

Henry P. Pellew Crease: Confederation or No Confederation

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In 1971 we British Columbians celebrated our fourth centennial in fourteen years. In 1958 we celebrated the establishing of the British Colonies on the west coast of North America; in 1966, the union of those two colonies as British Columbia. It was fairly evident after the Charlottetown conference in 1864 that the eastern colonies would come together, and in 1967 we celebrated that centennial. As early as March 1867 a new idea had been set to brew on the west coast: the idea was simmering by that summer, bubbling by the next, and at a full rolling boil in 1869. When Henry Pering Pellew Crease, as Attorney-General of British Columbia, opened the debates in the British Columbia Legislative Council on March 9, 1870, he defined the issue as "Confederation or no Confederation."¹ In 1971, we celebrated one hundred years as a Canadian province.

The view of that Council varied about whether to join Canada or let Canada sink by herself. While Mr. Henry Holbrook, J.P., felt that British Columbia would become the "key-stone of Confederation,"² Mr. Amor De Cosmos, that strange editorial bird from Victoria District, preferred the expression "corner stone."³ Booming, brash and boastful, John Robson of New Westminster, who believed that until now the progress of the colony had been "like that of the crab — backward,"⁴ looked to the future: "I believe . . . that our agricultural resources may be developed so as to give us one million of population within twenty years, and that this Colony will become of immense importance when the Overland Railway, the true North-West Passage, is established. . . . With such a climate as we have, and with such natural advantages, this Colony has stood still at a marvellous rate."⁵

¹ British Columbia Legislative Council. *Debate on the Subject of Confederation with Canada*. Reprinted from the Government Gazette Extraordinary of March 1870. Victoria, King's Printer, 1912, p. 5 [Hereafter called *Confederation Debate*.]

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Not everyone was as enthusiastic as Robson. Thomas Lett Wood, J.P., a moaner, was hesitant: "I cannot help thinking that it is the probable destiny of this Colony to be numbered by hundreds of thousands, rather than by millions. This is the ultimate part of the world. We are in this Colony further removed from the great centres of civilization than probably any other known portions of the globe; we may almost be called the last country in the world. . . ."⁶ Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, of Victoria City, openly opposed confederation: ". . . it will not serve to promote the industrial interests of this Colony, but, on the contrary, it will serve to ruin many. . . ."⁷ Another man with reservations was Henry Crease. He had opened the confederation debate by moving that the Legislative Council "resolve itself into Committee of the Whole" to discuss not the principles of Confederation, but the terms of Confederation; the principle, he knew, had already been accepted.⁸

In opening the debate he had prayed that "He who holds the fate of Nations in the hollow of His hand"⁹ would guide the deliberations, but Crease did not seem too pleased with the guidance received when writing to his brother-in-law in the following January:

The Legislature here has addressed the Queen under the 146 Section of the BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT 1867 praying for Confederation . . . and we are all soon to be 'Kannucks[?]', as they are called i.e. Canadians, probably about the 1st July. now we're going to have 'Responsible Government' when there is the utmost difficulty to find 6 respectable elected members. . . . Perhaps I might get a remove, and send my children home to be educated. . . . It seems as if we are destined not to take root here though we have neither of us any desire to leave such a splendid climate as this for English Constitutions, and make new acquaintances, and begin again.¹⁰

Crease knew that confederation was really a *fait accompli*; he had already ordered a complete set of "TOGGERY" — wigs, gowns, and breeches, shoes and buckles — because when confederation would go through he would become a Puisne Judge.¹¹ And later, much later, he would become Sir Henry.

The story of Crease and his career in British Columbia is not an outwardly dramatic one, and he did not publicize himself; as a result, he

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰ H. P. P. Crease Letterbook (Private). December 12, 1870 to August 12, 1873. Crease to Nathaniel Lindley, January 24, 1871.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Crease to Alfred R. Roche, January 4 or 7, 1871.

is little known, he is almost forgotten. His story is one of hardship, tenacity, and reverses, of self-sacrifice, a story of a nineteenth-century English empire-builder at work. Hundreds of letters in the provincial archives indicate how he lived, how he worked, how he raised his family; they show why he came here and how he started, where he obtained his money and how he spent it; they attest to his pride of family; they display his achievements, his friendships, his abilities and his weaknesses. The letter, and the many mere drafts of letters, show that he first built for Empire, and later for Canada. His transfer of loyalty required time, but once he had made the transfer he became a wholehearted Canadian.

Henry Crease was born at Ince Castle, Cornwall, on August 20, 1823, born, he wrote, "in the little room inside what used to be our Dining Room under the EASTERN TURRET facing Carew's place."¹² He was the eldest son of a family of seven and was a claimant for the Rivers title through his mother. His father had been a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, but on early retirement had managed tin mines for the Duchy of Cornwall. Each of the family received a good education; Henry in law. As a rower at college he once helped defeat the team of another man destined for British Columbia, Matthew Baillie Begbie.

When the Crease family fortunes were declining somewhat, the young Creases moved to Ontario where they invested money in canals. Though this was Canada's great canal-building period and though everyone else was making money on canals, the Creases lost almost everything they had, and then returned to England.

In 1853, back in England, Henry Crease married Sarah Lindley, the eldest daughter of Dr. John Lindley, Professor of Botany at University College, London, and the couple had three daughters and one son before deciding to give North America another try. Leaving his wife to follow him the next year, Henry Crease again went to Ontario, and in December arrived in the new colony of Vancouver Island where he set up as a barrister. Fluent in at least three languages and able to learn others quickly, he soon captured the French, German, Greek, Italian and Spanish law business in Victoria. And partly because of his linguistic abilities, on October 14, 1861 he was appointed Attorney-General of the mainland colony of British Columbia. There in the capital, at New Westminster, he happily settled down and built Ince Cottage. And there in New Westminster he invested his money. And there his success seemed assured.

Crease had good connections both in the colony and in England.

¹² *Ibid.* Crease to Michael W. de Courcy, February 17 to 20, 1871. Date uncertain.

Among his friends locally were Douglas, Begbie, Trutch, and Helmcken — at least until Helmcken appeared to favour annexation. Some of these men Crease had known in England and, much to the annoyance of the eastern-born Canadians, they formed what seems to have been a “Family Compact” interested in promoting England beyond the seas even when Little Englandism was gaining ground “at home,” even when enthusiasm for Empire was dying in the very heart of Empire. Thus Crease was part of that administrative establishment which was located on the periphery of empire. At the same time he was part of England’s unofficial overseas investment force. To earn more money for himself, he acted as an agent for the Colonial Securities Company Limited of London and directed the company’s attention and money to colonial bonds, real estate, mortgages, and loans, and more importantly to developments like grist mills, graving docks, and railways. The secretary of the company was A. L. Roche, and Roche appears to have been so quietly powerful in London that he not only controlled the purse strings of the company, but could also, on occasion, scatter his friends and business associates across the empire.

Crease also had some imagination. For instance, while Attorney-General in New Westminster he developed an idea suggested years earlier by Governor James Douglas, that of building an “Overland Waggon Route to connect with a Canadian line at Red River.” In March 1867 Crease wrote to Douglas saying that financial arrangements had been made in London and that the chief delegates to the Canadian confederation conference were interested:¹³ “It would of course be a rude waggon Road at first taking advantage of every facility afforded by water communication to be improved gradually & no doubt to end at last in something better.” This is probably the first suggestion of a trans-Canada highway.

As well as finance the road the Colonial Securities Company was to finance a grist mill at New Westminster: “I also see,” wrote Roche from London,¹⁴ “that Burrard’s Inlet is attracting attention & that it may be regarded as the Port of New Westminster. I’m glad to see that a stage has been put on, & is succeeding on the road between the two. I hope the Inlet will yet be made the Naval station, &c. With Governor Seymour in favour of New Westminster, & in view of the union with the Canadian Confederation, I think there is not the slightest prospect of the seat of Govt. being taken away & given to Victoria. It is absurd to talk of the

¹³ H. P. P. Crease (Private) Miscellaneous Letters. January 1, 1866 to December 31, 1867. Crease to Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., March 15, 1867.

¹⁴ H. P. P. Crease. Papers Inward (Private). Roche to Crease, October 26, 1867.

capital being placed on an island at one extremity of the Colony.” As Secretary of the investment company, and of the Royal Colonial Society in London, Roche might have had his finger on the pulse of empire and might have tried to influence the Duke of Buckingham, but the capital did move.

Crease fought vigorously to prevent the move. He knew that if the capital went from New Westminster to Victoria, he would have to go with it. And he did not like Victoria. Besides, he had made heavy personal investments in New Westminster and knew that those investments would be lost when the Royal City became a mere river port. No doubt he recalled the Ontario canals. He had reason to worry about those investments on the Fraser. Arrogant and politically powerful, Amor De Cosmos was plumping for Victoria, and Amor De Cosmos did not like New Westminster. On January 23, 1868 he wrote to Crease:

Without wishing you government people the inconvenience of a winter's journey to Victoria, I greatly prefer that fate should doom them to pass through such a chilly ordeal, to being myself reduced to the disagreeable necessity of a trip & stay at the quondam capital. As 'one of the most active Victoria politicians ['] (I quote state papers 1867) I don't feel patriotic enough to spend another winter in N.W^t. But government people are patriotic, and as patriots would serve their Queen even in Victoria. They've got to, hav'n't they?¹⁵

Crease had been living in Victoria for about a week when he wrote to Roche on May 28, 1868:¹⁶ “On the 25th Victoria was proclaimed the Capital of B. Columbia and New West^t is left in the lurch. . . . My wife and family live at New Westminster where at a cost of between 2,000 and 3,000 I had established a home under the orders of my Commission to LIVE ON THE MAINLAND — which compelled me of course to build & so the savings of 10 years are handed over to the Siwashas without a 1^d compensation.” Three paragraphs later he said that “People here are not so hot for Confederation as they were.” That was surely wishful thinking. De Cosmos' sneers, and his statements about the British group being out in the cold once Canada took over the colony, were beginning to tell.

About that time, though, Crease was becoming aware of the political climate at “home”:

¹⁵ H. P. P. Crease. Papers Inward. De Cosmos to Crease, January 23, 1868.

¹⁶ H. P. P. Crease (Private) Miscellaneous Letters. January 1, 1868 to October 8, 1869. Crease to Roche, May 28, 1868.

I believe England is sick of her Colonies and to be a Colonist whatever your POSITION & CHARACTER when at home — is to lose Caste the moment you become a bona fide settler. . . . If any . . . intrigues be allowed or countenanced at home you must not be astonished to hear of persons seriously debating whether Canadom or Yankeedom is the more preferable? [*sic*] Once severed from the Mother Country (which Confederation as THEY NOW PUT IT HERE really means) how is Canada which can't protect itself to help us — SANDWICHED AS WE ARE BETWEEN U. STATES TERRITORY.¹⁷

He was obviously worried about the "cruel indifference which England shows to such a valuable Colony as British Columbia,"¹⁸ and about the future if confederation should come about. Confederation would mean a break with England just when the United States was developing Alaska. Grasping at straws, but finally becoming aware of his real problems, Crease presented a new idea:

What do you say to a large English Kingdom here west of the Rocky Mountains which shall include B.C. Washington Oregon and perhaps California. I can see a great future for such a Kingdom perhaps neither American nor English but ITSELF OF ITSELF. . . . If they despise us at home . . . [can] we be the worse off as an entirely separate Country? All the armies in the World c^d not get into the Country if we defended the only passes. . . . I can readily imagine a great future for such a country & were I only to let drop what I am now writing of the ideas of other men in conversation the notion would travel round like wildfire and light up a train along the Coast that would be felt for many a year! There is a very strong secret feeling in that direction in California of wh. I am aware. De Cosmos told us in the House 'That Canada NOT ENGLAND w^d be the Mother Country after Confederation.'¹⁹

In August 1868, Crease wrote to A. N. Birch:

Well THE blow has fallen & we are HERE IN BODY. Had it been inserted in the Act that N.W. was to be the Capital, it is universally admitted that not the slightest opposition would have been made to it. . . . New West^r is ruined and ½ a million sterling, thrown to the winds. Victoria loses a good customer, and gains only a few BROKEN officials, the miserable ruins of a once-flourishing Town thoroughly loyal, and full of English Homes, now penniless and in debt. . . . The whole Upper Country is set against Victoria & Confederation is looked to as the panacea for all our evils. . . . but really to try & get Confederation and for CANADIANS TO RULE THE COUNTRY AND JOB ITS OFFICES, will be the next move until the Capital be again removed and a new cycle of agitation inaugurated. . . . To ME . . .

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

the change is simply **UTTER RUIN!** You never saw such a fix as we are in.²⁰

Crease came to recognize, however, that the "fix" he was in was not the union of the colonies, not the removal of the capital from New Westminster, not little Englandism alone, but Confederation. If the colony of British Columbia joined Canada he could be out of a job. It is true that he could retire, but on a greatly reduced pension if on any pension at all. That England was repudiating her "honor pledged,"²¹ he was certain; she was tearing up the empire "root and branch"²² by abandoning the colonial idea and her colonial responsibilities. He also felt that if Britain withdrew from the colonies Canada could not protect the little colony of the west and the United States would take over. He might possibly expect a pension of perhaps \$500 from Canada, but could expect none at all if annexation talk bore fruit. The problem was a grave one and Crease had to face it. He could throw in his lot with confederation and lose his pension, but retain the British connection at least for a while. Or, he could work against confederation and look up to see the opening claws of the American eagle.

By October 1869 the movement was building and Crease was becoming more and more desolate:

First we had the uncertainties of Union [of the colonies] for 4 or 5 years and then fatal termination, great injury to N.W., and no good to Victoria. **RUIN ALL ROUND TO INDIVIDUALS** simply from the crass ignorance or **NON CARE** of the C.O. and **BENEFIT TO NONE NOW CONFESSED ON ALL SIDES**. Now we are threatened with Confederation, i.e. to be a distant dependency of a poor and hungry province of the Empire instead of a self dependent Colony of the Empire directly connected with the parent state. . . . Do you think for a moment that is going to benefit us. . . . Of one thing be sure. If once the Rubicon be passed [,] If once a much revered Parent slight the Critical moment of love, the Downfall & Decline of England will not be far away. . . . Does any sane man believe that in Case of War Canada with such a position pierceable at every mile could hold her own against the States much less protect an outlying Province beyond the Rocky Mountains. . . . Then where is this Country ultimately to land if thus disconnected from Great Britain? Annexation would be a mere question of time.²³

²⁰ H. P. P. Crease Papers. Outward Correspondence 1868. Crease to A. N. Birch, August 9, 1868.

²¹ H. P. P. Crease (Private) Miscellaneous Letters. January 1, 1868 to October 8, 1869. Crease to Roche, May 28, 1868.

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ H. P. P. Crease. Correspondence Outward 1869. Draft copy: Crease to Roche, October 7, 1869.

And Crease turned to the argument used by Benjamin Franklin before the American revolution: "The Cure would be to have the Colonies represented properly at HOME in sufficient proportion not to be swamped by NUMBERS in the Commons house."

He wrote almost hysterically to his brother in law:²⁴ "No one here trusts the Canadian Gov^t's word — as Lord Grey would have said 'They lie like Howe'. Here Canadians are called 'North American Chinamen'." To his sister he wrote,²⁵ "... we are threatened with Confedⁿ here with Canada wh: w^d thoro^{ly} complete the ruin wh: Union betⁿ the Colonies has so effect^y created in my case for the advocates of the system openly avow that one of the first objects is to turn out all English officials."

Crease had reasons for feeling threatened and some of the reasons had to do with his family. He had helped lose the family money in Upper Canada, but had recouped it somewhat in New Westminster only to lose it again with the move to Victoria. And all the time, as the eldest son, he was coping with his family in Europe. Not all of his sisters married and for over twenty years they bled him in order to live like grand ladies. He did eventually find a position for his sister Emily with the Bourdett-Coutts' Angela College in Victoria, but Emily does not seem to have been too happy there and went to work in an Indian school at Lytton where she was killed by a train. One sister married an Italian count, but still pressed Henry for money; he was constantly sending her ten or twenty pounds, only to be told that he was not sending enough. Neither were his brothers of much help to themselves. At one point Edward's landlady wrote from Birmingham for ten pounds which she saw no hope of collecting from Edward.²⁶ Edward's wife Rebecca "hoped to get a little by working at Millenery [*sic*] but not having experience could not succeed. She is now writing a book of Poems but it will be some time before they are ready even if they will realise anything." At the end of her letter the landlady said, "Mr. Crease gave your address feeling sure you would help him if you knew they [*sic*] state they were in but he could not tell you himself it would be too much for him." All the time too Henry Crease was squabbling with the sisters over the mother's property. He was trying to claim a few of the family items for himself, but the brothers and sisters were selling them as fast as they could, and even

²⁴ H. P. P. Crease. Private Letters. October 8, 1869 to 1870. Crease to Nathaniel Lindley. No date.

²⁵ H. P. P. Crease (Private) Miscellaneous Letters. January 1, 1868 to October 8, 1869. H. P. P. Crease to Emily Howard Crease. No date.

²⁶ Crease Papers Inward. Clara E. Brown to H. P. P. Crease, April 16, 1871.

sometimes charging the selling costs to Henry away out in British Columbia. To carry the financial deadweight Henry Crease was forced to sell property he held on Burrard Inlet, property he had bought early and cheaply. For instance, in 1863 he had bought District Lot 182, near the present sugar refinery — 165 acres for \$310.44.

The year 1870 must have been the low point in the life of Henry Crease. He was 47 years old; he felt betrayed by England; both his wife and his daughter Mary were ill; Roche was pressing him to invest more company funds; Nathaniel Lindley, his brother-in-law, was pushing him; the brothers and sisters wanted money. In Victoria De Cosmos was constantly badgering. And Confederation was surging forward, right at Henry Crease. As Attorney-General he had accepted confederation in principle; but as a human being he feared confederation unless the terms were acceptable. Amor De Cosmos was probably right when he said during the confederation debate in March that "The whole secret of the opposition of the Government to Confederation lay in the question of pensions." And De Cosmos agreed to vote for the pensions clause as "the cheapest way of buying out the present possessors, the virtual owners of the Colony."²⁷ Terms were the stumbling block, terms of pension, of who was to pay, how much, and if any.

For months Crease dragged his feet and then, apparently suddenly, he seems to have decided to accept the inevitable whatever it might be. On January 4, 1871, he drafted a statesmanlike letter of capitulation to the Governor:²⁸ "It will give me very great pleasure to be in any way useful in aiding to carry out any part of the Great Scheme of Confederation to a successful [conclusion?] whether by assisting in the completion of a Revised Statute Book or in any other suitable way your Excellency may suggest." Crease had finally decided to act, and when he acted he held back none of his enormous energy. Even in this letter he made suggestions about the government, suggested the machinery to use for repealing statutes which were incapable of general application: "It would be a great stride towards general local uniformity, and would help to give Canada a better opinion of the Colony." Within days he was probably informed that his pension had been safeguarded by the Privy Council on January 7.²⁹

²⁷ *Confederation Debate*, p. 76.

²⁸ Crease Papers. Outward Correspondence 1871. Very rough draft of letter from Crease to His Excellency the Governor, dated at the Supreme Court, Jan. 4, 1871.

²⁹ Scott, Susan Dickinson, "The Attitude of the Colonial Governors and Officials towards Confederation" in *British Columbia and Confederation*, ed. by W. George Shelton. Victoria, University of Victoria, 1967. pp. 143-164.

Crease perhaps never did commit to paper the reasons for his reversal but from his moment of decision he worked to help create a Canadian province out of the old British colony. No doubt his decision was influenced by his financial troubles. It is true that he might just possibly have had inside information about the pension terms, but he had at least drafted his letter to the Governor three days before the Privy Council decision had been made and five days before it was mailed to Governor Musgrave. He might though have seen a challenge in his work for the investment company: he had already initiated the idea of the Esquimalt graving dock which his company was anxious to finance, and when confederation terms included the building of a railway he possibly saw that the company might invest in it and he might make enough money to cover any loss of pension. In addition, with the railway British Columbia would be less isolated and the province might then have more protection from the United States. His general attitude also seems to be tied to his changing attitude toward Imperialism and his own turn to Little Englandism. Obviously, though economic difficulties might have been the primary reasons they are not the only ones for this major personality to turn to confederation at the very last minute. His change was so great that he even refused to sue Dr. Carrall for libel because Carrall was very important to the confederation scheme.³⁰

And with his decision, Crease came back to life. That he was not immediately ecstatic about his prospects is shown in the January 1871 letter to Nathaniel Lindley, the one in which Crease talks about the few responsible people around on which to base responsible government, and about becoming a Kannuck, but his letters became less and less gloomy, less and less pessimistic. By 1872 he was planting those roots he felt destined never to put down — he was building the great house on Fort Street in Victoria. Though the architects were Wright and Saunders of San Francisco, "Pentrelew" was really the creation of Henry Crease. He planned every detail, from the gutters to the gardens.³¹ He gave directions that the gardens must slope about one foot in seven hundred towards and down Fort Street: "I mention this because the water sheds that way & the rain must run accordingly, & IF POSS. NOT under the house." He wanted, he said, a house that would be adequate for "a family of 8 persons with 2 servants." The total cost of Pentrelew was to run between

³⁰ H. P. P. Crease Letterbook (Private). December 12, 1871 to August 12, 1873. Crease to Joseph Trutch, January 31, 1871.

³¹ H. P. P. Crease Letterbook (Private). December 12, 1871 to August 12, 1873. Crease to Wright and Saunders, April 26, 1872. The house still stands on Fort Street and is now the Victoria Truth Centre.

\$5,000 and \$6,000. Unfortunately once he had to write to the architects to tell them to make the house smaller, but even then he told them exactly how and where to make the cuts.³² When the time came to educate his sons, Crease sent them to Haileybury in England. The school was expensive, but he knew that they would have a good education, would see the homeland, and would return to British Columbia as gentlemen. Lindley, the older son, went first; Arthur went later. The girls went too, for an education in drawing, but more to make the acquaintance of their past.

With Confederation accomplished, Crease spent the next twenty years in working and in aspiring to the position of Chief Justice. He travelled the plateaux and valleys of the province while Mrs. Crease worried about his catching colds after wading through the ice-cold streams. He was shot at by bandits. He held court on the Stikine from a stretcher. He was crippled for life in a fall while on duty. A convict threatened him with death if the jury brought in the wrong verdict. But promotion was blocked. Begbie stubbornly refused to retire or to die.

When in 1894 Begbie did finally die, Crease was too told to become Chief Justice. But he soon wrote to Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper:³³ "Possessing exceptional health and vigour, I have no desire whatever to retire — but should the exigencies of the public service call for the appointment of another person, I have the fullest confidence that the good faith & honour with which the Dominion has hitherto carried out all the obligations of Confederation with the Imperial Government will not be wanting now." It is obvious that he had changed his mind about how much trust to put in the word of the Canadian government, but this is also the letter in which he suggests that he retire on full pay and with the honour of a knighthood. The knighthood came in 1896. He then settled to a busy life at Pentrelew, writing letters around the world and complaining about his varicose veins.

When Sir Henry Pering Pellow Crease died in 1905 he epitomized the British Gentleman who had played the game. And the game was first the big one of Empire. He was the Upper Class Englishman who had used his talents and his energies for Country. And he had both talent and energy. He was the centre of attraction for a wife who adored him and a family who worshipped him. He had memories and friends and pride. In 1900 he wrote a letter in which he sketched his life in British Columbia

³² *Ibid.* Crease to Wright and Saunders, July 30, 1872.

³³ Crease Papers. Crease to Tupper, December 29, 1894.

over forty-two years.³⁴ By then, in addition to the knighthood, he said that he had his reward in knowing that the prosperity of the province was in part the result of his efforts. And by that time he had forgotten, or appears to have forgotten, that he had once had doubts about Confederation. His son Arthur perhaps never knew of the doubts. In January 1963 Arthur Crease wrote a letter to his niece:³⁵ "I wonder what confederation my father is reported to have opposed. I am pretty sure that the only confederation he was asked to join & refused was with the United States. I knew his mind too well." Obviously the Crease family itself was hardly aware of Sir Henry's role in colonial British Columbia.

³⁴ Crease Papers. Crease to James Harris, April 19, 1900.

³⁵ Arthur Crease to Mrs. H. J. S. Muskett, January 2, 1963.