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QUARTERLY



OCTOBER, 1950



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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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## REV. ROBERT JOHN STAINES: PIONEER PRIEST, PEDAGOGUE, AND POLITICAL AGITATOR\*

Following the departure from Fort Vancouver in November, 1838, of Rev. Herbert Beaver and his wife, Jane, the position of chaplain in the Columbia Department remained unfilled for nearly ten years. Considering the Hudson's Bay Company's experience with their first chaplain, it is relatively easy to account for the lack of celerity on the part of the Governor and Committee in London in seeking a successor.<sup>1</sup> The intervening years, however, brought major changes to the Columbia Department. Thousands of settlers had crossed the plains and the Willamette Valley, and adjacent territory was rapidly being settled. Fort Victoria had come into existence on Vancouver Island and was about to become the headquarters for the Company's operations, since by the boundary treaty of 1846 Fort Vancouver now lay within American territory. It is, therefore, of more than passing interest to record the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Robert John Staines and his subsequent career in Vancouver Island.

Through the kind co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company in London a search has been made in their archives, and much new and interesting information has been brought to light.<sup>2</sup> The need for a school-teacher in the Columbia Department, particularly at Fort Vancouver, had long been recognized, and it now is obvious that it was to fill this need that a new appointment was taken under consideration. The inclusion in the position of the duties of chaplain was an extension of the original plan and

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(\*) A condensation of this article was presented to a meeting of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

(1) G. Hollis Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI (1942), pp. 13-29.

(2) Information credited to the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter cited as H.B.C. Archives) is reproduced by permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

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that Fort Victoria, and not Fort Vancouver, became the scene of action was the result of altered circumstances in the Pacific Northwest.

Whether or not the position of schoolmaster in the Columbia Department was advertised is not known, but early in March, 1848, the Hudson's Bay Company received a recommendation on behalf of Robert John Staines from Captain R. Owen, of Marlfield, Gorey, Ireland. The Company immediately communicated with Staines, who was at that time conducting an educational establishment at Boulogne sur Mer, France.<sup>3</sup> Staines replied in a letter dated March 7, 1848, in which he set out the qualifications of himself and his wife for the appointment with printed copies of no less than twelve supporting testimonials.

Robert John Staines was then 27 years old. He was the eldest son of a family of nine children born to John Collins Staines and his wife, Mary. The register of the Oundle Parish Church of St. Peter indicates that he was baptized on November 8, 1820, and that his father, a tailor by trade, then lived in North Street, Oundle, Northamptonshire.<sup>4</sup> He appears to have entered the Oundle Grammar School in the midsummer term, 1828, the one hundred and eighty-ninth boy to be registered by Rev. John James, M.A. In the register his name is given as William, but a

(3) J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, to G. H. Slater, October 31, 1947, with enclosed excerpts from the H.B.C. Archives.

(4) Rev. Canon J. L. Cartwright, Vicar of Oundle, to G. H. Slater, April 23, 1947. The parish registers reveal the following information concerning his brothers and sisters:—

Mary Ann: Baptized May 5, 1822; buried April 15, 1823.

William Collins: Baptized July 14, 1824; buried December 16, 1846.

Harriet Charlotte: Baptized July 21, 1826.

Thomas James: Baptized April 18, 1826 [?].

Charles: Baptized November 15, 1830.

Jane Ann: Baptized September 25, 1835.

Charles Henry: Baptized January 19, 1838.

Mary Ann: Baptized December 11, 1839.

Mary Staines, his mother, was buried at Oundle, November 30, 1853, aged 55 years; and his father was buried at Oundle on August 7, 1864, aged 65 years. Evidently prior to his death, his father was an inmate of Laxton Hospital, Oundle, an alms-house founded in 1556 by Sir William Laxton and managed by the Grocers' Company of London, who were also governors of the grammar school.

note added later states "a mistake in the Christian name which should have been Robert John."<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, at the age of 19, he was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, on March 24, 1840, where he kept four terms,<sup>6</sup> transferring to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he was admitted as a pensioner on February 4, 1842. His record at Trinity Hall, leading to his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1845, was as follows:—

Kept: Lent, Easter, Mich. 1842.

Lent, Easter, Mich. 1843.

Lent 1844 kept only part of the term, and as he did not go in for the B.A. exam in Jan., though he had kept all his terms, he is to come up again for the exam in Jan. 1845.

Lent 1845 admtd. *ad responsionem quæstionum* 18th Jan.<sup>7</sup>

From the testimonials presented by Staines, it is apparent that he was well thought of by his teachers. William Marsh, vice-master and tutor of Trinity Hall, in a letter dated June 22, 1844, recommending Staines for a position at the Derby Grammar School, considered him a good classical scholar and possessed of considerable abilities, such as would enable him to undertake

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(5) Graham Stainforth, Headmaster, The School, Oundle, to Rev. G. A. A. Wright, South Liberty, Wells, May 5, 1947; also Graham Stainforth to G. H. Slater, April 22, 1947. It is interesting to note that one of the testimonials presented by Staines was from William Layng, M.A., Curate of Strubby and Mablethorpe, Lincolnshire, formerly second master of the Oundle Grammar School, who, in recommending Staines for a position in the Free Grammar School, Bradford, stated he had known him for several years and "had very frequent opportunities of judging of his general merit, as well as of estimating his scholarship." Enclosure in R. J. Staines to Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(6) Information supplied to G. H. Slater by St. John's College in a letter dated April 29, 1947. F. B. Scott, M.A., 11th Wrangler of St. John's College, later certified that Staines was his pupil in mathematics and that he considered him fully qualified to teach the first branches of that science. Enclosure in Staines to Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(7) C. W. Crawley, Tutor, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, to Rev. G. G. Wright, April 19 and 29, 1947. These facts are corroborated in a testimonial by William Marsh, Vice-Master, Trinity Hall, dated June 4, 1847, enclosed in Staines' letter to the Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

the tuition of boys preparatory for the universities.<sup>8</sup> A fortnight later, Marsh, in commending him for the vice-principalship of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, added that he was well qualified for imparting instruction as a mathematical lecturer.<sup>9</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that Staines readily found employment. In the Michaelmas term, 1844, he became assistant classical and mathematical master of the Derby Grammar School. This was a temporary engagement, and his headmaster, John Hudson, gave him a strong recommendation for the mastership of St. Asaph's Grammar School.<sup>10</sup> In this he was supported by William Layng, a former master at the Oundle Grammar School, who stated that in addition to having a very competent and creditable proficiency in classical and mathematical requirements, Staines possessed a more perfect knowledge of English literature and arithmetic than the generality of young men on leaving the university. Layng further indicated that Staines had had some experience in tuition and possessed the aptitude to teach and to communicate so necessary for the instruction of youth. Moreover, he affirmed that Staines was deeply attached to the Church of England and would probably soon desire to be admitted into Holy orders.<sup>11</sup>

Presumably Staines did not secure the appointment to St. Asaph's, for in October, 1845, he went to Gorey, County Wexford, Ireland, to become the tutor in the family of Captain R. Owen,<sup>12</sup> which position he filled with complete satisfaction.<sup>13</sup> It is not known exactly when Staines established his school in Rue Basse

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(8) Letter dated June 22, 1844, by William Marsh, enclosed in Staines to Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(9) Letter dated July 4, 1844, by William Marsh, *ibid.*

(10) Letter dated March 20, 1845, by John Hudson, *ibid.*

(11) Letter dated April 4, 1845, by William Layng, *ibid.*

(12) Letter dated June 30, 1846, by H. Newland, D.D., Dean of Ferns, Gorey, Ireland, *ibid.* Dean Newland further commented that his impression of Staines was "such as prove him to be a faithful member of the Church and enabled to lay a solid foundation in his pupils' minds on this most important branch of learning" and, moreover, he considered his manners and general demeanor "most gentlemanlike and pleasing." This opinion was fully substantiated by Rev. Henry Robinson, Curate of Gorey, in a letter dated July 3, 1846, also submitted by Staines to the Hudson's Bay Company.

(13) Letter dated June, 1846, by R. Owen, enclosed in Staines' letter of March 7, 1848.

des Tintelleries at Boulogne sur Mer, but from his letter of March 7, 1848, to the Hudson's Bay Company the inference is that he had not long been there.

I wish it to be understood that the *Establisht.* which I have formed here though but in an incipient state, is of the most respectable kind. Amongst my pupils are two sons of Sir Broderick Hartwell Bart., one son of Sir Alexr. Ramsay Bart., one grandson of Lord Dunboyne (boarder), one son of Lady Smith (boarder), a cousin of the Marquis of Sligo aged 20 (a private pupil), 2 sons of Captn. Revel Carnac, R.N., &c. &c.<sup>14</sup>

Nor is the date of his marriage to Emma Frances Tahourdin known, although presumably it occurred following his return from Ireland sometime after July, 1846.

Staines set out his own qualifications, as follows:—

I could take the Classics, Mathematics, and every branch of the usual routine of an English education, including drawing if required. For instance in my own school here where I have 4 boarders and 8 day scholars, I teach all the departments myself, except the French, which as we are in *France*, is of course expected to be taught by a Frenchman.

In so far as his wife was concerned, he added:—

Mrs. Staines is perfectly qualified to take every department in the usual course of a gentlewoman's education, including music and French, of both which she is *perfectly mistress*, and Italian and German sufficiently to read and translate.

Moreover, he pointed out that both he and his wife considered "religious instruction in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England as an indispensable part of a sound education." His reason for abandoning his school in France was quite simply stated—"the present precarious state of our peaceful relations with this country."<sup>15</sup>

It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the Hudson's Bay Company considered itself particularly fortunate in securing so highly recommended and so versatile a couple for their projected school at Fort Vancouver. At a meeting of the Governor and Committee on April 26 it was resolved "that if Mr. Staines be admitted to holy Orders, an addition of £100 a year be allowed him for the performance of clerical duties as chaplain to the

(14) R. J. Staines to Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, MS., H.B.C. Archives.

(15) *Ibid.*

Company.”<sup>16</sup> This decision was communicated to Staines, who immediately took steps for admission to Holy orders.

I wrote to the Bishop of London immediately upon the receipt of your letter, and have received an answer from his Lordship, which evinces a very favorable disposition. But he says before he can give me a positive answer, he “must know whether the Hudson’s Bay Company will give *me* such a nomination as may serve for a Title to Holy Orders.” I have written to satisfy his Lordship on this head, and he will receive my letter tomorrow, and I have also therein stated that the Ven. the Archdeacon of Maidstone, Dr. Harrison, will be authorized to explain to his Lp. on the part of the Company the nature of the appointment; I shall feel much obliged to you therefore, if you will have the kindness to state this to Mr. Harrison, in order that the Ven. the Archdeacon may be prepared to make the necessary explanation to his Ldp. when he requests it.<sup>17</sup>

It thus fell to Benjamin Harrison, Treasurer of Guy’s Hospital, London, and a member of the Board of the Hudson’s Bay Company since 1807, to take up the matter with his son, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Maidstone. Two days later, on May 26, Harrison wrote:—

Under the circumstances of the case the Bishop may be induced to dispense with many of the usual forms. The Archdeacon is on his visitation but will probably be in London on Monday [May 29], I could see his Lordship on the subject now that he has entertained the application, but I had feared that the time was so short that it would scarcely be possible to complete the arrangements.<sup>18</sup>

Staines, however, was quite confident that the arrangements could be completed, for on June 6 he wrote to the Governor, Sir John Pelly:—

Not having yet heard from the Bishop of London, I fear either that his Lordship has not yet received any communication from Mr. Harrison, or that he cannot have received my letter, which I sent last Wednesday week, May 24th. I am therefore at present quite uncertain as to what his Lordship intends to do about ordaining me on Trinity Sunday [June 18], & I feel quite unable to help myself about the matter as long as I stay here. I shall give up my School on the 14th (tomorrow week) and if I could at the same time settle all my affairs here and come to England at once, I feel that it would be much more advantageous for me. This however must necessarily be attended with considerable expense. . . .<sup>19</sup>

(16) *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(17) Staines to Sir J. H. Pelly, May 24, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(18) Benjamin Harrison to Sir J. H. Pelly, May 26, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(19) Staines to Sir J. H. Pelly, June 6, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

In a letter to the Governor three days later, still no word had come from the Bishop of London, and the assumption is that Staines carried out his plan of closing his affairs in France in mid-June and returning to England.<sup>20</sup> The exact date of his ordination has not come to light, but according to the Registrar of the Bishop of Norwich "Robert John Staines was ordained Deacon and Priest in August, 1848, in Norwich Cathedral by the Bishop of Norwich, on letters dimissory from the Bishop of London."<sup>21</sup> Thus it came to pass that the entry in the *log* of the Hudson's Bay Company's barque *Columbia* under date September 12, 1848, read ". . . the following is the List of Passengers on board, Revd. Mr. Stains [*sic*] Wife and Child with there [*sic*] Man & Maid Servant."<sup>22</sup>

In the letter to the Board of Management of the Western Department at Fort Vancouver informing them of Staines' appointment, the Company's opinion of their appointee is made plain.

It has been a subject of regret to us that circumstances should have prevented the permanent residence of a Clergyman at the Company's principal establishment, West of the Rocky Mountains; we have therefore prevailed upon Mr. Staines to take Holy Orders and to act as Chaplain to the Company. Mr. Staines' usefulness as a teacher will thus be increased, while provision will be made for the regular performance of religious offices—an object of the first importance in every community.

Speaking further of Staines and his wife, the letter continued:— We believe them to possess in an eminent degree the qualifications requisite for their tasks, and we hope they will discharge their important duties in such a manner as to reflect credit on themselves and give satisfaction to all concerned.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, further evidence that the Company at this time held a high opinion of Staines is confirmed by Sir John Pelly's recommendation of Staines to the Colonial Office for a Commission of

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(20) Staines was still in France on June 17 when he addressed a further letter to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(21) Rt. Rev. Percy M. Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, to G. H. Slater, December 17, 1949. The information leading to the search of the records at Norwich was provided in a letter from H. T. A. Dashwood, Registrar of the Bishop of London, to G. H. Slater, December 10, 1948.

(22) *Log of the Columbia*, September 12, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(23) Governor and Committee to the Board of Management, September 8, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

the Peace under the *Act for regulating the Fur Trade and for the establishment of a Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America* (1 & 2 Geo. IV, Cap 66).<sup>24</sup>

Previous to Staines' departure from England, the Council of the Northern Department in session at Norway House on June 12, 1848, resolved: "That the sum of One hundred Pounds be contributed towards the support of a school in the Columbia District for the Current Outfit."<sup>25</sup> That it was contemplated that this school was to be established at Fort Vancouver is evidenced by the letter to Governor George Simpson announcing Staines' departure.

The *Columbia* . . . sailed from Gravesend on the 12th. with a fair wind, which has continued ever since. Mr. Staines his wife and nephew are passengers by her. Mr. Staines goes to the Columbia to take charge of the school at Fort Vancouver and to act in the capacity of Chaplain, having been admitted to holy orders for that purpose.<sup>26</sup>

This intention is further confirmed in a letter to the Board of Management at Fort Vancouver under date September 30, which gives further details concerning the arrangement with Staines.

Mr. & Mrs. Staines have gone out in the *Columbia* to take charge of the schools to be established at Fort Vancouver. They are to be provided with a residence, but are to maintain themselves, their servants and a nephew, whom they take out with them. Mr. Staines is in Holy Orders and is appointed Chaplain to the Company.<sup>27</sup>

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(24) Sir J. H. Pelly to Earl Grey, September 13, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. There is no evidence that this recommendation was ever implemented.

(25) *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(26) Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company to Sir George Simpson, September 12, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(27) Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Board of Management, September 30, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. This is similar to the information provided Sir George Simpson in November, 1848. "The agreement with Mr. Staines was modified after the letter to the Board of Management dated Septem. 8th was written . . . and he was to maintain himself and his family at his own charge, a residence being provided for him. His nephew is a boy of ten years of age. The Board of Management have been informed of the footing, on which Mr. Staines is to be placed." Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company to Simpson, November 3, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

However, the Board of Management at Fort Vancouver decided before his arrival in the country that Staines should remain at Fort Victoria instead of proceeding to Fort Vancouver.

We think it expedient that Mr. Staines should remain at Fort Victoria, where we intend to establish the School—as it is probable the Company will retire from the Columbia before the close of the present year—and it would not only be a loss of time, but involve much unnecessary expense to the supporters of the institution by having to sacrifice [*sic*] our buildings and other improvements after getting everything comfortably arranged. We therefore propose to found the School at Fort Victoria—and we beg you well [*sic*] signify our intention to the Revd. Mr. Staines and request him to remain with you until you receive further instructions. You will please to give him lodging in the establishment, allow them a servant and a separate table, and make them in other respects as comfortable as possible.<sup>28</sup>

Consequently, when Staines, his wife, and nephew, Horace Tahourdin, then 10 years of age, set sail in the *Columbia* on September 12, 1848, it was with the expectation that their future home would be Fort Vancouver. The voyage did not start auspiciously, for Staines was ill; in fact, a letter to the Company from shipboard some days before departure was written at Staines' dictation by his brother-in-law, Charles Tahourdin.<sup>29</sup> It is apparent, moreover, that family affairs were pressing upon him. Just before he sailed, it became necessary for him to make arrangements for the Hudson's Bay Company to advance £35 to his brother-in-law should he fail to procure it from other sources "to settle a liability incurred by him for a Relative."<sup>30</sup>

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(28) James Douglas to Roderick Finlayson, March 14, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(29) "Mr. Staines is so sick that he cannot write and has requested me to write to his dictation as follows . . ." Staines to Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, September, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(30) Charles Tahourdin to Archibald Barclay, September 29, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. Staines previously had written to the Secretary: "I have an important a very important payment to be made on the 29th inst of £35. I had reserved the money for it, but was disappointed in its application, only a day or two before I left. If my brother-in-law should be disappointed in receiving the money for me elsewhere it would be a very great favour indeed if the Company would advance the sum or any part of it that he may then want to make it up. . . . I am sick & in a great hurry therefore excuse my abruptness." Staines to Barclay, September 12, 1848, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

Little is known about the journey out to Vancouver Island. There are several entries in the *log* of the *Columbia* to the effect that Staines performed divine service on board on Sundays. The *Columbia* lay over at the Sandwich Islands for ten days, providing, no doubt, a pleasant respite to the travel-weary passengers. Staines eventually wrote a long letter to his friend, Rev. Edward Cridge, describing his experiences on the voyage and first impressions on Vancouver Island. Unfortunately, only a portion of it has survived.<sup>31</sup> In so far as the Sandwich Islands are concerned, Staines recounted:—

I think I must be content, with respect to the Sandwich Islands, with what I have already said. I was much delighted with my ten days' sojourn there, & left them with much regret; many persons professed to regret that we were not going to stay amongst them; but whether that was real or complimentary I cannot tell. . . . I preached at the Islands; & the British Consul, Genl. Miller lent me a large Prayer Book for the service, . . . It was when we were approaching the Harbour of Honolulu, that we first heard of the extraordinary discovery of gold in California, which is only three weeks' sail from there. The sensation it had caused throughout the Pacific is almost inconceivable.<sup>32</sup>

Roderick Finlayson provides a more humorous account of one aspect of Staines' sojourn in the Islands, and at the same time an impression of the man.

He was a man full of frills, as we say, & liked displays, kept a servant &c. He called at the Sandwich Islands on the way out, sent a note to the King stating he wished to call on His Majesty. The King returned word he would be glad to see Mr Staines on the next day. He dressed as a clergyman and dressed up his servant in livery, very showy of course. He had silver lace &c &c they went to call on "the King of the Cannibal of Islands"! The King came out to see his reverend visitor, rushed past him to shake hands with the servant in livery whom he took from the gorgeous dress, to be Mr. Staines. The latter was awfully disgruntled, but matters were explained & every thing passed off all right once more.<sup>33</sup>

The long journey came to its end on March 17, 1849, when it is recorded in the *log* of the *Columbia* that "the Revd. Mr. Staines

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(31) All of this letter that has survived is reproduced as an appendix to this article.

(32) Staines to Edward Cridge, this fragment is dated October 10, 1849, MS., Archives of B.C.

(33) Roderick Finlayson, *History of Vancouver Island on the Northwest Coast*, MS., Bancroft Library of the University of California, of which a transcript is in the Archives of B.C.

and Lady went on Shore to Reside at the Post.”<sup>34</sup> The following day the *post journal* of Fort Victoria recorded “the Revd. Mr. Staines who came out by the Bque. as Chaplain for the Company is lodged on shore here & performed divine service.”<sup>35</sup> Staines had reached his new station and already his labours had begun.

The financial arrangements made by the Company were, on the whole, unusually generous. A salary of £100 a year was provided from the fur-trade account for his services as chaplain. In addition, the supporters of the school were to pay him £340 a year, of which £40 was an allowance for a servant. In addition, it was provided that his salary as chaplain and his servant allowance commenced as of September 1, 1848, and the remainder immediately upon his arrival in the region.<sup>36</sup> Notification that a school-house was to be built was also sent to Fort Victoria. The instructions issued to Finlayson by James Douglas in April, 1849, were quite definite in this connection.

It is understood that Mr. Staines maintains himself and family at his sole charges, you will therefore keep an Account of there [*sic*] table, and any other supplies they may require from you leaving the regulation of their mess entirely in their own hands and yet paying every attention to their demands so far as your means permit. We must have a School house and accomodation [*sic*] provided for the Teachers as soon as possible but that I will arrange when I visit you. I propose to build a house of 46 x 36 feet insid[e] for that purpose, you may therefore get the sills and wall plates squared with the four corner posts 19 ft. long of the usual size 12 inches square, the rest of the wood will be cut with the saws, do not make the hewn timber too heavy, as I am convinced there is no advantage in it.<sup>37</sup>

All this remained for future accomplishment, and in the meantime the Staines ménage had to be accommodated in the fort. We do not know what their first impressions of Vancouver Island were, but it is not to be wondered if they were not disappointed and at times vocal in their criticism. Roderick Finlayson, then in charge of the fort, has left this account of their arrival.

At this time there were no streets, the traffic cut up the thoroughfares so that every one had to wear sea boots to wade through the mud & mire. It

(34) *Log of the Columbia*, March 17, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(35) *Fort Victoria post journal*, March 18, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(36) Douglas to Finlayson, April 11, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(37) *Ibid.*

was my duty to receive the clergyman, which I did, but felt ashamed to see the lady come ashore. We had to lay planks through the mud in order to get them safely to the fort. They looked around wonderingly at the bare walls of the buildings & expressed deep surprise, stating that the Co. in England had told them this & that and had promised such & such. Anyway their rooms were fitted as best could be done.<sup>38</sup>

That efforts were promptly taken to improve the accommodation is borne out by numerous entries in the *Fort Victoria post journal*<sup>39</sup> and by January 23, 1850, it was recorded that the separate quarters were ready for occupancy by the children, although board was still provided in the fort. J. S. Helmcken has left the following amusing description of the temporary arrangements made within the fort.

The school and residence of the parson and Mrs. Staines was a very large portion of Bachelors Hall building—the ladies slept upstairs over our heads, and the little mischiefs used to play pranks, occasionally pouring water upon us through cracks or holes in the flooring, for our ceiling was not ceiled. By the same token our proceedings may have amazed them too for occasionally Bachelors Hall was pretty noisy.<sup>40</sup>

Undoubtedly the best description of this pioneer school and its teachers is to be found in the reminiscences of one of its first pupils, James Robert Anderson, a son of Chief Factor A. C. Anderson, from which the following extensive extracts are taken:—

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(38) Roderick Finlayson, *op. cit.* This is corroborated by J. S. Helmcken in his *Reminiscences*, vol. ii, p. 87, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(39) May 5, 1849 "1 Desk made for the Revd. Mr. Staines."

May 10, 1849 "The two Carpenters are still employed for Mr. Staines."

May 16, 1849 ". . . the few men whom we have got employed here are occupied fitting up the room for Mr. Staines."

July 20, 1849 "Squaring sills for Mr. Staines Kitchen."

December 20, 1849 "erecting an Outside building to Mr. Staines."

December 23, 1849 "Alterations & improvements effected in Mr. Staines house for the Scholars."

January 12, 1850 "This weeks work only exhibits some alterations made in Mr. Staines."

January 23, 1850 "The Children removed to day into Mr. Staines but still board here."

January 28, 1850 "The Blacksmiths employed making funnels for Mr. Staines Stoves &c."

Entries from *Fort Victoria post journal*, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(40) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, vol. iii, p. 43, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

The school was presided over by the Reverend R. J. Staines and Mrs. Staines who had with them their nephew Horace Foster Tahourdin. The school was attended by the following boys and girls, two Andersons, four Rosses, three McNeills, one Pambrum, one Kitson, two Dodds, one Tod, one Forrest, two Frasers, two Yales and three Kennedys. Mr. Staines, of rather uncertain temper, and disposed at times to be unduly severe in administering corporal punishment, was nevertheless a good student and teacher in Natural History and, personally, I can conscientiously say I was never cruelly or even severely chastised, as in all truthfulness, I must admit some of the boys were. I can even at this distant day recall the many lessons imparted to me in the field and which have influenced my after life. Commenting further on his character, I now realize that whilst he was of uncertain temper, he was endowed with qualities calculated to win the respect and even love of those who were en rapport with him. In analysing the long locked up echoes in my memory, I realize the beneficial results of the conversations we had during our excursions in the country; to his farm at Mount Tolmie and to Metchosin. . . . Mrs. Staines was a much more energetic person, she it was who really kept the school going and in spite of many undoubtedly adverse circumstances managed comparatively most creditably. I can see her now in my mind's eye, with a row of curls down each side of her angular face; by no means unprepossessing however, spare figure, clad in black, a lady undoubtedly, and when walking and holding out her skirts on each side and ordering the girls to follow her example. . . . Sunday at the Staines school is to this day a day of terror to me. After morning prayers we had breakfast such as it was, bread and treacle and tea without milk. Church at 11 in the mess hall to which we were summoned by the ringing of the Fort bell, then dinner, potatoes and meat, sometimes fish, then a dreary afternoon learning the Collects; how I hated them. Frequently in spite of the hard wooden benches, I used to fall asleep and woe betide me if I were caught; one could not help it on a hot drowsy afternoon or perhaps lying at full length thinking of the beautiful country my hands hanging listlessly down and my fingers beating the devil's tattoo, I would suddenly be brought to time by an imperious order "Jimmy, stop that devil's drum." Then afternoon service, then tea, a duplicate of breakfast. The only redeeming feature of Sunday was the evening spent by invitation in the Staines' private apartment when we would be regaled with one sweet each after prayer and then after singing "Lord, dismiss us" we were dismissed to bed. And what beds. The hard boards, an Indian mat, a Hudson's Bay blanket and over ourselves another blanket. We were hardy young beggars and did not mind it. The garret we occupied was not lined, simply the bare logs; the interstices, where the roof joined the wall, was a veritable runway for the numerous rats which infected the building and through which the fresh air had unimpeded access even in the coldest weather; perhaps it was better for us, but the trouble was that in cold weather our scanty supply of water would freeze and then we did not trouble to wash and there being no one to superintend, we simply continued so until the weather abated. . . . The sole means of heating the school was a box stove in the room where we had our meals and

lessons and devilish cold it was for those, who on account of their youth, were jostled to one side by the bigger ones. One of our greatest joys was feasting our eyes on the sumptuous suppers enjoyed by the bachelors who had quarters immediately under our dormitory. By dint of raising up a board in the flooring and which formed the ceiling of the room below, we were enabled to view the mild orgies of the bachelors; oysters, sherry, port and brandy in abundance. . . . The school building like those of the others within the Fort yard was constructed of squared logs not very carefully put together, as previously noted, as regards the exclusion of winter cold and of the rats which overran the school; these disgusting rodents not content with making use of our dormitory as a place of meeting and generally disputing our rights in the boldest manner; actually attempted to share our meals. One bold marauder got into my bed and was purloining a crust of bread which I had secreted when I discovered his presence and with a quick movement I pinned him to the side of the bed with my blanket covered arm. A bounty of a shilling a dozen was offered by Mr. Staines but with our inadequate means of catching rats, having to manufacture our own traps, we did not earn many shillings. We were allowed one tallow dip at night which we economized by placing salt around the wick; this expedient was the means of economizing the tallow at the expense of the light. The establishment consisted as nearly as I can remember, of an English servant named Field and his wife and a native boy called Peter, between them the meals were somehow cooked in a way and served. Water was obtained from wells, and brought to the school in a barrel set on wheels.<sup>41</sup>

These impressions are pretty well substantiated by the evidence of other residents at the fort. Mrs. Staines was almost universally held in high esteem for her services. J. S. Helmcken, years later, noted:—

She [Mrs. Douglas] and Mrs. Staines did not chum at all—there being too much uppishness about the latter, she being the great woman—the great complaining—and the great school mistress and I may here state, that she really was the best schoolmistress ever seen since in Victoria—she kept the girls in order—took them out—saw they were properly and neatly dressed—carried themselves properly and paid much attention to deportment and was really good to the girls although the latter did not like the change and her strictness.<sup>42</sup>

Douglas himself was of like opinion. When writing privately to A. C. Anderson about the safe arrival of his two children for admission to the school in October, 1850, he noted:—

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(41) J. R. Anderson, *Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon*, pp. 158–166 *passim*, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(42) J. S. Helmcken, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 42–43, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

The school is doing as well as can be expected in the circumstances. More assistance in the way of servants of respectable character is required than we have at our command; so many children give a great deal of trouble and I often wonder how Mrs. Staines can stand the fag of looking after them. She is invaluable and receives less assistance than she ought from her husband, who is rather lazy at times.

The children have greatly improved in their personal appearance and one thing I particularly love in Staines is the attention he bestows on their religious training. Had I a selection to make he is not exactly the man I would choose; but it must be admitted we might find a man worse qualified for the charge of the school.<sup>43</sup>

Even at a later date when other schools were in existence in Victoria and when Staines was beginning to fall into disrepute, John Work, while admitting that he was sending his eldest son home to England to school, maintained "he wont get a more competent teacher than Staines did he properly attend to it."<sup>44</sup>

Staines' duties as chaplain could hardly be considered onerous. He was naturally expected to perform divine service at the fort on Sundays and carry out the rites of the church as the occasion demanded. The various *parish registers* reveal that he celebrated seventy-three baptisms and eighteen marriages and performed twelve burials during his incumbency. It is to be noted that many of the prominent Company officials were married by him—John Work, Roderick Finlayson, W. F. Tolmie, J. S. Helmcken, Henry Peers, and William McNeill, to mention but a few. However, a closer examination of these *registers* shows that his services were not confined to Fort Victoria and adjacent districts alone. For example, in July, 1851, he journeyed to Fort Langley, where he performed one marriage and six baptisms.<sup>45</sup> The previous July he had performed similar services at Steilacoom,

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(43) Douglas to A. C. Anderson, October 28, 1850, private, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(44) John Work to E. Ermatinger, March 14, 1853, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C. Some time previously alterations had been made to the school premises according to a letter by John Work. "I have at last prevailed on Mr D[ouglas] to give the whole of Staines' house for the School, and am in hopes it may now go on better, I must have a tackle with Mrs S. tomorrow and see to bring her to a bearing in which I hope to succeed." Work to W. F. Tolmie, March 29, 1852, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(45) *Registers of Burials, Baptisms and Marriages for Victoria District*, kept in Staines' handwriting, *Photostat*, Archives of B.C.

near Fort Nisqually. His sojourn at the fort is recorded in the *post journal*.

[July 6] . . . Doctor Tolmie went to Steilacoom this morning and returned accompanied by the Rev[eren]d. Staines of Ft. Victoria who arrived by the "Cadboro" from Victoria and landed at Steilacoom. . . .

[July 9th] . . . In the evening Doctor Tolmie, Mr Staines & Myself (Captain Sangster not coming up to sign the bills of Lading) went down to the Schooner and signed all papers, so that the Schooner will, if wind well alters, sail tomorrow.<sup>46</sup>

Staines was a visitor at Fort Nisqually again for over a week in April, 1851, this time travelling down by canoe. The *post journal*, under date of April 20, noted "divine service was performed this morning by the Rev. J. Staines."<sup>47</sup> There is ample evidence of his activity in and around Victoria with visits to Sooke and Metchosin.<sup>48</sup> James Cooper, in this connection, noted: "This gentleman had his peculiarities & was accustomed to make his round of visits on horseback in a rig that would not have done discredit to Don Quixote himself."<sup>49</sup>

That there were differences between Staines and the Company officials as early as 1850 is suggested in a letter written to Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden by Douglas, in which he commented: "do not be so severe with Mr. Staines, and be kind to him when he calls upon you."<sup>50</sup> No doubt the failure to provide a separate residence was an annoyance. Considering the difficulties Douglas had experienced in providing a residence for Governor Blanshard, no doubt his patience was severely tried, particularly when even Company officials in London seemed so oblivious of conditions in the colony. The Company had informed Governor Blanshard of their intentions in the following words:—

(46) Victor J. Farrar (*ed.*), "The Nisqually Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI (1920), pp. 294, 295.

(47) *Ibid.*, XIII (1922), pp. 63, 64.

(48) "[December 3, 1854] Mr. Staines came over from Mr Langfords on horseback, went up to the Fort in the evening in Canoe." J. K. Nesbitt (*ed.*), "The Diary of Martha Cheney Ella, 1853-1856," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1949), p. 108.

(49) James Cooper, *Maritime Matters on the Northwest Coast and Affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in Early Times*, p. 4, MS. written in 1878 and preserved in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Photostat in Archives of B.C.

(50) Douglas to P. S. Ogden, August 14, 1850, MS., H.B.C. Archives.

. . . a moderate house should be erected for Mr. Staines, who at present will act as Chaplain and Schoolmaster,—and a room or house capable of serving in a temporary way the purpose of a Church on Sundays, and of a school-room during the week. The site of these buildings should be near the Fort Victoria for convenience and protection, and the materials should be stone as preferable to wood to diminish the risk of fire.<sup>51</sup>

Douglas himself made only perfunctory acknowledgment of the Company's letter to him containing instructions about the "House which was proposed to build for Mr. Staines."<sup>52</sup>

The matter of the church was, however, different. Staines had received from the Bishop of London a packet "containing a Commission (with other necessary Documents) authorizing the Chaplain at Fort Victoria to consecrate a Church & Burial Ground at that place."<sup>53</sup> No doubt almost immediately after receipt Staines brought the matter to Douglas' attention and received the following reply:—

I have this moment received your letter of today and hasten to inform you, that I have no positive authority from the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to build a church at this place. I am however persuaded it is their wish and intention to cause a place of worship to be erected here whenever the present unhappy circumstances [*sic*] of the Colony, which render it impossible to procure mechanical labour except at enormous expense, will permit the attempt to be made with a reasonable prospect of success. By reference to the Prospectus for the Colonization of Vancouvers Island you will observe that the Company have set aside a portion of land equal to one eighth of the quantity sold, for the ministers of religion. I have therefore no doubt that a Site for a Church and Burial Ground will be granted on due application for the same.<sup>54</sup>

(51) Archibald Barclay to Governor Blanshard, January 1, 1851, H.B.C.-C.O. correspondence, vol. 725, p. 188, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(52) Douglas to Barclay, November 2, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(53) John Sheppard, Bishop of London's Registrar, to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, December 17, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. At a meeting of the Committee on December 19, it was resolved to send a copy of the letter by the "next mail and the parcel by the next ship for Fort Victoria." H.B.C. Archives.

(54) Douglas to Staines, August 27, 1850, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. That Douglas may not have been very sympathetic to the proposal might be assumed by his former statement: "It was however no part of my plan that the company should be put to the charge of providing churches and school-houses, I would recommend leaving such matters to the inhabitants themselves the company merely furnishing the sites and such pecuniary assistance as they may deem necessary; but by no means to act as principals." Douglas to Barclay, May 16, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

While Staines did not live to see the completion of the first Anglican church to be erected in Victoria, nevertheless to him justly belongs the credit for having made its erection a certainty. One can well imagine the mixed feelings with which he witnessed the slow progress of construction. By October, 1853, Douglas could report:—

The foundation of the Victoria Church, laid in stone was finished some time ago, and the timber for the frame work, is hewn, and drawn from the woods, but there is [*sic*] no Mechanics in the Colony who will undertake the construction of the whole building, we must therefore do it by degrees with hired workmen.<sup>55</sup>

It was not until August 31, 1855, that the Victoria District Church was consecrated and then in an incompleated state.

The first indication of any serious difference of opinion between Douglas and Staines is in connection with the latter's duties as chaplain, and ironically enough the same subject that had caused so much difficulty with his predecessor, Rev. Herbert Beaver, on the Columbia River. This involved the publication by Staines of the banns of marriage between James Cathie and Maria Field. Staines had at first withheld publication until he had received evidence to the effect that Maria Field had declared herself not to be the wife of Thomas Field and that Field himself had acknowledged this to be so. Having received what he considered to be testimony from creditable witnesses, he published the banns on November 23, 1851, but Thomas Field, being present, forbade the banns, alleging as just cause that he was the husband of Maria Field. Staines then appealed to the Governor for an opinion, which Douglas promptly afforded him. Whether or not Thomas Field was married according to the forms prescribed by law could not be determined except by the direct evidence of the parties concerned, whom Douglas suspected of a desire to conceal the truth. He summarized the evidence pointing to a lawful marriage—they had been entered as husband and wife on the passenger list of the *Norman Morison*, they had declared themselves to be husband and wife before Douglas shortly after their arrival, subsequently Mrs. Field had applied for a divorce,

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(55) Douglas to Barclay, October 21, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

implying the consciousness of a lawful contract—and then concluded:—

. . . I therefore consider that the act of publishing the banns of marriage between James Cathie and Mrs. Field, all the parties being known to you, should not have been allowed without further inquiry and investigation, and without some conclusive proof as to the fact alleged, by the two witnesses produced by James Cathie, that William and Maria Field were not lawfully married; according to the rules observed by other clergymen of the Church of England officiating in this Country, in cases where impediments were supposed to exist.

A departure from that safe and prudent course involves consequences dangerous to society, as it is not difficult to perceive how by the collusion of the parties concerned, a marriage may be set aside, and other marriages be contracted by the same parties, sanctioned by the Minister of the Church, which would be virtually establishing him a court in this country with powers of Divorce, in violation of the law. . . . I will further add that I conceive you are fully authorized and justified in refusing to marry James Cathie and Maria Field until some conclusive proof is given that she is not the lawful wife of her reputed husband William [*sic*] Field, and I advise you to make known that decision to the said James Cathie and Maria Field, which is, I believe, all that the law requires to be done on your part.<sup>56</sup>

Evidently Staines followed this advice; although it is interesting to speculate that more positive evidence must have been procured, for on September 8, 1852, James Cathie and Maria Johnson [*sic*] were united in marriage by Staines.<sup>57</sup>

Shortly after his arrival in the colony, Staines became interested in acquiring land. By outright purchase he secured a farm of over 46 acres<sup>58</sup> in the vicinity of Mount Tolmie, and subsequently he occupied a much larger farm of nearly 400 acres<sup>59</sup> in the Metchosin district, for which, however, payment was not made. On his farming activities, James Cooper remarked:—

Mr. Staines had devoted some attention to farming & prided himself upon possessing a fine breed of pigs & encouraged every Master of ships trading

(56) Douglas to Staines, November 26, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(57) *Register of Marriages for Fort Vancouver and Victoria*, Photostat, Archives of B.C.

(58) Douglas to Barclay, May 18, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C., definitely records the payment of £46.10.0 for 46½ acres.

(59) *Return of all Lands in Vancouver's Island sold to any Individuals or Company* . . . , London, 1858, [P.P., H. of C. 524 of 1858], pp. 2, 3.

to this country to import for him breeding stock & in the course of 2 or 3 years had for Vancouver Island a very good show of fine bred pigs.<sup>60</sup>

These pigs, as will appear later, were to involve Staines in serious difficulty with the Governor. The extent to which Staines had developed his farms is best indicated in the figures provided by the first census of Vancouver Island. Although compiled after Staines' death, as of December 31, 1854, the details indicate that fairly extensive operations were involved. The farm was valued at £1,000, including 50 acres improved and 396 acres unimproved; there was £20 worth of implements and machinery. The stock included 2 horses, 2 oxen, 1 steer, 30 swine, and 12 poultry, and the produce was rated at 288 bushels of wheat, 112 bushels of oats, and 40 bushels of barley. There were four people (children included) in his employ, and by way of improvements there were two dwelling-houses and one storehouse.<sup>61</sup>

From an examination of the correspondence available, it becomes obvious that no serious differences of opinion had arisen between Staines and the Hudson's Bay Company officers in Vancouver Island prior to 1853, and that when they did develop, they were attributable in the main to the chaplain's political activity. In all probability Douglas would not look with favour on Staines communicating to the British consular agent at San Francisco information about the discovery of gold at Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852.<sup>62</sup> This may account for the veiled criticism of

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(60) Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9, *Photostat*, Archives of B.C. The Fort Nisqually *post journal*, under date of January 28, 1852, notes: "Capt. Cooper whilst shipping a pair of oxen (Mr. Staines property) on board his little vessel, met with an accident, by which one of them were killed." Farrar, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, XIV (1923), p. 233.

(61) W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), pp. 54-58 *passim*. The original MS. is in the Archives of B.C.

(62) George Aikin, British Consulate, San Francisco, to Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby, March 1, 1852. "I have the honour to communicate intelligence respecting the discovery of large quantities of gold, and of gold bearing quartz, at Queen Charlotte's Island. From a letter received from Mr. Staines, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver's Island, and the statements of two English sailors who have just returned, I have been enabled to gather the following information: . . ." *Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 16 June 1853 for Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold at Queen Charlotte's Island*, London, 1853 [P.P., H. of C. 788 of 1853], p. 7.

his chaplain implied in his report to the Colonial Secretary that there was "no want more severely felt at present than the services of an earnest and zealous clergy."<sup>63</sup> But by the very nature of the arrangements whereby the Hudson's Bay Company assumed responsibility for the colonization of Vancouver Island, the incipient causes of political discontent were present. As long as a Governor, independent of the Company, was present, political agitation was relatively slight, but the knowledge that Governor Blanshard was about to leave the colony and that presumably his departure would leave it entirely at the mercy of the Company brought matters to a head.<sup>64</sup> There can be little doubt but that the malcontents were aided and abetted by the Governor himself, whose grievances, real and alleged, against the Company were widely known. Consequently, late in August, 1851, just prior to his departure from the colony, Blanshard received a petition signed by fourteen persons—"the whole body of the independent settlers"—urging the appointment of a council. The fact that it was known that Douglas was to assume, at least temporarily, control of the government was the motive behind the petition, which very specifically indicated the conflict between the Company as a fur-trade organization and as a colonizing agency.

The Hudson's Bay Company, being, as it is, a great trading body, must necessarily have interests clashing with those of independent colonists. Most matters of a political nature will cause a contest between the agents of the company and the colonists. Many matters of a judicial nature also, will, undoubtedly, arise in which the colonists and the company (or its servants) will be contending parties, or the upper servants and the lower servants of the company will be arranged against each other. We beg to express in the most emphatical and plainest manner, our assurance that impartial decisions cannot be expected from a Governor, who is not only a member of the Company, sharing its profits—his share of such profits rising and falling as they rise and fall—but is also charged as their chief agent with the sole representation of their trading interests in this island and the adjacent coasts.<sup>65</sup>

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(63) Douglas to Pakington, November 11, 1852, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(64) See W. Kaye Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1950), pp. 32-35.

(65) Reprinted in House of Commons, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857*, London, 1857, p. 293.

Staines was a signatory of this petition and, moreover, signed as "Chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company." His name thus became linked with the anti-Company faction in the colony. Whatever may have been Douglas' private opinion as to his disloyalty to the Company of which he was a paid employee, officially he chose to ignore it.

During 1853, however, Staines became involved in a series of incidents which placed him in a most unfavourable light with the Company and contributed directly to his downfall. Late in 1852 the Colonial Office in London received an anonymous letter complaining of oppressive conditions in Vancouver Island, for which the Hudson's Bay Company was held responsible. Since the letter was anonymous, the Colonial Office did not bring it to Douglas' attention officially as governor, but a copy was sent to the Hudson's Bay Company, and in due course the Governor and Committee transmitted it to Douglas as their agent.

In his reply Douglas did not hesitate to name Staines as the author of the attack.

I have perused with much interest the correspondence with the Colonial Office transmitted in your letter of the 14th of January, and was not surprised at the tenor or aninous [*sic*] displayed in the letter written by a gentleman of Vancouvers Island, as complaints of the same nature are of daily occurrence here, and I was long ago informed that the Revd. Mr. Staines, had taken up the pen in defence of the Colonists of Vancouver's Island, though he is the last person who should do so or attempt to detract from the merits, and depreciate the efforts, made in behalf of this Colony by a Company, which has loaded him with benefits. There is no doubt of Mr. Staines being the author of the letter in question the style and spirit of the production as well as common report mark it as one of his effusions.

He entertains a most unaccountable and unreasonable dislike to the Company, and has done so ever since his arrival in this country; and he moreover endeavours to fill the minds of every stranger who arrives here, with the rancorous feelings of his own breast.

Had he met with illtreatment at the hands of the Company or their agents in this country, or if the Company could in fairness be charged with injustice or misgovernment in any shape, one could readily pardon the exertions of an honorable man in defence of the oppressed; but to assail his best friends, and to do this covertly and maliciously, without any sort of cause whatever, shews an unexcusable want of right principle, and correct feeling.<sup>66</sup>

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(66) Douglas to Barclay, May 27, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Douglas then undertook a point-by-point refutation of the allegations made in the letter. He admitted the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island was composed almost exclusively of Company servants, but countered that by virtue of their experience and stake in the colony they were the most competent to govern. He denied that in matters of trade the Company exercised any monopoly in the Island, but admitted that because of the high quality of their merchandise they did command nearly all of the business. On the matter of the lack of a church building, Douglas wrote:—

That there is no church as yet built in the Colony is a fact which I admit, and sincerely regret, as the want is felt by the public at large; although there is no building devoted exclusively to religious purposes, divine service is regularly performed every Sunday in the Fort hall, which is sufficiently large to accommodate the congregation, which commonly meets there. I much regret that it has been out of my power to build a church, as no mechanic in the Colony will undertake the work at a reasonable price, and I was of opinion that it was advisable to delay the erection of such costly buildings until the Colony is better provided with mechanical labour, and the public money can be laid out to more advantage.

I will endeavour to procure an estimate of the cost of a small church, equal to the present wants of the Colony, which I will send home as soon as possible for the consideration of the Governor & Committee.<sup>67</sup>

The most serious complaint raised had to do with the lack of free land grants, which the complainant argued resulted in it being impossible to secure labour at moderate prices. On this point Douglas was adamant: "Free grants of land would in my opinion inevitably enhance the value of labour"—and as proof he cited the experience in Oregon Territory. In addition, he pointed out Staines' personal interest in the matter.

An opinion is entertained by some persons in this Colony, that Her Majesty's Government will revoke the grant of Vancouver's Island, made to the Hudson's Bay Company, at the close of the first term of five years from the date of the charter, and that grants of land will afterwards be made free of charge, or at a greatly reduced price, and on the strength of that belief, several persons among whom I may number the Revd. Mr. Staines, have declined paying for the land they were allowed to occupy and improve by the Colonial Surveyor, and is that party who are now clamorous for a reduction in the price of land, and for a change in the government, trusting by that means to gain their object. I need hardly remark that a reduction in the price of land, at present, would be a source of discontent to all

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(67) *Ibid.*

parties, who have paid the actual purchase price now levied, and submitted without a murmur to the rules and regulations established for the good government of the colony.<sup>68</sup>

Six weeks later, on July 9, 1853, Douglas again wrote to the Secretary of the Company in London calling his attention to some articles that had recently been published by the settlers of Vancouver Island in Oregon newspapers.<sup>69</sup> In these articles complaints were made of the monopoly of trade exercised by the Company on the Island and the suggestion repeated that a system of free land grants be instituted and the Crown grant of 1849 revoked. Douglas reported that it had not been possible to discover the author of the articles, but suggested that they could be attributed to "some member of a little clique consisting of that person, the Revd. Mr. Staines" and certain others "who do everything in their power to slander the Hudson's Bay Company and to produce impressions unfavourable to their character and government." In Douglas' opinion "with the exception of that clique" everyone in the colony appeared to be happy and contented.<sup>70</sup>

An indication of the seriousness with which Douglas viewed the situation is the fact that he presented his opinions on the matter to the Colonial Secretary, despite the fact that the existence of the letter had never officially been drawn to his attention. In a dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle on July 28, 1853, he wrote:—

The Colonists generally speaking appear prosperous, and contented with the exception of a very small party; who have arrayed themselves against the Government on the strength of grievances, which I have no power to relieve. . . . The aim of that party is to induce Her Majesty's Government to revoke the grant of Vancouver's Island made to the Hudson's Bay Company, by the Crown, and to take the direction of the Colony into their own hands, trusting by that means to see the accomplishment of their ultimate object of procuring free grants of land, which in that event they expect to gain. . . .

The leaders of that party, the most active of whom is the Revd. Mr. Staines, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, have under various pretexts, hitherto declined paying for the land, which the Colonial Surveyor

(68) *Ibid.*

(69) One such letter appeared in the *Olympia Columbian*, January 1, 1853, but whether this is one that Douglas may have seen cannot be proved.

(70) Douglas to Barclay, July 9, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

permitted them to occupy, under an impression it is presumed that it will ultimately become their property, free of cost.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, Douglas was at this time perfectly aware of a more serious turn of events. He had secured a copy of a petition from "the Colonists of Vancouver's Island" to the House of Commons asking for the revocation of the grant of the Island to the Company. This he forwarded to London along with a copy of his recent dispatch to the Colonial Secretary in which, as he said, he had "slightly touched on the grievances complained of by the colonists of Vancouver's Island." In this report to the Company, Douglas did not link Staines with the petition, but pointed out that it had the signatures of two of the Company's officers "who should have had more sense and good feeling for the service."<sup>72</sup> Later, when asked for a further report on the petition, Douglas wrote:—

With regard to the Petition from the Colonists to the House of Commons, it was by mere accident that I heard of it, and procured a copy, before the signatures were attached. I have since seen it and observe that it was signed by three of the Company's commissioned officers. They did so before I was informed of their intention and would then have recalled the act, of which they are now heartily ashamed, had they not been restrained by the fear of ridicule.<sup>73</sup>

I wish I could bear the same testimony of the Revd. Mr. Staines, who though not in that instance the originator of the Petition, was afterwards the principal mover in the affair, and made no scruple of using the influence

(71) Douglas to Newcastle, July 23, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. A subsequent paragraph in this dispatch read: "I trust your Grace will pardon me, for touching upon a somewhat personal matter, as I consider it a duty, to give these explanations in order to contradict certain false and dishonest statements in regard to the state of public affairs in this Colony, which have found their way anonymously into the public papers."

(72) Douglas to Barclay, August 16, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(73) A copy of a petition to the House of Commons was printed in the *Olympia Columbian*, October 29, 1853. Whether or not it is the one to which Douglas referred is open to question, although this particular one included the signatures of John Tod, William Fraser Tolmie, Roderick Finlayson, as well as those of James Cooper, Staines, and eighty-five other colonists. It complained of the high price of land and the mode of administration of the Government and, amongst other things, asked for an independent Governor, reliable Courts of Justice, separation of the Executive and Legislative Councils, opening the majority of the seats in the Legislative Council to election, and the establishment of a House of Assembly to be elected on a wide franchise.

acquired through his position in the Company's service to gain signatures for the petition which was generally popular from its holding out the tempting prospect of a free grant of land to the poor labourer.<sup>74</sup>

By this time, too, the Company had become worried about Staines' financial affairs. For one thing, the Company had had to pay certain bills incurred by Staines in respect of the outfit acquired before he left England. Before doing so, however, they required that his life insurance policy be deposited with the Company as security.<sup>75</sup> Then in May, 1853, Douglas reported to them:—

His [Mr. Staines'] expenditure in this country for the last year has been enormous, for a person of his income, and is larger than should have been allowed, as well as the Fur Trade Bill on London, which was drawn in my absence from Victoria. Heavy payments . . . were made in Outfit 1852, on his account in London of which we were only lately advised. To keep him from running irretrievably into debt, I would recommend that no further advances be made on his account in England until it is in a more satisfactory state.<sup>76</sup>

That further trouble was in the offing for Staines is to be found in another paragraph of this letter of May 2, 1853, in which Douglas intimated for the first time that dissatisfaction existed among the parents of the children at the Company's school<sup>77</sup> over which Staines presided.

I have . . . had a great deal of trouble in consequence of Mr. Staines' disagreeable manner, and unyielding temper, in keeping the school afloat, the subscribers being generally dissatisfied with his management, and had it not been for the interest expressed by the Governor and Committee in the success of the institution, I would have followed their example and closed my connection with it. As it is, Mr. Staines is an unsuccessful teacher, and the boys, who attend his school make so little progress, though Mrs. Staines is on the contrary more successful with the girls, that there nevertheless

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(74) Douglas to Barclay, March 15, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(75) Barclay to Charles Tahourdin, October 11, 1849, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(76) Douglas to Barclay, May 2, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(77) It was always understood that Staines' school was a company and not a colonial concern. When writing to Barclay in 1851 urging the establishment of one or two elementary schools, Douglas made the position clear: ". . . these schools being intended for the children of the labouring and poorer classes, and children of promising talents, or whom their Parents may wish to educate further, may pursue their studies and acquire the other branches of knowledge at the Company's School conducted by the Revd. Mr. Staines." Douglas to Barclay, October 8, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

exists the utmost dissatisfaction, among the subscribers, with their general management; the school cannot therefore be much longer continued, as the number of pupils is constantly decreasing and the few remaining subscribers will be unable to raise the sum of £340 per annum required for its support, and I do not wish to be held responsible for the amount of private subscription, beyond the current year, and I therefore beg to be informed by return of Post, if the notice required to be given by his agreement, that his services as Schoolmaster may be dispensed with, should come from the subscribers alone, or, if it is to be given also by the Governor and Committee, and in the latter case if their Honors will authorize me to issue such notice on their behalf, when necessary; as it will be proper to give such notice at least twelve months in advance.<sup>78</sup>

There can be no mistaking the fact that there was dissatisfaction, for the following day Douglas wrote again to Barclay suggesting that the Victoria school should be placed on the same footing as the one at the Red River Settlement. To this proposal he was certain Staines would object:—

. . . on the grounds of its being less advantageous than the one, under which he is now employed, and he will endeavour to hold the Company responsible for his salary, as Teacher, though in point of equity he has no just claims upon them, yet he is a person who will not yield, what he may consider a point of right, without a hard struggle. The subscribers to the School, who are now present *i.e.* Chief Factor Work and Chief Trader Kennedy are dissatisfied with Mr. Staines general management of the school, and propose to give him notice, that his services will be no longer required after the 1st. day of June, 1854, and their example will be followed by the whole body of subscribers, as there is a common feeling of discontent among them on the subject of the School, in which I fully participate.

In proposing to Mr. Staines any new arrangement on the part of the Company, I would advise that such proposals be confined to the allowances in the way of salary and otherwise which the Company may feel disposed to give, and that they should enter into no guarantee for any support to be given to him as Teacher by the company's Servants in this country. He will work with more energy, if instead of being assured of a good salary at the close of the year, he is left without support, to stand or fall, by his own merits.<sup>79</sup>

A postscript to this letter intimated that upon reconsideration Work had decided to withhold the notice to Staines, presumably until word had been received from London as to their wishes in the matter.

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(78) Douglas to Barclay, May 2, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(79) Douglas to Barclay, May 3, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

When this information reached London in August the Governor and Committee pondered carefully the action they would take. A draft reply to Douglas was considered at a Board meeting on August 15, at which time it was decided that all the pertinent information should be forwarded to the Governor, Andrew Colville, who was then absent in Scotland. The official reply sent to Douglas under date of August 26 stated: "The Committee regret to find that the School is declining through the inefficiency and unpopularity of Mr. Staines, and it is for the supporters of it to apply such a remedy as may appear to them to be proper."<sup>80</sup> However, the Company's attitude to the wider implications of Staines' conduct was made perfectly clear in a private letter written to Douglas two days earlier by the Deputy Governor, John Shepherd.

We observe with regret that Mr. Staines in his capacity of Schoolmaster no longer enjoys the confidence of the gentlemen by whose annual subscription the salary of that office is maintained. Under such circumstances we cannot expect or desire that they should continue to retain his services in that capacity, and therefore you and they are at liberty to give him the necessary notice previously dispensing with his services as Schoolmaster.

It is probable that on this measure being adopted, Mr. Staines will resign the Company's service altogether, and we shall be rather pleased than otherwise if he takes this course. With reference however to the possibility of his declining to resign his Office of Chaplain, we should not consider it expedient to insist upon his removal unless on the ground of immoral conduct, unsound doctrine or neglect of duty.

We are aware that you have little doubt that he was the writer of the letters which were forwarded to the Colonial Office, and which evinced very hostile feelings towards the Hudson's Bay Company.

Highly discreditable as we consider such conduct on the part of Mr. Staines, we should consider it derogatory to the reputation of that Company to visit Mr. Staines with dismissal from the office of Chaplain on grounds which might be considered to savour of a personal or interested character.

We are anxious therefore that you shall exercise due discretion in dealing with him—Should he desire to retain the office of Chaplain, and no ground exist, such as we have adverted to, to render the compliance with his wishes inadmissible, we shall give our sanction to his retention of the office. In such a case he may probably apply for some increased allowance in the shape of House rent, and you can very properly refer such an application for

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(80) Barclay to Douglas, August 26, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

consideration to the Governor and Committee in London, accompanied by such remarks as you may consider appropriate.<sup>81</sup>

This decision Douglas found completely satisfactory from his point of view, and he so informed the Deputy Governor in a letter dated November 22.

The Governor and Committee have come to a fair and wise decision respecting Mr. Staines and the Victoria School; he may resign or retain the chaplaincy as may suit his interest; while the supporters of the School will be at full liberty to retain or dispense with his services as Teacher, as may appear to them advisable, while neither party will have any just cause to complain of the Company:—the whole arrangement is admirable.<sup>82</sup>

Events now began to move more rapidly toward a climax, particularly as to Douglas it became increasingly apparent that Staines was a leading malcontent in the colony. In January, 1854, Staines was involved in difficulty as a result of his championing the cause of Robert S. Swanston, an agent for a San Francisco mercantile house, who had urged upon the Governor an investigation into the loss of the brig *William*. In compliance with Swanston's request, Douglas ordered an inquiry before a Court of Vice-Admiralty but, peculiarly enough, Swanston refused to appear to give testimony. For this he was arrested, jailed, and on January 30 fined £50 with costs for contempt of Court. Later, when reporting these proceedings to the home authorities, Douglas noted:—

I was sorry to observe that the Revd. Mr. Staines, Chaplain to the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company, openly took part with Mr. Swanston, and appeared to act as his legal adviser, but the young man was so clearly in fault that very little could be said in his defence.<sup>83</sup>

This would appear to confirm the opinion of James Cooper, who, as master of the *Columbia*, in which ship Staines had come

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(81) John Shepherd to Douglas, August 24, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives. This opinion was confirmed by the Governor, who wrote to Douglas later in November. "In my absence Mr. Shepherd, the Dep. Chairman wrote to you respecting Mr. Staines, and I hope the subscribers to the school arrangements may have given him notice of its termination and that he will leave the Island. I presume he was one of the persons in the Coy. employment that signed the petition to the House of Commons, and it would be right to give us their names." Andrew Colvile to Douglas, November 18, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(82) Douglas to Shepherd, November 22, 1853, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(83) Douglas to Newcastle, March 13, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

passenger to Vancouver Island, had ample opportunity during the long journey to observe his character: "This gentleman had probably mistaken his vocation inasmuch as he would have made a very good Parish Lawyer instead of a parish priest."<sup>84</sup> Douglas' report to the Company officials in London was much more precise in its castigation of the role played by Staines:—

. . . I am now preparing a report on this case for H. M. Government. The Revd. Mr. Staines is a fomenter of mischief and I believe a preacher of sedition. If the affair went off quietly we have not to thank him.<sup>85</sup>

Two days later, on February 1, a letter written by Chief Factor James Douglas and Chief Factor John Work, constituting the Board of Management of the Western Department, was addressed to Staines in his capacity as "Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Teacher of the Victoria School." It was short and to the point.

We beg to inform you being duly authorized to that effect by the H.B. Co. and also by the Parties servants of the H.B. Co. who have annually raised at their expense, and paid to you the Salary of £340, that it is their intention to dispense with your services as Schoolmaster from and after the 1st day of June 1854, when your said salary of £340 will cease and terminate.<sup>86</sup>

Actually the Board of Management had ample grounds for giving notice, as a fortnight earlier they had received a petition signed by most of the Victoria supporters of the school, which left no doubt but that Staines had completely forfeited their confidence. The pertinent portions of the petition read as follows:—

2. Having now had sufficient experience of the Revd. R. J. Staines, in his capacities of Schoolmaster and Chaplain, we feel that his teaching and his ministry have not been or are likely, to become profitable amongst us, and therefore feeling it our painful duty to do so respectfully solicit you to replace him.

3. At June next, there will be left scarcely a single subscriber, and nearly all the children will be withdrawn.

4. His labours have been confined to a single Service on Sundays, performed with occasional regularity; that personal allusions upon those occasions and illtimed acrimonious remarks have prevented many from attending, and that at the present time, we are not aware of his having a single communicant.

(84) James Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.

(85) Douglas to Barclay, January 30, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(86) James Douglas and John Work to Staines, February 1, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

5. That his time appears to be devoted to litigation and political agitation and that instead of being a minister of peace he has been continually promoting ill will contention and strife.

6. That in this capacity, the labouring classes are not Visited, but are together with the Indian population, left entirely out of sight, and as to Sunday School Teaching we blame him for preventing it.

7. Upon all occasions, we find him railing against the H.B. Co. and attributing unworthy motives to most of their Agents, more particularly to those in authority, which has the effect of rendering the labouring classes dissatisfied and suspicious; of occasioning dissension between the Colonists and the Company, of bringing law and order into disrepute, and of checking that hearty co-operation and good feeling among the different classes here, which in a young Colony it is so very desirable to promote.

8. Feeling deeply the moral responsibility which we incur in preferring a charge against any Gentleman, we would not have done so in this instance, if we did not conscientiously believe, that the Interests of the Society, of which we are members, require the step we recommend.<sup>87</sup>

Staines made no immediate reply to the Board's letter. Subsequently, on February 21, he informed them that he would be leaving Victoria and that he had "imperative reasons" for adopting this course of action.

You are not ignorant of what has been passing in the Island within the last three months, particularly in the Courts and Council Chamber of the Colony, and the office and the Hall of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Co. Had I received my appointment of Chaplain from you, I should certainly have resigned it into your hands long ago.

Whether or not I shall resume my duties as Chaplain on my return . . . will depend on the issue of events in England. Until this is determined you will be pleased to consider the exercise of my duties suspended.<sup>88</sup>

The events to which Staines made reference were, indeed, well known to all. They centred about the appointment on December 2, 1853, of David Cameron to the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice. The fact that Cameron was the Governor's brother-in-law and that he had no legal training was readily seized upon by the opponents of the Hudson's Bay Company as a further indication of the oppressive

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(87) The signatories to this petition, dated January 15, 1854, included Charles Dodd, Roderick Finlayson, Wm. H. McNeill, J. D. Pemberton, George Simpson, Richard Gollidge, W. J. McDonald, J. W. McKay, James Sangster, William Leigh, B. W. Pearse, W. H. Newton, and John Tod, Sr. *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(88) Staines to the Board of Management, January 7, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

tactics of what has been aptly called the "Family-Company-Compact." However, in all fairness it must be pointed out that Douglas, when informing the Colonial Office of his action, admitted that Cameron was not a professional lawyer and that the appointment was considered to be of a temporary nature until a law officer for the colony should be appointed by the Crown. Moreover, the decision to establish the new Court had been forced upon Douglas through the inefficiency of the Justices' Court.<sup>89</sup> In April, 1853, Douglas had appointed E. E. Langford, Kenneth McKenzie, Thomas Blinkhorn, and T. J. Skinner as Magistrates.<sup>90</sup> None of these appointees had legal training. In September, 1853, Skinner awarded an American, Webster, damages in the amount of \$2,213.00 from the Muir family at Sooke. The manifest injustice of the decision prompted Douglas to limit the jurisdiction of the Justices' Court in civil cases and to provide for a senior Court. The problem was discussed by the Legislative Council on September 20 and 23 and finalized on December 2.<sup>91</sup> Almost immediately Cameron took up his duties as Chief Justice.

Opposition to this appointment came to a head early in February,<sup>92</sup> when a decision was reached to make a formal protest directly to the Home Government.

[February 4, 1854] Public Meeting held on the state of the Colony. Subscriptions set agoing in purpose to send Mr. Staines home, to lay the proceedings before the house of Parliament. God speed.<sup>93</sup>

(89) Douglas to Newcastle, January 7, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. See also Douglas to Barclay, November 4, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(90) Douglas to Newcastle, July 28, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(91) E. O. S. Scholefield (ed.), *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island . . .*, Archives of B.C., Memoir No. II, Victoria, 1918, pp. 20-23 *passim*.

(92) It is interesting to note that a petition protesting Cameron's appointment, signed by ninety settlers, was published in the *Olympia Pioneer & Democrat* as early as February 11, 1854.

(93) W. Kaye Lamb (ed.), "The Diary of Robert Melrose," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1943), p. 201. Many months later there appeared in a near-by American newspaper a letter in which was given a record of this meeting. It was stated that \$400 had been raised on the spot to pay Staines' expenses to England. *Olympia Pioneer & Democrat*, August 5, 1854.

The agitation was led by James Cooper, a member of the Legislative Council, ably assisted by Staines. In the end two impressive documents bearing date March 1, 1854, were signed by Cooper and sixty-nine other colonists. The one addressed to Her Majesty the Queen humbly requested "a strict inquiry to be immediately instituted into the circumstances of the recent creation of a court, entitled 'The Supreme Court of Civil Justice' . . . and the appointment of Mr. David Cameron."<sup>94</sup> The other, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, was more specific in its allegations. The fact that David Cameron was the brother-in-law of the Governor, that he was not a lawyer by profession, and that he held a position with the Hudson's Bay Company were cited as evidence of his unfitness for the position. In addition, the claim was advanced that he had "laboured strenuously to defeat the ends of justice, convict the innocent, and screen the guilty." The petition stated further:—

. . . That your memorialists, not being able to give up in this way their just rights, not being ready to sacrifice their dearest interests to the overbearing and reckless assertion of a lawless and arbitrary power, wielded, as they think, not solely with a view to, and certainly not, they are assured, with an operation for, the benefit and credit of the colony, and being convinced that Her Majesty's Government needed only to be informed, with accuracy, of their real grievances, in order to redress them, in public meeting determined to appoint a representative to convey to your Grace personally, on their behalf, the statement of the wrongs inflicted upon them, and of the grievances under which they are deeply suffering, that they accordingly have appointed the Rev. R. J. Staines to this office, whom they have commissioned to express to your Grace how deeply they feel that this application to your Grace's sense of justice will be of the most decisive effect, for the weal or woe of this colony, for its hopeful progress or its desperate retardation, this being, as they conceive, the critical point and period of its history.<sup>95</sup>

Thus it was that Staines prepared to return to England, the official representative of a group of discontented colonists. The wisdom of the choice of Staines is open to question, in that there

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(94) *Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 13 July, 1863: for . . . Correspondence with the Government of Vancouver's Island, relative to the Appointment of Chief Justice Cameron, and the Remonstrances against such Appointment*, London, 1863 [P.P., H. of C. 507 of 1863], pp. 43, 44.

(95) *Ibid.*, p. 45.

were personal grounds for his antagonism toward Cameron. By an odd coincidence, one of the first cases to be brought before Chief Justice Cameron after his appointment was a complaint by Manuel Douillet against Staines involving the forcible seizure of some pigs. The complaint was heard on December 5, and the following day a summons was issued against Staines and others to appear on December 8.<sup>96</sup> At that time Cameron came to the conclusion that there was "sufficient evidence to support a charge of illegal trespass and forcibly taking and carrying away defendants property." Bail in the amount of £20 each was set and the trial fixed for the regular sessions early in January.<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately, the proceedings of the trial do not appear to have survived, but in the end not only was Staines exonerated, but Douillet was fined and imprisoned.<sup>98</sup> Many months later, when asked by the Company to comment on the allegations against Cameron raised by the petition, Douglas gave the following straightforward account of the whole incident:—

The allusions in the 4th paragraph, reflecting on the conduct of Mr. Cameron appear to refer to a case which was tried last winter before the

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(96) One of the few original Staines' letters in the Archives of B.C. deals with this incident. Writing to Kenneth McKenzie on December 7, 1853, Staines stated: "Yesterday I received a summons from Mr. Cameron citing me to appear before him to-morrow at 10 o'clock A.M. on a charge of '*felony*'! I instantly took steps for summoning witnesses, when I was informed by Mr. Barr, that I could not have them without paying 3\$ (dollars) each. I trust under these circumstances you will not require a legal summons to induce you to come forward and assist in forwarding the ends of justice. The points upon which I require your testimony and that of Mr. Skinner, are, the statements and admissions of Douillette [*sic*], Low & Ferrand, which they made before you, and which will be of the utmost importance in the case. I think Mr. Skinner has Low's & Ferrand's statements in writing in his possession yet. Would you be kind enough to ask him to bring them with him? I believe Mr. Cameron will not allow the papers to be brought forward which were left here; hence the urgent necessity for your presence in person." Staines to McKenzie, December 7, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(97) Vancouver Island, Supreme Court of Civil Justice, Notes of Proceedings, *MS.*, Archives of B.C., in Cameron's handwriting under dates December 5, 6, and 8, 1853.

(98) W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The Diary of Robert Melrose," *loc. cit.*, p. 200, under date February 2, 1854: "Mr. Staines gained a law plea over Duet [*sic*]."

Justice's court; the litigants being the Revd. Mr. Staines, on the one side, and Emanuel Douillet menaging [*sic*] Bailiff of a large Farm, in this District, on the other. My reason for supposing that case to have given rise to the rather vague allusions in the Memorial, is the well known fact that Mr. Camerons fearless and upright conduct, on that occasion, gave offense to Mr. Staines, and also to the other Magistrates on the Bench.

My own attention was particularly attracted to the subject, by a direct appeal from Emanuel Douillet [*sic*], who waited upon me, in a state of great distress, to claim the protection of a British subject, as he alleged that his premises had been forcibly entered without any previous notice, and his property carried off, by a party of Mr. Staines servants, headed by a constable, avowedly acting under a warrant from Mr. Justice Skinner. On enquiring into the matter, I discovered that Mr. Skinner, acting upon the information of Mr. Staines, had issued a *simple order*, for the removal of certain pigs, which Mr. Staines alleged had been stolen from his farm by Douillet; and that this had been done without summoning the party, charged with the offense to appear before him, or taking any other steps to ascertain the truths. This most arbitrary proceeding excited a general feeling of indignation, and I was not a little vexed, that Mr. Skinner should have so inconsiderately, violated in that instance, the forms prescribed by the Law, without any evident necessity, as Douillet, whether guilty or otherwise was entitled to a hearing, in his own defence.

Douillet at my suggestion, carried his complaint, charging Mr. Staines and the other parties concerned with the forcible seizure of his property, before Mr. Justice Cameron, who as in duty bound proceeded to act upon his information, by summoning the parties before him, and the pigs were ordered into the custody of the court.

Much litigation between the same parties followed, and the pigs were finally adjudged to be Mr. Staines property, and Douillet was justly punished by fine and imprisonment.

In the whole of those proceedings Mr. Cameron made no attempt, as stated in the Memorial, "to convict the innocent and to screen the guilty." The case was tried, in open court, and justice impartially administered.

Mr. Staines was highly indignant because Mr. Cameron received and acted upon the complaint of Douillet as before stated and did every thing in his power to create an impression, that in so doing, Mr. Cameron was animated solely by motives of personal hostility; while it must be evident to every one who weighs the matter impartially, that every Magistrate is, in duty bound to hear and enquire into all complaints, brought before him, whoever may be the parties concerned.<sup>99</sup>

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(99) Douglas to Barclay, November 3, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Cooper in his *Maritime Matters* gives a considerably different version of the incident. "Several of these pigs had strayed to neighbour's farms, & in the course of the worthy pastor's peregrinations thro' the country he discovered some of his own pigs in his neighbours styes. He felt 'wrathy' & applied for what was termed in those days a 'lettre de cachet' or in other words

It might naturally be expected that Douglas would rise to the defence of Chief Justice Cameron. In support of his arguments he was able to submit to the Colonial Office a petition, dated January 11, 1854, and signed by fifty-four persons "representing nearly all the landed proprietors in the Colony," protesting against the petition Douglas had received asking him to annul Cameron's appointment and wishing Douglas "health and strength to govern with your usual forbearance and moderation, and with firmness and vigour when you are of opinion that the interest of the Colony require it."<sup>100</sup>

Nevertheless, there was a feeling of discontent in the colony, particularly amongst those unconnected with the Hudson's Bay Company. Their point of view is quite aptly expressed in the following extract from a letter written by Annie Deans, the wife of a former Company employee now residing in the colony as an independent settler:—

a warrant to enable him to recover his property which was disputed by the holder thereof. This gave rise to a serious case of litigation & Mr. Staines being indicted for felony was actually arrested on such charges. He was afterwards admitted to bail & narrowly escaped being tried for the presumed offence, but upon the Grand Jury being empanelled the bill was ignored." *Photostat*, Archives of B.C., p. 9. While the story has certain comic aspects, nevertheless it was relatively costly to the colony considering the following statement of account:—

" For Cash paid expenses in the trial of the matter of Staines agst Douillet vizt.			
For maintenance of Sundry pigs	\$137.34		
For Constables fees in summoning witnesses, jurors, &c &c	75.00		
	<hr/>	\$212.34	£44 9 10
¼ lb Tobacco paid for Ferringer			6
For apprehending an Indian paid to Constable	\$1		4 2
For cartage of Pigs in the matter of Douillet	\$3.50		14 7
		<hr/>	£45 4 10 "

Hudson's Bay Company Accounts with Government Departments, 1852-1859, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(100) Enclosure in Douglas to Sir George Grey, December 11, 1854, in P.P., H. of C. 507 of 1863, p. 41.

Victoria

February 29—1854 [sic]

My Dear Brother and Sister

I embrace another opportunity of writing you a few lines hoping [sic] this will find you all well as this leaves us all well at present—This is another opportunity to get our letters home through one Mr R Staines who has been Chaplain to the Hudson Bay Company here for rather more than [sic] five year's and who is now going home for the (old Country is always called home here)—He Mr Staines is sent home by the Colonist for to lay the state of Affairs before the house of Commons and Colonial Office in London.

For the Governor of Vanc[o]uvers Island has been in the Company out here ever since he was a Boy about 15 year[s] of age and now he is a Man upwards of 60 now—so you may say he has been all his life among the North American indians and has got one of them for a wife so how can it be expected that he can know anything at all about Governing one of Englands last Colony's in North America, Mr Douglas Governor [sic] has appointed a Brother in law of his to be superime [sic] Judge who is in no way qualified for the office.

Therefore the Colonistes [sic] drew up a Petition stating these Facts and others desireing [sic] him to disanul [sic] his Appointment of Mr Canon [sic] but he would not listin [sic] to it and Mr Staines who has been doing every thing that lay in his power least so far as his Judgement for the welfare of the Colony.

Mr Stains [sic] has taken has taken [sic] notice and spoken up Against every act of Unjustices [sic] done by the Company against the Colonists and the Companys servants So the Companys Officers who are or at least the most of them been out here since the[y] were boys and the[y] are thinking that as Mr Staines has been engaged to the Company he ought to aid and Abade [sic] them in all there [sic] Acts of injustices but as he wont do that the Governor and others has taken a spite to him and the[y] tryed [sic] to get him put out of his Church and get him sent home So the Colonists has taken his case in hand and is going to send him home to lay the state of Affairs before the house of Commons. Religion is at a very low ebb here Mr Staines is the only Minister and when he is gone there will be none at all he is just awaiting a ship from the Coal Mines to take him to California thence on his way home. . . .<sup>101</sup>

It cannot definitely be established when Staines left the colony, but evidently some delays ensued because of the difficulty in

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(101) Annie Deans to her brother and sister, February 29, 1854, MS., Archives of B.C.

finding a sailing.<sup>102</sup> His letter to the Board of Management announcing his intention to leave was dated February 21, but it was not delivered to Chief Factor John Work until some hours after his departure from Victoria on the morning of February 23 in a boat for Sooke, where he was to join a ship bound for San Francisco. The letter of Annie Deans is obviously misdated, but suggests that he may have been detained for some days at Sooke. It has now been established that he sailed in the barque *Duchess of San Lorenzo*, which had cleared from Victoria on February 22 and presumably proceeded to Sooke to take on a cargo of lumber. The details of the disaster that befell her are lacking, but can be surmised from the meagre reports published in the *shipping memoranda* of the San Francisco *Alta California*. The barque *George Emery*, seven days from Steilacoom on Puget Sound, reached San Francisco on March 26 and reported:—

. . . March 19, Cape Flattery bore S.W. distance 20 miles, boarded a bark dismasted and abandoned, with her foremast gone about six feet below the head, the anchors on the bow, and full of water. She had apparently been in that situation some time. She had painted ports with green bulwarks inside.<sup>103</sup>

Four days later the barque *Senator* arrived, twelve days from Vancouver Island, and confirmed this story, adding that it was "supposed to be the bque *Duchess de Lorenzo*."<sup>104</sup> News of the disaster did not reach Victoria for several weeks after the departure of Staines, and it was not until April that Douglas reported it to the Company in London.

It is reported that the vessel in which the Revd. Mr. Staines sailed from Soke [*sic*] for San Francisco, foundered at sea off Classet, having a heavy deck load of Timber, and that every one of the unfortunate persons on board perished with her, except one man, who was picked up at sea some days afterwards clinging to a part of the rigging, which remained above water.

(102) His departure was evidently not rushed, for on February 16 Martha Cheney noted in her diary: "Uncle came home with Mr. Staines the latter come to see us before starting for England." The following day he returned to Victoria. James K. Nesbitt (*ed.*), "The Diary of Martha Cheney Ella," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1949), p. 110. Robert Melrose noted in his diary, under date of February 22, 1854: "Mr. Staines left for England on his important mission." W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The Diary of Robert Melrose," *loc. cit.*, p. 201.

(103) San Francisco *Alta California*, March 27, 1854.

(104) *Ibid.*, March 31, 1854.

His sufferings must have been fearful and he did not long survive his deliverance.<sup>105</sup>

Captain Cooper's account of the disaster supplies a few additional details.

Procrastination was however one of the characteristics of Mr Staines & unfortunately instead of being prepared to take his passage in a vessel bound for San Francisco at a certain time he being too late the vessel had sailed from Sooke. Another vessel lying there was to leave a few days after & on her he took passage. This vessel being lumber laden & meeting with heavy weather outside Cape Flattery became waterlogged & was drifting about on her broadside for some time when one of the survivors was picked up from the wreck. Mr Staines had cut his way thro' the ship's side from his cabin & when one of the crew was rescued by a passing vessel the survivor reported that Dr. Staines (as he called him) had died only a day or two previously. This survivor only lived sufficiently long to make these statements & it was my unfortunate lot to bring this sad intelligence to Victoria I having been up Puget Sound at the time the vessel arrived carrying the survivor who died before I could see him.<sup>106</sup>

Under these tragic circumstances the career of Staines came to an end. His death did not, however, put an end to the agitation of which he was to have been the official mouthpiece. On April 20, 1854, copies of the two petitions were forwarded to London with a covering letter signed by a "Committee elected by the Colonists" which read:—

A catastrophe of the most melancholy kind has rendered it imperative on us, as a committee elected to act in the matters on which we have the honour of addressing you, by our fellow colonists, to wait upon your Grace with the prayers of the independent residents of this island for protection from the arbitrary and unconstitutional enactments of the present Governor.

Situated as we are at so great a distance from the Imperial Government, and feeling that the most certain and speedy way of laying a clear statement of our grievances before your Grace would be by securing the presence in England of some member of our community to whom we might entrust our cause, the colonists, at a meeting held on the 4th February ultimo, for the

(105) Douglas to Barclay, April 6, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(106) Cooper, *Maritime Matters*, pp. 10, 11. This information is confirmed by a further letter of Annie Deans, dated September 10, 1854. "The last letter I sent to you was in the care of the Reverend [*sic*] Mr. Staines who was going home to England to represent the State of this Colony before the house of Commons but the ship that he left here in was lost about 100 miles from here and all on Board perished except one who was saved to tell the tale and then he died raveing [*sic*] Mad in the Month of Febuary [*sic*] last but his letters got safe to California in another ship." *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

purpose of arranging the preliminaries of the proposed step, unanimously selected the Rev. R. J. Staines, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay for this island, as the most proper person to proceed to England for the purpose of waiting on your Grace.

This gentleman, at the earnest request of the colonists, undertook the commission and sailed hence for San Francisco, *en route* to England, on the 1st March (ultimo), but never, as it has pleased the Almighty, to reach his destination, the vessel having been discovered some short time since by a passing ship, in a water-logged state, and but one of the crew surviving to tell the sad state of his fellows.

Deeply regretting, as we do, the untimely end of one who had the interests of our infant community so much at heart, and than whom, none could more efficiently have depicted the crushing effect of the incubus under which our energies are paralyzed, we, at the same time, are so well assured of your Grace's earnest wish, as ever shown for the protection of the true interests of this Colony, that in laying before you the documents with which our delegate would have been charged, we do so with a perfect confidence that they will meet from your Grace every consideration and attention their importance entitles them to.<sup>107</sup>

In due course a copy of the petition to the Queen and the memorial to the Duke of Newcastle was returned to Governor Douglas for his comment. Once again he rose to the defence of Chief Justice Cameron and explained fully the circumstances that had made necessary his appointment. The people of the colony were "happy and contented" and "since the departure of the Rev. Mr. Staines and his coadjutor Mr. Swanston" the Governor had received no complaints except in regard to the sale price of land, a grievance that Douglas was powerless to redress. In concluding this report, Douglas was most caustic in his denunciation of Staines—perhaps unnecessarily so, since Staines had now been dead for nearly nine months.

Mr. Staines, unfortunately for himself, was a violent party man, and was prudent neither in his conduct nor associations; the affidavit of William Conolly, herewith transmitted, does not give an exalted opinion of his loyalty or attachment to his country, seeing he was using his influence to encourage Her Majesty's subjects to take lands on the Arro Islands, under the United

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(107) James Cooper, Edward E. Langford, Thomas James Skinner, Wm. Banfield, James Yates to the Duke of Newcastle, April 20, 1854, P.P., H. of C. 507 of 1863, p. 43.

States, thereby aiding and abetting the contemplated encroachments of that Government on Her Majesty's territories.<sup>108</sup>

There can be little doubt but that Douglas had become more and more exasperated with Staines' conduct and that consenting to act as the colonists' representative was the final act that brought down the Governor's wrath upon the unfortunate cleric.<sup>109</sup> It will be recalled that Work received Staines' announcement of his departure subsequent to the event. It is possible that Work's reply, which was dated February 23, may have been delivered to Staines prior to his departure from Sooke.

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(108) Douglas to Sir George Grey, December 11, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. This dispatch was also printed in *P.P.*, H. of C., 507 of 1863, pp. 38-40. The affidavit to which reference is made read as follows: "William Conolly deposes, that on or about the 1st day of February 1854, that the Rev. R. J. Staines told him that he had no further need of his services, and asked him how he intended to employ himself, and that he told Mr. Staines he did not know.

"He then inquired of Mr. Staines if he knew if San Juan Island was going to be given up to the United States Government. Mr. Staines replied he did not know how that would be, but that Colonel Ebey, the Collector of Customs in Washington territory, would be on San Juan Island in the following week, to take possession of it in the name of the Government of the United States.

"He then consulted with Mr. Staines, and asked him if it would not be well for him if he went to San Juan Island, and took possession of some land before Colonel Ebey arrived, in order to secure the pre-emption right. Mr. Staines said it would be a good speculation, and seemed to wish him to go, saying that he would supply him with provisions, &c., enough for a month, to enable him to do so. Upon the 4th of February, Mr. Staines sent for him into his room, and in the presence of Mr. Swanston gave him an order upon the person in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's provision store, for one bag flour, 2 lbs. of tea, 12 lbs. sugar, and 20 dried salmon, to proceed to San Juan Island with, and take possession of land." *Ibid.*, p. 41.

(109) Some indication of the state of feeling between the two men is to be gathered from the following letter which Governor Douglas caused his secretary to write to Staines: "I am directed by the Governor to return you the enclosed letters, and to inform that as Her Majesty's Governor of Vancouver Islands, he can neither entertain nor reply to such communications.

"I am also directed to inform you that communications connected with the affairs of the H.B. Compy. should be addressed to John Work, Esqre., who will give them due and proper consideration." Richard Golledge to Staines, February 17, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. No clue is given as to the content of the letters, but it conceivably may have been similar to that Staines subsequently did write to Work.

This letter made it clear that since Staines had left the colony without giving the requisite notice or obtaining leave of absence, he had thereby vacated his situation as chaplain, and that the Board of Management, considering the appointment vacant, had determined that his pay and emoluments would cease from the date of writing. Moreover, the Board of Management immediately applied to the Governor and Committee in London to appoint a successor.<sup>110</sup>

Douglas' report to the Hudson's Bay Company contained a more detailed explanation of the events of the previous few days in so far as Staines was concerned. His departure from Victoria without permission was described as a "singular and unauthorized proceeding" and in "keeping with Mr. Staines' usual conduct." Douglas freely admitted that Staines was going home as a delegate to represent the grievances of certain parties in the colony who had chosen him "on account of his avowed and unaccountable hostility to the Hudson's Bay Company." He maintained further that Staines had been "acting as a political leader," and that he had not scrupled to use the influence of his position in the Company's service "to spread disaffection among the Company's servants, and to fill their minds with suspicion and distrust of their employers." Moreover, Douglas claimed that many of H.M. naval officers "and other respectable persons" having heard him "railing against the Company in the harshest terms" were not a little surprised that he should be kept in their employ. It was pointed out that his services as schoolmaster, having proved unsatisfactory, were being dispensed with by request of the subscribers, and in so far as his chaplaincy was concerned, it was suggested that his ministry would "never be useful here." Douglas asked that another clergyman be sent out—"a person of real piety and Christian experience, a lover of peace and one who eschews politics, and maintains the true dignity of the Christian character"—and particularly urged that Staines should not be reinstated as chaplain "seeing that he has forfeited by his conduct, all claims to our respect and esteem, and can never hope to enjoy our confidence or exercise his ministry with advantage to the community."

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(110) Work to Staines, February 23, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

Of his ministry, Douglas had little favourable to report. It had been "singularly unprofitable, few or none of his political friends have ever attended Divine Service; his only hearers were the Gentlemen and children of the Company's Establishment and occasionally a few of the labouring Servants, but of late service has been almost entirely deserted."<sup>111</sup>

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Douglas would be harsh in his judgment of Staines, but that it was, on the whole, a just evaluation is supported by the opinion expressed by J. D. Pemberton, the Company's civil engineer and surveyor on the Island. Writing to Barclay on March 3, 1854, Pemberton reported:—

Captain Grant has just arrived from San Francisco in the 'Honolulu' of which he is Mate and part owner, he fell in with the Revd. Mr. Staines at Soke [*sic*],—fearfully seasick—having got so far upon his quixotic expedition to London. . . . seriously, I feel but little sympathy for him, because whatever may be Mr. Douglas' failings want of good nature or of kindness of disposition are not among the number, and in rev. Staines V The H. B. Co. & every body connected with them, the waspishness I might almost say malignity was all on the side of the former—on the whole I feel that the Authorities made no attempt to catch the runaway horse by the head, until they saw they would be run over if they did not.<sup>112</sup>

The Hudson's Bay Company in London supported the position taken by Douglas. Before word of the drowning of Staines had reached London, their decision was on its way to Douglas.

As Mr. Staines has thought fit to leave his station without asking or obtaining leave, the Governor and Committee consider that the Office of Chaplain to the Company at Victoria is vacant, and are taking steps to procure a successor to Mr. Staines. They trust that their selection may prove more fortunate, as it appears from the accounts received from Vancouver's Island, that whether as Schoolmaster, Clergyman, or Citizen, Mr. Staines conduct has been uniformly unsatisfactory. It is to be regretted that any of the Officers connected with the Hudson's Bay Company should have been induced to put their names to petition, apparently got up by Mr. Staines, but the Governor and Committee are quite prepared to meet any charge brought by him or others against the Company in respect of their management of Vancouver's Island.<sup>113</sup>

Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Company's territories in North America, held similar views. Writing to the Board of

(111) Douglas to Barclay, February 24, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(112) J. D. Pemberton to Barclay, March 3, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(113) William G. Smith to Douglas, June 5, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

Management of the Western Department and with the knowledge that Staines had been drowned, Simpson was his usual forthright self:—

The desertion of the Rev. J. R. Staines [*sic*] late Chaplain and Schoolmaster at Fort Victoria I have no doubt will be generally considered a very satisfactory mode of getting rid of that troublesome person. By newspaper report I have since learnt that the unfortunate man perished in the wreck of the vessel by which he had taken his passage from Vancouver's Island. I may state that if there be any desire to re-establish the school or to have another chaplain at Fort Victoria, the Northern Council will not feel disposed to renew the arrangements which existed during Mr. Staines incumbency.<sup>114</sup>

The Company adamantly stood by its decision that Staines had vacated his appointments by his action in leaving Victoria. In the latter part of June, 1854, Staines' father, John Collins Staines, visited Hudson's Bay House and later in August wrote twice seeking further information regarding the circumstances of his son's death. In a letter on August 10 he indicated that as a result of a long and severe illness which had affected his eyesight, he had had to give up his business and had been in receipt of pecuniary assistance from his son almost from the time of the latter's departure for Vancouver Island. The elder Staines told a sad story—his wife had died in November, 1853; he was now in great distress, his rent was overdue, and two of the younger children whom their brother had placed at school were now at home with no provision for their support.<sup>115</sup> His appeal for assistance was, however, turned down by the Company, for at a meeting of the Board on August 28 the following resolution was passed:—

Ordered him to be informed that his son having left the Company's service without notice or permission, and the Governor and Committee having no funds in their hands, his request cannot be complied with.<sup>116</sup>

The following day a letter to this effect was sent to him, at which time it was also pointed out that no further information had been received concerning his son's death, but that Mr. John Miles,

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(114) Simpson to Board of Management of the Western Department, June 28, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(115) J. C. Staines to Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, August 10, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(116) *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

who had forwarded the particulars thus far received, was expected in England shortly and might then provide further details.<sup>117</sup>

It might appear that the Company, in this connection, was being unduly severe, but it was strictly correct in the position it had assumed. In its dealings with Mrs. Staines, however, it appears in a much more favourable light. In November, 1854, her brother, Charles Tahourdin, visited Hudson's Bay House and subsequently made a written request that she be provided with "a free passage home to England." The original agreement in 1848 had promised passages to and from Vancouver Island not only for Rev. and Mrs. Staines, but also for their adopted son and their servants, a married couple. There were now several children in this family, and free passages for them were also asked as a favour to Mrs. Staines—

. . . as the dreadful shock she has sustained by the death of her husband has so prostrated her spirits as to make it essential for her to have the assistance of a female servant on board—and their children would probably be no greater charge to the Company than the passage of Mr. Staines himself would have occasioned them.<sup>118</sup>

The Board took prompt action, and on November 13 ordered that the "requests in reference to Mrs. Staines be complied with."<sup>119</sup> Two days later Tahourdin was informed that the Company was "desirous of meeting Mrs. Staines convenience," and that instructions for a free passage home would be granted to "her adopted son, and her two servants with their family."<sup>120</sup> Instructions to this effect were not issued to the Board of Management at Victoria until January 29, 1855, when it was requested that should Mrs. Staines not already have sailed from the colony "accommodation be granted to her, her nephew and servant, by the first opportunity offering," and that, if she required it, a cash advance be made to her before departure, the repayment of

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(117) William G. Smith to William Collins Staines [*sic*], August 29, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(118) Charles Tahourdin to William G. Smith, November 11, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(119) *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(120) William G. Smith to Tahourdin, November 15, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

which had been guaranteed by Tahourdin.<sup>121</sup> By this time Mrs. Staines had already left the colony, but Governor Douglas had anticipated the wishes of the Company. In August he had written: "She will probably apply for a passage to England by the '*Princess Royal*,' and I shall not fail to meet her wishes in that respect."<sup>122</sup>

Only the barest of details are available concerning Mrs. Staines' sojourn in the colony after her husband's death. According to the *diary* of Robert Melrose "the Late Mr. Staines' Farm Stock" was sold "by Public Auction" on July 8, 1854.<sup>123</sup> In August, Douglas informed the Company that Mrs. Staines had sold all her property<sup>124</sup> and was "now boarding with an English family, who have rented Captain Cooper's Farm at Metchosin about 8 miles from this place, to which she retired from choice."<sup>125</sup> This was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Blinkhorn, and the *diary* of their niece, Martha Cheney, gives the following information about their friend:—

[January 7, 1855] Doctor Helmkin [*sic*] came down walking to see Aunt, stayed all night Mrs. Staines was taken very poorly, obliged to go to bed. The Doctor went back in the morning. . . . Mr. Ella came down with a Boat to fetch Mrs. Staines, and Horace, up to the Fort who are going to England in the H.B. Coy Ship *Princess Royal*. Mrs. Staines leaves here to morrow morning.

9th, Uncle and I went down to the Beach to see Mrs. Staines off A fine calm morning. . . .

16, . . . *Princess Royal* sailed to day for England, a beautiful day and a fine fair wind.<sup>126</sup>

(121) William G. Smith to Board of Management, Victoria, January 29, 1855, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(122) Douglas to William G. Smith, August 24, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(123) W. Kaye Lamb (*ed.*), "The Diary of Robert Melrose," *loc. cit.*, p. 203.

(124) It will be recalled that some of Staines' farm lands had not been purchased outright, and it is probable that this land reverted to the Company. However, the farm in the vicinity of Mount Tolmie had been purchased. This farm has been located as Lot VIIIA and was situated a block north of Haultain street, about 400 feet on either side of the road extending back as far as the University School.

(125) Douglas to William G. Smith, August 24, 1854, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(126) J. K. Nesbitt (*ed.*), "The Diary of Martha Cheney Ella, 1853-1856," *loc. cit.*, pp. 257, 258.

In the course of a letter to the Secretary of the Company in London, Douglas reported "The cabin passages by the '*Princess Royal*' are Mrs. Staines, and nephew,"<sup>127</sup> and the *log* of the *Princess Royal*, under date of January 13, contains an entry to the effect that Mrs. Staines had embarked as a passenger.<sup>128</sup> Still later, after he had received from London the instructions concerning the considerations to be given to Mrs. Staines, Douglas reported that she had already sailed "provided with every requisite for the voyage."<sup>129</sup> That voyage came to an end on May 25, 1855, when the *Princess Royal* arrived in London docks.<sup>130</sup> Little more can be added about Mrs. Staines, other than that provided in a letter to her friend, Martha Cheney, written some three months after her return to England.

Tell your Aunt that almost all my money matters are settled now and that my brother has been extremely kind & not delayed anything that *he* could get on with. I know it will please her to hear this. I have not yet heard from Mr. Cridge which is very disappointing. If you have an opportunity I wish you would tell him what I say—I find the Company have taken him in completely. I fear he will not find enough to live upon according to the plan they have arranged with him. I wish I could have seen him before he left England.<sup>131</sup>

The foregoing detailed outline of the career of Rev. Robert John Staines serves to illustrate, if nothing else, how difficult it is to make an assessment of his character. His was a most complex personality, capable of arousing a wide range of sentiments in the minds and hearts of his contemporaries. To Roderick Finlayson he might appear insufferably conceited and full of frills; to Dr. J. S. Helmcken, as "an excitable politician and a very dissatisfied man."<sup>132</sup> To Governor Douglas, no doubt he

(127) Douglas to Barclay, January 11, 1855, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(128) *Log* of the *Princess Royal*, January 13, 1855, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(129) Douglas to Barclay, April 18, 1855, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(130) *Log* of the *Princess Royal*, May 25, 1855, *MS.*, H.B.C. Archives.

(131) Emma Frances Staines to Martha Cheney, August 30, 1855, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(132) J. S. Helmcken, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 96, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Helmcken also recalled the following incident, which throws some light on Staines' character. "Staines was fond of giving suppers—salads—the lettuces grew outside the fort pickets. He discovered that some one stole his vegetables, so he kept watch on the gallery and early one morning he was repaid by finding a french Canadian named Minnie stealing the coveted

was a political malcontent, a disloyal employee, and a dangerous influence. Yet withal there were evidently other more admirable traits, for Dr. Helmcken himself recalled that when the news of Staines' drowning reached Victoria "there was a general pity—he was praised or blamed—a martyr or a fool as the case may be, but all nevertheless regretted his end."<sup>133</sup> That he was a pioneer priest, pedagogue, and political agitator cannot be gainsaid, and it is his misfortune that his activity in the latter role, misguided as it may have been, had tended to obscure his more lasting contributions to the life of the Colony of Vancouver Island.<sup>134</sup>

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food. He coughed—Minnie look[ed] up—Good morning Minnie—You had better take the whole whilst you are about it! Minnie politely raised his hat and said Thank you Sir I will and went on filling his bag! Staines wanted to prosecute—but the question arose—Did not Staines give him liberty to take them." *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 98, 99.

(133) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(134) The name Staines has been perpetuated in two places by the Geographical Board of Canada. *Staines Point*, on the south end of Trial Island near Victoria, is named after Rev. R. J. Staines, and a small islet off the north-east shore of Cadboro Bay called *Ellen Staines* is intended to commemorate his wife's association with the colony. This is an unfortunate misnomer, for there can be no question that her correct name was Emma Frances Staines.

## APPENDIX

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER BY REV. R. J. STAINES TO  
REV. EDWARD CRIDGE<sup>1</sup>

. . . of Public Instruction, & spends much time in drawing up elaborate reports of the wonderful things that have been effected & the progress being made in the education. He is I believe an Anabaptist. There were several courtiers present, amongst whom was John Young<sup>2</sup> the son son of an English sailor, who was of immense value to the present dynasty in its budding days, & received the hand of one of the chief princesses in marriage. This Young Man, who is about 26 or 27 years of age, is extremely handsome, & of so noble a mien & elegant a carriage that he would shed a grace on any court in Europe. That is to say he could act the courtier as Louis XIV is said to have "acted royalty;" for with regard to his intellectual or moral attainments I could get no positive information, though I was told that they were very slight & shallow. Still as John Young is of English extraction the information may have a *slight tinge* of Yankee prejudice infused.

Wed. Oct. 10.

After a few days' intermission I try again to get thro' this long *TransAndean* epistle for you. You see we moderns take longer flight than our forefathers. *Trans Alpine* used to be the word, but in these days of steamers, railways & electric telegraphs, that is nothing accounted of. I don't know however whether they do not as perhaps in this very present instance of my speaking of them, oftener lead us away from our business than to it, so that there may be more of temptation than of usefulness in them. I must really try to despatch this letter, which is the only one pretending to description, that I can attempt to write, as soon as possible. I think I must be content, with respect to the Sandwich Islands, with what I have already said. I was much delighted with my ten days' sojourn there, & left them with much regret: many persons professed to regret that we were not going to stay amongst them; but whether that was real or complimentary I cannot tell. There is certainly no Episcopalian Clergyman there, which

(1) This fragment is one of the few original Staines' letters in the Archives of B.C. From its contents it may be assumed that it was the first letter written to Cridge after Staines' arrival in the colony, and that the missing portion—two folded sheets—may have described the trip out, as well as first impressions of Fort Victoria. It begins, however, with references to the time spent at Honolulu.

(2) This man's father, John Young, was a member of the crew of the American ship *Eleanora*, Captain Simon Metcalfe, which visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1790, along with the *Fair American*, commanded by Metcalfe's son, Thomas. Young was seized by the Hawaiians, and after several attempts at escape he became reconciled to life on the islands and rose to considerable prominence, becoming practically a confidential adviser to Kamehameha. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, Honolulu, 1938, pp. 24, 25, 42-44.

is a very great pity, & much regretted by the British residents. One curious thing happened. The last service I attended in England was the very Evg. before I embarked, & it was at Mr Mortimer's Chapel, in Gray's Inn Lane. I preached at the Islands: & the British Consul, Genl. Miller<sup>3</sup> lent me a large Prayer Book for the service, & whose name should it have in it here in the midst of the Pacific, towards the Antipodes, but Mr Mortimer's! It was presented by him to Mr Pritchard formerly British Consul at the Society Islands, as appeared from the Inscription. It was when we were approaching the Harbour of Honolulu, that we first heard of the extraordinary discovery of gold in California, which is only three weeks' sail from there. The sensation it had caused throughout the Pacific is almost inconceivable. Honolulu was stated to be at the time comparatively deserted, & the few who remained were preparing to leave as soon as the Californian winter was well over. Many persons who were then at Honolulu had made an excursion to the gold-region the previous autumn & realized very considerable sums of money. One Amern. tradesman showed me a large quantity of the gold, & told me he had made 210,000 dollars exactly £43,750. A lady named Hooper, (the only American *lady* we saw) with whom we drank tea, also showed us some of the gold, both dust & flakes or scales. Her husband, a Merchant was at the time in San Francisco, & he & his partner, were by the last advices realizing a profit of £500 a day. The following case will give you an idea of the extraordinary prices given for things. An English Merchant, named Janion<sup>4</sup> residing at Honolulu, bought a large quantity of common beads of the Russians at Sitka, (a place on this Coast to the N.W.) at 1½ dol: per lb. He sold them at San Francisco to a Merchant, whose name I was told but now forget, at 6 dol: per lb. He took them up the country to the gold region, & sold them at prices varying from 60 to 80 dol: per lb. This I had from the very best authority. a Sailor was one day accosted by an Indian at San Francisco who saw him using a common clasp-knife, worth /18d/ in England, & desired him to let him have the knife—the sailor asked him what he would give him; whereupon the Indian put his hands in his pockets & pulled out with great unconcern,

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(3) General William Miller, born December 2, 1795, became Consul-General for the Sandwich Islands in 1843, arriving there in February, 1844. He had had a varied military career, having served in the campaigns in Chile and Peru when their independence was being won. He died in the harbour of Callao, Peru, October 31, 1861, having returned thence in 1859. Ralph Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, p. 221; and Sidney Lee (*ed.*), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1894, xxxvii, 426, 427.

(4) Presumably Robert Cheshyre Janion, who eventually came to reside in Victoria in 1859. Subsequently, he entered into business with Henry Rhodes. This partnership, Janion Rhodes & Company, "fourth oldest house in British Columbia, whose name is almost as familiar in this Province and Oregon as that of the Hudson's Bay Company," was dissolved in October, 1874, and Janion thereafter operated only in Portland. [*Victoria Colonist*, October 9, 1874.] Janion died in England in his sixty-sixth year on August 11, 1881. [*Ibid.*, September 10, 1881.]

a double handful of gold & gave him. This last case I had from Capt. Shepherd<sup>5</sup> of the *Inconstant* Frigate (36) which was here for 3 weeks in May. Had this Island only been colonized a few years sooner the greater part of this wealth would have found its way into Vancouver's Island, as its proprietors might have supplied the Californian market with all the staple necessaries of life, for which this gold must be & indeed has been & is being exchanged. The Oregon Country, which alone could attempt to compete with this in the Californian market, has been almost deserted, nay entirely deserted. The people rushed down to Cala at the first tidings of *gold*, leaving their crops to rot in the ground, & their cattle to take care of themselves; as if *gold* could *create* provisions. When they returned at the approach of winter, their farms they found in a ruinous condition, & this summer they are all gone again. The H. B. Company's establishments on that side are utterly forsaken. All the working men & some of the Clerks have deserted. When the vessel in which we came went round into the Columbia river after leaving here, one of the mates & 9 of the Crew deserted. Since that, 11 men deserted from this very place, performing a hazardous passage of 90 miles in a Canoe & having upwards of 100 more to travel before they could find employment. The Common rate of Seamen's wages is £2 per month; but here on the Californian Coast they can get from 100 to 150 dol: or from £21 to £31 per month, so that it is no wonder that they desert. This year, at Fort Vancouver, The H. B. Coy. had to get in their harvest by means of Sandwich Islanders & Indians; all the whites had fled. Here, fortunately the straits of Juan de Fuca are interposed, or we should have been left to defend ourselves against the Indians, if necessary, as best we might. Our situation would really have been very critical, as this is only the 6th year since the formation of *this* establishment on the Island: & indeed of the *first*, with the exception of one which existed about 50 years ago, for the space of 2 or 3 years. This summer another has been formed at the coal region about 200 miles from this place,<sup>6</sup> among a tribe called the Qualcoalt-ths.<sup>7</sup> It has received no name at present. That will be fixed in Fenchurch St. The mainsprings of the commercial world life in London, the Tyre of modern times. We are on very good terms with the Indians here, & the proprietors of this part of the Island, the Songass, are a weak tribe, (once powerful, but of late years much thinned by disease) & they are glad of the protection afforded them against their stronger neighbours by the presence of the white man. The tribe numbers from 150 to 200 men & perhaps 500 or 600 in all. Their village is just opposite to the Fort, across an arm of the

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(5) Captain John Shepherd was a veteran naval officer, having obtained his lieutenancy in 1813 and his captaincy on October 26, 1840. In 1849 he was in command of H.M.S. *Inconstant*, 1,422 tons, 36 guns, which visited Vancouver Island that year. This vessel had been built at Plymouth in 1836.

(6) Fort Rupert, near the northern end of Vancouver Island, was built under the supervision of Captain W. H. McNeill in 1849.

(7) A reference to the Kwakiutl Indians.

Harbour. On the other side of the Fort within 150 or 200 yards is a village containing a part of a tribe called the *Clallums*; the great body of whom dwell on the opposite or south side of the straits to which they *all* belong. They have settled here apparently for the convenience of trading & are very peaceable. A great many of the Indians are occasionally employed by the Company. I have had one of them, a son of one of the Clallum Chiefs, by name of Yoletan who is a great friend of mine, in my service, but he does not like steady work. He is a boy of about 15, & a few days ago, I found that his father had gone away, & previously to leaving had bought his son a wife. He now, I suppose, considers him as settled in the world. They all marry very early, & the women become quite old & haggard by five-&-twenty. The men have a plurality of wives according to their wealth chiefly. There is one of the Clallums in this village, who, I am told, has eleven. Their property chiefly consists in slaves, blankets & canoes. Every man has his gun, or two, or three, his canoe, sometimes two or three of them of different sizes for different purposes. The chieftainship is hereditary, but may also be acquired, & in rather a curious way. It is not by permanent possession of wealth, though possession is previously necessary. If a man can *destroy* seven or eight blankets of his own, he is reckoned a chief: & the *more* he can destroy, the *greater* chief he is deemed. Men already chiefs do this to gain superiority among chiefs. One man on this island to the Northward, was seen absolutely to destroy with great formality & very deliberately one hundred good blankets in this way. They mount on these occasions on the roof of their huts, & tear the blankets into strips of 1½ or 2 inches in width, & distribute them amongst those who are assembled around. Lads who have been redeemed from slavery by the Company, & allowed to work out their ransom, have often worked on till they have gained 7 or 8 blankets, & then gone & made 'Tai-yees' of themselves in this manner. Sometimes they proceed to a more shocking & barbarous mode of displaying their greatness, & that is by putting slaves to death. They will shoot them with the most unfeeling savageness. This being the case it is quite an act of humanity to ransom the slaves when it can be properly done, that is, so as not to encourage kidnapping for the sake of the ransom. Two murders have taken place close to us since we have been here; but the Colony is in such an infantine state at present that nothing can be done to vindicate the laws. The first was committed by the Songass upon a lad, a nephew of a Chief of another tribe living about 30 miles from here on the East side of the Island, called the Cow-witch'-uns; & that particular family of them are designated Quaw'-cutch-uns. This was to avenge a murder previously committed by the lad's Uncle upon a Songass. This fellow, the *Quaw-cutch-un Cow'-with-un* by name Tschellum, is a determined bandit, who has some 10 or 12 followers, & commits depredations upon all around, but chiefly upon those who may be at variance with his tribe, tho' they themselves are said not to acknowledge him, & to term him an outcast or outlaw from their tribe.

*He* committed the *second murder* upon a lad of the Clallum tribe at the Company's dairy, about 4 or 5 miles from here, where he was assisting the dairymen; he was pierced by 5 balls, as he was standing over the fire. There is a wood within a few yards of the spot. The men, who were close at hand, rushed into the wood, but could see nobody. Men went out in pursuit on horseback, but could find nobody. One man they saw, who escaped in the woods. However it was by some means known to be this man, & accordingly an expedition of 140 men was formed against him in 2 days, assembled from different parts by messengers. They proceeded to the fellow's dwelling which is a stockaded fort, built upon an isolated rock, surrounded by water. They approached in their canoes & some of them landed; *He* & his men fired upon them & wounded three: all but one of the wounded re-embarked, & he was unable. He entreated his comrades to fetch him off, but they dared not: so the besieged made a sally & cut off his head & the assailants came away, having effected nothing. The headless body was brought here two days after by some women to whom it had been committed. The man who was killed was of another tribe called the *Soaks* or *Sokes*. We have not heard of this fellow for some 3 months now. Immediately upon this occurrence the trading of ammunition was put a stop to, in order to bring them to their senses, & if the Americans do not supply them, it will have the desired effect. All this happened about the 12th or 14th May, whilst the Inconstant was here, lying within 5 or 6 miles of the spot where the murder was committed. When the Canoes of warriors arrived from the other side of the straits to avenge the cause of their relative, they drew up close to the shore, & the Old Man, the father of the deceased lad, sat upon the top of an overhanging rock, surrounded by his fellow-villagers & made them an harangue, which was replied to by those in the canoes. Afterwards they landed & rested for the night bringing their own provisions with them. Early the next mornng. they set out on their expedn., but in 2 or 3 days returned, as I have before described.

For several weeks previous to this we were kept in a state of continual alarms, not fearing attacks upon ourselves but upon these Indians close to us, to avenge the first murder, which was perpetrated by the Songass. We were awakened almost every night by fire-arms all round us & at all distances within the sphere of hearing. Several times we heard the screams of people in the Songass village, as if caused by an irruption of their enemies. You can have no conception of what kind of a state this was to live in, every morning expecting to hear how many were killed last night. They kept firing to show their enemies, if they were near, that they were on the alert, but it was so rapid & continual & sometimes in volleys with answers, that it seemed to arise from actual encounters. However, since May, we have been very quiet; they have not quite so much powder to throw away now.

Oct. 26. 1849.

I must now bring this letter to a conclusion in good earnest. For I expect the Columbia will sail in a day or two.

Oct. 29. 1849.

The Columbia is expected to sail to-morrow. The time is therefore arrived when I must say farewell to all my friends in Old England for the present. Hoping that we may still live to see her shores again, & that you may live to meet us there,

I remain

My Dear Cridge

Ever yours most affectly

R. J. STAINES.

[Addressed:] The Rev. Edward Cridge  
Grammar School  
North Walsham  
Norfolk.

## NOTES ON THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH-WEST COAST

Although earlier investigators who excavated in the Pacific Northwest have bequeathed us large collections of skeletal remains and implements of the ancient inhabitants of this region, they left few data that could assist us in tracing the history and the cultural development of the early Coast dwellers. We cannot infer from their notes what items came first, which next, and so on. Moreover, extensive excavations have been made only in the southern portion of the Coast. In consequence, therefore, as late as 1943 the vast coastal stretch between Northern California and South-western Alaska has been pointed out as archæologically the least-known area on the North American Continent.<sup>1</sup>

The objectives of archæology have changed greatly since the early part of the century. To-day they are no longer confined to the mere recovery of skeletal remains and artifacts. The modern archæologist digs in order to recover as complete a picture as possible of the life and culture of ancient peoples at the various periods of their history. He tries to follow their migrations and attempts to determine the nature of their relationships with other groups. In order to realize these objectives, he employs, both in the field and in the laboratory, techniques which are as precise as those of other exact sciences.

Systematic programmes of archæological research were started in the Pacific Northwest shortly after the end of World War II, when the University of Washington began excavations in the San Juan Islands<sup>2</sup> and the University of British Columbia in the Fraser Delta region.<sup>3</sup>

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(1) Philip Drucker, *Archeological Survey on the Northern Northwest Coast*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 133 (1943); *Anthropological Papers*, No. 20, p. 115. Drucker mentions as possible exceptions to this statement only the Mackenzie-Yukon and Northern Plateau hinterland.

(2) Cf. Arden King, *Cattle Point: a Stratified Site in the Southern Northwest Coast Region*. Society for American Archæology, Memoir No. 7.

(3) Cf. Charles E. Borden, "Preliminary Report on Archæological Investigations in the Fraser Delta Region," *Anthropology in British Columbia*, No. 1, pp. 13-27 (Victoria, 1950).

In the summer of 1949, students from the two universities joined forces and began the excavation of a large site on the Whalen farm at Boundary Bay, in the south-west corner of the Fraser Delta.<sup>4</sup> Before the excavation proper began, the students were busy with alidade, plane-table, and stadia rod, surveying, fixing datum points and benchmarks, and preparing contour maps of the site. Thereupon the area to be excavated was carefully staked out and its location recorded on the contour map. In excavating, only small implements were used—pointed mason trowels and dust-pans, and, for even finer work, grapefruit-knives, spoons, dentist's tools, whisk-brooms, and soft-hair brushes. Shovels came into play only during clean-up operations. All excavated material was screened and closely scrutinized. Every find, upon discovery, immediately received an identification number and its location was measured three-dimensionally with reference to datum point and benchmark. One artifact record-sheet, the size of standard typewriter-paper, was devoted to each find for the recording of these and other data. Associated material, such as food remains, detritus of manufacture, charcoal, samples of ash and of other midden material from the various strata, was collected in special bags and its origin recorded. After the excavation of every 4-foot level was completed, scale drawings of the stratification as it appeared on the trench-faces were made on graph paper. In addition to copious field-notes, nearly 350 photographs were taken of the work in progress, of special features, such as rock-filled fire-pits, burials, and so forth. In this fashion a trench 80 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 12 feet deep was excavated during the nine weeks of the field-trip.

The reward for all this care in the field came later in the laboratory when, after the original position of each find had been precisely plotted on the profile drawings, the artifacts were laid out on a large table in their proper association and sequence. Although not one of the artifacts was very spectacular by itself, as the finds lay spread out in this fashion they began to tell the story of two interesting chapters in the pre-history of this area.

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(4) The field-trip was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington and financed by a grant from the Agnes Anderson Research Fund.

The collection contained two distinct assemblages of artifacts; that is, it represented a sequence of two different Indian cultures. Although there are certain similarities, the differences between the two are more numerous, and some of these are very striking. The transition from one to the other is quite abrupt, with a distinct dividing line between the two groups. A comparison of a few elements of the two cultures will be of interest.

As just stated, there are certain cultural traits which the two Indian groups had in common. Both relied chiefly on the sea for their food-supply. They gathered shell-fish, caught salmon, hunted birds and a few land and sea mammals. But they exploited the natural resources of their environment by different means, and there is at least one interesting difference in their diet.

The earlier group used in the manufacture of most of its implements raw materials which were obtainable locally, or at least not far away. Chief among the preserved materials were bone, slate, and the shell of the giant mussel (*Mytilus californianus*). The later group did not use any slate and hardly any mussel-shell. Instead, some of its most important raw materials came from afar, from the plateau of the Interior. Among these materials are nephrite, serpentine, obsidian, and other stones.

There are significant differences in the types of stone projectile-points used by the two groups. The earlier Indians used points of ground slate almost exclusively. Most of these are too large and heavy for arrows. They must have tipped spears or lances. The very few chipped or flaked points of these Indians had a simple leaf shape. In the remains of the later group, ground slate points are lacking completely. These Indians used only small chipped points of types and shapes such as have been found at archæological sites in the Interior of Washington. The small size of these points indicates that they were all arrow-heads. No stone points were found of a size large enough for spears.

Another marked difference is apparent in the cutting-tools of the two groups. The earlier group employed knives of ground slate or giant-mussel shell. The later Indians used small razor-sharp obsidian blades, which seem to have been hafted by lashing them into an open groove of a handle made of antler.

Again, the earlier group used only few celts, and these were fashioned chiefly of the shell of the giant mussel or of argillite. Neither of these materials is very hard and durable. The later Indians used numerous large and small celts of nephrite and serpentine—stones which are hard and tough.

Nephrite and serpentine celts were used as blades for adzes. Such stone adzes were important wood-working tools of all North-west Coast Indians in pre- and proto-historic times before the introduction of metals. It should be mentioned in this connection that evidence of the presence of two other important wood-working tools was found only among the remains of the later Indians. These tools are antler wedges and heavy pestle-shaped pounding-hammers of stone to drive these wedges. From ethnographic sources we know that such tools were used for splitting off planks from large cedar logs. The presence of this configuration of wood-working tools in the upper horizon suggests, therefore, that the later occupants of the Whalen site had a well-developed wood-working industry, and that they probably lived in large plank houses of the historic Coast Salish type. Conversely, the absence in the lower horizon of all three of these heavy-duty tools may indicate that wood-working was not highly developed among the earlier occupants, and that they lived in houses of a different type.

In addition to these cultural differences suggested by the implements used, there are others. Both groups practised mid-den burial, with the body laid on its side in a semi-flexed position. But there is one difference which may be significant: the earlier Indians buried their dead facing west, and the later group buried their dead facing east.

As stated earlier, the food remains indicated at least one striking difference in the diet of the two groups. The earlier occupants of the site had a marked preference for bay mussels (*Mytilus edulis*), which they ate the year around, supplemented by occasional meals of basket cockles (*Cardium corbis*). The later inhabitants ate great quantities of large shell-fish, such as horse-clams (*Schizothærus nuttallii*) and Washington butter-clams (*Saxidomus nuttallii*), and comparatively few mussels.

While the evidence which was gathered last summer at this site cannot as yet be regarded as conclusive, the data that were obtained strongly suggest that an early group of Indians who had lived at this site for a considerable time, and whose entire orientation was evidently coastal by long tradition, was eventually overwhelmed by intrusive Indians whose culture exhibits strong ties with the Interior.

Who were these invaders and where did they come from? The science of comparative linguistics suggests a plausible answer.<sup>5</sup> It appears that at an early period extensive dislocations among the Indian groups of the North-west were caused by repeated waves of migration of Athabaskan-speaking peoples sweeping from northern regions southward along the Coast and through the Interior. After the turmoil had ceased, many Indian groups occupied territory quite different from what they had held before the invasions started. Some groups held more than they possessed previously; others were squeezed into areas far smaller than they originally occupied.

Great unrest was caused among the Salish. It appears that Salish-speaking groups were jostled out of positions in the Interior of Washington and migrated toward the Coast, where they adapted themselves to a new life. They did not necessarily settle for long periods in one place after arrival on the Coast, but often may have been hustled along to more distant places by new groups coming from the Interior. It must have been during this time of unrest, which may have lasted for several centuries, that the North-west Coast of Washington, the San Juan Islands, the East Coast of Vancouver Island, and the opposite Mainland were settled by the ancestors of the Salish groups inhabiting this area to-day. It must be the remains of these intrusive Salish and of their descendants which we find in the upper levels of many of the middens along our Southern Coast.

But who were the Indians who ceded this territory to the invading Salish? This question cannot, as yet, be answered with any degree of probability. Their culture seems to have been

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(5) Cf. Morris Swadesh, "The Linguistic Approach to Salish Pre-history" in *Indians of the Urban Northwest* (edited by Marian W. Smith), New York, 1949, pp. 161-173.

characterized by an absence or paucity of Interior traits, by the grinding of slate for knives, daggers, lance and arrow points, and by the presence of toggling harpoon-heads. These and other traits suggest that this culture derived its main stimulus from the Far North rather than from the East.

The age of the Douglas fir-trees on the enormous shell mound on the Whalen farm indicates that the final events in the last chapter of this chronicle took place about two and a half centuries ago. We have, as yet, no clue as to the time of the earliest events at this site.

Systematic excavations have just begun. It will take much time and effort before a clear understanding of pre-historic events in this area can be gained. But by patient investigation and with the assistance of scientists in other fields, with the help of individuals and groups outside of the two co-operating universities, we shall gradually approach this goal.

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# NOTES AND COMMENTS

## BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

### VICTORIA SECTION

The annual summer field-day of the Victoria Section on Saturday afternoon, August 12, took the form of a basket picnic at the residence of Mrs. J. E. Godman. A special bus was chartered and a tour of historic sites in the area preceded the picnic. Mr. J. K. Nesbitt, popular newspaper columnist, provided a running commentary on such points of historic interest as Craigflower, Parson's Bridge, Esquimalt dry-dock and dockyard as they were visited in turn. Later the officers of the Section and a number of the members proceeded to the Canadian Bank of Commerce on Government Street to witness the unveiling of a plaque marking the site of the first school in British Columbia.

The first meeting of the fall season was held in the Provincial Library on October 19, with the Chairman, Professor Sydney G. Pettit, presiding. The speaker of the evening was Dr. G. Clifford Carl, Director of the Provincial Museum, who chose as his subject *Native Indian Music of British Columbia*. Dr. Carl explained how the Indians, handicapped by the lack of a system of writing music, perpetuated by rote their personal, family, or tribal songs. In the process the words of many of these songs had become garbled and meaningless, although the rhythm and melody were cherished. Since their music was usually an accompaniment for their dancing, rhythm was usually its most prominent feature, although there were subtleties of tune and harmony. Five categories of native music were described, and Dr. Carl demonstrated a number of the musical instruments—drums, rattles, and whistle. At the conclusion of his address, recordings were played of the "power song" of Chief Johnny George, of Duncan, and excerpts from Cowichan Indian dances. The appreciation of the meeting was tendered to Dr. Carl by Mr. H. C. Gilliland.

### VANCOUVER SECTION

The inaugural meeting of the Vancouver Section for the fall session was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, October 17, with Mr. George Green in the chair. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist and Editor of *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, whose subject was *Hands across the Continent*. In the speaker's opinion the time was urgent for every means possible being used to strengthen a sense of Canadian national unity as opposed to narrow provincialism, and that one of the most cogent arguments in the case was the historic approach, wherein the essential unity of background of our Provinces coupled with a pride in common achievements should be stressed. Mr. Ireland then illustrated this thesis by a number of striking parallels between the history of British Columbia and other parts of the Dominion of Canada.

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The most significant of these lay within the period of colonial administration, when the great impelling factor in the formation of what is now British Columbia was fear of the United States of America. The four administrative units that were brought into being—Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, and the Stikine Territory—were directly the result of fear of American encroachment. Likewise, this same fear was also an integral factor in the movement toward confederation in British North America that led to the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the meeting to the speaker for his address.

#### UNVEILING OF THE PLAQUE TO MARK THE SITE OF THE FIRST SCHOOL IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

An interesting ceremony took place on Saturday evening, August 12, when the Honourable Nancy Hodges, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, unveiled a memorial bronze plaque on the Canadian Bank of Commerce building at the corner of Fort and Government Streets. The plaque, erected by the Department of Trade and Industry, bears the following inscription:—

On this site, Rev. R. J. Staines and wife opened the First  
British Columbia School in 1849. In the same building of Fort  
Victoria the First Legislative Assembly met August 12th, 1856.

The ceremony, arranged by the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, was presided over by Mr. H. C. Gilliland, Vice-Chairman, who in the course of his remarks thanked Mr. J. C. Thow, manager of the Victoria branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, for permission to erect the plaque; the Honourable Leslie Eyres, Minister of Trade and Industry, for providing the plaque; and Mr. B. A. McKelvie for his work and enthusiasm in having this particular site marked. Mr. Gilliland also sketched briefly the history of the Staines school, which opened in the summer of 1849 as a boarding-school for the children of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers and occupied quarters in the Mess Hall of the old fort. Seven years later, on August 12, 1856, this same building within the fort was the scene of the introduction of representative government in the young colony of Vancouver Island, for on that day, ninety-four years ago, James Douglas opened the first meeting of the first Legislative Assembly to be convened in what is now Canadian territory west of the Great Lakes. It was on this aspect of the history of this site that the Honourable Nancy Hodges spoke briefly prior to performing the unveiling. Subsequently, when the old fort had been demolished, the Bank of British Columbia built the premises on this site which to-day are occupied by the Canadian Bank of Commerce, into which organization the older Bank of British Columbia was merged. The association of this site with banking history was reviewed by the Rev. T. H. Laundry, formerly an employee of the Bank of British Columbia. Few historic sites in Victoria have such varied and interesting associations and are more worthy of commemoration.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

G. Hollis Slater has long been interested in the early activities of the Church of England and the Church Missionary Society in the Pacific Northwest, as well as in the history of the Masonic order in British Columbia.

Charles E. Borden, Ph.D. (California), is Associate Professor of German and Lecturer in Archæology at the University of British Columbia. He has conducted several archæological investigations in the Pacific Northwest.

A. F. Flucke is a special research assistant attached to the Provincial Archives in connection with work being undertaken for the Department of Education.

Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Editor of this *Quarterly* and Assistant Provincial Archivist, is a frequent contributor to this *Quarterly*.

## THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

*The Fraser.* By Bruce Hutchison. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., Ltd., 1950. Pp. 368. Map and ills. \$4.50.

This is the forty-second volume in the Rivers of America series and the fourth to deal with a river of essentially Canadian interest. It is not surprising that Bruce Hutchison should have been selected to write the story of British Columbia's most important river—the Fraser—for long and intimate association with the Province and a varied experience as a writer made the choice a natural one. Comparisons are, perhaps, not quite fair considering the difference in scope of subject-matter, but *The Fraser* does not come up to the standard of *The Unknown Country*, by which Mr. Hutchison's reputation as a great Canadian writer was so deservedly established. In this book there is not the same high level of consistent good writing. To be sure, there are chapters, like "Carson's Kingdom" and "For Anglers Only," which are Mr. Hutchison at his best. In fact, one is almost tempted to generalize and say that when writing about the river from his own experience the author is more eminently successful than when dependent upon research for his basic information.

It is presumably the intention that the volumes in the Rivers of America series shall weave the history of the contiguous regions into the life-story of the river under consideration. Naturally this demands episodic treatment; many incidents and details will have to be omitted or at best referred to only in passing. It is precisely in this matter of selection and emphasis that students of the history of British Columbia will probably disagree most frequently with Mr. Hutchison. For instance, serious readers would be most interested to have the evidence that leads the author to describe the Spanish navigator Narvaez as "that forgotten man who actually found the Fraser." Such is certainly not the story best substantiated by the work of the foremost scholars in the field. Presumably the acceptance of Narvaez as the discoverer of the river from the sea accounts for the omission of all references to the expedition of James McMillan in 1824. At that time McMillan became the first person ever to descend the main channel of the river to the Gulf of Georgia, for Simon Fraser in his famous descent of 1808 followed the north channel and never did reach the gulf. It is unfortunate, too, that no reference is made to the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner *Cadboro* which, in 1827, became the first ship to enter the river and to pioneer the route through its numerous sand-heads. Surely one might hope to find some reference to the founding in 1827 of Fort Langley in such a book as this, for after all this was the first post to be established anywhere in the coastal area of our Province and thus for the first time brought white residents to the lower reaches of the river. But no such reference is to be found. Moreover, one wonders why George Simpson's epic journey down the river in 1828 is also ignored, particularly when this was the first recorded descent of the

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river by canoe from Lytton, for Fraser by his own admission clambered through the canyon along the old Indian path.

In point of fact Mr. Hutchison seems to have missed not only pertinent facts concerning the river's earlier history, but also much of the significance of the role it has played in our history. For a time it was hoped—hence the establishment of Fort Hope and Fort Yale—that the river might provide a practicable route to the Interior lest the well-developed Columbia River route should be lost to the Hudson's Bay Company in the impending settlement of the boundary between British and American possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. Simpson's journey in 1828 for ever dispelled the company's expectations in this connection. Moreover, one looks in vain for references to the role of the river as a defensive boundary, yet such it was in the gold-rush era. Colonel R. C. Moody's rejection of Fort Langley as the site for the capital of the new colony of British Columbia and his selection of New Westminster was based primarily on military grounds—the capital must be on the north and not the south bank of the river.

The role of the Fraser as the highway to the goldfields of the Cariboo is a theme well known to most, and it suffers nothing in Mr. Hutchison's retelling. Familiar figures like James Douglas and Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie are brought to life, and incidents—thrilling, amusing, and occasionally ridiculous—are blended into a capsule-like history of the colony and early Province of British Columbia. Incidentally the original Mainland colony of British Columbia as established in 1858 did not include "the whole mainland" (p. 60), but extended only as far north as the Nass River. Naturally there are many stories about early steamboat days on the river and the pioneer river pilots merit every whit of praise that they receive, but it would seem to be an oversight not to mention the great steamers of the upper Fraser, like the *B.X.* and *B.C. Express*, in the last days of steamboating on the river. For that matter, surely the manœuvring of a sternwheeler from Prince George to Tête Jaune Cache, almost at the headwaters of the river, is an incident as worthy of recording as the ascent of Hell's Gate Canyon by the *Skuzzy*. For the sake of the record, it should also be pointed out that the famous trip of the *Enterprise* from Soda Creek to Takla Landing did not involve going "through waters south of Soda Creek which were considered impassable and were avoided even by men like Fraser" (p. 156), for there is no record of anyone ever having taken a steamboat through the river from Lytton to Soda Creek.

A considerable portion of the book consists of a description of the various sections of the river and the adjacent country as it is to-day. There is a fine essay on Vancouver, although doubtless many of its citizens will object to some of the statements made. Then the author passes on to discuss the lower valley, the canyon route, the Lillooet country, and finally the upper reaches. A chapter is also devoted to the Fraser's principal tributary, the Thompson, and one wishes that the same treatment had been given to its less publicized northern tributary, the Nechako. These are fine descriptive passages and relatively free from the errors in fact that unfortunately mar the earlier sections of the book. Surely Mr. Hutchison had forgotten that Kingsway is

still the main arterial highway into Vancouver when he referred to the old Douglas Road and the Grandview Highway as "the main routes out of Vancouver eastward" (p. 197).

The story of the salmon—the river's first inhabitants—is an important facet in the story of the Fraser, and Mr. Hutchison has told it in all its ramifications in a most succinct manner. To many "For Anglers Only," with its stories of trout-fishing in the Fraser's tributaries, is a highlight of the book, while doubtless the more practical minded will be amazed at the phenomenal figures produced when the potential hydro-electric capacities of the river are discussed—potentialities to-day almost totally untouched.

There can be no doubt but that *The Fraser* will bring the history and folk-lore, the fact and fiction of British Columbia's past to more people than any other book published in recent years. It is for that fact alone that this reviewer regrets that greater care had not been taken in eliminating a considerable number of needless errors—some typographic, others not. Surely on page 13, when referring to the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, the *Northwest Passage* is meant and not the *Northeast*. Billy Ballou came north from California in 1858, not 1848 as stated on page 84, and Philip *Hankin*, not *Rankin*, was the Colonial Secretary at the time of the confederation debate (p. 120). One is more than a little surprised to find the author of *The Unknown Country* referring to the Dominion of Canada as "the union of five eastern colonies under the British North America Act of 1867" (p. 116). In all fairness it should be pointed out that most of the early constables and Justices of the Peace were Irish and not "poor Englishmen" (p. 137), and for that matter references to the little settlement at the head of Harrison Lake should be to *Port Douglas* not *Fort Douglas* (p. 157). Other errors could be pointed out, but there is no need to labour the point.

To this reviewer, at least, one of the most disappointing features of the book is its illustrations. Black and white sketches have been done by Richard Bennett, but for the most part they seem unusually uninspired and, indeed, there frequently is little to associate them with the Fraser than with any other river on this continent. Some good photographic reproductions would certainly have given the reader a much more vivid impression of the varied terrain through which the Fraser passes. Evidently these illustrations were misplaced in the book, for that seems to be the only reasonable explanation for the fact that the pagination given in the index does not fit the text. After having counted over 150 errors in the index, mainly in pagination, this reviewer gave up the task and regretfully came to the conclusion that no one was expected to use the index. This is a standard of book-making completely unworthy of the *Rivers of America* series, to say nothing of the usually high reputation of the publishers. It is to be hoped that further reprintings of this book will find these defects eradicated. That *The Fraser* will find a ready market and that reprintings will be necessary is a foregone conclusion, for it merits such a reception.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

*The Fourteenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society.* Kelowna: The Kelowna Courier, 1950. Pp. 171. Map and ill. \$2.50.

This report marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Okanagan Historical Society. September 10, 1926, saw the first annual report produced, and it is interesting to scan these thirty-five pages and to compare them with more recent issues.

For some years after its inception the organization was known as the Okanagan Historical and Natural History Society. However, this name was found to be misleading and was shortened to the more appropriate title. The first report contained twenty-five items, most of which were written by the late Leonard Norris, founder and first President of the Society, and F. M. Buckland, Vice-President. Subsequent reports show a consistent increase in the number of contributors. The 1935 report ran more than 300 pages and contained contributions on a wide range of subjects. This, of course, was an accumulation of four years' material, no previous report having been issued since 1931. Since 1946, reports have been issued each year. The first report dealt exclusively with Okanagan history, but this has not been the case with every issue. Many articles have been concerned with subjects having wider horizons than the local district afforded. Nevertheless, the main function of the organization has been to foster interest in the regional history among the local residents.

Quite often the activities and publications of local historical organizations are labelled parochial by those interested in the broader aspects of the field. But such societies fill a definite and valued place, not only by stimulating and maintaining the interest of local residents in the history of their home area, but also by pointing up the fact that in large part the essential background to many issues of national and even international importance belongs collectively to the innumerable small, sometimes isolated, and too often overlooked communities of our national area. Large metropolitan centres can speak with commendable pride on their startling developments from lowly beginnings to circumstances whereby they play a vital part in the economy of the country and are given considered importance in the case of national undertakings. Individually, local and particularly rural districts do not profoundly affect the larger scheme of things, although they may be profoundly affected thereby. But, taken as a whole, the sum total of the endeavours of their inhabitants provides the backdrop for many of the more significant and colourful scenes of history.

The *Fourteenth Report* presented this year contains twenty-nine items, all of which, like those of the original issue, deal exclusively with Okanagan history. Vera B. Cawston writes of the "Romance of a Road," describing how the recent opening of the Hope-Princeton Highway was the culmination of more than a century of effort to provide adequate transportation into the Southern Interior of the Province. George G. Fraser has produced a vivid and heart-warming picture of "Father Pat," the Anglican Irishman and heroic pastor of the mining and construction camps, and Rev. J. C. Goodfellow has given us a kindly biographical sketch of the almost legendary

"Podunk" Davis. F. M. Buckland has done an interesting bit of research on the origin of the Peon family—a name associated with Okanagan history since its earliest records. A sincere "appreciation" of Dr. R. B. White, one of Penticton's most cherished citizens, is given by a professional colleague, Dr. F. W. Andrew. As befits a silver anniversary edition, the report includes brief historical sketches of a number of Okanagan communities—Westwold (Grand Prairie), Salmon Arm, and South-east Kelowna. Other contributions include two on the Nez Percé Indians, several short biographical pieces on early pioneers, and a description of the Okanagan soft-fruit industry.

The *Report* is well presented on gloss paper, with a number of interesting illustrations, fillers of homespun verse, and comments on recent publications mentioning the Okanagan.

A. F. FLUCKE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

*The Story of Sauvies Island.* By Omar C. Spencer. Portland, Oregon: Bin-fords & Mort, 1950. Pp. 134. Ill. \$3.

*Pacific Graveyard; a narrative of the ships lost where the Columbia River meets the Pacific Ocean.* By James A. Gibbs, Jr. Portland, Oregon: Bin-fords & Mort, 1950. Pp. 173. Ill. \$3.

Islands have the power always to arouse man's interest wherever he may live, and here is a book that will satisfy the curiosity and hold the attention of all those who are fortunate enough to come across it. On an autumn day in 1792 Lieutenant William R. Broughton of H.M.S. *Chatham* and his party first sighted the delta now known as Sauvies Island in the Columbia River, where they camped overnight, not realizing its insularity. Yet it was not until the year 1834 that Nathaniel Wyeth became the Island's first settler.

The story of the exploration and settlement of Sauvies Island from the time when only the Indians dwelt there, fished and dug wappato roots, to the present, when, by reason of a bridge connecting it with the mainland, it has virtually given up its island status, is told in this delightful book by Omar C. Spencer. A past president of the Oregon Historical Association and himself country born and bred, Mr. Spencer possesses the country man's feeling for life lived in the great outdoors and close to Mother Nature. For these reasons and also because Sauvies Island is his home, he has been able to tell the story of "his island" with more warmth than the average historian or mere chronicler of events.

From the long list of "References" at the end of the book, it is obvious that Mr. Spencer has spent a great deal of time in research and that he has not overlooked any authority which might give one or more interesting facts about Sauvies, or, as the Indians once called it, Wappato, Island. The author has approached his subject from the historian's point of view, and yet he has used such good judgment in his selections of quotations and historical

fact and has included so much of general interest that his book is in every true sense of the word "readable," and withal intensely interesting.

This reviewer has only minor criticism for one or two typographical errors and a regret that John Dunn's picturesque spelling of *Wallamette*, *Wappatoo*, and *potatoe* were not followed in the quotation on page 119. The format of *The Story of Sauvies Island* is of the general high standard of Binford & Mort, the publishers; and the addition of a number of good illustrations add to the enjoyment of the reader and enhance the appearance of the volume. Aspiring local historians would do well to emulate Mr. Spencer's admirable achievement, and those who to-day live on the shores of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers should certainly read what Mr. Spencer has to say of this fertile island, its farming activities, and its one-time game preserves.

In contrast to *The Story of Sauvies Island* is Mr. Gibbs' unusual book of the many—too many—wrecks which have occurred at the mouth of the Columbia River since the beginning of the nineteenth century until the year 1948. Any story of a wreck is a grim one, and many of Mr. Gibbs' narratives are far from happy ones, and for this reason *Pacific Graveyard* is not a very pleasant chronicle. In the interests of local history, however, it will be a useful contribution to the history of the Columbia River in its varied phases.

Mr. Gibbs must have done a great deal of research in gathering material for his book, and one regrets that he has not listed the authorities which he consulted while preparing it. For this reason, one wonders if he used H. R. Wagner's *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America*, for in that comprehensive work Mr. Wagner makes the definite statement that the Columbia River was discovered by Bruno Heceta in the year 1775. Charles H. Carey, another reliable authority, in his *General History of Oregon* (Vol. I, p. 32) says that Heceta has given the "first recognizable description to be written of the mouth of the Columbia river and of the coast to the south." Mr. Gibbs' brief and inaccurate reference to Heceta on page 3 gives the impression of a skimming over of historic fact. On page 2 the reference to a Dutch chart of 1570 is somewhat puzzling. Does Mr. Gibbs refer to the Ortelius *Atlas* of 1570, published in Antwerp? One cannot help feeling that in essaying to give the historic background of the discovery and exploration of the Columbia River that the author of *Pacific Graveyard* is sometimes "skating on thin ice."

Nevertheless, in spite of these criticisms, *Pacific Graveyard* is an interesting book, illustrated with splendid reproductions by the "offset" process on good paper and well printed. The book is another example of the fine workmanship of Binford & Mort, of Portland, and will be of particular interest to inhabitants of Astoria, Cannon Beach, Seaside, and other adjacent communities, as well as to all those whose interest lies in ships, whether professional or as a hobby.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

VICTORIA, B.C.

*Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.* Series III. No. 5. Edited by J. A. Jackson and W. L. Morton. Winnipeg: Advocate Printers Ltd., 1950. Pp. 82. Map. \$1.

This fifth number of the third series of publications by the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba consists of four of five papers read before the society in the year 1948-49. They are diversified in interest and provide ample evidence of the sound scholarship that has been enlisted within the society—one of the oldest local-history organizations in Western Canada.

The first paper on "The Establishment of Manitoba's First Provincial Government" was contributed by F. A. Milligan, a graduate of the University of Manitoba now engaged in doctoral studies at the University of London. It is an able account of the work of Manitoba's first Lieutenant-Governor, Adams George Archibald, during the first year of his incumbency. Unlike the Eastern Provinces and, for that matter, British Columbia, which entered Confederation in full possession of the machinery of government, Manitoba had been legally created by the Manitoba Act of 1870, but there was no colonial administrative foundation upon which the superstructure of Provincial government could be built. Three local circumstances made Archibald's task all the more difficult: first the Province was geographically isolated and had, in consequence, to be self-sufficient politically; second, factional bitterness, the heritage of the insurrection, necessitated adroit action if turmoil was to be prevented and suspicions allayed; and last, and most serious, the Lieutenant-Governor was dealing with a community that was politically inexperienced and leaderless. Mr. Milligan traces the steps in the gradual formation of a government which in due course found popular support in the election of December 30, 1870, and faced the first legislative sessions in March, 1871. Students of the evolution of political institutions looking back upon the role played by Archibald, who in reality performed all the functions of a premier, cannot but be surprised at the metamorphosis of the status of a lieutenant-governor.

"Private Letters from the Fur Trade" is a selection of about twenty letters addressed to William McMurray, of the Hudson's Bay Company, between 1845 and 1871. McMurray, son of a pioneer fur-trader, served chiefly in the Mackenzie River district and later in the Lake Winnipeg region, where he rose to the rank of inspecting chief factor. These are the letters from his friends and associates in the fur-trade concern and in their way form a sequel to the Hargrave correspondence of the previous generation. Clifford Wilson has provided short biographical sketches of the writers of these letters. None of the correspondents cited resided west of the Rocky Mountains, but of particular local interest is the reference to the arrival of the Overlanders of '62 at Red River Settlement as reported by J. H. McTavish in his letter of May 28, 1862. The letters generally are highly informative and frequently amusing and pleasantly forthright.

G. A. McMorrان is the publisher and editor of the *Souris Plaindealer*, with a more than usual interest in the early history of his district. His paper, "Souris River Posts in the Hartney District," is primarily a careful

analysis of the records in an effort to locate the site of Ash House, established in 1795 by the North West Company on the Souris River. In this task he has apparently succeeded and, in addition, gives considerable information on two other Souris country posts—Fort Desjarlais, built in 1836, and Fort Mr. Grant, established in 1824—as well as three lesser outposts—Lena's House, Turtle Mountain House, and Garrioch's Post.

The last paper on "Mining in Manitoba" was prepared by George E. Cole, Director of the Mines Branch of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources of Manitoba from its inception in 1930 until his retirement in 1945. The earliest mining activity in Manitoba is connected either with salt-extraction or limestone-works, but the emergence of a mining industry as such is a much more recent development. Mr. Cole pays tribute to the work of early geologists and also gives a careful analysis of the impact of the Dominion Lands Act and regulations on the development of mineral resources. He has drawn together a considerable amount of information on early efforts in prospecting and company promotion in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Metalliferous mining really dates from 1910, when the great discoveries at Cobalt and Porcupine in Ontario stimulated interest all over the Great Shield. Details concerning many of the pioneer mines are given—San Antonio, Flin Flon, Mandy, Sherritt Gordon—to mention but a few of the more significant operations. Nor does he forget the spurious ones, for the story of the Bingo Gold Mines is always interesting reading.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

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#### ERRATA

- Page 15, lines 20 and 34: For *Daedalous* read *Daedalus*. This same error occurs on page 23, line 32; page 29, line 38; and page 32, line 15.
- Page 86, line 24: For *Waler* read *Walter*.
- Page 119, line 31: For *Quae* read *Quaw*.
- Page 126, line 16: For *Arundel* read *Arundell*. This same error occurs on page 129, line 32, and page 130, foot-note 14.
- Page 127, line 23: Delete *thin*.
- Page 140, line 8: For *65,000* read *650,000*.
- Page 148, foot-note 17: For *W. B. Bullen* read *W. F. Bullen*.
- Page 173, line 30: For *Hadley* read *Hedley*.
- Page 182, line 23: For *lay* read *lie*.

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