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Is this the second coming of the Ice-Age to Beautiful British Columbia? Without exception, each report from the member societies mentioned the trials and tribulations of the past winter. This winter must have proven to many people, myself included, that one may boast only when one has complete control of that particular situation. The off-hand remark that the weather was "most unusual" like the salt, soon lost its savour. Be that as it may, very cautiously I'm saying that "Spring has Sprung" in the Evergreen Playground and that could be more in season than to start planning to attend the Convention in May in the sunny Okanagan. In a scant three months that time will have arrived, so now is the time to think of laying in a stock of sun-tan lotion in anticipation of what we can expect on the week-end of May 24th. Elsewhere in the News is a tentative programme of the Convention, and complete details will appear in the April edition of the News.

THE COVER! What an exciting surprise to get a phone call offering a cover for the News. The result was far beyond my wildest hopes. No, those aren't the Keystone Cops on the cover of this issue. They're some of the boys in blue of Vancouver town, circa 1903. The sketch is one of a large series of British Columbia historical drawings executed by one of our members, Robert Genn. The series was commissioned by Davis & Co., one of B.C.'s oldest legal firms, for the decoration of their offices. It is through the kind co-operation of this firm that we will be able to publish more of these interesting drawings in the future. Robert Genn, born in Victoria in 1936, is well known for his drawings and paintings of Canada. His paintings have been widely exhibited throughout the world and many of his prints are well known particularly in Europe where his work is known as typically "Canada" to thousands of Europeans. (Thank you, Bob. - Ed.)

Minutes of the Third Council Meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association, held on February 9th, 1969, at 3618 Place Road, Wellington, B.C. Present: Mrs Jordon (Pres.), Mr R. Brammall (Vice-Pres.), Mrs G. Bowes (Treas.), Mr P. Yandle (Sec.), Mr H.B. Nash (Exec.Mem.), Mr J. Barnes (substituting for Col. G. S. Andrews Exec.Mem.), Mr D. New (Past Pres.). Delegates: Mr D. Schon (Nanaimo) and Mrs Freeman (Gulf Islands).

The minutes of the Council Meeting held on September 15th, 1968, were adopted on motion. Arising out of the minutes, it was reported by Mr Brammall that the picture of Captain Vancouver had been delivered to Victoria in October. The question of insurance for the picture was discussed and it was the opinion of Council that the blanket insurance carried by any museum where the picture may be on display would not necessarily place the determined value as considered by this Association, nor would it be covered in transit or storage. Moved Yandle, Seconded New, that the picture be fully insured for \$1000. - Carried. Mr Brammall would take care of this matter.

The question of the petroglyphs at Cranbrook was still an open issue of the Association as they were on Crown Land when sold to a private party; and this should be pursued with the Provincial Government until we get some assurance that the Historic Sites and Monuments Board know of their existence and are prepared to give adequate protection (legislative or otherwise) for their preservation. Mrs Jordon would continue with this after looking over the survey maps and information supplied by Col. G. S. Andrews.

Convention Mrs Jordon reported that an agreement had been entered into with the New Penticton Inn to arrange and cater for the Banquet and that all meetings would be held in the Skaha Room of the Inn. It was now a question of a programme of events and speakers for the Convention that was our immediate responsibility. Mrs Jordon wished to be relieved of this duty, as her husband's illness did not allow her to do justice nor give the time for organizing. The balance of her committee, Mrs Bowes and Mr Schon consented to complete the arrangements, and Mrs Bowes would be considered Convention Secretary. From the discussion it was decided to build a two-day convention around a theme pertaining to the locality. Mr Schon proposed and Council agreed that his general outline would have all meetings, including the General Meeting, on Friday, and Saturday would be a day-long field trip with the banquet at night. He was given further assurance that the Convention should pay its way, but in the event that it did not, the Association would underwrite any deficit. It was not Council's intention to spoil the main feature of the year by being cheap. The registration fee was discussed and Council felt that the registration fee should be for the whole Convention and no division would be made of a day by day rate. Moved Yandle, Seconded Barnes, that the registration fee be \$5.00 per individual, \$7.00 husband and wife. - Carried. The Secretary turned over a projected list of speakers that had been compiled through selection for ability both in knowledge and delivery, who could be solicited for their services.

A suggestion was made to the committee that the Provincial Archives be approached to supply menu cards for the Banquet. It was the opinion of Council that several dignitaries should be invited, and as Convention Secretary, Mrs Bowes should take care of this. Mr R. Brammall was appointed Registrar for the Convention.

Under New Business, it was moved Barnes, Seconded Brammall,

that the per capita contributions from member societies be raised from 50¢ to \$1.00, and that this be recommended to the Convention for its consideration for the next year. - Carried.

The sites for conventions for the next three years are as follows: Nanaimo, 1970; Victoria 1971; Gulf Islands, 1972.

Motion to adjourn at 4.25 p.m. - Carried.

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#### SOCIETY NOTES AND COMMENTS

ALBERNI Old time residents of the Alberni Valley were special guests at the November meeting of the Society, at which Mrs W. C. Hamilton, a former resident, gave an interesting talk on life in the area during World War II. During the Christmas season items belonging to the Society were attractively exhibited by the Port Alberni Branch of the Vancouver Island Regional Library. These items, of 1900 vintage, included such things as Christmas cards, tree ornaments, opera glasses and hand warmers. George Clutesi's second book Potlatch has gone to the printers and it is hoped that it will be available for the Easter trade.

EAST KOOTENAY During the past summer the annual meeting was held at Grasmere in the "South Country". 126 members and guests from as far afield as Oakland, California and Lethbridge, Alberta, sat down to a turkey dinner. On June 16th a joint field trip with the Fernie Association went to Dorr and Newgate in the Kootenay River Valley, an area which will be flooded when the Libby Dam in Montana is completed. This trip was sponsored by the Fernie group, in addition to one to the old coal mining town of Corbin in the extreme southeast corner of B.C. The fact that Corbin was one of the early strip mining propositions in the province - long before all the recent controversy - lent special interest to the trip. On July 21st a joint outing with the Bonners Ferry Historical Society was held at Goat River Crossing, near Creston. This was the site of a railroad construction camp and hospital during the building of the Crows Nest Railway in 1897-98. Dr W. O. Green, son of the doctor who was in charge of the original old hospital, told of the hardships and conditions his father worked under, and the disastrous typhoid epidemic which laid low so many of the construction workers at that time. Mrs Jordan, President of the B.C. Association attended this outing and gave a short talk. By popular demand, another field trip was held up Wild Horse Creek to the scenes of the early day gold rush there. The Society expressed its appreciation of the B.C. Historical News, for bridging the gap between coastal members and those in the far interior.

WEST KOOTENAY At the first Fall meeting Trail-born Michael Roscoe described his three years at a teachers' training college in Tanzania, East Africa, and brought along slides to illustrate it. In November Mr M.R. Landucci described his early reminiscences of 65 years in Trail. He paid particular attention to the Italian influence and contribution to present day Trail. In this connection he mentioned the

growth of the Cristoforo Colombo Lodge which had its beginnings in 1905 as what might be termed a "Mutual Benefit Society", at a time when there was a complete lack of financial benefits for the working man. Since then the Lodge has grown to include a cultural side, and now second generation Italians attend University with the aid of Lodge scholarships. The great explosion of 1904 in Rossland and the carnage resulting from it were described to members at their January meeting. Warren Crowe, who moved to Rossland as a boy before the turn of the century told members how the explosion blew out every door and window in the city and took the top two floors off the old War Eagle Hotel. Only one man lost his life in the disaster. The speaker also described the Chinese market gardeners who maintained a large colony there. He recounted experiences of fishing in Sheep Lake, and of the Black Bear swimming pool, hot from the compressors and carrying a heavy grease deposit.

NANAIMO Miss Pat Johnson addressed the November meeting on the late Dr Klein Grant, an early Nanaimo doctor. Dr Grant, a Londoner, was shipwrecked on his way to British Columbia in 1862, and arrived in Victoria minus all his medical equipment and his extensive library. Establishing a large practice, Dr Grant also became well known as an authority on English literature and as a poet. He died in 1873 "a learned man, a kind physician (and) a courteous gentleman". On November 27th, 1968 ceremonies to commemorate Princess Royal Day were held at the stone cairn which marks the site of the landing of 46 Hudson's Bay Company immigrants. They had sailed in the "Princess Royal" from England, sailing via Honolulu to Victoria, thence transhipped in Hudson's Bay Company ships "Beaver" and "Recovery" to Nanaimo, where they were welcomed by a small group of earlier settlers. At the close of the ceremonies, Mrs F. McGirr, Treasurer of the Society read the roll call of the Princess Royal passengers, of which there were descendants from seven of the original families.

The Nanaimo Historical Society and the Nanaimo Museum Society, together with the University of B.C. Extension Department sponsored a 1½ day field trip to Nanaimo emphasizing its past years as the centre of Vancouver Island's coal industry. The programme included introductory lectures and demonstrations, a tour of the new Nanaimo museum and historic Bastion, and a field trip to the sites of former large mines including the Carruthers mine at North Wellington, the last operating mine in the area. (Ed. I hope the event was as successful as it sounds interesting.)

VICTORIA The first meeting of the season was held in September in the Provincial Museum - Heritage Court. Members and visiting members from Vancouver and the Gulf Islands met in the Newcombe Auditorium. Col. G.S. Andrews presented the two annual History Prizes to Miss Allison Weir and Mr Raymond Vickery, history students at the University of Victoria. The prizes were "The Curve of Time" by Blanchet, and R.M. Patterson's "Finlay's River". Mr Patterson autographed his books and gave a short talk on his literary experiences. Dr Clifford Carl escorted the visitors on a tour of the museum. At the October meeting Commander Coning gave an illustrated talk on the Battle of Trafalgar. In November Capt. A.W. Davidson gave an address "The Arctic Voyages of the 'Camsell'". He was the skipper of the ice-breaker and showed a unique movie taken by the Camsell crew.

The annual Christmas party was held at the Old Forge with more than 100 members present. A traditional Christmas turkey dinner with trimmings was served together with a Christmas musical programme. A movie followed depicting the Barkerville Show.

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The following is a tentative programme for the Annual Convention to be held May 22nd - 24th, 1969 at the Penticton Inn.

Thursday, May 22nd: Registration 7.00 p.m. - 8.00 p.m.  
Wine & Cheese, Bar at Cost - Skaha Room.

Friday, May 23rd: Morning: Registration 9.00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m. Skaha Rm.  
Deadline for Banquet Tickets is 9.00 a.m.  
Annual meeting 10.00 a.m. - Skaha Room.  
Afternoon: President's Address  
Visit Experimental Station by private cars.  
Evening: Guest speaker to be announced.

Saturday, May 24th Morning: Field Trip (Box Lunch) by private car  
(Box Lunches available \$ \_\_\_\_\_ from hotel)  
Evening: Banquet 7.00 p.m. Penticton Inn.

Reservations and travel arrangements should be made well in advance. It is understood that room rates at the Penticton Inn are as follows: Single \$7.50; Double \$10.50; Twin \$10.50.

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Each year the American Association for State and Local History evaluates outstanding work done in the field of local history. Regional committees search out projects of superior achievement for an Annual Award of Merit for eight regional sections. The award is made to persons or groups contributing significantly to the study of local history or who have launched an innovation for disseminating local history. Any person, group or organization, publicly or privately financed is eligible. A nomination should not be made except in the case of unusually meritorious work.

Our category is Region 2, Western Canada, comprising Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon and Northwest Territories. Chairman - Mr Raymond O. Harrison, Director, Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alberta.

Has any one any nominations? If so, the chairman would be pleased to hear about them.

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Without prejudice or malice aforethought, the News respectfully submits the following timely item from the Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Item No. 39734.

"Victoria, November 23rd,  
1893.

To Dr. Bradley,  
Acting Secretary, Royal Commission, Liquor Traffic.

Sir, - As I fear some of my answers to the Honourable Commissioners may have been misunderstood, I beg to supplement those answers in writing.

I did not mean to say, and I do not think I said (though you have so supposed) that the use of stimulants proved any superiority either in a race, or an individual, over an abstainer. My contention merely was that as a matter of fact stimulants are used by all the Indo-Caucasian races; and that the only races who habitually, or generally, abstain from alcoholic beverages are generally considered inferior to these; viz.: The Mohammedan races generally, Hindoos and Chinese. I also stated that I had never met a total abstainer who impressed me as possessed of extraordinary excellence, morally, intellectually or physically. On the contrary the best men I have known in every line have used stimulants.

In answer to a question that people are debased by using, and improved by abstaining from stimulants, I meant to say that demonstration is scarcely possible; because if a people used alcohol for a certain period it would have been impossible to say what their relative position would have been had they during the same period used nothing but water, and vice versa. I now wish to add that all the examples I can remember certainly are contrary to the suggestion. For instance:

Eight hundred or one thousand years ago the Mohammedan nations surpassed the Christian nations in arms, in science, in literature; supported and at length repulsed far beyond their limits, all the forces of Europe banded against them, and nearly alone preserved mathematics, astronomy, medicine and philosophy from oblivion. Thirty generations of water drinking on the one side and wine drinking on the other has not improved the relative position of the total abstinence men; on the contrary, the positions are entirely reversed, and many Christian nations are now able, singly, to cope with the whole force of Islam. And the relative progress of the Christian in arts and sciences and learning has not been less pronounced, but is ever more remarkable than their advance in armed strength.

As another example: I never heard of anybody here who ever saw a drunken Chinaman; yet this extraordinary sobriety has not enabled them to gain a higher position than the whisky drinking colonists of European race. Again: The Mormons have been compelled by their religion to be total abstainers during three generations; but they have shown as yet no superiority, physically, morally or intellectually, over the surrounding Gentiles.

It is further remarkable that whereas all Christian communities are by the exigencies of their religion bound at least to the occasional use of wine, communities who reject all fermented wines or liquors are precisely those who reject Christianity. Even among the most ignorant and barbarous savages, who delight in rum, the aborigines of Africa, are more susceptible to the teachings of our missionaries than are the water-drinking Arabs who oppress them. So, too, the Indians of this continent who have universally a taste for fire-water, are more open to Christian teachings than the Mormons. And, I believe, the same observation holds as between the higher and lower castes of the Hindoos.

I don't mean to say that these facts establish the utility of whisky drinking or any mischievous properties in water. If the Turks had been drinking spirits ever since the crusade, and the Russians nothing but water, it is of course possible that the reversal of their relative strengths might have been more ridiculously obvious than it is now. I am as far from suggesting that Christianity is founded on alcohol as that Mohammedism is based on water. All I contend for is that the use of alcohol is compatible with great improvement all along the line, and that water drinking does not preserve a nation from every sort of degradation. There is probably one subtle influence or instinct at work which impels one race to Christianity, freedom, civilization and the juice of the grape, and another race to Mohammedism, coffee and an indolent barbaric depotism.(sic.)

Another expression I used, which one of the Honourable Commissioners appeared not to understand, was in answer to a question to me on the hypothesis that a large proportion of the community desired the total suppression (as I understood) of the liquor trade. This seemed to me an impossible hypothesis, at least on this continent, much as if we were to speculate on what was or should be done if the sky should fall. The only instance which could be quoted, would be, I suppose, the State of Maine. But it is quite clear that the majority of that community are not in favour of their repressive law, but treat it (though the people are otherwise law-abiding) with the utmost contempt. Statutes are not enacted, but endured by a majority, not from any belief in their utility, but from mere weariness - like the judgement of the unjust judge - and in the full persuasion that such provisions will speedily become obsolete; as the "Maine Liquor Law" is already expected to be, except for the purposes of derision.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
 Your obedient servant,  
 MATT. B. BEGBIE



The following essay was awarded the Prize in the University Section of the B.C. Historical Association Centennial Scholarship Competition in 1968. It was written by Miss Jacqueline Kennedy, of the University of British Columbia.

NEW WESTMINSTER 1861-1869

A DISAPPOINTED "METROPOLIS"

New Westminster in 1869, according to its principal newspaper, The British Columbian, regarded itself as a disappointed "metropolis", at the end of its first decade. In 1859 Colonel Moody, R.E. had selected the site of New Westminster as that of the capital of the new gold colony, British Columbia, and in 1860 it became the first incorporated municipality in the colony.<sup>1</sup> From the first gold rush seasons the growing community on the north bank of the Fraser thought itself destined to be the Colony's political, economic and social centre. By 1869, the hopes of her citizenry<sup>2</sup> for resident and responsible government, development of her economic resources, and her social services and institutions, had been frustrated by the business and official clique of rival Victoria. The collapse of the gold boom and misrepresentation abroad of New Westminster's potential were an added frustration - so her residents believed.

This process can be traced in the pages of the British Columbian. John Robson, editor and publisher from 1861 to 1869, recorded the pioneer community's aspiration to metropolitan status and fought off any threats to such status. The changes in New Westminster's position are documented in editorials, reports of memorials to the Government, letters to the editor, records of the voting in open elections and accounts of Municipal and Legislative Council minutes. Robson, an emigrant from Canada West, had come to New Westminster in 1859 not as a journalist, but as a gold seeker.<sup>3</sup> In 1861 a group of New Westminster boosters bought the defunct New Westminster Times<sup>4</sup> and hired Robson to publish the paper using its equipment.<sup>5</sup> Until 1862 Robson put out a four page edition weekly. From April 30, 1862 until February 28, 1869 it was a semi-weekly except for just over six months of trial weekly editions in 1865. Robson, of Scots Presbyterian descent, considered himself a British Columbian from Canada. He wrote forcefully, though in a wordy and sometimes ostentatiously Victorian manner, in favour of British loyalties and institutions and of the Canadian Confederation. He wanted a better judicial system and an Indian policy, and whatever else he thought would benefit New Westminster and the Colony. As a member of New Westminster Municipal Council from 1864, and after 1866 a popular representative of the city in the Legislative Council, he promoted the city's interests and his own interests. His career, and that of his paper, reflect the rise and fall of New Westminster's hopes from 1864 to 1869, from the days of struggle for a resident governor and officials, during the happy period when New Westminster achieved the success of being capital, up to the dark days when the seat of government was removed to Victoria.

Robson outlined a policy for New Westminster and the Colony of British Columbia in his first editorial, in the British Columbian, February 13, 1861:

... we shall advocate ... a RESIDENT GOVERNOR, AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, or in other words REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS, similar to those ... existing in the Eastern British Provinces ..., such changes in the Tariff as will tend to encourage commerce, ship-building, and trade generally - the immediate improvement of the navigation of the Fraser River - the early survey of the public lands, and ... an enlightened and liberal land system ... to keep out the speculator and encourage the actual settler ... a system by which the miners can ... regulate their own affairs - (and) direct steam ... communication with foreign ports ... an export duty upon gold dust ... the abolition of all tonnage dues, mule taxes and tolls, except upon such roads as are completed and in good condition.

Robson said that his paper would oppose a union with Vancouver Island "at least until ... union can be consummated with mutual satisfaction". He also opposed the favoritism in government departments, and the auctioning of rural lands without "conditions to (promote) ... settlement".

From 1861 to 1864, New Westminster sought to become the "metropolis" of British Columbia in place of Victoria, the capital of the Vancouver Island Colony. James Douglas ruled both colonies from Victoria, which was the centre of official life, government business and commercial activity; New Westminster was left an administrative centre only. The mainland community sought to replace Victoria as the actual capital of British Columbia. In this struggle, New Westminster had already won some battles. The Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Col. Moody, R.E. and his corps of engineers surveyed New Westminster and resided there. Other colonial offices, such as the assay, land agent, mint, and courthouse were among these. But Douglas, the "Autocrat of James Bay"<sup>10</sup> visited New Westminster only occasionally, although his commission as governor required him to be resident in New Westminster and leave it only for "visits" to Vancouver Island.<sup>11</sup> New Westminster, however, was not the political capital since colonial officialdom was in Victoria and was interested in promoting that city only.

Because of Governor Douglas and his "Hudson's Bay Company clique"<sup>12</sup> in Victoria, charged the Columbian, New Westminster as capital and commercial centre could not progress. Victoria menaced her hopes of becoming the "San Francisco of the North Pacific"<sup>13</sup> and terminus of overland and ocean communications. Even the unemployed and returned miners could not be employed by the New Westminster council for public works projects because of Douglas' refusal of a loan.<sup>14</sup> Neither did he press for the immigration of permanent agricultural settlers to the Fraser Valley.<sup>15</sup> "Sectional legislation", absentee officials, and a prejudicial tariff system, were in the British Columbian's view designed to make New Westminster "tributary to the upbuilding and commercial advancement of ... Victoria."<sup>16</sup>

Despite complaints from the municipal council and Colonial Treasurer Gosset, projects like the Mint, more roads or steam communication to the Cariboo were never pressed for by the "miserable, stick-in-the-mud, do-nothing ... Government."<sup>17</sup>

New Westminster citizens and council sent memorials to the Colonial Secretary in London, asking for a resident Governor and officials.<sup>18</sup> The October 4, 1862 issue reported that a public meeting had delegated the Honorable Mr Malcolm Cameron to go to England to ask for representative and responsible government, for overland continental communication, and for diffusion of true information about the colony's resources, as opposed to the propaganda that would undoubtedly be spread by the Victoria delegate Mr Leonard McClure. New Westminster insisted that it was more than a branch office of the Island centre of officialdom. New Westminster felt capable of showing her Victoria "Granny ... we are abundantly able to get along without a hold on her apron string."<sup>19</sup> Yet New Westminster, aware of her dependence on Victoria, feared early proposals for union of the two colonies<sup>20</sup> would make her "bankrupt and anxious sister" the official capital of both Island and Mainland.

New Westminster prided itself in being the true capital of the mainland gold colony. She had been chosen as such by Moody, and surveyed and settled by both his engineers and those early citizens catering to the miner traffic. They felt the Douglas "Czarship"<sup>21</sup> could be only temporary, until British Columbia had enough permanent population to support popular institutions, since her people, though not all British as Douglas wished, had as "Canadians" or Americans, experienced liberal British-style institutions. Victoria, however, had the undeniable advantage of having been an established administrative centre as a Hudson's Bay Post before New Westminster's birth. Victoria had not only the officials of both colonies, but also the presence of a Royal Navy base. She also had her Legislative Assembly while New Westminster lacked even a popular representative on the Governor's Council to voice its cry for removal of the capital to New Westminster.

New Westminster's political voice was her municipal council, the "first representative body in the colony."<sup>22</sup> In the absence of popular or official representation in the colonial government, the municipal council led the community in demanding its proper place as the capital and due attention to its economic and social needs, whether it be for hospital<sup>23</sup> or the use of the Mint.<sup>24</sup> Thus the New Westminster municipal council, having been given a sop by the "Victoria Despotism", served in place of representative colonial institutions. Even when British Columbia was granted a Legislative Council in 1864, New Westminster was a minority in it with only one member. The New Westminster council, by responsible mature action, inspired such projects as the hospital, exploration of non-mineral resources in the New Westminster district, and representation at the London Industrial Exhibition to promote investment and immigration.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, petitions to the Colonial Secretary strove to show the fitness of the community for self-government.

New Westminster's eagerness for capital status made her over-

confident and blind to Victoria's advantages and to some of her own disadvantages. Absentee officials were not interested in her development. She was founded after Victoria and placed second in the minds of the Victoria-dwelling colonial officials, regarding investments, public works and promotion for permanent settlement by immigration. Editor Robson repeatedly attacked the Victoria Colonist's<sup>26</sup> misrepresentation of New Westminster's potential as a capital or commercial centre. Yet the "Family Compact" of despotic Victoria had several strong newspapers speaking for it whereas New Westminster had only one.<sup>27</sup> The New Westminster newspaper concentrated on local intelligence, since mail service, even from Victoria, was poor, and after 1863 the paper did not have even the contract for official notices.<sup>28</sup>

New Westminster, although in a commercial sense only an adjunct to the Victoria gold rush traffic, still saw itself as, potentially, British Columbia's premier business community because it was the portal to the Cariboo. So it fought Victoria for supremacy both as a port and a commercial metropolis. The New Westminster business community counted as an asset the Fraser River - "Our Thames"<sup>29</sup> for government and commercial control of the country. Her geographical position,<sup>30</sup> climate,<sup>31</sup> good agricultural soils,<sup>32</sup> not to mention expanding shipping companies, merchants and hostelryes in the "emporium of commerce"<sup>33</sup> advertising in the British Columbian, who served the influx of miners. Moreover, New Westminster was the official port of deep sea entry for the colony of British Columbia and had a Customs House and resident Colonial Treasurer.<sup>34</sup>

New Westminster was just a stop over for river traffic, not an ocean terminus, or even a centre of a great river commerce. The tonnage dues received at the port were not applied to the eradication of the tidal river's navigational hazards as the Municipal Council wished.<sup>35</sup> A lightship<sup>36</sup> was needed on the often fog bound sandbars at the harbour's mouth. The British Columbian however tried to argue away the port's disadvantages. It praised Captain Richard's pioneering efforts sailing the HMS "Hecate" right up to New Westminster.<sup>37</sup> The character of shipping in the 1860's, that is, sailing clippers for ocean freight and only coastal steamers going up-river after the transshipment of ocean cargoes in Victoria, meant that New Westminster was bypassed by miners en route from the Cariboo to Victoria or San Francisco. The British Columbian campaigned for "Direct Steam Communication" as the "Great Desideratum"<sup>38</sup> of her commercial growth, which would bring the miners' business as well as a better mail service. It attacked the "Venice of the Pacific"<sup>40</sup> - Victoria - for its free port. The situation where "the Commerce of British Columbia" was imported via Victoria was "the mere temporary result of the direct interference of a partisan Governor and local clique whose interests ... were inimical to the commercial prosperity and supremacy of New Westminster".<sup>41</sup> Through Victoria-based officialdom, the port lay undeveloped and projected connecting roads were unbuilt,<sup>42</sup> while bad publicity was circulated abroad about those in New Westminster who sought "reforms"<sup>43</sup> of government policy.

Robson stoutly maintained that Victoria was "little better

than a temporary forwarding station for New Westminster".<sup>44</sup> Although the British Columbian extolled the lively community life of the few resident officials, the Royal Engineers and merchants - churches, plays, debates, lectures and volunteer rifle companies - no great influxes of permanent settlers were noted. New Westminster lacked amenities for permanent or temporary settlement. On July 18, 1861 300 children over five years of age were reported to be ready for the non-existent free non-sectarian Common School. Miners did not take up the invitation to spend the winter in New Westminster.<sup>45</sup> Poor mail service was a constant complaint. On January 2, 1862 Mr. Ballou was reported to be setting out for "up river towns" in a canoe. The large Indian population was an "evil upon two grounds - moral and sanitary".<sup>46</sup> Contagious diseases spread quickly as in the smallpox epidemic of 1862. The few existing services, such as the Royal Columbian Hospital<sup>47</sup> and the "Local Industrial Exhibition" with its buildings<sup>48</sup> had been provided by volunteer civic effort, solicited at public meetings. Permanent settlement, Robson contended, must be founded on a more stable economic base than gold. Development of non-mineral resources, "the lumber and fish",<sup>49</sup> around New Westminster had only just begun. The British Columbian complained that the "Royal Engineers in British Columbia"<sup>50</sup> had not been used to survey these resources or the best access routes to them.

The year 1864 marks the end of a phase of the campaign when New Westminster achieved one of its objectives with the separation of the governorships of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. New Westminster acquired her own resident governor, Frederick Seymour.<sup>51</sup> The absentee officials had to move to the community on the Fraser, and a British Columbia Legislature sat in the Royal Engineers camp in Sapperton.<sup>52</sup> Still, in face of the depression in placer mining and increased Victoria competition, New Westminster hoped for other government actions to preserve and promote her place on the mainland. A resident governor and his officials were naturally the chief assets in the fight for retention of commercial standing. The British Columbian praised officials including administrator Birch,<sup>53</sup> who championed New Westminster's commercial interests in face of Victoria's competition, during Seymour's fifteen month absence during 1865 and 1866. Results of their work could be seen in the more frequent postal system, which also doubled the colonial revenues in 1865,<sup>54</sup> and in the new telegraphic link which brought the news of Lincoln's assassination to the April 20, 1865 British Columbian pages. The municipal council continued to take action to promote New Westminster commercially. Henry Holbrook, a leading merchant and president of the council, led the council in calling a public meeting to protest Victoria's publicists', especially "Donald Fraser and the capital agitators' selfish and unprincipled endeavour" to slander New Westminster abroad while promoting Victoria.<sup>55</sup>

Robson, already a member of the council, continued to promote his constituency's commercial potential when he became a member of the Legislative Council in 1866.<sup>56</sup> He advocated retrenchment in the civil service, abolition of tolls and taxes on traffic to or through New Westminster, and inducement of permanent agricultural settlement in her area by road construction new lands legislation, and reduction of Fraser Valley Indian Reserve lands.

Yet despite New Westminster's hopes for government action to preserve her position, economic depression and retrenchment frustrated her commercial dreams. Depression, argued the Columbian, grew from "overtrading" and "overspeculation"<sup>57</sup> in the mines. This, in turn, led to a call for retrenchment in the governmental service by union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island with the threat of removal of the capital to Victoria.<sup>58</sup> And even when union came and Victoria lost its free port, the "Victoria Wharf Street Chapter" and Hudson's Bay "Blanket aristocracy"<sup>59</sup> were able to turn this to their temporary advantage. They had stockpiled goods before union, and then dumped them on the mainland markets<sup>60</sup> without paying the British Columbia tariff, thus hurting New Westminster merchants and halving the Colony's customs revenue. Then a new threat arose. Waddington, seen in New Westminster as voice of the Victoria clique in Canada and England,<sup>61</sup> agitated for an overland railway route via Bute Inlet to Victoria, threatening New Westminster's hopes of becoming the centre of a Fraser Valley route. Ironically, in combatting this menace, the British Columbian no longer sought to argue away the New Westminster river port's disadvantages but came to extol the harbour of Burrard Inlet,<sup>62</sup> "only six miles away" as "our outer harbour" and future site of a drydock, railway terminus and deep sea port. Furthermore, the British Columbian complained of the "unaccountable stupidity" of the colonial government in not employing its capital in the development of silver or copper mines in the New Westminster district to aid the colony and the city.<sup>63</sup> Legislation that did come in, such as the Trades License Ordinance of 1866,<sup>64</sup> hurt the commercial life of the city by imposing direct taxes on its tradesmen, as had "The Customs Amendment Ordinance of 1865"<sup>65</sup> by imposing a 50% tariff on all goods passing through Victoria and then landing in New Westminster - reinforcing the habit of river traffic to bypass New Westminster.

The New Westminster community trembled with rumours that political as well as commercial destiny would pass her by. The great annual migrations to the mines lessened and calls for retrenchment by amalgamation of government offices and residences were heard in the newspaper and Legislative Council. Under Douglas' dual regime over British Columbia and Vancouver Island and under Seymour's separate administration of British Columbia, New Westminster had never ceased to fear that Victoria might officially remove the "Seat of Government" from New Westminster.<sup>66</sup> Under Seymour, resident in New Westminster and her champion in speeches and actions,<sup>67</sup> New Westminster had felt in a stronger position. Seymour fought for the improvement of her harbour, for a lightship and for communications by a direct New Westminster - San Francisco steamer service. He had, moreover, pronounced confidence in New Westminster as the site sanctioned by the British Parliament<sup>68</sup> for the capital of British Columbia. Even his fifteen month absence from the colony in 1865 and 1866 was seen as an asset to British Columbia and New Westminster, since New Westminster hoped that while in England he would convey to the Colonial Office the "absurdity" of uniting the colonies and underline Victoria's jealousy and misrepresentation of New Westminster.<sup>69</sup>

Seymour had seen how the Legislative Council members from Cariboo had supported New Westminster<sup>70</sup> against proposals for union with Vancouver Island, and how New Westminster itself had enhanced its fitness as the seat of government by providing volunteer defence, when threatened by Fenians<sup>71</sup> and Indians.<sup>72</sup> Seymour had probably also read in Robson's paper that the community strongly held to the "public faith and honour"<sup>73</sup> placed in New Westminster as capital. New Westminster was fighting to retain this position against Victoria because she considered herself more "central", "defensible", and "certain to be the head of (transcontinental) railway and ocean communication", once the new Dominion of Canada should extend itself across the continent.<sup>74</sup> Thus the prospect of Confederation when it became a public issue in 1867, was seen as enhancing New Westminster's position. A public meeting about "Confederation"<sup>75</sup>, of the New Westminster community was prepared to petition the Governor and Council to have British Columbia join Confederation particularly if the overland road from Canada to the Pacific would be via New Westminster and Burrard Inlet, rather than Bute Inlet and Victoria.

Yet the Colonial Office saw the "possible expediency" of removing the capital of the depressed colony to Victoria, and acted upon the plea of the non-New Westminster majority of the British Columbia Legislative Council for such removal. Seymour's obedient "submission" to his "superior officers" swung "the balance" of New Westminster opinion "sadly against the governor".<sup>76</sup> Municipal Council President Holbrook, who gave the Victoria Day address to the annual civic celebration on May 24, 1868, could not believe that H.M. the Queen could "countenance such an injustice."<sup>77</sup>

The melancholy that now fell upon the community deprived of capital and commerce is seen in Robson's admission that "depression" had fallen upon him too, and that he would continue to publish his "labour of love" only as long as "public patronage" and "confidence" continued. On March 2, 1867 he had had to let go his assistant and partner, McMillan. Editorials now advocated retrenchment, instead of advertising new mining strikes and traffic, or reporting development of resources and public works. Advertisements declined, the paper came out on Saturdays only after November 14, 1868 and the price doubled.

From May 25, 1863 when Victoria was proclaimed the Seat of Government, the New Westminster community sought to promote local development by promotion of the amenities left to her as a colonial village. New Westminster's Municipal Council championed this fight to sustain life in the community. "A Contrast" was seen in the speed at which the officials, so long in moving to the mainland capital, now rushed to Victoria, leaving New Westminster "out in the cold of official neglect".<sup>78</sup> New Westminster counted on her remaining citizens, their newspaper, and telegraphic links to help her, not to fight Victoria as before, but merely to remain alive. New Westminster Council continued to seek the return of the capital or some compensation for its loss to property holders.<sup>79</sup> The Council had told Governor Seymour, before the capital's removal to Victoria, that its loss to New Westminster would mean a fall in land prices, taxes, and the Council's defaulting on its debts.<sup>80</sup> New Westminster hoped

for an increased voice on the Legislative Council; "now that the Seat of Government (had) been carried away to Victoria the Governor (could not) afford to "pack" the Council with Victorians as he had done in the past".<sup>81</sup> Confederation became the great political and economic panacea, that would revivify and rejuvenate New Westminster, as a railway and ocean communication terminus. The British Columbian reported a proposal for a naval base at Boundary Bay to protect New Westminster as such a terminus.<sup>82</sup>

New Westminster, in order to stay alive, sought to promote what commercial facilities were left in the town and district. "The Resources and Prospects of the New Westminster District", an editorial for August 8, 1868, said that, even after the "capital swindle", New Westminster still possessed as assets its climate, river, harbour at Burrard Inlet, fisheries, forests, coal and farmlands. It looked hopefully to government action to develop the Fraser Valley, by a survey, by reduction of Indian reserves<sup>83</sup> and construction of a road to Pitt River. Any news of development of New Westminster's resources was seized upon with alacrity, such as the May 9, 1868 British Columbian's inclusion of a letter to Syme, a pioneer salmon canner, praising his product. An Agricultural Exhibition organized by volunteer committees touted New Westminster's potential in 1867. Victoria, however, threatened these aspirations with demands for free trade<sup>84</sup> and free port status again, which she had surrendered on entering British Columbia in 1866.

By 1869, New Westminster seemed completely disappointed in all her hopes to become the "metropolis" of the "British Pacific".<sup>85</sup> She had fought for, and won, a political status equal to Victoria, but had not succeeded in wresting away commercial control of the mainland from the "Venice of the Pacific".<sup>86</sup> Because of the gold rush decline and resulting retrenchment, New Westminster had lost its capital status. Her destiny clouded, she had few industries and a continually falling population, and the mournful decline of ambition as well as confidence in the city was reflected in the British Columbian. An editorial of January 2, 1869 said:

. . . Victoria seconded by corrupt influences in England, carried the Seat of Government away from the Mainland to the great inconvenience of the most important and productive part of the colony, and to the gross wronging of a loyal and industrious community . . . (Yet) it is at least some satisfaction to know that (the people of Victoria) cannot deprive us of our natural advantages, or hinder ultimate prosperity.

By February 27, 1869, the "Valedictory" of the newspaper was published, echoing the disappointment of the community it had served.

New Westminster (had) ceased to be a favourable base from which to advocate the broader political questions of the day and (Robson) reluctantly (sought) the centre of population and commerce with the hope of attaining a wider range of usefulness . . . in a better position to promote the interests of New Westminster . . .



FOOTNOTES

1. McDonald, Margaret L. New Westminster, 1859-1871. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of B.C., 1947. Chap.1 "The founding of New Westminster" p.1-53. (Subsequently referred to as McDonald. New Westminster.)
  2. Population figures for early New Westminster (pre 1871) are difficult to obtain. Reid, James. John Robson and the British Columbian: a study of a pioneer editor in British Columbia. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of B.C., 1950, and McDonald. New Westminster, discuss the fluctuating character of the city's population in the goldrush days. From their accounts, drawn from newspapers and census figures, the population of New Westminster probably numbered about 1800 in the early sixties and fell to 400 or 500 in New Westminster (excluding the 250 people working at, or living at Burrard Inlet Mills) by the time of the 1869 census.
  3. Biographical information on Robson is taken from Reid's thesis on Robson, and Howay, F. and E. Scholefield. British Columbia (Biographical) Vol. 3, p.996-1002. After publishing the British Columbian in New Westminster from 1861 to 1869, Robson went to Victoria and after a short time joined the Colonist staff. From 1871 to 1875 he was Member of the Legislative Assembly for Nanaimo. From 1875 to 1879 he was paymaster for the C.P.R. In 1879 Robson returned to New Westminster. In 1882 he re-established the British Columbian and was elected to the Legislature for that constituency. In 1887 and again in 1889 Robson was made Premier of British Columbia.
  4. Editorial: "A government organ", the British Columbian, New Westminster, May 13, 1863 Robson said that government patronage had caused McClure to establish the New Westminster Times in 1860 and public indignation had caused the citizens to purchase it and hire Robson as editor of a public organ. (The British Columbian is subsequently referred to as Br.Col.)
- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. Br.Col. Feb. 13, 1861  | 17. Br.Col. Aug. 27, 1862  |
| 6. Br.Col. July 18, 1863  | 18. Br.Col. April 4, 1861  |
| 7. Br.Col. Aug.30, 1862   | 19. Br.Col. Feb.21, 1861   |
| 8. Br.Col. May 7, 1862    | 20. Br.Col. Sept. 26, 1863 |
| 9. Br.Col. May 28, 1864   | 21. Br.Col. April 4, 1861  |
| 10. Br.Col. Nov.28, 1861  | 22. Br.Col. Aug. 1, 1861   |
| 11. Br.Col. May 2, 1861   | 23. Br.Col. Dec. 5, 1861   |
| 12. Br.Col. March 6, 1862 | 24. Br.Col. Nov. 14, 1861  |
| 13. Br.Col. April 4, 1861 | 25. Br.Col. June 24, 1863  |
| 14. Br.Col. Dec.13, 1862  | 26. Br.Col. June 18, 1862  |
| 15. Br.Col. June 2, 1862  | 27. Br.Col. June 24, 1863  |
| 16. Br.Col. Sept. 9, 1861 |                            |
28. McDonald. New Westminster. p. 398-9, and Br.Col. Jan.24, 1863. Robson explained his loss of the government gazette business to Wolfenden at the R. Eng. press, as the result of his refusal to become the servile tool of a corrupt government.

29. Br.Col. June 25, 1862                      32. Br.Col. Feb.4, 1863  
 30. Br.Col. March 21, 1861                    33. Br.Col. July 18, 1861  
 31. Br.Col. Sept. 13, 1862

34. Farthing, G. The port of New Westminster. Unpublished term paper, University of B.C., 1958-59. (Subsequently referred to as Farthing. The Port.)

Farthing says that Douglas by two proclamations in June 1859 established the future New Westminster as a deep sea port and customs depot.

35. Br.Col. Nov.11, 1863                      59. Br.Col. Sept.30, 1864  
 36. Br.Col. Feb.28, 1861                    60. Br.Col. Nov. 13, 1866  
 37. Br.Col. March 28, 1861                  61. Br.Col. Feb. 26, 1868  
 38. Farthing. The Port. p.27-29            62. Br.Col. June 19, 1867  
 39. Br.Col. June 20, 1861                    63. Br.Col. Jan.11, 1868  
 40. Br.Col. Aug.29, 1863                    64. Br.Col. Feb.24, 1866  
 41. Br.Col. Feb.2, 1863                    65. Br.Col. Feb.18, 1865  
 42. Br.Col. Nov.11, 1863                    66. Br.Col. Aug. 8, 1866  
 43. Br.Col. March 27, 1862. A              67. Br.Col. May 11, 1864  
 letter from James Kennedy support-68. Br.Col. March 30, 1868  
 ed Robson's editorial comment that69. Br.Col. Aug.10, 1865  
 Gov. Douglas altered the prize.        70. Br.Col. May:7, 1864  
 essays on B.C. and wanted none but71. Br.Col. May 9, 1868  
 "toadies" to his regime to submit 72. Br.Col. Aug.6, 1864  
 essays.                                      73. Br.Col. April 20, 1867  
 44. Br.Col. Feb. 7, 1863                    74. Br.Col. Aug. 8, 1866  
 45. Br.Col. Oct. 28, 1865                    75. Br.Col. April 4, 1868  
 46. Br.Col. May 3, 1862                    76. Br.Col. March 13, 1868  
 47. Br.Col. Dec. 5, 1861                    77. Br.Col. May 27, 1868  
 48. Br.Col. Nov.21, 1861                    78. Br.Col. Feb.24, 1866  
 49. Br.Col. April 1, 1863                    79. Br.Col. Oct. 12, 1868  
 50. Br.Col. Feb.25, 1863                    80. Br.Col. April 15, 1868  
 51. Br.Col. April 25, 1864                    81. Br.Col. June 27, 1868  
 52. Br.Col. May 11, 1864                    82. Br.Col. April 9, 1868  
 53. Br.Col. Nov. 17, 1866                    83. Br.Col. July 1, 1868  
 54. Br.Col. Sept. 9, 1865                    84. Br.Col. Nov.11, 1868  
 55. Br.Col. Feb. 19, 1868                    85. Br.Col. Jan.9, 1869  
 56. Br.Col. Sept. 9, 1866                    86. Br.Col. March 7, 1868  
 57. Br. Col. July 28, 1866  
 58. Br.Col. March 3, 1866

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