91
 Cariboo Road, 59, 70, 183
Cariboo story, The, 200, 207
Carr, Emily, an appreciation, 215
 Carrier Indians, 9
 Carroll, Campbell, *Three Bar, the story of Douglas Lake*, 200, 203
 Carson, Robert, 108
 Cary, George Hunter, 166
 Cayoosh, 155
Cedar, Cranberry and Oyster districts, lying approximately between Bush Creek and Nainimo River, A history of Bright, 204
 Cemeteries, Victoria, 142
Centennial anniversary of the arrival of the pioneer nuns in Victoria, B.C., June 5, 1858—100—June 5, 1958, 210
Centennial commentary upon the early days of Squamish, British Columbia, A, 211
Centennial issues of Newspapers, 218-220
Centennial issues of Periodicals, 213-218
Centennial oldtimers party, 211
Centennial publications, 1957-1959, British Columbia: a bibliography of, 199-220
Centennial summer, beautiful British Columbia celebrates its 100th birthday, 215
Century of home furnishing, A, 215
 Chadwick, Vivienne Charlton, *The invisible line, a play in one act*, 203
 Chagres River, 105
 Cheadle, Walter Butler, 174
 Chiappini, J. D., 8
Chilcotin, History and legends of the, 211
 Chilcotin Indians, 8
 Chilliwack, B.C., Golden Jubilee Committee, *The city of Chilliwack, British Columbia. Golden Jubilee, 1908-1958*, 203
Chilliwack, British Columbia, The city of. Golden Jubilee, 1908-1958, 203
 Chinese in Victoria, 141, 142
 Chinook jargon, 119, 149, 150, 154-156, 158, 159
Christ Church Cathedral organ, Victoria, British Columbia, The rebuilding of, 217
 Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, 117, 119, 138, 171, 172, 174
 Christie, James E., *The story of Okanagan Falls*, 203
 Church of England, Liturgy and Ritual, British Columbia Centenary Service, *Westminster Abbey. Service of thanksgiving on the occasion of the centenary of British Columbia, and of the consecration of the Right Reverend George Hills as first bishop*, 203
 Church of England, Liturgy and Ritual, Civic Service, Bournemouth, 1958, *St. Peter's Bournemouth. Civic service, 1958 . . . and commemoration of the founder of British Columbia, Richard Clement Moody, 1813-1887*, 203
 Church of Our Lord, Victoria, 172
 Church of St. John the Divine, Langley, 171
Citizenship in British Columbia (from 1858 to confederation), The story of. A dramatization for Citizenship Day, July 1, 1958, 207
City and the store, The, 205
City of Chilliwack, British Columbia, The. Golden Jubilee, 1908-1958, 203
 Cleasby, Henry Standley, *The Nicola Valley in review*, 204
 Clifton House, Victoria, 196
 Coats, Dr. R. H., 11
 Cobham, G. S., 98, 132
 Coccola, N., 8
 Cochrane, John J., 88, 104, 106, 123, 124, 129, 130, 137, 166
 Coleridge, Derwent, 132
 Colon, 105
 Colonial Church and School Society, 171
 Colonial Hotel, Victoria, 141, 142
 Colonial Restaurant, Victoria, 130
 Colquhoun, D., 164
 Colville, Andrew, 117
 Colwood, 182
 Comer, Raymond Westley, *Glenmore, the apple valley*, 204
 Commercial Hotel, Victoria, 130
 Commerell, John Edmund, 84
 Conklin's Gulch, 69
 Connolly, Amelia—see Douglas, Lady
 Connolly, William, 6
 Conolly, William, 121
 Constance Cove, 193
 Convention of Baptist Churches of British Columbia, The, *The Convention of Baptist Churches of British Columbia, 1862-1958. B.C. centennial year, 1858-1958*, 204
 Conway, Alan, *Welsh gold-miners in British Columbia during the 1860's*, 51-74
 Conway, Benjamin, 68
 Cook, James, 76-78, 127
Cooking, Adventures in, 212
 Cooper, James, 107, 129, 165-168
 Copland, John, 119, 136, 137, 143, 168, 169
 Copland, Mrs. John, 119, 136, 137, 143, 169
 Coquihalla Valley, 146
Coquitlam and Fraser Mills, 1858-1958, A history of, 208
 Corbitt, Harry Wellington, *The history of Kaleden*, 204
 Cornish Bar, 147, 148
 Cornwall, C. F., 188
 Cottingham, Mollie, *Growing pains, the story of the growth of education in a booming province*, 215
 Cottonwood, 59
 Cottonwood River, 52
 Courts, British Columbia, 88-91, 129, 131, 142, 144, 145, 147-150, 154, 165, 166, 175, 176, 178
 Coutts, Margaret Ellen, *Dawson Creek, past and present, an historical sketch*, 204
 Cox, William George, 149, 169, 170, 186
 Coxhead, Letitia, 135
 Craigflower Farm, 182

- Cranberry and Oyster districts, A history of*
Bright, Cedar, lying approximately between
Bush Creek and Nanaimo River, 204
- Crease, Capt. Henry, 170
- Crease, Henry Paring Pellew, 42, 88, 118, 121,
 123, 129, 130, 133-139, 142-145, 170, 171
- Crease, Lindley, 171
- Cree alphabet, 1
- Crickmer, Rev. W. Burton, 20, 32, 49, 86, 98,
 104, 106, 109, 114, 128-130, 132, 148, 171
- Cridge, Rev. Edward, 87, 95, 117, 122, 130-132,
 138, 142, 171, 172, 190
- Crofters, 1, 7, 8
- Crosby, Elisha Oscar, 137, 172
- Crown Zellerbach, Canada, Ltd., Richmond
 Division, *A history of the municipality of*
Richmond, 204
- Cuhelyn—see Price, Thomas Gwallter
- Cunningham claim, 64
- Currie, Sir Arthur, *A Victoria real estate man,*
the enigma of, 215
- Dall, Capt., 132
- Dallas, Alexander Grant, 118, 122, 138, 140,
 153, 166, 172-174
- Dallas, Mrs. Alexander Grant, 118, 131, 133,
 135, 138, 172, 173
- Davies, E. W., 69
- Davies, John, 70-73
- Davies, R., 73, 74
- Davis, John, 72
- Dawson Creek, past and present, an historical*
sketch, 204
- Day of prayer, April 27, 1958, 201*
- De Cosmos, Amor, 212*
- De Courcy, Capt. Michael, 139
- Defrese, 107
- Demers, Bishop Modeste, 127, 142
- Déné Syllabery, 9
- Derby, George H., 4, 5
- Derby, 19-21, 32, 46, 49, 125
- De Wiederhold, Augustus E. F., 175
- De Wiederhold, Augustus E. L., 175
- Dickens Fellowship, New Westminster, 3
- Dickson, Campbell & Company, 88, 136, 182
- Dickson, De Wolf & Company, 136
- Diogenes—see McEvoy, Bernard
- Discovery Company, 57
- Donahoe, Thomas, 123, 124, 129
- Dorman, John, 187
- Dorman, Mary Elizabeth, 187
- Douglas, Lady, 6, 87, 99, 131
- Douglas, Agnes—see Bushby, Mrs. Arthur T.
- Douglas, Alice, 118, 174, 175
- Douglas, Cecilia, 119
- Douglas, James, 6, 11, 16-51, 53, 54, 59, 74,
 83-90, 117-122, 125-128, 130-133, 136, 138-
 142, 145, 147-149, 153, 156, 157, 161, 164,
 165, 167, 169-175, 178-181, 183, 185, 187-190,
 195-198
- Douglas, James William, 119
- Douglas, Jane—see Dallas, Mrs. Alexander
 Grant
- Douglas, Martha—see Harris, Mrs. Dennis
- Duncan, Frances Imogene, *The Sayward-Kelsey*
Bay saga, 204
- Du Vernet, Mrs. E. O., *British Columbia cen-*
tennial year, 215
- Eagle Pass, 183
- Early architects of British Columbia, The, 218*
- Early history of British Columbia, proclaimed*
a crown colony in 1858, The. An exhibition
of documents at the Public Record Office,
July, 1958, 205
- Early history of the Presbyterian Church in*
British Columbia, 210
- Early mapping of British Columbia, 1566-1858,*
The, 217
- Ecroyd, Lawrence G., *Business in B.C.: poor-*
est boom in years shows upward climb, 215
- Edenbank Farm, 1858-1958, B.C.'s centennial*
year, Ayrshire cattle breeding at, 212
- Edenshaw, Chief, 122
- Elias, 60
- Elliott, Gordon Raymond, *Quesnel, commercial*
centre of the Cariboo gold rush, 200, 204;
So you want to write your community's his-
tory, 202
- Ellison district, 1858-1958, The history of, 211*
- Elwyn, Thomas, 86, 88, 98, 104, 106, 118, 120-
 122, 128, 131, 148, 155, 175, 178
- Emery, Anthony, *A century of home furnish-*
ing, 215
- Emily Carr, an appreciation, 215*
- Emory Bar, 147
- Enderby, 122
- England, Robert, *A Victoria real estate man,*
the enigma of Sir Arthur Currie, 215
- Ericson claim, 57
- Esquimalt, 25, 26, 61, 116, 138, 139
- Ethnic groups in British Columbia, a selected*
bibliography based on a check-list of material
in the Provincial Library and Archives, 201
- Evans, Evan, 63-64
- Evans, Rev. James, 1
- Evans, John, 67-69
- Evans, Mary Ellen, 68
- Evans, Sonya Loftness, *Centennial summer,*
beautiful British Columbia celebrates its
100th birthday, 215
- Evans, Taliesin, 68
- Ewer, Rev. F. C., 114
- Fairfield Farm, 120
- Fairweather, the centennial summit, 217*
- Falkner, Evelyn R., 114
- Falkner, Bell & Co., 116, 118
- Fawcett, Edgar, 117, 131, 138, 142
- Fellowship of Arts, New Westminster, 3
- Female Infirmary, Victoria, 133
- Firkins, Yvonne, *The alien heart, 204*
- First annual Vancouver International Festival,*
July 19-August 16, final announcement, 212
- First capital of British Columbia, The: Langley*
or New Westminster? 15-50
- Flood, 141
- Fort Fraser, History of, 201*
- Fort Langley Journal, 7*
- Fort Langley, national historic park, 203*
- Fort Yale, 213*
- Forts and trading-posts, Boise, 161; Dallas,
 153; Hope, 15-19, 94, 128, 146-148, 161, 180,
 186; Langley, 13, 15-21, 24, 26-30, 32, 33,
 37, 45, 49, 51, 125-128, 144, 145, 147, 153,
 161, 163, 185, 197; Pend d'Oreille, 186;
 Rupert, 184; St. James, 9, 10; Shepherd,
 186; Simpson, 184; Vancouver, 119, 124;

- Victoria, 76, 86, 119, 171, 185, 186, 188-190, 193, 195; Yale, 16-19, 33, 58, 69, 128, 147, 148, 161, 195, 196
- Foster, George Foster, 135-137, 176, 177
- Foster Bar, 155
- Fountain, 154, 155,
- Frain, Capt. James, 116
- François Lake, The story of a north-central settlement, the southside of*, 210
- Franklin, Edward, 177
- Franklin, Sir John, 192, 193
- Franklin, Lumley, 168, 177
- Franklin, Selim, 133, 135-137, 141, 177
- Fraser, Blair, *The rise and fall of Social Credit*, 215
- Fraser, Donald, 61, 173
- Fraser, Simon, 76
- Fraser, Thomas, 84
- Fraser Canyon, 68
- Fraser Mills, 1858-1958, A history of Coquitlam and*, 208
- Fraser River, 16-18, 24-30, 33, 34, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 128, 147-149, 153
- Freemasons, British Columbia, 165
- Freemasons, Victoria, 172, 187
- Freemasonry in British Columbia, A history of the early days of*, 205
- Fremont, Col. F. C., 53
- Friesach, Carl, *The gold rush on the Fraser, an eye-witness account of the British Columbia gold rush of 1858*, 215
- From the beginning, 1858-1958*, 209
- From wilderness to wonderland, a pageant of British Columbia history*, 201
- From wilderness to wonderland, a pageant of British Columbia history, expanded version*, 201
- Gabriel, Theresa, *Vernon, British Columbia, a brief history*, 204
- Gaggin, John Boles, 185
- Galloway, Mrs. Allan, comp., *A history of Bright, Cedar, Cranberry and Oyster districts, lying approximately between Bush Creek and Nanaimo River*, 204
- Gamble, William George, *A history of the early days of Freemasonry in British Columbia*, 205
- Gardner, Ray, *The salty Princesses of the Pacific coast*, 215
- Garrett, Anne, *The Bowen Island story*, 205
- Garry Point, 27
- Gas, Victoria, 120
- Gastineau, John, 166
- Gellatly, Dorothy, *A bit of Okanagan history*, 205
- German-Canadians in British Columbia, A history of the*, 209
- Gibson, James A., *The abuse of greatness*, 75-82
- Gibsons, B.C., Elphinstone Junior-Senior High School, *Milestone*, 1958, 205
- Gitwangag, 1858 to Kitwanga, 1958*, 199, 206
- Glenmore, the apple valley*, 204
- Gold and green cookbook*, 211
- Gold in the Cariboo*, 200, 207
- Gold-miners in British Columbia during the 1860's, Welsh*, 51-74
- Gold mines, Cariboo, 52, 54-74
- Gold mines, Columbia River, 74
- Gold mines, Fraser River, 51, 52, 83, 147, 148
- Gold mines, Kootenay, 74
- Gold mines, Stickeen, 63
- Gold mines, Thompson River, 51, 53
- Gold nuggets, 56, 57
- Gold rush on the Fraser, an eye-witness account of the British Columbia gold rush of 1858, The*, 215
- Golden, B.C., Centennial Committee, Historical Branch, *Golden memories of the town where the turbulent Kicking Horse meets the mighty Columbia*, 205
- Golden city, centennial and fall fair programme, Rossland, B.C., The*, 209
- Golden memories of the town where the turbulent Kicking Horse meets the mighty Columbia*, 205
- Gonzalo Farm, 188-190
- Gooch, Lieut. Thomas Sherlock, 121, 123, 126, 141, 177
- Good, Charles, 54, 174-176
- Goodfellow, John Christie, 20; *The story of Similkameen*, 205
- Gosnell, Mrs. Alice, 10
- Gosnell, R. Edward, 1, 2, 10-12, 40-43
- Gosset, Capt. W. D., 43, 86, 104, 106, 118, 126, 177, 178
- Government House, Victoria, 119
- Gowan, Louisa, 135
- Grace Church, San Francisco, 114
- Grand collaboration, The*, 215
- Grant, John Marshall, 21, 24, 28-30, 38-43, 125, 178
- Grant, Mrs. John Marshall, 126
- Great Britain, Public Record Office, *The early history of British Columbia, proclaimed a crown colony in 1858. An exhibition of documents at the Public Record Office, July 1958*, 205
- Great Fork, 153
- Great Wheel Vor United Mines, 170
- Greater Victoria Centennial Committee, *Review of the Greater Victoria centennial events celebrations, 1858-1958*, 205
- Greatness, The abuse of*, 75-82
- Green, George, 20
- Greyhill Farm, Victoria, 134, 188, 189
- Gribbell, Rev. Frank, 191
- Grier, David, 56, 57
- Griffin, Harold John Michael, *British Columbia, the people's early story*, 205
- Griffiths, William, 68
- Grizzly Company, 57
- Growing pains, the story of the growth of education in a booming province*, 215
- Guide to community organization of the B.C. centennial celebrations, A*, 201
- Haig, Capt. R. W., 121, 131
- Haig-Brown, Roderick L.*, 217
- Haigh, 133
- Hall, 126
- Hambly, Ivan E., 98
- Hamley, Wymond, 168, 181
- Hankin, Charles, 176
- Hankin, Philip J., 198
- Harewood Coal Mine, 61
- Hari, Bill Sion, 65
- Harker, Douglas E., *The city and the store*, 205
- Harrington, Evelyn, *British Columbia in pictures*, 205

- Harris, Mrs. Dennis, 6, 96
 Harris, Thomas, 169
 Harris, William, 59, 65
Harrison Hot Springs and Port Douglas area, healing waters, history of, 209
 Harrison Lake, 68
 Harrison River, 61
 Hartwell, William, 144
 Hawaiian Islands, 127
 Hawks, Mary Susanna—see Moody, Mrs. R. C.
 Haynes, John Carmichael, 86, 98, 109, 114, 117, 121, 128, 129, 131, 148, 149, 175, 178
HBC in B.C., 207
 H.B.C. Tree, 26, 27
 Healey, Elizabeth, *A history of Alert Bay and district*, 206
Healing waters, history of Harrison Hot Springs and Port Douglas area, 209
 Heaton, George William, 130, 133, 135, 136, 138, 143, 178, 179
 Helmcken, Dr. J. S., 22, 40, 119, 122, 165, 167, 173, 185
 Henderson, Edward, 164
 Henderson & Burnaby, 164, 165
 Herbert, 60
 Hewitt, James D. R., 131
 Hicks, Richard, 148, 149, 195
 Hills, George, 83, 172, 175
 Hill's Bar, 33, 147, 148, 175, 186
Historians of British Columbia, Some early, 1-14
 Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 14
 Historiography, 75-82
Historical guide map and story of the city of Rossland, British Columbia, 210
Historical review of Revelstoke, 209
Historical souvenir of Penticton, B.C., 1908-1958, 208
History and legends of the Chilcotin, 211
History of Alert Bay and district, A, 206
History of Beaver Valley & Pend d'Oreille districts, 213
History of Bright, Cedar, Cranberry and Oyster districts, lying approximately between Bush Creek and Nanaimo River, 204
History of British Columbia, Bancroft, 6
History of British Columbia, Begg, 1, 7, 8
History of British Columbia, A, Gosnell, 11
History of Coquitlam and Fraser Mills, 1858-1958, A, 208
History of Ellison district, 1858-1958, The, 211
History of Fort Fraser, 201
History of Kaleden, The, 204
History of Nanoose Bay, A, 208
History of North and South Saanich pioneers and district, 212
History of Okanagan Mission, a centennial retrospect, The, 211
History of Sointula, 201
History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, 9
History of the early days of Freemasonry in British Columbia, A, 205
History of the German-Canadians in British Columbia, A, 209
History of the municipality of Richmond, A, 204
History of the North West, 1
History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, 9, 10
 Holladay, Ben, 113
 Holmes, Marjorie Colquhoun, *Library service in British Columbia, a brief history of its development*, 206
 Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster, 94, 95
 Hope, Jean T., *British Columbia—a century of progress*, 215
 Hopwood, Mrs. Herbert Reginald, 96, 97
 Hornby, Capt. George T. Phipps, 138
 Hospital, Victoria, 132, 133
 Hot Springs, 159
 Hotel de France, Victoria, 117, 118, 121, 129, 130, 137-139
 Houston, B.C., Centennial Committee, *The story of Houston, British Columbia*, 206
Houston, British Columbia, The story of, 206
 Howay, Frederic William, 1-4, 12-14
 Howells, 60
 Hubert Howe Bancroft, 6
 Hudson's Bay Company, 77, 86
 Humphrey, Ruth, *Emily Carr, an appreciation*, 215
 Hunter, Teddy, 121
 Immigration to B.C., 52
In the centennial year of 1958 Maple Ridge invites you: work—live—play, 207
 Indians, burial customs, 149, 154; Queen Charlotte Islands, 122; Victoria, 119
 International Fair, London, 1862, 56, 57
 International Hotel, San Francisco, 112, 115, 116
 International Publishing Company, Vancouver, B.C., *British Columbia centenary, a century to celebrate, 1858-1958*, 206
Invisible line, a play in one act, The, 203
 Irving, John, 93
 Irving, William, 184
 Jackass Mountain, 66
 Jackass Pass, 152
 Jackson, Henry Beecroft, 67, 68
 Jeffray, William, 143, 179
 Jeffray & Co.'s Express, 179
 Johnson, Edwin, 187
 Johnson, Francis Henry, *Opening of the far West, a pictorial history of British Columbia*, 206
 Johnson, Patricia Mary, *A short history of Nanaimo*, 206
 Johnson, Wellwood Robert, *Legend of Langley, an account of the early history of Fort Langley and an intimate story of the lives of some, but not all, of the early pioneers of the district of Langley*, 206
 Joly de Lotbinière, Lady, 135
 Jones, David, 62, 63, 68
 Jones, Edward, 68
 Jones, Edwin, 68
 Jones, Harry, 74
 Jones, Henry, 68
 Jones, Howard Sutton, 121, 126, 180
 Jones, Howell, 62, 63
 Jones, Hugh, 68
 Jones, Humphrey, 68
 Jones, J., 68
 Jones, Richard, 63

- Jones, Tom, 63
 Jones, William, 58, 60, 68
Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858-1859, The, 83-198
- Kaindler, Alphonse, 141
Kaleden, The history of, 204
Kamloops, the inland capital, a condensed history, 208
 Kanaka Creek, 125
 Kanakas, 127
 Kane, Paul, 183
 Keekwillie house, 149
 Keithley Creek, 52
 Kellett, Capt. Henry, 193
 Kelley, 155
 Kelly, Mrs., 155
 Kelly, William, 148, 151, 152, 154, 157-160, 180, 181
 Kelsey, Vera, *British Columbia rides a star, 206*
 Kennedy, Arthur Edward, 66
 Kennedy, Dr. John Frederick, 186
 Kennedy, Mary Caroline, 186
 Kenny, George L., 5
 Kenyon, Ronald, *Submarine highway under the Fraser, 216*
 Ketchum, Emily, 5
 Kip, Rev. W. Ingraham, 114
 Kirk, James, 145, 181
 Kispiox, 176
Kitchen centennial, 218
 Kitimat, B.C., Chamber of Commerce, *Kitimat today, 206*
Kitimat, the first five years, 218
Kitimat today, 206
 Kitwanga, B.C., Superior School, *Gitwangag, 1858 to Kitwanga, 1958, 206*
 Knight, Samuel, 133
- Labouchere, Henry, 135
 Ladner, William H., 13
 Ladner, 13
 Lake, Emily Maria, 7
 Lamb, W. Kaye, 6, 14; *British Columbia: a history, review by, 221, 222*
 Lambert, Commander Lionel, 107
 Land, Fleming & Co., 148
Land of shining mountains: British Columbia in legend and story, 206
Land of the Peace Arch, 208
 Lands, public, 17-19, 21, 22
 Lane, Myrtle E., *Land of shining mountains: British Columbia in legend and story, 206*
 Langford, E. E., 129, 165, 182, 184, 185
 Langley, 15, 16, 18-23, 26, 28-34, 36-38, 40, 42-50, 125-130, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150, 163, 171
Langley, Legend of, an account of the early history of Fort Langley and an intimate story of the lives of some, but not all, of the early pioneers of the district of Langley, 206
Langley or New Westminster? The first capital of British Columbia, 15-50
 Lapidge, Capt. William F., 115
 Large, Richard Geddes, *The Skeena, river of destiny, 200, 207*
 Latham, James H., 133
- Lawrence, Joseph C., *The south-west coast of Vancouver Island, from Metchosin to Bamfield, including Sooke, Otter, River Jordan, and Port Renfrew, 207*
- Lee, John, 132
Legend of Langley, an account of the early history of Fort Langley and an intimate story of the lives of some, but not all, of the early pioneers of the district of Langley, 206
- Lennard, 126, 129, 136, 137
 Lennard, Sir George, 126
 Leopold Place, New Westminster, 90
 Leslie, Henry (David), 114, 123
 Lewis, Gwen, comp., *Buckskin cookery, a souvenir cookbook compiled of recipes donated by old timers and natives of B.C., 200, 207*
 Lewis, Morgan, 64, 65, 69, 70
Libraries in colonial British Columbia, 218
Library service in British Columbia, a brief history of its development, 206
 Liddell, Ken E., *This is British Columbia, 207*
 Lighting, Victoria, 120
 Lightning Creek, 52, 67, 68
 Lillooet, 155, 156, 175
 Lillooet Lake, 158, 159
 Lindley, Dr. John, 170
 Lindsay, Frederick William, *The Cariboo story, 200, 207, Literary Industries, 4*
 Little Lillooet Lake, 158
 Llewellyn, David, 69
 Lloyd, Edwin, 68
 Logan, Harry T., *Ready for the fray: the history of the Canadian Scottish Regiment, review by, 227-230*
 London Committee for Watching the Affairs of British Columbia, 173
 London Times, 52
 Lort, Ross, *On Samuel Maclure, MRAIC, 216*
 Loudon, Peter, *B.C. celebrates its centenary, 216*
 Lone Mountain Cemetery, San Francisco, 114
 Lucky Lager Breweries, Ltd., *100th birthday celebration and commencement 2nd century of business, 207*
 Ludditt, A. W., *Gold in the Cariboo, 207*
 Lumley, John, 68
 Lyceum Theatre, San Francisco, 113, 114
 Lytton, Sir Edward Bulwer, 16-19, 21-25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37-39, 43-46, 49, 86, 167
 Lytton, 153, 154
- McAdam, William Alexander, *British Columbia's centenary, 216; British Columbia's first century, 216*
 McBride, Sir Richard, 2, 10, 11
 McCreight, J. F., 168
 Macdonald, Allan, 118
 McDonald, Margaret, *New Westminster, the royal city, 208*
 McDonald, W. J., 182
 McDougall, William, 7
 McEvoy, Bernard, 9
 McGowan, Ned, 33, 35, 126, 193
 McKay, 118
 McKelvie, Bruce Alistair, 19, 20; *HBC in B.C., 207*
 Mackenzie, Alexander, 76

- McKenzie, Kenneth, 124, 136, 139, 143, 182
 McKenzie, Poppy, *The story of citizenship in British Columbia (from 1858 to confederation). A dramatization for Citizenship Day, July 1, 1958*, 207
 McLean, Donald, 186
 MacLure, Samuel, *On, MRAIC*, 216
 McMillan, James, 19, 127
 McNeill, Rebecca, 176
 McNeill, Stewart, *British Columbia centennial*, 216
 McNeill, Capt. W. H., 176
 Maguire's Opera House, San Francisco, 113, 114
 Main, Alexander Findlay, 88, 118, 136, 138, 140, 143, 182, 194
 Mansiet, P., 117
 Manzanillo, 111
 Maple Ridge, B.C., *In the centennial year of 1958 Maple Ridge invites you: work—live—play*, 207
 Maple Ridge invites you: *In the centennial year of 1958, work—live—play*, 207
 Mapping of British Columbia: 1566–1858, *The early*, 217
 Martin, 146, 152, 154, 156–158
 Mason, Charles H., 45
 Mather, Barry, *New Westminster, the royal city*, 208
 Mayne, R. C., 32, 33, 41, 42, 128
 Meldrum, Pixie, *Kitimat, the first five years*, 208
 Merivale, Herman, 22, 23, 39
 Mertens, Emile, 181
 Methodist Church in B.C., 148
 Metlakatla, 192
 Metropolitan Hotel, San Francisco, 115
 Metropolitan Hotel, Victoria, 140
 Metropolitan United Church, Victoria, B.C., 1859–1959, 212
 Mexico, 111
 Miles, William, 61
 Milestone, 1958, 205
 Military Reserves, B.C., 24, 28
 Mitchell, Dr. J. F., 145
 Moberly, Walter, 41, 43, 105, 118, 143, 145, 165, 183
 Monk, H. A. J., *A history of Coquitlam and Fraser Mills, 1858–1958*, 208
 Montezuma II, 110
 Moody, Richard Clement, 16, 22–24, 26, 28, 29, 31–45, 47, 48, 50, 86, 88, 90, 98, 104–106, 108–112, 118, 121, 124–126, 128, 135, 139, 141, 142, 145, 153, 160, 163, 165, 166, 183–186, 194
 Moody, Mrs. Richard Clement, 108, 129, 133, 184
 Moore, William, 128
 Moresby, Mrs., 92
 Moresby, Rear-Admiral Fairfax, 119, 191
 Morgan, Henry, 107
 Morice, A. G., 1–4, 8–10, 14
 Morse, A. O., *B.C. centennial is continuous many-ringed circus*, 216
 Morse, J. J., *Kamloops, the inland capital, a condensed history*, 208
 Morton, Dr. A. S., 14
 Mouat, Capt. William Alexander, 128, 129, 184
 Mouat, Mrs. William Alexander, 122
 Muggins, 133
 Muir, William, 169
 Murderers Bar, 147, 148
 Murphy, Herbert H., *Royal Jubilee Hospital, Victoria, B.C., 1858–1958*, 208
 Murray, Alexander C., 10
 Murray, Capt. Alexander Sinclair, 130, 184
 Murray, Rona, *Blue duck's feather and eagle down, a one-act verse play*, 208
 Music in British Columbia, 85, 87, 93, 94, 96, 98, 122, 123, 130, 131, 134, 135, 137, 138, 177
 Music in British Columbia outside Vancouver, 217
 Music in the furthest West a hundred years ago, 217
 Muskoka Herald, 7
 Myers, J. Philip, comp., *History of Fort Fraser*, 201
 Nanaimo, 68, 161, 185
 Nanaimo, *A short history of*, 206
 Nanaimo, B.C., Senior High School, *Place names of Vancouver Island*, 208
 Nanoose Bay, *A history of*, 208
 Napier, Nina, *British Columbia: a bibliography of centennial publications, 1957–1959*, 199–220
 Naramata, B.C., Centennial Committee, *Naramata in retrospect*, 208
 Naramata in retrospect, 208
 Native's return to B.C., A, 214
 Naylor, W. B., 179
 Neepotum Lake, 155
 Nelson, Denys, 19, 20, 50
 New Denver, B.C., Elementary School, *New Denver, Eldorado of the past, and centennial celebration program*, 208
 New Westminster, 15, 16, 27, 28, 32–51, 55, 61, 64, 65, 90–97, 125, 142, 145, 166, 171, 181, 183
 New Westminster *British Columbian*, 98
 New Westminster Dramatic Club, 94
 New Westminster Fire Department, 97
 New Westminster Historic Centre, 98, 99
 New Westminster Public Library, 3, 92
 New Westminster Public School, 92
 New Westminster? *The first capital of British Columbia: Langley or*, 15–50
 New Westminster, *the royal city*, 208
 New Westminster Volunteer Rifle Corps, 92, 93
 New York, 102–104
 Newcastle, Duke of, 49
 Newspapers, *Centennial issues of*, 218–220
 Newton, William Henry, 126, 144, 184, 185
 Nez Percé Indians, 54
 Niblo's Gardens, New York, 104
 Nicholls, Margaret Alexandria, *A history of Nanoose Bay*, 208
 Nicol, Charles Samuel, 94, 145–148, 151, 154, 157, 158, 160, 180, 185
 Nicol, Eric Patrick, *Short history of B.C.*, 216
 Nicola Valley in review, *The*, 204
 Niel, Mathias, 144, 145, 154
 Nind, P. H., 176
 Nlecl[k?]takosh, 152
 Norcross, Elizabeth Blanche, *The oldest inhabited house in B.C.*, 216

- Norris, Len, *B.C. sketch book*, 216
 North Bluff, 27
North West Coast, The, 6
 Northwest Institute of Sculpture, B.C. Region,
An open air exhibition of sculpture, 209
- Oberlander, Heintz Peter, *Town planning in B.C.*, 216
 Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 8, 9
 O'Brien, 158
 Ogilvy, David Alexander Nelson, 185
 Ogilvy, John Drummond Buchanan, 144, 146, 147, 151, 186, 187
 Ogilvy, Mrs. John Drummond Buchanan, 187
Okanagan Falls, The story of, 203
 Okanagan Historical Society, Penticton Branch,
Historical souvenir of Penticton, B.C., 1908-1958, 209
Okanagan history, A bit of, 205
Okanagan Mission, a centennial retrospect, The history of, 211
 Old Fort Langley—see Fort Langley
Oldest inhabited house in B.C., The, 216
 Olympus, Mount, 128
On Samuel MacIure, MRAIC, 216
One hundred years of beekeeping in British Columbia, 1858-1958, 211
100 years of B.C. art, 211
100th birthday celebration and commencement 2nd century of business, 207
Open air exhibition of sculpture, An, 209
Opening of the far West, a pictorial history of British Columbia, 206
 Oppenheimer Bros. and Company, 200; *From the beginning, 1858-1958*, 209
Orders for the British Columbia centenary naval review and fleet visits, 9-23 July, 1958, 203
 O'Reilly, Peter, 94, 176
 Organa, Victoria, 122, 123, 138
 Ormsby, Margaret Anchoretta, 2; *British Columbia: a history*, 199, 200, 209; review of, 221, 222
Our centennial album, 216
 Owens, William, 68
Oyster districts, A history of Bright, Cedar, Cranberry, and, lying approximately between Bush Creek and Nanaimo River, 204
 Oysters, 133
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company, 106, 113, 132
 Palmer, Henry, 188
 Palmer, Henry Spencer, 157
 Palmer, Sarah Jane, 188
 Panama, 107, 108
 Panama Railway, 105, 106
 Parry, Edward, 68
 Parry, Matthew, 61
 Parsons, Capt. R. M., 24-26, 30, 44, 45, 124-126, 128
 Partridge, Richard, 60
 Patterson, Capt., 142
 Patterson, Raymond Murray, *Province of infinite variety*, 216
Peace Arch, Land of the, 209
 Peake, Frank Alexander, 200; *The Anglican Church in British Columbia*, 209
 Pearkes, George, 123, 144, 172, 187
- Pearse, Benjamin William, 87, 130, 133-135, 187, 188
 Pearse, Commander William A. R., 107
 Pearson, John, *Land of the Peace Arch*, 209
 Peers, Henry N., 18
 Peile, Mountford Stephen Lovick, 121, 123, 132
 Pemberton, Rev. Arthur Gore, 188
 Pemberton, Augustus Frederick, 117, 134, 168, 169, 173, 181, 188-190
 Pemberton, C. C., 175
 Pemberton, Joseph Despard, 19, 26, 32, 44, 87, 117, 118, 125, 134, 135, 139, 188-190
 Pemberton, Susan Frances, 87, 123, 134, 135, 190
 Pemberton, 158
Pend d'Oreille districts, History of Beaver Valley &, 213
 Pender, Daniel, 140, 191, 193
 Pendergast, C. C., 133
Penticton, B.C., 1908-1958, Historical souvenir of, 209
 Pentland, Barbara, 217
Periodicals, Centennial issues of, 213, 214
 Perrier, George, 195
 Perry, David, 68
 Phillips, Henry, 60
 Pitt River, 27-29, 37, 38, 40, 43
Place names of Vancouver Island, 208
 Pohanac, Indian chief, 148
 Point Pelly, 26, 27
 Poisson, Rodney, *British Columbia: a centennial anthology*, review by, 223-227
 Police, B.C., 128, 164, 178, 190, 195, 196
 Port Anderson, 157
 Port Douglas, 61, 118, 159, 160, 185
Port Douglas area, Healing waters, history of Harrison Hot Springs and, 209
 Port Hammond, 185
Port Mellon, B.C., being an account of its first fifty years, 202
 Port of entry, 15, 16, 22, 25, 26, 28-31, 37, 38, 44-47
 Porter, Lancelot, *Burton, British Columbia, "our days before yesterday"*, 209
 Portland, 55
 Powell, Mrs. I. W., 134
 Powell, John, 63
Presbyterian Church in British Columbia, Early history of the, 210
Press, British Columbia's peripatetic, 217
 Prevost, Admiral James Charles, 16, 116, 121, 126, 131, 132, 191, 192
 Price, John, 61, 63
 Price, John Rees, 61
 Price, Joshua, 63
 Price, Thomas Gwallter, 53-56, 66, 67; letter from, 53-56, 66, 67
 Pringle, Rev. A. D., 94
 Prithart, Robert, 68
Prize winning essays on Burnaby history, 202
Province of infinite variety, 216
 Provincial Archives, B.C., 2, 10-12, 199
 Provincial Library, B.C., 2, 10-12
 Provincial Lunatic Asylum, B.C., 133
 Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, 86, 172, 182, 184, 193
 Puget Sound Bar, 147

- Quayome, 151
 Queen Charlotte Mining Company, 165
 Queenborough—see New Westminster
 Quesnel, 59, 68
 Quesnel, commercial centre of the Cariboo gold rush, 200, 204
 Quesnel River, 52
- Race Rocks, 166
 Rae, Dr., 174
 Ram, Rev. A. J., 139
 Ramsey, Bruce, *A history of the German-Canadians in British Columbia*, 209
 Rates, passenger, 106
 Ray, James H., 17, 18
 Read, Stanley E., *Roderick L. Haig-Brown*, 217
 Ready for the fray (*Deas gu cath*); the history of the Canadian Scottish Regiment (*Princess Mary's*), 210; review of, 227-230
 Rebuilding of Christ Church Cathedral organ, Victoria, British Columbia, The, 217
 Reformed Episcopal Church, 172
 Reid, Robie Lewis, 2
 Rendall, Evalina Belle, *Healing waters, history of Harrison Hot Springs and Port Douglas area*, 209
 Renshaw, Francis B., 121
 Roderick L. Haig-Brown, 217
 Ronaldson, Thomas, 128, 175
 Ross, Mrs. Isabella, 189
 Rossland, B.C., Centennial Committee, *The golden city, centennial and fall fair programme*, Rossland, B.C., 209
 Rossland, B.C., *The golden city, centennial and fall fair programme*, 209
 Rossland, British Columbia, *Historical guide map and story of the city of*, 210
 Rossland Historical Museum Association, *Historical guide map and story of the city of Rossland, British Columbia*, 210
 Rough, Stanley, ed., *Time and place, stories of northern British Columbia*, 210
 Routes of travel, 55-59, 61-63, 68-70, 151
 Roy, Reginald Herbert, *Ready for the fray (Deas gu cath); the history of the Canadian Scottish Regiment (Princess Mary's)*, 210; review of, 227-230
 Royal Columbian Hospital, New Westminster, 92
 Royal Engineers, 21, 22, 24, 28, 30, 33, 38, 40, 42, 43, 86, 92, 121, 124, 126, 131, 145, 163, 177, 178
 Royal Hospital, Victoria, 132, 133
 Royal Jubilee Hospital, Victoria, B.C., 1858-1958, 208
 Royal Marines, 42
 Royal Society of Canada, 14
 Rupert's Land, 173
 Rutland, B.C., Centennial Committee, *History of the district of Rutland, British Columbia, 1858-1958*, 210
 Rutland, British Columbia, 1858-1958, *History of the district of*, 210
 Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, The, 201
 Revelstoke, B.C., *Historical review of Revelstoke*, 209
 Revelstoke, *Historical review of*, 209
 Revelly, Capt. F., 168
 Review of the Greater Victoria centennial events celebrations, 1858-1958, 205
 Reynolds, Macdonald, *The vanishing giant that built a province*, 217
 Rhodes, 101-103
 Richards, Capt. George Henry, 24, 25, 115, 121, 126, 127, 174, 192, 193
 Richmond, *A history of the municipality of*, 204
 Riel, Louis, 7
 Ring, D. Babington, 169
 Rise and fall of Social Credit, The, 215
 Rivaz, Jack, 123, 129
 Roads, B.C., 74, 146, 151, 152, 155-157, 178
 Roberts, 59
 Roberts, David, 68
 Roberts, Robert, 68
 Robertson, Mortimer, 118, 160
 Robson, John, 92
 Roche, Richard, 131, 137, 193
 Rock Creek, 178
- Saanich pioneers and district, *History of North and South*, 212
 Sage, Walter Noble, 42; *The birth of British Columbia*, 217; *Some early historians of British Columbia*, 1-14
 St. Agnes' Well, 159
 St. Ann in British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska, *The Sisters of*, 1858-1958, 210
 St. David's Charitable Society, 57, 66, 67, 72
 St. John the Divine Church, Derby, 49, 50
 St. Paul's Church, Esquimalt, 191
 St. Peter's Bournemouth, *Civic service*, 1958
 . . . and commemoration of the founder of British Columbia, Richard Clement Moody, 1813-1887, 203
 Salisbury, Dorothy E., *Music in British Columbia outside Vancouver*, 217
 Salish Indians, houses, 149
 Salmon, Mrs. Lucy, 84
 Salmon Arm-Chase Centennial Committee, *Salute to the sockeye, B.C. unique centennial event, Adams River spawning grounds, October 10-13, 1958*, 210
 Salmon River, Washington, 54, 55
 Salty Princesses of the Pacific coast, The, 215
 Salute to the sockeye, B.C. unique centennial event, Adams River spawning grounds, October 10-13, 1958, 210
 San Francisco, 112-116
 San Francisco Boating Club, 116
 San Francisco Bulletin, 68, 162
 San Francisco Evening Bulletin, 45
 San Francisco Evening News, 162
 Sansum Copper Mining Company, 59
 Sappers and Miners, 218
 Sawmill, Alberni, 194
 Sawmill, Fort Yale, 148
 Sawmill, Langley, 130, 132
 Sawmill, Victoria, 123, 124
 Sayward-Kelsey Bay saga, The, 204
 Scholefield, E. O. S., 1, 2, 10-12
 Scholefield, Rev. Stuart Clement, 12
 Scott, Conway, 137

- Sculpture, An open air exhibition of*, 209
 Seeley, W. C. S., 132, 138
 Semiahmoo, 29, 36, 43
 Senior, Norman, *British Columbia, 1858-1958*, 217
 Seton Lake, 156
 Seymour, Frederick, 57, 83, 177, 187
 Seymour, Mrs. Frederick, 92, 93
 Seymour, G. T., 196
 Shaddock, Capt., 110
 Sherman, Paddy, *Fairweather, the centennial summit*, 217
 Shilkumcheen, 153
 Ships, *Active*, 183; *H.M.S. Alert*, 107, 108; *H.M.S. Amethyst*, 139; *Asia*, 184; *Assistance*, 192; *Beauty*, 193; *Beaver*, 33, 41, 43, 76, 124, 128, 131, 142; *H.M.S. Beaver*, 191; *H.M.S. Britannia*, 191; *Cadboro*, 124, 127, 164; *Caledonian*, 116, 117; *California*, 113; *H.M.S. Cameleon*, 131; *H.M.S. Captain*, 121; *Champion*, 156; *H.M.S. Discovery*, 76; *Dryad*, 164; *H.M.S. Duke of Wellington*, 197; *Eliza Anderson*, 160; *Enterprise*, 126, 145, 184; *Explorer*, 174; *Fort Yale*, 180, 181; *H.M.S. Fox*, 177; *H.M.S. Ganges*, 107, 116, 145, 164; *Governor Douglas*, 130, 143; *Guadalete*, 139; *H.M.S. Hecate*, 116, 191, 193; *H.M.S. Herald*, 193; *Herman*, 183; *H.M.S. Hibernia*, 193; *Idahoe*, 180; *John L. Stephens*, 115, 194; *Juarez*, 113; *Labouchere*, 135, 184; *Lady of the Lake*, 156; *Langley*, 187; *Marten*, 184; *Mary Dare*, 184; *Moses Taylor*, 86, 103-106; *Norman Morison*, 182, 193; *Northerner*, 132, 137; *Oracle*, 162; *Oregon*, 113; *Otter*, 128, 129, 173, 184; *Pacific*, 142; *Panama*, 86, 113, 115, 183; *H.M.S. Philomel*, 192; *H.M.S. Plumper*, 24, 33, 34, 39, 41-43, 116, 121, 126-128, 135, 140, 191, 193; *H.M.S. Portland*, 191; *Princess Royal*, 140, 190; *H.M.S. Pylades*, 139; *H.M.S. Rattler*, 177; *Recovery*, 125, 126, 129, 144, 145; *H.M.S. Resolution*, 76; *H.M.S. Retribution*, 107; *Rising Sun*, 68; *H.M.S. Russell*, 193; *U.S.S. Saranac*, 107; *H.M.S. Satellite*, 87, 116, 120, 121, 123, 126, 131, 132, 137, 177, 180, 191, 193, 197; *H.M.S. Savannah*, 197; *Sonora*, 86, 88, 106-112; *H.M.S. Sulphur*, 192; *Thames City*, 28, 43, 125; *Tory*, 167, 182, 184; *H.M.S. Trafalgar*, 193; *H.M.S. Tribune*, 138, 139, 141, 163; *Vanderbilt*, 101-103; *H.M.S. Virago*, 191; *H.M.S. Vixen*, 107
Short history of B.C., 216
Short history of Nanaimo, A, 206
 Shoshones Indians, 54
 Siffken, Augustus E., 175
 Siffken, William C., 175
 Similkameen, *The story of*, 205
 Simpson, Sir George, 173, 183
 Sinclair, Capt., 140
 Sinclair, Lister, 199; *British Columbians are snobs*, 217
Sing and dance, a narrative script for folk festivals, 201
Sir James Douglas and British Columbia, 13
Sisters of St. Ann in British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska, 1858-1958, The, 210
Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Centennial anniversary of the arrival of the pioneer nuns in Victoria, B.C., June 5, 1858-100-June 5, 1958, 210
Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., The Sisters of St. Ann in British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska, 1858-1958, 210
Skeena, river of destiny, The, 200, 207
 Skinner, Thomas James, 124, 133, 137, 193
 Slide, 155
 Smith, Charles McK., 59
 Smith, David Angus, *Early history of the Presbyterian church in British Columbia*, 210
 Smith, Dorothy Blakey, comp., *Ethnic groups in British Columbia, a selected bibliography based on a check-list of material in the Provincial Library and Archives*, 201; *The first capital of British Columbia: Langley or New Westminster?* 15-50; ed., *The journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858-1859*, 83-198; *Music in the furthest West a hundred years ago*, 217
 Smith, William Burrington, 143, 194
So you want to write your community's history, 202
Social Credit, The rise and fall of, 215
Sointula, History of, 201
Some early historians of British Columbia, 1-14
 Sooke Copper Mining Company, 182
 Southgate & Mitchell, 143
 Southside Centennial Committee, François Lake, B.C., *The story of a north-central settlement, the southside of François Lake*, 210
South-west coast of Vancouver Island, from Metchosin to Bamfield, including Sooke, Otter, River Jordan, and Port Renfrew, 207
Souvenir programme of the British Columbia centenary naval review, by H.R.H. the Princess Margaret, and associated naval activities, 203
 Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm, 173
 Squamish, B.C., Centennial Committee, *A centennial commentary upon the early days of Squamish, British Columbia*, 211
 Squamish, British Columbia, *A centennial commentary upon the early days of*, 211
 Staines, Rev. Robert J., 171
 Stamp, Capt. Edward, 118, 182, 194
 Stedman, Anne Sarah, 84
 Steed, Graham, *The rebuilding of Christ Church Cathedral organ, Victoria, British Columbia*, 217
 Steer, Margaret G., *Land of shining mountains: British Columbia in legend and story*, 206
 Stenhouse, 182
 Stewart, John, *A history of Coquitlam and Fraser Mills, 1858-1958*, 208
 Stickeen, 63
Story of a north-central settlement, the southside of François Lake, The, 210
Story of citizenship in British Columbia (from 1858 to confederation), The, 207
Story of Houston, British Columbia, The, 206
Story of Okanagan Falls, The, 203
Story of Similkameen, The, 205
 Strawberry Island, 147
 Stuart Lake, 9
 Stuart-Stubbs, Basil, *British Columbia's peripatetic press*, 217
Submarine highway under the Fraser, 210
 Sullock, Charles, 143
 Sumas, 197

- Summit Lake, 157
 Sunset, *British Columbia, with Canadian Rocky Mountain national parks*, 211
 Swanson, Capt. John, 124
 Swinburn, 121
 Swinton, 121
- Tatchell, Capt., 139
 Tatlayoko, B.C., School, *Gold and green cookbook*, 211
 Taylor, M. Doreen, *The early mapping of British Columbia: 1566-1858*, 217
Teaching programme for the centennial, 202
 Tenass (lake), 158
 Teotepac Mountain, 110
 Terry, George, comp., *History and legends of the Chilcotin*, 211
 Texas Bar, 147
 Thain, W. H., 179
Then and now, a film strip, 202
This is British Columbia, 207
 Thlikumcheen, 153
 Thomas, Ludwick, 60
 Thomas, Walter, 60
 Thompson, 141
 Thompson, David, 76
 Thompson River, 153, 154, 184
 Thrall, Rev. S. S., 114
Three Bar, the story of Douglas Lake, 200, 203
Time and place, stories of northern British Columbia, 210
 Ti'cumjane, 153
 Tod, John, 6, 185
 Tolls, 155
 Tolmie, W. F., 182, 189
 Torrens, Capt. J. W., 181
Town planning in B.C., 216
 Trahey, James, 116
 Trail, B.C., Centennial Committee, Old Timers Sub-committee, *Centennial oldtimers party*, 211
 Travaillot, O. J., 153, 155
 Treharne, David, 60, 66
 Treharne, Thomas, 59, 66
 Trimble, Dr. James, 132
 Trinity Church, San Francisco, 114
 Trivett, Capt. John F., 135, 140
 Trutch, J. W., 166, 183
 Turnbull, William Henry, *One hundred years of beekeeping in British Columbia, 1858-1958*, 211
 Turner, Robert, *Barbara Pentland*, 217
 Tutt, Mrs. D., *The history of Ellison district, 1858-1958*, 211
 Tuzo, Dr. Henry Atkinson, 131, 135, 182, 194, 195
Two hundred years of Canadian painting from the National Gallery collection, 212
 Tyrrell, Dr. J. B., 14
- Ukrainian Festival Committee, Vancouver, B.C., *Ukrainian festival, July 12. Exhibition Forum. Souvenir program*, 211
Ukrainian festival, July 12. Exhibition Forum. Souvenir program, 211
 Union Bar, 58
 Union Club, San Francisco, 114, 116.
 Union Iron Company, San Francisco, 97
- University of Saskatchewan, 9
Untrodden ways, 211
 Upton, Primrose, *The history of Okanagan Mission, a centennial retrospect*, 211
- Vallance, James Dunlop, *Untrodden ways*, 211
 Vancouver, George, 76, 78
 Vancouver, B.C., Art Gallery, *100 years of B.C. art*, 211
 Vancouver, B.C., Centennial Committee, *Vancouver centennial news*, 212
Vancouver centennial news, 212
 Vancouver Coal Mining Company, 185
 Vancouver Festival Society, *First annual Vancouver International Festival, July 19-August 16, final announcement*, 212
Vancouver International Festival, July 19-August 16, final announcement, First annual, 212
 Vancouver Island, 116
Vancouver Island, The south-west coast of, from Metchoin to Bamfield, including Sooke, Otter, River Jordan, and Port Renfrew, 207
 Vancouver Island Volunteer Rifle Corps, 176
 Vancouver Magazine Service, Ltd., *British Columbia's centennial calendar, 1958*, 212
 Vancouver News, 10
 Vancouver News-Advertiser, 10
 Vancouver Star, 11
 Vancouver's Island Steam Sawing Mill and Agricultural Company, 167
Vanishing giant that built a province, The, 217
 Van Winkle, 68
 Vedder family, 197
Vernon, British Columbia, a brief history, 204
 Victoria, 30, 116-124, 129-143, 173
 Victoria, B.C., Art Gallery, *Two hundred years of Canadian painting from the National Gallery collection*, 212
 Victoria, B.C., Metropolitan Church, *Metropolitan United Church, Victoria, B.C., 1859-1959*, 212
Victoria centennial events celebrations, 1858-1958, Review of the, 205
 Victoria College, Victoria, 75
 Victoria Cricket Club, 164
 Victoria Daily Colonist, 8, 10, 30, 37, 38
 Victoria District Church, 117
 Victoria Family Grocery, 194
 Victoria Gas Company, 166, 182
 Victoria Gazette, 17, 19, 20, 37, 39, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 143, 162
 Victoria Market Company, 166
 Victoria Philharmonic Society, 87, 89, 133-137, 140, 177
Victoria Prices Current, 182
Victoria real estate man, the enigma of Sir Arthur Currie, A, 215
 Victoria Steam Navigation Company, 130
 Victoria water-supply, 166
 Victoria Yeomanry Cavalry, 195, 196
 Vidal, 115, 116
 Virgin, Victor E., *History of North and South Saanich pioneers and district*, 212
- Waddington, Alfred, 141, 174
 Walker, H. P., 176
 Watson, Capt., 113

- Watters, Reginald Eyre, *British Columbia: a centennial anthology*, 212; review of, 221, 222
- Wells, Oliver N., *Ayrshire cattle breeding at Edenbank Farm, 1858-1958, B.C.'s centennial year*, 212
- Wells Fargo & Company, 133
- Welsh gold-miners in British Columbia during the 1860's*, 51-74
- Western Union Telegraph Expedition, 176
- Westminster Abbey, Service of thanksgiving on the occasion of the centenary of British Columbia, and of the consecration of the Right Reverend George Hills as first bishop*, 203
- Westmoreland, R., 167, 168
- Whannell, Capt. Peter Brunton, 148, 195, 196
- What B.C. means to nine of its best artists*, 217
- White, Alice, 10
- Whympier, Frederick, 174
- Wight, George John, 168
- Wild, Roland, *Amor De Cosmos*, 212
- Wild Horse Creek, 74, 91, 97, 178
- Williams, James, 61
- Williams, Thomas, 68
- Williams, William, 68
- Williams Creek, 52, 57, 59, 60, 69, 70, 72-74, 93, 176
- Williams Lake, 60, 66, 67
- Williston, Henry C., 162
- Willow River, 52
- Wilson, Ann, *Kitchen centennial*, 218
- Wilson, Charles William, 121, 123, 131, 132, 143, 197
- Wolfenden, Madge, *The early architects of British Columbia*, 218; *Libraries in colonial British Columbia*, 218; *Sappers and miners*, 218
- Wolfenden, Richard, 162
- Women's Institute, Canada, Bessborough Women's Institute, B.C., *The Bessborough District*, 212
- Women's Institute, Canada, British Columbia Women's Institutes, *Adventures in cooking*, 212
- Women's Institute, Canada, Fruitvale Women's Institute, B.C., *History of Beaver Valley & Pend d'Oreille districts*, 213
- Wood, Ella M., 84
- Woodruff, Capt., 131, 132
- Woods, John Jex, *The Agassiz-Harrison valley, history and development*, 2d ed., 213
- Woodward Stores, 200
- Work, John, 135, 141
- Work, John, Jr., 89
- Work, Mary, 135
- Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, The*, 1
- Wrenshaw, 137
- Wright, Archdeacon H. P., 94
- Wright, Mary Carr, *Land of shining mountains: British Columbia in legend and story*, 206
- Wynn, Jeremiah, 68
- Yale, James Murray, 19, 126, 147, 161, 185, 197
- Yale, B.C., Centennial Committee, *Fort Yale*, 213
- Yale Steam Navigation Company, 180
- Year Book of British Columbia, 11, 40, 41
- Young, William Alexander George, 41, 122, 169, 197, 198