

# BARKERVILLE'S THOMAS ROBSON PATTULLO IN LIFE AND DEATH:

## *The Memorial Album as Aide-Mémoire*

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**T**HOUGH OTHERS ON BARKERVILLE'S main street are closer to the camera, one man stands out. He is wearing a distinctive black hat, frock coat, and travelling cloak. He leans against the Bank of British Columbia building with an air of importance and looks straight at Frederick Dally, the photographer. Thomas Robson Pattullo stands out in this and other Cariboo photographs from 1867 to 1869. He appears wearing similar dress, trademark sidewhiskers, and a stern expression (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> He was also photographed in rough work clothes, the burly miner-cum-mine owner, not afraid to get dirty, but a figure of consequence. For over seventeen years, Pattullo was a larger-than-life figure in the Cariboo. He died suddenly in 1879 at the age of forty-one, and his memorial album of Dally photographs, long forgotten, serves as a springboard for discovering more about him and the community he called home.

Thomas Robson Pattullo was one of Barkerville's most identifiable public figures during the 1860s through the 1870s, frequently mentioned in the press, in public records, and private accounts. Pattullo toiled in the Cariboo, made fortunes and lost them, and lies buried on the hillside overlooking Barkerville. Though a resident of Barkerville and nearby Stanley, Pattullo was also a bon vivant in New Westminster and

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Wright credits Richard Maynard as the photographer of this famous view, but it is likely that Richard and Hannah Maynard published Dally's photograph under their imprint after Dally left British Columbia in 1870. Researchers often refer to this photograph as the "ghost dog" image. See Richard Wright, *Barkerville: Williams Creek Cariboo - A Gold Rush Experience* (Duncan: Winter Quarters Press, 1993), 2.

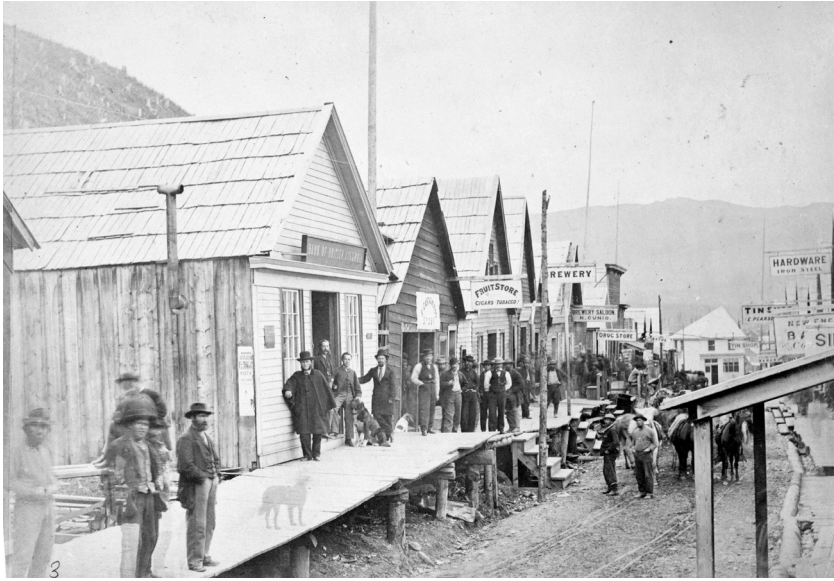


Figure 1. Barkerville prior to the Great Fire of 16 September 1868. Pattullo stands to the left of the open door. Source: Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 9, BCA A-03786.

Victoria. Readers of this journal (and motorists in the Lower Mainland) may be more familiar with the subject's nephew, Thomas Dufferin (Duff) Pattullo (1873-1956), premier of British Columbia from 1933 to 1941. Duff Pattullo has been recognized as a man not only important to the province's history but also representative of it. One of the objects of this article is to propose that the same can be said for his lesser-known uncle.

The elder Pattullo is the subject of a remarkable 1879 memorial album containing twenty-seven photographs and a testimonial poem. Augmenting this important album is an array of other visual and textual records available for researchers. As an object of material culture and as an archival record, the Pattullo memorial album, like so many albums, has been overlooked. It serves as a starting point for an enquiry into this man and his role in Cariboo history.<sup>2</sup>

My research began when I came across a black leather-bound photograph album entitled *Memorial Album: Views in British Columbia* in the British Columbia Archives (BCA). The title is in gold leaf lettering, the binding has gold decorative tooling, the pages are gilt-edged, and the endpapers are beautifully marbled – multiple hints of gold for a gold miner. *Memorial Album* is a handsome volume, but it has suffered

<sup>2</sup> *Memorial Album: Views in British Columbia*, 1879, BCA, MS-3100.

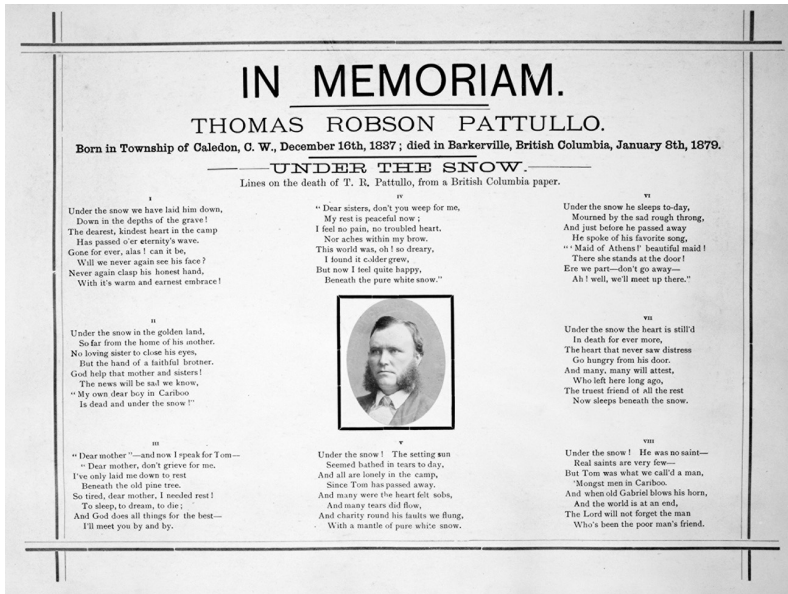


Figure 2. Title page. *Memorial Album: Views in British Columbia, I*. Source: BCA.

through age and handling: the cover is scuffed and the pages are brittle and cracked. Yet the faded photographs are striking individually and compelling as an aggregation. The album is the work of a professional binder or photographer, not the posthumous creation of a family member or friend. Each page bears one photograph; there are no captions or annotations. It is unclear when or how the volume came into the possession of the BCA, but the presence of a loose photograph, circa 1890, of Tom's younger brother Andrew Pattullo (1850-1903) suggests the album was in the Pattullo family's possession.<sup>3</sup>

The title page is executed in letterpress, black text with a gold border, and reads: "In Memoriam: Thomas Robson Pattullo. Born in Township of Caledon, C.W. [Canada West], December 16th, 1837; died at Barkerville, British Columbia, January 8th, 1879." It includes an uncredited eight-stanza poem, "Under the Snow," that shows an awareness of family dynamics; recognizes Pattullo's generosity, popularity, and faults; and acknowledges his loss to the community. Written with affection by a friend, it appears in full below:

<sup>3</sup> The provenance and custodial history for the album was not recorded at the point of acquisition by the British Columbia Archives (BCA). Accessioned in 1989 (#198905-005), it has been referred to incorrectly as the *Daily Memorial Album*. The BCA have displayed the album's individual photographs online and without contextual linkage. Most are duplicated in other albums or exist as single items at the BCA.

*Under the Snow: Lines on the Death of T.R. Pattullo*<sup>4</sup>

## I

Under the snow we have laid him down,  
 Down in the depths of the grave!  
 The dearest, kindest heart in the camp  
 Has passed o're eternity's wave.  
 Gone forever, alas! can it be,  
 Will we never again see his face?  
 Never again clasp his honest hand,  
 With its warm and earnest embrace!

## II

Under the snow in the golden land,  
 So far from the home of his mother.  
 No loving sister to close his eyes,  
 But the hand of a faithful brother.  
 God help that mother and sisters!  
 The news will be sad we know,  
 "My own dear boy in Cariboo  
 Is dead and under the snow!"

## III

"Dear mother" — and now I speak for Tom —  
 "Dear mother, don't grieve for me.  
 I've only laid me down to rest  
 Beneath the old pine tree.  
 So tired, dear mother, I needed rest!  
 To sleep, to dream, to die;  
 And God does all things for the best —  
 I'll meet you by and by.

## IV

"Dear sisters, don't you weep for me,  
 My rest is peaceful now;  
 I feel no pain, no troubled heart,  
 Nor aches within my brow.  
 This world was, oh! so dreary,  
 I found it colder grew,  
 But now I feel quite happy,  
 Beneath the pure white snow."

<sup>4</sup> *Memorial Album*. The title in the album appears as "Under the Snow: Lines on the Death of T.R. Pattullo, from a British Columbia paper."

## V

Under the snow! The setting sun  
 Seemed bathed in tears today,  
 And all are lonely in the camp,  
 Since Tom has passed away.  
 And many were the heart felt [*sic*] sobs,  
 And many tears did flow.  
 And charity round his faults we flung,  
 With a mantle of pure white snow.

## VI

Under the snow he sleeps to-day,  
 Mourned by the sad rough throng,  
 And just before he passed away  
 He spoke of his favorite song,  
 "Maid of Athens" beautiful maid!  
 There she stands at the door!  
 Ere we part — don't go away —  
 Ah! well, we'll meet up there."<sup>5</sup>

## VII

Under the snow the heart is still'd  
 In death for ever more,  
 The heart that never saw distress  
 Go hungry from his door.  
 And many, many will attest,  
 Who left here long ago,  
 The truest friend of all the rest  
 Now sleeps beneath the snow.

## VIII

Under the snow! He was no saint —  
 Real saints are very few —  
 But Tom was what we call'd a man,  
 'Mongst men in Cariboo.  
 And when old Gabriel blows his horn,  
 And the world is at an end,  
 The Lord will not forget the man,  
 Who's been the poor man's friend

<sup>5</sup> Crawford here refers to Lord Byron's poem of 1819, "Maid of Athens, Ere We Part." The opening lines of Byron's poem read: "Maid of Athens, ere we part, / Give, oh give me back my heart! / Or, since that has left my breast, / Keep it now, and take the rest!"

The poem's text surrounds an albumen print portrait of Pattullo, blind embossed around the perimeter with "International Exhibition Philad'a May 10th to November 10th 1876." Pattullo has a broad forehead, heavy brow, profuse mutton chops, and a stern expression. Though characterized as a fun-loving man, he wears a solemn expression in all surviving photographs, a characteristic that is more a reflection of Victorian convention than a consequence of the long exposure.<sup>6</sup>

The poem "Under the Snow" speaks with familiarity of the importance of family and of Pattullo's popularity, generosity, charity, kindness, and faults. Pattullo was the second of nine children born to Jane (Robson) Pattullo (1809-79) and Halkett Pattullo (1810-65). Halkett's parents emigrated from Scotland in 1820 and farmed forty hectares in Caledon, Peel County, Upper Canada, where Thomas was born. In 1855, the family moved to Blenheim Township, Oxford County. Thomas and brother William Pattullo (1841-d.?) left to seek their fortunes on the Pacific coast in 1859, while George Robson Pattullo (1845-1922) and Andrew (1850-1903) brought prominence and influence to the family through newspaper publishing in Woodstock, Ontario.

Thomas's "dear mother" survived him by less than a year. William is referenced in the poem as the "faithful brother." He was present on Williams Creek in the 1870s and was at his brother's bedside when he died, but he seems to have followed gold in other parts of the province. Following the death of Thomas, William worked for wages and dividends as a part owner of the Two Brothers Company. Three sisters are referenced as well. Mary (b. 1852), the youngest, seems to have been a favourite.<sup>7</sup>

*Memorial Album* provides insights into Pattullo's life and career. But the sum is far greater than the parts. The twenty-seven albumen print photographs included are of various sizes, reaching a maximum of 175 centimetres by twenty-three centimetres, and each is mounted on its own page. All the photographs are the work of Frederick Dally (1838-1914), a prolific wet plate portrait and landscape photographer who had a permanent studio in Victoria between 1866 and 1870 and a satellite studio

<sup>6</sup> Like so many Victorians, Pattullo was caught up in the worldwide portrait craze. Several Pattullo cartes de visite and cabinet card photographs have survived in the BCA and the Woodstock Museum National Historic Site. He sat for the renowned William Notman studio, likely in its Toronto branch, and for the Yosemite Art Gallery of I.W. Taber & Co. in San Francisco. His brother, William Pattullo, was photographed by L.A. Blanc in Barkerville. On one of his visits home, Thomas was photographed with sister Mary (Woodstock Museum, 1988.21.04).

<sup>7</sup> Robin Fisher, *Duff Pattullo of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3-8.



Figure 3. The Great Bluff on the Thompson River, ca. 1867-68. Source: Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 3, BCA A-00350.

in Barkerville for two seasons.<sup>8</sup> Many of the photographs are familiar, even iconic, such as Dally's famous view of mule teams hauling freight wagons up the Cariboo Wagon Road through a passage blasted out of the "Great Bluff" on the Thompson River (Figure 3) and Barkerville's main street view, with Pattullo and others gathered on the board walks, taken only weeks before a conflagration razed the entire town (Figure 1). Other images are less well known or understood and are explored below.<sup>9</sup>

The album's photographs form two sections. Though no captions accompany the photographs, basic information can be derived from duplicate images found elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> Pattullo would have been intimately

<sup>8</sup> Joan M. Schwartz, "Dally, Frederick (1838-1914)," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 377. Schwartz has written extensively on Dally and is creating an exhibition and book on his work for the Royal BC Museum. For Dally's Barkerville career, see Richard Thomas Wright, *Barkerville and the Cariboo Goldfields* (Victoria: Heritage House, 2013), 120-21, 134-37.

<sup>9</sup> Of course, other photographers practised in the Cariboo, including Christopher Fulton, 1863; Charles Gentile, 1865; Louis A. Blanc, resident in Barkerville, 1867-72; and, Richard Maynard, 1868. See David Mattison, *Camera Workers: The British Columbia, Alaska and Yukon Photographic Directory, 1858-1950*, available at <http://members.shaw.ca/bchistorian/cw1858-1950.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Captions for the Barkerville-related images included in this article are drawn from original descriptions written by Dally in Frederick Dally Fonds, vols. 4 and 5, BCA, MS-3100.

familiar with the first fifteen views pertaining to landscapes, mines, and groups:

- New Westminster on the Fraser River
- Clinton Hotel with oxen pulling freight wagons, Cariboo Wagon Road (five views):
  - Great Bluff on the Thompson River (Figure 3)
  - Wagons ascending the hill at China Bar
  - Alexandra Suspension Bridge
  - Chapmans Bar Bluff
- Barkerville and the goldfields (nine views):
  - Long view of Barkerville from Camerontown (Figure 15)
  - Looking north on the main street, pre-fire (Figure 1)
  - Group posed amidst the ruins the day after the fire (Figure 4)
  - Hotel de France (Figure 12)
  - Mining operations (Figures 6, 9, and 10)
  - Posed groups at the Heron Claim (Figures 7 and 8)

This complement of images may have been Dally's assemblage or, more likely, Pattullo's selection based on his familiarity with the people and places depicted.

The second section consists of twelve photographs of First Nations groups, houses, and memorial features, including posed groups (seven views), salmon caches and canoes (three views), and graves and memorials (two views). None of these was taken in the Barkerville area. Dally made a specialty of selling *carte de visite* portraits and views designed to show outsiders the itinerant and salmon-fishing First Nations of recently settled British Columbia. In seventeen years of travelling to and from the Cariboo and living on the creeks, Pattullo would often have encountered First Nations people as wage labourers, gold miners, and residents, and this would have occurred from Vancouver Island to the Cariboo.<sup>11</sup>

Like his contemporaries, photographer Frederick Dally "gathered an oeuvre of stock images including popular scenes such as the access routes to the goldfields," notes Carol Williams, who also observes that British

<sup>11</sup> At the mid-point of Pattullo's career, in 1871, the population of British Columbia contained more than twice as many First Nations people as Europeans and other immigrants. See Robert Galois and Cole Harris, "Recalibrating Society: The Population Geography of British Columbia in 1881," *Canadian Geographer* 38, 1 (1994): 37-39. On First Nations work at Barkerville, see the article by Mica Jorgenson, this volume.



Columbia's early commercial photographers worked on speculation.<sup>12</sup> They created views for visitors and residents to send home. Photographs were also converted into engravings for the burgeoning illustrated press. The age of the amateur was a generation ahead: photography was the preserve of the professional. *Memorial Album* is different from other collections of purchased views because its protagonist appears in the photographs and had a role in orchestrating them. Dally and Pattullo had a rapport; Pattullo was intent on immortalizing his role in the goldfields. He and his circle may have commissioned some of the views in which they appear.

In her analysis of the afterlife of memory in photographic albums, Martha Langford observes that the Victorian photograph album "was set to function as an *aide-mémoire* for personal and collective storytelling." She cites examples of volumes in which the names of sitters are inscribed on the backs of portraits, hidden from the casual observer, with only the album's creator "[knowing] the names of the sitters and how he felt about them." She argues that, unlike a written memoir, "a photographic memoir cannot be conjured up from memory alone: there must be photographs and this requires forethought and planning on the part of the compiler."<sup>13</sup> *Memorial Album* is a posthumous assemblage, but some of the forethought and planning took place through the collaboration of Pattullo, his associates, and Dally.

*Memorial Album* was intended to furnish visual proof that Pattullo was a witness to history, even a key participant. Its intent was also to show the Cariboo placer gold-mining phenomenon to the outside world: Barkerville's mountain setting, temporary and/or ramshackle buildings and infrastructure, rugged and desolate landscapes that hindered settlement and travel, and the First Nations inhabitants of the interior. The album serves as an *aide-mémoire* to prompt contemporary viewers to recollect the story of Pattullo's career in British Columbia and to illustrate the newly formed Pacific colony, later province, where he made his fortune and home. Lacking captions, the album requires an intermediary to tell the story with the aid of the photographs.<sup>14</sup> While it is tempting to see this album as the cherished memorial assembled by the grieving mother and

<sup>12</sup> Carol J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 57-59, 63.

<sup>13</sup> Martha Langford, *Telling Pictures and Showing Stories: Photographic Albums in the Collection of the McCord Museum of Canadian History*, 2005, available at <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/keys/virtualexhibits/notmanstudio/themes/albums/>.

<sup>14</sup> Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photograph Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). Langford has pioneered the concept of the album as *aide mémoire*.



Figure 4. Barkerville, the day after the fire, 17 September 1868. Source: Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 8, BCA.

sisters, Pattullo's brother William, who worked alongside his gregarious older sibling, was in a better position to enliven the album authentically. He may have superintended its creation.

Tom Pattullo appears in seven of the album's photographs. Owing to his distinctive physical appearance and sartorial style, he is one of a small number of identifiable people who recur in gold rush images.<sup>15</sup> But the album's full complement of photographs, and their power of association, give us an entrée into his world and allow the visual record to merge with his personal narrative and the larger story.

Other records provide key information that the album cannot, concerning his business activities, political beliefs, community roles, and charitable works. As a miner/businessman, Pattullo was active on Williams Creek in the fall of 1861 when he registered claims and a building lot. The days of the miner with pick, shovel, and pan were being eclipsed by miner-owners working in combination to ensure that contiguous claims could be secured as a means of strategic mining. Pattullo entered into a myriad of claim registrations, partnerships,

<sup>15</sup> For years, even Barkerville's famous Billy Barker was misidentified in photographs.

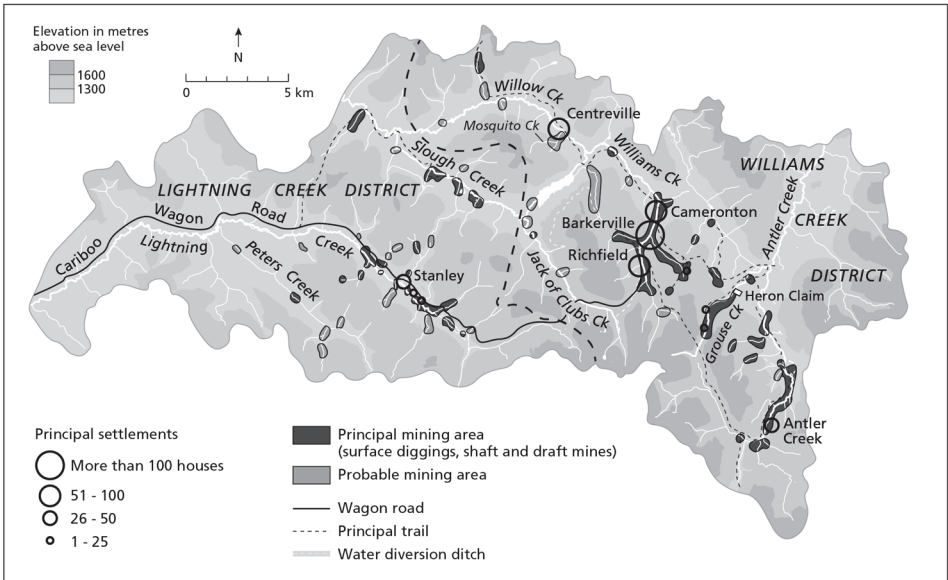


Figure 5. Barkerville Area, 1860-1876. Redrawn from Robert M. Galois and R. Cole Harris, "The Gold Rushes in British Columbia, 1858-1881," in *Historical Atlas of Canada. Vol. 2: The Land Transformed 1800-1891*, ed. R. Louis Gentilcore (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), plate 36.

purchases, transfers, and companies – the latter including the Heron, Victoria, Pogonip, Woodstock, Starrett, Great Eastern, Murtle, Pattullo Co., Ivanhoe No. 2, Van Winkle, and, at the time of his death, Two Brothers Company. Much of his energy was spent on Antler, Grouse, and Lightning creeks.<sup>16</sup>

In the last year of his life, 1879, Pattullo invested in the Quesnel Quartz Mining Company, a business that pioneered a new technology (quartz reef, or hardrock, mining) that anticipated the huge potential of lode gold mining, which was only fully realized decades later. That year he also became involved in the Victoria-based Leathers' Artificial Stone scheme, which promised to produce decorative building units almost instantaneously. Pattullo achieved considerable financial success but lived large and made some poor investments.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> British Columbia, Cariboo Government agency records, Manual of record, Williams Creek, 1861-63, BCA, GR-0216, vol. 35; *Cariboo Sentinel*, 1869-75; and Two Brothers Mining Company Fonds, 1868-81, BCA, MS-2740. An examination of indices to Manuals of Record, Barkerville and Lightning Creek Divisions (vols. 34, 38, 40, 44, 67 and 71) records sixty-five Pattullo transactions between 1861 and 1879.

<sup>17</sup> "Notice: Quesnelle Quartz Mining Company (Limited)," *British Colonist*, 1 December 1878; and "The Leathers' Artificial Stone Committee Report," *British Colonist*, 14 December 1876.

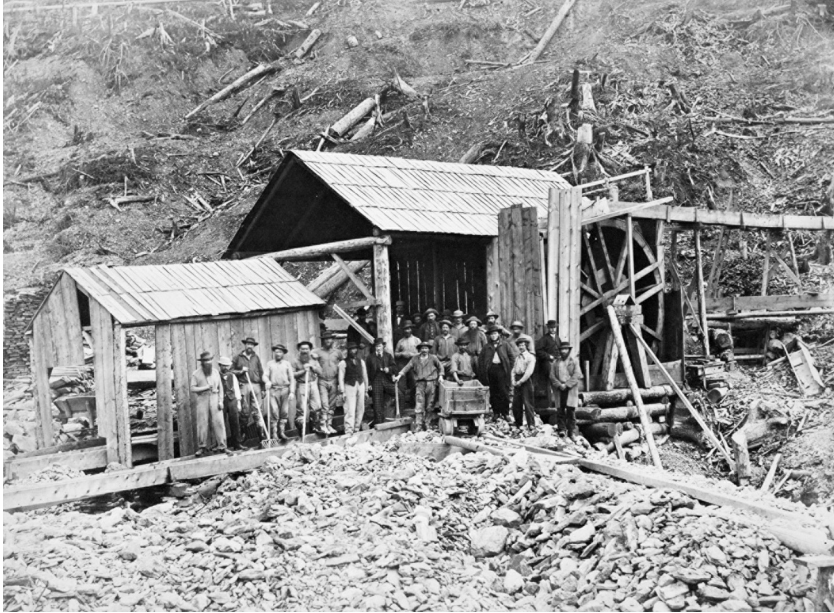


Figure 6. The Aurora Gold Mining Company, Williams Creek, wash up for that day (15 August 1867) was thirteen kilograms (464 ounces) of gold. Pattullo is standing to the right of the car. *Source*: Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, II, BCA A-00782.

The album provokes a number of questions concerning Pattullo's involvement in the Grouse Creek War, a series of incidents occurring between April and August 1867 that pitted the Canadian Company against the Grouse Creek Bedrock Flume Company in close proximity to the Heron Claim owned by Pattullo and his associates. While the Heron Claim recovered huge quantities of gold from the Heron Channel, the combatants fought over disputed adjacent ground that the "Flumites" had failed to continue working. The dispute has been characterized as claim jumping, as a case of fighting over ground that authorities had mistakenly granted to opposing parties, as mass civil disobedience, and as a collision between local mining practice and frustratingly inefficient colonial mining law. It has been simplified over the years, but the documents reveal a very convoluted case demonstrating the machinations of the competitive mining industry.<sup>18</sup> What were Pattullo's views on this matter? Was the Heron enterprise simply caught in the middle of a confrontation or did it side with one of the combatants? Pattullo was never obliged to testify in the resulting trial. His friend John Adair,

<sup>18</sup> For a full analysis of the Grouse Creek War, see Tina Loo "A Delicate Game": The Meaning of Law on Grouse Creek," *BC Studies* 96 (1992-93): 41-65.

who posed in Figures 7 and 8, had superintended work on behalf of the Grouse Creek Bedrock Flume Company, whose flume drew water away from the Heron property to facilitate mining.<sup>19</sup>

Figures 7, 8, and 9 appear to have been taken at the very height of hostilities in the summer of 1867, when Frederick Dally accompanied Governor Seymour on his mission to bring peace to the goldfields in an unprecedented intervention. Within days, Dally was advertising in the *Cariboo Sentinel* that he “[was] now prepared to take views of mining claims, houses, groups, scenery and all kinds of out-door photography. All orders, if left in writing at the Bar of the Hotel de France, Barkerville, [would] be promptly attended to. In a few days, he [would] have on view and for sale, Photographs of the Mining Towns, etc., of Williams Creek and other creeks.”<sup>20</sup> The Heron claim photographs would have been a coup for Dally. But the real coup was for the Heron Company. Its officials had squired the governor through the countryside and had him pose with them outside their cabin, a participant detached from the group but a participant nonetheless. To have the governor’s ear would have been a major accomplishment. But almost as soon as Seymour arrived, he left to enact law with the ostensible aim of solving the Grouse Creek War and addressing upcountry demands.

That Pattullo should also have a photograph of the members of the Canadian Company in his memorial album is a puzzle that may not be solvable. Did he see them as worthy opponents, hapless victims of the bungled application of mining law, vanquished villains, or something else? And the flume photograph (Figure 10), with Pattullo astride the flume at Williams Creek, raises further questions about his possible involvement with the Flumites.

And this discussion leads into larger cultural and political issues of colonial British Columbia. Pattullo was among the Canadians in British Columbia who had, argues Margaret Ormsby, “brought from the old colonial environment a bitter dislike of social slightings and economic discrimination. What Canadians desired above everything else was a more equitable distribution of power ... Only by [British Columbia’s] union with Canada, they thought, would liberal institutions be introduced, protection against American absorption guaranteed, and economic opportunity provided.”<sup>21</sup> Though Pattullo held Governor Douglas in disdain as a self-interested, pro-Victoria,

<sup>19</sup> “Gold Commissioner’s Court,” *Cariboo Sentinel*, 30 May 1867.

<sup>20</sup> “F. Dally,” *Cariboo Sentinel*, 15 August 1867.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), 241.



Figure 7. Heron Claim Miners on Grouse Creek, 1867. Pattullo is second from the right. Six of these men also appear in Figure 8. *Source:* Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 12, BCA A-03819.



Figure 8. Miners from the Heron Claim. Pattullo, centre, with Governor Frederick Seymour, right, 1867. *Source:* Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 13, BCA F-08565.



Figure 9. Canadian Company, Grouse Creek. These men were part of a larger group who precipitated the Grouse Creek War when they began working land claimed by the Grouse Creek Bedrock Flume Company. It is the most famous case of local mining processes versus colonial law in the history of the Cariboo. *Source:* Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 14, BCA A-05192.

and Victoria-based autocrat,<sup>22</sup> he escorted and was photographed with his successor, Seymour, in 1867, and he was also part of a group escort that showed Governor Musgrave around the Barkerville region in 1869. That group included Honourable Robert William Weir Carrall, who came to Barkerville in 1867 after a harrowing stint as a surgeon with the Union Army in the United States.<sup>23</sup> It must be more than a coincidence that both Pattullo and Carrall were from Woodstock, Ontario; that both were Cariboo gold mine investors; that both were the same age; and that, as reformers and proponents of responsible government, both shared the same political stripe. Carrall won a seat on the Legislative Council in 1868 and was selected by Musgrave in 1870 as a delegate, along

<sup>22</sup> "Early Struggles of Canadians for Political Rights in British Columbia," *Woodstock Sentinel*, 9 February 1872.

<sup>23</sup> "Active," *Cariboo Sentinel*, 22 September 1869. For Carrall's work in Barkerville, see Wright, *Barkerville and the Cariboo Goldfields*, 151.



Figure 10. Flume, Williams Creek. Pattullo centre, with rake. *Source:* Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 16, BCA F-08564.

with Honourable Dr. J.S. Helmcken and Honourable J.W. Trutch, to negotiate British Columbia's terms of union with Canada. So, when Pattullo's obituary in the *Ottawa Citizen*, January 1879 (reprinted in the *Woodstock Sentinel Review*, 17 January 1879), stated that Pattullo "bore no inconsiderable part in the incorporation of the Pacific Province with the Dominion," it may not be the overstatement of a eulogist. Pattullo was certainly an ardent and vocal Canadian among the many professionals, merchants, freighters, and miners in the Cariboo.



Although not part of the album, a fine photograph shows Pattullo in his element (Figure 11). The government assay office and adjacent hotel are festooned with greenery and bunting, very likely to welcome Governor Musgrave, and some of Barkerville's leading citizens are taking their ease in front of the buildings. Pattullo is seated in front of his apartment, which, perhaps appropriately, was attached to the assay office.<sup>24</sup>

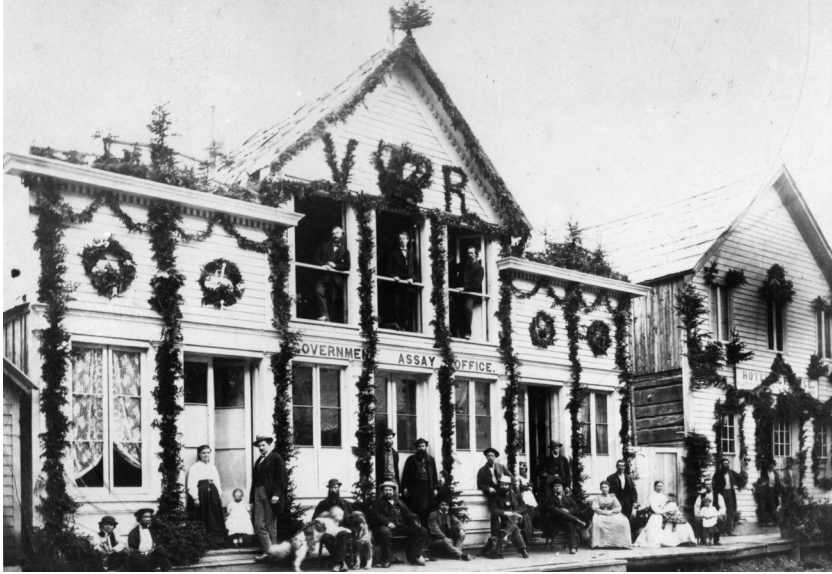


Figure 11. Barkerville citizens in front of the assay office, decorated for Governor Musgrave's visit with a crown and "VR" above the windows – *Victoria Regina*. Those who posed for the shot include Joshua Spencer Thompson (upper left), Doc Watson (upper right), the Rose family (left), the Kelly family (far right near Pattullo), and four unidentified First Nations men. The photograph is most likely the work of Barkerville photographer L.A. Blanc in 1869.<sup>25</sup> Source: BCA, HP10076.

Dominion Day was celebrated in Barkerville by the Canadian contingent even before British Columbia entered Confederation. In 1871, when entry was imminent, the event was particularly poignant. A general organizing committee of sixty Barkerville men, including Pattullo, formed to "make the necessary arrangements for the celebration which [they] hoped would be in a style worthy of the Cariboo."<sup>26</sup> Pattullo

<sup>24</sup> Wright, *Barkerville: Williams Creek Cariboo*, 104. According to Wright, private residences book-ended the assay office; Joe Mason lived in the north wing apartment and Thomas Pattullo in the south wing until 1875, when the building was destroyed by fire.

<sup>25</sup> Wright, *Barkerville: Williams Creek Cariboo*, 104.

<sup>26</sup> "Dominion Meeting," *Cariboo Sentinel*, 3 June 1871.



Figure 12. Hotel de France, Barkerville. Pattullo is seated at the top of the stairs. Only one woman – shown here on the balcony – is depicted in the *Memorial Album's* goldfield photographs. She is believed to be Julia Picot, the hotel's owner, according to Wright, *Barkerville: Williams Creek Cariboo*, 103. Source: Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 10, BCA A-02051.

served on fundraising and management committees and seems to have been involved in harmonizing the efforts of the competing communities of Barkerville and Stanley. After Confederation, Pattullo was part of a group determined to elect MPs and MLAs, particularly J.S. Thompson and Joseph Hunter.<sup>27</sup> In 1879, Dr. Carrall, now Senator Carrall, introduced the bill “to make the first day of July a Public Holiday by the name of Dominion Day.” Pattullo had died fewer than six months earlier, and his friend Carrall would die four months later.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> “Requisition,” *Cariboo Sentinel*, 7 and 28 October 1871.

<sup>28</sup> “Carrall, (Carroll) Robert William Weir” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, available at [http://biographi.ca/en/bio/carrall\\_robert\\_william\\_weir\\_10E.html](http://biographi.ca/en/bio/carrall_robert_william_weir_10E.html).

Using the *nom de plume* “Tillicum” (friend in Chinook Jargon), in 1872 Pattullo wrote a series of articles to Ontarians recounting the developments over the past eleven years.<sup>29</sup> In them, he railed against the colonial empire of the early 1860s. He recalled the prejudice of Governor Douglas and Judge Begbie against Canadians and the success of the colonists in installing a sympathetic press in New Westminster. Of Douglas he wrote: “Many of his most unjust acts were condemned, and none were so bold in their denunciations as Canadians or other colonists who had been brought up under a freer form of government. This caused all colonists or Canadians to be looked down upon by the officials and lick-spittles generally.”<sup>30</sup>

British Columbia’s union with Canada in 1871 gave Pattullo an opportunity to express his pan-Canadian sentiments and to prophesy the West’s fortunes:

I think we may congratulate ourselves on having a Pacific Province and the prospect of, at no very distant day, having a railroad on Dominion territory from Halifax to Bute or Burrard Inlet, thus bringing the countries of Japan and China now fast opening up to trade at least five days nearer to Montreal, Halifax, New York or London, than they are by either of the Pacific roads on American soil. It is not probable that the population of B. Columbia will ever be very large, but the advantages it possesses in the shape of boundless forests of magnificent timber, its ... almost inexhaustible coal beds, its rich iron and copper mines, together with its gold and silver, as well as its fisheries, will gradually draw thither the capitalist, and there is no doubt that in time the “Columbia” will be the “Britain” of the Pacific. As an agricultural colony it is impossible that it should ever rank high, but the people on our Manitoba prairies will always be glad to supply them with all the agricultural products they require. Let our government then throw no obstacles in the settlers way, but rather, encourage settlements by every means in its power, by free homestead grants, and pushing forward, simultaneously with settlement, the necessary public works, and in everything adopting a liberal policy, and there is a bright future before Manitoba, the North-West, British Columbia and the entire Dominion.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> “Early Struggles of Canadians for Political Rights in British Columbia,” and others, *Woodstock Sentinel*, 9 February to 29 March 1872; and Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, 30.

<sup>30</sup> “Early Struggles of Canadians for Political Rights in British Columbia,” *Woodstock Sentinel*, 9 February 1872.

<sup>31</sup> “British Columbia: Article VII,” *Woodstock Sentinel*, 27 March 1872.

In a further installment, Pattullo reflected sombrely on the fate of many gold seekers of the Fraser and Cariboo gold rushes:

But the memory of those bright spots is shadowed over with a cloud of regret, that so few realized their bright dreams and expectations, and that so many of the thousands upon thousands who flocked to the new El Dorado, were doomed to sad disappointment and have either returned to their former homes, or are yet leading a roving life among the mountain fastnesses of the Pacific Slope, searching for "rich pay dirt" or as in too many cases we fear, disappointment has led to dissipation and vice, and an early grave. Sad to think of the numbers of our promising young countrymen whose mortal remains lie in obscure and unmarked graves scattered along the trails or in the little burying grounds at every village or mining bar on the Lower Fraser, and even away up among the snowy mountains of Cariboo.<sup>32</sup>

It might not have crossed his mind that he would be buried in the Cameronton Cemetery near Barkerville fewer than seven years later.

The embossed imprint on the title page portrait of Thomas Pattullo, reading "International Exhibition Philad'a May 10th to November 10th 1876," hints at Pattullo's grandest and indeed profligate gesture to promote the Cariboo district. Several newspaper articles describe his quest to share British Columbia's gold phenomenon with the world. On 23 July 1876, the *British Colonist* reported:

Mr. Pattullo is ... an old Caribooite, having left Ontario in 1859 for California, whence he went to the Fraser River in 1861 ... The object of his present trip is to visit the Centennial, where, in the absence of a general public exhibition of the gold products of the Province, he will exhibit on his own account in the British Columbia Department a large quantity of gold specimens, dust, nuggets, and bars – all taken from his claims in Cariboo ... [O]ne of the bars which has been assayed weighs 293.64 ounces, and is worth \$5,426.64. It measures 8¼ inches long, 2½ inches broad, and is 1½ inches in depth. The other specimens are said to be very fine, and the total value of the whole is over \$13,000.<sup>33</sup>

Pattullo trusted that the province would underwrite his contribution to the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine, also known as the Centennial International Exhibition. It is unclear if he was ever reimbursed. Looking back in 1879,

<sup>32</sup> "British Columbia," *Woodstock Sentinel*, 16 February 1872.

<sup>33</sup> "Caribooites East," *British Colonist*, 23 July 1876.

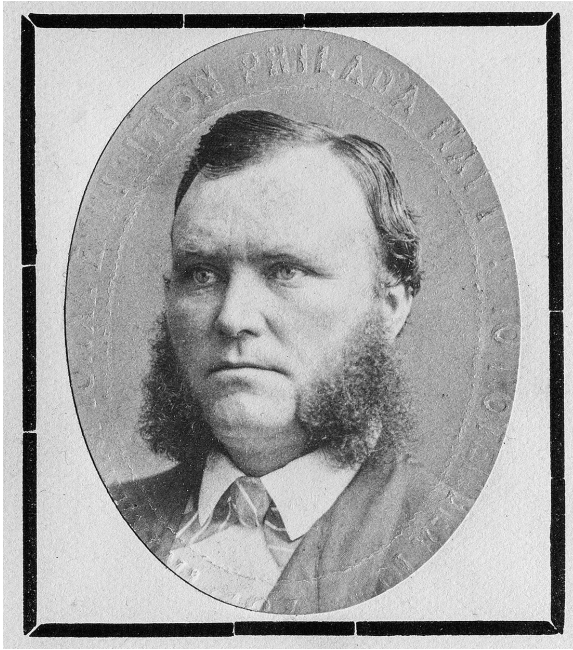


Figure 13. Thomas Robson Pattullo, ca. 1876. Detail from title page. Source: *Memorial Album*, BCA, I.

the *Toronto Globe* noted that, “with the exception of two or three brief intervals spent visiting friends in this Province, he has been ever since a resident there engaged in mining and quartz speculations. His last visit to Ontario was in 1876 when he made, on his own account, an interesting and very creditable exhibit of Cariboo gold at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.”<sup>34</sup> It is possible that the expense of this project, the costs of his lifestyle in Victoria and Barkerville, and the changes in his business fortunes reduced his wealth.

Thomas Pattullo’s death was unexpected. In his brothers’ newspaper, scant information was available:

A brief telegram announcing his death is the only information which his family has received in reference to the sad event. It is only a short time since news reached here through private friends that he was well, so that his sudden death is a great shock to his relatives, who had reason to hope, from his singularly strong constitution and unvarying good health, that his life might be a long one ... Few men were more widely known in the mining centres and among the people generally of the Pacific Slope than Mr. Pattullo, and on account of his singular

<sup>34</sup> “In Memoriam,” *Woodstock Sentinel Review*, 10 January 1879 (reprinted from *Globe* [Toronto], 9 January 1879).

generous disposition and estimable social qualities, none enjoyed a larger share of personal popularity.<sup>35</sup>

Pattullo's family telegraphed a request that his remains be sent home if possible. However, the funeral and internment followed immediately. The Barkerville barber Wellington Delaney Moses performed the posthumous shave and supplied yards of crepe, fringe, and lace for the preparations. He wrote (with his spelling and punctuation preserved): "Morning cloudy with high snow Thomas Pattulo was taken to hospital" (7 January 1879); "Thomas Pattulo died at 5 minutes to 7 AM, at 11 AM I went to the hospital to shave the late T. Pattulo at night he was remove back to Mr. Kelly" (8 January); "at 1:30 pm the funeral of ... Thomas Pattulo took place at Mr. Kelly house at 2 PM the corpse was removed to the Burring ground a very large turn out from the Deferent Creeks Ladies and gents" (9 January).<sup>36</sup>

On the day of the funeral, the *British Colonist* provided more information, extolled Pattullo's virtues, and made an accurate comment on his ability to make and spend money:

It is with sincere regret that we have to record the death of T.R. Pattullo at the hospital, Cariboo. The deceased arrived here from California at the time of the Fraser River excitement in 1861, since which time he has been most intimately connected with mining enterprise in the Province. He was a very hard-working and persevering man and bid fair at one time to be one of the richest men in the country. His first success was at Heron Creek, in the winter of 1866 and spring of 1867, since which time he has made considerable sums in mining but "easily got, easily spent" was unfortunately the rule in his case. He was always noted as a thoroughly good-hearted and generous man, and one who would always lend a friendly hand to anyone in distress. A few years since he owned one-half in the Victoria Claim on Lightning Creek, which, paying well, he sold out and took \$10,000 in gold dust and bars to the Centennial. Deceased was a Canadian by birth and has two brothers residing in Woodstock, Ontario, G.R. and A. Pattullo, publishers of the Woodstock *Sentinel*. Another brother, William, is at present on Williams Creek, Cariboo. Mr. Pattullo died at Barkerville at 7 a.m. yesterday. His age was about 40 years.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> "Pattullo," *Woodstock Sentinel Review*, 10 January 1879.

<sup>36</sup> Diary of Wellington Delaney Moses, 1879, Wellington Delaney Moses Fonds, BCA, MS-1599.

<sup>37</sup> "Death of T.R. Pattullo," *British Colonist*, 9 January 1879 (reprinted in *Mainland Guardian*, 11 January 1879).

In a subsequent note, the editor felt further explanation was necessary: “The cause of Mr. T.R. Pattulos [*sic*] death was a violent inflammation brought on by a severe cold. Dr. Grange paid him every possible attention and his numerous friends were unremitting in their kindness during his last hours.” The funeral was well attended by residents of Barkerville and the creeks despite bad weather: “The general feeling in the district is that in Mr. Pattullo Cariboo loses one of the most widely known and best beloved of her citizens.”<sup>38</sup>

While published obituaries often focus on positive character traits and generalities, more can be learned from probate records about finances and lifestyle. On his trip east in 1876, Pattullo made a will. He specified that his mother, the main beneficiary, would receive fifteen thousand dollars, siblings Andrew and Mary two thousand dollars each, and all other siblings an equal portion of the residue. Two friends in Barkerville and Stanley were named executors for his Cariboo assets and his brother, Andrew, for assets in Ontario and the United States.<sup>39</sup> In the end, Pattullo’s estate was considerably smaller than this implies.

An examination of his last year’s activities through the British Columbia Supreme Court probate file partially explains the change.<sup>40</sup> In preparing an inventory of the estate’s property, the executors collected \$2,468.92½ in cash, of which \$2,234.10 was due from Pattullo’s long-time partner John Adair. Other notes due totalled \$2,030.45, and “jewelry” was appraised at a hefty five hundred dollars. The sale of his share in the Victoria Claim only realized \$42.50, slightly more than the sale of his clothing at \$37.12. The estate was worth \$4,999.37½.

A number of hotels, merchants, and financial institutions had extended generous credit in Victoria, Barkerville, and Stanley. Pattullo had been making regular payments on his 1878 board and lodging debt of \$640 to the Colonial Hotel and Driard House in Victoria. He owed Victoria clothier G. Gilmore \$97.25 for a new wardrobe, and he had an overdraft of \$232.50 at the Bank of British Columbia. He had been using the Barkerville merchants Rogers and Wilson as a bank, and they remitted \$1,308.25 to the estate. In turn, he had drawn cash and purchased goods and services from them: apples, eggs, shirts, neckties and collars, but mostly drinks.

<sup>38</sup> “Mainland News,” *British Colonist*, 23 January 1879.

<sup>39</sup> British Columbia, Supreme Court, Central Will Registry, Thomas Pattullo, BCA, GR-1052, will #5704.

<sup>40</sup> British Columbia, Supreme Court (Victoria) Probate/estate files, Probate, Thomas R. Pattullo, BCA, GR-1304, file 533.

There were a number of places to socialize and to consume alcohol in Barkerville and Stanley. Pattullo paid room and board to Mason and Daly in Barkerville from 1877 through 1878. His tab of \$770 for room, board, wine, and spirits was partially paid for in “50 feet Quesnel Co.” at a price of \$375. Refreshments made up a considerable part of his expenditures when in town. He was either a man of appetite or generosity or both. He was indebted to A. Kelly for sixty-three weeks of room rent at four dollars per week, and, for the year 1878, he ran a bar account of \$75.75 for 303 drinks at two bits (twenty-five cents) each. In the week preceding his death, the Kelly bar tab ran to \$15.50 for sixty-two drinks. Forty were purchased on 1 January, suggesting celebratory “drinks all around.” In 1878, Pattullo ran bar tabs in five other establishments totalling 238 additional drinks, and he purchased various brandies and clarets on account. There is no way to determine if he bought drinks for cash. After all outstanding expenses and debts were paid (refreshments, lodging, livery, transportation, telegraph, medical, funeral, interment, executors’ and legal fees), Pattullo’s mother’s estate received \$1,664.06.

Pattullo’s lifestyle was entirely consistent with the prevailing up-country social conditions of the Cariboo and town life in New Westminster and Victoria. Historian Adele Perry links drink, rough work, and homosocial culture:

Drink was the main focus of sociability in mining towns where there were few enough other options ... Regulated by the necessity of ritual “treating,” drinking in these places was an intensely social activity ... Drinking took place all year around and in all locales, but the winter and the town held a special place in British Columbia’s political economy of partying. Miners and other seasonal workers who moved back [and] forth between city and woods converged on Victoria for the slack season. Miners spent lavishly – chiefly in public houses and dance houses ... [according to Dr. J.S. Helmcken]<sup>41</sup>

Though Pattullo was clearly an investor, he still fancied himself as a miner, as is evidenced by his appearance in photographs. He also empathized with the plight of the unfortunate – miner or townsman.

“Under the Snow” concludes with: “The Lord will not forget the man / Who’s been the poor man’s friend.” As a friend to those down on their luck, Pattullo was an effective canvasser for worthy causes and was known for a number of charitable gestures. He was among those

<sup>41</sup> Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 38–42.



who collected for the town's surgeon, who had not been paid during the entire year of 1871, and who raised \$2,105.50 for unfortunate Peter McDonald.<sup>42</sup> In April 1872, the *Cariboo Sentinel* described Pattullo's singular effort on behalf of a man stricken with tuberculosis:

It may be remembered that some little time ago our fellow-townsmen Mr. T.R. Pattullo, [*sic*] went round a portion of this district collecting funds for the assistance of a sick man suffering from an attack of that fell disease consumption. The money was intended to assist the poor fellow who had been for some time in the hospital under the care of Dr. Bell, on his way to Canada. We have much pleasure in stating that Mr. Pattullo was able to collect the handsome sum of \$615, which was handed to the invalid, who left by Barnard's last express. Too much cannot be given to Mr. Pattullo for his exertions in aid of the sick and needy. Many calls have been made on this community, and most generously and cheerfully have they been responded to. But surely he who assumes the onerous task of collection ought to be entitled to the thanks of the community at large for his zealous performance of a somewhat disagreeable duty.<sup>43</sup>

Pattullo's generosity may have contributed to reducing his fortunes in later life.

The origin of the unsigned memorial poem commemorating "the dearest, kindest heart in the camp" would be forgotten for nearly twenty years. Thomas's namesake and nephew, Thomas Dufferin "Duff" Pattullo (1873-1956), figures in the mystery. In the fall of 1897, at the height of another wave of gold madness, Duff was given a position with Major James Morrow Walsh, first commissioner of the Yukon Territory. In his biography of Duff Pattullo, Robin Fisher describes the younger Pattullo's departure for the Klondike:

Leaving Woodstock, Duff no doubt recalled his Uncle Thomas who had gone to California and then up to British Columbia at the height of the Fraser gold rush. He may have dimly remembered, as a three year old, seeing his uncle come to Burnside with Cariboo gold in his pockets ... Thomas Pattullo was an easy-going generous man who struck it rich and then lost it all before he died in Barkerville Hospital.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> "Cariboo Hospital," *Cariboo Sentinel*, 9 December 1871; and "Card," *Cariboo Sentinel*, 17 April 1875.

<sup>43</sup> "Charity," *Cariboo Sentinel*, 20 April 1872.

<sup>44</sup> Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, 30. "Burnside" was the name of the family home.

Late one night, in his tent in the Yukon, Duff wrote home about a chance encounter:

Bennett, May 1st, 1898

My dear father – Enclosed find some verses written by Captain Jack Crawford, the “Poet Scout,” on the death of Uncle Tom. Captain Jack was one of Uncle’s greatest friends so he tells me. He is really a fine big hearted fellow and is representing a large company up here. He has attained no little fame in his own peculiar line. He has written poems of frontier life and short stories for a great many American papers and magazines, for the London Tid-Bits [*sic*], the Strand Magazine and a number of others. He was so surprised to meet the “Nephew of Tom” and particularly his namesake after twenty years. He says I look just like Uncle Tom except of course that I am not so large ... Good-bye again, it is getting very late and Captain Jack has just left my tent. With much love, as always,

Affectionately, Duff<sup>45</sup>

Duff transcribed the poem “Under the Snow” on his typewriter, thereby making letter-press copies available. The text of the poem given to him by Irish-born John Wallace “Captain Jack” Crawford (1847–1917) appears to be the carbon copy that has survived in the George Robson Pattullo Papers. It is prefaced by an excerpt from Captain Jack’s account of 9 January 1879 describing a forty-eight-hour party, an “all nights hop.” The celebrating was interrupted on the second evening:

Before 12 o’clock had arrived a gloom was thrown upon our enjoyment, and all our faces were changed from joy to sadness when it was announced that our good-hearted, jovial friend Tom Pattullo was dying. I cannot write a prose memoriam on Tom; I will leave that for some of his older friends. I have just returned from his funeral, and as it was only to-day we laid him ‘neath the sod, I will write a few verses impromptu, without revision or blot.<sup>46</sup>

“Under the Snow” follows these words.

<sup>45</sup> Duff Pattullo to George R. Pattullo, 1 May 1898, George Robson Pattullo Fonds, BCA, MS-1188, 1/1, file 2.

<sup>46</sup> Captain Jack Crawford, fragment George Robson Pattullo Fonds, BCA, MS-1188, 1/1, file 2. There are slight differences in wording in the album and *Poet Scout* versions of the poem.

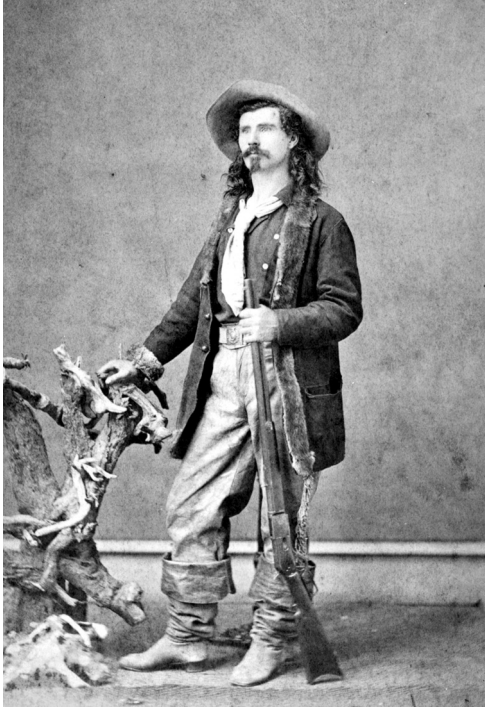


Figure 14. Photographed frequently throughout his career, Captain Jack Crawford could not resist posing for Victoria's famed portrait photographer Hannah Maynard in 1878 or 1879. Source: BCA, HPO56732.

Like Thomas Pattullo, Captain Jack Crawford was a larger-than-life character. An American celebrity, he worked variously as miner, civil war soldier, US Army scout, journalist, partner of Buffalo Bill Cody, entertainer, and poet. He was also a Cariboo resident. Crawford appeared with a theatre troupe in Barkerville in 1878 and vowed to return. He was as good as his word and stayed for seven months, departing in April 1879. As well as crafting "Under the Snow," Crawford wrote a number of Cariboo poems published in his two books. "Under the Snow" appeared in *The Poet Scout* (1879). Always looking for adventure, Crawford eventually found his way to the Klondike.<sup>47</sup>

Over the years, and with the ebb and flow of Barkerville's fortunes, Pattullo was largely forgotten. At some point, his wooden grave marker was replaced with a granite headstone. But in June 1941, Duff Pattullo, now serving a third term as British Columbia's Liberal premier, made a

<sup>47</sup> "John Wallace Crawford," *Wikipedia online*; and Darlis A. Miller, *Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2012), 78-220. Unfortunately, the Crawford Papers previously available through the Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University, have been returned to a private source. Crawford's diaries and manuscripts would likely provide further information about his friendship with Pattullo and observations about Barkerville.

“Grand Swing of Cariboo.” And, as noted in the *Cariboo Observer*: “At Stanley the Premier visited the deep diggings operation of the Stanley Mines Ltd., where rich pay is being taken from bedrock gravels of upper Lightning Creek ... It was here, during the early seventies that Mr. Pattullo’s uncle Tom, after whom the Premier was named, mined with considerable success as one of the shareholders of the ‘Vancouver’ claim.”<sup>48</sup>

On that trip the premier recalled one of his uncle’s typically flamboyant gestures:

The first real money Premier Pattullo ever saw came from the Cariboo, he told a combined meeting of representatives of the Barkerville and Wells Boards of Trade at a dinner given in his honor at the McKinnon Hotel ... Two of the Premier’s uncles mined in the Cariboo during the early gold rush days and when Tom, after whom the Premier is named, came home to Woodstock, Ont., in 1876, on his way to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, he had brought some gold from his claim on Lightning Creek, had some of it minted into \$20 gold pieces. Young T.D. was only three at the time, but can vividly remember being among the leaders who grabbed one of these coins when his uncle had thrown a handful on the ground for the children to scramble for ... While in Barkerville, the Premier visited Tom’s grave in the Cameronton Cemetery, on the slope of Williams Creek ... A second uncle, Bill Pattullo, mined in the Cariboo for years and later moved to San Francisco.<sup>49</sup>

Pattullo was remembered as part of a fraternity of miners who made and spent money with gusto and then toiled on, knowing there was always more gold to be found.

Despite his early death Pattullo is still with us. Rediscovered during Barkerville’s revitalization as a historic site, this Cariboo mining entrepreneur figures prominently in the interpretation of Barkerville Historic Town. Historians and museum professionals have gathered information and photographs, and from 1995 until 2003, Pattullo was portrayed by several actor-interpreters – part of a complement of characters who bring history to life in the town. Through street theatre, actors help convey to visitors that Barkerville’s history is a continuum, with factions, issues, and men and women of many backgrounds. Using the considerable resources of the Barkerville Archives, actor-interpreters study historical

<sup>48</sup> “Premier Pattullo Makes Grand Swing of Cariboo,” *Cariboo Observer*, 28 June 1941.

<sup>49</sup> “Duff’s Recollection,” *Province*, 26 June 1941.



Figure 15. Barkerville before the fire, looking up Williams Creek. *Source:* Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 7, BCA.

personalities and interact with visitors in costume and character; indeed, professional actor Andrew Hamilton's uncanny physical resemblance made him a natural modern-day Pattullo. Photographs from *Memorial Album: Views in British Columbia* have informed the look, style, and body language, while published and archival records have furnished Pattullo's dialogue and mindset. Perhaps Thomas Pattullo will again walk Barkerville's main street as a Canadian miner, humanitarian, and man of substance.<sup>50</sup>

The Thomas Pattullo memorial album was made to serve a generation who knew and loved him. Lacking captions, it was an *aide-mémoire*. One hundred and thirty-five years later, his career can be reconstructed from what remains of archival and material culture resources. Through these resources, we can begin to understand the man and the rugged town that became his home. Robin Fisher concludes that not only was Duff Pattullo important to British Columbia's history but that in many ways he also represented it. The same can be said for his uncle, both as a successful

<sup>50</sup> James Douglas, telephone conversation, 10 November 2014. Douglas is the manager, Visitor Experiences, Barkerville Historic Town. Andrew Hamilton, now artistic director of Barkerville's Historic Street Program, took on the interpretive role of Pattullo in 1999 and now plays the town's namesake, Billy Barker.



Figure 16. A detail from Dally's "ghost dog" image: Barkerville prior to the Great Fire of 16 September 1868. (see Figure 1). Pattullo (left) and friends in front of the Bank of British Columbia. Frederick Dally photograph, *Memorial Album*, 9, BCA A-03786.

miner and as a representative of the Canadian faction at Barkerville in the 1860s and 1870s. Though Tom Pattullo lies, as Crawford eulogized, "under the snow" and, as Pattullo himself said, "away up among the snowy mountains of Cariboo," he is not forgotten: he lives on in image and word. Certainly, he and other adventurers who participated in British Columbia's early gold rushes deserve a place not only in our *aide-mémoire* but also in our collective memories.