Document généré le 20 avr. 2024 12:22

Report of the Annual Meeting
Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada

Report of the Annual Meeting

Canada and the New British Columbia

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Volume 27, numéro 1, 1948

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/300295ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/300295ar

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Éditeur(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0317-0594 (imprimé)
1712-9095 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Ormsby, M. A. (1948). Canada and the New British Columbia. *Report of the Annual Meeting / Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada*, *27*(1), 74–85. https://doi.org/10.7202/300295ar

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CANADA AND THE NEW BRITISH COLUMBIA

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The completion of railway communication between British Columbia and eastern Canada is often considered to mark the beginning of the absorption of the Province into the Dominion of Canada. The bonds of race, custom, and economic interest, it is true, were strengthened after 1885 as Canadian population and capital moved westward, but it should not be forgotten that integrating factors existed from the commencement of Canadian settlement on the Pacific coast. The political and social concepts of eastern Canada were transplanted to British Columbia by the first Canadian settlers, and by 1871 the sense of sharing a common nationality was sufficiently strong to offset the economic attraction of the United States and to break the direct political tie with England. In spite of strained relations between the provincial and the federal government following the entrance of the province into Confederation, Canadian sentiment among British Columbians was materially strengthened by the joint endeavour of Canadians from all parts of the Dominion to build the section of the national railway which lay within the province's limits.

Canadians at first formed a minority group in British Columbia.[1] Although their individuality attracted little notice in gold-mining days, their influence in the maintenance of law and order came to be appreciated as the colony developed. In a society where economic monopoly and governmental paternalism were being replaced by the competitive acquisition of wealth and by anarchical tendencies, Canadians upheld morality and respect for authority. They became permanent residents in the colonies, and the builders, if not the surveyors and planners, of New Westminster and the smaller towns of the Fraser Valley and Cariboo. They supplied the professional and other services required in a pioneer community. And they led the way in political reform; for, from an old colonial environment, they had transferred to a new, a deep resentment of political disqualification and its off-shoots, economic discrimination and social slighting.

Almost from the beginning of Canadian settlement in the late fifties and early sixties, there was a manifestation of democratic tendencies which had emerged earlier in older British North American colonies. As on the American and the Upper Canadian frontiers, in British Columbia, the backwoodsman, the small farmer, and the day labourer instinctively abhorred class privilege. The agitation for the recognition of the people's rights was led by Canadians who revived the old formula of autonomy, free lands, separation of church and state, and opportunity for unhampered economic activity. Their struggle for these ideals forms one of the chapters in the history of the evolution of democratic institutions on this continent.

Change was already in the air when Canadian settlement commenced in the British colonies on the Pacific coast. In the older colony of Vancouver

[1]The number of miners who came from California to the Fraser River mines in 1858 is variously estimated at 20,000, 25,000 and 30,000. Britishers were among those who came, but no contemporary reference is made to Canadians. For information concerning overland expeditions from Canada, see M. S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62* (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir IX, Victoria, 1931), 2-7.

Island, British colonists had just succeeded in helping to persuade the British government to end the liaison between colonial administrators and Hudson's Bay Company officers. The colony's system of government was to be modernized so that control would be exercised directly by the Crown, and the sponsorship of the Hudson's Bay Company ended. The attention of the British authorities had been called to various grievances: the division of the governor's attention between governmental and Company affairs, nepotism in the filling of offices, the executive's irresponsibility, the high property qualification for office-holding, and the deterrent to settlement in the high price of crown lands. The curbing of the Company's power, which the imperial government proposed as a method of redress, was not wholly satisfactory to the British colonists, or to the Canadians who began to arrive in 1858 and 1859. Although such action implied that settlers would enjoy greater economic freedom, it did not necessarily mean that the people's power in government would be increased. Only fully representative and responsible government would give political freedom.

In the colony of British Columbia, organized on the mainland after the discovery of gold on the bars of the Fraser in 1858, conditions were still less satisfactory. Imperial considerations, and the expense involved in sending a military force to protect and police the gold colony and to assist in the development of its resources, necessitated a plan for the economical management of its affairs. On condition that he sever his connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island, was offered the dual position of governor of the two colonies. Convinced that gold-miners were not qualified by experience or by temperament for office-holding, Douglas delayed fulfilling his instructions to set up an assembly on the mainland, and appointed officials as members of an executive council. The colonists of British Columbia resented their exclusion from government, the colony's lack of a separate governor, and the residence of officials in Victoria. For five years they battled to obtain recognition of their rights, only to find in 1863, when the separate existence of the mainland colony was acknowledged, and a legislative council set up, that the people's representatives could be checked by the relatively superior strength of the official element and the exercise of authority by the new governor.

Three years later, as depression spread in the colonies and retrenchment became necessary, the imperial authorities decided to unite the colonies, extend the jurisdiction of the executive and legislature of British Columbia over the Island, and abolish Vancouver Island's assembly. Union satisfied neither islander nor mainlander. As might have been expected, there were disputes about the location of the capital, the amount of representation allowed to each section in the council, and the unequal debt-load which the united colony assumed from the two colonies. There was, too, the inevitable bickering about the burden of taxation and the distribution of government monies. One school of thought in Victoria favoured the demand for "the immediate restitution of our political rights, with full measure of responsible government" or permission from the British authorities for the colony to become annexed to the United States.[2] Another group of colonists felt that the suggestion of annexation was a counsel of despair, and that British

[2]Resolution of a meeting called by Leonard McClure in Victoria, Sept., 1866, as reported in the *Colonist*, Sept. 29, 1866.

Columbia's merging in a union of eastern Canadian colonies would be the best means of obtaining popular government and economic salvation.[3] In the year 1866 the first attempt was made to obtain permission from the Colonial Office for recognition of British Columbia's right to be admitted into Confederation.[4] At this time the British North America Act was before the imperial parliament. Obstacles, such as the Hudson's Bay Company's control of territory intervening between British Columbia and the Upper Canada, and Governor Seymour's lack of enthusiasm for union, prevented the immediate materialization of the plan for union.

Meanwhile, journalist agitators aroused interest in the establishment of self-government in British Columbia. They loudly denounced the political iniquities of the local administration, hoping to bring about reform through the education of opinion and indoctrination of the general public. It was to be reform through evolution; militant radicalism was impossible in a colony where there was a racial mixture and where a great many of the settlers were politically uninformed. The gold-miners tended to be strong individualists, living from day to day, and becoming so discouraged by hardship that many of them left the country.[5] Speculators in lands and mines were more concerned with making quick profits than in combining efforts for the building of a stable society. Only those who had a real stake in the country, the farmers, the merchants, the traders, and the wage-earners who hoped to improve their condition, were seriously concerned about a more equitable distribution of political power.

The most serious problem facing the reformers was that of uniting classes and racial elements. British officials on Vancouver Island did not relish the prospect of premature retirement from their posts.[6] Victoria also contained an influential group of Britishers who were active or retired Hudson's Bay men, and who enjoyed an indirect voice in colonial government. They, too, were not anxious for change. In addition, a merchant class of Germans and Jews in Victoria had business connections with San Francisco and thought in terms of possible annexation of the colony to the United States.[7] Population was even more mixed on the mainland. There, a conservative British element, composed partly of officers and men retired from the Royal Engineers was satisfied with keeping the *status quo,*

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[3]The question of Confederation was debated in the first meeting of the legislature of the united colony and unanimously approved. *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia* (New Westminster, 1867), 72.

[4]This request was either mislaid or not sent. Seymour again communicated with the Colonial Office on September 24, 1867. F. W. Howay in his article, "The Attitude of Governor Seymour towards Confederation" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 3rd series, XIV, sec. ii, 1921, 31-51) contends that Seymour was unfriendly to the plan. After a Confederation League was formed in Victoria in May, 1868, branches were set up in New Westminster, Yale, and Lytton. A rally at Yale in September, 1868, has been referred to as "British Columbia's counterpart of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences," Walter N. Sage, "Amor de Cosmos, Journalist and Politician" *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VIII, July, 1944, 196).

[5]S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada* (Toronto, 1942), 309.

[6]Lisgar wrote to Kimberley on April 27, 1871, that special consideration should be given to the subject of pensions, since "it had been distinctly understood on all sides that it would be very difficult to obtain the assent of British Columbia to the proposed terms of Confederation unless satisfactory assurances were given in reference to the question . . ." (Public Archives of Canada, G 365, no. 96).

[7]Willard E. Ireland, "The Annexation Petition of 1869" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV, Oct., 1940, 281).

while Irish and Scots who desired increased prestige, were inclined to favour the Canadian cause. A group of European settlers, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, and others, lacked interest in local political issues and failed to throw weight behind the reform movement. This was also true of the French Canadians who were isolated socially and given little encouragement to take part in political life. The large Chinese element remained completely segregated from other groups. It was therefore difficult to obtain identity of interests. The only two groups sharing the same political tradition were the English and the Canadians. Many of the former considered their residence in the colony as constituting an interlude in a professional career, and, like Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, continued to think of England "as if it were just outside the door."[8] Some of them might have been willing to support the reform movement, had they not, with some justice, suspected Canadian leaders of underlying ambitions to hold office.

The sparse settlement of British Columbia also made for difficulty in getting concerted action. In Cariboo, the mobility of population caused fluctuation in the size of the towns. New Westminster, which had the greatest aggregation of reformers, was distant from Cariboo, as well as from the new mining areas in the Okanagan and the boundary country. It was also tied by proximity and by economic bonds to the agricultural districts of the lower mainland, where the agrarian element was not united in demands for governmental change. At Langley, where the Hudson's Bay Company had long been established, a group of farmers was nervous about the proposed inclusion of a demand for responsible government in the terms of union to be negotiated with Canada. In 1870, they expressed the opinion that:

> Responsible Government at present would only enable the unscrupulous politicians of Victoria to plunder more effectually the interests of the Mainland, and impede the progress of the country generally.
>
> The people of Langley cannot help believing that the past Government of this Colony has lent its influence in enabling the people to demand and obtain unjust concessions to the very great detriment of the other parts of the united colony and should any more of this foul treatment appear to be furthered, we shall do everything in our power in conjunction with the rest of the Mainland to rid ourselves of all connection with that part of the united colony known as Vancouver Island.[9]

As economic organization developed from the stage of private endeavour to joint enterprise, the reform movement gained momentum. By 1866, the tapping of the tremendous resources of the forests, mines, and rivers had commenced,[10] and projects had been started which necessitated large-scale investment of capital as well as a labour supply. Neither the government nor the banks gave financial assistance to the promoters of these enterprises. After 1866, the burden of the government's indebtedness increased with each passing year. Both the Bank of British North America and the Bank

[8]Sydney G. Pettit, "Dear Sir Matthew: A Glimpse of Judge Begbie" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XI, Jan., 1947, 14).

[9]*Daily Standard* (Victoria), Dec. 1, 1870.

[10]See the articles by F. W. Howay, "Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet, 1863-1870" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I, Jan., 1937, 3-20); "Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet" (*ibid.*, I, Apr., 1937, 101-14); and "Coal-Mining on Burrard Inlet, 1865-1866" (*ibid.*, IV, Jan., 1940, 1-20); also the article by W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island, Part II, 1855-1866" (*ibid.*, II, Apr., 1938, 95-144).

of British Columbia followed extremely conservative policies, and were reluctant to make credit available either to the government or to individuals.[11] Lack of cheap land also hindered economic development. Until 1867 the Hudson's Bay Company retained sovereignty over crown lands on Vancouver Island,[12] and in many cases, sites which would have been favourable for centres of trade or new industries, formed part of the Company's holdings[13] or were set aside as government reserves. In addition, the large areas in good farming districts which had been acquired by former Hudson's Bay men, were not subdivided. Many Canadians felt that the shift from an economy based on the staples of fur and gold to one based on coal-mining, lumber-milling, salmon-canning, and flour-milling, would result from political union with Canada. Only in this way, they thought, could capital and labour be imported, and a railway built. In anticipation of prosperity, some of them eagerly participated in speculative activities after 1871, investing their savings in lands near the probable route or terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[14]

In addition to a desire for a greater voice in politics and for greater economic opportunity, Canadian reformers were motivated by antipathy for Englishmen. Knowing that many of the British officials and settlers belonged to the upper middle class or country gentry, Canadians often felt socially inferior in their presence. For the most part, the Canadians who emigrated to British Columbia were of the first generation born in Canada, and many of them had come from Ontario where they been raised on farms or in country parsonages or in the small-town homes of merchants and professional men. They lacked sophistication, and even the journalists, doctors, and lawyers among their number who took an active part in political life, were not always admitted to the closed social circle the Englishmen had created.

To a certain extent, the British element constituted an aristocracy of wealth and talents. In addition to economic security, arising from sound investment in land or guaranteed income from office, it had a feeling of cultural superiority. Many of the British settlers cultivated a taste for the arts and for letters, and carried on scientific investigations.[15] They still read *The Times* and ignored colonial newspapers; and they published their

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[11]See R. N. Beattie, "Banking in Colonial British Columbia" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia, 1939), for a discussion of banking policies during the colonial period.

[12]Leonard A. Wrinch, "Land Policy of the Colony of Vancouver Island, 1849-1866" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia, 1932, 70).

[13]F. W. Laing, "Hudson's Bay Lands on the Mainland" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III, Apr., 1939, 75-101).

[14]De Cosmos held property at Bute Inlet, the route proposed for the railway if the island railway was built as part of the national railway system. Dr. Powell had holdings at Burrard Inlet to which he added after Vancouver was chosen as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

[15]G. M. Sproat's anthropological work is discussed in T. A. Rickard's article, "Gilbert Malcolm Sproat" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I, Jan., 1937, 21-32); W. F. Tolmie's interest in botany is mentioned in S. F. Tolmie, "My Father: William Fraser Tolmie: 1812-1886" (*ibid.*, I, Oct., 1937, 225-40). Books written by Britishers describing living conditions in the colonies include the following: R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862); D. G. F. Macdonald, *British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862); Matthew MacFie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London, 1865); J. D. Pemberton, *Facts and Figures Relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London, 1860).

literary works in England. Furthermore, on the fringe of the forest, and against the encroachment of the backwoodsman, they maintained the standards of polite society in Victorian England. In contrast, many of the Canadian settlers were young men who had not become established in professional or business careers when they left the East, and they still had little financial reserve. Those who turned to farming, usually had little education, and they knew only the social life of rural areas. Disinclination as well as the exigencies of frontier life with its lack of interchange of ideas, prevented their intellectual development.

At the same time, they did not relish the exclusion of friends and relatives from the professions. It was insulting to all Canadians, for example, to have Judge Begbie recommend the temporary granting of licences to Canadian barristers, "there being no English barristers or attornies [*sic*]", and it being "expedient to take the best that can be got."[16] George A. Walkem, later premier of the province, who had been admitted to the bars of Upper and Lower Canada, had to wait until 1863, before Begbie would recognize his right to practise law. Such action convinced Canadians generally that the English "clique" was snobbish and tyrannical.

Diatribes in the press helped to widen the channel between Canadian and Englishman. Conscious that he "stood outside the Fort—the great Company,"[17] Amor de Cosmos, a Nova Scotian who belonged to the Howe tradition, in the columns of the *Colonist* flayed Douglas during his governorship for lack of liberalism and for too great concern for the Hudson's Bay Company's business interests.[18] After Douglas's retirement, de Cosmos took up the cause of representative and responsible government. On the mainland, de Cosmos's counterpart was John Robson, a reformer from Upper Canada who had a Wesleyan Methodist background and who edited the *British Columbian.* Robson's brush with Judge Begbie increased his antagonism for English officialdom, and probably for all Englishmen, and made him an energetic fighter for the introduction of a more popular element into the Legislative Council.[19]

In the latter phase of the colonial period, these two Canadian journalists poured forth political polemics and vituperative denunciation of the British oligarchy. Each of the editors had an excellent grasp of constitutional issues and a first-hand knowledge of local conditions, but neither of them had a great interest in political or economic theory. To a certain extent, they were both demagogues, and neither was unmindful of advantages which (once they had succeeded in securing British Columbia's entrance into Confederation) might accrue to himself. Temperamental differences and rivalry for attention made them political enemies. When in 1871, de Cosmos advocated the establishment of party government and the creation of a "Liberal" party,[20] he acted, according to Robson, "in the insane belief that he [de Cosmos] will be first Premier."[21] In short order Robson called

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[16]Sydney G. Pettit, "Judge Begbie in Action" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* XI, Apr., 1947, 132).

[17]Beaumont Boggs, "What I Remember of Hon. Amor de Cosmos" (*British Columbia Historical Association, Fourth Report and Proceedings,* 1929, 58).

[18]W. N. Sage, "Amor de Cosmos, Journalist and Politician" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* VIII, July, 1944, 189).

[19]Pettit, "Judge Begbie in Action," 134.

[20]*Daily Standard,* July 19, 1871.

[21]*British Colonist,* July 18, 1871.

for a legislature of independents, working for the good of the country at large.[22] Yet their combined efforts, and their conviction that change was necessary, made them important leaders of the reform movement in the period before 1871.

The influence of two medical men was also of considerable importance in the late colonial period. One of them was Dr. I. W. Powell, the son of a Canadian legislator[23] whose family sometimes had Macdonald's ear. A man of high principle, Powell was a sincere democrat. At the same time, too, he was not completely without interest in obtaining a federal appointment. The centre of his influence was Victoria. In the Cariboo, Dr. R. W. W. Carrall, a native of Woodstock, kept Macdonald informed about the progress of the Confederation movement, and carried out the prime minister's injunction to "keep the union fire alight until it burns over the whole Colony."[24] Carrall became one of the three British Columbia delegates who negotiated the terms of union and was rewarded for his efforts by being made one of British Columbia's first three senators.

Governor Musgrave indicated that he had some knowledge of the personal ambition of these men, when he wrote the colonial secretary, "The more prominent agitators for Confederation are a small knot of Canadians who hope that it may be possible to make fuller representative institutions and Responsible Government part of the new arrangements, and that they may so place themselves in positions of influence and emolument."[25] No doubt Macdonald relied on their private interests to help in the defeat of what he termed the conspiracy of "government officials, the Hudson's Bay agents and the Yankee adventurers"[26] to delay union. If he encouraged their ambitions, he had to pay the price later, for British Columbians hounded him for appointments.

In the end, external as well as internal pressure brought about British Columbia's entry into Confederation. By 1870, the imperial government lacked enthusiasm for continued support of an indigent and distant colony, which might be menaced by American expansionist activity in the Pacific. It encouraged the ambitions of the Canadian government to round out the national boundaries. For his part, Macdonald put "the screw on Vancouver Island,"[27] by arranging for the appointment of Governor Musgrave, who previously had worked for the cause of Confederation in Newfoundland. De Cosmos, a "western confederationist," had spent the summer of 1867 speaking in eastern Canadian cities in favour of British Columbia's union and on his return to the Colony he continued the fight. His work was supplemented by the efforts of John Robson, Dr. Carrall, Dr. Powell, Francis J. Barnard, and J. Spencer Thompson. Negotiations were conducted with Sir Georges Cartier in 1870 and an enlarged Legislative Council debated the terms of union in the spring of 1871. The generosity of treatment accorded British Columbia in fiscal arrangements, promise of railway communication, and freedom of choice in the setting up of responsible government and the

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[22]*Ibid.*, July 28, 1871.

[23]B. A. McKelvie, "Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M." (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XI, Jan., 1947, 34).

[24]P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, Letter Book 12, 367, Macdonald to Carrall, Jan. 5, 1869.

[25]G 365, Musgrave to Granville, Oct. 30, 1869.

[26]Macdonald Papers, Letter Book 12, 874, Macdonald to Musgrave, May 25, 1869.

[27]*Ibid.*, 972, Macdonald to Sir John Young, May 25, 1869.

application of the Canadian tariff, carried the day for union. Provincial status was formally attained on July 20.

Already the prime minister was besieged by applications for appointments. Within a fortnight of British Columbia's entry into Confederation, Macdonald replied to a request from Dr. Carrall in these words:

> I have your note of the 5th instant introducing Mr. Robson of the British Colonist. I have heard a good deal of Mr. Robson from Mr. Trutch and others as well as from yourself and shall be very glad to forward his views in any way in my power. The only difficulty will be the modus operandi as most of the important offices in the Province belong to the Provincial Government. We have only Post Offices, Customs, Excise to give, and are of course bound to retain the present office-holders in those Departments so long as they choose to remain & perform the duties efficiently. Still vacancies do occur occasionally, & I shall gladly keep Mr. Robson in mind. We think here that the Colonist deserves encouragement, and I have no doubt that a full share of any Government patronage there may be in that line will be extended to it. Mr. Langevin who visits British Columbia will see to that and other cognate matters.[28]

Soon the prime minister had to consider Dr. Powell's request that he be made Indian commissioner. Powell had reminded him that "At present there is not a single Canadian official in B.C. and being Confederationists too from the first, to Canadians is mainly due the credit of finally carrying Union against both English and official influences."[29]

Walkem was offended when the first federal appointment to the judiciary was given to John Hamilton Gray of New Brunswick, one of the Fathers of Canadian Confederation, who had been disappointed in his aspiration to become first speaker of the House at Ottawa. In pleading the case of Premier McCreight, Walkem but thinly disguised his own interest:

> You have wounded our feelings by passing over Mr. McCreight . . . in the matter of the judgeship. I assure you that the murmur of displeasure has extended beyond our local Bar. What has a barrister to hope for in the future if he doesn't enter the H. of Commons? I have heard all you said to Carrall and De Cosmos on the subject and while admitting the justice of the bar principle involved, I sincerely regret in common with others that lesson No. 1 in Canadian politics reminds one too much of the taskmasters of Egypt. We all serve, but are to be treated like serfs—Downing St. earned for itself the most bitter animosity, simply because merit in this *quondam* Colony was overlooked & some empty-headed favourite wanted a place. The latter remark doesn't of course apply to Col. Gray who, I believe, is a good lawyer & most estimable man. In his appointment you simply ask us to overlook the slight to McCreight and accept the bon-bon that is offered or in other words to swallow a spoonful of honey with a quart of bad vinegar—and look pleased. I know there is no use grumbling. . . .[30]

The following spring, although Walkem was a provincial cabinet mini-

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[28]*Ibid.*, Letter Book 16, 120-1, Macdonald to Carrall, July 31, 1871. Robson at this time was editor of the *Colonist.*

[29]*Ibid.*, General Letters, 1871, 319, Powell to Macdonald, Sept. 8, 1871.

[30]*Ibid.*, Macdonald-Walkem Correspondence, 5-6, Walkem to Macdonald, July 27, 1872.

ster, he tried to obtain the solicitorship at Victoria of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[31] But Macdonald would only go as far as making him Queen's Counsel.[32]

At least as long as dual representation lasted, de Cosmos appeared to be content with his role in public life, and did not press his suit on Macdonald.

As far as his relations with British Columbia were concerned, one of the prime minister's chief aims was not to single out favourites from either Canadian or British factions. His choice for the office of first lieutenant-governor of the province was Joseph W. Trutch, who was not sufficiently identified with the ruling caste of the colonial period to be anathema to Canadians, and not too friendly with Canadians to be objectionable to Englishmen. Trutch, a civil engineer, who had been commissioner of lands and works in the colonial government, would probably have preferred employment in a professional capacity, to service as an officer of the crown.[33] In any case, he had been one of British Columbia's delegates who had arranged the terms of union, and before their acceptance by the House of Commons, he had given a pledge that the province would be reasonable about the fulfilment of the railway commitment. For Macdonald, there were several advantages in having him in the post of lieutenant-governor. Trutch could be offered political tutoring since he did not understand the working of cabinet government; he had some influence with local politicians and could prevent them from being too wayward and headstrong; and he might induce the people of the province to adopt a reasonable attitude, if it were necessary to modify the terms of union. When Trutch chose as the first premier, John Foster McCreight, a Britisher who was not too close to the former oligarchy, Macdonald did not demur. It was possible that McCreight could be useful in uniting Canadian and British opinion.

So successful was Macdonald in winning popularity in British Columbia, and so general his support, that he was able by 1872 to use British Columbia as a pocket borough when Sir Francis Hincks was defeated in the election of that year. At that time, there was a strong desire in British Columbia for cabinet representation, so Trutch did not press the question of Hincks's eligibility under provincial regulations. Instead, he suggested to Macdonald that "if nothing is said on this point you can if you think fit make some adjustments at the opening of the next session."[34] Neither did Walkem adopt too critical an attitude. Complimenting Macdonald on Hincks's success. Walkem wrote:

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[31]*Ibid.*, General Letters, 1877, 101, de Cosmos to Macdonald, Apr. 11, 1873.

[32]*Ibid.*, Macdonald-Walkem Correspondence, Walkem to Macdonald Apr. 17, 1873, acknowledging the appointment.

[33]*Ibid.*, Letter Book 19, 770, Macdonald to Trutch, Feb. 13, 1873, "As the Railway is to be built through the intervention of a Company, the Government will have nothing to do directly with the engineering. They will of course appoint an Inspector who will report on the progress of the work, and on whose certificate alone the subsidy in money or land will be granted. I do not suppose that such an appointment would in any way suit your views. I have gathered from you that your ambition is to be charged with the very interesting work of constructing the Railway through British Columbia and the Rocky Mountains. I have no doubt of being able, from my influence, with the Board to secure you this appointment and I have no little doubt that the remuneration will be fixed at a satisfactory rate."

[34]*Ibid.*, Macdonald-Trutch Correspondence, 191, Trutch to Macdonald, Aug. 28, 1872.

I should have liked to have taken a hand in your election matters, but in the language of Bret Harte,

In the game that ensued
We did not take a hand
But the cards they were strewn
Like leaves o'er the sand.

I should really like to tell you some good and original stories, but the silent language of a letter spoils them. Before I left, I heard many of yours, but as you are aware, the "faculty" is confined to the few. Order me, command me, give me an embassy in order that I may be one Hour in Ottawa. No pay *in coin.*[35]

Six years later, in 1878, Macdonald himself was glad to accept a Victoria seat, after his defeat in Kingston.

By that time, the same standard of political ethics prevailed at Ottawa and Victoria. Patronage was expected to be the reward for loyalty, and provincial premiers liked to dispense largesse themselves. As premier, Walkem attempted to obtain control over the appointment of county court judges. To induce Macdonald not to stand in his way, he warned him that "an *opposition* member from this Province: could give you a great deal of annoyance on this & Railway expenditure."[36] Later, when the Liberals were in office at Ottawa and his relations with Mackenzie were far from friendly, Walkem tried in 1874 to obtain legislation giving the provincial government control over the placing of county court judges. It must have given Edward Blake, who had had other experience of Walkem's manœuvring, considerable pleasure to be able to checkmate him through disallowance.[37]

In the province's early years, both the strength and weakness of democracy were discernible. The secret ballot was introduced, and the franchise was extended to all but Indians and Chinese; but the spoils system existed, and the machinery of government worked slowly. There was inefficiency in government financing, and hints that prominent men were guilty of bribery and corruption. When British Columbia became a discontented province as the result of the slow prosecution of the railway project, negotiations for the settlement of differences were sometimes concluded abruptly, threats of secession were raised, as well as the first faint cries for "better terms." Mainland and Island interests continued to compete in pressing claims for the railway terminus, and learned their first lessons in lobbying. A crowd of hungry would-be politicians and their friends importuned Ottawa for government employment or contracts for railway construction. Political strategy in vogue in Ottawa, had its replica in Victoria.

Only in the failure to introduce party government did British Columbia depart from eastern practice. As Goldwin Smith observed, government appropriations were a more serious thing in British Columbia than party affiliations. Yet in the early seventies before the full implication of the loss of favour of the Conservative party at Ottawa was realized, there was some talk of drawing party lines. In 1873, Walkem told Macdonald that

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[35]*Ibid.*, Macdonald-Walkem Correspondence, 13, Walkem to Macdonald, Sept. 14, 1872.

[36]*Ibid.*, 20, Walkem to Macdonald, Dec. 11, 1872.

[37]Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Executive Document 29/75, Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Hon[oura]ble the Privy Council, approved Oct. 16, 1875.

"a very strong *Grit* element has been transplanted from Ont: & taken root here,"[38] and Judge Gray considered de Cosmos *"a Grit in every pulsation of his heart.* McKenzie [*sic*] or Geo. Brown are no more thoroughly so."[39] After 1873, however, it would have meant political suicide for any leader in British Columbia if he had made open declaration of affiliation with the Liberal party of the east.

While political conformity between province and Dominion developed, cultural ties also grew stronger. By 1872 educational principles and practice in the Province, for example, were drawn in line with those in Ontario. During Douglas's governorship, common schools, supported by the government, but charging tuition, had been established on Vancouver Island.[40] Church schools and private schools had also made their appearance. The establishment of a system of free education was largely the work of Dr. Powell, who succeeded in obtaining an act in 1865 for the establishment of common schools on Vancouver Island. The "admirable system of Canada West" was the model for the first free non-sectarian school in Victoria established by John Jessop in 1864.[41] Free education helped to break down class distinctions, and it was no longer necessary to provide separate schooling for what Douglas had termed "laborers' children."

Religious ties also developed between eastern and western communities. From the time of the arrival of the four pioneer Methodist missionaries in 1859, a strong Methodist thread ran through the fabric of early British Columbia history. Methodism, with its emphasis on temperance and honesty in business, was a reforming influence on the frontier, and did much to improve relations between white men and natives. It could be exclusive, as it was at Chilliwack, where at one time land purchase depended on religious conformity.[42] Like Puritanism in the early New England colonies, it did not frown too much on the core of hard materialism to be found in many of the early settlers. New Westminster was the centre of the Methodist following. A city laid out by Royal Engineers, its spiritual as well as its political heritage was Canadian.

Apart from the Methodists, only the Roman Catholics had close affiliations with eastern Canadian centres. Roman Catholic influence was tremendously strong with the Indians as the result of proselytizing activities, and important where there were French and French-Canadian settlers. There were few Irish in the fold, however, for British Columbia's Irish element was chiefly Protestant.

Anglicanism was not too popular in the lower mainland where it was regarded as being the faith of the Englishman; and on the Island its strength was dissipated because of factional feuds.

Interest in the common man was expressed by provincial politicians as well as by federal leaders in the eighties. Most British Columbians at that

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[38]Macdonald Papers, Macdonald-Walkem Correspondence, 25, Walkem to Macdonald, Apr. 17, 1873.

[39]*Ibid.*, General Letters, 1873, 60, J. H. Gray to Macdonald, Jan. 27, 1873.

[40]D. L. MacLaurin, "Education before the Gold-Rush" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II, Oct., 1938, 248-9).

[41]George W. Spragge, "An Early Letter from Victoria, V.I." (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX, Mar., 1948, 55).

[42]J. E. Gibbard, "Early History of the Fraser Valley, 1808-1885" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia, 1937, 244).

time would have accepted the measuring-rod adopted by J. B. Kerr later in assessing the worth of pioneer settlers: he "was very successful in his business, making a great deal of money."[43] For most British Columbians, as well as for most Canadians, the man of virtue was the successful farmer or business man. John Robson's early stand on the Oriental question, which is in such contrast to Douglas's liberal attitude when a negro colony on Vancouver Island was being planned, was thought by some, to spring from an interest in the lot of the working man.[44] Robson, however, was just as naive as John A. Macdonald, when it came to comprehension of the theory of class conflict. Scientific socialism was a field in which he could hardly claim to be a specialist. It was not until the industrial capitalist came to British Columbia in the nineties, that the craft union movement, which had started in 1862, marshalled its strength. Revolutionary socialism made its appearance in the early years of the twentieth century, gaining its support from the well-read British workingmen, coal-miners, and smelter-workers, who were the product of an intellectually more mature community than existed for native British Columbia workers.

Canadians who came to British Columbia between 1858 and 1885, were not theorists, but practical men of affairs, who had a deep respect for property and believed in the merit of hard physical work. They fought vigorously for constitutional reform, and expected benefit if it were accomplished; they knew that the maintenance of law and order was in their business interests; they introduced manners and standards of behaviour which they had known in the east; and they followed the social pattern they had known at home. Gradually they inched closer to British society, adopting some of its customs, and some of its outlook. Their enterprise and their energy gave to British Columbia, political, religious, and educational institutions which were Canadian. By the time of the completion of the trans-continental railroad, British Columbia was manifestly Canadian in spirit and custom.

As his last entry in his diary of the Confederation negotiations in 1870, Dr. Helmcken had written: "I am to tell from Sir George Cartier that it is necessary to be Anti-Yankee. That we have to oppose their damned system—that we can and will build up a northern power, which they cannot do with their principles, that the Govt. of Ontario, or rather of the Dominion is determined to do it."[45] Surely it was Dr. Helmcken, and not Cartier, who identified the government of Ontario with the government of the Dominion. As a product of the old colonial environment of Vancouver Island, Dr. Helmcken knew only too well the change that the "Ontario" men had made in government, as well as in the political and social life of British Columbia.

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[43]J. B. Kerr, *Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians* (Vancouver, 1890).

[44]Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), XXI, 253.

[45]Willard E. Ireland, "Helmcken's Diary of the Confederation Negotiations, 1870" (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV, Apr., 1940, 128).