

The Hankin Appointment, 1868

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The union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in November 1866 terminated the services of several officials, among whom were Governor Arthur Edward Kennedy and Treasurer Alexander Watson. Another, though much less prominent, departing official was Lieutenant Philip James Hankin, Royal Navy, Superintendent of Police and Governor of the Gaol at Victoria. Hankin's severance pay was only £51 and passage fare to England £165.¹ Early in 1867 Hankin and his wife arrived in England with only a £5 note in hand.² Two years later he returned to Victoria as colonial secretary-designate of British Columbia, the second highest office in the colony, at a salary of £800 per year; within a few months Hankin became the colony's administrator, in effect acting governor. His meteoric rise from the obscurity of minor officialdom was the result of his ability, industry, and loyalty, which had won the influence of powerful men, and of the mismanagement of Governor Frederick Seymour.

Following the departure of Colonial Secretary Arthur Nonus Birch from the colony in July 1867, Governor Seymour appointed William Alexander George Young to the position on an acting basis. As senior official and former colonial secretary of British Columbia and Vancouver Island colonies, Young undoubtedly had the strongest claims to the office. Seymour, however, took care to deny Young the office's customary emoluments of job security and full pay.³ In June 1868, Seymour asked his

¹ Frederick Seymour to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, November 21, 1868, confidential, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 60/33, 470, microfilm in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC), hereafter cited as PRO mf., and Colonial Secretary's Correspondence (CSC), uncatalogued manuscripts, folio, 408, PABC.

² Memoirs of Captain P. Hankin, R.N., 1914, typescript, 61, PABC. Hankin's memoirs were given to the Archives in May 1954 by Major-General G. R. Pearkes, who had in turn received them from Mr. E. L. Britain, a retired Dominion civil servant. Britain, who had for years made arrangements for the payment of Hankin's pension, stated that he had received the memoirs from Hankin around 1920.

³ *Victoria Colonist*, July 9 and 25, 1867; Seymour to Buckingham, July 15, 1867, No. 91 and September 28, 1867, No. 134, Governor, British Columbia, Despatches

superior, the Secretary of State for the Colonies the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, to continue withholding the permanent confirmation of Young in the office. Seymour wrote that he could not give Young his full confidence. Displaying his mainland bias, Seymour charged that Young was "so mixed up in the affairs of Victoria" and knew "nothing of the interior of the mainland portion of British Columbia."⁴ Why Seymour singled out Young for criticism remains unclear. Perhaps he felt that the island's interests were too strongly represented in his government, particularly at a time when they had just secured the transfer of the capital from New Westminster to Victoria. The correspondence of Henry Pering Pellew Crease, Seymour's attorney general, indicates that the governor was frightened that his authority and popularity might be destroyed by Young and that after some indecision he desired Birch to return.⁵ Also, Seymour's despatch came hard upon the passage of a resolution in the Legislative Council, at the time less than one-half popularly selected, requesting that the body be made two-thirds elective, a motion which passed only by Young's casting vote against the government faction.⁶ In any event, Buckingham replied privately to Seymour that a governor should have full confidence in his colonial secretary and the position would be filled by another man.⁷ In October, Buckingham despatched his decision to Victoria that Hankin would be the replacement for Young.⁸

Buckingham undoubtedly had his own motives for reacting in this manner to Seymour's despatch. Few subjects occupied more attention in the Colonial Office than patronage. Secretaries of State dispensed offices

to London, PABC. Young was secretary to the North American Boundary Commission, 1857-58, colonial secretary and auditor of Vancouver Island, 1859-64, colonial secretary of Vancouver Island, 1864-66, member for Victoria City in the Vancouver Island's House of Assembly, 1863-64, Executive Councillor of Vancouver Island, 1863-66, and Legislative Councillor of Vancouver Island, 1865-66. In 1866, Seymour expressed his preference that Gold Commissioner Peter O'Reilly become B.C.'s colonial secretary, while relegating Young to Victoria as police magistrate. To a colonial official in London, Seymour said that "Young only thinks of Victoria and its town lots." Seymour to Arthur Blackwood, December 19, 1866, PRO mf., CO 60/25, 448 and civil list memorandum, CO 60/25, 458-465.

⁴ Seymour to Buckingham, June 5, 1868, secret, PRO mf., CO 60/32, 477.

⁵ H. P. P. Crease to Birch, January 27 and May 5, 1868, June 16 and 17, 1869, 1868-69 letterbook, Crease Collection, PABC.

⁶ Minutes of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, April 29, 1868, PABC and Seymour to Buckingham, May 9, 1868, PRO mf., CO 60/32, 358-360.

⁷ Buckingham to Seymour, July 28, 1868, confidential, CO 398/5, 166-67.

⁸ Buckingham to Seymour, October 6, 1868, Great Britain, Colonial Office, Despatches to B.C., PABC, hereafter cited as Despatches to B.C. Technically, Hankin replaced Birch, the latter having been the last colonial, as opposed to acting colonial, secretary before Hankin.

to their favourites, people likely to remain loyal to the home office, and Hankin had recently come into Buckingham's favour. Moreover, Hankin possessed the prerequisites for the job. A 32-year-old lieutenant, he had served intermittently on the northwest coast since 1857. He had explored the northern end of Vancouver Island and acquired some knowledge of the native tongues, and Chinook. By 1864 he had become so enamoured by the country and the social life of Victoria that he had resigned his commission in order to pursue a civilian occupation. He tried his luck in the Cariboo goldfields and failed miserably. Finding his way back to Victoria he clerked for a short time in the law firm of Messrs. Drake and Jackson. He then became a junior clerk to Vancouver Island's Colonial Secretary Young.⁹ In October 1864, Hankin, seconded to Rear-Admiral Joseph Denman's staff aboard H.M.S. *Sutlej*, acted as interpreter during the navy's punitive expedition against the Ahousat Indians at Clayoquot Sound. There, Hankin's efforts to mediate between the navy and the Indians, which involved meeting the Ahousats alone and unarmed, so impressed Denman that mention was made of this in the admiral's official despatch reporting the mission to the Admiralty. Hankin was subsequently reinstated to his former rank in the navy, with permission to stay in the service of Vancouver Island Colony.¹⁰

In December 1864, Hankin was promoted to the position of Superintendent of Police. The scandal resulting from the indictment of former police superintendent Horace Smith for receiving bribes obliged Governor Kennedy to move quickly to restore public confidence in a police force shot through with corruption. To the Colonial Office, Kennedy spoke highly of Hankin, adding that he had been recommended by Captain George H. Richards, R.N., and Governor Stephen J. Hill of Antigua.¹¹ Hankin's new post was no sinecure; Victoria's substantial transient population and the fact that there were 85 licensed public houses within the city presented problems to his understaffed, ill-paid, and almost equally itinerant police force.¹² The Cormorant-Fisgard district was the scene of a nocturnal congregation of thieves, renegade whiskey traders, and over

⁹ *Memoirs*, 33-56 and *Colonist*, August 30, 1864.

¹⁰ W. G. Romaine to Hankin, February 7, 1865, PRO mf., CO 305/25, 235; Edward Cardwell to Kennedy, June 8, 1865, PRO mf., CO 305/27, 37; Cardwell to Kennedy, April 27, 1866, PRO mf., CO 305/30, 11.

¹¹ Kennedy to Cardwell, December 3 and 24, 1864, Governor, Vancouver Island, Despatches to London, 1864-66, original official letter book, PABC, hereafter cited as *Despatches to London*.

¹² Kennedy to Cardwell, August 24, 1865, *Despatches to London*.

200 prostitutes.¹³ The illicit trade of spirits to Indians, which Governor Kennedy believed to be at the core of the problem between the races, was rampant. These rum runners, among whom was Horace Smith, carried on their trade with impunity because they could not be convicted on Indian testimony alone, Indians not being considered legally competent to give evidence under oath.¹⁴ Hankin addressed himself to duty with zeal and a certain puritanical spirit. He dismissed insubordinate constables and, in a proposal to his superiors, detailed standards of qualification and performance for his men.¹⁵ Hankin patrolled the coasts, parleyed with Indians, ferried supplies to the Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition, conducted meteorological readings and a census, managed the chain gang, and supervised the Victoria jail.¹⁶ Hankin was constantly pressed to keep order in the outlying districts where there were no representatives of the law.¹⁷ During the depression in 1866 when the House of Assembly mercilessly slashed Governor Kennedy's estimates for the administration of justice, Hankin's force was reduced to three men.¹⁸

Both public and private sources indicate that Hankin was an efficient and honest officer.¹⁹ His record withstood the investigation of a hostile House, which wanted to embarrass Kennedy and his officers at almost any cost. Upon the imminent union of the colonies Kennedy recommended that Seymour retain Hankin's services, but Seymour saw fit to replace Hankin with Augustus Frederick Pemberton, Stipendiary Magistrate at Victoria, whom Kennedy had charged with negligence and obstruction in the Horace Smith affair.²⁰ Despite the fact that he had no personal contact with Hankin, Seymour wrote a few good words to the Colonial Office for him, reiterating the commendations by Kennedy and Denman, adding

¹³ Hankin to Young, August 25, 1865, CSC, folio 1397.

¹⁴ Hankin to Young, August 29 and September 8, 1865, CSC, folio 1397 and Kennedy to Cardwell, July 4, 1865, Despatches to London.

¹⁵ Hankin to Young, July 5, 1865, CSC, folio 1396a, October 1, 1865, CSC, folio 1397, and April 3 and 25, 1866, folio 1397; Hankin to Henry P. Wakeford, May 16, 1865, CSC, folio 1396.

¹⁶ Hankin to Wakeford, June 30, 1865, CSC, folio 1396; Hankin to Young, July 27, 1865, CSC, folio 1396a; meteorological register, July and September 1865, CSC, folio 706a; census of Vancouver Island, January 20, 1865, CSC, folio 1392; and Hankin to Wakeford, February 24, 1865, CSC, folio 1393.

¹⁷ Hankin to Young, August 21, 1866, CSC, folio 1400.

¹⁸ Hankin to Young, June 11, 1866, CSC, folio 1399.

¹⁹ *Colonist*, December 13, 1866 and Kennedy to Hankin, enclosed in Hankin to Young, November 19, 1866, CSC, folio 1397.

²⁰ Kennedy to Cardwell, December 3, 1864, Despatches to London and Hankin to Young, December 15, 1866, CSC, folio 1400. Hankin served until December 15, 1866.

that only the "absolute necessity for retrenchment in the public Departments" had forced him to terminate Hankin's services.²¹

Hankin and his wife, the former Isabella Gertrude Nagle of Victoria,²² left Vancouver Island on December 21, 1866 for England,²³ where A. E. Kennedy, who was himself waiting to be reassigned, introduced him to Buckingham, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. In due course Hankin was offered the office of Colonial Secretary of British Honduras. This position, which paid £600 per annum or twice the salary he had received in Victoria, he accepted at once. Hankin was replacing G. C. B. Mathew, the former Registrar of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, who had recently died of yellow fever.²⁴

Hankin served at Belize, the capital of British Honduras, for about one year. It was during this time that Isabella contracted yellow fever; the malady permanently impaired her health and forced her to return to England in the fall of 1867. The Duchess of Buckingham, the Duke's first wife, Caroline, took an interest in her welfare and invited her to recuperate for a time at Stowe, the family estate. The following summer Hankin was recalled, Governor Kennedy of the West African Settlements having requested his services as colonial secretary for Sierra Leone. Hankin rejoined his wife and was about to proceed to Africa when Buckingham, acting upon the vacancy that Seymour's despatch had just created, offered him the colonial secretaryship of British Columbia. Seymour's objections to Young were suddenly converted by the Duke into an absolute windfall for the Hankins, who were thereby saved from the pestilence of the West African "white man's grave." The new job represented another £200 per annum, and Isabella was enabled to return to her family in Victoria. Before leaving England in November 1868, the Hankins holidayed at Stowe.²⁵

²¹ Memoirs, 66 and Seymour to Carnarvon, December 21, 1866, PRO mf., CO 60/25, 275.

²² Hankin and Isabella Gertrude Nagle, the fourth daughter of Jeremiah Nagle, were married on August 3, 1865 before Rev. Edward Cridge in Victoria. *Colonist*, August 4, 1865; Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, Parish Register (Marriages), 1837-1872, Pt. I, entry for August 3, 1865, PABC; Vancouver Island, Colonial Secretary, Marriage licenses, June 1, 1859 - January 22, 1867, No. 69, August 2, 1865, PABC.

²³ *Colonist*, December 22, 1866.

²⁴ Memoirs, 53, 61, and 62. By a coincidence Mathew was the man who had befriended the penniless and stranded Hankin in the Cariboo three years earlier with the loan of passage fare to Victoria.

²⁵ Memoirs, 64-65; Alfred P. Waddington to Mr. Pearkes, October 7, 1868, quoted in *Colonist*, November 25, 1868; and Buckingham to Seymour, November 28, 1868, confidential, CO 398/5, 216-17.

In Crease's words, the news of Hankin's appointment struck Victoria like a "thunderclap."²⁶ The *Colonist* screamed outrage. Ignoring its previous description of Hankin in 1866 as "efficient and honest," the *Colonist* in November 1868 cast Hankin as "arrogant and overbearing."²⁷ Two days later Hankin became "tyrannical," his "inefficiency" "notorious."²⁸ In a few more days a petition was purportedly got up "praying His Excellency not to confirm the appointment of Mr. Philip Hankin as Colonial Secretary until Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies has been communicated with, and stating the objections which exist to the appointment."²⁹

Seymour's response to this news was also extraordinary.³⁰ In a confidential despatch to Buckingham, he abruptly reversed his position on Young. He was fully satisfied with Young's performance, he stated, and indeed praised Young's services as being absolutely essential to the administration's legislative program in the impending session which was to be the first of the united colony to be held in Victoria. The crux of Seymour's despatch was a libellous attack upon Hankin's character, background, and ability to fill the office to which he had been appointed. Seymour wrote that it would be embarrassing for him to avail himself of the services of a man who only two years before had been let go from the public service of the colony. The governor's imagination conjured up numerous sordid comments about Hankin's unsuccessful trip to the Cariboo and former connections as clerk and police chief. Seymour emphasized Hankin's connection with Jeremiah Nagle, the former harbourmaster of Victoria dismissed by Governor Douglas for deficiencies in his public accounts. Hankin "would not now be allowed to land without personal violence" and "Fenians, if not Americans, would probably join in

²⁶ Crease to Charles William Franks, February 12, 1869, 1868-69, letterbook, Crease Collection, PABC.

²⁷ *Colonist*, November 23, 1868. On both occasions, December 1866 and November 1868, the *Colonist's* editor was David Williams Higgins.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1868.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, November 28, 1868.

³⁰ Seymour learned by the middle of November 1868 that Young would be replaced. In despatches to Buckingham, dated November 16, 1868, Seymour defended Young. He even telegraphed to the same end. Seymour's private despatch stating that he had sent a telegram saying "Do not move Young yet" was sent to Buckingham and did not come into the Colonial Office until March 1869. There is no record of the date the telegram came into the Office. Seymour to Buckingham, November 16, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 452-455 and Seymour to Buckingham, November 16, 1868, private, CO 60/33, 448-449.

any riot which may arise."³¹ In an age when appropriate, discreet, and even graceful language was usually employed in colonial correspondence, Seymour's despatch must have appeared all the more scurrilous than it does today.

Realizing that his intemperate remarks might not be well received in London, Seymour wrote another confidential despatch a week later in which he was more concise though hardly more discreet. He again complained about Hankin's marriage into "a family with which it would not be pleasant for some ladies to associate" and his other lower class connections resulting from his adventures as a "dead broke" miner and police chief. Hankin, Seymour continued, had been unpopular in the colony and had acquired the dubious distinction of "being one of the two men blackballed from the Vancouver Club, by no means an exclusive establishment." Seymour charged Hankin with incompetence; contrary to his recommendation of December 1866, Seymour now claimed that Hankin had been "totally useless" and had not "shewn the slightest aptitude for business." Seymour further professed that it would be impossible to get through the legislative session if Hankin were appointed, that he (Seymour) had been unofficially informed that the Legislative Councillors for Victoria would not "take their seats in a Council presided over by Mr. Hankin."* Seymour retracted his former statement that Hankin would encounter personal violence and civil disorder upon disembarkation at Victoria and concluded his despatch by implying that his popularity would suffer if he complied with London's wishes.³²

Seymour's despatches arrived after the Hankins' departure from England. Philip and Isabella left England early in November and arrived in

³¹ Seymour to Buckingham, November 21, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 467-479.

* According to the constitution of British Columbia's Legislative Council, the colonial secretary was Presiding Member, the speaker, as it were, of an appointed body.

³² Seymour to Buckingham, November 29, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 482-486. Although Seymour referred to a petition being got up against the Hankin appointment and the *Colonist* mentioned one such petition, there is no evidence that a formal petition actually materialized. Considering Seymour's animus towards Hankin, it is highly unlikely if a petition did in fact exist that he would not have sent it to the Colonial Office. The draft of a petition defending Young is extant. Written in Helmcken's hand, and signed by that gentleman, M. W. T. Drake, Henry Havelock, T. L. Wood, and R. W. W. Carrall, all popular or unofficial members of the Legislative Council, the petition urged Seymour to stop Young's removal. Hankin, though not mentioned by name, was doubtless referred to as "a man with no confidence among the people." Significantly, Young, whom Seymour said knew nothing of the interior of B.C., was supported by two "up country" members, Havelock of Yale and Carrall of the Cariboo. Petition to Governor re Colonial Secretary, December 23, 1868, Helmcken Collection, PABC.

Victoria on a stormy New Year's eve.³³ Hankin immediately realized that the governor would not permit him to assume office.³⁴ He went to see Seymour in order to present his credentials. The Hankins even dined at Government House. Seymour, however, decided not to take official notice of his arrival, pending further instructions from London.³⁵ Seymour obviously wished to avoid installing Hankin at all costs; according to Hankin, Seymour offered him instead the office of Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works,³⁶ an exceedingly desperate alternative at best in view of Hankin's lack of any engineering training or experience. Seymour's refusal to install Hankin, a highly irregular policy, occasioned the equally irregular practice of paying two men for the same job.³⁷ Hankin was so annoyed and discouraged that he is reported to have requested a transfer to another colony.³⁸ As Sir James Douglas observed, Seymour was getting into a "pretty mess."³⁹

Two weeks after Hankin arrived Seymour learned that the Colonial Office was going to stand behind the appointment.⁴⁰ Yet Seymour persisted in his obstruction of London's wishes. He justified his course of action to the Colonial Office by again referring to Young's "indispensable" legislative talents, stating that "we should never have got the Financial Bills

³³ Hankin to Colonial Office, October 12, 1868, PRO mf., CO 60/34, 504-505; Buckingham to Seymour, October 13, 1868, Despatches to B.C.; Diary of Susan Nagle Holmes, 51-52, typescript, PABC; and *Colonist*, January 1 and 4, 1869.

³⁴ *Memoirs*, 66 and Holmes diary, 51-52.

³⁵ *Colonist*, January 8, 1869 and Holmes diary, 53.

³⁶ Minute on Seymour to Buckingham, November 29, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 497. Once the appointment of Hankin was announced Seymour expressed a preference for H. M. Ball, Peter O'Reilly, or Joseph Trutch to replace Young rather than Hankin. Seymour considered them to be of "far greater experience and better education than Mr. Hankin." Seymour to Buckingham, November 21, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 471.

³⁷ Anthony Musgrave to Earl Granville, January 7, 1870, PRO mf., CO 60/38, 10-14. By order of the Colonial Office, Hankin was to receive half pay from the date of his departure from England; Young would, necessarily, draw the remaining half from the same date. Upon arrival in the colony, Hankin would receive full salary and Young's duties and remuneration would cease. Though he barred him from office, Seymour decided to pay Hankin full salary. Young not only drew full salary during the time Hankin was travelling, but continued to do so after Hankin's arrival. Buckingham to Seymour, October 6, 1868, Despatches to B.C.; minute on Seymour to Buckingham, December 12, 1868, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 646-647; and Granville to Seymour, February 17, 1869, no. 15, Despatches to B.C.

³⁸ Minute on Seymour to Buckingham, November 29, 1868, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 497 and Holmes diary, 52, 59.

³⁹ James Douglas to Jane Dalles, February 22, 1869, private letter book (1867-1870), PABC.

⁴⁰ Buckingham to Seymour, November 28, 1868, confidential, CO 398/5, 216-17. Seymour acknowledged receipt of this despatch on January 14, 1869. Seymour to Buckingham, January 14, 1869, no. 3, Despatches to London.

through with Mr. Hankin as Presiding Member."⁴¹ By March 15 the legislative session was over; shortly thereafter, when he had no further need for Young, Seymour finally acted. On April 8, after sitting idle for over three months, Hankin was permitted to take his oath as the third and last colonial secretary of British Columbia and Young was obliged to return to England to seek another colonial position.⁴²

The Colonial Office took an exceedingly critical view of Seymour's handling of the Hankin matter. In response to one of Seymour's first protests to Young's replacement, a despatch was sent informing Seymour that Hankin had been promoted to the office of colonial secretary of British Honduras partially because of the governor's own 1866 recommendation, and that while in that colony Hankin had "proved himself fully deserving of the character given him,"⁴³ which was simply a polite statement that Seymour's earlier, favourable remarks about Hankin, rather than his "revised" ones, appeared the more justifiable. Colonial officials had a tough job reconciling Seymour's written abuse of Hankin with the fact that Hankin had been recommended by Governor Kennedy, Rear-Admiral Denman, Captain G. H. Richards, and Chief Justice (of Vancouver Island) Joseph Needham. Seymour's criticisms of Hankin, not surprisingly, were judged to be unfounded, Seymour having simply compounded his previous error concerning Young's tenure. Seymour's refusal to formally recognize Hankin's presence in Victoria was characterized as "inexcusable."⁴⁴ Having received no report of compliance with his predecessor's instructions by the spring of 1869, Lord Granville demanded to know from Seymour what had been done about the appointment. Granville passed along the comments of his subordinates that there were no grounds for Seymour's objections to Hankin. The blame for the entire affair was laid squarely before Seymour; upon the governor's own statements, Granville continued, there was no reason why he (Seymour) should not have advised that Young be confirmed in his office, thus obviating the necessity for a replacement to be sent out from England.⁴⁵

Understandably, this entire matter was extremely distressing for Young. He was not at that time one of those career colonial officials who toured the empire. He was a former naval clerk who chanced to come to British

⁴¹ Seymour to Granville, March 9, 1869, Despatches to London.

⁴² Seymour to Granville, April 8, 1869, Despatches to London and *Colonist*, April 7 and 9, 1869.

⁴³ Buckingham to Seymour, November 28, 1868, confidential, CO 398/5, 216-17.

⁴⁴ Minutes on Seymour to Buckingham, November 29, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 493-496.

⁴⁵ Granville to Seymour, April 19, 1869, confidential, CO 398/5, 264-66.

Columbia in 1857 and decided to stay. He married into the Douglas family, became Governor Douglas' right-hand man, built a home in Victoria, fathered a family, and invested modestly. Young had a growing stake in the colony and had become as much a local resident as he was an imperial official. When Douglas retired and the colonies were given separate governments in 1864, Young severed his connection with the mainland's civil establishment and became the colonial secretary of Vancouver Island. Although Seymour found it an administrative necessity to invite him, as the island's most prominent and knowledgeable official, into the service of the united colony in the winter of 1866-67, Young was always considered a representative of Victoria, an interloper, by the New Westminster clique.⁴⁶ In order to re-establish himself Young had to fight hard and if one is to believe Attorney General Crease the infighting among officials was intense. When at the point of making the very best of a bad situation Young was toppled by Seymour's precipitation of the Hankin appointment. Throughout the winter of 1868-69, while he toiled with the estimates and presided in the Legislative Council, Young believed, or was led to believe, that the Colonial Office might be persuaded to reconsider its decision, an eventuality that Seymour knew, after January 14, 1869, would not occur. At first Young referred to the matter as an unintentional mistake.⁴⁷ Later when Hankin finally supplanted him, Young considered himself to have been summarily and through no fault of his own dispossessed of office and forced out of house and home.⁴⁸ Young had to endure the additional humiliations of having to scramble for severance pay and a new appointment. The Colonial Office offered, and Young rejected, what appeared to be the minor position of Stipendiary Magistrate in the jungles of British Guiana.⁴⁹ From the colonial treasury, Young managed to receive passage fare to England for himself and his family (\$1940) and a retiring allowance (\$1260).⁵⁰ Young auctioned off his household effects and planned to leave Victoria early in June 1869. He was honoured at an elaborate and well-attended banquet

⁴⁶ It was noted in the Colonial Office, on the strength of Birch's report, that Young's "Vancouver [Island] connections or inclinations render him distasteful to the B. Columbian party." Minute on Seymour to Buckingham, July 15, 1867, no. 91, PRO mf., CO 60/28, 318.

⁴⁷ Young to Seymour, November 26, 1868, enclosed in Seymour to Buckingham, November 29, 1868, confidential, PRO mf., CO 60/33, 505-516.

⁴⁸ Young to Seymour, April 9, 1869, enclosed in Seymour to Granville, April 9, 1869, PRO mf., CO 60/35, 468-471.

⁴⁹ Enclosures in Hankin to Granville, June 18, 1869, no. 10, PRO mf., CO 60/36, 48-61.

⁵⁰ *Colonist*, March 9, 1870.

and, on the eve of his departure, by a torchlight parade.⁵¹ The precise date of the Youngs' departure is unclear, but it is known that they left San Francisco for New York via the new transcontinental railway on June 14.⁵² Later that year, Young was appointed assistant colonial secretary of Jamaica.⁵³ From that time until his death in 1885, Young served in progressively higher positions in numerous colonies, principally in the West Indies.⁵⁴

Governor Seymour was not present at Young's banquet or departure. Having been reprimanded by Granville for failing to dispense justice properly to parties connected with a murder near Metlakatla, Seymour, accompanied by one of his private secretaries, Arthur Edward Lowndes, and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Joseph Trutch, sailed to the northwest coast aboard H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk* on May 17, 1869.⁵⁵ At Bella Coola, on June 10, Seymour died of dysentery.⁵⁶ The *Sparrowhawk* returned to Victoria and, in the late evening of June 13, Lowndes and Trutch conveyed the sad news ashore.⁵⁷ According to Seymour's royal instructions, the responsibility of governing in case of his death devolved upon the senior member of the Executive Council, the colonial secretary Philip Hankin, who was sworn in as the Officer Administering the Government, or acting governor, on the courthouse steps the following morning.⁵⁸ Although Hankin had served as an administrator before, during Governor Austen's absence from British Honduras, there may have been some apprehension expressed in the Colonial Office concerning Hankin's ability to govern.⁵⁹ Considering the way the *Colonist* and the official class had mistreated Hankin, such apprehension was probably not without foundation. Anthony Musgrave, Governor of Newfoundland, was

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 27 and 31, 1869.

⁵² *Ibid.*, June 22, 1869.

⁵³ Young to Sir Frederic Rogers, September 16, 1869, PRO mf., CO 60/37, 663-669. Young's fears of tropical hazards materialized when he contracted yellow fever in Jamaica and was forced to return to England to recuperate. *Colonist*, September 18, 1872.

⁵⁴ *The Colonial Office List for 1885*, Edward Fairfield and John Anderson, compilers (London, 1885), 419.

⁵⁵ Granville to Seymour, March 7, 1869, Despatches to B.C.; minute on Hankin to Granville, June 26, 1869, PRO mf., CO 60/36, 164; and Report and Journal By The Hon. The Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Of the Proceedings in Connection with the Visit of His Excellency The Late Governor Seymour to the North-West Coast, in Her Majesty's Ship Sparrowhawk, typescript, PABC, 1.

⁵⁶ Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto, 1958), 229.

⁵⁷ Report and Journal By The Hon. The Chief Commissioner, 20.

⁵⁸ *Colonist*, June 15, 1869.

⁵⁹ Granville to Musgrave, June 17, 1869, no. 13, PRO mf., CO 60/36, 25.

ordered by telegraph to proceed to Victoria without delay or detour.⁶⁰ During the interregnum no crisis developed. Even the *Colonist* admitted in July that "things were running smoothly."⁶¹ The most important despatch Hankin had occasion to transmit was the opinions of the principal officers on the proposed union of British Columbia with Canada. Ironically, it fell to Hankin to receive Granville's despatch reproving Seymour for the Young-Hankin embroglio.⁶² Hankin was officially relieved on August 23, 1869 when Musgrave assumed the government.⁶³

Hankin held office until August 1871. He presided in the Legislative Council and, on occasion, represented Governor Musgrave during the latter's convalescence from injuries received from a fall.⁶⁴ In July 1870, Hankin replaced Trutch as chairman of the Pilot Board.⁶⁵ After J. S. Helmcken declined the honour, Hankin was elected speaker of British Columbia's first representative legislature in January 1871.⁶⁶ He even had the distinction of being the colony's last, and informally the province's first, governing official, having served as administrator or acting governor between Governor Musgrave's departure in July 1871 and Trutch's installation as Lieutenant-Governor the following August.⁶⁷ These were rather empty honours. While Musgrave, who was a demanding administrator, was quite satisfied with his services, Hankin never brought to his office the extensive experience, confidence, or public support that Young possessed. The politics of confederation were dominated by other men — Musgrave, Trutch, Helmcken, and R. W. W. Carrall. Hankin offered no opposition to union with Canada. He was rewarded with a pension of £533 per annum — two-thirds of his salary — from the Dominion government, a pension he collected for over 52 years!⁶⁸ Hankin returned to England where he was appointed private secretary to

⁶⁰ List of telegraphic messages, PRO mf., CO 60/36, 17, 19.

⁶¹ *Colonist*, July 13, 1869.

⁶² Hankin to Granville, June 18, 1869, no. 11, PRO mf., CO 60/36, 62-64.

⁶³ *The Government Gazette*, British Columbia, August 28, 1869, PABC.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Legislative Council of B.C., February 15, 1870, PABC.

⁶⁵ *Colonist*, July 10, 1870.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the Legislative Council, January 5, 1871.

⁶⁷ *Colonist*, July 26, 1871 and *The Government Gazette*, August 26 1871. Trutch was sworn in on August 14, 1871.

⁶⁸ Hankin's pension was first paid under authority of Section 146 of the British North America Act and an order-in-council (Canada), June 1871. Canada, House of Commons, Sessional Papers, 1873, No. 1, Sessional Paper No. 2, Part II, Expenditure Statements, 91. Hankin's pension was subsequently placed under Canadian statute, 35 Vic. c. 20. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1874, No. 1, Sessional Paper No. 1, Part II, 103. Hankin's last payment was for the period ending November 28, 1923, the date of his death. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1925, I, Part I, F44.

Buckingham, a position he held until 1880. During his rather lengthy retirement, Hankin thrice revisited British Columbia, in 1881, in 1902, and in 1919.⁶⁹ On November 23, 1923, Hankin died at the age of 87 of senile decay and cardiac failure at Aldrington, on England's Sussex coast.⁷⁰

The Hankin appointment drove Young from Victoria, eliminated him as a potential force in confederation politics, and denied him a share in the spoils which fairly could have been expected from Ottawa for so prominent an official. Although Young always thought of England (Walmer, Kent) as home, it is perhaps not speculating too much to suppose that given his stake in Victoria and a £500 pension he might have stayed; with his long experience in local affairs, not inconsiderable connections, comparative youth (Young was born in 1827), and his popularity in Victoria, Young could have become a candidate for Government House or even a more active political career. Young's removal made Trutch all the more prominent in Musgrave's regime.

The oft-cited complaint that Hankin lacked "respectable connections" indicates the importance that Seymour attached to social position of his staff. Seymour equated an official's social standing with his ability to legislate and to govern. Hankin simply did not measure up to Seymour's social pretensions. Although he was born of good English stock — his father was squire of Hertfordshire — Hankin was not favoured with the type of education that guaranteed instant social and economic success. Hankin's first connection with the colonial service in Victoria was in a much inferior position, not at or near the top as was the case with Trutch, Crease, Young, Cary, and Begbie. Hankin suffered in social terms because he had been obliged to work his way into prominent position.

The Hankin affair was a revealing episode of Seymour's last years in office. Since his return from England in 1866 Seymour, as he himself admitted, was tired, worn, and sick.⁷¹ He had a hard time coping with the realities of union. The transfer of the capital from New Westminster to Victoria worked ill upon the self-confidence that the Royal City's intimate atmosphere and plaudits had encouraged. Seymour was unable to control the backbiting and dissension among his officers. He was fearful of, yet, in his own words, dependent upon, the so-called pretender

⁶⁹ *Colonist*, July 1, 1881, *Memoirs*, 70, *Colonist*, October 28, 1919, and *Cowichan Leader*, October 30, 1919.

⁷⁰ Death certificate, Somerset House, England.

⁷¹ Seymour to Buckingham, November 16 and 21, 1868, uncatalogued manuscripts, CSC, PABC. There is no evidence that Seymour ever sent, or that Buckingham ever received this revealing letter.

Young, a feeling which, to some degree, marked Seymour's relationship with Birch. Seymour mistook, when he wrote that careless despatch about Young's interests in Victoria, Young's political assets as liabilities. This error caused the Colonial Office to send out a man who had no valuable connections in any part of the colony. At a time when he was sick, frightened that Hankin might accelerate his waning popularity and when Victoria's leading newspaper was advocating his replacement by Sir James Douglas, Seymour launched a campaign against Hankin, who could not be blamed for having accepted a good appointment. The incident raised questions about Seymour's ability to rule prudently and revealed a man seemingly but a shadow of the resolute, confident, and popular governor who assumed the government of the mainland colony but five years before.