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EDITOR

WILLARD E. IRELAND,
Provincial Archives, Victoria.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

MADGE WOLFENDEN,
Provincial Archives, Victoria.

ADVISORY BOARD

J. C. GOODFELLOW, *Princeton.*

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W. N. SAGE, *Vancouver.*

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor.

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The
**BRITISH COLUMBIA
 HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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

VOL. XVII

VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY-APRIL, 1953

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Dr. Walter Noble Sage.

WALTER N. SAGE AND HISTORY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Almost thirty-five years have passed since Professor Sage joined the staff of the University of British Columbia. His years of enthusiastic and devoted service to the generations of students who have sat in his classes are now drawing to a close as he joins the ranks of those who have been "Carnegified" because they have reached the age designated for retirement. It will be hard for the many who have heard his jovial laugh and re-echoed the chuckle which almost invariably preceded the jokes with which he loves to sprinkle his lectures to realize that one so keen on his subject and so interested in the welfare of those who shared his enthusiasm will soon be no longer found in the classroom. Upon the writing-table of his own teacher and mentor, the late Professor Wrong, was carved the famous line from Chaucer: "Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche." That line is equally appropriate for one who has done more than any other British Columbian to keep evergreen the history of a Province he has loved so well.

It has been the good fortune of British Columbia from its earliest days to win readily the devotion of those whom fortune brought from far-away places. Whether they wrote of early days on Vancouver Island, about the explorers of this coast, the fur-traders, or of the other legendary figures that set this Province firmly in the path it should pursue, all of them were eager to let the world know how and why British Columbia developed. In that goodly company of chroniclers and historians, Professor Sage occupies a unique place. His predecessors produced one or more books, many of enduring importance, but they trained no disciples to carry on the work which they had inaugurated. They trusted to providence that others should continue to labour in the British Columbia historical vineyard. He alone had the wisdom and foresight to plan consciously that others should be both eager and qualified to deal with the life of this Province in the proper historical fashion. Of the truth of this statement, the essays included in this issue are an illustration. All of them come from men and women who have taken his lectures, sat in his seminars, pursued researches under his supervision, or found subjects for future investigation as a result of his suggestions. Best of all, they were either influenced by his

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passion for the subject or had their own budding enthusiasm for history intensified by his own infectious zeal.

When Professor Sage gave his first lectures at the University of British Columbia in September, 1918, he found a struggling institution. The war had blocked its ambitious plans for splendid buildings, drained away the best of its male students, and imposed upon its first president a strain which was soon to cost him his life. It was typical of Walter, as his friends all know him best, that he was never depressed by the set-backs which had dogged and continued to dog the progress of the University for two decades. On the contrary, he proceeded to turn his attention to the history of the Province to which he owed his allegiance. He soon won from that splendid pair of local historians, Howay and Reid, a friendship and encouragement which never wavered. By as early as 1921, Dr. Sage had published an article in the *Canadian Historical Review* on "The Gold Colony of British Columbia." It was not long until he was deep in his study of James Douglas, the subject of his doctoral thesis and of his first book. Since then a stream of books, articles, and pamphlets dealing with various phases of British Columbia's history have flowed from his pen, as the bibliography in this issue attests. They have brought him recognition as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Royal Historical Association, as president of the Canadian Historical Association, and as the only Canadian to be president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. They have made him one of the best-known figures in any gathering of historians of the Pacific Northwest and caused the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to enrol him in its service a decade ago.

But Dr. Sage has not been content with that. He saw to it that the history of Western Canada became a subject of study at the University as an undergraduate course, and that graduates should be initiated into the intricacies of British Columbia history in the M.A. seminar. He directed or suggested a score of theses in this field, which were eagerly drawn upon by such scholars as the late Harold Innis for their usefulness in a larger study of Canadian development. He was and is one of the main figures in the British Columbia Historical Association, which has long been envied for its vitality by sister associations. He steadily built up the collection of British Columbia history in the University library. Graduating classes were induced to vote money for its support as their parting gift to the University. Local historians were encouraged to make provision for willing their collections to the University after their work

was done. Money was collected to endow scholarships for research in British Columbia history.

Like Sir Christopher Wren, Walter Sage can see his monument around him. That he may long live to enjoy the prospect and to contribute still more to its adornment will be the heart-felt wish of all who have worked with him.

F. H. SOWARD.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF EDWARD EDWARDS LANGFORD*

The foundation of a colony on Vancouver Island in 1849 was the outcome of political rather than economic considerations. After the Treaty of Washington, 1846, the British Government was gravely concerned for the safety of its territories north of the 49th parallel. These vast areas, like Oregon, were without government and population, and the boundary recently drawn would be but a flimsy barrier against future American migrations. Thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of additional territorial losses, the British authorities decided to colonize some part of the Pacific Coast as a means of averting the consequences of further incursions into Her Majesty's possessions.¹ After prolonged debate in both Houses, the Government ceded Vancouver Island on January 13, 1849, to the Hudson's Bay Company for purposes of colonization.² The grant met with vigorous opposition in and out of Parliament. Opponents of the scheme contended, and subsequent events were to prove them right, that the company was an unsuitable agency.³ The British Government, however, had been unwilling to find the money for the project, and was therefore obliged to entrust the undertaking to some other authority. As the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed the exclusive licence to trade in the area concerned and possessed great financial resources, it was the only possible choice. The colony was duly established. When wave after wave of Californian miners arrived in 1858, Governor Douglas was able to extend the authority of the Crown to the Mainland and to erect there a system of

* The writer is indebted to Miss Madge Wolfenden, Assistant Provincial Archivist, and to his wife, Constance Pettit, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

(1) Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, CI, p. 473 (House of Lords, August 24, 1848, speech by Earl Grey).

(2) "Royal Grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, dated January 13, 1849," in *Papers relative to the Grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1849 [*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 103 of 1849], pp. 13-16. This has been reprinted in E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vancouver [1914], Vol. I, pp. 676-680.

(3) Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, CI, pp. 263-305 (House of Commons, August 18, 1848); *ibid.*, p. 315 (House of Commons, August 21, 1848); *ibid.*, pp. 465-480 (House of Lords, August 24, 1848).

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government and law which the Americans had to accept. On this occasion they were not able to form a provisional government as they had at Champoege in 1843, and Washington did not intervene on their behalf. That British Columbia is a Canadian Province to-day is the consequence of British policy and the colonizing activities of the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island.⁴ In this light the shortcomings of company rule were a small price to pay for a Dominion from sea to sea.

For the first decade of its existence, the colony was a preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, barren of population and constitutionally backward. The company, under the terms of the Royal Charter of 1849, had taken possession of the Island, agreeing in return to form a colony of British subjects there and to establish a system of self-government. The costs of settling and improving the Island were to be defrayed from the sale of land and other natural resources. The price of land was set at £1 per acre, but for every 100 acres the colonists had to take out with them five single men or three married couples. These terms, of course, were prohibitive. The Island was remote. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, absorbed the local market for farm products, and access to neighbouring areas in the United States was closed by tariff walls. At the same time, land in near-by Washington and Oregon was free or could be obtained for a nominal sum. From the first, independent settlers failed to appear, and until the gold-rush of 1858 the population consisted almost entirely of servants of the company. Under such conditions the members of the Council and, later, the Assembly were largely Hudson's Bay men. Governor Douglas, who retained his position as Chief Factor in charge of the Western Department, had little difficulty in controlling these bodies and, in effect, ruled the Island very much in the manner of the colonial governors of a bygone day who held themselves responsible to no authority other than the Crown. When the gold-seekers, on their way to Fraser River, arrived at Victoria, they found a fur-traders' colony of perhaps a thousand souls, languishing under company domination and a form of government that had passed from existence in the British possessions in Eastern North America.⁵

(4) Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, Toronto, 1939, p. 768.

(5) Alfred Waddington, *The Fraser Mines Vindicated*, Victoria, 1858, p. 15.

The Hudson's Bay Company, however, met with opposition from the beginning. Richard Blanshard, the first Governor, clashed with Chief Factor Douglas, but, finding himself powerless to take effective action, tendered his resignation in November, 1850, and retired in disgust to England some nine months later. The independent colonists, who could not have numbered more than a score, were already alarmed by the monopolistic tendencies of the company, and when they learned that Blanshard intended to resign and that he would be replaced by Douglas, fifteen of their number presented a memorial to the Governor.⁶ They set forth very clearly the precariousness of their position, and prayed him to establish a council, which, they believed, would serve to redress the balance somewhat in their favour. Among the signatures appended were those of Rev. Robert John Staines, the company chaplain, who had already had difficulties with the authorities at Fort Victoria, and James Cooper, a merchant and land-owner, whom Blanshard appointed to the Council in August, 1850. Cooper, if he was not always consistent, was a man of mettle, and, until he returned to England in 1856, was the spokesman of the independent settlers and disgruntled company servants who formed the nucleus of a radical faction in colonial politics. A year later he appeared with Blanshard before the Select Committee of the British Parliament which was investigating the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. On that occasion both he and the late Governor were hostile to the company and critical of its policies.⁷

Perhaps the most vociferous of Douglas's opponents was Captain Edward Edwards Langford. Born in Brighton, Sussex, in 1809, he had served for some years in the 73rd Regiment, and on selling his commission had retired to the country to pursue the life of a gentleman farmer. A distant relative of Governor Blanshard, he had come to the colony in May, 1851, as a bailiff in the service of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. On arriving at Victoria he was taken aback when he found that the only accommodation available for him and his large family was a one-room log cabin at Esquimalt. As his wife was within a few days of her confinement, Langford refused to go out there,

(6) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1857 [*Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 197 of 1857], p. 293. Also reprinted in Scholefield and Howay, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 524-526, and Alexander Begg, *History of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1894, pp. 196-197.

(7) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, pp. 190-191, 193-196, 202, 285, 289, 290, 293.

and was about to make the best of similar quarters near the fort when Governor Blanshard gave them rooms in his own house.⁸ There can be little doubt, as Dr. Helmcken suggests, that the Governor prejudiced his guest's mind against the company.⁹ Under these circumstances it is not altogether surprising that he joined the little group that had rallied about Blanshard. Langford, it appears, was gregarious by disposition, and spent a great deal of time in the local pot-house airing his grievances and criticizing the Government.¹⁰ Sociable, lavish in his hospitality, he soon made many friends in the district who later were to support him in his trials and tribulations.

Captain Langford has left no record of his life in England and the circumstances that led him to emigrate to Vancouver Island. An impulsive man, he may have become restless and dissatisfied. Under such conditions, life in the distant colony would seem almost ideal. Certainly the position he obtained with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was attractive.¹¹ The company undertook to pay his passage to the Island, build his house, barns, and stables, stock the farm, and provide seed and implements. He and his family were to obtain groceries and supplies free of charge. The company also undertook to supply labourers, pay them and feed them. As bailiff, Langford was to receive £60 a year and to enjoy a third of the net profits. If there were a loss, it would be charged to capital and paid out of future profits.

Langford was placed in charge of Esquimalt Farm or, as he called it, in memory of his old home in Sussex, Colwood. Six hundred acres in area, it consisted of a long and narrow tract running inland from a water-front that was bounded by Paterson Point and the mouth of Millstream. He built his house some distance from the water, near the entrance to the Royal Colwood Golf Course of to-day. Under Langford's supervision, Indians, Kanakas, and farm-labourers began the heavy task of clearing land and the construction of dwellings and farm buildings. After nearly four years' work, 190 acres were cleared and twelve houses built. Thirty people, including six children under 10

(8) Governor Blanshard's evidence before the Select Committee in the House of Commons on June 15, 1857, as reprinted in the *Victoria British Colonist*, June 3, 1859.

(9) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, Vol. III, p. 73, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(10) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 96.

(11) An unsigned copy of Langford's contract is in the Kenneth McKenzie Papers, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

years of age, lived on the farm at that time.¹² Colwood soon became a centre of social life, for the Langfords were never happier than when entertaining. There were dances and socials, picnics and riding parties. Wine and brandy, Dr. Helmcken observes, were generally served on these occasions.¹³ Captain Langford's five daughters attracted the younger men of the colony, and officers from Her Majesty's ships were frequent visitors.

Social life at Colwood could not have differed greatly from that of the country gentry in England. Captain Langford supervised his labourers, kept open house, and visited his friends after the fashion of an English squire. Had the company's scheme for colonization proved successful, the country districts would have consisted of large estates under the direction of gentlemen farmers who in time would have formed a colonial squirarchy. As it was, Langford and two other bailiffs, Kenneth McKenzie and Thomas Skinner, were appointed to the Bench on March 29, 1853. These men were selected on the basis of their education and social position, for they knew nothing about law and court procedure.¹⁴ Magistrate Skinner was soon up to his ears in trouble, having become the dupe of an American trickster named Webster, who actually succeeded in using the processes of law to further his dishonest ends. Governor Douglas was compelled to intervene and, shocked by the ignorance and incompetence not only of Skinner, but of Langford and McKenzie as well, took steps to limit the Magistrates' jurisdiction by establishing a higher Court. In the meantime, until this measure could be carried into effect, he appointed his brother-in-law, David Cameron, a Justice of the Peace to safeguard the administration of law. Some two months later, on December 2, 1853, the Supreme Court of Civil Justice was ushered into existence. David Cameron was made "judge for the time being" the same day.¹⁵

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

(13) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

(14) Douglas to Newcastle, July 28, 1853, and Douglas to Newcastle, January 7, 1854, MS., Archives of B.C.

(15) Douglas to Newcastle, January 7, 1854, MS., Archives of B.C. This dispatch is reprinted in *Papers relating to Vancouver Island [Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 507 of 1863, hereafter cited as P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863]*, p. 37. See also E. O. S. Scholefield (ed.), *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island . . . August 30th, 1851, . . . [to] February 6th, 1861*, Victoria, 1918 [Archives of British Columbia Memoir No. II], pp. 22-23. Douglas was authorized to pass

The appointment of David Cameron was the occasion of a great deal of protest and agitation. James Cooper, who, as a member of the Council, had assented to the action taken, changed his mind and joined Rev. Robert Staines and Captain Langford in organizing the opposition. A meeting was held early in February, 1854, and a committee was formed which drafted a petition to Queen Victoria, praying an inquiry into the circumstances of the creation of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice, and a petition to the Duke of Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary, protesting the appointment of David Cameron.¹⁶ Staines was chosen to carry the documents to England, and a subscription was taken up to defray the expenses of his journey.¹⁷ In due time Sir George Grey, Newcastle's successor, wrote to Douglas for more information.¹⁸ In reply the Governor defended the appointment, and answered the committee's charges with clarity and vigour.¹⁹ He enclosed in the same dispatch a copy of the petition he had received from fifty-four landed proprietors in the colony approving the appointment of Cameron. Fifteen months later the Colonial Office gave formal approval to Cameron's appointment to the office of Chief Justice of Vancouver Island.²⁰

Captain Langford, who had taken a leading part in these activities, was by this time closely associated with the leaders of the radical faction in the colony. These men—Cooper, Staines, Skinner—shared the conviction that Governor Douglas subordinated the interests of the colony to those of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that in his individual acts he was partial and unjust. In their eyes the appointment of Cameron was a transparent piece of nepotism. Whatever the truth of their contentions, Langford and his friends lacked the personal qualities requisite for the creation and leadership of a reform party. James Cooper's evidence before the Select Committee in 1857 suggests the agitator and

Letters Patent under the Public Seal of Vancouver Island appointing Cameron Chief Justice of the colony in 1856. Labouchere to Douglas, May 5, 1856, *MS.*, Archives of B.C., reprinted in *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 46.

(16) Enclosures in Grey to Douglas, August 20, 1854, reprinted in *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, pp. 43-45.

(17) For Staines's part in this controversy see G. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1950), pp. 217-227 *passim*.

(18) *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 43.

(19) *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.

(20) *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

malcontent.²¹ His associate, Rev. Robert Staines, who had proved to be an incompetent schoolmaster and a most unpopular chaplain, was little less than a fanatic.²² Skinner and Langford had already demonstrated their ineptitude on the Bench, and, as the officials of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were soon to discover, Langford had failed conspicuously in the management of his farm.

The company, indeed, had been unfortunate in the choice of its bailiffs. Kenneth McKenzie, who had been given general supervision of the enterprise, muddled his accounts so badly that the officials in London could not make head or tail of them.²³ Thomas Skinner's reports were at first equally unsatisfactory, but after pressure had been exerted upon him, he changed his ways and made a success of his farm.²⁴ Macaulay failed completely, as did Captain Langford, whose extravagance and indifference to his responsibilities caused the company to send him notice of dismissal. As Dr. Helmcken observes in his memoirs, Langford was unwilling to work and would not accept the hardships of pioneer life.²⁵ Under the extraordinary conditions of his employment he could draw upon the company for what he wanted, and as he possessed neither judgment nor restraint, he imposed a burden of costs on his farm far in excess of its returns. He built a fine home and expensive buildings, which he later extended without consulting his employers.²⁶ Since he had but to call at the company's store in Victoria for provisions, he lived luxuriously and entertained lavishly. A letter from Colvile and Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, dated July 19, 1855, indicates the incompetence of the bailiffs and the extravagance of Captain Langford:—

July 19, 1855.

Dear Sir

We have to acknowledge your letter of the 9th April with accounts from Mr. Langford and Mr. Skinner, which are by no means satisfactory; they do not give the information that is required to enable us to state an account for each farm,

(21) *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, pp. 190, 191, 193–196, 202.

(22) G. Hollis Slater, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–240 *passim*.

(23) A. Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, July 19, 1855, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

(24) A. Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, January 30, 1856, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

(25) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, Vol. III, p. 3.

(26) A. Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, January 30, 1856, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

such as we can lay before the Proprietors of the Puget Sound Company, neither do you send us any account whatever for your own and McAulay's farms, or for your own "intromissions." . . .

We have had an analysis made of the goods furnished to Mr. Langford, Outfit 1853, and charged by the Hudson's Bay Company; and when we see such charges as £137 for Flour—£80.9.3 for Salt Pork,—1606 lbs of Sugar,—237 lbs of Tea,—70 Gallons of Brandy, Rum & Whiskey, and Wine, and £474.12.1 Cash, when by the year 1853 the farm ought to have been self-supporting if not yielding a return by sales of produce. This exhibits such an appearance of wasteful extravagance that we can have no hope of Mr Langford doing better in future, and therefore desire that his occupation of the farm may cease agreeably to the notice which has been given to him.²⁷

The last item of Langford's bill is significant of the man and the laxity of the officials in Victoria. He appears, whenever short of cash, to have turned to the company, which advanced him in a single year a sum almost eight times his annual salary!

Under notice of dismissal, Langford reformed his ways. Colvile and Berens, however, were not sufficiently impressed by his economy and industry to allow him to continue in their service. They made their position perfectly clear in a letter to McKenzie dated January 30, 1856:—

You allude to Mr Langford having very much improved in activity on his farm, stimulated, no doubt, by the notice which you, in accordance with our instructions, have served upon him. We are glad of this improvement, but a straightforward honesty should have induced him long ago to use his best exertions to make his farm profitable, instead of lavishly spending the capital of the Company in luxuries for himself and family. We are not disposed to alter our decision, and desire that the notice served upon Mr Langford for terminating our connection with him may be carried out.²⁸

Langford, nevertheless, managed to retain his position, and continued in that occupation until some time in 1860, when, according to Charles Good, he was finally dismissed.²⁹ The paucity of information in his correspondence and that of McKenzie renders it impossible to account for the change of heart on the part of his employers. It may be that influential friends in London interceded on his behalf. A more plausible explanation is that since Colvile and Berens appear to have been at

(27) A Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, July 19, 1855, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

(28) A. Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, January 30, 1856, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

(29) Charles Good to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, reprinted in *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 29.

a loss to find somebody to take his place, he was allowed to continue under suspended sentence as bailiff of Esquimalt Farm.³⁰ Judge Begbie relates that A. G. Dallas, who came to the colony in May, 1857, to supervise the company farms, had to endure a great deal of insolence from Langford before he succeeded in forcing him to carry out his orders.³¹ In that case it seems that the long-suffering officials were compelled by circumstances to retain his services in order to keep the farm under cultivation.

While Langford changed his ways with respect to his duties as bailiff of Esquimalt Farm, he did not abate in his opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Government of the colony. As Staines had died in March, 1854, and Cooper was to leave for England late in 1856, he became the leading spirit of the reform faction. In the meantime, Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had written to Governor Douglas on February 8, 1856, to instruct him to call an assembly.³² With considerable misgiving, Douglas set about the task of establishing the machinery of representative government.³³ On June 9, following the suggestions of the Governor, the Council laid down the necessary provisions. There were to be four electoral districts—Victoria, Esquimalt, Sooke, and Nanaimo. Seven members were to be elected—three for Victoria, two for Esquimalt, and one for each of the other two districts. To qualify for membership, a candidate had to own freehold property valued at £300.³⁴ Writs for the election were issued, returnable on August 4. Captain Langford won a nomination for Victoria, and after a hot contest was elected to the first Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island.

The House met on August 12, 1856. Governor Douglas delivered an eloquent address in which he reviewed the state of the colony and instructed the members in the principles of good government. In

(30) "We wish you to look out for some proper person to take the farm which Mr. Langford had, upon the same terms that you and Mr. Skinner receive," A. Colvile and H. H. Berens to Kenneth McKenzie, January 30, 1856, *MS.*, Kenneth McKenzie Papers, Archives of B.C.

(31) Begbie to W. A. G. Young, December 23, 1862, *MS.*, Begbie Letters, Archives of B.C.

(32) Labouchere to Douglas, February 28, 1856, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Reprinted in *Correspondence relating to the Establishment of a Representative Assembly at Vancouver's Island* [Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 229 of 1857, 2nd Session], p. 3.

(33) Douglas to Labouchere, May 22, 1856, *ibid.*, p. 6.

(34) E. O. S. Scholefield (*ed.*), *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

closing he informed them that he had appointed Chief Justice Cameron to administer the oath of allegiance and to receive their declarations of qualification. James Yates, J. D. Pemberton, J. S. Helmcken, and J. F. Kennedy took the oath and delivered the necessary documents. Captain Langford, however, failed to produce evidence of qualification, and instead read a protest in which he stated that the action taken by the Council on June 9 was unconstitutional so long as it was not ratified by the Assembly. His statement was as follows:—

I subscribe in the most solemn manner to the Oath as now administered to me, with the exception of declaring myself possessed of immovable property to the extent of £300.

Having been chosen by the people of Victoria, both electors and non-electors, it is my firm belief that according to the Constitution of Great Britain I am duly qualified to take my seat in this House of Assembly, and that the Act of Council imposing a fixed property qualification was not legal without the consent of the House of Assembly; and therefore I beg now in a formal manner to protest in the name and on behalf of my constituents against it, and to request that my protest may be recorded.³⁵

At the next session, which was held on August 19, Langford again read his protest, which was duly recorded in the minutes of the Assembly on a motion made by his friends Skinner and Yates. When Captain Langford had taken the oath of allegiance, J. D. Pemberton presented a petition he had received from Joseph McKay, a company servant, complaining of Langford's election to the Assembly. When the document had been tabled, Pemberton and Kennedy were defeated in a motion that Langford's return was null and void.³⁶ At the third session, which was held on August 26, the Speaker, Dr. J. S. Helmcken, informed the members that Joseph McKay had entered into sufficient sureties for his petition, and ordered that it be submitted to committee. This body, which consisted of Skinner, Muir, and Kennedy, was instructed to meet on the following day. Langford, who had been invited to attend, failed to appear, realizing, no doubt, that the game was up. When the House met the following morning, his election was formally declared null and void, and instructions were given that a writ be issued for a member to be elected in his place.³⁷

(35) E. O. S. Scholefield (ed.), *Minutes of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, August 12th, 1856, to September 25th, 1858*, Victoria, 1918 [Archives of British Columbia Memoir No. III], pp. 17–18.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(37) *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

For more than three years after the debacle described above, Captain Langford took no part in public affairs and abstained from any overt attacks on the Government. In view of subsequent events, however, it may be presumed that he continued to nurse grudges, and that he cherished the hope of winning a seat in the Assembly at the next election, which was to take place in 1860. There is some evidence that he took steps to purchase land, either for the necessary qualification for membership or for mere speculation. In July, 1858, when land values were rising as a result of the gold excitement, Langford and a friend, Dr. P. W. Wallace, called at the office of the colonial surveyor. This official was J. D. Pemberton, who, it will be remembered, represented Victoria in the Assembly, and had taken steps to have Langford's election declared null and void. A Mr. Pearse, the assistant surveyor, was also present. Langford informed Pemberton that he wished to purchase a parcel of land adjoining his farm at Esquimalt. On being told that the tract was sold, he left the office without complaint and did nothing more about the matter until the eve of the election of 1860, nearly a year and a half later.³⁸

Toward the end of November, 1859, rumours spread through the town that Captain Langford intended to run for the Assembly, and on December 5 the *Victoria Gazette* published a card or petition from an unspecified number of citizens urging him to contest the Victoria division. Langford's formal letter of acceptance appeared in the next number.³⁹ In the scanty records of the election there is no mention of Langford's property qualification for a seat in the Assembly. While it is inconceivable that he would court the humiliation that he had suffered in 1856, there is reason to believe that he did not own freehold property to the extent of £300. According to the *British Colonist*, Langford owned a one-third share in a farm, 20 acres of which were cleared.⁴⁰ If this farm were worth £900, he would then have been qualified, but it is not likely that it was. His credit had been restricted by his employers for some four years, and there is evidence to show that he was penniless by the middle of 1860.⁴¹ In the light of what follows, it appears that he

(38) Langford to Douglas, December 17, 1859; Pemberton to Douglas, December 20, 1859; and Douglas to Newcastle, March 23, 1860, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Reprinted in *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, pp. 5, 6, 13.

(39) *Victoria Gazette*, December 5 and 9, 1859.

(40) *Victoria British Colonist*, December 3, 1859.

(41) The testimonial to Langford, requesting him to accept \$500 to defray the costs of the lawsuit "into which you entered with a view to the discovery of the

did not own land of the requisite value and, confident of success in the election, sought to manufacture an excuse for not being properly qualified. On December 17, less than a fortnight after he had accepted the nomination, and just before Pemberton's departure for England, Langford wrote to Governor Douglas to "complain . . . of the unjust, partial and improper conduct of the colonial surveyor with regard to the disposal of the colonial lands."⁴² He went on to relate the circumstances of his application to purchase land in 1858, stating that Pemberton had informed him that the tracts that he wanted had been sold to Mr. Dallas, either on his own account or on that of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and that the necessary instalment had been paid. Langford continued that he was disappointed at the time, as he could have sold the land for five times the original cost, but felt that he had no cause for complaint. Since then, he alleged, he had learned that the land had never been sold, as stated by Pemberton, and had been unjustly withheld from the market to his own personal loss. In closing he demanded an immediate investigation of his complaint, as he had heard that the surveyor was about to leave for England.

Douglas investigated the matter at once, before Pemberton went away. With characteristic thoroughness he examined the records of the Land Office and requested a full report from Pemberton. According to the latter, Dallas had, as Langford alleged, made application for the parcel in question on behalf of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Pemberton recorded the land as sold, although no payment had been made. Accordingly, when Captain Langford applied for a portion of the same tract in July he was informed that it had been sold. Some time later Dallas examined the ground and, finding that the surveyor had not included certain sections that he wanted, refused to complete the purchase. As Pemberton explained to Douglas, there were two courses open to him: he could compel the company to buy the parcel in question, or he could throw it on the market on the same terms at which he had offered it to Dallas. Pemberton naturally chose the second

author of a most insulting attack on the members of your family," was signed by John Coles, Geo. Henry Richards, and James Yates for the committee. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1860. Chief Justice Cameron also stated "Judgment, however, was deferred, as I well knew he could not pay a fine. . . ." Cameron to Colonial Secretary, February 2, 1863, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 33.

(42) Langford to Douglas, December 17, 1859, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 4.



E. E. Langford.

TO THE ELECTORS OF VICTORIA.

GENTLEMEN:

Some injudicious person, assuming my name, has put forward in answer to your requisition, a long winded and spiteful address, containing many things which I, of course, should not like to have repeated, among other things, His Excellency's complaint that he was without any intelligent assistance, when I was at his elbow; a statement that I required a full discussion of the whole subject of Taxation, before I could form any opinion in reference to it; and other matters showing a shallowness of comprehension and an envious disposition, which I really ought to be ashamed of.

The easiest way for you, gentlemen, to judge of my merits, is to make a short statement of what I am, and what I have done.

I came here about eight years ago, the hired servant of the Puget Sound Company, for the wages of about Six Dollars a week, and my board and lodging; the privileges of board and lodging were also extended to my wife and finally, in consideration of the Company's having the benefit of their labor on the Farm of which I was to have the charge.

I was brought out here at the expense of the Company; I was placed on the Farm I now occupy, bought by the Company, stocked by the Company, improved by labor supplied by the Company entirely. In fact, I have not been put to a penny expense since my arrival in the Colony. The boots I wear, and the mutton I and my family and guests eat, have been wholly supplied at the expense of the Company; and I flatter myself that the Colonial reputation for hospitality, as displayed by me at the expense of the Company, has not been allowed to fall into disrepute. I have given large entertainments, kept riding horses, and other means of amusement for myself and my guests: in fact I may say, that I and they, have eaten, driven, and ridden the Company for several years, and a very useful animal it has proved, though its ears, gentlemen, are rather long.

All this time I was and am the Farm-Manager of the Puget Sound Company, at wages of £100, (\$300.) per annum, and board, a position I value much too highly to vacate, until I shall be kicked out of it. I have refused to render any account, any intelligible account, of my stewardship; in fact I had kept no accounts that I, or any body else, could make head or tail of. When requested to give satisfactory explanations, I told my owners pretty squarely, that they should have no satisfaction except that usual among gentlemen; and as I knew nobody would call me out and pistol me, I commenced a system of abuse with which you are doubtless tolerably well acquainted; at the same time carrying popularity with my farm servants, by letting them eat and drink, play or work, just as they liked, which I could do cheap, as the Company pays for all.

I am sorry to say, however, gentlemen, that although pretty jolly just now, I have not been careful enough to keep a qualification for myself for the House of Assembly, although I have run my owners many thousands of pounds in debt. However, I hope to bully them out of their property entirely, and improve them out of their land. How I propose to do this, seeing that all the land, capital, stock, and labor, has been provided by them, is a secret. In the meantime, if I should not be fortunate enough to nail a qualification before the Election, I shall do as I did before, hand in a protest against the grinding, despotic tyranny, which requires a qualification at all, notwithstanding Bannymead and Rule Britannia: The House, I doubt not, will allow me to sit, and I shall only be too happy to serve you as I have served my present employers. I have the honor to be, GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient

E. E. LONGFORD.

The election "squib."

alternative. In closing, he pointed out that the land that Langford had wanted was, at the time of writing, still unsold.⁴³

After a careful examination of Pemberton's report and the records of the Land Office, Douglas and Attorney-General Cary were satisfied that Langford's complaint was groundless, but the Governor was not prepared to dismiss the matter at this point. He instructed Cary to write to Langford to ask what was the precise object of his letter: whether he was making a claim, and against whom, or whether he simply desired to enter a complaint against Pemberton.⁴⁴ Langford replied immediately, stating that his charges against Pemberton were specific and that he required an official investigation. He closed with the threat that if the inquiry were not immediately instituted, he would forward his complaint to London.⁴⁵ After a month had elapsed, during which Langford wrote to the Governor and the Attorney-General demanding immediate action, Douglas sent him a copy of Pemberton's report and Cary's opinion in the matter.⁴⁶ Langford did not acknowledge this communication, and for the time being gave every appearance of having dropped the matter for good.

Some six weeks later Captain Langford made good the threat that he would appeal to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On March 10, 1860, he sent a long letter to Governor Douglas for transmission to the Duke of Newcastle, in which he laid the same complaints against Pemberton and an additional charge that Douglas had obstructed justice by delay in instituting an inquiry and in forwarding the colonial surveyor's report to him.⁴⁷ To support his contention that Pemberton had informed him that an instalment had been paid on the land in question, Langford submitted an affidavit sworn by his friend, Dr. Peter W. Wallace, who had accompanied him to the Land Office and been present when he made his application. According to the latter, the transaction was as follows:—

(43) Pemberton to Douglas, December 20, 1859, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, March 23, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 15.

(44) Douglas to Newcastle, March 23, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 13. See also G. H. Cary to Langford, January 2, 1860, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 5.

(45) Langford to Cary, January 3, 1860, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 5.

(46) W. A. G. Young to Langford, February 4, 1860, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 6.

(47) Langford to Douglas, March 10, 1860, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 7.

. . . the said Edward Edwards Langford applied to the said Joseph D. Pemberton for several hundred acres of land in the immediate vicinity of his farm, whereupon the said Joseph D. Pemberton informed the said Edward Edwards Langford that the said land had been taken up and the instalments paid by Mr. Dallas, in proof of which the said Joseph D. Pemberton offered to show his books, whereupon the said Edward Edwards Langford declined, stating at the time to the said Joseph D. Pemberton, "No, your word is sufficient."⁴⁸

Governor Douglas at once forwarded Langford's memorandum and all the relevant correspondence. In addition, he sent a long dispatch of his own, in which he explained his course of action and refuted Langford's accusations.⁴⁹

Douglas attributed political motives to Langford, hinting broadly that his complaint was an election ruse to discredit him and his government. After pointing out that the complaint reflected on the integrity of the Land Office and his own course of action in the matter, the Governor continued:—

I was somewhat surprised at this application, made one year and a half after the transaction alluded to, but as it was known that Mr. Pemberton the Colonial Surveyor was about to leave the Colony to proceed to England, and as a General Election was pending, Mr. Langford himself being a candidate, and having in his address to the Electors distinguished himself by the display of an unusual degree of animosity to myself as Governor, and to the Government of the Colony generally I had not much difficulty in surmising the true object of the application.

The rest of the dispatch was an amplification of Pemberton's report. The books of the Land Office showed the record of the purchase and its subsequent cancellation. Dallas had refused to purchase the land because the survey showed the omission of an acre and a half that he particularly wanted. As for Dr. Wallace's affidavit, Douglas stated that Pearse, the assistant colonial surveyor, distinctly recollected the whole transaction and denied that Pemberton had told Langford that the first instalment had been paid. It was scarcely credible, Douglas went on, that the colonial surveyor should offer the official records for inspection to any chance purchaser of land or that he should volunteer information regarding payments made by another party. In closing, Douglas expressed surprise that Langford had not brought the matter to his notice at an earlier date, and, if he felt that an unlawful action had been committed, that he did not have recourse to legal measures to obtain redress.

(48) Wallace's affidavit, dated March 20, 1860, was enclosed in Langford to Newcastle, March 10, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 7.

(49) Douglas to Newcastle, March 23, 1860, *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

Some four months later, in a dispatch dated July 26, 1860, the Secretary of State for the Colonies informed Douglas that he could not find any just cause for Langford's complaints.⁵⁰ He considered Pemberton's conduct in the transaction correct, and he could not see that the Governor had shown any want of readiness in investigating the case or that he could be blamed for the delay that occurred in forwarding the colonial surveyor's report to Langford.

Captain Langford, as we have seen, laid his complaint against Pemberton on December 17, 1859, some twelve days after he had accepted the nomination as candidate for Victoria Town. He must, at that time, have been busy with his address to the electors, which he appears to have completed on Monday, December 26.⁵¹ Posters were printed and exhibited all over Victoria.

The misfortune of the reform party in the colony was that its spokesmen were agitators rather than leaders. Staines and Langford, unable to confine themselves to the moderate demands of some of their supporters, launched ill-considered attacks on the Governor and his officials which invariably resulted in their own humiliation and the discredit of their party. Captain Langford's address to the electors was no exception. If due allowance is made for the pomposity of his style, it must be admitted that the reforms he advocated were timely and by no means excessive. He called for an inquiry into the problem of taxation, and demanded a more liberal land policy. He advocated a wider franchise, reduction of fees and expenses in the Courts, and better facilities for the collection of small debts. But having made these proposals in the space of a few paragraphs, Langford devoted the rest of his address to personal attacks on the Government and the judiciary. The members of the Council, he declared, had been fur-traders whose isolated existence in the wilderness "withdrawn from the busy haunts of civilized men" rendered them incapable of "impartial and practical" legislation. Donald Fraser, whom Douglas had appointed to the Council in November, 1858, to replace John Tod, was singled out for special attack.⁵² Prior to his appointment, Fraser had served as special correspondent of the *London Times* during the gold-rush. His dispatches describing the American miners, Langford asserted, would discourage respectable settlers from coming to the Island. "More wholesale and foul slander,"

(50) G. C. Lewis to Douglas, July 26, 1860, *ibid.*, p. 16.

(51) *Victoria Gazette*, January 2, 1860.

(52) E. O. S. Scholefield (*ed.*), *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island*, p. 32.

he continued, "never went forth to the world." After pointing out that Fraser was a new-comer to the colony, Langford warned the electors that one of his first acts as a member of the Council was to oppose an extension of the suffrage.

Having dealt with the members of the Council, Langford turned to Chief Justice David Cameron, whose appointment in 1853 he had strenuously opposed. As his attack on this occasion displayed a degree of subtlety somewhat out of keeping with his usual methods, it may be asked in passing whether Amor de Cosmos had edited his address to the electors. By selecting an extract from Douglas's dispatch to Labouchere concerning the calling of the Assembly in 1856, Langford attempted to discredit the Governor himself, the Council, and the Chief Justice. Douglas, on this occasion, had expressed quite frankly his misgivings in the matter, apparently forgetting in his concern that the following admission might be used against him:—

It is, I confess, not without a feeling of dismay that I contemplate the nature and amount of labour and responsibility which will be imposed upon me, in the process of carrying out the instructions conveyed in your despatch. Possessing a very slender knowledge of legislation, without legal advice or intelligent assistance of any kind, I approach the subject with diffidence.⁵³

Langford pointed out that as this admission was made after long and careful consideration, it condemned both Council and judiciary without any qualification whatsoever. After enlarging on the responsibilities of the Chief Justice, he demanded that Cameron be replaced by a qualified legal practitioner of established repute in his profession.

No doubt there were many who read Captain Langford's address with approval. His platform was reasonable, and his attack on the Government and judiciary was a rallying cry for the opponents of the "Family-Company-Compact."⁵⁴ At the same time Langford was a popular man about town, the kind of person whom a section of the electorate will support on personal grounds. Reformers and friends had elected him in 1856 and were likely to accord him the same support in 1860. There were others, however, who had formed a different estimate of his character and capabilities. Officials of the two Governments regarded him as an incompetent Magistrate and an agitator who had attempted to

(53) Douglas to Labouchere, May 22, 1856, *P.P., H.C., 229 of 1857, 2nd Sess.*, p. 6.

(54) A phrase used by Amor de Cosmos to designate the Douglas administration. See Margaret Ross, *Amor de Cosmos, A British Columbia Reformer*, M.A. thesis accepted by the University of British Columbia, 1931, p. 24.

gate-crash his way into the Legislative Assembly. Officers of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were familiar with his extravagance and his gross mismanagement of Esquimalt Farm. Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, who was constitutionally incapable of suffering fools gladly, read the placard with sardonic amusement.⁵⁵ Charles Good, at that time Chief Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office for British Columbia, was later to describe it as a "pompous and silly effusion."⁵⁶ It was, in truth, the kind of thing that invited satire, and during Christmas and New Year somebody wrote such a parody, had it printed, and posted it all over the town.

The squib had been widely distributed before daylight on New Year's Day. Judge Begbie, on entering the lounge of the Hotel de France, found a copy pinned to the wall. He read it with great merriment and assured the bystanders that its contents were true because he had read Langford's contract with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. The poster which amused the Judge and his friends so much was as follows:—

To the Electors of Victoria.

Gentlemen,

Some injudicious person, assuming my name, has put forward in answer to your requisition, a long winded and spiteful address, containing many things which I, of course, should not like to have repeated, among other things, His Excellency's complaint that he was without any intelligent assistance, when I was at his elbow; a statement that I required a full discussion of the whole subject of Taxation, before I could form any opinion in reference to it; and other matters showing a shallowness of comprehension and an envious disposition, which I really ought to be ashamed of.

The easiest way for you, gentlemen, to judge of my merits, is to make a short statement of what I am, and what I have done.

I came here about eight years ago, the hired servant of the Puget Sound Company, for the wages of about Six Dollars a week, and my board and lodging; the privileges of board and lodging were also extended to my wife and family, in consideration of the Company's having the benefit of their labor on the Farm of which I was to have the charge.

I was brought out here at the expense of the Company: I was placed on the Farm I now occupy, bought by the Company, stocked by the Company, improved by labor supplied by the Company entirely. In fact, I have not been put to penny expense since my arrival in the Colony. The boots I wear, and the mutton I and my family and guests eat, have been wholly supplied at the expense of the Company; and I flatter myself that the Colonial reputation for hospitality, as displayed by me at the expense of the Company, has not been allowed to fall into disrepute.

(55) Langford to Douglas, July 4, 1860, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(56) Good to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862, *P.P.*, *H.C.*, 507 of 1863, p. 29.

I have given large entertainments, kept riding horses, and other means of amusement for myself and my guests: in fact I may say, that I and they, have eaten, driven, and ridden the Company for several years, and a very useful animal it has proved, though its ears, gentlemen, are rather long.

All this time I was and am the Farm-Bailiff of the Puget Sound Company, at wages of £60, (\$300,) per annum, and board, a position I value much too highly to vacate until I shall be kicked out of it. I have refused to render any account, any intelligible account, of my stewardship: in fact I had kept no accounts, that I, or anybody else, could make head or tail of. When requested to give satisfactory explanations, I told my owners pretty squarely, that they should have no satisfaction except that usual among gentlemen; and as I knew nobody would call me out and pistol me, I commenced a system of abuse with which you are doubtless tolerably well acquainted; at the same time currying popularity with my farm servants, by letting them eat and drink, play or work, just as they liked, which I could do cheap, as the Company pays for all.

I am sorry to say, however, gentlemen, that although pretty jolly just now, I have not been careful enough to keep a qualification for myself for the House of Assembly, although I have run my owners many thousands of pounds in debt. However, I hope to bnllly [*sic*] them out of their property entirely,—“improve” them out of their land. How I propose to do this, seeing that all the land, capital, stock, and labor, has been provided by them, is a secret. In the meantime, if I should not be fortunate enough to nail a qualification before the Election, I shall do as I did before, hand in a protest against the grinding, despotic tyranny, which requires a qualification at all, notwithstanding Runnymede and Rule Britannia: The House, I doubt not, will allow me to sit, and I shall be too happy to serve you as I have served my present employers. I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient

E. E. Longford [*sic*]⁵⁷

This satire cut Langford like a whip, driving him out of politics and finally out of the colony itself. On January 5 the *British Colonist* published his formal withdrawal from the election. Langford's letter was temperate and gave no indication of the resentment and animosity that he was to display for the next three years. Stating that he was compelled to withdraw due to circumstances of a private nature over which he had no control, he went on to say that he had not been influenced in any way by doubts as to his success at the polls or by “any inducements held out in any quarter to lead me to retire,”⁵⁸ meaning by the latter, no doubt, the mysterious squib that was by then the talk of the town. In closing, he urged his supporters to elect Amor de Cosmos in his place.

(57) A copy of this squib is preserved in the Archives of B.C.

(58) Victoria *British Colonist*, January 5, 1860.

The events described above gave rise to a number of questions which have not been completely answered to this day. There is, of course, the identity of the author of the squib and the person who posted it about the town before dawn on New Year's morning. Their names were on everybody's lips, but their complicity, though obvious, has never been proven. It may be asked why Captain Langford retired from the election. Being the kind of man that he was, it would not have been unnatural for him to have gone on to the bitter end. Or was he, like Pistol, driven ignominiously from the stage? Judge Begbie and Charles Good, who appear to have been singularly well informed in every aspect of the matter, state that the squib disillusioned Langford's supporters and ruined his chance of election.⁵⁹ In that case it may well be that his friends persuaded him to withdraw in the face of certain defeat. It is probable that, as the author of the squib suggests, he lacked the necessary property qualifications as in 1856, and hoped to bluff his way into acceptance. If he cherished this illusion when he accepted the nomination, it is not unlikely that his friends saved him in the nick of time from a repetition of the humiliation he had suffered four years previously.

On January 5, 1860, the day on which his retirement from the election was announced in the *British Colonist*, Langford took steps to sue Captain Edward Hammond King, the printer of the placard, for libel, claiming damages to the extent of £2,000.⁶⁰ King was the owner of the *Victoria Gazette*, a paper which he had founded in 1859, and the printer of the *Government Gazette*, a fact which, in the eyes of some, pointed to official complicity in the affair.⁶¹ It is, however, impossible to establish King's part in the publication of the offending placard, and it is equally impossible to account for his contradictory behaviour throughout the hurly-burly that ensued. As there is a lack of reliable evidence, King must remain an enigmatic and sometimes comic figure, full of sound and fury, yet signifying so much if only the truth were known.

(59) Begbie to W. A. G. Young, December 23, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. See also Good to Colonial Secretary, December 13, 1862, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 29.

(60) "Copy of Judge's Notes, Tuesday the 12th day of April A.D. 1860," entered as exhibit (C) in Chief Justice David Cameron to Colonial Secretary, January 29, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 25 ff.

(61) Madge Wolfenden, "The Early Government Gazettes," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1943), pp. 171-190 *passim*.

The Langford libel case was heard in the Supreme Court of Civil Justice before Chief Justice David Cameron on April 16 and 17, 1860.⁶² George John Wight acted for Langford, the plaintiff, and George Hunter Cary for King, the defendant. The case opened with a flurry of technicalities. Wight and Cary wrangled over the jury, abusing each other in slanderous terms, until Cameron finally ruled that the case should be heard before a special jury. On the following day Wight, and then Cary, cross-examined Langford. When asked by Cary to produce his books, Langford refused, declaring rather righteously that he had not brought them to Court because his employers might object. He had, however, brought a certified account made up from his books by the auditor of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Glancing at these records, Cary asked Langford to what book the words "folio No. 2" referred. Langford remained silent, and finally Cary applied to the Judge to request plaintiff to answer. With great patience Cameron explained to Langford that his counsel had not objected to the question, that there was nothing improper in it, that it was material and relevant. He warned him that his refusal virtually dared the authority of Her Majesty's Court, and that if he did not give an immediate answer he would be committed to the custody of the Sheriff. Langford again refused to answer. Cameron ordered the Sheriff to take him in charge.

When the Court reassembled in the afternoon, Cameron, at Cary's request, struck Langford's evidence from his notes. Wight rose and asked for permission to enter nonsuit. Cameron granted this request and discharged the jury. Turning to Langford, who had been brought into Court, he asked him whether he had anything to say in extenuation of his contempt. When he made no answer, Cameron ordered that he be imprisoned for twenty-four hours and pay a fine of £10.⁶³

It is a remarkable fact that no matter how great the depth of Langford's folly, prominent citizens rallied about him in his trials and tribulations to give him their sympathy and, on more than one occasion, monetary assistance. No doubt, he possessed a great deal of personal charm, was popular in the taverns, and few could forget his lavish hospitality. It is not at all unlikely that Mrs. Langford and her daughters

(62) There are two sources for the *Langford v. King* case. The first is in the document submitted by Douglas to Newcastle in his dispatch of February 14, 1863, as printed in *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, pp. 22-27. The second is the *Victoria British Colonist*, April 19, 1860. The accounts of the trial as given in the newspaper are accurate in so far as they can be compared with the official documents cited above.

(63) *Victoria British Colonist*, April 19, 1860.

were liked and esteemed throughout the Victoria district. On the other hand, it is probable that the Douglas régime was so unpopular that a section of the population would support any man who attacked it, whatever his folly. Stupid as Langford had been in Court, it was only a matter of minutes before his friends took up his cause. Chief Justice Cameron had just reached his chamber when Yates, Skinner, Meyers, and three or four others literally forced their way into his presence and asked him to alter the order that he had just made to the Sheriff. They admitted that Langford's conduct could not be overlooked, but urged that his wife was dangerously ill, and that if she heard that her husband were confined to gaol it would have very grave consequences. For this reason, they asked the Chief Justice to rescind the imprisonment. Cameron pointed out that the dignity and authority of the Court must be maintained, but as he had no wish that Mrs. Langford should suffer, he promised to instruct the Sheriff to keep the prisoner in his own office as if he were arrested under a bailable writ.⁶⁴

A striking instance of the widespread sympathy that Langford enjoyed occurred on the day following his committal, when Judge Cameron found that the Sheriff had confined him for only two or three hours and had failed to collect the fine. He at once issued an order for Langford to be brought into Court that afternoon. Langford refused to appear, sending a letter in which he described the proceedings in Court on the day before as "vile and illegal" and threatened the Chief Justice with consequences of an unspecified nature if he enforced his order. Cameron, in the face of this act of defiance, gave instructions that he be brought into Court for interrogation. The Chief Justice found Langford in contempt, but deferred judgment on compassionate grounds. Some years later, when called upon by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to explain his conduct of the case, Cameron wrote:—

Judgment, however, was deferred, as I well knew he could not pay a fine, and for the sake of his family refrained from again committing him to custody. He was, therefore, from a motive of lenity, and as a precaution against future misconduct, only held on his recognizance to appear for judgment at some future time. This kept him quiet until he left the Colony, when his sureties were discharged.⁶⁵

(64) "Copy of Judge's Notes, Tuesday the 12th day of April A.D. 1860," entered as exhibit (C) in Chief Justice David Cameron to Colonial Secretary, January 29, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *P.P.*, *H.C.*, 507 of 1863, p. 25.

(65) Cameron to Colonial Secretary, February 2, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 33.

Upon his release from detention, Captain Langford was obliged to shoulder the heavy costs of his unsuccessful suit. When he had paid various Court expenses, he received a bill of costs to the extent of £87.6.2.⁶⁶ This included Cary's fee as counsel for King and payments due to witnesses whom Cary and his attorney, Drake, had called on behalf of their client. Langford, of course, refused to pay, filing a protest with the Registrar of the Supreme Court, and claiming an appeal to the Privy Council.⁶⁷ As he was adamant in his refusal, the Sheriff secured an execution against his personal possessions, and on July 3 began to remove furniture from his house.⁶⁸ Fortunately for the Langfords, Cary intervened, perhaps out of pity, perhaps because he had learned that the unhappy man would shortly be able to meet his obligations.⁶⁹ Once again, Captain Langford's friends came to his assistance. A committee headed by John Coles, James Yates, and Captain G. H. Richards raised \$500, a large sum of money, and one that enabled Langford to pay in full.⁷⁰

Nearly three and a half months later, on November 3, 1860, the *British Colonist* startled its readers with the announcement that Attorney-General Cary had been served with a summons to appear in the Police Court to answer a charge of obtaining money under false pretences from Edward Edwards Langford. The hearing took place on Monday, November 5, before Mr. Pemberton.⁷¹ Langford, who by this time had completely thrown off whatever vestiges of reason and restraint he possessed, charged that Cary had pocketed money which, according to the bill of costs, was due to witnesses who had appeared on behalf of Captain King in the recent libel suit. It was a noisy hearing, perhaps the most disorderly in the colonial period. Cary, choking with rage, informed the Court on several occasions that as soon as the case was over he would prefer a charge against Langford for wilful and malicious perjury. When pressed too hard in cross-examination, Langford turned

(66) Copy of the trial record with judgment signed June 12, 1860, entered as exhibit (A) in Chief Justice David Cameron to Colonial Secretary, January 29, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 24.

(67) Langford to Douglas, July 4, 1860, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(68) *Ibid.*

(69) G. H. Cary to Colonial Secretary, September 12, 1862, and William Culverwell's deposition, enclosures in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, pp. 18-19.

(70) John Coles, James Yates, Geo. Henry Richards, Committee, to Langford, July 12, 1860, printed in Victoria *British Colonist*, July 24, 1860.

(71) *Ibid.*, November 6, 1860.

to the Magistrate to beg his protection, stating that he occupied a distressing position as all the legal profession were against him! Finally, when the combatants had called each other liars and damned liars, Magistrate Pemberton dismissed the charge, stating that not a particle of evidence had been adduced to prove it, and that he would not have issued the summons had it not been to give Cary the opportunity to clear his character. He censured Captain Langford and sought to restrain Cary, who by this time was clamouring for Langford's arrest.

Indeed, the case is scarcely worth recording were it not for certain accusations that were shouted about the Court. In this play within a play Captain Edward Hammond King took the leading role. It must be admitted that his part was a strange one, and in the absence of certain information it must remain to some extent the subject of conjecture. He had refused to divulge the name of the author of the squib to Langford, even when threatened with a suit for libel. Had the mysterious prankster promised to foot the bill if Langford won the case? From what transpired in Mr. Pemberton's Court, it is apparent that some such agreement had been made. Langford, who was conducting his own case against Cary, had called King as a witness. The reporter, who had a sense of dramatic values, gave a verbatim account of King's first sensational revelation:—

Mr. Langford—Did you ever pay Mr. Cary any money?

Ans.—Yes, £20.

Ques.—From whom did you receive that money?

Ans.—From Mr. CHAS. GOOD!

Mr. Langford—The private secretary of the Governor?

Mr. King—Yes.⁷²

When Captain King named Charles Good, there was a sensation in the Court, and some hissing was heard. As many of the reform faction had suspected, somebody close to the Government, either Good or another member of the Family-Company-Compact, had written the squib.

Magistrate Pemberton had just assured Cary that he would consider the matter of issuing a warrant for Langford's arrest when a scrimmage broke out near the door of the Courtroom. A barrister-at-law, a certain Mr. Alston, had been listening to the proceedings with considerable amusement and had, on one occasion, guffawed at some of Langford's

(72) *Ibid.*, Captain E. H. King was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for contempt of Court on November 6, but some days later was pardoned by Governor Douglas. *Ibid.*, November 7 and 20, 1860.

histrionics. While leaving the Court he encountered King, who by this time was in complete sympathy with Langford, and was convinced that Cary was a rogue. According to the newspaper report, the altercation began as follows:—

At this moment, Mr. King said to Mr. Alston, who was preparing to leave the room: "Cary fabricated a bill of costs."

Mr. Alston. You lie, sir.

Mr. King replied, "You're a d—d liar," and instantly struck Mr. Alston in the face with his fist.

Great confusion ensued. The parties were at once separated, and Mr. K. placed under arrest. Mr. Alston made affidavit as to what had passed.

Mr. King—Your honor, I only done to that man what I would do to any other. He called me a liar! and I will knock any man down that calls me that—at any time or in any place.

The spectators, at this remark, shook the building with their applause—and all order was at an end for a moment.

Mr. King continued his remarks, and said that if he had been called a liar in the street, he would have horsewhipped Alston from one end of the town to the other.

Langford, who had been standing by all this time, was no doubt, like everybody else, in a great state of excitement. He created another furore by naming the authors of the squib:—

Mr. Langford—The authors of the libel against me were Matthew B. Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia, and Charles Good, the Governor's private Secretary—

Mr. King—And THE GOVERNOR, too!

Mr. Langford—Yes; and Good, the Secretary, stuck them up around town before daylight on Sunday morning.⁷³

It is, of course, impossible to estimate the public reaction to these accusations. The feeling displayed in Court suggests that strong personal and political prejudices were involved. Under the arbitrary rule of Governor Douglas a radical faction had emerged, and, the population being as small as it was, political issues were fought in terms of personalities. To many of the reformers, the squib was no Yuletide prank. In their eyes it was a slander deliberately written by Government officials to prevent their candidate from winning a seat in the Assembly. In that case there were some who were prepared to accept the charges against Begbie and Good, and while it is inconceivable that the august Douglas could have lent himself to this piece of undergraduate tomfoolery, there can be no doubt that his enemies relished the thought and came to regard him as one of the conspirators. It is

(73) *Ibid.*, November 6, 1860.

worthy of note, however, that when Captain Langford carried his complaints to the Duke of Newcastle, he dropped the Governor's name, restricting his charges to Begbie and Good.⁷⁴

Nearly two months later the Langfords returned to England. Captain Langford had been discharged by his employers, he was impoverished, and he had no hope left of public office.⁷⁵ On the day of his departure, January 12, 1861, Amor de Cosmos wrote a glowing tribute to Langford, describing him as "an honest, straightforward, high-spirited Englishman" and a "supporter of time-honored usages as contrasted with the policy of a feudal corporation." The *British Colonist*, regrettably, published few accounts of the social events of the day, and there is no record of any gatherings held in honour of the Langfords of Colwood.

According to Judge Begbie, whose testimony is always reliable as to matters of fact, friends and enemies alike made it possible for the embittered man to leave the colony.⁷⁶ George Hunter Cary had taken steps to sue Langford for perjury, but at the request of "several country gentlemen," and upon the advice of Donald Fraser, whom Langford had attacked so sharply, he had withdrawn the charge. Since Judge Begbie states that Langford was "ruined by his own wilfulness, levity & extravagance" and enabled "by the charity of those around him to leave the colony," it may be presumed that his friends paid his passage home. As it is not at all unlikely that Langford was in debt to the Hudson's Bay Company, Begbie's reference to the "undeserved mercy wch the company had extended to himself & his family" might be taken to mean that the officials had accommodated him generously in that matter. On the other hand, the Judge might be alluding to the fact that the officers of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company had permitted Langford to continue as bailiff of Esquimalt Farm as long as they did.

The records of Captain Langford's activities on Vancouver Island are regrettably too few and too meagre to permit anything more than speculation as to the psychological mainsprings of his behaviour. None the less, there is to be discerned in his impulsiveness, his jealousy and anger when frustrated, his insubordination and insolence to employers

(74) Langford to Newcastle, June 18, 1861, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, pp. 7-8.

(75) Charles Good to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 29.

(76) Begbie to Young, December 23, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

in the face of their tolerance and generosity, a degree of emotional immaturity that might be characterized as adult infantilism. His subsequent conduct in England, where for the space of nearly three years he made bitter attacks on the officials of the colony, rounds out a pattern of irrationality and intransigence that is essentially juvenile.

Upon their arrival in England the Langfords took up residence in London, a situation which permitted the captain convenient access to the Colonial Office. He lost little time in mounting his attack. In a letter dated June 18, 1861, he submitted to the Duke of Newcastle "a statement containing complaints of a serious nature against certain Government officials in Vancouver Island."⁷⁷ Obviously writing under emotional stress, Langford named only two of the four officials whose conduct he considered disgraceful. These were Judge Begbie and Charles Good, both of whom were servants of the Government of British Columbia and had no official status in Vancouver Island. The latter was actually Chief Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office, and acted as private secretary to the Governor only on the occasions of his absence in the Interior of British Columbia. The two officials whom Langford, in his confusion, did not mention by name, were Chief Justice David Cameron and Attorney-General George Hunter Cary, both of whom were public servants of the colony of Vancouver Island. Quoting a conversation with Captain King, Langford accused Judge Begbie of writing the squib, and Good of taking the manuscript to the printing office. In addition, he stated that Good informed King that Attorney-General Cary would defend him in the pending suit for libel and gave him £20 to pay for Cary's services. With reference to Cameron, Langford charged that the proceedings in his Court during King's trial "were of an improper, illegal, and vexatious character," and that he, Langford, had been unjustly fined and imprisoned on a false charge of contempt of Court. Finally, he alleged that the Attorney-General had presented him with a bill of costs containing items that had never been paid.

Having lodged these complaints, Langford turned to the task of securing evidence to support his contention that David Cameron was unfitted for the high office of Chief Justice. He had apparently heard that Cameron had been in financial difficulties before coming to Vancouver Island and that he had been a bankrupt. Accordingly, he wrote to the Sheriff at Perth and the Registrar of the Supreme Court of

(77) Langford to Newcastle, June 18, 1861, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 7.

Demerara for further information. These officials eventually sent Langford statements of Cameron's transactions, which he at once forwarded to the Colonial Office.⁷⁸ Ten days later, on May 31, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle's secretary, Chichester Fortescue, wrote to Langford to inform him that his charges ought either to have been brought forward in the Legislative Assembly or transmitted through the Governor. He went on to state that the noble Duke found it impossible to take any other steps than that of sending his letters to Governor Douglas with instructions to submit them to Cameron, Begbie, and Good, and to forward to His Grace, with his own comments, whatever statements they might think it necessary to make on the subject.⁷⁹

On June 5, 1862, Langford wrote his third and final complaint to Newcastle.⁸⁰ On this occasion he took issue with the noble Duke on the wisdom of sending his communications to the colonial authorities, hinting that the members of the Assembly were company men, and that Cameron and Good were related to Douglas by marriage. He attacked Cameron, expressed disappointment that His Grace had not dealt with his grievance more expeditiously, and accused Cary of fraud.

In accordance with the Duke of Newcastle's instructions,⁸¹ Governor Douglas called upon the officials concerned for any explanations that they might have to offer. He wrote to His Grace on August 23, 1862, promising to forward all the official statements required, and a full account of the circumstances in connection with the appointment of David Cameron.⁸² As he evidently anticipated that a great deal of time would elapse before these documents reached London, Douglas took the opportunity of stating that the Chief Justice performed his duties with ability, and that his decisions gave general satisfaction. In closing, he reminded Newcastle of Langford's complaints against Pemberton, and respectfully suggested to His Grace that a perusal of the correspondence dealing with those charges would throw a great deal of light on his character and his present proceedings.

After some delay, for which the Duke of Newcastle rebuked him, Douglas transmitted on February 14, 1863, statements from Cary,

(78) James C. Hitzler, Pro Registrar, Demerara, to Langford, June 24, 1861, and Arch. Reid to Langford, November 11, 1861, enclosure in Langford to Newcastle, May 21, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 9.

(79) C. Fortescue to Langford, May 31, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 9.

(80) Langford to Newcastle, June 5, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 10.

(81) Newcastle to Douglas, June 2, 1862, and Newcastle to Douglas, June 19, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

(82) Douglas to Newcastle, August 23, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 17.

Good, and Begbie, and two detailed reports with enclosures from Cameron.⁸³ He made no observations of his own on the reports of the first three officials, giving as his reason that the documents in question, if considered in connection with Langford's correspondence, clearly disclosed his character and objects. In this manner James Douglas saved himself the embarrassment of commenting on the apparent complicity of his son-in-law, Charles Good, and of his ablest and most trusted official, Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie.

With reference to Chief Justice Cameron, Douglas wrote a long dispatch in which he justified his appointment and expressed great satisfaction with the quality of his services. At the time of the establishment of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice in 1853, there were no lawyers in the colony, and as the Magistrates had permitted irregularities in their Courts, Douglas was compelled to look about for a provisional Judge, a man of superior character and ability. In his opinion, Cameron was the most fitting person, being, as he described him, "a man of good business habits, of liberal education, some legal knowledge, and what was equal to all, possessed of a more than ordinary amount of discretion and common sense." With reference to Langford, whom he believed to have wanted the position for himself, Douglas continued:—

I would beg Your Grace to note that Mr. Langford was then the senior magistrate in the Colony, and it is not unnatural to assume from subsequent events that Mr. Langford, forming his own estimate of himself, must have viewed Mr. Cameron's appointment to a superior position with much jealousy and heart-burning; and I may as well here state that I selected Mr. Cameron in preference to Mr. Langford, because an experience of nearly three years had shown me that Mr. Langford was singularly deficient in judgment, temper, and discretion, and was much inferior both in legal and general knowledge to Mr. Cameron.⁸⁴

Referring to the memorial that Staines, Cooper, and Langford had addressed to Newcastle in February, 1854, Douglas reminded the noble Duke that he had stated at the time that if Her Majesty's Government thought the appointment improper, he had no desire to retain Cameron in the position, and had requested that a Judge be sent out from England. The authorities, however, had considered it desirable to retain Cameron, and without any solicitation on his part, Douglas continued, they had made his appointment a permanent one on May 5, 1856.

(83) Newcastle to Douglas, March 5, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 35; Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 22.

(84) Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 30.

It remained for Chief Justice Cameron to answer those charges of Langford's that affected himself and the administration of justice on Vancouver Island. With reference to his conduct of the Courts, he stated in a letter dated January 29, 1863, that Langford had actually made two allegations, the first of which was that "the proceedings in Court at the trial were of an improper, illegal, and vexatious character," and the second, his assertion that "the purity of justice has been entirely overthrown in Vancouver Island, rendering the proceedings in the law courts in the Colony the theme of scorn and derision among the colonists, and also throughout the American territories in the Pacific."⁸⁵ Cameron's answer to the first of these charges was an emphatic denial, which he supported with copies of the Court records. As to the second, he dismissed it as verbiage.

Four days later, in a letter dated February 2, 1863, Cameron answered Langford's personal charges, which were as follows: "Mr. Cameron is a person of obscure origin, with no legal education whatever, and a very imperfect general one; he was an uncertificated bankrupt in Scotland, and was some time afterwards discharged as an insolvent debtor in Demerara, shortly before arriving in Vancouver Island."⁸⁶ Cameron brushed aside the snobbish references to his origin and education, stating that the alleged obscurity was a matter of indifference to everybody but Langford, and that the nature of his education was attested by the quality of his services. Turning to the serious allegations that he was a bankrupt and a discharged insolvent debtor, he wrote a long and lucid account of his business experiences in Scotland and Demerara. He admitted that as a young man in his early twenties he had failed in business in Perth, and had been obliged to submit the state of his affairs to his creditors. Generous terms were arranged, however, his creditors agreeing to take a composition that was payable by instalments over a long period. In due time, when he had settled all the claims against him, Cameron wound up his affairs and left Scotland for Demerara in 1830. In concluding the account of his youthful misfortunes, he emphatically denied the charge of bankruptcy: "I have thus sketched my history at sufficient length to enable you to observe that my mercantile failure in early life was not of the nature charged

(85) Cameron to Colonial Secretary, January 29, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 23.

(86) Langford to Newcastle, June 2, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 10.

by Mr. Langford. Unfortunate as it was, I never became a bankrupt, and therefore never was an uncertificated bankrupt."⁸⁷

After spending some eight years as an overseer of a sugar plantation, Cameron purchased a small property on the Essequibo River. Here again misfortune befell him, this time in the form of acute labour troubles. Like almost every other proprietor in the colony, he suffered serious losses, and was finally obliged to surrender his estate and everything else he possessed in order to satisfy the claims against it. Despite these sacrifices, there still remained a residue of personal liabilities. His creditors, however, were satisfied with his surrender, and when, in 1851, he sought a legal discharge, his application went unopposed.

The Duke of Newcastle accepted this explanation without question, and wrote to Governor Douglas on April 25, 1863: "Mr. Cameron's letter appears to me very straightforward and satisfactory."⁸⁸

Attorney-General Cary, whom Captain Langford had accused of obtaining money under false pretences in a fabricated bill of costs, answered the charge with clarity and precision.⁸⁹ Referring to the depositions in the case, copies of which he had obtained from Magistrate Pemberton, he was able to show that certain witnesses had refused to accept their fees and that they had agreed to return the money to Langford. When he refused to accept it, they donated it to the hospital. According to the evidence, Cary continued, Langford had been aware of these facts at the time of swearing his first deposition, and was therefore guilty of a deliberate perjury. At this point anger got the better of the Attorney-General, compelling him to relate, quite irrelevantly, how he had preferred charges against Langford and had withdrawn them at the urgent request of a number of leading colonists. In closing, he stated his regret that his absence from England prevented him from bringing the complainant to the punishment suited to him for such a malignant libel on his professional character.

Newcastle was perfectly satisfied with this explanation. In a dispatch to Douglas dated April 23, 1863, he enclosed a copy of a letter which he had instructed Sir F. Rogers to write to Langford, informing him that His Grace saw no reason to question Mr. Cary's statement.⁹⁰

(87) Cameron to Colonial Secretary, February 2, 1863, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

(88) Newcastle to Douglas, April 25, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 36.

(89) Cary to Colonial Secretary, September 12, 1862, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 18.

(90) Newcastle to Douglas, April 23, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 36; Sir F. Rogers to Langford, April 23, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Captain Langford, it will be recalled, had accused Judge Begbie and Charles Good of being the authors of the election squib, and had further alleged that Good had taken the manuscript to the printer and had subsequently posted the offensive placards about the town. When requested to comment on these charges, they did not deny their complicity, and for this reason, perhaps, are condemned more effectively than by Langford, whose allegations were unsupported by any evidence more tangible than that of the astonishing Captain King. Both letters may be regarded as masterpieces of legal evasion, and as they were written on the same day in New Westminster, it is not altogether unlikely that they were the fruit of a collusion in which Judge Begbie had an opportunity to exercise his professional talents.

Good described Langford's charge as absurd, and stated that he had waited upon Captain King to ask him to explain why he had made such unwarranted statements.⁹¹ When confronted in this manner, King solemnly declared that he had never given such information to Langford, and that Langford's assertion that he had done so was untrue. It then became apparent, Good continued, that Langford had two motives. As the author of the squib was well acquainted with the affairs of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, he could be sought within a limited circle. In consequence, Langford hoped to extort denials successively from these individuals until, by a process of elimination, he arrived at the guilty person. His other motive was to besmirch the Government.

Judge Begbie's observations on the charges laid by Captain Langford were not greatly different in substance from those of his friend Charles Good.⁹² He declared that the squib contained an accurate account of Langford's character and conduct, and stated that King's allegations were without foundation. As in the case of Good, his failure to deny authorship of the squib is conspicuous, and for that reason leaves the reader convinced of his guilt. Be that as it may, it does not follow that the Judge's observations are false. He has, on the contrary, left a pithy and shrewd commentary on the affair that is entirely consistent with the facts already brought forward. His comments are as follows:—

(91) Charles Good to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862, enclosure in Douglas to Newcastle, February 14, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

(92) Begbie to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

I entirely deny Mr. Langford's right to have any answer from me, at this time, on this subject. He has never before thought fit to interrogate me either directly or indirectly. His only object evidently is to acquire, if possible, the means of continuing to annoy one or more persons for whom I feel a strong personal regard & esteem. He can now summon me and always could have summoned me, as a witness in any court of law. I decline now to answer him elsewhere, after the line of conduct he has thought proper to pursue.

For the satisfaction of His Grace however, and for His Excellency's information, I have of course no difficulty or hesitation in making the following statement. I am not aware how far such official communications can be considered as confidential. But under the above circumstances, I hope that this may be deemed a privileged communication, so far at least as that the original may not be produced in any Court of law.

The only mention made of my name by Mr. Langford is where he states that Captn. King, the printer of the placard in question, once told him that I was the author.

I have no doubt but that Mr. Langford is in this instance speaking correctly: and Captn. King did once tell him so. But it is also true, and true to Mr. Langford's own knowledge that Captn. King on various other occasions attributed the authorship to various other persons; all, I have no doubt, with equal confidence & sincerity,—and equal ignorance of the truth. And I fully believe that were Captn. King now alive he woud. be just as ready to admit (as I believe the fact was) that he never had any knowledge at all on the subject. I am quite sure that neither he nor Mr. Langford ever had any grounds except their own imaginations for attributing it to me. I observe that Mr. Langford himself makes no statement whatever as to his present or former state of belief on this point.

It is probably quite unnecessary for me to add anything to what I have already stated. But since Mr. Langford has thought fit to cause me to be applied to for information on the subject, it may not be out of place that I shod. state my view of the placard and its contents—especially as, by reason of my peculiar position in Vancouver Island, entirely unconnected with the administration & holding no office or authority there of any description, and at the same time being on terms of personal intimacy with the officials both of the government and of the Hudson's Bay Compy., and with many of the other settlers on the island, I had perhaps peculiar means of forming a correct estimate of Mr. Langford's position, and conduct.

I am glad that, since Mr. Langford has thought proper to bring forward my name at all, he has connected it with a document not otherwise than creditable to its author. I do not know why that author shod. any longer wish to conceal his name (except for one reason wch I shall mention presently). The placard is a very temperately worded election squib. Notwithstanding Mr. Langford's insinuations, there is not in it one scurrilous epithet nor one insulting allusion directed against him or any of his family: nor has he ever, so far as I am aware, attempted since its publication to deny one fact or to qualify one adjective contained in it. It is a dry statement of facts wch at that time were known to many people in the island, including of course Mr. Langford himself. And it woud. have been (with a few verbal alterations, and those not affecting him) a manly and decorous address

for him to have really made to the public instead of the address on wch it is a parody. Undoubtedly, so plain a statement of undenied & undeniable facts took by surprise most of Mr. Langford's supporters at that time, who were previously in ignorance of his real position.

As to what Mr. Langford calls an insulting allusion to his family I have been wholly unable to discover any such in the placard. The only allusion to his family appears to have been copied from a clause in his own sealed agreement with the Puget Sound Company, and is by no means insulting. Poverty is not (of itself) disgraceful—nor is it (in these colonies) an insult (except perhaps in Mr. Langford's opinion) to suppose that any person, man woman or child, works for his daily bread. I have seen that agreement, by wch Mr. Langford bound himself in very stringent terms to be the working farm-servant of the Puget Sound Company and to be entirely submissive to the authority of the Company's agent here. That agreement is entirely in accordance with the statements in the placard. I have also seen Mr. Langford's letter to Mr. A. G. Dallas the then agent of the Company here (now Governor of Assiniboia) refusing accounts and couched in terms of insolence wch, between persons of equal rank, wod. undoubtedly have tended to provoke a breach of the peace—but wch, coming from a person in the position of a servant, and addressed to his master, were unnoticeable by Mr. Dallas, and simply prevented the possibility of any intercourse between master & servant except on the terms of unconditional submission on the part of the latter. That unconditional submission, Mr. Dallas informed me, was at last yielded: and Mr. Langford, when he was enabled, by the perhaps weak indulgence of Mr. Cary, & by the charity of those around him, to leave the colony, a man ruined by his own wilfulness, levity & extravagance, expressed with many tears his contrition for his past misconduct, and his grateful sense of the undeserved mercy wch the company had extended to himself & his family.

The real author of the placard in question wod. probably have been avowed long ago, were it not that he wod., if known, be exposed during Mr. Langford's life to every description of annoyance (except personal violence) from a man who has shewn himself to be most unscrupulous, unreasonable, & litigious: capable therefore of inflicting a great amount of annoyance without the means of making the smallest compensation. And since Mr. Langford's departure, he, & the placard, the action for libel and all the surrounding circumstances, have ceased to be of any interest to the public.

I wod. suggest that His Grace wod. derive more information concerning Mr. Langford & his grievances (wch may be also taken, to some extent, as indicating the tone of some other colonial grievances) from a perusal of the placard itself, of Mr. Langford's agreement for taking service with the Puget Sound Company, & the witness of His Excellency, or of Mr. Dallas, or (probably) of any of the home directors of the Hudson's Bay Compy., as to the truth or falsehood of the statements in the placard, than from any further observations of mine.⁹³

Judge Begbie is widely known as the "Hanging Judge." With what greater justice could he be called the "Enigmatic Judge"! The entries

(93) Begbie to Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1862; this version is from the manuscript copy in the Archives of B.C.

in his diaries are in an antique shorthand, which yields nothing of importance when transcribed. He was on intimate terms with Governor Douglas, yet he has left scarcely a note on their conversations. In the same way, his part in the Langford imbroglio is obscure and must remain so for want of tangible evidence. *Prima facie* his statement on Langford's charges is a tacit admission of implication. His intimate knowledge of every aspect of the case, his merciless and contemptuous account of Langford's folly, the savage satire in the squib itself—all fuse into a pattern of convincing associations. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that there is not a word of reliable evidence to prove that he and Good were implicated. Professor Morton attributes authorship to Kenneth McKenzie on the grounds that a copy of the placard in his handwriting is to be found in the McKenzie Papers.⁹⁴ The handwriting, however, is clearly not Kenneth McKenzie's, nor is it his son's. It is not in the hand of Begbie, Good, Cary, or King. A casual glance at the McKenzie correspondence is sufficient to convince anyone that he could not have composed the squib that blew Captain Langford out of the colony, turned the Courts upside down, and eventually, in its last reverberations, reached the ears of Palmerston himself.⁹⁵

The Duke of Newcastle, however, entertained no doubts as to the identity of the guilty parties. On April 23, 1863, he wrote to inform Governor Douglas that while he had decided not to pursue an inquiry into the authorship of the squib, he could not countenance interference in party politics by Government officials. He administered a sharp rebuke, and though he mentioned no names, his intention was perfectly clear:—

While, however, I have declined to pursue an enquiry into the authorship of the placard complained of by Mr. Langford, I wish you to understand, and to make it understood by the Government officers of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, that an officer connected with the administration of justice is, in my opinion, bound to abstain scrupulously from all interference in party politics, and that other permanent officers of Government, though their duties are of necessity in some respects political, cannot, without injury to the public interest, be permitted to adopt that personal and aggressive mode of political warfare which is perhaps allowable to those who are not identified with the administration of affairs.⁹⁶

On the same day Sir F. Rogers wrote to Captain Langford to inform him that the Duke of Newcastle thought it unnecessary to pursue his

(94) A. S. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 784.

(95) *Victoria British Colonist*, September 4, 1863.

(96) Newcastle to Douglas, April 23, 1863, *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*, p. 36.

complaints any further. His Grace was of the opinion that as Langford had felt aggrieved by the placard, he had taken a proper course in bringing an action for libel. Had it proved to be false or malicious, he might have considered it his duty to inquire whether any Government servants were concerned, but as Langford himself had caused the action to break down, Newcastle thought it unnecessary and undesirable to reopen the question. At the same time he felt that Langford had been justly punished for a serious contempt of Court. Finally, His Grace declined to inquire into the authorship of the squib.⁹⁷

Undaunted by these reverses, Captain Langford carried out the threat he had made when leaving the colony. He sought out Fitzwilliam, who appears to have mistrusted the officials of the Colonial Office, and induced him to carry his complaints to the House of Commons. On July 10, 1863, Fitzwilliam duly moved an address for copies of all the correspondence dealing with Langford's grievances.⁹⁸ A dispute arose as to whether the motion should contain the customary words "copies or extracts" or merely "copies." Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, insisted on the customary procedure, and assured Fitzwilliam that his suspicion that the officials of the Colonial Office would omit something of importance was unfounded. Eventually Lord Palmerston intervened, and after some hesitation Fitzwilliam consented to the insertion of the words "or extracts." On the advice of the Speaker the motion was withdrawn and taken as an unopposed return, which was approved on July 13, and on the twenty-fourth of the same month the Colonial Office made the return.⁹⁹ As no further action was taken, Langford was at last compelled to accept defeat.

It must be admitted that Captain Langford fought long and hard against the Governor and officials of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. There were, no doubt, many of his friends and supporters who subscribed to the sentiments of *Amor de Cosmos* when he paid tribute to him as an honest opponent of arbitrary government and political privilege. When Langford left the colony an impoverished and beaten man, it may have occurred to *de Cosmos*, who had allocated to himself the mantle of Joseph Howe, that this Island reformer was another

(97) Sir F. Rogers to Langford, April 23, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 11.

(98) *Victoria British Colonist*, September 4, 1863.

(99) Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, CLXXII (House of Commons, July 10 and 13, 1863), pp. 574-577. The papers as tabled are *P.P., H.C., 507 of 1863*.

Robert Gourlay. But, truth to be told, Langford was neither reformer nor martyr. His incompetence and folly had led inevitably to failure in his various enterprises, and in the face of disaster he struck out with the violence and unreason of the emotionally immature. The Government being the object of his animosity, he naturally joined the reform faction and, like Staines before him, became an agitator. As a champion of reform he was undoubtedly right, but right for the wrong reasons.

SYDNEY G. PETTIT.

VICTORIA COLLEGE,
VICTORIA, B.C.

SOME NOTES ON THE DOUGLAS FAMILY

"Parentage, birthplace, home, boyhood! these are what a reader of biography first looks for . . . Douglas! who was Douglas? says the opener of the book, but he must wade through 90 pages tantalizingly, before the authors condescend to inform him, and the information then given amounts to very little. It suffices, however, to show that no proper investigation has been made, for lines of inquiry are indicated that have not been pursued."—G. M. Sproat, commenting upon *Sir James Douglas*, by R. H. Coats and R. E. Gosnell (Toronto, 1908).

Gilbert Malcolm Sproat was only one of many people who have been puzzled by the lack of information about the family and ancestry of James Douglas, but he was wrong in thinking that a routine inquiry would solve the mystery. Many of the approaches he had in mind have since been followed, and have been found to lead to nothing. One wishes that Sproat's own curiosity had been aroused sufficiently to cause him to make some inquiries—he had known Douglas personally—and questions which no one can answer to-day might have been answered in 1908. Yet it is by no means certain that he would have discovered much, for James Douglas kept his own counsel all his days, and even the men who worked with him for many years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company knew only bits and pieces of his story.

The scanty details given by Coats and Gosnell seem to have been drawn from obituaries of Lieutenant-General Sir Neill Douglas, who died in 1853. Born in 1780, this distinguished officer had entered the army in 1801 and had taken part in a long series of famous actions, including the siege of Copenhagen and the Battles of Corunna and Waterloo. He was for twenty-two years colonel commanding the 78th Highlanders. He was aide-de-camp to George IV and William IV, and was made a Knight Bachelor by the latter in 1831. Queen Victoria made him a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1838. His decorations included awards for gallantry from Austria and Russia.

It has long been known that Sir Neill was some kin of Sir James. Coats and Gosnell believed that the two men were cousins.¹ We know now that Sir Neill was actually James's uncle. This lends great interest

(1) Robert Hamilton Coats and R. E. Gosnell, *Sir James Douglas* (Makers of Canada Series), Toronto, Morang, 1908, p. 92.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1 and 2.

to anything that can be discovered about Sir Neill's ancestry. The obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* states that he was "a native of the city of Glasgow, being the fifth son of John Douglas, esq. of that city, and was descended from the old Earls of Angus, through the Douglasses of Cruyton and Stobbs."² Unfortunately, none of the standard works on the history of the Douglas family seems to contain any references to Douglasses of Cruyton and Stobbs, and one is led to suspect that the obituary writer yielded to the temptation, strong in any Scot, to endow his subject with an ancient lineage, even though the facts were not available to back up the claim in detail. But the sentence is nevertheless a valuable clue, for, in conjunction with other evidence, it gives the name of James Douglas's grandfather—John Douglas—and clearly associates the family with Glasgow.

James Douglas himself stated that his father had five brothers.³ No trace has yet been found of one of these; he may have died in infancy, or something of the sort. The five known sons of John Douglas were named Archibald, James, Thomas Dunlop, Neill, and John Jr. As we have seen, Neill went into the army in 1801; the other four brothers all became merchants in Glasgow. It is known that their business interests included sugar plantations in Demerara, British Guiana, and it is evident that they prospered. Early editions of the *Glasgow Directory* include a listing of J. T. & A. Douglas & Company, and this almost certainly refers to a partnership consisting of John, Thomas, and Archibald.⁴

John Douglas, Jr., was born in 1772.⁵ About the turn of the century he must have represented the partnership for a considerable time in Demerara. There he formed an attachment which resulted in a family of at least three children—two sons and a daughter.⁶ The elder boy, Alexander, was probably born in 1801 or 1802; the younger son, the future Sir James Douglas, in 1803. Cecilia Eliza arrived on the scene

(2) *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1853, p. 416.

(3) Douglas to his daughter Jane (Mrs. Dallas), April 26, 1869. MS. in Provincial Archives.

(4) *The Glasgow Directory, containing a list of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders, &c. . . . corrected till July, 1817*, p. 51. The entry is repeated in 1818.

(5) The death certificate in Somerset House gives his age as 68 in 1840.

(6) John Tod infers in his *History of New Caledonia* (MS. in Provincial Archives) that James Douglas had two brothers, but no trace of any brother except Alexander has yet been found.

in 1812.⁷ Scarcely anything is known about James Douglas's mother. Dr. W. N. Sage was informed by Mrs. Arthur Bushby, daughter of Sir James, that her grandmother's maiden name was Ritchie.⁸ It has been stated that she was a mulatto, largely on the authority of Letitia Hargrave, who referred to James Douglas himself as a mulatto in a letter written in 1842.⁹ But Mrs. Hargrave scarcely knew Douglas himself, and her evidence is very far from being conclusive. John Tod, a much better witness, since he knew Douglas well over a long term of years, stated that James's mother was a Creole.¹⁰ This is a very different term, and does not necessarily carry any implication of mixed blood. It simply means that she was born in the West Indies, or in some other similar tropical region. The only known reference to his mother in Douglas's own papers is the entry in a note-book which gives the date of her death as July, 1839.¹¹

Attachments of this kind seem to have been common at the time. One gathers the impression that they were almost one of the conventions of the life led by well-to-do young merchants who had occasion to pass any considerable period far from home. It seems safe to assume that John Douglas made suitable provision for his West Indian family; as we shall see, both the sons were brought to Scotland, and James at least was given a good schooling there. By that time John Douglas had contracted a formal alliance of marriage with a bride of suitable station in Glasgow, but his preoccupation with the West Indies evidently continued for some time thereafter. The marriage took place in 1809; if the entry made in the old burial register of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, is correct, Cecilia Eliza, as already noted, was born in 1812. The entire episode constitutes an interesting commentary upon early nineteenth-century morality.

Dr. Sage tells us that Mrs. Bushby believed that her father was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland,¹² but the evidence that he was actually born

(7) The entry in the burial register of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, states that she was 47 years old when she died in 1859.

(8) Walter N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, p. 14.

(9) Margaret Arnett MacLeod, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1947, p. 132.

(10) John Tod, *History of New Caledonia and the North West Coast*. MS. in Provincial Archives.

(11) MS. in Provincial Archives; quoted in Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, p. 363.

(12) Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, p. 14.

in Demerara appears to be overwhelming. In addition to the circumstances already outlined, we find that he is referred to repeatedly as a West Indian in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company. The entry devoted to him in George Simpson's famous confidential "character book" begins with the words "A Scotch West Indian."¹³ The only important exceptions are his commissions as a Chief Trader and Chief Factor. In both he is described as "James Douglas of Lanark." But this is to be expected, since Lanark was in fact his residence at the time he first entered the fur trade. It thereby became the "home address" which would be used for official purposes. John Tod described him as "a native of the West Indies," but confused the issue by referring to Jamaica instead of to Demerara.¹⁴ But it is to the latter that everything points unmistakably. Inquiries indicate that no church or official registers have survived in or around Georgetown which might throw light on the matter, but additional indication comes from the fact that a legacy of \$500 left by Douglas's grandmother to his own five daughters was the subject of correspondence with a Mr. James Stuart, of Georgetown, as late as 1868.¹⁵

The marriage of "John Douglas, Merchant of Glasgow . . . and Miss Jessie Hamilton eldest daughter of John Hamilton Merchant of Greenock" took place in Glasgow on January 14, 1809. The original marriage contract is preserved in the General Register House, in Edinburgh. Two trust dispositions and settlements, dated March and December, 1836, and in effect constituting John Douglas's will and a codicil to it, are also on file in the Register House.¹⁶ In both documents his wife is referred to as "Mrs. Janet Hamilton or Douglas"; the reason for the change in name from Jessie to Janet does not appear. The trustees named to administer the estate included John's wife and his four brothers—Sir Neill, Thomas Dunlop, Archibald, and James. Provision is made for four children of the marriage—a son, John, and three daughters, Jane Hamilton, Cecilia, and Georgiana. The terms of the settlements make it evident that John Douglas was by 1836 a very

(13) The entry is quoted in full in Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, Toronto, 1938, p. 200.

(14) John Tod, *History of New Caledonia and the North West Coast*. MS. in Provincial Archives.

(15) Copies of letters to Stuart, dated October 7 and November 28, 1868, are included in a James Douglas personal letter book in the Provincial Archives.

(16) All three documents were registered on July 24, 1840, when the estate of John Douglas was in course of settlement.



Alexander Douglas.

John Douglas
Jessie Hamilton
John McIlroy

Signatures on the marriage contract between John Douglas and
Jessie Hamilton, 1809.

well-to-do man, and presumably a widely known merchant. It is interesting to find that Letitia Hargrave, writing a letter in far-away York Factory, on Hudson Bay, referred to him as "the renowned Mr. Douglass of Glasow."¹⁷

The codicil to the will is in itself revealing, since it was necessitated by the purchase of a residence at 5 Moray Place, Edinburgh, one of the most fashionable addresses in the Scottish capital. Moray Place, a handsome pentagon-shaped square, was part of a great development in a section of the city formerly included in the grounds of Drumsheugh, the seat of the Earl of Moray. Most of the dwellings were only a dozen years old, or even less, and they were so large that an extensive staff was essential to service and maintain them. Many titled folk and famous people have lived in the square, and it retained its exclusive and aristocratic character until quite recent times. In his recently published memoirs, Lord Macmillan thus recalls his own home there:—

And finally, in 1910, we reached the dignity of Moray Place, the goal of ambition in those days and then still undesecrated by mutilation and the invasion of offices and nursing homes. . . . It was a beautiful and spacious home, looking out in front on the Moray Place Gardens and at the back over the Dean Valley to the hills of Fife across the Forth, with the Bens of the Perthshire Hills just visible away to the north-west.¹⁸

John Douglas was still living in Moray Place in 1840, when he died suddenly while visiting London. Sir James noted the circumstances years later, in a travel diary: "Father died in London, where he was suddenly taken ill at the house of his solicitor; and died in a few minutes it is supposed of disease of the hart [*sic*]¹⁹—having been subject to such attacks for the last 10 years of his life. In the intervals he enjoyed good health, and had fine teeth to the last."¹⁹ James was under the impression that death occurred in September,²⁰ but the official record at Somerset House shows that the correct date was June 30. The place of death is given as 6 Ely Place, Holborn Union. John Douglas is described as a "West India Merchant," and his age is given as 68.²¹ The *Glasgow Herald* of the time has been carefully checked in the hope that an obituary notice giving some details of his career and family might have

(17) *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, p. 132.

(18) Lord Macmillan, *A Man of Law's Tale*, London, 1952, p. 44.

(19) James Douglas, travel diary, 1864–65, in Provincial Archives.

(20) He entered this date in his note-book, preserved in the Provincial Archives; quoted in Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, p. 363.

(21) The death certificate is filed under Holborn II, 93.

been published, but only a brief and formal reference to John Douglas's demise was found.

We do not know precisely when young Alexander and James were brought from Demerara to Scotland. James was placed in a good school at Lanark, where he boarded with a Mrs. Glendinning. Judging from the excellence of his penmanship and composition, and the ease with which he handled complicated accounts in later years, he must have spent some time there. Both boys were destined for the fur trade, and Alexander entered the service of the North West Company in 1818. James followed in 1819, and the chief features of his long and remarkable career are well known. Alexander, by contrast, seems to have been a misfit in the fur trade, and far inferior to his brother in ability and intelligence. After the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company he was described in a report as being "Stupid & inactive, deficient in education, not adapted for the Country."²² He was finally dropped from the service, and sailed for England from York Factory in the *Prince of Wales* in the autumn of 1824. All trace of him is lost at that point.²³

A single letter in James Douglas's correspondence hints that he may have written occasionally to his father,²⁴ but no communication between the two has actually come to light. On the other hand, he was in touch fairly regularly with his sister Cecilia, who had been left behind in Georgetown, Demerara. She later became the wife of David Cameron, first Chief Justice of Vancouver Island; but an earlier marriage had turned out unhappily. Dr. Helmcken compares her with James, and recalls the circumstances of this first marriage in an interesting passage in his *Reminiscences*:—

She bore a great resemblance to him—a tall stout—dignified—rather muscular (with a little fat) lady, with the West Indian manners—very polite and nice, but she differed from her brother in that she liked a joke and laughed rather pleasantly. Cameron was her second husband—the first named Cowan had gone to the States; she followed him but could not find any traces altho she travelled much through different states in difficulty and distress. No tidings came to her of him. She

(22) R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31*. Published by The Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940, p. 437.

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) See the letter regarding Janet Glendinning dated November 8, 1867: "I wrote to my father on the subject . . ." James Douglas, personal letter book; MS. in Provincial Archives.

always spoke in the most heartfelt manner of the American people, who had been very kind and hospitable, assisted her in every possible way.²⁵

The date of the Cowan marriage is not known; a cash payment of £50 made to Cecilia by James Douglas in 1832 through the Hudson's Bay Company may bear some relationship to it. Seven years later James began making payments of £30 per annum to provide for the education of her daughter, Cecilia Cowan. Meanwhile, she had met and married David Cameron, a cloth merchant from Perth who had been unfortunate in business, and who had taken a post on a sugar plantation in Demerara. In 1845 Mrs. Cameron took her daughter to London, and a letter she addressed to the Hudson's Bay Company the following spring throws light upon the financial provision being made by Douglas:—

My Brother Mr. James Douglas has authorized you to pay me annually the sum of thirty pounds to meet the expence of educating my Daughter which sum I have hitherto received myself, but having lately placed her in the neighborhood of Cologne, and being about to proceed to the West Indies, which will prevent me attending personally to the business, I have to beg that you will be pleased hereafter to pay the annual allowance to Mr. P. Amsel of No. 123 Broad Street Cologne in Instalments of £10 every four months beginning in June next on his applying for same.²⁶

Young Cecilia passed the next three years in Germany. In 1850 Douglas paid her passage to the Columbia River in the barque *Tory*, and she joined him in Victoria.²⁷ By that time, plans to bring her mother and stepfather, and their daughter Edith Rebecca, to Vancouver Island were probably already afoot. Through Douglas's good offices, David Cameron was offered a position at the coal mines which the Hudson's Bay Company was developing at Nanaimo. This he accepted, and in the summer of 1853 the whole family was reunited. A few months later, circumstances led to Cameron's appointment to the judiciary, and they settled permanently in Victoria.

On March 20, 1858, Cecilia Eliza Cowan Cameron became the bride of William A. G. Young, who was shortly to become Colonial Secretary

(25) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, MS. in Provincial Archives; quoted from pp. 202-203 of the transcript of the original.

(26) Cecilia Cameron to the Governor and Committee, March 19, 1846; Hudson's Bay Company Archives, A. 10/21. Quoted by kind permission of the company.

(27) Payment was actually made in 1851, but the ship sailed from England in 1850. Details of the various payments made by Douglas are taken, by kind permission of the Hudson's Bay Company, from the original account books in the Company's Archives.

of the Colony of Vancouver Island, and soon after that Colonial Secretary of the Colony of British Columbia as well. After confederation, Young received other appointments from the Colonial Office in Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and finally the Gold Coast, where he was Governor at the time of his death in 1885. He had been made a Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1877.²⁸ Two of William and Cecilia Young's sons, both born in Victoria, followed their father into the Colonial Service, and both eventually were knighted. The elder of the two was christened William James in 1859,²⁹ but appears in *Burke's Peerage* as Sir William Douglas Young. He was Governor of the Falkland Islands during the First World War, and died as recently as 1943, within a few days of his eighty-fourth birthday. His brother, Joseph Alfred Karney Young, was born in 1865, joined the legal branch of the Service, and finally became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Fiji and Chief Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific. He died in 1942.³⁰ Mary Alice Young, a daughter born in 1862, became the wife of Frederic Mitchell Hodgson, and he, like her father, ended his career as Governor of the Gold Coast. He was knighted in 1899. Mary Alice herself became a Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and in 1901 published a volume entitled *The Siege of Kumassi*, which described her experiences in that critical episode in the Ashanti War of 1900.³¹

A future of a quite different kind awaited Cecilia's half-sister, Edith Rebecca Cameron. She met and became engaged to Henry Montagu Doughty, a young lieutenant in one of the ships of the Royal Navy stationed at Esquimalt. This romance was interrupted by the sudden death of Mrs. Cameron in November, 1859, which made Edith feel that it was impossible for her to leave her father. She wrote to Doughty and broke off the engagement, but he responded by instantly obtaining leave and coming to Victoria to claim his bride.³² They were married on

(28) An obituary in the *Victoria Colonist*, June 20, 1885, refers to him as "Sir William A. G. Young," but this is a mistake; he was not knighted.

(29) According to the old register in Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria.

(30) Summaries of the careers of both brothers will be found in the *Colonial Office List* and *Burke's Peerage*.

(31) For a brief account of the siege see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, Cambridge, 1911, II, p. 728.

(32) See N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island*, Victoria, 1928, pp. 197-198.

August 21, 1860, and Edith—always a favourite of James Douglas—left with her husband for England. There she took up residence at Theberton Hall, the stately Doughty mansion at Saxmundham, Suffolk. Her husband's brother, Charles Montagu Doughty, was the famous poet, traveller, and author of *Travels in Arabia Deserta*.

After he retired and received his knighthood, James Douglas decided to spend a year abroad. He kept a detailed diary most of the time, and, in view of the background which has been sketched in these notes, the entries which relate to various members of the Douglas family are of quite unusual interest.

His tour occupied the latter half of 1864 and the first months of 1865. At that date all his uncles were dead except Thomas Dunlop Douglas, who was entering his ninetieth year. James called at his home in Glasgow, but the old gentleman was out.³³ No suspicion that he was merely "not at home" need be entertained; the diary makes it clear that James was cordially received by the family connections. In Edinburgh he called on "Cousin Susanna Douglas," who cannot be positively identified, but who may have been a daughter of Archibald Douglas. A few days later he travelled to Inchmartin, the 4,000-acre estate of another cousin, Mrs. Fergusson Blair. This was the former Barbara Elrington Douglas, third daughter of Sir Neill Douglas.³⁴ She had previously been married to a Mr. Allen, and James Douglas met the son of this marriage, James Douglas Bow Allen. At the time of his visit, Barbara was the widow of Neil-James-Fergusson Blair, a Magistrate for Perthshire. In December, 1865, she was to become the wife of the Honourable William Arbuthnot, fifth son of the eighth Viscount Arbuthnot.

Douglas first met his Cousin Barbara at the agricultural show at Stirling. She took a keen interest in farming, and at Inchmartin devoted much time to raising poultry. In 1861 she had published a 200-page volume entitled *The Henwife: her own experience in her own poultry-yard*, which was dedicated "by permission" to Miss Burdett Coutts. The preface states that the author had "during the last four years . . . gained upwards of 300 prizes, in Scotland and England" and that she had "personally superintended the management of forty separate yards,

(33) See the letter from James Douglas to Jane Douglas dated July 13, 1868, in James Douglas, private letter book; MS. in Provincial Archives.

(34) Sir Neill had at least four daughters, though we know the names of only three: Barbara Elrington; Cecilia, who married the Honourable Augustus G. F. Jocelyn, half-brother of the Earl of Roden, and died in 1847; and a younger daughter who became Mrs. F. D. Finlay, of Glasgow.

in which have annually been hatched more than 1000 chickens."³⁵ The little manual seems to have caught the popular fancy and was reprinted frequently. The copies in the British Museum Library show that it had reached an eighth revised and enlarged edition by 1870.³⁶

Another highlight of the tour was Douglas's visit in September, 1864, to Theberton Hall, where he was warmly welcomed by his niece, the former Edith Rebecca Cameron. He arrived at an interesting time, as his diary relates:—

Harvest home at Theberton—about 500 people. They arrived in procession, headed by a musical band . . . the labourers repaired to the tent and the elders men and women took their seats at the dining tables. The fare consisted of plum pudding in which the plums were conspicuous. Boiled rounds of capital beef and pudding again to close the repast—and one pint of beer to each person present. . . . Dinner was succeeded by dancing on the green, foot ball—leaping foot races, and other sports—which kept the crowd in a state of exciting hilarity until the shades of evening stole upon them—when the day closed by the rector Mr Hardinge with a forcible and appropriate address. The entertainment was a perfect success.

By this time Edith had several daughters, to one of which Douglas was godfather. Two sons were to follow—Charles, in 1868, and Henry Montagu, whose birth was to cost Edith her life, on September 4, 1870. Charles became a soldier, led his men ashore from the *River Clyde* in the famous and bloody landing upon Gallipoli in 1915, and was killed a little later in the same campaign.³⁷ Henry entered the Royal Navy, commanded the battleship *Agincourt* at the Battle of Jutland in 1916, rose to be a rear-admiral in command of the First Battle Squadron of the Atlantic Fleet, and died just after he hauled down his flag and came ashore in 1921.³⁸

But in 1864 all this was far in the future.

The remaining highlight of Douglas's journey was his visit to Paris, where his half-sister, Jane Hamilton Douglas, was residing in the Boulevard Malesherbes. They took to one another immediately, became firm friends, and corresponded on affectionate terms as long as both remained alive. There is something very warm and touching about the diary

(35) Quoted from p. vi of the 1861 edition.

(36) Edinburgh, Thomas C. Jack, 1870, pp. xxi, 273.

(37) For an account of his career see H. W. C. Davis and J. R. H. Weaver (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography, 1912-1921*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 160-161. He added his wife's surname to his own and is listed as Charles Hotham Montagu Doughty-Wylie.

(38) See the obituary in *The Times*, London, May 3, 1921.

entries relating to Jane; even though she is referred to as "Miss Douglas," it is clear that she was held in very special regard.

Other kinsfolk who have not yet been identified flit through the pages of the diary. We would like to know more about "Mrs. Robert Douglas of Orbiston," who extended an invitation to Douglas which he accepted. "Mrs. Douglas of Douglas Park" appears more than once; an old *Ordinance Gazeteer of Scotland* tells us that Douglas Park was "an estate, with a mansion, in Bothwell parish, Lanarkshire . . . 1¾ mile E. of Bothwell village."³⁹ There are references to a William Douglas, to another James Douglas, and to "Sir John" which it would be interesting to be able to clear up. Perhaps in time this may be possible.

When Douglas returned to Victoria, he had many contacts abroad which he maintained for the rest of his life. One of his own daughters (Jane, the wife of A. G. Dallas) was living in Great Britain. His favourite niece, Edith, was mistress of Theberton Hall. His other two half-sisters, Cecilia and Georgiana, were evidently still living, for he asks Jane for news of them. "Tell me all about Cecilia and Georgiana," he wrote in 1868, "the subject is full of interest to me."⁴⁰ In the spring of 1869 news arrived of the death of old Thomas Douglas, at the age of 94. "Peace be with him," was James's comment.⁴¹ Jane had come to be the member of the Glasgow family who really mattered, and a typical letter to her ended with the words:—

May God bless you
My dearest Jane
ever affectly yours,
James Douglas.⁴²

In a word, he had come home from abroad a man with a family, and, thanks to his diary and his letters, we are beginning at last to know something about his kinsmen and ancestry.

W. KAYE LAMB.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA,
OTTAWA, ONTARIO.

(39) Francis H. Groome, *Ordinance Gazeteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1882, I, p. 367.

(40) James Douglas, private letter book, MS. in Provincial Archives; letter to Miss Douglas dated July 13, 1868.

(41) *Ibid.*; letter to his daughter Jane (Mrs. Dallas), April 26, 1869.

(42) *Ibid.*; letter to Miss Douglas, July 13, 1868.

THE UNITED FARMERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA— AN ABORTIVE THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENT

British Columbia, as John Nelson noted, is a Province physically apart from the other Canadian Provinces.¹ The mountains separating coast dwellers and plainsmen create an obstacle to identity of interest and to common action. This is illustrated in the case of the United Farmers of British Columbia, an agrarian movement which tried to accommodate itself to the philosophy of western revolt but which could never bring about a complete fusion with that protest.

Lack of focus in the farmers' movement in British Columbia was evident from the beginning. This sprang largely from the fact that agricultural conditions and pursuits within the Province were highly diversified. "No other Province has the great variety of soil, climate, and conditions," declared the *Vancouver News Advertiser* in 1917. "The climate of British Columbia is the wettest and the driest in the Dominion. The soil is the richest and among the poorest. Irrigation and drainage, tree planting and land clearing are among the necessities."² The farmer on Vancouver Island was concerned about land-clearing, which was difficult and expensive; the farmer in the Fraser delta about dyking and drainage; and the farmer in the Okanagan Valley about the cost of planting fruit-trees and building irrigation-works. Intensive agriculture prevailed in the southern part of the Province; extensive agriculture in the central and northern sections. The home market absorbed the products of dairymen, root-growers, and the producers of hay, hops, honey, and hens. To the export market went cattle and apples, their prices enhanced by high freight rates on the long haul across Canada. Only a few common problems existed to unite farmers—the taxation burden, labour shortages, and need for short-term loans. Each farming group had its own occupational problems and was generally preoccupied with them.

Concerted economic or political action was made difficult not only because there was a wide range of interests, but also because of great differences among the farmers in background, education, and outlook. There were in the Interior of the Province, for example, "gentlemen

(1) John Nelson, *The Canadian Provinces*, Toronto, 1924, p. 169.

(2) *Vancouver News Advertiser*, editorial, February 18, 1917.

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farmers" and ranchers, well read and possessing good libraries, whose closest neighbours had never had any formal schooling. Some farmers knew no surcease from toil; others, even in war-time, observed the weekly ritual of the tennis match. Some were well versed in economic theory and socialist doctrine; others read little but the works of Kipling. British Columbia farmers were highly individualistic, hardly class conscious, and, generally speaking, conservative.

Yet certain co-operative enterprises had existed for some time within the Province. These were professional organizations which usually had been founded to raise standards of production and to attempt some type of regulated marketing. The most successful were the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association and the Fraser Valley Milk Producers' Association. By 1917 they were both efficiently organized and well supported by producers. Such associations as these and the organizations founded by live-stock breeders, dairymen, and other groups helped to create among the farmers a tradition of self-reliance and of self-help. Their success was in contrast to the failure of the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange.³

Government-supported Farmers' Institutes, which had been established as early as 1897, also existed. They served the farmers' needs by supplying information and instruction through the medium of agricultural demonstrations. Through sponsorship of social programmes, they incidentally promoted exchanges of views and opinions. The fact that they remained popular during the period when the United Farmers of British Columbia was active is additional evidence of the conservatism of British Columbia farmers.

The drafting of the Farmers' Platform by the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and its endorsement by such agrarian organizations as the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, the United Farmers of Alberta, and the United Farmers of Ontario probably helped to inspire organization of a farmers' movement within the Pacific Province. The Provincial political situation, however, seems to bear a closer relationship to its emergence.

After a long period of Conservative leadership, the people, in the election of 1916, rejected that party and its new leader, the Honourable W. J. Bowser. Throughout the Province the feeling existed that poor

(3) L. A. Wood, *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada*, Toronto, 1924, p. 307. The Farmers' Alliance tried to set up locals in 1897 and again in 1908. A Grange at New Westminster lasted only a short time.

leadership had ruined the party's reputation. The new Liberal Premier, the Honourable H. C. Brewster, was as untried as the members of his Cabinet, and there was anxiety lest the reins of government had slipped into the hands of inexperienced men. The Brewster government had to struggle with tangled problems of finance as well as a complicated and difficult railway problem, and it had to determine policy in connection with prohibition, which the people had recently approved but the overseas soldiers had rejected. Although the Province had a population of less than 500,000, there was, at March 31, 1917, a total funded debt of \$23,153,146 in addition to bond guarantees of \$73,782,078 given to support the building projects of the Canadian Northern Pacific and the Pacific Great Eastern Railways.⁴ These debts portended heavy Provincial taxation at the time when Federal taxation was being increased to help pay the war debt.

Lack of confidence in the Provincial Government was accompanied by concern about the farmer's future. The contraction of foreign markets was a worry to cattlemen and fruit-growers. The overseas apple market was almost completely cut off in the spring of 1917 when Lloyd George announced that shipping space must be conserved for more important cargoes.⁵ Furthermore, production costs were mounting as labour became scarcer. As enlistments in the army increased, and the shipbuilding and base-metal industries expanded, the countryside was almost drained of its labour force. By the beginning of 1917 the plight of the farmer was so serious that applications for loans under the "Agricultural Credits Act" of the Bowser government stood at \$2,500,000.⁶

In November, 1916, the Cowichan Creamery Association took the initiative in a movement to unite farmers. The Vancouver Island Farmers' Union, with some 100 members, was created, and a provisional committee was set up to invite representatives of Farmers' Institutes to meet in convention in Victoria on February 16, 1917. The call for the convention went out under the names of R. M. Palmer, former Deputy Minister of Agriculture, and W. Paterson, of Koksilah.⁷ J. L. Pridham became the proponent of agrarian organization at the conven-

(4) J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* . . . 1917, Toronto, 1918, p. 831. Hereafter cited as "C.A.R."

(5) *Vancouver Province*, February 23, 1917.

(6) *C.A.R.*, 1917, p. 828.

(7) *B.C. Fruit and Farm Magazine*, IX (March, 1917), p. 1191.

tion, and, as the result of his leadership, the United Farmers of British Columbia came into existence.

Pridham was a pioneer fruit-grower of the Okanagan Valley. He had come from England in 1891, purchased land from G. G. Mackay, and planted it to trees.⁸ How advanced his thinking was in 1917 is difficult to say, but before long he became a convert to the views of Henry Wise Wood.⁹ Like Wood, Pridham believed that "the great evil of today was the blind selfishness of all classes,"¹⁰ and that co-operation should be substituted for competition. He desired the organization of the farmers as an economic group and representation of their interests in government, although not through the organization of a political party. "The United Farmers," he said in 1923, "never had been, and, he hoped, never would be, tied to the chariot of any political party. Such a body should be entirely separate."¹¹ He appears to have rejected the principle of partyism and to have accepted the Wood principle of "group government." He was interested in the improvement of agricultural marketing systems and in lifting the "unfair burden of taxation put on the land" for the support of education and roads.¹² Although Pridham had thought more deeply about the problem than many of the farmers assembled in Victoria in the spring of 1917, he did not assume direction of the movement, and it was not until 1922 that he became president of the U.F.B.C.

The Victoria meeting was to be the first of many at which representatives of the Canadian Council of Agriculture and agrarian movements on the Prairies were present to guide the farmers. To this meeting came Roderick McKenzie, secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and W. D. Trego, vice-president of the United Farmers of Alberta. McKenzie explained the principles and policies outlined in the Farmers' Platform, and showed the necessity of creating a force representing the common people but led by the farmers to counteract the influence of trusts and combines.¹³ "The one thing we have steered

(8) Vancouver *Farm and Home*, February 11, 1926.

(9) For a discussion of Wood's philosophy see W. L. Morton, "Social Philosophy of Henry Wise Wood, the Canadian Agrarian Leader," *Agricultural History*, XXII (1948), pp. 114-122, and W. K. Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta*, Toronto, 1950, *passim*.

(10) Vancouver *Farm and Home*, January 25, 1923.

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) Hopkins Moorhouse, *Deep Furrows*, Toronto and Winnipeg, 1918, p. 259.

clear of is letting party politics enter into our organization. The thing we are trying to do is to co-operate with our legislators by helping them to find out the things that need enacting into law and that have not been enacted into law or to find what laws already on the Statute books are weak and ask that these weaknesses be corrected—not in a dominating spirit but in a spirit of equity.”¹⁴

When the U.F.B.C. programme emerged it showed striking similarities to the United Farmers of Alberta. The United Farmers of British Columbia was to serve as a medium for united action and resistance against unfair taxation; it was to undertake to “study and teach economic legislation independent of all existing parties”; promote co-operative enterprises, good farming methods, the enlargement of markets, and the gathering of market information; to try to obtain by united efforts profitable and equitable prices for produce; secure the best and cheapest transportation; and promote social intercourse, a higher standard of community life, and the study of economic and social questions “bearing on our interests as farmers and citizens.”¹⁵ No independent political organization was envisaged; political activities were to be confined to the education of farmers along economic lines and enlisting the support of candidates of existing parties for favourable farm policies.¹⁶ At a directors’ meeting after the convention, it was decided to make the organization independent of the Government and self-supporting.¹⁷

The chief difficulty in the path of subscribing to the Farmers’ Platform lay in its references to tariff policy. The fruit-growers, who constituted the group which moved into the United Farmers of British Columbia in largest numbers, stood for protection. Washington and Oregon apples were already competing on the Canadian market with Okanagan apples, and no fruit-grower wanted a lowering of tariff walls. Trego tried to convince the B.C.F.G.A. convention that “through co-operation you can do more than by seeking protection under the tariff wall,”¹⁸ but all it would advocate was interprovincial trade.

While they were willing to draw on the leadership and experience of Prairie agrarians, farmers in British Columbia did not have as intense a hostility toward the East and the big interests. The sense of sec-

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 260.

(15) *C.A.R.* 1917, p. 828.

(16) *Vancouver News-Advertiser*, February 18, 1917.

(17) *Vancouver Province*, February 16, 1917.

(18) *Ibid.*, February 14, 1917.

tional conflict was almost missing in the Province, although there was a tradition of "fighting Ottawa" in the matter of subsidy arrangements.

As a Province which faced the Pacific, British Columbia had a problem which did not exist elsewhere. Orientals, and particularly Chinese, were taking advantage of war-time opportunities to buy land, and their production was competing with that of the other farmers. At almost every U.F.B.C. convention, discussion of the problem took place, and much time was taken up with determining policy in connection with Chinese immigration. In 1917 the B.C.F.G.A. convention, concerned with labour shortages, actually suggested the lowering of the bars against the Chinese.¹⁹ It was soon to take a different stand on the matter, and the feeling of the supporters of the United Farmers of British Columbia was represented in the statement of one of its members that "he was willing to shoulder a gun to drive out the Oriental."²⁰ In this, as in other matters, the farmers were slow to arrive at a policy, and their delay permitted John Oliver, who succeeded to the premiership after the death of Brewster in 1917, and who was a practical farmer, to seize the initiative. In large measure forestalling the emergence of a third political party was due to his success in persuading the Legislature to accept a railway policy, a land settlement scheme, a reclamation project, and eventually marketing legislation, which, on the whole, were in the farmers' interests.

When the first convention of the United Farmers of British Columbia was held in Victoria in February, 1918, membership stood at 1,000 and between thirty and forty locals had been organized. George Clark, an Englishman who had been in British Columbia since 1886 and who had held the office of president of the North Saanich Conservative Club, was chosen president. He no longer felt, he said, that he could endorse the party tactics.²¹ The convention fixed membership fees at \$1 a year, authorized the executive to divide the Province into districts, and adopted as its official organ *B.C. Fruit and Farm*. The resolutions showed the variety of interests among farmers: they asked that improvements on farm lands be exempted from taxation; that the Government assist farmers to obtain seed-grain, pass a Rural Credits Act, investigate the municipal and the school system with the purpose of devising better machinery for administrative purposes, develop further

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *B.C. Fruit and Farm Magazine*, IX (March, 1917), p. 1191.

(21) *Vernon News*, February 13, 1919.

agricultural education, conscript foreign labour, prevent Orientals from acquiring control of agricultural lands, and practise greater economy. The only reference to the tariff was a statement favouring the abolition of all customs duties on agricultural implements and machinery. The Federal Government was to be asked to throw open for settlement after a year's notice isolated tracts in the Railway Belt, and to amend the Bank Act so that a farmer applying to a bank for a chattel mortgage would not have to pay a legal fee. The convention also advocated the amalgamation of telephone-lines in British Columbia, and in the event of this failing, government control of the lines.

General opinion of the board of directors favoured affiliation with the Canadian Council of Agriculture, but the step was not taken. Among the members of the board who favoured such a step was John R. Brown, of Vernon, whose column in the *Vernon News* introduced many farmers to Wood's philosophy of group government.²² He was far ahead of most of his associates in the Vernon local, who, at their first meeting in March, 1918, were content to do no more than to listen to a paper on the "Culture and Care of Begonias."

Brown looked forward eagerly to the appearance of Wood in the Valley on the Chatauqua circuit. Wood, however, did not arrive. In November the new Farmers' Platform was adopted by the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and the four Provincial farmer associations in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan had, by February, 1919, subscribed to it. The way was now open for local Federal constituencies in these Provinces to organize political groups to nominate and elect candidates who would pledge themselves to support the platform. Action was contemplated only in the Federal field, and as yet the creation of a separate party was not approved. These developments, and the problems they raised in Alberta, apparently prevented Wood from coming to British Columbia until early in 1919. In his place came P. P. Woodbridge, a member of the United Farmers of Alberta and a man of long experience in wheat co-operatives in Alberta. Woodbridge assisted with the organization work of the United Farmers of British Columbia. He tried to explain to the farmers "the great benefit of effective educative effort," which, he said, was "lacking in B.C.," but he had to admit that he was "surprised to find so much successful co-operative organization without it."²³

(22) See, for example, his column "Agriculture and Education," in *Vernon News*, March 28, 1918.

(23) *Ibid.*, January 9, 1919.

Although Wood attended the convention held at Kamloops in 1919, he apparently had little time to concern himself with the problem of farmer organization in British Columbia, since there were important matters to be decided in Alberta. The whole question of amalgamation of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Non-Partisan League was to the fore, and a decision had to be reached as to whether the United Farmers of Alberta would sponsor political action in the Provincial field. In the next few months it decided to do this as an economic group.²⁴

The resolutions submitted by the U.F.B.C. locals to the 1919 convention dealt, on the whole, with minor matters. More important than consideration of these was the necessity of determining policy in connection with the Farmers' Institutes. The convention decided to initiate steps to bring about amalgamation of the United Farmers of British Columbia and the Institutes. It wanted to absorb the Institutes and do away with government sponsorship. In June a conference was held at Smithers. It was attended by the Honourable E. D. Barrow, Minister of Agriculture; the Honourable A. M. Manson, member of the Legislative Assembly for Omineca; the secretary and other members of the Farmers' Institutes' Advisory Board; the president of the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association; the editor of the *B.C. Farmer*, now the organ of the United Farmers of British Columbia; a representative of the Provincial Land Settlement Board; and others.²⁵ The principle of amalgamation was approved, and a joint committee was set up under the chairmanship of C. E. Barnes, president of the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association. A plan for union was drawn up in July.

By the time the fourth annual convention met in Victoria in February, 1920, membership in the United Farmers of British Columbia had grown to 4,300.²⁶ The recent election of the U.F.O. government in Ontario helped to fix attention on qualification for membership in the United Farmers of British Columbia and on policy that should be followed in connection with political action. An attempt was made to exclude from the ranks of membership all those "interested in farming" and to restrict membership to those "whose chief occupation is farming" and retired farmers.²⁷ Had this succeeded, it would have

(24) W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, Toronto, 1950, pp. 87-90.

(25) *Vernon News*, June 26, 1919.

(26) *Victoria Times*, February 23, 1920.

(27) *Ibid.*

resulted in the acceptance of the U.F.O. principle of occupational representation. It was decided, however, to follow the Alberta example and to put the main emphasis on economic organization. "We are farmers," declared R. A. Copeland, the president, "but first of all we are citizens and we want no class legislation. The only class legislation we want is first-class legislation."²⁸ The temptation to decide on political action was strong, since there was a strong possibility that the Oliver government would go to the country before the year was out. It would be unorthodox to accept any but the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and consequently there was again discussion of its acceptance. As before, however, the great stumbling-block to union was tariff policy. "If the United Farmers of British Columbia identify themselves with the farmers' political movement on the prairie," warned the *Victoria Daily Times*, "they obviously must join in advocating that the duty on fruit as well as upon other things prescribed in the farmers' platform be abolished. No reservations can be permitted in respect of fiscal policy, which is one of the vitals of the agrarian movement."²⁹

Henry Wise Wood, this time accompanied by C. Rice-Jones, vice-president of the United Grain Growers, played an important part in the convention. There he preached his familiar sermon that co-operation is the true law of life:—

There is no class we can prey on or can do without. The only thing we can do is to force an economic readjustment on the basis of justice for all. We can't destroy any of their industries, but we can meet the competition they are building up against us to protect ourselves from exploitation. . . . When 16,000 farmers in B.C. can speak as one man, then you can represent some strength. At the polls, unless you have this, you go out and assassinate one another.

You won't have this unit of strength developed in twenty years, but you can make yourselves ten times as strong in the next few years, because you have never had any strength before.

.

In Alberta we have been working for a dozen or fifteen years, but we haven't got 5 per cent of our strength mobilized even yet.³⁰

Following his advice, the United Farmers of British Columbia again decided against political action.

(28) *Ibid.*, February 23, 1920.

(29) *Ibid.*, editorial, February 24, 1920.

(30) *Ibid.*, the Honourable Charles A. Dunning, at the time Provincial Treasurer and Minister of Agriculture in the Saskatchewan Government, also attended the convention. He became Liberal Premier of Saskatchewan in 1922.

Wood also advised the United Farmers of British Columbia in the matter of its relations with the Farmers' Institutes. The plan for amalgamation had misfired. W. F. Laidman, president of the Vernon Fruit Union, who had attended the Smithers meeting, put before the convention a plan to create a Provincial Council of Agriculture, representing five farming groups—mixed farmers, live-stock producers, dairymen, fruit-growers, and poultrymen—which would be substituted for the Agricultural Advisory Council which assisted the Minister of Agriculture. Many in the United Farmers of British Columbia saw in this a device to bring the United Farmers of British Columbia under government control, and they believed that the time had passed for government aid and stimulus. The vitality of the farmers' movement, they argued, depended on its independence. Wood felt that too much suspicion was not good. He urged the farmers to organize in one primary body and later permit specialized branches to grow out of the main body. "What you want to do is to organize your forces on a logical basis, preparatory to that conflict on the result of which is going to depend the future of civilization."³¹ The acceptance of government grants, he said, would not necessarily mean the sacrifice of independence.³² Before the convention broke up, he had a large hand in the creation of another committee which again was to go into the matter of amalgamation. Until such time as amalgamation was completed, it was agreed that three members should be chosen from each of the two bodies to act as an advisory committee to the Government. If amalgamation came about, the United Farmers of British Columbia would elect the members of the Advisory Council.³³

Decision on major policies was made difficult at the 1920 convention because many of the farmers were more interested in minor and local problems, such as abolition of daylight saving and increased bounties for coyote-hides, than they were in political and economic principles. Many of them did not have sufficient training in political theory to comprehend significant issues. When one speaker, for example, denounced the policies and actions of Provincial political parties and rule by a "whipped" majority, and demanded resignation only by vote of want of confidence, the chairman ruled the suggestion out, since he said it was based on an "abstruse point of constitutional law."³⁴ A motion introduced by the

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) *Vancouver Province*, February 27, 1920.

(33) *Victoria Times*, February 26, 1920.

(34) *Vancouver Province*, February 24, 1920.

Chilliwack local to endorse the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture was branded by one member as "political and therefore dangerous," and the motion was tabled.³⁵ There was discussion of the incorporation of a trading corporation to handle and market all the produce of farmers and to supply farmers with "all the necessaries of life from stumping-powder to tractors and automobiles,"³⁶ but the convention would not go so far. Its only recommendation was that the association establish sugar-refineries. The problem of Oriental ownership of land was aired, and a resolution was finally passed that only duly qualified British subjects should be allowed to hold or lease land, and that goods produced and sold by Orientals should be stamped.³⁷ The executive was left to decide policy in connection with the nationalization of banks and banking. An appeal from Colonel J. W. McIntosh, M.L.A., leader of the "soldiers' party," to join with the veterans and labour, found no response,³⁸ and the decision not to take political action "was carried without debate by standing vote."³⁹ Few seem to have realized the importance of the decision to permit locals to put candidates in the political field,⁴⁰ but advantage of this was taken later in the year when Colonel C. E. Edgett ran on the United Farmers' ticket in the Yale by-election.

On June 4 the committee representing the United Farmers of British Columbia and the Farmers' Institutes met at Kelowna, and the principle of amalgamation was again approved. When it came to working out practical details of the arrangement, however, no agreement could be reached. The effect of the failure to unite was revealed in the Provincial election on December 1. In some dozen ridings, farmer candidates were put up, but none were successful.⁴¹

Meanwhile, the directors of the United Farmers of British Columbia had again taken under their consideration the matter of affiliation with the Canadian Council of Agriculture. Presiding at the Kelowna meeting of the co-ordinating committee of the United Farmers of British Columbia and the Farmers' Institutes, J. W. Berry, president of the British Columbia Dairyman's Association, had declared: "There is no doubt that the Northwest farmers have become somewhat intoxicated with the

(35) *Ibid.*, February 25, 1920.

(36) *Victoria Times*, February 24, 1920.

(37) *C.A.R.*, 1920, p. 827.

(38) *Vancouver Province*, February 25, 1920.

(39) *Victoria Times*, February 25, 1920.

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) *C.A.R.*, 1920, p. 833.

power which has suddenly been gained by them. It is up to us to send representatives to Ottawa who will not blindly follow the Prairie farmers."⁴² J. A. McKelvie, editor of the *Vernon News*, expressed his views in his paper:—

In order to successfully co-ordinate their efforts with those of the farmers of other provinces, it has been held advisable by some of the executive of the United Farmers of B.C. that their organization should be linked up officially with the Dominion Council of Agriculture, which is the offspring of the associated farmers of the prairies and the Eastern provinces. The path to such an affiliation between British Columbia farmers and those living east of the Rockies is, however, blocked by a very serious obstacle. The Dominion Council of Agriculture has made its position very plain regarding the tariff. It pronounces emphatically in favor of free trade principles, and advocates reciprocity in natural products with the United States. Mr. Crerar, the leader of the Farmers' Party in the Dominion Parliament, recently made himself very clear on this point, and stated in the plainest possible terms that his party stood for sweeping away the protection afforded the fruit growing business by abolishing the duty on apples. It goes without saying that such a policy will meet with scant favor among the farmers of this Province, and will, we imagine, stand effectively in the way of any closer union between the agriculturists of British Columbia and the wheat growers of the prairies.⁴³

In the Yale by-election the fruit-growers chose McKelvie, who ran on the Conservative ticket, in preference to Edgett.

In its submission to the Tariff Commission in September, the United Farmers of British Columbia hedged on the tariff question. "Free trade and protection offered an interminable case for argument on both sides," it declared, and "it was impossible for anyone who took the trouble to study both sides to make out a good case for either . . . the injection of the Tariff into the political field was a lamentable but apparently necessary evil, owing to the facility it offered for raising revenue, and its appeal to self-interest."⁴⁴ The British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association was more honest; in its brief it requested that protection against American fruit be given fruit-growers.⁴⁵

In February, 1921, the fifth annual convention of the United Farmers of British Columbia met in Vancouver. It was attended by 200 delegates, as compared with 65 in 1920.⁴⁶ The number of locals had increased from 40 in 1920 to 149.⁴⁷ The president, R. A. Copeland,

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 828.

(43) Quoted in *Victoria Colonist*, June 15, 1920.

(44) *C.A.R.*, 1920, p. 129.

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

(46) *C.A.R.*, 1921, p. 895.

(47) *Victoria Times*, February 22, 1921.

reported that a canvass of locals made in 1920 showed that ninety-five of ninety-eight desired affiliation with other farm organizations through the Council of Agriculture, but only one approved the fiscal policy outlined in the Farmers' Platform.⁴⁸ Copeland recommended that application be made for affiliation,⁴⁹ but no step was taken. It was decided once again to concentrate on economic organization, since "the farmers of British Columbia must organize thoroughly on an economic basis before they could hope to become a powerful influence politically."⁵⁰ Present at the convention were J. B. Musselman, of Saskatchewan, secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, who at this time was opposed to political action; Norman Lambert, of Winnipeg, secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, who favoured political action in the Federal field; and C. Rice-Jones.

The convention adopted 107 resolutions. Many of them dealt with matters already discussed at earlier conventions, but there were a few new demands, as, for example, representation of organized farmers on the Board of Railway Commissioners. The stand taken in the matter of Oriental ownership of land at the 1920 convention was reaffirmed.

Although affiliation with the Canadian Council of Agriculture had not yet taken place, seven candidates using the Progressive Party label ran, and three were elected in British Columbia constituencies in the Federal election in December.⁵¹ The return of seven Conservative candidates, however, indicated the strength within the Province of the party which stood for tariff protection.

For most of the farmers in British Columbia, 1921 was a good year. For the fruit-growers, however, it was the first of a series of low prices for apples. The period of heavy production in the Okanagan Valley had just commenced, and the apple-crop of 1921 was 100 per cent heavier than in 1920. Its value in 1921 was \$9,000,000,⁵² but in terms of tonnage this was small. The most alarming development was the fact that the nearest and most profitable market on the Prairies had been able to absorb only one-quarter of the crop. The delay of the United Farmers of British Columbia in determining essential policies was beginning to lose it the support of fruit-growers, who were inclined to believe

(48) *C.A.R.*, 1921, p. 896.

(49) *Victoria Times*, February 22, 1921.

(50) *Ibid.*, February 23, 1921.

(51) *C.A.R.*, 1921, p. 516. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* . . . 1922, p. 292.

(52) *C.A.R.*, 1921, p. 890.

that they could, through the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association and the Okanagan United Growers, a co-operative marketing organization, promote their interests better than by continuing to support the United Farmers of British Columbia.

Before the 1922 convention was held, the United Farmers of British Columbia polled its members to determine their feeling about political action. There were now some 3,000 members. Only a quarter of these expressed any opinion—530 favoured political action and 232 opposed it.⁵³ At the convention R. A. Copeland again recommended affiliation with the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the adoption of a party platform. A farmer with an Ontario background, he was moving more and more toward acceptance of U.F.O. principles. He was now raising the question: "Can we ever expect to get anything better for the farmers if we continue to send doctors, druggists, lawyers, promoters, etc., to represent us at Victoria, be they Grit or Tory?"⁵⁴ A strong element at the convention supported his views. J. B. Stewart, who felt, like Copeland, that the time had come to take political action, introduced a resolution that "realizing the old line political parties have lost the confidence of the public, we, the United Farmers of British Columbia, place ourselves on record as being in favor of the formation of a third party to be called the Provincial Progressive Party."⁵⁵ It was defeated, and, by a vote of 31 to 19, it was decided that the central organization should not engage in politics or use its funds for political purposes.⁵⁶ A political committee of the central executive, however, could authorize locals to put forward parliamentary candidates.

This step was highly approved by *Farm and Home*, a farm journal with 7,000 subscribers published by R. J. Cromie of the Vancouver *Sun* and edited by W. A. MacDonald. For two years *Farm and Home* had been advocating the formation of a farmers' party, and had offered a cash contribution of \$400 to advance the cause.⁵⁷ Its editorials contained ringing appeals to the farmers:—

If we fail to permit farmers an opportunity to make farm life remunerative and attractive; if we continue to permit wheat sharks to gamble away the production of honest men; if we continue to permit the middleman, the railroader and the profiteer to gouge into the heart of the Canadian farmer, he will disappear

(53) *Victoria Times*, January 27, 1922.

(54) *Ibid.*, January 25, 1922.

(55) *Ibid.*, January 27, 1922.

(56) *C.A.R.*, 1922, p. 863.

(57) *Vancouver Farm and Home*, December 21, 1922.

as such, becoming merged with the present city surplus. In his place we shall find the Chinaman, Jap, and European serf carrying on in their low-lived way—soil robbers, poor buyers and not citizens at all. Which shall it be? We have our choice. Shall our farmers be Canadians—or what?⁵⁸

The call for action was accompanied by denunciation of the Government's railway policy, its lethargy about the removal of discriminatory freight rates, its delay in deciding policy in connection with the Oriental "menace," and its use of patronage. "The reptile fund for both the old parties is largely raised by levies on the same firms and corporations," declared *Farm and Home*. "It is inevitable under such a system that the parties who contribute should never be called upon to explain."⁵⁹

While *Farm and Home* was busy campaigning, the new political committee of the United Farmers of British Columbia met at Penticton in April. There it went beyond the stand taken at the convention and drew up a platform for a new party. Its principles were familiar ones in farmers' political movements. The committee affirmed its belief in the principles of organization, education, and true co-operation; urged the Government to economize; asked for the conservation and development of natural resources; demanded an equitable basis of assessment and taxation on farm property, the establishment of uniform freight, express, and postage rates in Canada, and of a rural credits system and a uniform system of road-building in Canada; and stood by the principle that no government should be defeated except by vote of want of confidence.⁶⁰

On November 30 a group of fourteen insurgents from Nicola, Kamloops, and North Okanagan met at Vernon. There J. F. Tener, of Falkland, was appointed political organizer, and John Redman, of Kamloops, was made chairman of the party. New policies were now added. Among the demands were the establishment of free ports at Vancouver and Victoria, the setting-up by the Provincial Government of an industrial research department to aid in establishing industries subsidiary to agriculture, the institution of a public works programme to absorb those involuntarily unemployed, the working-out of a land settlement programme in conjunction with imperial and other authorities, and the adoption of the recommendations in the Sullivan Report concerning the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.⁶¹ This development marked the

(58) *Ibid.*, editorial, May 18, 1922.

(59) *Ibid.*, April 6, 1922.

(60) *Ibid.*

(61) *C.A.R.*, 1922, p. 864.

break with U.F.A. influence, and the acceptance of the "broadening out" principle of the United Farmers of Ontario.

The split developing in the ranks of the United Farmers of British Columbia involved, as *Farm and Home* warned, danger for the whole farmers' movement. No really strong leader had yet emerged, and the opportunity might now exist for "a clever man whose conversion to their political faith is a matter of weeks, and whose heart and mind are merely set upon the attainment of comfortable and remunerative employment—possibly at Victoria"⁶² to assume leadership of a new party. This is exactly what did happen in the next few months. The re-election of Bowser as Conservative Party leader in the fall was the signal for the sudden birth of what became known as "the get Oliver out and don't let Bowser in" party. With amazing speed, it made plans to infiltrate the ranks of the U.F.B.C. political committee at its next meeting in Vernon in January, 1923.

One of the organizers of the new movement was John Nelson, an able newspaper-man who had been associated in turn with the *Victoria Daily Times*, the *Vancouver News-Advertiser*, and the *Vancouver World*. The 1922 convention had adopted his journal, *United Farmer*, as its organ, but, according to *Farm and Home*, he had later hoped to have it adopted by the Conservative Party, and when it refused he left the party.⁶³ Major-General A. D. McRae, however, was the real force in the new movement. After making a fortune in colonization projects on the Prairies and in lumbering and fisheries in British Columbia, and after having had a distinguished war-time career as Director of Supply and Transport in Canada and as Director of Administration in the Ministry of Information in the United Kingdom, McRae's energies now sought a new outlet. Although he maintained for some time that he had no political ambitions, he advanced the large sum of money that was necessary to launch a new political party.

The political coup which took place at Vernon attracted relatively little attention. The reason was that the message of a new crusader was now being heard. As guest of *Farm and Home*, Aaron Sapiro, champion of agricultural pools, had come to Vernon to persuade fruit-growers that his way was the only road to salvation of the fruit-growing industry, now in desperate straits. His magnetism and evangelistic fervour were in great contrast to the uninspired leadership the United Farmers of British

(62) *Vancouver Farm and Home*, December 21, 1922.

(63) *Ibid.*, December 28, 1922.

Columbia had provided. Before long, fruit-growers had thrown themselves enthusiastically into the work of organizing a Board of Control and Central Selling Agency and of setting up a new union of growers, the Associated Growers of British Columbia. Sapiro then moved on to the Prairies and persuaded the wheat-growers to organize an inter-provincial wheat pool.

On January 13 the political committee of the United Farmers of British Columbia met at Vernon and, after announcing that there was a debt of \$2,500, voted itself out of existence.⁶⁴ Before doing this, it had, however, met with General McRae and listened to his message. "The business-men of this Province are of much the same view as you farmers, but you are holding the light," said McRae. "You must be the backbone of any movement, and we are here to co-operate and assist you."⁶⁵ A provisional executive of fourteen, consisting of eight farmers and six business-men was then set up. The farmer representatives included R. A. Copeland, who had twice served as president of the United Farmers of British Columbia; B. G. Stewart, of Nicola, secretary of the farmers' political committee; and J. E. Armishaw, of Sayward, Vancouver Island. The rural committee which was to organize rural ridings included many men who had been prominent in the United Farmers of British Columbia. One of them was Commander Lewis (ret. R.N.), of Rock Creek, who had said at the 1921 convention that "since coming to this country he had taken no interest in politics as they had seemed to him to be so absolutely dirty."⁶⁶

A tentative manifesto was presented at the Vernon meeting. The Provincial Party was to fight for reduction of freight rates, an improved policy of colonization, a better transportation system to the Peace River country, the reorganization of Provincial and Federal departments to do away with duplication of work, the publication of names of contributors to campaign funds, the examination of all public accounts by independent firms of auditors, the insertion of a fair-wage clause in all government contracts, the abolition of political patronage, and the abolition of the personal-property tax. The strong emphasis on political reform was likely to make an appeal to all disaffected Conservatives and Liberals.

Certain of the farmers apparently saw through the strategy, and Colonel Edgett, for one, walked out of the meeting. Pridham lamented

(64) *Vernon News*, January 18, 1923.

(65) *Ibid.*

(66) *Victoria Times*, February 23, 1921.

the division which had appeared in the United Farmers of British Columbia during the year, and declared that he opposed organization of a political party.

In the next few months the organizing of the Provincial Party proceeded quickly. New points appeared in the manifesto, including one charging the Government with maladministration of the Liquor Act.⁶⁷ On January 29 the party policy was outlined at a banquet at Hotel Vancouver. Among the 600 persons present were many prominent Vancouver businessmen and some farmers. Stewart and Commander Lewis spoke for the farmers. Stewart said that "the best way to house-clean is to throw both old parties into the incinerator,"⁶⁸ and Lewis declared that the ideal of the Provincial Party was "to serve the country instead of rob it," and that "the old parties have not an ideal but they have an object—personal gain at the expense of one's country is despicable."⁶⁹

As the movement snowballed, it became clear to some of the farmers that its emphasis was changing. Armishaw resigned from the executive a few days after the banquet. He had understood at first, he said, that the new party would serve the people, and particularly the farmers, but now "knowing the inside workings of the executive I am convinced that the new party is a direct abuse of the confidence it sought from farmers and is a gigantic attempt to exploit not only the farmers but the whole Province as well. . . . I am compelled to believe that sinister financial interests are behind the whole movement, which has as its real objective the complete exploitation of our timber, mines, and fisheries. . . . This is no people's movement."⁷⁰ Pridham also warned the farmers:—

When I originally conceived the idea of the organization of farmers I thought what a benefit it would be to us, but I recognized that to succeed our organization would have to be one of farmers for farmers. . . . There may be some amongst us who possess a powerful and literary flow of language, coupled with much persuasive power . . . but I say to you that we must listen to them with but a doubtful mind before committing ourselves to anything which might ultimately end in the downfall of our association as now constituted.⁷¹

A Provincial Party convention was held in Vancouver from December 4 to 6. An elaborate manifesto was drawn up, and General McRae was

(67) *Vancouver Farm and Home*, January 25, 1923.

(68) *Ibid.*, February 1, 1923.

(69) *Ibid.*

(70) *Ibid.*, February 8, 1923.

(71) *Ibid.*, March 8, 1923.

persuaded to take the title of party leader.⁷² Funds were to be solicited from supporters so that he would no longer bear the full burden of financing the movement. In the next few months, candidates were selected to run as candidates in the next Provincial election.

Oliver set the date for the election for June 20. The campaign was bitterly waged. General McRae hurled charges at the Government and the Opposition. Both, he said, had received campaign funds from the Pacific Great Eastern Railway interests. The Oliver government was guilty, likewise, of having wasted public moneys through the contracts it had let to have parts of the line built. Oliver fought back through intimating that General McRae had private ambitions which led him to enter politics and that his "deals" in the past, particularly in connection with the sale of town lots at Port Mann, would hardly bear investigation. A Royal Commission found no proof of the corruption charge in connection with campaign funds,⁷³ but since certain important evidence could not be produced, McRae succeeded in leaving the impression that the Government was not only extravagant, but also corrupt.

When the ballots were counted after the election, it was discovered that Oliver, Bowser, and McRae had all been defeated. On August 23, Oliver, by a narrow margin, won a by-election at Nelson and regained his seat and returned to lead a Liberal government which had a reduced majority. Bowser decided to retire from the Conservative Party leadership. McRae turned his attention to Federal politics, and in 1926 succeeded in being elected as Conservative candidate in North Vancouver.

The political developments of 1923 and 1924 left the United Farmers of British Columbia drained of its strength. In contrast to its sorry fate, the Farmers' Institutes revived.

The events outside British Columbia during the next few years had some bearing on developments in the farmers' movement within the Province. The people of Ontario had lost faith in the United Farmers of Ontario and elected a Conservative government in 1923. The Canadian Council of Agriculture withdrew from politics in the same year, and in 1926 the Progressive Party ceased to be a force in Federal politics. The Saskatchewan section of the United Farmers of Canada

(72) Minutes of convention of Provincial Party, Vancouver, December 4 to 6, inclusive, 1923, copy of which is preserved in the library of the University of British Columbia.

(73) *C.A.R.*, 1925, pp. 445-447.

was established in the same year. The United Farmers of Canada accepted the doctrine of the inevitability of the class struggle and decried political action. The betrayal, as he thought of the farmers' movement by the Provincial Party, and the fate of other farmers' political movements, led Armishaw to press for the identification of the United Farmers of British Columbia with the United Farmers of Canada. The United Farmers of Canada appeared in British Columbia in 1926, but the executive of the United Farmers of British Columbia held out until 1928, when only six delegates attended its convention held in Vancouver. Then the decision was reached to affiliate with the United Farmers of Canada.⁷⁴ Armishaw was to be in charge of reorganization. It is obvious from a letter written to the *Vancouver Province* by Edward E. Hardwick, president of the United Farmers of British Columbia, on July 14, 1929, that little progress was made.⁷⁵ The fact of the matter was that both Armishaw, who had run as Labour candidate for Comox-Alberni in the Federal election of 1926, and the United Farmers of Canada itself were too radical to suit the farmers.

In 1929, however, Armishaw, as president of the United Farmers of Canada (British Columbia section), staged a big rally in New Westminster and Vancouver. N. H. Schwartz, organizer of the United Farmers of Canada, was present. The whole tone of the rally in the Vancouver Arena was much more militant than that of any U.F.B.C. convention. The meeting commenced with the singing of "Organize," the battle cry of the Prairies.⁷⁶ Charles Woodward, Vancouver merchant, who said he was raised "on a green bush farm in Ontario,"⁷⁷ presided, and Schwartz and H. E. H. Schofield, vice-president of the United Farmers of Alberta, addressed the crowd of 500 farmers. Armishaw reported that the United Farmers of Canada (British Columbia section), had thirty-one locals in the Fraser Valley, 1,200 members, three district councils, and a trading unit at Hatzic which worked in conjunction with U.F.C. enterprises on the Prairies.⁷⁸

But it was too late to work up enthusiasm. The Oliver government had indirectly recognized the power of the farmers and had devised many policies to aid them. As the *Province* said, "with doubts and

(74) *Vancouver Province*, February 22, 1928.

(75) Letter of Edward E. Hardwick to the editor, *ibid.*, July 14, 1929.

(76) See other battle cries in P. F. Sharp, *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada*, Minneapolis, 1948, pp. 63-64.

(77) *Vancouver Province*, August 31, 1929.

(78) *Ibid.*

misgivings, perhaps with a sort of despair, certainly with an almost pathetic readiness to give the farmers pretty nearly anything they could agree upon among themselves, the Legislature has swelled the statute book with enactments for the relief of the farmer."⁷⁹ Furthermore, professional organizations similar to those which had existed at an early date were solving some of the marketing problems, and the Oliver government was only too willing to assist such work through marketing legislation. The Sumas reclamation scheme had been carried through, the land settlement and irrigation project in the Southern Okanagan was past its most critical phase, and a moratorium had been declared on the irrigation debts of the Okanagan fruit-growers. As compared with the only practical measure of assistance of the United Farmers of British Columbia, the issuing free of stumping-powder, this was a good record. It appeared as if the early pattern of self-help and some paternalistic assistance might serve the farmers best after all.

The failure to organize a third-party movement was partly due to the great diversity of agriculture and the separation of geographical areas within the Province, partly to the strong individualism of the farmers, partly that direction was sought from outside the Province, and partly to the fact that the incidence of the recession of the early twenties was not the same in all parts of the Province. In addition to these factors, one must take into account the conservative outlook of the farmers and remember that most of them were disaffected Conservatives. This movement sprang out of the Conservative Party rather than, as on the Prairies, out of the Liberal Party. The only real radical in the movement was Armishaw, who had probably been influenced by socialist thought, which was strong on Vancouver Island.

Only one foot-note needs to be added to this story. In 1936 the United Farmers of Canada (British Columbia section) announced its intention to co-ordinate its efforts with those of such other groups in Vancouver as the People's Party and Technocrats under the banner of the British Columbia Social Credit League.⁸⁰ The aim was to be the election of a Social Credit government in British Columbia. Was a fusion of political and economic principles in Alberta and British Columbia going to take place in the future?

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

MARGARET A. ORMSBY.

(79) *Ibid.*, editorial.

(80) *Ibid.*, July 15, 1936.

THE CHOOSING OF THE CAPITAL OF CANADA

The visitor who stands on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to-day may admire the stately Gothic of the Parliament Buildings and may take note of the many reminders of the history of Canada, past, present, and even future. But he may have scant knowledge or appreciation of the Parliamentary wrangling and sectional animosity which filled up most of a generation before construction of government buildings in "one certain place" began. The following account attempts to trace out some of the Parliamentary proceedings before and after the Queen's decision of 1857.

From the cession of Canada to Britain in 1763 the capital of Canada remained at Quebec, and Quebec continued as capital of the Province of Lower Canada from 1791 until the suspension of the Constitution in 1837. The capital of Upper Canada, after the first meeting of the Legislature at Newark, was removed to York (named Toronto after 1834), and there it remained until the coming into force of the Act of Union, 1840.

This Act authorized the Governor-General to summon the Legislature of the United Province of Canada at a convenient place, and the first post-union Parliament was convened at Kingston on June 14, 1841. In Upper Canada the Union Bill had been supported in part because of an express understanding that the seat of government should be in the upper Province. On practical grounds, Kingston was the city nearest to Lower Canada able to provide appropriate accommodation.

The Union was less than a year old when the House was petitioned to require that the Parliament of Canada should meet alternately at Toronto and Quebec. The ostensible object was to compensate the former capitals of the separate Provinces for the considerable outlays of capital over nearly fifty years. A Committee of the House, convinced that such a migratory arrangement would be generally acceptable and (they said) would result in a considerable saving in public expenditure, drew up an address to the Queen which subsequently carried, 26 votes to 21.¹

During the Session of 1842 the Secretary of State reported that Her Majesty was unwilling to fit a seat of government unless the cost of

(1) R. W. Scott, *The Choice of the Capital*, Ottawa, 1907, p. 5.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1 and 2.

erection of public buildings were first defrayed by the Legislature. After a warm debate on various resolutions, the House resolved on November 2, 1843, that the seat of government should be at Montreal. This seemed a completely new departure, though the Executive Council earlier in the year had respectfully advised Sir Charles Bagot to recommend the choice of Montreal.² The House pledged itself to vote the necessary supply if Her Majesty should so direct in favour of Montreal.

On November 4, 1843, Bagot informed the Legislative Council that Her Majesty's government would decline to pronounce in favour of any place without the advice of the Provincial Legislature. They invited addresses from either House or both of them—

in recommendation of either Kingston or Montreal; it being understood that the selection is now necessarily limited to one of these places, the former capitals, Quebec and Toronto, being alike too remote from the centre of the province, and the place of alternative sessions at one or the other place being deemed objectionable and impracticable, on account of its manifest and extreme inconvenience.

Oblivious to this stultifying of Canadian geography, the Colonial Office replied promptly to joint addresses, conveying Her Majesty's pleasure that Montreal should henceforward be the place of "habitual" residence of the Governor-General and his successors.³ Under colour of this pronouncement, Parliament met at Montreal on November 28, 1844, and in the four following years. But for the violence of 1849, following Royal assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill by Lord Elgin, the capital might well have remained at Montreal. The Parliament Buildings were burned to the ground, and before prorogation the Assembly, by address, prayed that Parliament might meet alternately every four years at Toronto and Quebec.

When Sir Edmund Head succeeded Lord Elgin as Governor-General in December, 1854, the capital was at Quebec, but late the following year it was removed to Toronto. The inconvenience and expense were so great that renewed attempts were made to have one capital made fixed and unchangeable.

On April 25, 1855, the Legislative Council had carried an address to the Governor-General praying that His Excellency would, in the exercise of the Royal prerogative, "fix permanently on some convenient place for the annual assembling of Parliament." On April 16, 1856, the Assembly carried by a 64-56 vote a resolution to make Quebec the seat of government. But later in the Session an item of £50,000 for public

(2) F. Cook, *The Struggle for the Capital of Canada*, Ottawa, 1938, pp. 11-12.

(3) Stanley to Metcalfe, No. 132, December 2, 1843, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 43/145.

buildings at Quebec, carried in the Assembly, was struck out of the Supply Bill by the Legislative Council (which had not been consulted in advance).⁴ It was then too late in the Session to carry any but an amended Supply Bill, and at the beginning of 1857 the main question of the capital remained undecided.

On March 28, 1857, Sir Edmund Head transmitted to the Colonial Secretary "two addresses to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of an unusual character." They were from the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly respectively, and the prayer of both was the same:—

. . . We desire, may it please Your Majesty, to express our opinion that the interests of Canada require that the seat of the Provincial Government should be fixed at some certain place. We therefore respectfully pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to exercise your Royal Prerogative, and select some place for the permanent seat of Government in Canada.

The Legislative Assembly, in Committee of the Whole House, implemented this petition by resolving to appropriate a sum not exceeding £225,000 for "providing the necessary buildings and accommodation for the Government and Legislature, at such place as Her Majesty may see fit to select."

The Governor's covering dispatch reviewed the whole question of the seat of government from 1843 to the moment. The inconvenience and expense of periodical removal had been strongly felt, but this plan had done some good in softening prejudices and removing misconceptions.⁵ He then wrote:—

My own conviction was, and is, that the matter ought to be definitely settled. To keep it open is to maintain in full flow a constant source of local bitterness and sectional animosity, which by a little management, can always be turned against the Government of the day; nor is this the worst consequence of its unsettled condition. If the Province of Canada is to remain one, it is essential that its seat of Government should be fixed and recognized by all.

Head entertained no doubt that Her Majesty's prerogative enabled her to summon the Parliament wherever she might please, but Her Majesty, with a desire to meet the wishes of the people of Canada, had in practice graciously left the matter to be determined by those most

(4) R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24. See also Head to Labouchere, March 28, 1857, *P.R.O.*, *G.D.* 6/69.

(5) Sir Arthur Hardinge, writing of Lord Carnarvon's connection with the question of the capital, says that the migratory arrangement "tended to perpetuate the remembrance of old rivalries and jealousies between the French and British elements." Sir A. A. H. Hardinge, *The Fourth Earl of Carnarvon*, London, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 286–287.

immediately interested in it. It now appeared to a majority of both branches of the Legislature that the question was one unlikely to be arranged satisfactorily by themselves. The Governor was careful to remark that by these addresses the Legislature in no way renounced or disclaimed its own capacity for self-government, nor did its members, by referring the question to the Queen, intend to establish a principle "in any way consistent with the free and unimpeded action of Parliamentary responsibility in Canada." The matter was obviously one of exceptional character, and Head frankly said that nothing but this consideration, and that a strong settlement was of the utmost importance, would induce him to recommend that so soon as funds for the new buildings had been voted, the prayer of the addresses should be complied with.

The Legislature and the public offices in any event would have to be removed in 1859 to Quebec, and what was asked of the Queen was that she should select the site at which, in the meantime, suitable buildings might be erected for the permanent legislative capital of Canada.

In order to lay fully before the Queen the claims of the several places which might be said to consider themselves entitled to selection, Head caused a circular to be addressed to the Mayor of each of the five cities of Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec.⁶ He asked each corporation to send to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a "full and fair statement" of its respective claims.

In doing this [he wrote] I have, perhaps, presumed too much upon the probability of Her Majesty complying with the request of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly; if so, I must entreat forgiveness; but I have thought it important that no time should be lost. The question must, of course, be decided after calm and deliberate consideration of the interests of the whole province, not those of any particular city or place.

Head concluded his dispatch covering the two addresses in a characteristic fashion:—

It would evidently be improper to convey to the Queen's advisers in England any opinion or advice in this matter on the part of the Executive Council here. The whole reference is, as I have observed, of an exceptional character, and if it were to be finally decided on the advice of persons any of whom (were) responsible to the Parliament of Canada, the great object of removing it beyond the cross action of local politics and sectional jealousies would be altogether frustrated.⁷

(6) March 28, 1857; a copy is to be found in *P.R.O.*, *G.D.* 6/69. The circular was not sent to Hamilton, although this city had figured in earlier resolutions; e.g., April 16, 1856.

(7) The Governor showed this dispatch to the members of his Council, who concurred in it.

Sir Edmund Head subsequently transmitted to the Colonial Secretary a confidential memorandum on the whole question. Though it is undated, it must have been written after the question had been raised in Parliament by the passing of the two addresses to the Queen. The Governor remarked that he had written his memorandum "with no wish to thrust on Her Majesty's government advice in a matter specifically referred to the Queen: but I have thought that I may be expected not to avoid the responsibility of expressing an opinion of my own."

The memorandum⁸ states pointedly that the interests of Canada as a whole, and the security of the union, demanded a solution of the capital question. It takes note of the probable effects of an increasing cry for representation by population and of broadening limits of settlement. It concludes that the choice of Ottawa would be the least of a number of evils. Ottawa would be the only city which would be accepted by a majority as a fair compromise. Montreal could not qualify as a compromise solution; it had been "a turbulent town" and was supposed to be particularly subject to American influences of various kinds; and the pressure which would be brought to bear on a weak government at Montreal would always be "considerable." Its defences were inadequate and could only be remedied at an expense so great as to be unpopular.

Quebec was well secured militarily, but to choose Quebec would be to exasperate Upper Canada and to rouse the jealousy of Montreal. The influence of Quebec was decreasing; trade and wealth were moving westward; and all below (i.e., east of) Quebec was of "secondary importance."

Kingston was well situated, "but it is what may be called 'a dead place'" when compared with Montreal and Toronto. It had no immunity from enemy attack. The choice of Kingston would rouse the jealousy of Toronto and Hamilton, both of which were then, and would continue to be, "far more flourishing."

Toronto, despite its increasing commercial importance, tended to unite Montreal and Quebec in renewed jealousies of Upper Canada.

(8) The memorandum, together with the original correspondence on the subject, was printed for the confidential use of the Colonial Office. A copy endorsed "very scarce" is among the papers of Lord Carnarvon, at that time Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. *P.R.O. G.D.* 6/69. The text also appears in J. A. Gibson, "Sir Edmund Head's Memorandum on the choice of Ottawa to be the Seat of Government for Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVI (1935), pp. 411-417.

Except for the constant readiness of a superior naval force on Lake Ontario, it must be indefensible against an enemy.

The main objection to Ottawa was "its wild position and relative inferiority" to the other cities. Its population was under 10,000, "not of the best description," but every day diminished the disadvantages. The certainty of transfer to Ottawa—at least six years into the future—would enhance the settlement of the fertile country of the Ottawa Valley. From a military standpoint Ottawa was advantageously situated, since it was farther removed from the frontier, and had alternative connections by water with both Kingston and Montreal, and was already linked with Montreal by rail (via Prescott).

In a broader picture, Ottawa would be a convenient capital "however far westward the commerce of Canada may extend." If the Red River Settlement and the Saskatchewan were finally to be annexed to Canada, the Ottawa route to Lake Huron and Lake Superior might turn out to be the shortest and most advantageous of all. Head suggested that the military authorities should be consulted about the risk of attack and the possibility of effective defence attaching to each of the five cities. The Colonial Office requested opinions from the Inspector-General of Fortifications; also from General Lord Seaton (who, as Sir John Colborne, had been Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1828–35, subsequently Commander of the Forces, and Administrator of the Government of Canada); also from Sir Francis Bond Head (Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1835–38). Sir Francis Head wrote, separately, a lengthy memorandum on the particular claims of Toronto (where he had resided). He asked the Secretary of State if he could "decently" give a copy of this memorandum to the chairman of the delegation from Toronto which had come to England to urge that city's claims, but was requested to await the Queen's decision.⁹

Though each of the five cities drew up mellifluent statements of claims, and though Hamilton, uninvited, pressed its civic interest, there seems no doubt it was upon the substance of Sir Edmund's memorandum that the Secretary of State advised the Queen to choose Ottawa.

The Queen's formal decision in favour of Ottawa was announced on the last day of 1857.¹⁰ A variety of "extra-official" representations

(9) Sir F. B. Head to Labouchere, *P.R.O. C.O.* 42/616. See also F. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

(10) Labouchere to Sir E. Head, No. 60, December 31, 1857, *P.R.O., C.O.* 43/151. See also R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 44; and Viscount Esher, *Letters of Queen Victoria*, London, 1907, Vol. III, p. 332.

in favour of Ottawa had operated on both sides of the Atlantic. Colonel Grey, private secretary to the Queen, had visited Ottawa in the early summer, and reported himself as enchanted by the natural beauty of the setting. During a luncheon party in honour of Sir Edmund and Lady Head near the site of the present Parliament Buildings, Lady Head made a sketch of the landscape. Sir Richard Scott, who presided at the luncheon, always believed that the artist had shown this sketch to the Queen later in the year, when the Governor-General and his wife were in England. It is entirely possible that both Sir Edmund and Lady Head supported the claims of Ottawa from their personal acquaintance with its attractions, even though they never resided there.¹¹

As soon as official confirmation of the Queen's choice reached Ottawa, the City Council offered to "furnish the necessary buildings to accommodate the Legislature and the offices of the government" until permanent buildings should be erected.¹² But there was mounting dissent and disappointment in the Assembly and an unusual preoccupation with Parliamentary tactics. One Administration was defeated on the question of the reference to the Queen, but was reinstated in the celebrated "double shuffle" of July, 1858. The Governor-General found himself the momentary victim of some misdirected and rather carping criticism by the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. At least four Parliamentary divisions were recorded, involving Montreal, one concerning Quebec, and at least four amendments mentioning Ottawa, the last of which put an end to the Parliamentary controversy which extended over nearly a year.

The comments of the Governor-General, against the background of his confidential memorandum favouring Ottawa, are full of constitutional as well as civic interest. The first adverse vote reciting the opinion of the House that "the City of Ottawa ought not be the permanent seat of government" might mean (he wrote) that Her Majesty had been advised to select the wrong place for the seat of government, or it might signify that the Assembly, contrary to the express votes of the last two sessions, seemed determined to continue the system of transferring the seat of government from one place to another. If, as the former attitude

(11) R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; G. T. Curtis (*ed.*), *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor*, London, 1876, Vol. II, pp. 326, 331. It was during this visit to England that Sir Edmund Head was sworn of the Privy Council on August 28, 1857.

(12) The offer was communicated to the Assembly through Sir Richard Scott on April 9, 1858. See R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

would seem to imply, some place other than Ottawa were to be chosen, that decision presumably would be taken by the Parliament itself; and in these circumstances the Governor declared that any advice or recommendation on his part would be "premature and useless."¹³

One thing was certain: unless the Act voting £225,000 were to be repealed, no money could be spent for government buildings at any place other than the one chosen by the Queen; nor did this ever happen. The Governor-General could be as dignified as any subject of the Queen in expressing his "unfeigned regret" for having (in March, 1857) recommended that Her Majesty should be advised to accept the reference from both Houses of the Parliament of Canada. He added:—

In palliation of so grave an error of judgement I can only urge that it might have seemed ungracious to refuse a spontaneous reference of this kind, and that it appeared to me impossible to conceive any form in which a legislature could bind its successors more solemnly, or commit itself in its corporate capacity more conclusively, than was done by the Parliament of Canada with reference to the seat of government. It would now seem, however, that my view of the binding character of the action of the Legislature differs essentially from that taken by the majority of the Legislative Council of Canada. My present duty will be to carry out the Government of the Province in such a manner as may best lead to an ultimate settlement of the difficulty without deranging the administration of affairs. . . . In the meantime I am ready to act in all ordinary business cordially and frankly with the new ministers as I have done with their predecessors.

After some stormy minutes within the Colonial Office, Sir Bulwer Lytton eventually alluded to Ottawa in a formal reply:—

In reviewing the history of the session of the Canadian Parliament now terminated, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to avoid expressing their regret that after having deliberately invited the award of Her Majesty on the question of the future seat of Canadian Government, the Assembly should have thought proper deliberately to reject that award. They are not in possession of the reasons which may have led to so unexpected a decision. But they are too strongly assured of the loyalty of the representatives of the Canadian people to believe that any individual among the numbers who joined in that vote, intended a slight to his sovereign.¹⁴

On January 8, 1859, L. V. Sicotte, the Chief Commissioner of Public Works, resigned from the Executive Council because of differences with his colleagues on the seat-of-government question. The majority held it was—

(13) Head to Lytton, No. 97, July 31, 1858, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 42/614.

(14) Lytton to Head, No. 55, September 10, 1858, *ibid.* This paragraph was substantially copied from Lytton's "Hints for Despatch to Sir E. Head."

essential that the Parliament of Canada should show respect for laws yet unrepealed which it (had) itself enacted and should adhere in honour and good faith to a course of action deliberately adopted and to a pledge solemnly given.¹⁵

The Administration, in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the new Session on January 29, 1859, declared that the reference to the Queen, the voting of funds, and the Queen's decision in favour of Ottawa were alike binding upon the Executive Government of the Province, and they added it would be their duty—

to carry out the understanding which existed at the time when the reference was made, by which the Government will be transferred to Quebec for a fixed period, until the necessary arrangements shall have been completed.¹⁶

Sicotte introduced an amendment to the address in reply on which debate continued for nearly a fortnight. He sought to prove that the "ordinary and constitutional exercise" of the privileges of the House must take precedence over any supposed want of respect to the Sovereign. But if this amendment had carried, the reference to the Queen must have been reversed, and Ottawa excluded from the running with every suggestion of finality. Sir Richard Scott and his fellow members from Carleton and the neighbouring counties, backed by the Ottawa Citizens' Committee, organized a skilful and successful lobby. Cartier, then Prime Minister, "parried abuse and odium from his civil supporters most manfully," and the amendment was defeated by the narrow margin of five votes. The Quebec City members were induced to vote with the majority on an understanding that the capital should remain at Quebec until the projected new buildings at Ottawa could be completed.¹⁷ The tension abated somewhat; the Governor-General felt satisfied that the "gross discourtesy" of the 1858 proceedings had been offset, and that whether he then stayed the remainder of the Session or not would be "immaterial."¹⁸

On September 1, 1860, in the course of his visit to Ottawa, the Prince of Wales laid the corner-stone of the "intended" future Parlia-

(15) The dispatch of which this excerpt is a part was sent to the Queen (January 28, 1859), and the Governor was specially thanked for it.

(16) The Government moved from Toronto to Quebec during 1859. R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Head to Newcastle, August 29, 1859, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 42/619.

(17) This was generally accepted as a fact. Sir Edmund Head acknowledged that he was party to such an understanding when he had transmitted the original reference to the Queen. Head to Labouchere, No. 49, March 28, 1857, *P.R.O.*, *G.D.* 6/69; Head to Lytton, confidential, March 19, 1859, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 42/617.

(18) R. W. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39. Head to Merivale, private, February 12, 1859, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 42/617.

ment Buildings.¹⁹ The departmental offices were removed from Quebec to Ottawa during 1865, and the first Session of the Parliament of Canada in the new capital was held in the following year.

When the Honourable George Brown had visited Ottawa in the summer of 1864, he had been much impressed by the magnificence, style, and workmanship of the new buildings. Writing to John A. Macdonald on August 18 he said:—

But they are just *five hundred years in advance of the time*. It will cost half the revenue of the province to light them, to heat them and to keep them clean. Such monstrous folly was never perpetrated in this world before. But as we are in for it I do think the idea of stopping short of completion is out of the question. I go in for tower, rotunda, fountains and every conceivable embellishment. If we are to be laughed at for our folly at least let us not be ridiculed for a half-finished pile.²⁰

Another interesting reaction, in the light of all the auxiliary controversy which had gone before, came from Head's successor as Governor-General, Viscount Monck. Nearly two years later he wrote to the Secretary of State:—

The public buildings are in a very forward state and are, particularly the Parliament House, really magnificent. The chambers for the meeting of the legislature are to my way of thinking in every respect infinitely superior to those at Westminster. There is only one fault that I can see about them, and that is the locale. It seems like an act of insanity to have fixed the capital of this great country away from the civilisation, intelligence, and commercial enterprise of this Province, at a place that can never be a place of importance and when the political section of the community will live in a position of isolation and removed from the action of any public opinion. My confident belief is that, notwithstanding the vast expense which has been incurred here in public buildings, Ottawa will not be the capital four years hence.²¹

Lord Monck's belief was never substantiated, and the question of Ottawa as the capital does not appear to have been raised in any urgent

(19) The word "intended," used by the *London Times* with considerable scorn (September 20, 1860), actually appears on the corner-stone. I have heard descriptions of the laying ceremony from my grandparents, who were present on that occasion.

(20) Quoted in F. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The original appropriation of £225,000 had been considerably exceeded. Including the Library, the main buildings cost some £595,585, exclusive of the site.

(21) Viscount Monck to the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, private, May 7, 1866, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 42/654. Monck was so critical of the dusty roads between Rideau Hall and Parliament Hill that he considered using a boat on the Ottawa River for his Parliamentary goings and comings. Public Archives of Canada, Monck private Letter-books, 1867, *passim*.

form after this date. Section 16 of the "British North America Act" provides that "until the Queen otherwise directs, the seat of government of Canada shall be Ottawa."

JAMES A. GIBSON.

CARLETON COLLEGE,
OTTAWA, CANADA.

CAPTAIN WALTER COLQUHOUN GRANT: VANCOUVER ISLAND'S FIRST INDEPENDENT SETTLER*

On Soke Harbour the author of this paper originally established himself. He brought about 35 acres under cultivation, raised a small stock of cattle, horses, pigs, and poultry, and built houses for himself and men, with a barn, farm-buildings and a saw-mill. He found the soil produce abundantly, when cultivated, any crops that can be grown in Scotland or England; he found no difficulty in establishing a friendly intercourse with the native tribe of savages, who were only about 60 in number. For two years he resided there, a solitary colonist; he then let his farm on lease to some of the men he had brought out with him, and went to visit a far country. On his return, he found his land thrown out of cultivation, and the greater part of his property destroyed; the remainder he immediately disposed of, and finally abandoned the country.¹

In these words Walter Colquhoun Grant "of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and late Lieut.-Col. of the Cavalry of the Turkish Contingent" described his sojourn on Vancouver Island before an imposing audience at the final meeting of the 1856-57 sessions of the Royal Geographical Society, held in London, on June 22, 1857.² In an age that witnessed a considerable expansion of British overseas possessions, there is, on the surface, little in this laconic account to warrant further investigation. However, its true significance becomes more apparent when it is recalled that its author was the first person independent of the Hudson's Bay

* The substance of this article was delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association on November 26, 1952. The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company in searching their Archives in London for material on Captain Grant and for the kind permission of the Governor and Committee to publish extracts therefrom.

(1) W. Colquhoun Grant, "Description of Vancouver Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxvii (1857), pp. 282-283.

(2) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, i (1857), pp. 486-490. Sir Roderick Murchison, president, was in the chair and Richard Blanshard, first Governor of Vancouver Island, was present and contributed to the discussion that followed the reading of the paper. In closing the discussion the president remarked: ". . . it was evident that the island was destined to become a valuable possession of the British crown. The position it occupied, and the mineral riches it contained, with the probability of finding more, all tended to indicate its future value to our country."

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Company to settle upon Vancouver Island about whom, hitherto, only the most meagre information has been available.

Walter Colquhoun Grant was descended from an old and honourable Scottish family, the Grants of Mullochaird and Lingiestone.³ His grandfather, Duncan Grant, the last owner of Mullochaird, a small place near Duthil on the River Spey about 10 miles west of Grantown-on-Spey, was Provost of Forres. He had married Jean, daughter of Robert Grant, of Kyliemore, by whom he had nine sons and three daughters. Seven of these sons lived to maturity, each of whom distinguished himself in his chosen sphere of life. Of this numerous family, four are pertinent to this account.⁴

The second son, James Robert, was born on February 14, 1773, and had a distinguished military career, rising from an assistant surgeon, January 27, 1792, to inspector-general of army hospitals, July 14, 1814. He was chief of the medical department of the British forces at Waterloo, and for his services received the Order of Ste. Anne of Russia from the Czar Alexander at Paris in 1815. Made King's Herald in 1816, he was knighted by the Prince Regent at Carleton House, March 18, 1819, and honoured with the Order of Commander of the Bath, August 16, 1850. He died at Bosford vicarage, Nottinghamshire, January 10, 1864, and was buried at Carlisle.⁵ The fifth son, Lewis, was born in 1782 and, in

(3) A genealogy of this family is to be found in James Dallas, *The History of the Family of Dallas*, Edinburgh, 1921, pp. 550-552. It is interesting to note therefore the family connection between Captain Grant and Alexander Grant Dallas, a prominent Hudson's Bay Company official who later became the son-in-law of Sir James Douglas. Much additional information concerning the family was made available to the Provincial Archives through correspondence with Major C. I. Fraser, Reelig House, Kirkhill, Inverness-shire, Dingwall Pursuivant of Arms, and with Sir Francis Grant, K.C.V.O., former Lord Lyon King of Arms and now Albany Herald, from information supplied to him by G. D. McGrigor, Mortimer, Berkshire, whose grandmother, Mary Grant, was an aunt of Captain Grant.

(4) Other members of this family were: Walter, the eldest son who died in 1807 in India, where he held the post of Master in Equity of the Supreme Court of Madras; Alexander, who died December 5, 1834, with the rank of colonel and a C.B., having distinguished himself at the battle of Assaye in 1803; Archibald, a midshipman in the frigate *Southampton* who lost his life in 1793, aged 18, when volunteering for hazardous duty; Duncan, who held the rank of captain when he was killed at Ahmednagar, India, on August 8, 1803, aged 26 years; Robert, who died in 1793 at the age of 17; and Hugh, who died in infancy in 1782. Elizabeth Anne married Colonel Lewis Grant, of Auchernack, and Mary married Sir James McGrigor, Bt.

(5) Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, Truro, 1892, p. 1204.

addition to a military career, served with distinction in the colonies. He entered the British Army as an ensign in the 95th Foot on February 15, 1794, rising to lieutenant-colonel of the 70th Foot, 1804–24, and colonel of the 96th Foot from 1839 until his death. In 1837 he was made lieutenant-general and full general, November 11, 1851. From 1820 to 1829 he was Governor of the Bahama Islands and held a similar position in Trinidad, 1831–33. On September 13, 1831, at St. James's Palace, he was honoured by elevation to the rank of Knight Commander of the Order of Hanover. He died suddenly in an omnibus in Regent Street, London, January 26, 1852.⁶ The second daughter, Jean Duff, who died a spinster, was popularly known as "Miss Pro."⁷

Of greater interest is the eighth son, Colquhoun. Born in 1780, like his elder brothers he had a notable military career, dating from his ensigncy in the 11th Foot on September 9, 1795. The following year he became a lieutenant and in 1801 he received his captaincy. In 1798 he had been taken prisoner in the unsuccessful attack on Ostend. For a time he served in the West Indies, and subsequently he undertook intelligence duties in the Peninsular campaign with the rank of deputy assistant adjutant-general. He rose to the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel, and for a time was attached to the Royal Military College but was recalled to active service to take charge of the intelligence department of the army as assistant adjutant-general when Napoleon escaped from Elba. In 1816 he retired on half-pay as major in the 11th Foot but was recalled as lieutenant-colonel to the 54th Foot in 1821 to serve in the First Burmese War. He was made Commander of the Bath for his services, but his health broke down completely as a result of the Indian climate and he returned home. On October 1, 1829, he sold his commission, and on October 20 of that year he died at Aix-la-Chapelle.⁸ Colquhoun Grant had married Margaret Brodie, daughter of James Brodie, of Brodie. She accompanied her husband to India and suffered the same disastrous

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 1205. See also *Illustrated London News*, January 31, 1852, p. 91.

(7) References to Miss Jean Grant are to be found in the autobiography of a family connection, Elizabeth (Grant) Smith, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, London, 1898, pp. 97–99.

(8) Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1890, xxii, pp. 382–383. This account concludes: "Sir James McGrigor, army medical department, who married Grant's youngest sister, describes him as a kindly, amiable man, possessing in a higher degree than any other officer he had met all the better and brighter attributes of a Christian soldier." An obituary is to be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xcix (1829), p. 477.

consequences to her health. While returning home she died on board ship near St. Helena, where she was buried.⁹ The only child of this marriage was Walter Colquhoun Grant, born on May 27, 1822, at 6 Dundas Street, Edinburgh.¹⁰

Of the childhood and early manhood of Grant, very little is known. Since both of his parents had died by 1829, it can only be surmised that he was reared by one or other of his aunts or uncles, quite possibly Miss Jean Grant. Under the circumstances it would not be surprising if he were pampered to a degree, as, indeed, his subsequent conduct would, at times, appear to suggest. With the strong military tradition in his family, it was only natural that he should turn to the army for a career. It has been claimed that he was the youngest captain in the British Army, being only 24 years of age when he reached that rank in the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys). It has further been stated that misfortune swept away his estate, amounting to £75,000, and that the loss of this income made it impossible for him to maintain his rank in the army, and as a consequence he resigned his commission and decided to emigrate to the colonies.¹¹ While little of this information can be positively corroborated, it would appear to be substantially correct, for by the summer of 1848 Grant was evidently in communication with the Hudson's Bay Company regarding the possibility of settling on Vancouver Island.

The formal grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company was not proclaimed until January 13, 1849, but the significant details of the arrangement had been settled between the Colonial Office and the Company by September, 1848. In return for proprietary rights on the Island, the Company undertook to sponsor colonization and drew up its own regulations regarding the acquisition of land. The price fixed was £1 per acre, with no purchase to contain less than 20 acres. The purchaser was made responsible for providing his own passage to the colony,

(9) *Burke's Landed Gentry for 1852*, Vol. II, addenda, p. 364, has the following interesting foot-note: "Another of the sons of Mr. Duncan Grant was the late Col. Colquhoun Grant, C.B., who m. Margaret, dau. of Brodie of Brodie, and left issue one son Walter Colquhoun, late of the 2nd Dragoons, or Scots Greys, who is the first British settler in Vancouver's Island." *Burke's Landed Gentry*, London, 1868, p. 156, is in error when it states that both Grant and his wife died in India.

(10) This information was provided by Sir Francis Grant, who found the birth notice in the *Scots Magazine*.

(11) Donald A. Fraser, "British Columbia's First Settler," *The Public School Magazine*, III (1920), pp. 44-48. See also article in *Victoria Colonist*, July 12, 1931, entitled "Historic Grant Farm Scene of Celebration."

and as a deterrent to absentee land-holders it was further provided that for every 100 acres acquired the purchaser, at his own expense, must send out five single men or three married couples.¹²

To date no evidence has come to hand to explain why Captain Grant became interested in Vancouver Island. Not all of his correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company has survived, but it is evident from letters written in October, 1848, that the negotiations had been under way for some time by that date. The Company had already offered him an appointment as surveyor, and despite the rather restrictive terms imposed by the Company on prospective settlers, Grant's plans were on a rather ambitious scale.

Having arranged with the Genl. Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for the appt. of a Schoolmaster to the new Settlement in Vancouver's Island, I have the honor to request that a passage may be provided for the said Schoolmaster Mr. Alexr. Macfarlane, by the next vessel wch. sails for Vancouver's Island. He will place himself in communication with the Hudson's Bay Co. previous to the date of sailing, his address is 183 Cannongate, Edinr. His passage I sd. wish charged to me & deducted fm. my annual salary, unless the Govr. & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Coy. think proper to furnish him with a free passage.

I have also to request that if possible a passage may [be] provided, & the charge therefore deducted frm. my salary for Mr. Thomas Poustie his Wife, His sister in law Mrs. Susan Poustie, and 3 children the eldest under six year's of age, Provided the said Thomas Poustie applied for a passage previous to the sailing of the next vessel for Vancouver. I am also most anxious that if convenient an advance of the sum of £15 should be made on my behalf to the said Thomas Poustie, who is going out as my grieve, on his making application for a passage. The said advance to be deducted fm. my salary. I have further to request that two boxes which I expect from Edinr., but which have not arrived in time for me to take them along with me, sd. be forwarded by the next vessel, & their carriage paid from Edinr. I am unaware what the carriage will amt. to, but have left directions at the Railway Station for their being forwarded to the Hudson's Bay House on arrival in London. . . . 13

From this letter it would be assumed that Grant was about to take his departure immediately for Vancouver Island, but several months were yet to elapse before he began his journey. From time to time he made further requests of the Company. In mid-October he asked that the

(12) "Resolution of the Hudson's Bay Company: Colonization of Vancouver's Island," reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives Department of the Province of British Columbia* . . . 1913, Victoria, 1914, pp. 73-74.

(13) W. C. Grant to Archibald Barclay, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company [undated, probably October, 1848], *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/25.

Company's ship *Harpooner*¹⁴ be detained until the end of November to suit the convenience of his intended settlers. At first the Company demurred and announced her sailing for November 20,¹⁵ but later the date was set back until November 30.¹⁶ In response to inquiries as to the probability of the Company providing assistance on the passage of settlers, the reply was that "the whole of the expence of transporting the men and their families must be borne by the party taking them out."¹⁷

Late in the fall of 1848 considerable public opposition to the terms of the projected grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company broke out, inspired in a large measure by James Edward Fitzgerald.

The H.B.C. are acting as if the matter was at last settled; & have chartered a ship which is to sail or was to sail, on the 30th of this month. The Company are sending out some miners in her & some Scotchmen who are hired by Captain Walter Campbell [sic] Grant late of the Scotch [sic] Grays, who is the only man, I have as yet heard of, with sufficient courage to become a settler under the auspices of the Company; who is to give one pound per acre for land & to bind himself to carry out six men per hundred acres! Reasonable terms for a country where as much land as you please may be had 20 miles just across the Straits, for a dollar an acre.

Captain Grant I am told rather repents his bargain.¹⁸

While there is no evidence to link Captain Grant directly with this opposition, it is certain that his awareness of it made him pause and reassess his undertaking.

(14) The *Harpooner* had been built in 1830. In 1848 she was owned by Samuel Henry Wright, Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, London, and put under charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. Her commander at that time was John Smith Papps.

(15) W. G. Smith to Captain J. [sic] C. Grant, October 23, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16. This letter was addressed "care of Sir James Grant, The Hill, Carlisle." In it reference is made to a letter by Captain Grant, dated October 18, which has not survived.

(16) Extract from records of a meeting of the Governor and Committee, October 25, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/65, p. 209.

(17) W. G. Smith to Grant, October 23, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, pp. 63-64.

(18) James Edward Fitzgerald to William Ewart Gladstone, November 27, 1848, quoted in Paul Knaplund, "Letters from James Edward Fitzgerald to W. E. Gladstone concerning Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848-1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1949), p. 11. See also Paul Knaplund, "James Stephen on Granting Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, 1846-1848," *ibid.*, IX (1945), pp. 259-271.

On November 8 Grant wrote, from the Junior United Services Club, the following letter to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

Permit me to apologize for the liberty which I as a stranger take in addressing you; having however in pursuance of an intention to emigrate to Vancouver's Island, agreed to purchase a certain quantity of land from the Hudson's Bay Coy. & having engaged labourers at the rate of 6 for every hundred acres purchased, who are being sent out in a vessel chartered by the Hudson's Bay Coy. on the 30th. instant, I shall feel much obliged if you will be kind enough to inform me whether the island is so far made over to the Hudson's Bay Coy. as to justify my purchasing land from them, & being at the expence (for I am to be at the sole expence) of sending out emigrants to cultivate that land. The price paid for land is £1 pr. acre, nine tenths of which Sir J. Pelly informed me wd. be spent on the colony for its benefit, he further fixed a charge of 2/6 pr. ton on such coal as cd. be exported by Colonists, also a charge of 10/ pr. load on whatever Wood sd. be exported, allowing colonists the use of whatever wood they required for domestic purposes.

He further gave me the appointment of Surveyor of the island, leaving salary amts. of surveys to be made &c. to be fixed on arrival in the island. Sir J. Pelly also informed me that the island wd. at present be governed by a Governor & ten Councillors, one of which councillors he gave me to understand he had appointed me, as also a Magistrate, justice of the peace &c. May I take the liberty of enquiring from you as under Secretary for the Colonies whether it is in the power of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Compy. to make all these appointments conditions &c. concerning the sale of land in Vancouver's Island, & whether I as a private individual anxious to go out to that part of the world, should apply myself to the Hudson's Bay Coy. or to Her Majesty's Government.¹⁹

In reply Grant was informed that the grant had been completed "with the exception of some of the necessary forms" and that the Government had "no reason to doubt but the colonization of the Island will proceed under the Company's auspices." As far as land grants were concerned, he was assured that those undertaken by the Company "on the faith of the negotiations up to the present time would be respected by H. M's. Gov't." In so far as appointments were concerned, it was indicated that the instructions to the Governor had not yet been fully considered and while the Company would not have the direct power of conferring appointment, their recommendations would be given every consideration by the Government.²⁰

(19) W. C. Grant to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, November 8, 1848, *C.O. 305*, Vol. I, pp. 547-550, transcript in *Archives of B.C.* and reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913*, pp. 68-69.

(20) B. Hawes to Grant, November 15, 1848, *C.O. 305*, Vol. I, pp. 555-557, transcript in *Archives of B.C.* and reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913*, p. 69.

This information prompted Grant to write what can only be regarded as a protest against the plans of the Hudson's Bay Company for the colonization of Vancouver Island.

I refrain from expressing my individual opinions as to the policy pursued in this instance by her Majesty's Government, I cannot however avoid stating what I know to be a fact, that the grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Compy. will be the means of instantaneously checking the intended emigration to that island, of several Scottish gentlemen who were otherwise prepared to embark with all the "Material" which wd. be likely to bring about successful colonization.

As I myself purpose carrying out my intention of starting thither very shortly, taking with me a Clergyman of the Church of Scotland, & some mechanics, labourers, &c. I trust I may be permitted respectfully to record my petition, a petition in which I am convinced I shall be seconded by every embryo emigrant to Vancouver Id. That it may please Her Majesty's Government, to exercise their power of revoking within the limits of this New Colony all such privileges of exclusive trade as have been granted to the Hudson's Bay Coy. in certain other parts of British North America. The High price of land that settlers will have to pay amtg. in all to abt. £2.4 pr. acre, is surely in itself a sufficient evil, to this will be added the overwhelming competition with a powerful Coy. against which individual colonists will have to strive in every department of culture or traffic. Heavy Royalties that on the exportation of timber, viz. 10/ pr. load, being sufficient to annihilate any proposed traffic in that commodity are to be charged on all kinds of available produce, and if even then settlers are debarred, by the continuance of a Monopoly, from availing themselves of one of the principal natural resources of the island, so crushing a check may be given to the exertions of private enterprise, as materially to impede the success of any effort at Public improvements in the Colony.²¹

Even at this early date Grant was experiencing difficulty in carrying out his plans. The schoolmaster he had engaged was not able to travel out in the *Harpooner*, nor were the arrangements concluded with his grieve, Thomas Poustie, for when the ship sailed the names of this family were not included in the passenger list. However the names of eight men—"Captain Grant's men"—do appear:—

James Rose	Blacksmith & Engineer	James Morrison	Farmer & Labourer
William McDonald	Joiner & House Builder	William Fraser	ditto
Thomas Tolmie	Carpenter & do.	William McDonald	ditto
Thomas Munro	Gardener	John McLeod	Labourer ²²

Grant himself did not sail at this time.

(21) Grant to Hawes, November 17, 1848, *C.O. 305*, Vol. I, pp. 559-561, transcript in *Archives of B.C.* and reprinted in *Report of the Provincial Archives . . . 1913*, pp. 69-71. This letter was addressed from 21 Albany Street, Edinburgh. It drew no response from the Under Secretary.

(22) List of Passengers from England per Barque *Harpooner*, 1849, transcript, *Archives of B.C.*

Moreover, it soon became apparent to the Company that he had little, if any, capital available for the undertaking but was dependent upon his uncle, Sir Lewis Grant, for the necessary financial backing. Early in December Sir Lewis began a discussion of the project with the Company. In a personal note to Sir John Pelly he stated that he would "take an early opportunity of arranging with him for the passage money of the Men sent out to Vancouver's Island," and that he would discuss the matter of the purchase of the requisite amount of land.²³ On January 24, 1849, Pelly, in reply, pointed out that payment for the land and passages was now due, and he enclosed a copy of the account with Captain Grant as it then stood:—

Appropriation of Capt. Grants first years Salary	
passage of Grieve & Wife to Vancouver's Island	£40-
Do. of Schoolmaster	20-
Advance to Grieve	25-
Carriage of 2 boxes from Edinr. & expences on 3 casks of whiskey—say	15-
	<hr/> 100- ²⁴

This was obviously based upon Grant's original request to the Company. It is suspected that Sir Lewis was not aware of this commitment and was concerning himself only with the eight men sent out in the *Harpooner*, for in acknowledging this letter four days later Sir Lewis noted "a difference from the account of £5 per man for passages which the Captain has not yet explained."²⁵ In the interim Sir Lewis and Pelly had discussed the question of land purchase at an interview held at the Bank of England, and arrangements were made for a further conference on January 31.²⁶

The differences were resolved to a degree at least, for in February Sir Lewis outlined his position in a long letter to the Company.

Capt. W. C. Grant appears to have now some intention of taking his Dep. for Vancouver, but as I conceive there may be interruptions to this in the course of the long distance between this Country and that Island, I should hope you would not be particular with him either in respect to the quantity of land he may have bespoken or in respect to his immediate payment for the ultimate quantity which may be allotted to him.

(23) Sir Lewis Grant to Sir J. H. Pelly, undated, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/25.

(24) Sir John Pelly to Sir Lewis Grant, January 24, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

(25) Sir Lewis Grant to Sir John Pelly, January 28, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

(26) Sir John Pelly to Sir Lewis Grant, January 29, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

For the passage of his 8 men I of course am responsible for the account, and shall be happy to arrange for it by its payment. At the time I committed myself for this I also, I think, stated I should be responsible for the payment for the 'necessary' quantity of Land. The passage for the men was a decided expense to the Company but not so the Land, I should therefore hope from the considerations you have shewn for Capt. G., that in the state of doubt that, at this late period, he will have any men to place on his land if he ever should take possession, you will consent to receive a payment for 100 Acres which is surely as much as he would have immediate necessity for with his small number, and give him a conditional Grant for the other 100, that it shall be paid for in 2 or 3 years or forfeited. . . .

I may just observe that any indulgences shewn to Capt. Grant scarcely admits of being brought forward as a precedent, as he was probably the first or among the first who proposed himself as a Colonist, at least on so large a scale and that this was before the arrangements were concluded between Government and the H.B. Compy.²⁷

From this letter it will be seen that the purchase of 200 acres of land was under consideration, since 8 men had been sent out. The Company did agree to a minor modification of its demands, for Sir Lewis was informed of their willingness "to except £100 for 100 acres of land on Capt. Grant's Account on payment of which, and of the passage money of the men sent out by the *Harpooner*, the Captain will (as soon as possible) be put in possession of that quantity of land." Additional land would be available whenever Grant chose to purchase it. In the meantime the Company had heard further from Grant on the subject of a free passage for the schoolmaster,²⁸ and Sir Lewis was informed of their decision in the connection:—

. . . that if a passage be provided by the Company for the Schoolmaster, it must be paid for, but that advances not exceeding £100 will, if applied for, be made for the purposes stated in his letter, the amount to be charged against his first years salary as surveyor.²⁹

The Company still experienced some difficulty in having its account settled by Sir Lewis. Late in March Sir John Pelly, with diffidence, restated their claim for £270.18, of which £100 was for the purchase of 100 acres of land and the balance passage money:—

I have refrained asking (what you may call dunning) you for the money, till the last moment, the Mail of next Thursday being the one by which the Co.'s

(27) Sir Lewis Grant to Sir John Pelly, February 16, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

(28) This letter is not available; reference to it is made in Barclay to Sir Lewis Grant, February 19, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 107.

(29) *Ibid.*

Despatch is forwarded to Sir G. Simpson who goes into the interior before the next leaves from this country.³⁰

Presumably payment was made, for there are no further references to the matter in subsequent correspondence.

By this time Grant was at long last on his way to Vancouver Island. Since he had not been ready to sail in the Company's annual supply ship, which would have taken him directly to Vancouver Island, he was now obliged to travel by the more hazardous Panama route. It is not known when he sailed from England, but presumably it would be by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's regular West Indian mail steamers.³¹ He arrived in Panama on March 29, and nearly a month later he wrote a long letter to the Company outlining his situation:—

. . . I regret much having been prevented getting ere this time further on my route towards Vancouver's Island, by the total want of communication between this and San Francisco. I am most anxious to commence my survey of the island & most unwilling to be detained, on my arrival here on the 29th ult. I found that the steamer which was expected from California wither she had proceeded with passengers had not returned, & there were no other means of communication or no ships in the roads. . . . Now six or seven have arrived and are rapidly filling with tickets at a general rate of 200 dollars in the steerage, & 300 in the first Cabin. In one of these I have taken my passage, but to enable me to do so I have been obliged to take what I fear you will consider the unwarrantable liberty of drawing on the Governor & the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Compy. for £100. I had when starting from England just the sum of £140 [*sic*] wherewith to pay my expences to Vancouver, the fare pr. steamer to Chagres, the enormous expence of transit across the isthmus which altogether cost me the sum of 150 dollars, together with the unlooked for delay here, where living is excessively expensive cost me in all the whole of the sum which I had looked to as being likely to take me to the end of my journey. Being now therefore completely hors de combat I think it right to give this frank statement of my affairs, which may account for what wd. otherwise be my extraordinary conduct in drawing upon you. I have left no funds whatever behind me in my native country, consequently all I have to look to is the produce of the industry of myself & my people at Vancouver, together with the salary that I am to receive as surveyor. I have written to my two nearest relations, two Uncles, Sir James Grant & Sir Lewis Grant, telling them the predicament in which I stand and requesting them if they can advance me that sum to pay into your hands the sum of £100 to meet the bill I have drawn upon you. Should they not be able to comply with my request, my only resource is to ask you to be kind enough to apply my second years salary

(30) Sir John Pelly to Sir Lewis Grant, March 31, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

(31) This company's steamer *Tay*, Captain Chapman, sailed on March 17, 1849, from Southampton for Chagres, and it is probable that Grant went in her. *London Times*, March 19, 1849.

to that purpose, my first year's being already anticipated by the requests which I made through the Secretary to the Coy. These I am still most anxious to be complied with, without the assistance of the books whose carriage I wished pd. frm. Edinburgh, I sd. be able to give but a poor scientific account of the country. I also requested that some Whiskey which had been sent me frm. Scotland, sd. be sent to the Hudson's Bay Coys. office for exportation; the quantity was 170 Gall. and the charges on it to pay about £7. Of course it is merely for the use of my men, & not for barter with the natives or others. In my journeyings here I have broken two thermometers, which being essentially necessary to my prosecution of a proper survey may I request that you will be kind enough to have replaced for me, and sent out by the next vessel to Vancouver, I am also greatly in need of an artificial Horizon, which may be got at Messrs. Cary's Strand for the sum of about £5. For the advance of money sufficient to purchase these articles with I shall be much obliged, as they are all essentially necessary; as are the passages for individuals for which I applied necessary to my success as a colonist.

The vessel by which I start for [San] Francisco is said to be ready in about 8 days, from thence I shall make the best of my way to Vancouver either by sea or land, the passage to San Francisco is likely to occupy about 60 [*sic*] days as strong northerly winds prevail at this time of the year. . . .³²

Three weeks later, still at Panama, he wrote further of his predicament:—

I write to inform you that on Thursday last I drew the Bill for £100 upon the Govr. & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Coy. of which I had given you notice in a previous letter. I have to make many apologies for the very unusual & I fear you will think extraordinary course I have followed in the anticipating or wishing to anticipate the whole of the two years salary which I was to receive fm. the Hudson's Bay Coy. for surveying. I need scarcely say that in the event of the company's being so obliging as to accede to me demands my best services will be at their disposal for the whole of that period, still I feel that they will be quite justified in refusing compliance with my exigeant requests, although I am not without hope that under the extraordinary circumstances under which I am at present placed you will be kind enough to bring the matter under their favorable consideration. . . . I sold the ticket I purchased in a sailing vessel which wd. prob. be 70 days in teeth of the N.E. trades, performing the passage and have bought one in the Panama steamer which starts tomorrow, and calling only at San Diego, will arrive (barring accidents) at San. F. in 17 days. There I expect to find H.M.S. Inconstant, which was expected there in the end of May and after stay of a week or two was to proceed to the North via Vancouvers island. In her I hope to get a passage to Vancouver which sd. bring me there in abt. 6 weeks fm. this date, sd. she have gone before I arrive I shall have no difficulty in getting up in one of the coal vessels (yr. contract being in operation). . . . I had previously applied for the anticipation of all my first years salary, as follows. Passage of Grieve & wife to V.C. [*sic*] £40, Do. of Schoolmaster £20, advance to grieve £25, Carriage of two boxes frm. Edinr. & expences on 3 casks of Whiskey say £15—total £100. The advance I therefore now apply for is of the salary of

(32) W. C. Grant to Barclay, April 25, 1849, dated at Panama, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

my second year. Sd. the Committee object, I wd. willingly give up all my property at Vancouver, rather than that my bill sd. be dishonored. . . .³³

Grant's financial involvement now became a matter of serious concern to the Company as well as to his family. Before ever leaving for the colony he had committed all of his first year's salary, and the Company had no intention of permitting advances against the second year's salary. Consequently, they refused acceptance of the bill for £100 when it was presented. The matter was taken up directly with Sir Lewis Grant by the Company, and at his suggestion an approach was made to his brother, Sir James,³⁴ who very promptly declined to be of any assistance.

I have no Funds of Captain Grant, nor ever had any, and I told him, on the last occasion on which I had to assist him with some money, that it was all I could afford to do for him, and that he must not look to me for any farther advance, as from the large sums I had expended on my sons and still liable to be called on for by the Expences of one of them, I had it not in my power to do any thing more.³⁵

Sir Lewis, informed of his brother's decision, in due course agreed to honour the bill, but indicated that further financial assistance would not be forthcoming.

I send herewith a draft on my Agent to meet W. C. Grants Bill on Hudson's Bay Company. . . .

I must now cease to have any thing more to do with Walter Colqn. Grants drafts, as I have no assistance from any other quarter to any extent worth consideration.³⁷

Thus, before his arrival at Vancouver Island, Captain Grant had alienated himself from his uncles in so far as financial assistance was concerned.

It will be recalled that Grant planned to take a steamer from Panama to San Francisco, where he hoped to find H.M.S. *Inconstant* and travel in her to Vancouver Island. Unfortunately, Grant's information as to this ship's movements were quite inaccurate, for actually she had dropped anchor in Esquimalt Harbour three days before he wrote the letter outlining his plans.³⁸ As a result, upon arriving in San Francisco, Grant

(33) Grant to Barclay, May 15, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/26.

(34) Barclay to Sir James Grant, July 5, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 139.

(35) Sir James Grant to Barclay, July 6, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/27.

(36) Barclay to Sir Lewis Grant, July 7, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 141.

(37) Sir Lewis Grant to Barclay, August 2, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/27. Acknowledgment of his remittance was sent the following day: Barclay to Sir Lewis Grant, August 3, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 148.

(38) See F. V. Longstaff and W. Kaye Lamb, "The Royal Navy on the Northwest Coast, 1813-1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IX (1943), p. 125.

had to devise other means for his onward transportation. Numerous delays ensued, so that it was not until late in July that he reached Fort Vancouver. He was by this time again completely without funds, and Peter Skene Ogden, in charge of that post, was under the necessity of advancing money to pay his passage from California. From that point onward the Company provided him with transportation, and his progress is chronicled in the *Journal* of Fort Nisqually, which recorded under date of August 3:—

Mr. C. T. Todd [*sic*] returned from Vancouver, he is accompanied by Capt. Grant, one of the Settlers for Vancouver's Island.³⁹

On August 6 he left by canoe for Fort Victoria,⁴⁰ where he arrived on August 11. There he was met by James Douglas, who reported this auspicious event to his superiors in London in a letter that is remarkable for its foreshadowing of the problems that lay ahead:—

Captain Grant arrived here by way of Fort Vancouver and Nisqually on the 11th of August. We had much difficulty in keeping his men, who came out by the Harpooner⁴¹ two months before his own arrival, from leaving the Island, as they were dissatisfied about the absence of their employer. . . .

On the 14th following I started with Captain Grant, on an excursion along the coast, for the purpose of showing him the best points for settlement, and recommending him to the natives. He chose a place a Sy-yausung 25 miles distant from Fort Victoria, where he has the important advantage of a good Mill Stream, and a great abundance of fine timber. He is now busily employed putting up log houses for present use, and intends immediately after getting under cover for the winter to build a Saw Mill and prepare deals and house frames for the California Market, where the former, by our latest advices, were selling at 250 Dollars a thousand square feet. . . .

Captain Grant arrived in this country completely destitute of funds: Mr. Ogden had to advance money to pay his passage from California to Fort Vancouver, and since his arrival here, he has been supplied with provisions and articles to purchase food on credit from the Companys Stores, and I have further to furnish him with Cattle, draught oxen and horses to commence and stock his farm; and in fact, he will be for twelve months to come, entirely dependent on the Company for his daily bread, and I fear the Colonists who are to follow will be equally distitute [*sic*] of means. . . .

I have received no instructions, respecting Captain Grant, and have no idea except from his own information of the quantity of land he purchased from the Company; nor of any other arrangements entered into with him. It appears by

(39) Victor J. Farrar (*ed.*), "The Nisqually Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, X (1919), p. 225.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 225.

(41) According to the Nisqually journal the Harpooner had reached Fort Victoria in June. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

his own statement that he has bought 200 acres of *Prairie land* from the Company, which he was to receive here; and he showed me a correspondence with Govr. Sir John Pelly, relative to the terms of a proposition, for a general survey of this Island; which was not entertained, but that afterwards it was arranged that he should make any surveys required by the company, at a salary of £100 per annum.

I fear that Captain Grant has undertaken a duty which the pressing nature of his own affairs, will not allow him time to attend to, he has not been able as yet to make any surveys nor can he with prudence absent himself from his establishment until it is in a more advanced state. . . .⁴²

It is not to be wondered that Douglas was concerned about the terms of the appointment of his surveyor. As long back as February 16 the Governor and Committee outlined their proposal in a letter to Douglas sent out in the care of Captain Grant. Presumably he presented it upon arrival, but unfortunately the duplicate was not forwarded to Douglas until late in June and had not yet reached him.

I enclose herewith duplicate of my letter of February 16 per Captain Grant, who, the Committee hope, has by this time reached Fort Victoria, and commenced surveying. It is *most desirable* that, as the survey proceeds, sketches on tracing paper should be sent home by every opportunity, as the Companys proceedings in regard to colonization are greatly impeded for want of information respecting the situation and circumstances of the land to be disposed of.⁴³

Nor was it likely that at this date Douglas had received Sir George Simpson's instructions, which would only have added to the confusion:—

The Governor and Committee had entered into an arrangement with a Captain Grant to proceed to the island with a body of settlers. Eight of the settlers were forwarded by the Harpooner and Captain Grant, I understand, was to have proceeded by Panama, but I had not heard of his departure up to the time I left Canada. It was intended that that gentleman should have been employed in making a survey of the island, but as it appears quite uncertain when, or by what route, he may reach Fort Victoria, it is desirable the survey be proceeded with without awaiting his arrival.⁴⁴

In the interim the Company, unaware of the delays encountered by Grant, early in August had written further to him on the matter:—

The Governor and Committee hope that you are making good progress with the survey of the land which is considered most available for settlement, and also with the clearing and cultivation of your own ground.

(42) Douglas to Barclay, September 3, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(43) Barclay to P. S. Ogden, James Douglas, and John Work, June 28, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, B. 226/c/1.

(44) George Simpson to Board of Management, Fort Vancouver, June 30, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

In conducting your surveying operations you will regard Mr. Douglas as the representative of the Company in Vancouver's Island, receiving your instructions from him, and looking to him for advice and assistance in cases of difficulty should any such occur. The Company deem it unnecessary to point out to you the importance, both as regards the interests of the Company and your own comfort, of a harmonious cooperation with Mr. Douglas. . . .

An artificial horizon and two thermometers are agreeably to your request forwarded by the *Cowlitz* and also a copy of Dr. Wies Dictionary of Arts & Manufactures.⁴⁵

Douglas was informed of the contents of this letter and of the probability that Grant would require assistance.⁴⁶ The Company was in dire need of maps if they were to proceed with the sale of land,⁴⁷ and indicative of their concern the secretary, Archibald Barclay, wrote privately to Douglas suggesting how the assistance might be provided:—

Should the assistance of an additional clerk for that or any other purpose be required you will of course select any one that may be disposable and fit for the service. Mr. Robertson, one of the apprentice clerks going out on the *Cowlitz*, has a turn for drawing and may perhaps be found useful as an occasional assistant to Capt. Grant.⁴⁸

However, as Douglas had earlier suggested, Grant's personal problems associated with the development of his own property were of paramount concern, and his role as surveyor was necessarily of secondary consideration. While the Company in London recognized this situation, they had no real appreciation of the difficulties⁴⁹ that were being encountered in the colony. In October, Douglas reported to them that "Captain Grant has had a great deal of trouble with his men and has been obliged nearly to double their Wages, in order to induce them to remain in his Service,

(45) Barclay to Grant, August 4, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 56.

(46) Barclay to Douglas, August 2, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 90.

(47) "The want of surveys and local information has been much felt, persons intending to emigrate being naturally desirous to see a plan of the locality in which they are to settle." Barclay to Douglas, December, 1849, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(48) Barclay to Douglas, August 3, 1849, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(49) "As soon as Captain Grant has in some degree settled himself, he will be able to devote part of his time to Surveying, and should make out a distinct plan of his own lot, and of the lands which were in the occupation of the Fur Trade at the date of the Treaty with the United States, and which the Fur Trade is to have free from any payment; also of the additional quantity of land which it may be considered expedient to reserve for the Fur Trade for cultivation or otherwise, for which additional quantity the Fur Trade will have to pay £1 pr. acre, the same as any other settler. The boundaries and relative position of these lands with respect to the sea and other fixed objects should be distinctly laid down, also the contents of each in acres." Barclay to Douglas, February 8, 1840, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

while the work they have done is hardly sufficient to pay for their food.”⁵⁰ During the winter some survey work was undertaken, which evidently proved to Douglas, at least, Grant’s lack of qualification for the post held. There is no evidence that he had had any previous training or experience as a surveyor; indeed, Governor Richard Blanshard, writing at a later date, claimed he had “only studied for a short time in the Military College, Sandhurst.”⁵¹

The unsatisfactory state of affairs was finally brought to a head late in March, 1850, when Grant tendered the following letter of resignation:—

I have the honor to request that you will have the goodness to forward to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson’s Bay Co. my resignation of the Office of Surveyor in Vancouver’s Island, as I find owing to the subjoined reasons that I am unable to execute the duties of that office in a manner creditable to myself, useful to the colony, or satisfactory to the Company.

In the first place the business of forming my own settlement, and bringing my allotment of land into cultivation, so completely engrosses my time, that I am unable to find any leisure for surveying, & have no trustworthy person whom I can leave in charge during my absence.

In the second place, I was promised in Fenchurch St. considerable assistance [*sic*] from the Hudson’s Bay Coy. who led me to believe that on arrival in the island, I should find no difficulty in securing the assistance of a party of eight or ten men for purposes of surveying & production, whereas although willing to assist me, they have been unable hitherto to spare me the assistance of a single individual.

Thirdly, having been obliged to discharge half of my own men for misconduct, I am unable without totally neglecting my own interests, to employ the remainder in exploring or surveying.

For these reasons, I beg to decline holding any longer the appointment to an office, the duties of which I am unable satisfactorily to execute. I shall however until sufficient time has elapsed from the date of this letter to allow for the reception of my resignation in England & for the sending out of a successor if necessary, continue to execute such surveys as are within my limited means. For these I beg to decline on any account receiving any remuneration whatsoever, as also for any surveys which I have already executed. Should any advances have already been made of my salary of £100 pr. ann. for the passage of labourers, or in any other way, I shall take the earliest opportunity of remitting the same. . . . Herewith I forward a sketch of such portions of the south coast of the island without the claim of the Hudsons Bay Coy. as appear fit for purposes of colonization. . . .⁵²

(50) Douglas to the Governor and Committee, October 27, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(51) Blanshard to Grey, April 28, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(52) Grant to Douglas, March 25, 1850, enclosed in Douglas to Barclay, April 3, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

Douglas promptly forwarded this communication to the Company and in his covering letter added his own comments:—

A letter from Capt. Grant is herewith forwarded containing his resignation of the Office of Surveyor. He will however continue to execute such surveys, as are within his limited means until there is time to send out a person from England to replace him. . . .

I may . . . observe . . . that he never applied to me for assistance in men, to carry on his surveys, as however short handed I would have made a point to procure at least one white man with any number of Indians required to assist him. In a former letter, I gave my opinion as to the value of Captain Grants services as a surveyor, which remains unaltered, not having as yet furnished a single survey, though he is now engaged in preparing several sketches, which he assures me will be ready in time to accompany this letter. . . .

P.S.—A sketch of the south coast of Vancouver Island, by W. C. Grant, is just received and herewith forwarded.⁵³

Writing a month later Douglas reported to Barclay that no further work had been undertaken and that consequently no sketches could be sent, adding wryly, “neither do I suppose that he will ever accomplish the surveys you have so repeatedly required me to produce.” The basis of the new arrangement with Grant was set out in detail:—

I would have, long ere this, employed another person to make these surveys, had it not been for the heavy charges, exceeding 20 Dollars per diem, made by surveyors in the Columbia, where alone I could procure such assistance.

I have proposed to Captain Grant to make a survey of the District of Victoria and have agreed to pay him at the rate of 10 Dollars a Day, but he had not yet assented to the proposal.⁵⁴

(53) Douglas to Barclay, April 3, 1850, *ibid.* Unfortunately this sketch does not appear to have survived in the Archives of the Company in London. The Company were evidently under no illusions as to Grant's capabilities as a surveyor. “The report you make of Captain Grant's qualifications as a settler and surveyor & his general habits & character corresponds very closely with the estimate I had formed of them from information that reached me last year. It is clear we cannot trust to his services as a Surveyor & I have urged strongly on the Company the propriety of authorising me to engage a duly qualified person in this country as Clerk & Surveyor, or that such a person be engaged & sent from England. A Canadian would in my opinion be preferable, as he would be more au fait at forest work than an Englishman & I think could be engaged on more advantageous terms.” Simpson to Douglas, March 26, 1850, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C. Sir John Pelly, however, justified his appointment as far as possible: “On the subject of Capt. Grant's efficiency as a Surveyor I can only say that he was recommended to me as peculiarly qualified for the work he had to perform. But when it was found that he neglected his duties, another Surveyor of proved ability was sent out. . . .” Pelly to Grey, September 10, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 8/6, p. 106.

(54) Douglas to Barclay, May 16, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Douglas's worries were still far from being at an end, for, after vacillating, Grant finally accepted the offer Douglas had made, but the Company, when they became aware of its provisions, refused to give it consideration and, in effect, rebuked Douglas for his action.

The Committee . . . are much surprised that you should have proposed to him to make a survey of the district of Victoria at the rate of \$10 pr. day after he had given up his appointment of £100 pr. Annum for two years for all the surveys he could make in his spare time, and although you are of opinion that he never would accomplish what he undertook to do. It appears from your letter (of the 16th May) that he had not assented to this proposal but in a letter dated the 20th May he informs the Governor that he has. The Outline sketch transmitted in your letter of the 3rd April is of little or no use, and taking his whole conduct into consideration the Committee cannot confirm the proposed arrangement.⁵⁵

Prior to this the Committee had already informed Grant of the acceptance of his resignation,⁵⁶ and they now informed him of their decision on the new proposal:—

. . . I am to acquaint you that it will be a matter for the future consideration of the Governor and Committee whether they will give their sanction to such an arrangement, as they were induced to absolve you from your original engagement to make surveys, by your positive assertion that you could not fulfil it, owing to your other avocations.⁵⁷

Long before this word reached Vancouver Island, Grant had again been at work,⁵⁸ and on September 16, 1850, Douglas was able to report:—

I herewith transmit a Diagram of the 'Fur Trade Reserve' at Fort Victoria executed by Captain Grant from the survey made by him during the past summer—which is not yet finished; but he assures me he will soon complete it, or at least furnish a complete sketch of the portion that has been surveyed. The Diagram will I fear be of little use beyond giving an idea of the extent of the Reserve, which does not widely differ from the estimate given in one of my letters.⁵⁹

(55) Barclay to Douglas, August 16, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. This criticism hardly seems fair in the light of a former opinion: "A sketch, however rough, would convey a much better idea of the localities than any mere description can do." Barclay to Douglas, May 3, 1850, *ibid.*

(56) Barclay to Grant, July 5, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 153.

(57) Barclay to Grant, August 9, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, pp. 157–159d.

(58) "Captain Grant has been employed since the month of May, in making a survey of the Fur Trade Reserve, but has not yet finished the outline, though he continues to work pretty steadily. . . ." Douglas to Barclay, September 1, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(59) Douglas to Barclay, September 16, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72. Unfortunately this sketch, like its predecessor, does not appear to have survived in the Archives of the Company.

In presenting this "Diagram," Grant wrote a long letter descriptive of his efforts, which may to all intents and purposes be considered the first report of the Surveyor of Vancouver Island:—

Ft. Victoria, Sepr. 10, 1850.

Sir:

I beg to report my having concluded the survey of Victoria district as far as Trial Island. The thick fog & smoke which at present so overclouds the district that I cannot see above 300 yards in any direction, utterly prevents my surveying any more at present with any accuracy, even were it not so I cd. not absent myself longer from my own settlement, unless I made up my mind to abandon it altogether, everything going to ruin during my absence. For the same reason, which is the more pressing as it is now harvest time, I am quite unable to finish a complete Sketch of what I have surveyed, previous to the sailing of the Norman Morrison [*sic*] for England. As therefore rough Sketches of the district have already been sent home, I prefer sending you a diagram which accurately represents the superficial content of the district.

The triangles numbered 4 & 5 in the diagram contain nearly all the portion which has not been finished, indeed all the northern portion of no. 4 has already been surveyed & divided into allotments [*sic*] of $\frac{1}{2}$ Sqr. miles. The whole district gives a gross area of 22 Sq. M. 628 Ac. O R 31 P. $2\frac{1}{2}$ Sq. Yds. of which roughly one third may be said to be covered with woodland one third plain arable, & the remainder Rock & Swamp. In justice to myself I may remark that the assistance with which I was furnished was wholly insufficient for carrying on operations rapidly, otherwise I have no doubt, the whole wd. already been finished. 2 men fresh from England who had scarcely ever seen an axe before in their lives, & two Indians who were still more useless, completed my party, with the exception of Mr. Robertson who spoiled all my instruments during the fortnight that he remained with me, & then ran away to Nisqually, his presence having been rather a hindrance than any assistance to me.

I have to express my thanks for your kindness in remunerating me for the assistance of the American deserters whom I employed, & without whom the survey wd. not have been nearly in so advanced a state as it is. I may further remark in justice to you Sir, that though the surveying party was inadequate for the purpose, I do not conceive that from the necessary work of yr. establishment, you could possibly have spared a single other individual to place at my disposal.

A year has now passed since my arrival on Vancouver's Island, & though I neither think myself entitled to, nor wish to receive the Salary of £100 which was promised me, still I conceive I am entitled to the merit of having to the utmost of my power under the circumstances performed the promises regarding Surveys which I made to Sir John Pelly. I have made such general Surveys as I have had time for, & I have also by private contract made such particular surveys for the sale of land, as the assistance with which I was furnished enabled me to do. I have also laid out allotments [*sic*] for all the colonists that have come to the island, Mr. Tod unfortunately being the only one. If others had come, I sd. have had no difficulty in laying out allotments [*sic*] for them, as soon as they had chosen their position. I have made Mr. Tod's allotment [*sic*] of 100 acres 440 yards

broad along the sea coast, with a depth of 1100 yards towards the interior. I shall take the earliest possible opportunity of completing a Sketch, & forwarding a copy of it to London, & if spared till next season shall have much pleasure, if enabled to do so, in finishing the survey of the Victoria district, or in giving such information to any other surveyor who may come out, as will enable him with ease to continue my lines. I beg to refer to my previous letter, resigning the appointment of surveyor. The Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Coy. will I trust understand from it, that I am unwilling to be answerable for furnishing them with surveys, which I have neither the time or opportunity for executing. I have to acknowledge the receipt of £200 on a/c of the survey on which I have lately been engaged, and upwards of two thirds of the survey being completed, I have the honor to apply for an additional £100 for the immediate purpose of provisioning my establishment.

I have the honor to be
Sir Yr most obedt. Servt.
W. Colqn. Grant⁶⁰

To J. Douglas Esqr.

This proved to be Grant's last effort at fulfilling any of the functions of surveyor. It only remained for Douglas some months later to reply to the criticism he had received for having entered into the arrangement:—

My only object in employing Capt. Grant to survey the Fur Trade Reserve was my anxiety to meet the views of the Governor and Committee, so frequently expressed, to that effect, in your communications—and at the same time to enable him by his own industry to purchase food for his establishment, which I must otherwise have supplied on Credit or allowed his people to starve, a course which I felt assured the Committee would not approve. By that arrangement he was to receive 500 Dollars for a survey of the Fur Trade Reserve, containing about 20 Square miles divided into 640 Acres Sections. He worked pretty steadily for about 3 Months and finished the East, West and North lines as pr. Diagram forwarded per the *Norman Morison* but as usual did not complete his engagement on account of the thick smoky weather. For that Service I paid him 300 Dollars in provisions and supplies for his people, which is scarcely a sufficient recompense for the Work done—as in drawing the North boundary he had to cut his way through a thickly wooded country . . .⁶¹

(60) Grant to Douglas, September 10, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Regarding Grant's activity as a surveyor, J. S. Helmcken in his *Reminiscences* has the following: "Capt. Grant . . . had some engagement given him by Mr. Douglas in the shape of surveying—he ran a base line from about Loch-end to Mount Douglas, and had some other surveys to do about Sooke, where he had located. He had of course to make a report—and of course had to make a copy of this—so he would occupy an hour and then get Benson to copy for an hour and then some one else, but they managed to get through it in process of time; of course the manuscript in various hands: this for the Honble H.B. Co's. eyes! !" J.S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, Vol. iii, p. 29, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(61) Douglas to Barclay, November 16, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

By this time Grant had left the colony temporarily, and Douglas could only await the arrival of a new surveyor.⁶²

The failure of Grant to fulfil his duties as surveyor was not the only source of embarrassment to Douglas. For one thing, the fact that the Company had waived certain of its requirements regarding land acquisition in Grant's favour had become known, and other persons began to seek similar concessions, which it was not within Douglas's authority to sanction.⁶³

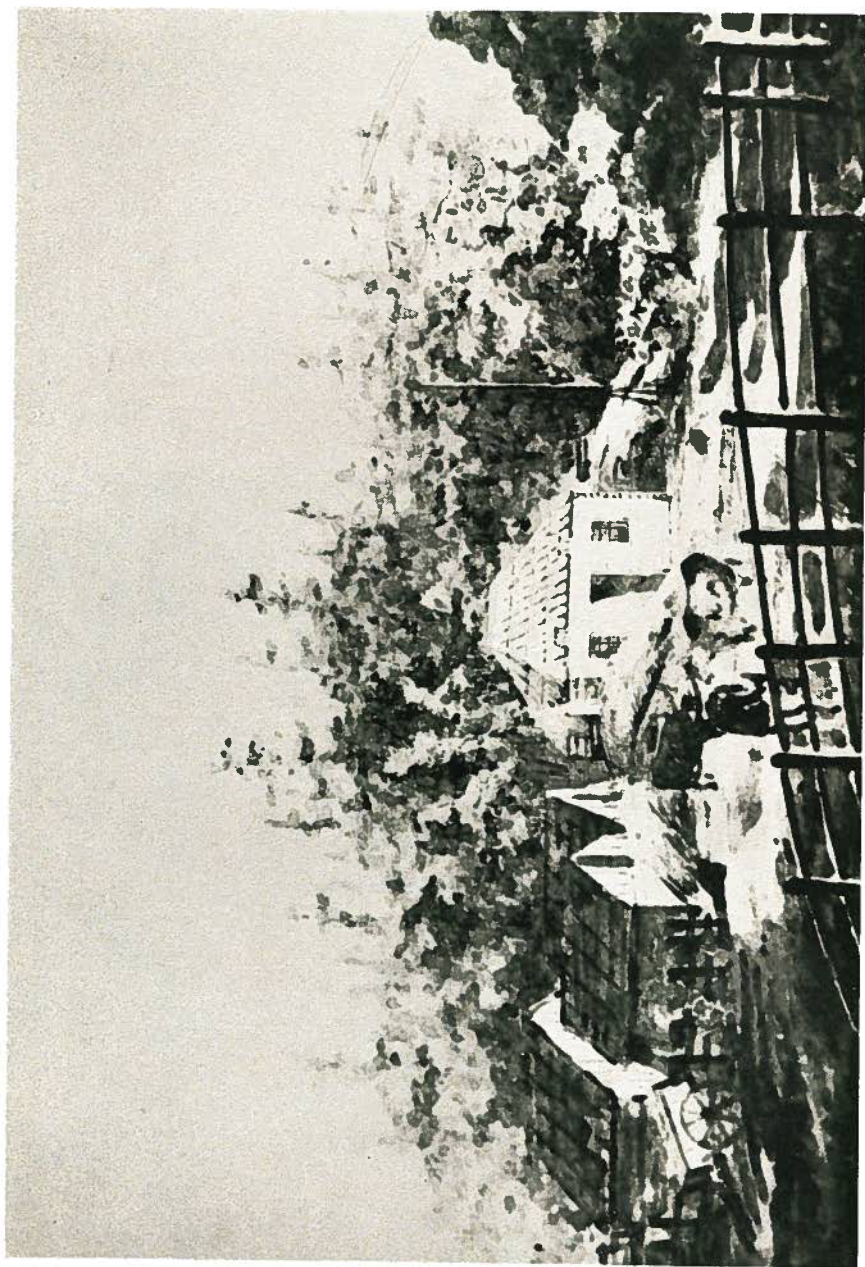
Grant's efforts to establish himself as a settler were of even greater concern. Within a few days of his arrival in the colony he had, in the company of Douglas, examined the areas adjacent to Fort Victoria that were suitable for settlement and had decided upon property at Sooke. The existence there of a site for a sawmill no doubt was at least partially responsible for his removing so great a distance from the fort. There he built a house, which he called "Achaineach" (often also referred to as "Mullachard"), of squared logs, roofed with cedar shakes. It was located between two rocky knolls on which two cannon were mounted.⁶⁴ Accommodation was also provided for his men, and the necessary farm buildings erected.⁶⁵ From the beginning Grant had difficulty with his

(62) Joseph Despard Pemberton, an eminently qualified civil engineer, signed a contract with the Company on February 15, 1851, and in June of that year arrived at Fort Victoria to take up his work. See H. S. Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821-93," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1944), pp. 111-125.

(63) "I have . . . received applications from other parties connected with the service for the purchase of Land at 20/- Sterling an Acre provided the Company will dispense with the Conditions of bringing out 2 Mechanics and 6 labouring Servants for each hundred acres of land purchased a Condition they cannot easily comply with. It having been partially dispensed with in the case of Captn. Grant who brought only eight men to this Country. . . ." Douglas to Governor and Committee, October 27, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(64) "Captain Grant, formerly of the Scots Greys, who settled at Soake [sic], has left his land to his servant, who may not be so fortunate in intimidating the Indians as his master was by exhibiting the effect of two small pieces of ordnance. . . ." Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby to the Secretary of the Admiralty, July 7, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 8/6, p. 117d.

(65) The contemporary sepia sketch of Grant's establishment, which is reproduced in this *Quarterly*, was made by one of the visiting Royal Navy personnel by the initials "J.T.M." The picture, originally owned by John Muir, who acquired Grant's property, was made available to the Archives of B.C. by the family of D. R. W. Muir. "It is satisfactory to learn . . . that Captain Grant had arrived and fixed on his lot of land, 100 acres, and that he with his servants were proceeding vigorously with the buildings and preparations for cultivation. You will



(From a contemporary sepia sketch in the Provincial Archives.)

“Mullachard,” the home of Captain Grant at Sooke.

men, who had preceded him by several months. As has already been noted, in order to retain them he had had to increase their wages, and the farm, then only in process of being cleared, could hardly be expected to provide any income. He did, however, carry out his plan to build a sawmill. Some time in 1850 he installed a small water-powered mill at the mouth of a stream at the north-east end of Sooke Basin.⁶⁶ Considering the state of the California market at this time, there was every prospect that the venture would prove profitable.

Grant, however, was short of capital and, in addition, was a notoriously poor manager. It is not surprising to find that early in 1850 Douglas was under the necessity of forwarding a bill of exchange in the amount of £300, "drawn on J. Davison," in payment for supplies purchased at the fort.

Captain Grant has I am sorry to say been conducting his operations, on a more expensive scale than was necessary or of advantage to himself, and I have now given him formal notice that I can make no further advances on his account except indispensable necessities such as provisions until I receive their Honrs. instructions.⁶⁷

In due course this bill was presented to the agent of the branch bank of the British Linen Company at Forres, J. Davidson.⁶⁸ The Hudson's Bay Company were fearful of the transaction from the beginning, for upon its receipt Barclay wrote:—

With respect to the advances made to Captn. Grant the Governor and Committee think that under the circumstances you could not avoid doing so to a moderate extent, but advances should not be made to settlers (unless under very special circumstances, which may appear to you to make them necessary) except upon good security, and payable within a reasonable time, otherwise the Company might be exposed to much inconvenience and risk of loss. Captain Grants bill of £300 has been sent to Forres for acceptance, but there are doubts of its being duly honored, and it will be proper that you should be cautious in your transactions with him, and take his personal obligation for the amount of the advances you may have made to him and a security upon his land and the remaining £100 coming to him in consideration of his making such surveys as you may instruct

recollect that another 100 acres, adjoining to his lot were to be reserved for the present, that he might have an opportunity of purchasing them, to complete his first intention of taking a farm of 200 acres." Barclay to Douglas, February 8, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(66) This was the second sawmill to be established on Vancouver Island, see W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), p. 48.

(67) Douglas to Barclay, January 4, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(68) Barclay to J. Davidson, February 4, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 227.

him to make. The agreement with him was for two years only and a part of the first years allowance had already been exhausted in the passage &c. of the School-master sent out to him, as will appear by the enclosed Statement of account.⁶⁹

It came therefore as no surprise that the bill was not accepted, for the bank had no funds belonging to Captain Grant.⁷⁰ Douglas, when informed of the dishonouring of the bill, was ordered to "take a mortgage on his land, &c., from which something may eventually be recovered."⁷¹ By this time a second bill of exchange for £300 had been received⁷² and refused acceptance, with Barclay commenting: "His friends all refuse to advance a farthing on his account."⁷³ Later his uncle, Sir Lewis, did come to his rescue and paid £150 on the first bill.⁷⁴

The Company's reaction to this situation was very cogently stated by Sir George Simpson in a letter to Douglas several months later:—

Capt. Grant's career, I am sorry to find, has been such as I was led to apprehend from the report that accidentally reached me of him, but he must either be very plausible, or else possesses a peculiar talent for getting into the pockets of his friends, otherwise I am sure your name never would have been found as a creditor in his "schedule." You say his ill regulated attempts must not be regarded as a fair trial of the capabilities of the island but it is to be feared that the world at large may be very much influenced by his miserable failure in judging of the prospects of the colony. For the Company advances to Capt. Grant you

(69) Barclay to Douglas, February 8, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. The account mentioned therein cannot be traced. In acknowledging this letter, Douglas wrote: "I am most happy to learn that the Governor and Committee approve of the advances made to Captain Grant on his first arrival in this Colony. I have ceased making further advances on his account since the month of December last, as he does not manage his affairs with that degree of prudence and attention to economy so necessary under any circumstances and more particularly with his limited means to the attainment of success." Douglas to Barclay, May 16, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(70) Thomas Davidson to Barclay, February 7, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/28. The bank suggested that the bill be returned when due as funds might in the interval be made available. Eventually in March the bill was resubmitted [Barclay to Davidson, March 4, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 233] and returned with protest [Davidson to Barclay, March 12, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/28].

(71) Barclay to Douglas, May 3, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. See also a minute of a meeting of the Governor and Committee, February 13, 1850: "Read a letter from Thos. Davidson dated Forres, Feb., Ordered that C. F. Douglas be informed of the dishonour of Captain Grant's Bill for £300 and that the Bill be sent to be presented when due." *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/66, p. 153.

(72) Barclay to Davidson, May 4, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/16, p. 254.

(73) Barclay to Douglas, May 3, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(74) Barclay to Grant, July 5, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 153.

say you hold the title deeds of "Mullachard"; if you mean the Mullachard in Scotland I much fear the value of your security may be estimated at what it would fetch as waste paper.⁷⁵

Actually it was the Vancouver Island property that was to be put under mortgage, and even in that transaction Douglas encountered difficulties, for until a proper survey and description could be sent to London it was impossible to issue the title deeds.⁷⁶

The Company also had to face the fact that Grant was still considering expanding his establishment. In addition to those men that had gone out in the *Harpooner*, others were to follow in later ships. In August, 1849, Barclay had noted:—

Nothing has been heard from any of the persons whom you engaged to go out to Vancouver's Island this year, except from Mr. Painter, who has written to state that he cannot be ready to go by the *Cowlitz*. He will in all probability proceed by the *Norman Morison*.⁷⁷

When the *Norman Morison* sailed from Gravesend on October 20, 1849, taking the first considerable party of immigrants to the colony, Painter was not included in the passenger list,⁷⁸ but the schoolmaster, Alexander McFarlane, who had been unable to go the previous year, was on board. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the distant colony, for Dr. J. S. Helmcken, surgeon in the vessel, recorded his death on January 21, 1850, from cancer, noting that "very shortly after his arrival on board [he] shewed symptoms of declining health."⁷⁹ Grant later was to object to being charged for his passage money, and in August, 1850, Barclay was forced to write "the death of the Schoolmaster on the voyage you must be aware does not do away with your liability for the passage money, as such money is payable on embarkation."⁸⁰ In addition, there were shipping charges due for materials that were from time to time sent out to Grant.⁸¹

(75) Simpson to Douglas, August 30, 1850, *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(76) Barclay to Douglas, May 23, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(77) Barclay to Grant, August 4, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 56.

(78) See A. N. Mouat, "Notes on the *Norman Morison*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1939), pp. 204, 208, 213.

(79) J. S. Helmcken to Douglas, March 28, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(80) Barclay to Grant, August 9, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, pp. 157-157d. Grant's letter of protest has not survived.

(81) "Miss Grant presents her Compliments to Mr. Barhley [*sic*], was glad to undirstand [*sic*] that he approved of the Books which she sent by her friend, Dr. McIntyre to be forwarded to her nephew Captn. Grant at Vancouvers Island, along with the barometre [*sic*]. She will be obliged by Mr. Barclay's [*sic*] forwarding the

To make matters worse, evidently Grant had been negotiating personal loans in the colony. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, a retired officer of the Company, made a loan of £30 on condition that it would be repaid within twelve months, failing which Grant would surrender "the title deeds of thirty acres of land fronting on the sea between Squsan Village and the borders of the woods."⁸² It is doubtful if Tolmie ever recovered either the money or received the land.

accompanying letter also to Capt. Grant. And when Mr. Barclay hears of his arrival at Vancouver, she would feel obliged by his letting [*sic*] her know." Miss J. Grant to Barclay, August 10, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/27. In reply Barclay informed Miss Grant that by latest advices Grant had reached San Francisco en route to the colony. The books in question were sent out in the *Cowlitz* and the barometer in the *Norman Morison* [Barclay to Miss J. Grant, August 21, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16, p. 154]. In addition, "three puncheons of Spirits which have been sent up from Scotland" were also sent out in the *Norman Morison* [Barclay to Grant, August 4, 1849, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 6/28, p. 56].

(82) This document was in the possession of the Tolmie family and was loaned to the British Columbia Historical Association on the occasion of a celebration held at Grant's farm at Sooke in July, 1931. The contents were reported in the *Victoria Colonist*, July 12, 1931. J. S. Helmcken, writing in the December, 1887, Holiday Number of the *Victoria Colonist*, under the title "A reminiscence of 1850," p. 3, gives an amusing story of Grant's borrowings of a different nature:—

"Capt. Grant, of Sooke, arrived in the evening and domiciled in Capt. Nevin's room, and I turned into the hammock.

"Every room had sporting weapons in it—muskets and rifles of great variety—swords, a saddle and bridle, tobacco and pipes, lots of dust, and the usual utensils, but not all supplied with the necessary articles. I slept well that night, and was awakened in the morning by the loud ringing of a bell. . . .

"Benson called out, 'Get up quickly; that is the breakfast bell.'

"I did, and so did Captain Grant. Whilst dressing I heard the following dialogue:

"'Dear, oh dear, where's my soap? Capt. Grant, have you my soap?'

"'Aye, aye,' was the response. 'You shall have it directly.'

"'Why, what has become of my razor? Grant, have you my razor?'

"'Yes, nearly finished, you can have it directly.'

"And he got it and shaved, then I heard:

"'Where's my shirt? I shall be late for breakfast. Grant, have you taken my shirt?'

"'I have, my dear fellow; I want to appear at table decent.'

"'This is too bad, Grant; it is the only clean shirt I have to put on!'

"'Never mind, old fellow, put on your old one. It will be clean enough. Mine hasn't been washed for I don't know how long; more than a week, anyhow. You can get yours washed, and Benson, send mine, too, please.'

"However, we all got to breakfast and afterwards we returned and the following:

Whether or not Grant would have been more successful had he not attempted to carry out surveys for the Company, the conduct of which necessarily took him away from his property, is open to question. There was the additional handicap incidental to the distance of his farm from Fort Victoria, which made it more difficult for him to maintain supervision over his men and to ensure its protection from the Indians. This situation caused Douglas some concern and led him to query the wisdom of the Company in retaining the large reserve in the immediate vicinity of the fort.

It does not appear to me that the Company, from their position as Governors of the Colony, and charged with its defence, will be ultimately benefitted by retaining the entire Reserve in their own hands as the expense of protecting, the distant and straggling settlements, which will necessarily be the consequence of that measure, must soon far exceed any advantage, that may be expected to arise from the increasing value of the land.⁸³

Grant's plight had been steadily worsening. In April, 1850, at the time of his resignation as surveyor, he had admitted to having dismissed half of his men for misconduct, and by September the remainder had deserted him. In a sense he was the victim of the general economic condition prevailing in the Northwest, for agricultural areas were unable to compete in the labour market with the attractions of the goldfields of California. The result was that he decided, at least temporarily, to quit the colony, and some time early in October he sailed for Hawaii.

Captain Grant left this Country last month by the American Schooner *Dart* bound to the Sandwich Islands and it is doubtful whether he will ever return. He has left his property under my charge as Agent for the Company—and I have placed a man there to take care of the buildings and to extend the farm as much as possible. If he does not return I am in hopes of being able to pay off a considerable part of his debt next year.⁸⁴

Grant remained in Hawaii for some months, for in January, 1851, he wrote to the Governor and Committee from Honolulu,⁸⁵ and early in

“Bless me, where's my tobacco? I left half a case of “Cavendish” under the bed.”

“Oh, yes,” says Grant, ‘I took it, my good fellow, to pay my Indians with! We'll get some more soon!’”

(83) Douglas to Barclay, September 1, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(84) Douglas to Barclay, November 16, 1850, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72. The *Dart*, Captain Porter, arrived at Honolulu on November 1, 1850, twenty-four days from Vancouver Island. Honolulu *The Hawaiian Friend*, December 5, 1850.

(85) “Read a letter from W. C. Grant dated Honolulu Jany. 12/51.” Minute of a meeting of the Governor and Committee, April 23, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/68, p. 85.

February Governor Blanshard, in a dispatch to the Colonial Office, noted:—

Mr. Grant left the Island some months ago, leaving a labourer in charge of his farm. Nothing has been heard of him since, and as his affairs here are in a most hopeless state, I do not think he will return. More than a year ago, he executed an assignment of his Title to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸⁶

However, the Governor was wrong; for a few weeks later he wrote again: "Mr. Grant has returned to the Island and resumed possession of his farm at Soke [*sic*]."⁸⁷

Grant did not remain long in the colony but was soon on his way to Oregon and the Klamath gold mines. There is some confusion as to the time of his departure, for in one instance Douglas reported it as May,⁸⁸ but in a letter written in August implied a later date.

Captain Grant left this country upwards of a month ago, with the intention of visiting the Columbia and is not expected back before the end of October next. His farm is let at £75 per annum to Munro one of his former servants. I have authority from the Landlord to draw the rents once a quarter and to place such sums as I may receive to the credit of his account with the Company.⁸⁹

The first effort at independent settlement on Vancouver Island was now nearly at an end. Douglas had done his best to retrieve the Company's financial involvement, but he was by no means free of difficulty. Shortly before his departure from the Island to visit Hawaii, Grant communicated with Governor Blanshard and indicated dissatisfaction with having had to settle at Sooke. The Governor, who was not favourably disposed toward the Hudson's Bay Company, transmitted the complaint to the Colonial Office on September 18, 1850:—

(86) Blanshard to Grey, February 3, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(87) Blanshard to Grey, February 25, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Undoubtedly it was during this visit to Hawaii that Grant procured the seeds of the broom which local tradition credits him with introducing into this Province. "During his visit to the Sandwich Islands in October, 1850, the British Consul gave him some broom seeds, which on his return he planted in front of his home. Later, when the Muirs bought the place, it was found that just three of the seeds had sprouted. The men of the family wanted to uproot the tiny bushes, but Mrs. Muir protested, wishing to retain the broom for sentiments sake to remind her of Scotland. So the men stayed their hands." *Victoria Colonist*, July 12, 1931.

(88) Douglas to Barclay, December 9, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/73. ". . . the Muirs are now the only settlers at Soke [*sic*] with the exception of Munroe, the tenant on Captain Grants property, the other white residents having all abandoned the settlement. . . . Captain Grant has not returned to this Colony since his departure for the Columbia in the Month of May last, having it is reported gone to the Clammate [*sic*] Gold Mines."

(89) Douglas to Barclay, August 26, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

. . . Some complaints of Indian Outrages have reached me from Soke, about 30 miles from Victoria where a Gentleman of the name of Grant late in Her Majesty's Service has a small settlement. He complains of want of protection, which owing to the distance at which he is located cannot be afforded him; he informs me that he was anxious to settle near Victoria, but was not allowed to do so by the Hudson's Bay Company who have appropriated all the available land in the neighbourhood. . . .⁹⁰

As a means of protecting the colonists, the Governor suggested the establishment of a garrison of regular troops, preferably a body of pensioners. The Colonial Secretary called upon the Company for an explanation,⁹¹ which Sir John Pelly promptly provided:—

With regard to the case of Mr. Grant, I have to state that the Company never received any complaint from him or other information (until now from your Lordship) that he had been prevented from settling near to Victoria. Mr. Grant purchased 100 Acres of land in 1848, and sent out in a Vessel chartered by the Company Agricultural Implements and other articles and 8 laborers. He proceeded himself to the Island by way of Chagres, Panama, San Francisco and Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, and I enclose an Extract of a Letter from Mr. Douglas the Agent of the Company, dated 3rd Septr. 1849 which contains all the information possessed by the Company in regard to the situation of his land. The land reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company and the Pugets Sound Company could not make it necessary for him to place himself at a spot 25 miles distant from Victoria there is therefore every reason to believe that it was entirely a matter of his own choice and selection.

I have not received any information from the Company's Agent of any Outrages by Indians at Soke [*sic*] or Victoria, but I have from the Captain of one of the Company's vessels lately arrived from the Island, that from some cause or other, Mr. Grants Servants had left him, that he had placed his farm in the charge of one old man, whom he had hired on the Island, and that the Indians had pilfered some of his potatoe crop, and stolen some Blankets, and other Articles, most of which had been recovered from them, but that he the Captain had not heard of any other injury having been done by the Indians.⁹²

At the same time, Douglas was asked for his comments. He made a point of interviewing Governor Blanshard before replying and came

(90) Blanshard to Grey, September 18, 1850, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(91) "I transmit to you herewith a copy of a Despatch which I have received from the Governor of Vancouver's Island in which he states that a Gentleman of the name of Grant has been prevented by the Hudson's Bay Company from settling in the neighbourhood of Victoria in that Island. . . . I beg to request that you will furnish me with any explanation which it may be in the power of the Hudson's Bay Company to afford me on the subject of the refusal of land near the Fort to Mr. Grant. . . ." Grey to Sir John Pelly, February 25, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 8/6, p. 87d.

(92) Pelly to Grey, February 28, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 8/6, pp. 88d-89.

away convinced that the Governor "received his information from parties whose hostility to the company is notorious." In so far as Grant's complaint was concerned, Douglas reported:—

Captain Grants choice of a place of settlement was free and unrestricted, except by the lands before disposed of, to the Pugets Sound and Hudson's Bay Companies—which did not necessarily require that he should remove to the distance of 25 miles from Fort Victoria. There is a much superior place, in regard to the quality of land and position; at Metchosin, about eight miles west of this establishment, where I strongly advised him to settle, but he chose Soke [*sic*] Inlet in preference on account of the River which discharged into it, on which he was proposing to erect a Saw Mill.

The natives on this part of the Island are quiet and well disposed, and I am not aware that Captain Grant was ever exposed to personal danger through them. His House at Soke [*sic*] was entered and some property stolen therefrom last autumn, by unknown parties, supposed however to be Indians; in the absence of Captain Grant and all his people who had imprudently left the settlement without a single man to protect it.⁹³

Little is known of Grant's adventures in the Klamath goldfields.⁹⁴ In March, 1852, Douglas reported "We have not heard from Captain Grant since the month of August when he had reached the Umpqua river on his way to the Clammate [*sic*] mines."⁹⁵ His efforts to recoup his fortune, however, were unavailing, and in August, 1853, he turned up in San Francisco. Thomas Lowe, a commission merchant in that city, gives the following information as to the condition of the wanderer at that time:—

Captain Grant has found his way down here from the Mines, where he merely continued during the two years he has spent there to keep body & soul together. He is now working at discharging vessels in order to raise a little money to enable him to get back to Vancouver's Island. After all the experience he has had, he is yet so d——d extravagant that I will probably have to pay his passage.⁹⁶

A few days later Lowe reported that Grant "has not got a cent. He is going to Mexico to try what can be done there."⁹⁷ In this Lowe was wrong, for Grant did make his way back to Vancouver Island. Between September 16 and November 9, 1853, there are numerous entries in the

(93) Douglas to Barclay, May 21, 1851, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(94) For some information which has not been verified *see* an article on Captain Grant written by Joseph W. McKay appended to this article.

(95) Douglas to Barclay, March 18, 1852, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(96) Thomas Lowe to Robert Clouston, August 10, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(97) Thomas Lowe to George Blenkinsop, August 14, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

Diary of Martha Cheney, who lived at Metchosin, chronicling his many trips between Sooke and Fort Victoria.⁹⁸

His financial involvement with the Company was still onerous despite the credits Douglas had been able to achieve through his operation of the farm. As at July 11, 1853, his indebtedness amounted to \$2,169.68½, against which Douglas assigned a further credit of \$780, being the equivalent of his "salary as Surveyor from 25 March, 1849 to 25 March, 1850 and for extra services." The revised account including "all the charges we have against him, in this and the Oregon District" showed an indebtedness of \$1,389.68½.⁹⁹ Several months later, when giving a recapitulation of land transactions since the inception of the colony, Douglas, now Governor as well as agent for the Company, indicated 100 acres as having been sold to Grant and an additional 384 acres applied for on which no payment had been received.¹⁰⁰

Grant had no intention of re-establishing himself in the colony but was primarily concerned with completing the arrangements for the sale of his property to John Muir. From the absence of later entries in the *Cheney Diary*, it is inferred that by mid-November he had left the colony, never to return. Thus ended the first attempt at colonization by a settler "independent" of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The subsequent career of Grant is only partially pertinent, and only the most meagre details are known. It can only be assumed that he returned to England by the Panama route. By this time Great Britain was involved in the Crimean War, and in all probability Grant rejoined his old regiment and certainly he did participate in the campaigns, for subsequently he was referred to as "late Lieut.-Col. of the Cavalry of the Turkish Contingent." The conclusion of the war in 1856 found Grant back in England. On January 22, 1857, he read his *Description*

(98) *Diary of Martha Cheney* Ella, Part I, September 16, 1853, to March 31, 1854, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. This has been reprinted as edited by James K. Nesbitt in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1949), pp. 101-107.

(99) Douglas to Barclay, July 9, 1853, with enclosed statement of account, dated July 11, 1853, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/74. The salary of £162.10 had been included in a "Statement of payments applied to the Colonization and Improvement of Vancouver's Island, to the 31st October, 1852," as printed in *Return made since 1849 by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Secretary of State for the Colonies relating to Vancouver's Island*, December 23, 1852 (*P.P., H. of C.*, 83 of 1852).

(100) Douglas to Barclay, October 10, 1853, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

of *Vancouver Island* before the Royal Geographical Society.¹⁰¹ This was a remarkable effort and is one of the ablest accounts of the prospects and progress of the evolving colony available. Not only does it give a full description of the physical geography of the Island, but it is full of factual data, much of which was based on first-hand experience. There are many pages devoted to ethnography, wherein Grant reveals himself as an acute observer. There can be no doubt but that Grant kept up his interest in the colony; indeed, there is ample evidence to suggest that he was in communication with some of his former friends who supplied him with information on developments subsequent to his departure. Possibly the excellence of this paper accounts in large measure for his election as a Fellow of the Society on November 23, 1857.¹⁰²

Two years later, on December 12, 1859, Grant contributed a second paper to the Royal Geographical Society entitled *Remarks on Vancouver Island, principally concerning Townsites and Native Population*.¹⁰³ When the Indian Mutiny broke out, Grant's regiment was transferred to India, where he served with distinction until his death at Saugor, Central India, on August 27, 1861.¹⁰⁴ In tribute to him the Royal Geographical Society published the following obituary notice:—

Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant, the author of an able and vivid description of Vancouver Island, published in the twenty-seventh volume of our Journal, died at Saugor, Central India, aged thirty-nine. He was the only son of the late chief of the intelligence department of the army commanded by the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. He did good service in the Crimean war, and again in India he assisted in the siege of Lucknow, and succeeded to the command of the regiment of irregular cavalry known as 1st Hodson's Horse. One of Captain Grant's last acts was to prepare and transmit to this Society a map and paper of Sikkim, which, however, have not yet reached their destination.¹⁰⁵

It is difficult to make an assessment of Captain Grant. Judged only by his financial manœuvres and his actual accomplishments as a colo-

(101) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXVII (1857), pp. 268–320.

(102) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, II (1857–58), p. 36.

(103) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXI (1861), pp. 208–213.

(104) "August 27 [1861] Ay Saugor, Central India, aged 39, Walter Colquhoun Grant, esq., Capt. 2nd Dragoon Guards, Brigade Major Saugor District. He was the only son of the late Col. Colquhoun Grant, Chief of the Intelligence Department of the Army commanded by the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula." *The Annual Register* . . . 1861, London, 1862, p. 447. See also *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXXII (1862), p. xxxii.

(105) *Ibid.*, p. cviii.

nist, he would appear inept almost to the point of incompetence. But at the same time it must be remembered that he was a young man, only 26 years of age, when he began negotiating with the Hudson's Bay Company. Probably the best that can be said of him in this connection is that by birth, temperament, and training he was badly cast as a pioneer settler in a rugged country. Despite his failures as a surveyor, he was an educated gentleman, best evidence of which are his two contributions to the Royal Geographical Society, which not only are highly significant for the abundance of factual information they contain, but are the well-written accounts of an interested and competent observer.

Although he must have caused many of his contemporaries much inconvenience by his financial demands upon them, nevertheless, he won their admiration, for he was a most personable individual. Perhaps as illuminating a commentary as could be found is that offered by Samuel Hancock, who, under extremely distressing circumstances, was cast adrift with four companions in a rowboat near the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca and was rescued by Captain Grant:—

We rowed with, if possible, more vigor than any previous day, and about noon met two Indians in a small canoe. I hailed them in the Chinook language or jargon, used by the Hudson's Bay Company and all whites on the Coast in their intercourse with the Indians, and they responded in the same language. I asked how long it would take us to reach Victoria, and they said four days. We were much delighted to find they had some familiarity with the whites, and I informed them we were King George men, (Englishmen) who were lost from a ship, knowing the Hudson Bay Company remunerated the Indians for news concerning any of their lost subjects and thinking the end justified the means, as we were not able to endure the labor and exposure of getting there alone.

As soon as they heard this, they turned and left us in the direction of the Straits of Fuca, and were soon out of sight. These Indians take great pleasure in conveying news of any sort, and now, thinking they had some of great importance, went in a hurry to an English gentleman living on Vancouver Island about thirty miles from Victoria. This kind and considerate person who was Capt. Grant, immediately fitted out a canoe with clothing and provisions and a good crew of Indians, and despatched them in search of us with a letter addressed to the "Five lost Englishmen," in which he said, "I send you by the bearer these blankets, clothing and provisions and will soon follow in a canoe myself; hoping to fall in with you."

On the third day from the time we spoke to the little canoe, this one met us bringing relief, and most welcome it was, for we were almost exhausted and ready to give up all further exertion. The arrival of these opportune friends imparted new life to us, as we put on the clothing and ate the food sent by this humane gentleman. Shortly after the canoe came containing Capt. Grant himself, who, if possible, was more welcome than his considerate presents. He expressed himself happy in being able to afford us relief, assuring us that we

were not far from his house, where he invited us to go with him. On the evening of this day we reached his residence and a more hospitable reception he could not have given his oldest and most valued friends. Here we remained upon the earnest invitation of the most gentlemanly man, the beneficiaries of his house for three days, by which time we began to feel like ourselves again. I learned subsequently that this gentleman was an officer in the British Army, who had left England and lived here retired from all association save that of his three or four servants. One thing is very certain, he displayed all the characteristics of a gentleman towards us, and it gives me great pleasure to say it thus publicly in behalf of my comrades and myself.¹⁰⁶

The restraint with which Douglas reported Grant's activities in the colony in itself speaks well of the warmth of Grant's personality, for Douglas by nature was not one to suffer fools gladly. Certainly he did much to enliven the "Bachelor's Hall" of Fort Victoria, as the *Reminiscences* of Dr. J. S. Helmcken bear ample witness.¹⁰⁷ Writing many years later, Helmcken summed him up as "a splendid fellow and every inch an officer and gentleman."¹⁰⁸ He was equally popular with the younger people, for J. R. Anderson recalled: "Captain Grant . . . God Bless him, was our patron as regards cricket, having presented us with a full set, which enabled us to indulge in the game."¹⁰⁹ But of all

(106) *The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860*, with an introduction by Arthur D. Howden Smith, New York, 1927, pp. 154-55.

(107) J. S. Helmcken *Reminiscences*, Vol. iii, pp. 137, 148-49, MS., Archives of B.C. The following story is typical: "There were a good many in Bachelor's Hall—all young men. After a while Capt. Grant began to entertain the company. He showed how to use the sword. He stuck a candle on the back of a chair, and snuffed it therewith, but I am bound to confess he took a good piece of the candle with it, and down it went. Again the candle was stuck up. Then he split it longitudinally and this time splendidly. He wanted to "cut" a button off Benson's coat (he had none too many) but Benson said—Oh! Oh! cut a button—no, no—split or spit one too! ho! ho! After a while he wanted to escort Her Majesty to Windsor Castle. All were to be cavalry. So down everybody went kangaroo fashion. Grant being in command, took the lead, and so we hopped in this style round the room, and made considerable of a racket. In the midst of which, some naughty school girl overhead, possibly not being able to sleep, poured some water through a crack in the ceiling right down upon the cavalry. This put an end to the diversion." J. S. Helmcken, "A reminiscence of 1850," *Victoria Colonist*, Holiday Number, December, 1887, p. 4.

(108) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(109) James Robert Anderson, "Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon," *Transcript*, Archives of B.C., p. 167.

his contemporaries,¹¹⁰ Joseph W. McKay, has left the most lively recollection:—

Grant was a man of fine Physique he stood over six foot two and was well proportioned he was a good scholar, had many accomplishments, was a good linguist and had travelled extensively. . . . his general affable manners have left sunny memories in the minds of all with whom he came in contact he was a good conversationalist his flashes of wit and intelligent discourse would enliven the social chat round the evening fire whether in camp or in cabin through all the changes and vicissitudes of his career he never lost the calm dignity and cool manner incident to his race and early training he never forgot that he was a Highland chieftain firm as the rocks of Craigellachie his motto was ever "Stand sure" befitting attributes for British Columbia's first settler.¹¹¹

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

(110) Roderick Finlayson in his *Biography* recalled: "Only one settler, a Captain Grant, took up land in this way, selected a location on Sooke Harbor, took out eight men with him and paid their expenses. On his arrival he found the country different from what he expected, being thickly wooded and very expensive to clear, and before he could establish himself properly, paying all preliminary expenses, he found his funds gone and gave up the attempt as impracticable." In his *History of Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast*, written for H. H. Bancroft, p. 38, Finlayson noted: "In 1852 there were no settlement effected, with the exception of Capt. Grant's which was made in 1851. He had been a captain the Scot's Greys an English Cavalry regiment. He sold his commission on hearing of the colonization project; ascertained the conditions in London. Settlers were to pay £1 an acre for land for every 20 acres purchased for settlers were to be taken out, passage paid, pay freight provide impliments, &c. Capt. Grant sent out his ship around Cape Horn; he himself coming via Vancouver. He settled at Sooke about 20 miles from Victoria; placed his men on the land & built—in the thick forest—investing his all in a venture. Being a patriotic Highlander he formed the idea of establishing a Scotch Colony, & intended bringing out a Gaelic schoolmaster, and a scotch paper." Original in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., *Transcript*, Archives of B.C.

(111) Memorandum on Captain Grant prepared by J. W. McKay, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. Many years later this manuscript was published in the *Victoria Colonist*, April 28, 1935.

APPENDIX

WALTER COLQUHOUN GRANT—A REMINISCENCE

BY JOSEPH W. MCKAY*

Walter Colquhoun Grant was the last chief in the direct line of the Grants of Mullachard he was the first one to settle on land as a farmer in what is now the province of British Columbia. The Muir's Farm at Sooke was the first land taken up for actual permanent settlement in B.C. he acquired the property as a military grant he intended to build a saw mill at Sooke. he went to San Francisco and chartered the Scotch Barque "Coloony" [sic] to load piles, her cargo not being ready when she arrived, her Agent bought a Cargo of lumber at Esquimalt at \$80⁰⁰ per M and sold the same at Stockton (Cala) for \$300⁰⁰ per M. Her Master was paid \$450⁰⁰ per Month her Mate \$250⁰⁰ her able seamen \$150⁰⁰ per Month each Grant went to the Sandwich Islands to open an agency for the Sale of Farm produce and salted salmon as these commodities were not then in evidence his agency did not result in material benefit to him he however made the acquaintance of His Majesty King Kamehamea (third) III of Hawai [sic] and sold him for \$150⁰⁰ a Meerschaum pipe which had once been the property of the late Duke of Sussex. Grant had an unusual adventure before he had been half an hour in this province. he came from England by what was then called the Panama Route the last portion of his journey was made in a canoe from Nisqually on Puget Sound to Victoria. the weather being fine his Indians made a direct traverse from Point Wilson to Clover Point by the time they reached land they were both hungry and thirsty having landed proceed to prepare some food for their meal after directing Grant the way to the Fort Grant shouldered his rifle and followed the path which led along the east side of Beacon Hill after a time he suddenly found himself surrounded by a herd of long horned quadrupeds who circled round him with angry mien and seemed to resent his intrusion one more inquisitive than the rest approached him to what he considered a dangerous proximity this animal received the contents of his rifle, the others ran away. Grant proceeded to the Fort which he reached without further molestation and was there accorded a hearty welcome by Mr Chief Factor Douglas and provided with the best cheer the place could afford. during his meal and whilst des-canting on his latest experiences he mentioned to Mr Douglas that on his way in from Clover Point he was suddenly surrounded by a herd of Wild Buffalo one of which he had shot. The C F receceived [sic] this communication with a merry twinkle in his eye he had not observed that the gallant Captains weapon was a rifle and not a shotgun. In the course of the evening Angus MacPhail the Fort dairy man reported that one of his best Milch

* This manuscript was found in the papers of Joseph W. McKay, recently deposited in the Archives of B.C. It was published in the *Victoria Colonist*, April 28, 1935, with some alterations, after it came to light in the possession of Miss Agnes McKay.

Cows had been killed by some person who was evidently a good hunter as the animal was hit in a vital spot and must have died instantly after being shot. A short time after Grant had established himself at Sooke he essayed to walk from his place to the Fort alo[ne] he lost his way in the broken country at the back of Albert head word having reached the Fort as to his being on the way, and yet nothing ha[d] been heard of him a party of rangers were sent to search for him he was discovered by them in a very debilitated condition having been nearly five days without food of any kind. Grant partially surveyed Victoria District he measured a line from NanKuan Hill at the head of Victoria Arm to the top of Mount Douglas thence to the top of Mount Tolmie thence to a point on Gonzales Hill with the ultimate intention of using these as base lines and completing the details of the survey by offsets from them

After leaving his farm at Sooke Grant went to California and engaged in Gold Mining for over two years; he hired himself out at first as a day labourer until he considered that he was sufficiently expert to work a claim of his own in time he secured a claim, pitched his tent thereon, and proceeded to develope it. the nearest adjoining claim was held by an American who had built himself a substantial cabin for his winter quarters Grant's claim was rich he stuck to his work earnestly. Autumn with wet weather succeeded summer one night during a heavy down pour of rain, Grant discovered that his bed was wet he struck a light a[nd] found a sluice-head of water coursing across his tent he must move camp, he remembered that his neighbour with the good cabin had been absent for over seventy two hours and that under the miners regulations his claim and everything pertaining thereto was forfeit. He went to the cabin burst in the door removed his baggage under cover and turned in as he thought for the rest of the night he was hardly well asleep before he was aroused by a loud knocking at the door of the cabin accompanied by unusually strong language uttered in loud tones he recognized the voice of his neighbour who was threatening to blow the top of his head off let daylight into him load him down with cold lead and hurt him generally Grant asked him to wait until he struck a light and dressed himself sufficiently to meet the requirements of the occasion; having completed his arrangements and ascertained that his revolver was in good order and loaded he quietly unbarred the door and asked his quondam neighbour in, the latter by this time had had time for reflection and remembered that under the Mining rules he had less right to the cabin than the party in possession, it was quickly agreed between them that the matter would be settled by reference to a meeting of the Miners the late owner of the Cabin took shelter with the nearest miner in the camp and Grant was left in possession. At a Miners meeting held the next day it was decided that Grant was lawful owner of the cabin his late neighbour quietly acquiesced in the decision sold his Claim and provisions to Grant and bought into a Whiskey Shop with the proceeds. Grant was now provided with house and provisions for the Winter besides having two good claims he hired assistants and worked out the claims before the next dry season and left for San Francisco with several thousand dollars in his pocket. he lived high for a couple of

weeks then cooled down chartered a Schooner loaded her with provisions and notions sailed for Victoria and sold his cargo there and at Nanaimo at good figures I may here remark that Captain Pattle the Master and part owner of the Schooner was one of the discoverers of coal at Bellingham Bay. As soon as the Autumn rains began to fall G. again went to the mines this time he took up a claim in the neighbourhood of Yreka he did fairly well during the Winter in the early spring some marauding braves from the Klamath band of Indians killed some miners in his neighbourhood, a miner's meeting was held at which a Volunteer Company was raised with the object of bringing the Indians to justice some of the Miners having ascertained that Grant had been an officer in the British Army it was agreed to offer him the command of the Volunteers. Grant agreed to take command, provided good discipline and implicit obedience to orders were maintained in the Corps and that his claim be held and worked during his absence and the gross proceeds thereof be handed him on his return. These stipulations were agreed on. Grant saw to the equipping provisioning and arming of his command and started on the war-path after considerable trouble and forced marches they found the Indians encamped in a strong position. Grant however lost no time in arranging his little force and bringing them into action the attack was so sudden that the Indians were quickly routed and some prisoners taken without any loss on his side. On the March homeward his second in command brutally murdered one of the Prisoners Grant was so much disgusted at this unnecessary inhumanity that he resigned his command and returned to camp alone considerable time had lapsed during the expedition [*sic*] water was becoming scarce when he reached his claim he took what proceeds were proffered him from the parties who had worked his claim and being a good sportsman he made up his mind to supply game to the camp during the dry season at which occupation he made a considerable some [*sic*] of money. One morning he wounded a buck as he thought fatally the animal however took over the hills to the westward he followed the signs of his movements until well into the afternoon when he came upon him and shot him dead he was now on a high hill the top of which was bare he carried the venison to the bare spot from which he had a good view of the Pacific Ocean the Mail steamer from Oregon was in sight heading southward a large schooner was at anchor in a little sheltered Bay with her loosed sails hanging in the brails evidently awaiting a favourable wind to take her departure at the sight of the ocean his thoughts turned homeward, why waste his time at manual labour when with his advantages he might aim at some occupation more in keeping with his early habits and training. he abandoned his game and strode towards the coast he had with him his bag of gold dust he reached the bay before the schooner sailed and took passage in her to San Francisco. The Crimean war was on he went to England by way of Panama Volunteered into the ranks of his old regiment and was soon busily engaged in fighting the battles of his country before the close of the war he had risen to the rank of Lieutenant The Greys were ordered to India to take part in quelling the Indian Mutiny there was no tran[s]port for their horses they sailed without them and had to find mounts in the

land of the enemy. the results of Grants experiences now shone forth and were appreciated he was entrusted with the important task of finding horses for his regiment which was quickly and well mounted and ready to take the field. he was soon promoted to the rank of Captain distinguished himself wherever his regiment was engaged and when it was ordered home he accompanied it to the port of shipment with a light heart and high hopes of again reaching home, a few days before the time for embarking he had an attack of Dysentery of which he died in forty eight hours. he had fought his battles paid his last debt!

Grant was a man of fine Physique he stood over six foot two and was well proportioned he was a good scholar, had many accomplishments, was a good linguist and had travelled extensively he had ridden from Constantinople to Vienna and followed the route of the "Iron Dukes" victorious army through Spain besides journey[s] in other countries in Europe before he came to this coast. his genial affable manners have left sunny memories in the minds of all with whom he came in contact. he was a good conversationalist his flashes of wit and intelligent discourse would enliven the social chat round the evening fire whether in camp or in cabin through all the changes and vicissitudes of his career he never lost the calm dignity and good manners incidental to his race and early training, he never forgot that he was a Highland chieftain firm as the rocks of Craigellachie his motto was ever "Stand sure" befitting attributes for British Columbia's first settler the first one to leave his far away country and associations to make a home in this Magnificent Province May he rest in Peace.

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HELEN R. BOUTILIER.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BCHQ</i>	<i>British Columbia historical quarterly.</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Canadian historical review.</i>
<i>OHQ</i>	<i>Oregon historical quarterly.</i>
<i>PHR</i>	<i>Pacific historical review.</i>
<i>PNQ</i>	<i>Pacific northwest quarterly.</i>
<i>WHQ</i>	<i>Washington historical quarterly.</i>

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45. Richard G. Montgomery, *The white-headed eagle: John McLoughlin, builder of an empire*. *CHR* 16:209 June 1935.

1936

46. Historical renaissance in British Columbia. *CHR* 17:415-418 Decem-
ber 1936.

Published under title *The historical renaissance in the Maritime Provinces and in British Columbia* by Dr. J. C. Webster and W. N. Sage. Maritime section, pp. 413-415: B.C. section, pp. 415-418.

Review:—

47. Archivists' Club of the Templeton Junior High School, Vancouver, B.C., *Vancouver, a short history*. *CHR* 17:346 September 1936.

1937

48. Peter Skene Ogden's notes on Western Caledonia. *BCHQ* 1:45-56
January 1937.

Edited with comment by Walter N. Sage.

49. Vancouver: The rise of a city. *Dalhousie review* 17:49-54 April 1937.

50. Geographical and cultural aspects of the five Canadas. Canadian
historical association. *Report of the annual meeting* 1937:28-34.

Review:—

51. Okanagan Historical Society. *Sixth report*. *BCHQ* 1:63-64 January 1937.

1938

52. A note on the change in title of Fort St. James. *BCHQ* 2:55-56
January 1938.

Reviews:—

53. Arthur S. Morton, *Under western skies: being a series of pen-pictures of the Canadian west in early fur trade times*. *CHR* 19:76-77 March 1938.

54. James G. McCurdy, *Pioneering along the north-western edge of the continent*. *CHR* 19:212-213 June 1938.

1939

55. From colony to province. *BCHQ* 3:1-14 January 1939.
 Presidential address to the British Columbia Historical Association, November 18, 1938.
56. Towards new horizons in Canadian history. *PHR* 8:47-57 March 1939.
 A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Stanford University, December 29, 1938.
57. The position of the lieutenant-governor in British Columbia in the years following confederation. *Essays in Canadian history presented to George Mackinnon Wrong*, ed. R. Flenley, Toronto, 1939, 178-203.
Reviews:—
58. Melvin Clay Jacobs, *Winning Oregon: A study of an expansionist movement*. *CHR* 20:74-75 March 1939.
59. E. E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of occurrences in the Athabasca department by George Simpson*. *OHQ* 40:83-84 March 1939.
60. George M. Wrong, *The Canadians: the story of a people*. *PHR* 8:122-123 March 1939.
61. D. G. Creighton, *The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence*.
 G. P. deT. Glazebrook, *A history of transportation in Canada*.
 William J. Wilgus, *The railway interrelations of the United States and Canada*.
 A. R. M. Lower, *The North American assault on the Canadian forest*. *BCHQ* 3:135-143 April 1939.
62. Arthur S. Morton, *A history of the Canadian west to 1870-71*. *BCHQ* 3:301-304 October 1939.

1940

63. *Canada from sea to sea*. Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1940. Pp. 32.
 Two articles reprinted from the Canadian Historical Association *annual reports*, 1928 and 1937, Geographical and cultural aspects of the five Canadas and Some aspects of the frontier in Canadian history.
64. John Foster McCreight: The first premier of British Columbia. Royal society of Canada. *Transactions* ser. 3, 34, sec. 2:173-185 1940.
Reviews:—
65. James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian west: the land and colonization policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. *WHQ* 31:101-102 January 1940.
66. James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian west: the land and colonization policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. *PHR* 9:230-232 June 1940.

1941

67. The historical peculiarities of Canada with regard to hemisphere defence. *PHR* 10:15-27 March 1941.
 A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Berkeley, California, December 30, 1940.

Reviews:—

68. F. W. Howay (ed.), *The journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut, from April 26, 1789, to November 3, 1791.* *BCHQ* 5:155–156 April 1941.
69. C. C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in western Canada: a study of the Baptists.* *PHR* 10:237–238 June 1941.

1942

70. *British Columbia and the United States. The north Pacific slope from fur trade to aviation.* Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1942. Pp. xv, 408. (The relations of Canada and the United States.)
Written in collaboration with F. W. Howay and H. F. Angus; edited by H. F. Angus.

Reviews:—

71. Okanagan Historical Society. *Ninth report.* *BCHQ* 6:72 January 1942.
72. Jules LeChevallier, O.M.I., *Batoche: Les missionnaires du nord-ouest pendant les troubles de 1885.* *CHR* 23:87–88 March 1942.
73. R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31.* *PNQ* 33:207–209 April 1942.
74. Charles Marvin Gates, *Readings in Pacific northwest history: Washington, 1790–1895.* *BCHQ* 6:153–154 April 1942.
75. Max Savelle, *The diplomatic history of the Canadian boundary, 1749–1763.*
A. L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the establishment of peace after the War of 1812.*
A. B. Corey, *The crises in Canadian-American relations, 1830–1842.*
L. Ethan Ellis, *Reciprocity 1911, a study in Canadian-American relations.* *BCHQ* 6:216–224 July 1942.
Appears under heading The relations of Canada and the United States.

1943

76. Frederic William Howay. *CHR* 24:448–449 December 1943.
- Review:—*
77. David Rome, *The first two years: a record of the Jewish pioneers on Canada's Pacific coast, 1858–60.* *CHR* 24:73–74 March 1943.

1944

78. *Graduate training in arts in Canadian universities, with special reference to requirements for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees.* Ottawa, Canadian Social Science Research Council, January 1944. Pp. 40.
79. Frederic William Howay: *Historian of British Columbia.* *BCHQ* 8: 4–5 January 1944.
80. Judge F. W. Howay. *PHR* 13:102–104 March 1944.
A tribute to the work of Judge Howay. Signed W.N.S.

81. Amor de Cosmos, journalist and politician. *BCHQ* 8:189-212 July 1944.

Based on a paper presented to Section II of the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1942, at Toronto.

Review:—

82. Richard W. Van Alstyne, *American diplomacy in action. A series of case studies.* *BCHQ* 8:340-341 October 1944.

1945

83. Walter Moberly's report on the roads of British Columbia, 1863. *BCHQ* 9:37-47 January 1945.

With an introduction by Walter N. Sage.

84. Arthur S. Morton: 1870-1945. *BCHQ* 9:165-167 April 1945.

85. Where stands Canadian history. Canadian historical association. *Report of the Annual Meeting* 1945:5-14.

Presidential address.

86. British Columbia becomes Canadian (1871-1901). *Queen's Quarterly* 52:168-183 summer 1945.

87. Robie Lewis Reid (1866-1945). Royal society of Canada. *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1945.* Ottawa, The Society, 1945, 109-110.

Reviews:—

88. H. McD. Clokie, *Canadian government and politics.* *BCHQ* 9:171-173 April 1945.

89. J. Bartlet Brebner, *North Atlantic triangle: the interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain.* *BCHQ* 9:300-302 October 1945.

1946

90. Vancouver: 60 years of progress. *Journal of Commerce Year Book* 1946, 97-115.

91. The Oregon Treaty of 1846. *CHR* 27:349-367 December 1946.

Reviews:—

92. Alice Bay Maloney (ed.), *Fur brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California expedition 1832-1833 for the Hudson's Bay Company.* *CHR* 27:63-64 March 1946.

93. Henry Drummond Dee, *The Journal of John Work: January to October, 1935.* *CHR* 27:321-322 September 1946.

1947

94. Sir James Douglas, K.C.B.: The father of British Columbia. *BCHQ* 11:211-227 July 1947.

The substance of an address delivered on the unveiling of a tablet to the memory of Sir James Douglas in the Parliament Buildings, Victoria, November 19, 1946.

Reviews:—

95. A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to nation: a history of Canada*. *BCHQ* 11:154-156 April 1947.
96. Jeannette Mirsky, *The westward crossings: Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark*. *CHR* 28:339 September 1947.
97. William N. Bischoff, *The Jesuits in Old Oregon, 1840-1940*. *CHR* 28:333-334 September 1947.

1948

98. The place of Fort Vancouver in the history of the northwest. *PNQ* 39:83-102 April 1948.
99. Federal parties and provincial political groups in British Columbia, 1871-1903. *BCHQ* 12:151-169 April 1948.
- The substance of a paper read before Section II of the Royal Society of Canada at the annual meeting held in Quebec City, May 26-28, 1947.
100. George M. Wrong: 1860-1948. *BCHQ* 12:311-312 October 1948.

Reviews:—

101. Oscar Osburn Winther, *The great northwest: a history*. *CHR* 29:86 March 1948.
102. Margaret Arnett MacLeod (ed.), *The letters of Letitia Hargrave*. *BCHQ* 12:180-182 April 1948.
103. Oscar Osburn Winther, *The great northwest, a history*. *BCHQ* 12:323-324 October 1948.

1949

104. The North-West Mounted Police and British Columbia. *PHR* 18:345-361 August 1949.
- A paper read at the Seattle meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, in December 1948.

Reviews:—

105. James R. Masterson and Helen Brower, *Bering's Successors, 1745-1780*. *BCHQ* 13:47-48 January 1949.
106. Mgr. Olivier Maurault, *Au berceau de la Colombie-Britannique*. *BCHQ* 13:50-52 January 1949.
107. Athelstan George Harvey, *Douglas of the fir: a biography of David Douglas, botanist*.
 B. A. McKelvie, *Fort Langley: outpost of empire*.
 J. Monroe Thorington, *The Purcell Range of British Columbia*.
 Randall V. Mills, *Stern-wheelers up Columbia: A century of steamboating in the Oregon country*. *CHR* 30:71-73 March 1949.
- Reviews appear under title Recent writings on the history of the Pacific northwest.

108. Paul Sharp, *The agrarian revolt in western Canada, a survey showing American parallels*. *Indiana magazine of history* 45:87-89 March 1949.
109. Okanagan Historical Society. *Twelfth report*. *BCHQ* 13:127-128 April 1949.
110. General Sir Fred Middleton, *Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885*. *PHR* 18:404-405 August 1949.
Edition reviewed edited by G. H. Needler.
111. Harold A. Innis (ed.), *The diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*. *BCHQ* 13:290-292 July-October 1949.

1950

112. Coal-seekers on the Peace River, 1903: diary of my journey to and stay in the Peace River district in the year 1903, by John Strickland Leitch, C.E. *BCHQ* 14:83-108 January-April 1950.
Edited with comment by Walter N. Sage.
113. Garnet Gladwin Sedgewick, 1882-1949. Royal society of Canada. *Proceedings*, 1950, 101-102.
114. Sandford Fleming, engineer. *Queen's Quarterly* 57:353-361 autumn 1950.
Review:—
115. Sidney Warren, *Farthest frontier: The Pacific northwest*. *PHR* 19:184-185 May 1950.

1951

116. British Columbia and Confederation. *BCHQ* 15:71-84. January-April 1951.
117. Canada: the neighbour to the north. *PHR* 20:111-121 May 1951.
Paper read as presidential address at meeting of Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Occidental College in December 1950.
Reviews:—
118. Edward A. McCourt, *The Canadian west in fiction*. *CHR* 32:82-83 March 1951.
119. Oscar Osburn Winther, *The great northwest: a history*.
Oscar Osburn Winther, *The old Oregon country: a history of frontier trade, transportation and travel*.
Frederick Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon problem: a study in Anglo-American diplomacy*. *CHR* 32:84-85 March 1951.
120. James B. Conacher (ed.), *The history of Canada or New France by Father Francois Du Creux, S.J.* *BCHQ* 15:232-234 July-October 1951.
121. Herman Ausubel, J. B. Brebner, Erling M. Hunt (ed.), *Some modern historians of Britain*. *BCHQ* 15:238-239 July-October 1951.

1952

122. Daniel Buchanan. Royal society of Canada. *Proceedings* 1952 75-76.

123. "Record of a trip to Dawson, 1898": The diary of John Smith. *BCHQ* 16:67-97 January-April, 1952.
Edited with comment by Walter N. Sage.

Reviews:—

124. M. Catherine White (ed.), *David Thompson's journals relating to Montana and adjacent regions, 1808-1812*. *BCHQ* 16:118-119 January-April, 1952.
125. E. J. Pratt, *Towards the last spike*. *BCHQ* 16:120-121 January-April, 1952.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Grosvenor Hotel, Vancouver, on Friday evening, January 16, with more than eighty members in attendance, including a delegation of four from the Victoria Section. Mr. D. A. McGregor, President, was in the chair, and he called upon Rev. F. G. St. Denis, Vice-Chairman of the Vancouver Section, to extend the greetings of that Section and to report upon its activity. Mrs. J. E. Godman, Chairman, brought the greetings from the Victoria Section.

The minutes of the previous annual meeting were read and approved, and reports on the year's activity presented. The Honorary Treasurer reported a bank balance of \$387.95, a net gain of \$54.30 during the year, but pointed out that a considerable portion of this represented prepayment of subscriptions by members-at-large. Membership in the two Sections had declined slightly over the previous year; Victoria Section 151, as compared with 169; Vancouver Section 133, as compared with 147. Members-at-large stood at 71, as compared with 147, but the delays in publication of the *Quarterly* are largely responsible, and no difficulty is anticipated in enlisting the continued support of these members. The editor of the *Quarterly*, in presenting his annual report, frankly admitted that delays in publication were reflected in the membership figures but indicated that the losses were not permanent. When the books were closed at the end of 1951, membership stood at 434, but since the release of the *Quarterly* for that year fifty-five memberships were brought into good standing, and already there is every indication that the same result can be expected in 1952 memberships. Evidence of the continued support of the members-at-large, who are wholly dependent upon the *Quarterly*, not having the opportunity to attend regular meetings of a section, is to be found in the fact that already forty-one have prepaid for 1953 and one as far ahead as 1955. The delay in publication of the *Quarterly* definitely does not stem from a lack of suitable material, but arises largely from the time-consuming editorial work involved.

No report was forthcoming from the Marine Committee, but its Chairman indicated one would shortly be made available. The thanks of the meeting were tendered to Mr. E. G. Baynes for his courtesy in making available accommodation in the Grosvenor Hotel for the annual meeting. The question of moving and repairing the Leechtown cairn, originally erected by the Association, was referred to the incoming Council for consideration. The report of the scrutineers on the mail ballot for Council positions was received and adopted.

The presidential address, entitled *Peter Skene Ogden*, was read by Mr. D. A. McGregor. In it not only were the pertinent facts of the career of this important, although relatively unknown, fur-trader outlined, but an excellent pen-picture of his character and his times was sketched. It is anticipated that this address will appear in a future issue of this *Quarterly*.

At the conclusion of the annual meeting the new Council convened, when the following officers were elected:—

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1 and 2.

Honorary President	- - - - -	Hon. Tilly Jean Rolston.
President	- - - - -	Mr. H. C. Gilliland.
First Vice-President	- - - - -	Captain C. W. Cates.
Second Vice-President	- - - - -	Mrs. A. D. Turnbull.
Honorary Secretary	- - - - -	Dr. F. H. Johnson.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - - -	Mrs. J. E. Godman.

Members of the Council—

Miss Helen R. Boutilier.	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, D.D.	Dr. W. N. Sage.
Mr. J. K. Nesbitt.	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Councillors *ex officio*—

Mr. D. A. McGregor (Past President), Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mrs. J. E. Godman, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, <i>Quarterly</i> .

VICTORIA SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Wednesday evening, November 26, with the Chairman, Dr. F. H. Johnson, presiding. The speaker of the evening was Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, who delivered an address on *Walter Colquhoun Grant: Vancouver Island's First Colonist*. A quotation from Grant's "Description of Vancouver Island," a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1857, was read, in which, in a most perfunctory manner, the author epitomized his years on the Island, and the speaker then gave the supplementary facts that rounded out the story. Grant was the only child of parents who died while he was very young, and he was raised by aunts and uncles, who presumably had spoiled him. His financial affairs, in so far as Vancouver Island was concerned, were always involved and tended to place him in an unfavourable light. On the other hand, he was extremely popular with his associates, as was shown by extracts from recollections by Hancock, Helmcken, and Anderson. Grant settled at Sooke and was the first person with no connection with the Hudson's Bay Company to come to Vancouver Island. There, in addition to cultivating 35 acres of land, he operated a water-powered sawmill. In an effort to extricate himself from financial difficulties, he went to Honolulu and also engaged in mining in Northern California, but to no avail, and he finally withdrew permanently from the colony sometime late in 1854. He later served with distinction in the Crimean War and died in India in 1861. Grant was a keen observer and a facile writer, and the two papers he contributed to the Royal Geographical Society are invaluable contemporary accounts of pioneer conditions in the colony and merit for him the fame of being the colony's first publicist. It is hoped that eventually this paper will be printed in the *Quarterly*. Miss K. Baker expressed the appreciation of the meeting to the speaker. Two relics of Captain Grant—a silver coaching-horn and an ivory walking-stick—were on display through the courtesy of Mrs. Douglas Macdonald, whose father-in-law, the late Senator W. J. Macdonald, a contemporary of Grant, had received them when Grant left the Island.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, December 15, under the chairmanship of Dr. F. H. Johnson, who

took the opportunity, in a short verbal report, to thank Council members for their assistance and the membership generally for their continued interest in the affairs of the Section. The reports presented indicated that a successful year had been experienced. Many interesting papers had been contributed, and financially the Section's affairs showed a satisfactory balance. Membership for the year stood at 151. The report of the scrutineers on the ballot for Council for 1953 was presented and adopted. The Chairman had selected for the subject of his address *The History of Kamloops and the Thompson Country*, an area in which he had for many years been interested. He outlined the fascinating story from the time of the advent of the first white man at Cumloops—"the meeting place of the waters"—in 1811, when a party of Astorians headed by David Stuart visited the region. The transition from the fur-trading post established in 1812 to the present modern city was traced. In 1812 the North West Company, represented by Joseph La Roche, also established a post at Kamloops. By means of a map Dr. Johnson clearly indicated the various sites occupied in fur-trade days. A very clear picture was drawn of fur-trade days at this post, which was never a very profitable venture in terms of fur returns, but was of inestimable value as a transportation centre and half-way house for the fur brigades between the Upper Fraser posts of New Caledonia and the Lower Columbia. This brigade route was described in some detail, and extracts from the post journals were read to illustrate the life of the company servants resident in the area. Interesting anecdotes relating to some of the key persons who figured so largely in the history of Kamloops—George Simpson, Samuel Black, John Tod, Lolo, nicknamed "St. Paul"—added much to the account. The arrival of the gold-seekers and of the Overlanders of 1862 marked the beginning of the end of the fur-trade régime, and thereafter slowly a community began to evolve. Steamers began to run on the river, stores and private dwellings were constructed, and churches were built. The coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1884 gave a considerable impetus to the community and, together with the later-built Canadian Northern (now Canadian National) Railway, gives a stability to the economic life of the city. The various phases of economic activity that have existed in the region were sketched, thus providing an excellent background for the appreciation of the present condition of the city. During the course of the discussion following the paper, high tribute was paid to the Kamloops Museum Association for its untiring efforts to preserve for posterity the record of the development of the Kamloops region. A vote of appreciation to Dr. Johnson was moved by H. C. Gilliland and enthusiastically endorsed by the meeting.

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

Chairman	- - - - -	Mrs. J. E. Godman.
Vice-Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. R. E. Potter.
Honorary Secretary	- - - - -	Mrs. K. C. Drury.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.

Members of the Council—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Major H. C. Holmes.
Mr. R. P. Bishop.	Major H. T. Nation.
Mr. Wilson Duff.	Mr. G. H. Stevens.
Miss K. Baker (<i>co-opt.</i>).	Miss K. Graham (<i>co-opt.</i>).
Miss W. Copeland (<i>co-opt.</i>).	Mrs. G. Welsh (<i>co-opt.</i>).
Mr. H. C. Gilliland (<i>co-opt.</i>).	Mr. Willard E. Ireland (<i>ex officio</i>).

The first meeting in the new year was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, January 23, with Mrs. J. E. Godman in the chair. A report on the annual meeting of the Provincial Association, which was attended by four members of the Section, was presented. A paper prepared by Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia, entitled *The Okanagan-Cariboo Trail of the Sixties*, was read by Mr. Willard E. Ireland. This paper had been presented previously to the Vancouver Section at its September meeting, and because it formed an interesting supplement to the address of the Past Chairman of this Section at its annual meeting, arrangements were made to secure it. Unfortunately, pressure of work at the University prevented Dr. Ormsby from being present to read it. Following a lively period of questions, Major F. V. Longstaff extended the appreciation of the meeting.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, February 13. On this occasion the Section was privileged to hear the Past President of the Provincial Association, Mr. D. A. McGregor, repeat his presidential address that had been delivered at the annual meeting in Vancouver, entitled *Peter Skene Ogden*. A large number of members and friends were present to hear this interesting résumé of the career of one of the outstanding fur-trade pioneers of the Pacific Northwest.

VANCOUVER SECTION

The annual meeting of the Vancouver Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, December 2, with Mr. J. E. Gibbard in the chair. The reports presented indicated that the Section had experienced another successful year. Seven general meetings had been held and were well attended, and, in addition, a special summer picnic at Fort Langley had been held. Membership had declined but slightly during the year, and there was every indication that delinquent members would be rejoining. The Chairman chose as the subject for his address *Early Explorations in the Lower Fraser Valley and Mainland Area*. The history of this region had been the subject of long research by Mr. Gibbard and was of personal interest as well, as his parents had settled at St. Mary's Mission (now Mission City) in 1887. In his address Mr. Gibbard described the topographical pattern of the Lower Mainland, particularly stressing how the Cascade range had obtruded itself athwart the lines of communication from the west to the Interior. He recounted how Captain George Vancouver had "almost" discovered the mouth of the Fraser River and then dealt in some detail with the exploratory party of 1808 headed by Simon Fraser, accompanied by John Stuart, Jules Quesnel, and nineteen French-Canadian voyageurs. This party came through the Fraser Canyon on foot to where Yale is now located and thence by Indian canoe nearly to the mouth of the north channel, where difficulties with the Indians in the vicinity of the Musqueam Reserve forced them to return up-river. It was not until 1824 that another white man

explored the river. In that year James McMillan, under instructions from the Hudson's Bay Company, came up from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River to Puget Sound and entered Semiahmoo Bay. He ascended the Nicomekl River, crossed over to the Salmon River, and followed it to the Fraser. On December 19 he began his return journey, descending the Fraser and reaching the Gulf of Georgia by way of the south channel, thus becoming the first white man to complete the descent to the sea. Three years later the schooner *Cadboro* became the first vessel to enter the river from the sea. On that occasion she brought McMillan and party coming to found Fort Langley. In 1828 Sir George Simpson came down the Fraser River by canoe and, as a result of his thrill-packed trip through the canyon, came to the conclusion that the river would never be a practicable route to the Interior. Then followed a series of explorations directed toward discovering alternative routes. Annacis Clerk explored the Harrison River, although he did not call it by that name, and in 1832 he explored the Sumas River and Lake. In 1830 James Murray Yale apparently explored the Harrison River system as far as Pemberton Meadows. The drive to find a shorter route to the Interior was stimulated still further by the growing strength of the American population in the valley of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, presenting, as it did, the possibility that the Columbia River route to the Interior might be lost to the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1845 A. C. Anderson explored a route south from Kamloops via Alexandria and the Harrison Lake route, and on his return he went by way of the Coquihalla to Coldwater and Nicola. Two years later he came to the coast by still another route—following the Thompson River to Savona, thence to Merritt and across the Tulameen country to the Coquihalla and through to Hope. Over this route he opened a pack-trail. In 1850 H. N. Peers took a large pack-train over the Coquihalla to Princeton. Douglas favoured still another route, using the Fraser Canyon with a portage over the mountains from Spuzzum. Following the reading of the paper, an animated discussion arose, particular interest centring upon the naming of Harrison River. A vote of thanks by Mr. D. A. McGregor was seconded by Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

The results of the election of officers for the year were announced, as follows:—

Honorary Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Honorary Vice-Chairmen	- - - - -	Dr. W. N. Sage.
		Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Vice-Chairman	- - - - -	Rev. F. G. St. Denis.
Honorary Secretary	- - - - -	Miss M. Cowie.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - - -	Mrs. W. E. Blackburn.
Members of the Council—		
Mrs. H. R. Boutilier.		Mr. T. D. Buchanan.
Captain C. W. Cates.		Mr. R. H. Hood.
Miss K. McQueen.		Mr. Noel Robinson.
Mr. A. P. Woollacott.		Mr. J. E. Gibbard
		(Past Chairman).

The first regular meeting of the Section in the new year was held on Tuesday evening, February 10, in the Grosvenor Hotel, with Mr. D. A. McGregor in the chair. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. Noel Robinson, who had chosen as

his subject *Walter Moberly, Explorer, and Henry J. Cambie, Railway Construction Wizard*. Both of these men contributed greatly to the development of British Columbia, and the speaker knew both of them personally; consequently, his sketch of their careers was often livened with anecdote and reminiscence. Moberly, although born in England, was educated in Canada as a civil engineer and came out to British Columbia by the Cape Horn route. He assisted Edgar Dewdney in locating and constructing the Dewdney Trail to the Kootenay country and still later was active in the construction of portions of the famed Cariboo Road. As surveys for the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway were undertaken, Moberly became associated with the project and is particularly remembered for his discovery of Eagle Pass. Henry Cambie was also a civil engineer who first came to this region in connection with the surveys for the transcontinental railway. His first work was in the Skeena River country, but later he was placed in charge of building the railway through the Fraser Canyon. Mr. R. A. Hood extended the appreciation of the meeting to the speaker.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, March 17. Mr. G. S. Andrews, Surveyor-General and Director of Surveying and Mapping, was the speaker and his subject *British Columbia Boundaries*. The substance of this address had originally been delivered before the Victoria Section. In it the many boundary problems that have had, from time to time, to be settled were discussed, and, in addition, much interesting information was given regarding present-day mapping procedures. A series of slides effectively illustrated many of the points discussed in the lecture. The meeting enthusiastically endorsed a vote of appreciation.

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association was held in the City Council Chambers on Friday evening, January 30. Owing to the absence of both the President and the Vice-President, Mr. J. J. Morse presided, and Mr. D. A. Arnott acted as Secretary owing to the illness of his wife. The reports indicated a successful year. The Treasurer's report showed a balance of over \$450 on hand, but it was indicated that the greater portion of this amount had been earmarked for the purchase of a safe in which the more precious books and documents belonging to the Museum might be stored. During the year 4,304 persons had visited the Museum, and it was noted that since its inception in 1937 there had been more than 25,000 visitors. The House Committee reported the glassing of ten small show-cases and that a photograph-mounting machine had been procured for use on the photographic collection of the Association. A tribute was paid to the late Mr. T. S. Keyes, for many years Convener of this Committee and a diligent worker on behalf of the Museum. Appreciation was also expressed of the service rendered by Mr. A. R. Hodgson in lighting the heater twice a week during the winter months. A considerable amount of work was done on the mineral exhibit during the year by Mr. J. Scatchard, and it was announced that a project for 1953 included a collection of weeds of the district being undertaken by Mr. D. A. Arnott. Other projects for 1953 included the completion of the photographic collection index, improvement of heating facilities, and the purchase of additional chairs.

The Indian Artifacts Committee reported renewed activity on the part of archaeologists and anthropologists in the Interior of the Province and assistance

had been rendered to several students and scholars. During the year Hudson's Bay Company trading-beads had been found and Indian relics had been turned in to the Museum from the excavations made west of the town by the road-building crews of the Public Works. Mr. Burt R. Campbell reported on correspondence with the descendants of Samuel Black, Hudson's Bay Company factor killed at Fort Kamloops in 1841, and a committee comprising Mr. J. J. Morse and Alderman Roy Cummings was appointed to secure additional information on the subject with a view to having a commemorative plaque erected. Correspondence indicated that a collection of historical books and documents belonging to Mr. George Brown, a former Kamloops resident, was being presented to the Museum.

This year Kamloops will be celebrating the diamond anniversary of the incorporation of the city, and the Association decided to request that the City Council be asked to consider raising the grant to the Association to \$500. Alderman T. T. O'Neill, chairman of the city's Jubilee Celebration Committee, was in attendance and spoke of plans for the suitable celebration of the event and sought the active co-operation of the Association. Considerable pleasure was evinced at the improvement in the health of Mr. Burt R. Campbell, long a prime mover in the affairs of the Association.

The following officers were elected for the year:—

President	- - - - -	Mr. Burt R. Campbell.
Vice-President	- - - - -	Mr. F. W. Pinchbeck.
Secretary-Treasurer	- - - - -	Mrs. D. A. Arnott.
City Representative	- - - - -	Alderman Roy Cummings.
Committee Chairmen—		
House	- - - - -	Mr. R. B. A. Cragg.
Indian Artifacts	- - - - -	Mr. J. J. Morse.
Natural History	- - - - -	Mr. D. A. Arnott.
		Mr. R. A. Fifer.
Photographic	- - - - -	Mr. Harry Macnab.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the *Kelowna Branch* of the Okanagan Historical Society was held in November under the chairmanship of Mr. J. D. Whitham. Three short addresses were given on that occasion. Mr. Charles Clement, who arrived in Kelowna by stage-coach in 1900 and whose parents and brothers had preceded him in 1898, gave an account of the association of his family with the district, particularly the various homes built and the early businesses established. This family also started the city's first newspaper *The Clarion*, now merged in *The Kelowna Courier*. Mr. H. Odium's address was a satire on historical research, which indicated that there is a vast difference between true research and curiosity. Mr. E. M. Caruthers had been lured to Kelowna in 1891 by Mr. George G. McKay's accounts of the Okanagan Valley, and he spoke of McKay's efforts to stimulate the fruit industry in the region. The townsite of Benvoulin, named after his home in Scotland, was planned by McKay as the terminus for the Okanagan-Sicamous railroad, but the tugs placed on the lake by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company resulted in the development of Kelowna instead. Mr. J. B. Knowles gave a brief history of the Museum that is operated under charter of the Okanagan Museum and Archives

Society, of which Mr. Knowles, Mr. A. K. Loyd, Mr. C. Beeston, Mr. R. Grant, and Dr. J. W. N. Shepherd are directors, and there is a membership of forty-three. Officers of the branch elected for the ensuing year were as follows:—

President - - - - - Mr. R. C. Gore.
 Vice-President - - - - - Mr. George Yachim.
 Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - Mr. L. L. Kerry.

Directors—

Mr. E. R. Bailey. Mr. E. M. Carruthers.
 Mrs. G. D. Fitzgerald. Mrs. D. Gellatly.
 Mr. J. B. Knowles. Mr. J. D. Whitham.

Mr. H. C. G. Collett (*ex officio*).

CARIBOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On Monday evening, November 24, a meeting was held to organize the *Williams Lake Branch* of the Cariboo Historical Society. Mr. Henry Windt, a pioneer of 1901 in the Quesnel district, was in the chair, and he took the occasion to outline some of the work that the *Quesnel Branch* had undertaken, including the restoration of the Blessing grave on the Quesnel-Wells Road and the examination of the McInnis house near Macalister with a view to its restoration. Following the election of officers, Mr. Windt read extracts from some of the old diaries in his possession, including one kept by W. D. Moses, a negro barber of Barkerville, that recorded events in that town in the 1860's and 1870's and one kept by Johnny Stevenson, one-time Government Collector and Assessor in Quesnel. It is anticipated that regular monthly meetings will be held. Officers elected at the meeting were as follows:—

Honorary Patron - - - - - Dr. H. Bayne.
 Honorary President - - - - - Judge Henry Castilou.
 President - - - - - Mr. Henry Windt.
 First Vice-President - - - - - Mr. Arthur Haddock.
 Second Vice-President - - - - - Mr. Alex. Smith.

These officers were empowered to bring in recommendations of persons to fill the remaining offices.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

For the first time in the history of this organization the annual meeting was held in Canada when, on December 28, 29, and 30, 1952, the University of British Columbia played host to the Association. About 150 members were in attendance, representing all the Pacific Coast and immediately adjacent mountain States of the American union. A heavy agenda of papers and discussions had been arranged, covering a wide variety of historical fields. Of particular interest to students of Pacific Northwest history were the sessions on *The West and the American Nation*, *Agents in Economic Development*, *Gold Rushes and the Mingling of Peoples*, and *Religion and the West*. To this last series, Dr. John Goodfellow, a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association, contributed a paper on the historic background of the United Church of Canada. Arrangements have been made to

publish several of the papers presented on this occasion in subsequent issues of this *Quarterly*.

NEW WESTMINSTER HISTORIC CENTRE

Late in February, 1950, the City Council of New Westminster agreed to the purchase of the historic Irving House on Royal Avenue, together with certain of its furnishings, as a historic centre for the city. In addition, renovation of the house was approved and extensive landscaping of the grounds authorized. Administration of the centre was vested in a board of directors comprised of representatives from the city, the Native Sons and Native Daughters of British Columbia, and the following constituted the first board:—

Mr. H. N. Lidster	- - -	City Solicitor.
Mr. J. A. Courtenay	- -	Alderman.
Mr. Allison Peele	- - -	Native Sons of British Columbia.
Mr. Louis Pumphrey	- -	Native Sons of British Columbia.
Mrs. Helen Smith	- - -	Native Daughters of British Columbia.
Miss Janet Gilley	- - -	Native Daughters of British Columbia.

The Irving house is an exceptionally well-preserved building and typifies admirably so much of the early history of New Westminster. It was built for Captain William Irving, a pioneer steamboat operator on the Fraser River, who in 1849 came to California and subsequently engaged in the California and Oregon lumber trade. In 1859 he moved to Victoria and in 1862 acquired the site and began the construction of his home in New Westminster from designs prepared by the Royal Engineers. In 1864 the house was completed and occupied by the Irving family, and there Captain Irving lived until his death, August 28, 1872. Subsequently, Captain Irving's daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Briggs, lived in the home, and it was from their daughters, Misses Manuella and Naomi Briggs, that the house was acquired for museum purposes.

The work of restoration and administration has been largely assumed by the New Westminster Posts of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of British Columbia. Many interesting items have been acquired, by gift, purchase, and loan, for display, and the foundation laid for a picture collection depicting the history of New Westminster.

This historic house was officially opened in a most impressive ceremony held on Douglas Day, November 19, 1950. Mr. C. Allison Peele, Past Chief Factor of the Post of the Native Sons of British Columbia, presided and outlined the history of the acquisition of the building. His Worship Mayor J. Lewis Sangster, after offering appropriate comments, handed over the keys of the building to Mrs. J. C. Houston, representing the Native Daughters of British Columbia, and Mr. Douglas McInnes, representing the Native Sons of British Columbia, who, in accepting the responsibility for the maintenance of the historic centre, took the occasion to thank all those who had worked so diligently to make the ceremony possible. Canon Frank Plaskett pronounced an invocation. Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, addressed the gathering and took the occasion to congratulate the City of New Westminster on its foresight in acquiring the property and thus making possible the establishment of an historic museum worthy of the fine tradition of the Royal City. In his address, Mr. Ireland explained the historic

significance of the house itself and of the greater significance of this splendid example of the perpetuation for the present and future generations of something of the history of our Province.

Mr. Peter Grant, an old-time resident of New Westminster, accepted the responsibility of Honorary Curator and, until his death in the summer of 1952, gave untiringly of his time in building up the collections at the centre and in showing visitors through the house. Through his efforts a fine brochure was prepared, giving pertinent information.

Officers of the board of directors for the current year are as follows:—

Chairman	- - - - -	Miss Janet Gilley.
Vice-Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. H. N. Lidster.
Secretary-Treasurer	- - - - -	Mrs. Stephen Young.
Honorary Curator	- - - - -	Mr. Stephen Young.

PLAQUE TO COMMEMORATE CAPTAIN EDWARD STAMP

On Monday evening, April 7, the Board of Park Commissioners of Vancouver, B.C., were hosts at a dinner in the Pavilion, Stanley Park, attended by over 100 pioneer residents whose association with the city dated from 1886 or earlier. The occasion marked the sixty-sixth birthday of the city and was presided over by Commissioner Arnold Webster, chairman of the Parks Board. Included in the proceedings was the unveiling of a bronze plaque, provided by the Provincial Department of Trade and Industry which was represented on the occasion by Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister, to commemorate the work of a pioneer industrialist, Captain Edward Stamp. Major J. S. Matthews, City Archivist of Vancouver, and Mr. B. A. McKelvie, popular journalist, were instrumental in securing the plaque, which was placed temporarily on the wall of the main pavilion in Stanley Park and subsequently was erected permanently near the Brockton Point grounds in the vicinity of the scene of Captain Stamp's activity.

Guest speaker on that occasion was Mr. B. A. McKelvie, who characterized Captain Stamp as "a great industrialist, a legislator, and a builder of communities." Stamp was one of the early pioneers in the lumber industry of this Province, first in cutting and exporting spars and later, in 1860, as a prime mover in establishing the first large sawmill at Alberni. He withdrew from this operation in 1862 but continued his spar business. In 1865 he organized the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company, and applied for and received from Governor Seymour a concession of 100 acres for a mill-site in the vicinity of Brockton Point in what is now Stanley Park. The site was surveyed and clearing begun when unanticipated difficulties made completion of the mill impossible. The strong current in the First Narrows and the fact that the bottom off Brockton Point was poor holding ground made it an unsuitable site for the mooring of log rafts. In consequence, Stamp altered his project and moved across Coal Harbour to a site on the south shore of Burrard Inlet near the foot of what is now Dunlevy Street, where Hastings Mill was erected. Thus what is now one of Vancouver's great scenic attractions—Stanley Park—was saved from becoming an industrial area. The year after this new mill came into production, Captain Stamp returned to England, and his mill passed into other hands.

The ceremony of unveiling was jointly performed by Mr. John Charles Maclure, born at "The Camp," New Westminster, in 1862; August Jack Khahtsahlana, grandson of Chief Khahtsahlanogh (Kitsilano); and Mr. Fred L. Beecher, son of C. M. Beecher, one of the later proprietors of Hastings Sawmill. The inscription on the plaque reads as follows:—

Here Captain Edward Stamp pioneer industrialist and legislator started lumbering operations; then, finding a better site, he moved elsewhere on Burrard Inlet, and founded in the wilderness, now the City of Vancouver, the famous Hastings Sawmill, 1865.

HAROLD A. INNIS, 1894–1952

Last November Canada suffered a severe loss in the death of Dr. Harold Adams Innis, Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. He was, unquestionably, the leading Canadian economic historian, and his passing leaves a gap which can never quite be filled.

Born at Otterville, Ont., November 5, 1894, son of William Anson and Mary (Adams) Innis, Harold attended a rural school and later the Woodstock Collegiate Institute. He entered McMaster University, then located in Toronto, in the autumn of 1912 and graduated in 1916. Then he enlisted for overseas service and fought in France with the 4th Battery of the Canadian Field Artillery. He was wounded at Vimy Ridge and discharged from the army in 1918. After the war he did graduate work in economics and history at the University of Chicago and in 1920 obtained the coveted Ph.D. degree from that institution. His thesis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, was published in 1923 by P. S. King, London. In 1920 Innis was appointed lecturer in the Department of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, and there spent all his teaching career. He was promoted to the rank of assistant professor in 1924, to associate professor in 1929, and professor in 1936. In 1937 he became head of the department and in 1947 Dean of the Graduate School.

On one occasion Harold Innis is said to have revealed that once in each decade he wrote a book. Actually he was a very prolific writer, but in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's he did produce at least one outstanding volume. His *Fur Trade in Canada* was published in 1930 by Yale University Press, and his *Problems of Staple Production in Canada* appeared in 1933. The *Cod Fisheries*, a volume in the Canadian-American Relations Series, sponsored and financed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, came out in 1940, and *Political Economy and the Modern State* in 1946. *Empire and Communication* made its appearance in 1950. This list is, designedly, incomplete, and no reference has been made to his valuable editorial work or his two volumes of *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History*. Mention must be made, however, of Innis's collaboration with Professor A. R. M. Lower, now of Queen's, in the second volume of the *Select Documents* and in *Settlement and the Forest and Mining Areas* in the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series. Innis and Lower worked harmoniously together, a tribute, incidentally, to the character and ability of both collaborators, neither of whom was at all lacking in personality.

One of Innis's greatest assets as a Canadian economic historian was his intimate knowledge of the outlying portions of Canada. He visited Mackenzie River in

1924 and the Yukon in 1926. In 1930 he was in Newfoundland and Labrador, and in 1931 he made a close survey of the north shore of the St. Lawrence. These strenuous journeys led to a more complete understanding of the regions visited. He knew the country of the fur-trader, the gold-seeker, and the base-metal miner, and he studied the cod-fisheries, not only their written records, but also on the Grand Banks and the "outposts" of Newfoundland.

On three occasions Innis was a member of a Royal Commission. In 1934 he helped to investigate into the economic problems of Nova Scotia, and did not concur with the findings of the majority of his colleagues. Twelve years later, in 1946, he was a member of the Royal Commission on Adult Education in Manitoba, and in 1951 was appointed by the Federal Government a member of the Royal Commission on Transportation.

Few Canadian intellectuals of his generation were more widely known nor more recognized internationally than Harold Innis. In 1948 he delivered the Beit lectures at Oxford and the Arts Foundation lecture at the University of Nottingham. The American Economic Association elected him its president for 1952, the only time that office had been held by one who was not an American citizen.

In 1947 Innis was president of the Royal Society of Canada. Previously he had been president of the Canadian Political Science Association, chairman of the Canadian Social Science Research Council, and also, among many other offices, a member of the Council of the Canadian Historical Association.

But all this recital of facts does not really give us the real Innis. He was a rather shy, unassuming scholar, who had an amazing memory stored with facts, a philosophic mind, and a genius for friendship. He was the economic historian, *par excellence*, of Canada in his generation, but he was much more than that. In his later years he turned away from the "staple trades" of Canada—furs, fish, mining—to the broader problem of communications and to a study of world problems, viewed from the point of view of a social philosopher. Dr. R. A. MacKay, a lifelong friend, writing in the *Ottawa Citizen*, said of him:—

"At bottom Innis was a social philosopher rather than a mere historian or economist. Of a reflective, imaginative, and almost intuitive cast of mind, he had a singular capacity for seeing significant relationships between the material environment and ideas, and between facts themselves, which often escaped the more pedestrian scholar. A humanist and a liberal, he was profoundly concerned with social consequences of economic phenomena, and his writing, particularly in later years, is shot through with ethical judgments on social tendencies."

As a writer Dr. Innis was often tedious. He had a tendency to pack his pages with detail. His lectures were, as a rule, extremely factual, but occasionally he would let his imagination run riot. So, too, in his books, after pages of almost unendurable detail there comes a flash of rare insight and understanding. His capacity for work was enormous and his erudition profound. As might be expected, he made a lasting impression upon his students, especially upon the honours and graduate students. His influence over his colleagues was great; in fact, there was almost an "Innis cult" at the University of Toronto.

The greatest thing about Harold Innis was the man himself. He could be caustic and cutting, but he was usually kind. Above all, he was intellectually humble. He was never too busy to leave his work to chat with his friends, many

of whom came from distant Provinces and States, and even from Europe and the far-off places of the earth. It was fitting that his office had once been occupied by the Chancellor of McMaster University, and that, as an old McMaster man, he had come back to the old building he had loved so well. His was a huge and rather unwieldy department, embracing not only political economy—Toronto does not use the term "economics"—political science, and commerce, but social work as well. Harold Innis had hosts of friends, and he became a sort of international clearing-house for the social sciences. He could not tolerate sham or affectation, and also he had little use for brilliant young men and women who preferred larger salaries in business, industry, or even government service to the lesser pay of the academic researcher. To the serious student, his door was never closed.

Just a word in conclusion regarding Dr. Innis and British Columbia. Twice he taught at Summer School at the University of British Columbia and thoroughly enjoyed his work with the students. He visited our Province on other occasions, and he was always well informed on what was happening on our coast. It is typical of him that during one Summer School in Vancouver he read through the entire collection of M.A. theses in economics and history in the University library.

Now he has left us, but his influence remains. His was one of the really creative minds amongst Canadian social scientists. We owe him a debt which will grow with the years.

WALTER N. SAGE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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

Sydney G. Pettit is Associate Professor of History at Victoria College in affiliation with the University of British Columbia.

W. Kaye Lamb has recently been appointed the first National Librarian of Canada, in addition to his duties as Dominion Archivist. Formerly associated with the Provincial Library and Archives of British Columbia, as well as the library of the University of British Columbia, he is well known for his many writings on the history of this Province.

Margaret A. Ormsby is Associate Professor of History at the University of British Columbia and a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association.

James A. Gibson, a former Rhodes' Scholar from British Columbia, is Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science of Carleton College, Ottawa, Ont.

Willard E. Ireland is Provincial Librarian and Archivist of British Columbia.

Helen R. Boutilier, a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Society, is on the teaching staff of the Vancouver Technical School and an assistant in the Department of History of the University of British Columbia.

Mrs. Vera Drury is Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

Alexander W. Wainman is assistant professor in the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of British Columbia.

Madge Wolfenden is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and Assistant Provincial Archivist.

A. F. Flucke is a member of the staff of the Provincial Archives and during the past two years has been closely associated with the production of the *British Columbia Heritage Series* for the Division of Curriculum of the Department of Education.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

Ravens and Prophets: An account of journeys in British Columbia, Alberta and Southern Alaska. By George Woodcock. London: Allan Wingate [1952]. Pp. 244. Maps and ills. \$3.

This is advertised as Mr. Woodcock's first travel book. It is based on his travels throughout British Columbia, but it is more than a travel book. Mr. Woodcock has a lively historical sense, and, in addition to interesting himself with the contemporary scene, he delves into the economic and social background of each of the communities he visited. His book takes on the character of a comprehensive picture of our British Columbia culture.

The book was written primarily for the European reader, to acquaint him with this large and romantic territory known as British Columbia and its peoples. But it has turned out to be a book that is no less informative for British Columbians. Few have the opportunity to penetrate many parts of this Province, much less the ability to analyse and write in a distinguished way of its life and scene.

Mr. Woodcock was born in Canada but spent most of his life in the literary world of Europe, where he built a reputation as a poet and critic and author of books on Kropotkin, Oscar Wilde, and Aphra Behn. He returned to Canada in 1949, and after living two years at Sooke, outside Victoria, set out on his exploratory tours of British Columbia. They first took him up the Cariboo Highway as far as Hazelton and the near-by Indian village of Kispiox. The second tour was over the Hope-Princeton Highway through the Kootenay and Crownsnest country and back through Calgary, Banff, and Kamloops. His third tour took him up the coast to Ketchikan, Metlakatla, and Prince Rupert, inland along the Skeena River and through the Bulkley and Nechako Valleys to Prince George, and down through the country traversed by the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. His fourth trip took him again into Southern British Columbia, part of the Kootenay and Okanagan Districts. On all these trips he writes in detail of places and people he saw and met. He mentions no persons by name. He is not just writing a journalist's story about individuals, for he probes deeper, seeking the factors that guide the group life.

To the British Columbian who does not get around much, the variety of human interests and activities in this Province he exposes will come as a revelation. Besides the wide range of Anglo-Saxon communities, there are those of the native Indians and immigrants like the Doukhobors and Mennonites. Mr. Woodcock talked with members of these groups, and what he has written of these talks will help us to be sympathetic, as well as to have an intelligent understanding, of the way these people think and of their problems.

One kindred soul in particular Mr. Woodcock encountered in a Quesnel shop. He was a young man in Harris tweeds with a weathered face and a broken nose who turned out to be the editor of the *Cariboo and North-west Digest*. When Mr. Woodcock told him of his reasons for travelling, this man brought out a pile of the back numbers of his magazine, explaining that they might give an idea of the country's background. The magazine proved to be a curious mixture of historical articles, some of them very conscientiously prepared of old-timers' tales which

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seemed to verge on the apocryphal, of news about the area between Clinton and the Yukon, and of editorial comment which grappled intelligently with the problems of growth and conservation. "It was a surprising publication to find in such a little town," writes Mr. Woodcock (p. 187), "and we asked the editor how he had ever set out on such a venture. He explained that he had lived in the Cariboo since his childhood. Before the war he had been one of that almost extinct breed, the hand loggers (i.e., men who fell trees by the old crosscut saw instead of the power saw), and later he had become a truck-driver, travelling over the north country wherever there were any roads on which to run. In the meantime he had put in odd spells as a guide, and his experiences had shown him not only the wealth of unpublished historical material, and a number of local problems which needed ventilation, but also the interest these questions aroused among the people he met. So he decided to publish a quarterly magazine about the Cariboo. The first issue he printed himself on a small hand-press and peddled it in the streets of Quesnel. In five years he built it up so that it now paid its own way, with a slender margin which enabled him to spend six months a year travelling about the back country and gathering information. He was never at a loss for articles, since people were becoming more conscious that their memories might help to create the history of important social movements."

It was interesting to Mr. Woodcock, as it must be to all readers of this *Quarterly*, to know how powerfully the legends of the Cariboo past seem to be implanted in the minds of the people in Quesnel. For, as Mr. Woodcock writes, it must certainly need some strong emotional impulse to inspire loggers and farmers to found a magazine and embark on historical research. "I think," Mr. Woodcock adds, "the reason can be found in the highly dramatic nature of life in all frontier movements. It is not without reason that such historical phenomenon as the gold rushes have found their place in folk literature for their essential elements of tragedy, disillusionment and plain human folly and weakness inevitably appeal to ordinary men as a representation in reality and on a grand scale of their own everyday fantasy lives." This is typical of Mr. Woodcock's approach and his reaction to the material he uncovered during his trips. He handles his material in a workmanlike way and his English is vividly distinctive. *Ravens and Prophets* is a valuable and useful book for anyone who wants to know British Columbia and its people better.

There are two slip-ups which should be noted. On page 123, when telling of the mountain that collapsed on top of a town on the Crownsnest Pass railway, the town is referred to as Michel, when in reality it was Frank, Alta. Earlier, on pages 13 and 14, when dealing with the development of the coal industry at Nanaimo, the Muir family is named and reference made to "a great castellated mansion outside Victoria . . . their great sham castle surviving only as a school for naval officers." This is obviously incorrect, for the reference should be to the Dunsmuir family.

VICTORIA, B.C.

VERA DRURY.

Toil and Peaceful Life—History of the Doukhobors Unmasked. By S. F. Reibin. Mantica, Calif.: privately printed, 1952. Pp. 338. Ills. \$3.50.

In the past fifty years many books have been published about the Doukhobors by people who were not members of the sect, but few have been written by Doukhobors themselves. Among these latter are historical sketches in Russian by Peter N. Maloff (Malov) and W. A. Soukoreff (Sukhorev), both of which have been published within the past five years. More recently a new work has appeared by another Doukhobor, S. F. Reibin (Rybin), likewise in Russian, the title of which is *Toil and Peaceful Life—History of the Doukhobors Unmasked.*

The central theme of this book is the fact that the Doukhobors have been throughout their history, first in Russia and later in Canada, completely under the thumb of their leader of the moment. Whenever a minority refused to submit to the leader's will, a schism occurred and a new splinter group of the sect was formed.

The writer's main object appears to be to expose the dictatorial traits in the character of P. V. Verigin (Peter Verigin the elder), under whom he worked as interpreter and secretary from 1902 until 1923. One would have expected an extremely interesting narrative to have been derived from these years of intimate knowledge of the "leader." The author states he never attended either a Russian or an English school—a fact which leads him to apologize for his simple style of writing. It is not, however, the simplicity of style which detracts from the value of the book, but the way in which it is put together. Hearsay and fact are so intermingled that it is often impossible to separate one from the other. Letters, newspaper articles, and other documents are included at random in the text of the book, and the chronology of the story he is telling is not strictly adhered to by the author. There is no attempt to divide the book into chapters, and the general impression gained is one of lack of balance. A number of interesting photographs are reproduced, but unfortunately they are printed in such small dimensions that their value is largely lost.

Despite all these shortcomings, the reader does at times gain an interesting insight into the goings-on in Peter V. Verigin's immediate entourage. The comparative luxury in which he lived during the early years in Canada stands out in rude contrast to the meagre lot of his people. The author refers to the choir of young women who usually accompanied Verigin on his visits to his villages and to the affair between him and Anastasia "the Godly," who on his death formed an independent community in Alberta. Verigin's practical business sense is clearly illustrated by a proposal he is said to have made to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company to import temporarily 2,000 workers from Tsarist Russia to help build the railway. Verigin would have received wages for these men in dollars on the high Canadian scale but would have paid them in Russian roubles on their return home and pocketed the difference—presumably for the benefit of the Doukhobor community. The scheme, however, did not materialize.

Mr. Reibin, who settled in California on leaving the community in 1923, considers that Verigin was cheated by the real-estate agents in the Kootenays, who made him pay \$50 (actually the exact price was \$52.50) per acre for the land he bought. He also maintains that the Doukhobors would have done better to settle in the more temperate climate of Oregon or California.

Although the book concentrates on the person of Peter Verigin the elder, the author also gives his impressions of his son, P. P. Verigin, whom he knew as a young man and later met occasionally after the latter had returned from Russia to assume leadership of the Doukhobor community. "Speaking frankly," Mr. Reibin writes, "I was amazed by the contrast between Peter Petrovich and his late father Peter Vasilevich, with whom I had worked for over twenty years. The latter was of enormous stature, a giant, and always kept himself neat and clean. Every word was in its place and every word law. Toward those working for him he behaved decently and tactfully, like a kind father. Peter Petrovich was of medium build, about my own age, nervous, capricious toward his wife and mother and toward those working for him. In his office he would smoke cigarette after cigarette. While looking through his papers, he would keep his holder in his mouth. The smoke from the cigarette would get into his eyes and the ash fall on his papers and dirty everything on the table. He cursed his staff with foul language and threatened to beat them. He called them: 'thief,' 'cheat,' 'rogue,' and 'provocateur' indiscriminately." This man, the author states, had changed for the worse since he had first met him some twenty-five years earlier.

This book has brought forth a wave of protest from the leading members of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ (Orthodox Doukhobors), who still revere their departed leaders. Perhaps the most surprising fact emerging from all this is that it illustrates how difficult it is for a member of a primitive community to break away, however much he may disapprove of the way life is carried on. It took Reibin and his family twenty-four years from the time of their arrival in Canada to make their bid for freedom and independence. How many more Doukhobors there must be who, though disapproving of it, live their whole lives within the community and never manage to strike out on their own.

ALEXANDER W. WAINMAN.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Tales of the Alberni Valley. By Hazel A. E. Hill. Edmonton: Hamly Press, 1952.
Pp. 48. Ills. \$1.

The appearance of a book or pamphlet dealing with the history and description of a particular locality is bound to evoke the interest of the inhabitants and ex-inhabitants of the locality in question. Teachers in the schools, historians, archivists, librarians, and the public in general are eager to read accurate accounts of local history interspersed with human touches, but they form a critical audience.

The writer of this review opened the covers of *Tales of the Alberni Valley* perhaps with too much optimism, for after reading the forty-eight pages and looking at the dozen or so (most of them poor) illustrations she felt that the author had really told nothing at all worth while about one of the most beautiful, naturally, and one of the most interesting, economically, of the varied districts of Vancouver Island.

True enough, the title is *Tales of the Alberni Valley*, and the stories of the Nicholas and Morrison families and their adventures are interesting up to a certain point, but most of the rest are really not of much account, and could very well have been left out. One knows from experience that too much trust cannot be

placed on the average pioneer narrative, and each one must be checked carefully for factual errors. To take one example from those related by Miss Hill: On page 5, Charles Taylor III's story is given and in it he relates that he travelled across the United States by train to Tacoma in 1884. He says that there was no Seattle at that time. As a matter of fact, Seattle was settled slightly before Tacoma in the 1850's, but the Northern Pacific Railway, the first transcontinental road traversing the Northern States, chose Tacoma as its terminal city, while the Great Northern, ten years later, was routed to Seattle in 1893.

The present development of the Alberni district stems from the manufacture of lumber and its by-products. This industry had its beginning in the year 1860 in what proved to be too ambitious an undertaking for the time. The story of this pioneer effort has been admirably given by Dr. W. K. Lamb in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938). Two more articles connected with Alberni are Dr. T. A. Rickard's *Gilbert Malcolm Sproat* and Herbert Carmichael's *Pioneer Days in Pulp and Paper*, which have also appeared in the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Miss Hill has apparently used at least two of these articles, but has not benefited very much by them, for she had made numerous errors in referring to facts in connection with the industries and with the people whose names are chiefly connected therewith. Her quotations from John T. Walbran's *British Columbia Coast Names* cannot be relied upon.

One regrets that the author has missed so many opportunities of giving useful information when she refers to "Sterling and Smith," "Mr. and Mrs. Davies," "a Clarke family," "Mr. Reeves," and so on, when a little conscientious research would have revealed the Christian names of these particular individuals.

Evidences of carelessness appear throughout the pamphlet, as, for instance, *Sterling* instead of *Stirling*; *Robert Brown* becomes *Richard Brown* after the first mention of him. Abbreviations such as Pr. for Port, Gt. for Great, and Rd. for road, and R. for river are both unattractive as well as irritating.

The style of writing is not always of the best, as, for instance, (p. 19) "Some got together," (p. 21) "They help themselves to the gardens," (p. 37) "Guests from all over." One wonders what the author means when she says on page 13 that the westernmost part of the Trans-Canada Highway was "dedicated to the cause of understanding." One hopes the Chief Forester will not see the reference to the British Columbia Forest Service as a "pretty crude affair" (p. 40). Incidentally it was begun in 1912, not 1910.

Very little mention of beautiful Mount Arrowsmith, the presiding genius of the Alberni Valley, is made by Miss Hill, nor of its unusual and rare flora. For such a scenic locality it should have been an easy matter to obtain really good photographs of some of the beauty spots for illustrations.

There will be expressions of disappointment that the author did not take more care and spend more time in collecting her material before attempting to write her pamphlet, which could have been so very much more interesting, and much more useful to students and others. A good account, both descriptive and historical, of the beautiful Alberni Valley is still badly needed.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES,
VICTORIA, B.C.

He Wrote for Us: The Story of Bill Bennett, Pioneer Socialist Journalist. By Tom McEwen. Vancouver: Tribune Publishing Company, 1951. Pp. 159. \$1.

William Bennett was a revolutionary socialist for every one of the forty-two years he spent in Canada. It is natural, then, that this "story" parallels the struggle of Canadian militant socialists and proletariat organizers to build, from the ranks of united workers, a revolutionary machine capable of wresting a better standard of living from society.

In writing *He Wrote for Us*, author Tom McEwen, present editor of the *Pacific Tribune*, has taken the opportunity of rehashing many of the most lurid episodes in Canada's and British Columbia's labour history, and of thundering again the well-worn denunciations of capitalistic society. The book is obviously a propaganda piece, and, therefore, the reader can hardly expect the events reviewed to be related with any degree of objectivity.

"Old Bill" Bennett was proud of his place in the ranks of the Communists, and the author of this book is no less forthright in proclaiming his political bias. Hence McEwen writes in the standard Communist vein with a plethora of expletives and "loaded" phrases common to the vocabulary of labour agitators. From that somewhat restricted point of view the book is no doubt well written, but it is evident that for much of his material the author has leaned heavily on Bennett's own book, *Builders of British Columbia*, published in 1937—a Communist's history of the labour troubles of this Province.

William Bennett was born in Greenock, Scotland, in the year 1881. At the age of 16, while still an apprentice barber, he entered the Anderson branch of the Scottish Labour Party in Glasgow. Emigrating to Canada in 1907, he went directly to Vancouver, the city he was to call home for the rest of his life. Bennett continued his chosen profession of barbering, finding it a useful vantage point from which to urge others to take up the cause of socialism. In 1922 he was one of British Columbia's delegates to the first constituent convention of the Workers' Party of Canada, the direct forerunner of the present Labour Progressive Party. During the early years of the 1930's, Bill Bennett, with several others, under the ægis of the Communist Party of Canada, went to India to aid the youthful Communist Party of that country.

Bennett contributed frequently to the early leftist newspapers and journals, his caustic pen appearing on the pages of the old *B.C. Federationist*, the *B.C. Lumber Worker*, and other publications in this Province, as well as some farther afield. But it was in the third issue of the *B.C. Workers' News*, when he began his column "Short Jobs," that his career as a labour journalist is considered to have been "officially" opened. For fourteen years, with the exception of a 2½-year period during World War II, when publication was suspended, "Old Bill's" vitriolic comments highlighted the labour problems of the day in this and successive publications. A never-say-die fighter for what he believed were the inalienable rights of his class, Bill was also a strong believer in the power of the written word. Much of his life was spent on intensive efforts to build a more effective socialist press in British Columbia. Bennett wrote his last column in the *Pacific Tribune* on December 23, 1949, and eight days later passed away quietly in Vancouver's Athlone Hospital.

Because *He Wrote for Us* is the story of partisan activities and is written wholly from the Communist point of view, criticism of its content is futile. But there are many pages wherein Bill Bennett enters not at all, and many more throughout in which he figures very little, except for brief references to his attitude toward, or his comments on, the incidents related. The chapter headings give an indication of the tone of the book—"The Great Betrayal" (World War I), "Stocks, Bonds—and Hunger," "Know Your Enemies," and "Capitalism's Fifth Column." The "on-to-Ottawa trek" of 1935, the "hunger marchers" protest meetings, and the attendant police action are detailed with the usual vituperative tirades directed against the politicians of the hour.

Most persons who lived through the depression years were painfully aware of the plight of the jobless and the thin subsistence margin of those workers who happened to enjoy the luxury of even partial employment. Also they well remember the half-fearful, half-sympathetic attitude of the employed class toward the demands of the destitute; the bewildered vacillation of penury-minded civic, Provincial, and Federal Governments; and the inevitable conflicts that arose between police and protesting groups. Nevertheless, most of the descriptive passages in McEwen's recital of events are patently and purposely overdrawn, particularly such incidents as the "Battle of Ballantyne Pier" of June 18, 1935, when the Vancouver Police charged the longshoremen's picket lines. Here the author has deliberately produced a one-sided, black and white picture, entirely ignoring the many extenuating circumstances of the affair.

For the average working-class reader, *He Wrote for Us* will make exciting fare, even for those with only a limited appreciation of the dramatic ingredients contained in the social and economic problems of human society. The struggle of groups against any type of authority that holds their particular ambitions in check will probably continue *ad infinitum*. We may only deplore the prejudices and inconsistency of ideas on both sides of the fence that give rise to the type of writing displayed in this and similar publications.

A. F. FLUCKE.

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