

TWO VICTORIAN GENTLEWOMEN IN THE COLONIES OF VANCOUVER  
ISLAND AND BRITISH COLUMBIA: ELEANOR HILL FELLOWS AND  
SARAH LINDLEY CREASE

ACCEPTED

by

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#### ABSTRACT

Historical research and writing of the colonial period in British Columbia (1849-1871) has generally relied on the records created by men. A little used source has been the records originating from women accompanying men as wives, mothers, and daughters to the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

Because of the personal and private nature of these records, unlike the more customary records of men engaged in business and public affairs, not many records created by women during the colonial period have survived. The two subjects of this study, Eleanor Hill Fellows and Sarah Lindley Crease, left extensive records.

The biographies of these women are parallel in a number of ways. They were born within two years of each other and grew up just outside London, England. Both their fathers were of the middle class and upwardly

mobile. Each woman pursued artistic training and exhibited considerable competence in writing. Both married and moved to the colony of Vancouver Island where they settled and raised their families. While resident in the colonies each woman observed and recorded the activities, surroundings, and inhabitants of her new home and conveyed this information either in written or pictorial format in diaries and letters to family and friends in Britain, or in reminiscences.

Eleanor Fellows, the wife of a merchant, bore four children while resident in Victoria and achieved local prominence as an amateur singer. She later devoted her time to writing, publishing extensive reminiscences, a biography of her father, and numerous pamphlets and articles on a myriad of topics. Sarah Crease received public notice as the wife of an eminent colonial official, yet placed her own priorities on her family and its needs. Her diaries and correspondence indicate a pre-occupation with religious dogma and a concern for charitable work. Both women were also active amateur artists.

These written and pictorial records provide extensive information not only on the women themselves, but also on

the role of upper middle class women in colonial society. Their social and educational backgrounds in Britain and the circumstances and processes of emigration are also revealed in their records, providing a basis for comparison with their colonial life. Once resident in the colonies, their written records indicate the tremendous adjustments they had to make in regard to their economic \* circumstances and domestic responsibilities. Their use of leisure time, the quest for social acceptance, and the \* network of social relationships within the colonies are also evident. Their pencil and water-colour sketches, portray not only the physical details of the colonies, but transmit information on specific aspects of colonial life, notably the sense of isolation and distance from family \* and friends, the smallness of European settlement in the \* wilderness environment, and the strange and unfamiliar \* aboriginal population. Their artwork represents the beginning of a strong amateur art tradition that was to follow in the next generation. Together the art and writings substantiate and reinforce each other providing thorough and well documented evidence.

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## INTRODUCTION

Eleanor Hill Fellows (1831-1926) and Sarah Lindley Crease (1826-1922) were products of Victorian Britain, born in London into the upper middle class. Both women married and shortly after emigrated to the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, bringing with them cultural baggage that reflected their education, social position, religion, and general perspectives on life. Two outward manifestations of this cultural baggage were the activities of art and writing, which they both utilized to record for themselves and others details of colonial life during the 1860s. These records are varied in format, but together they substantiate and reinforce each other and provide solid evidence concerning the colonies as viewed through the eyes and minds of middle class British gentlewomen. Additionally, their art and writings reflect common concerns and pre-occupations suggesting that circumstances were similar for many women.

Life in the colonies was a great change from that in the old world. Not only were living conditions primitive and economic concerns paramount, but social life and conventions were unfamiliar and less formal. The women adjusted to this new life and were forced to become preoccupied with less than genteel occupations such as housekeeping, which involved large amounts of physical

labour. In their leisure time, they channeled their efforts into the creation of written and pictorial documents, which described their situations in the colonies and also served as an outlet for creative expression. These records are the most complete records produced by women in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia during the 1860s and are important as such. The levels of information contained within the records--biographical data, personal viewpoints and documentation of the colonies--cannot be duplicated by other sources.

The letterbooks and correspondence to parents, siblings, and friends in England, journals, calendar notebooks, and reminiscences provide a wealth of biographical data concerning daily activities, travel, accounts, and news items. The comments of Crease and Fellows, their reactions to circumstances and the ways in which they dealt with daily situations and in general adjusted to life in the colonies, reflect not only their character but illustrates how the women viewed themselves, both personally and in respect to their positions and roles in life, and their views of society as a whole.

Throughout their writings, basic themes are repeated and explored indicating that they were important in the minds and routines of the women. The first theme concerns

the need for economy and thrift. Living expenses in the colony were high and the immigrants did not have infinite resources. Along with economy was the ethic of hard work. This was a reality made necessary by the 'primitive' living conditions, dearth of help, and high prices charged for household supplies and foodstuffs. It created a situation that necessitated physical labour in home-making and food preparation. This second theme is related to the first in that it reflected the concern over the amount of physical labour required from each woman, and centred on the use, experiences, and problems related to domestic help and raising a family. As domestic help was often native, such discussions often reflected a greater curiosity. The last two preoccupations are related to each other and reflect both inner and outer concerns. These are the use of leisure time, the nurturing of friendship, and quest for social acceptance.

As amateur artists, both Crease and Fellows were among the first to sketch actively and paint the colonial scene. Their works represent the beginnings of a long and prolific tradition of amateur art in British Columbia. The pencil and watercolour sketches created by Crease and Fellows provide the historian with the added dimension of visual perception. As in the writings, certain themes and interests were represented. Because the art was meant to

be viewed by others--notably friends and relatives in England--the women made specific and conscious decisions to describe particular aspects of their life. The art works then, also illustrate common themes and viewpoints.

In general, the artwork falls into three broad categories: views that illustrate the <sup>①</sup>remoteness of the colony and its smallness in relation to the environment; views that focus on the <sup>②</sup>European settlement, and specifically the home and immediate vicinity of the artist; and views that portray the <sup>③</sup>aboriginal population and its relationship to the white settlement. Sarah Crease was certainly the most prolific woman artist in the colonies during the 1860s, and her production far exceeded that of most amateur artists. Eleanor Fellows, whose output was less, has, apart from Sarah Crease, more artworks extant from this period than any other woman. Together, the written and pictorial records substantiate each other by providing different types of information, which, when viewed together, provides a fuller and more representative record.

Both women were strong and opinionated personalities who consciously recorded what they saw around them. To understand why they chose to do this, the women must first be examined in the context of Victorian Britain and then in that of the middle class. Their education and family

background was responsible for developing both the skills and perspectives that made possible creative expression in art and writing.

## Chapter I - FORMATIVE YEARS

Victorian Britain

The nineteenth century in Britain was characterized by a great variety of social and economic changes and a shift of national mood that reflected, in part, the influence of Queen Victoria, who ruled from 1837 to 1901. Historian Asa Briggs has suggested the Victorian Age consisted of five main influences that conditioned the national mood: prosperity, a sense of national security, trust in institutions, belief in a common moral code based on duty and self restraint, and belief in free discussion and inquiry.<sup>1</sup>

The character of Victorian England was also profoundly shaped by the process of industrialization. Mechanized, steam powered factories sprang up in urban areas and performed the jobs traditionally done by hand, reducing the need for intensified labour in rural areas and causing massive shifts in the population to the new industrial centres. Industrialization and the resulting urbanization contributed directly to the creation of a large middle class population, which, by both income and activity, lay between the aristocratic and labouring classes.

This middle class was distinguished from the labouring or lower classes in that only the male members of the

family worked, and from the aristocracy whose members generally had independent incomes and were not obliged to work. The upper ranks of the middle class enjoyed male incomes that made it unnecessary for the women to produce goods even for home consumption. The two women under study, Sarah Crease and Eleanor Fellows, were born into upper middle class families in London, England; in fact they almost perfectly fit the definition of middle class.

Recent studies in Britain reveal the following characteristics of the middle class: an income of more than £300 annually, male members engaged in a particular service or calling, family members given a proper education, and a specific religious affiliation (primarily Protestant).<sup>2</sup> The middle class was further distinguished by the architectural characteristics of their residences, their size and location, their furnishings, food, dress, carriages, and use of domestic service.<sup>3</sup>

Women spent their time organizing the household, overseeing the care of their children, shopping for necessities and luxuries, practising philanthropy and nurturing friendships, while their male relatives left home each day to earn money for these activities.<sup>4</sup>

In keeping with this role, the education of middle class women "was aimed at keeping them in a state of unsophisticated dependence on men."<sup>5</sup> Instruction came in two forms, from within the family or outside the

family. Among the lower middle classes, women were taught domestic skills by their mother and a rudimentary knowledge of the "three Rs" either by a male relative or in a church day school, but in upper middle class households, a governess or male tutor was usually employed. Both male and female children were taught at home. The standards for governesses were not always high or consistent,<sup>6</sup> and more often than not, education left much to be desired. At age ten or twelve, boys were sent off to school to prepare them for future careers and instill gentlemanly virtues and habits. Girls remained either with the governess or might be sent to a private school, either as a day pupil or a boarder, where they would continue with lessons and improve their feminine skills. A typical prospectus for a ladies academy or finishing school often announced, "the strictest attention is paid to [the girls'] morals, and care taken that amusement should be blended with tuition."<sup>7</sup> Additionally, "whatever concerns religion is conducted by an elderly nun who takes [the girls] every Sunday to the parish church, and nothing is neglected for the preservation and purity of the mind. The care of cleanliness is overlooked by the governess and teachers themselves, who sleep in the dormitories and never lose sight of their pupils."<sup>8</sup>

The type and amount of a girl's education depended greatly upon the position of her parents. Established families tended to educate their daughters themselves at home. Those who had recently risen in social position and felt the inadequacy of their own education to prepare them for their new life, often wanted their sons to be formally trained for their future work and their daughters to be taught the skills required of their new station.<sup>9</sup>

The women under study were typical representatives of the upper middle class, their fathers were employed and their brothers were trained in the professions. In addition their fathers were upwardly mobile and career opportunities increased their prominence. John Lindley began as a botanist at Kew Gardens, became editor of the Gardener's Chronicle, a government consultant, and eventually Professor Emeritus at the University of London. Rowland Hill began as an educator, became a civil servant, achieved renown for his contributions to the development of penny postage, and was knighted for his services.

An examination of the early years of Sarah Lindley (later Crease) and Eleanor Hill (later Fellows), illuminates [aspects of their academic, cultural, and social educations that were to have lasting effects on their lives. Particular skills such as letter writing and artwork, cultural expression through music and song, and

✓  
Lindley  
1801

personal exposure to a variety of individuals all contributed to their reception and acceptance in colonial society. Their early inclinations to artistic and creative expression became fully developed in their adulthood. It is these latter activities that provide the historian with a wealth of detail and individual perspectives on the lives of these women who became early residents in colonial British Columbia.

Eleanor Caroline Hill (Fellows)

Eleanor Caroline Hill was born on 1 March 1831 at Bruce Castle, Tottenham, Middlesex, to Caroline Pearson and Rowland Hill. At the time, her father was headmaster of Bruce Castle School, one of a series of pioneering educational projects run by the three Hill brothers, Rowland, Edwin, and Arthur, on a model instigated by their father Thomas Wright Hill.<sup>10</sup> Edwin Hill remained an educator, but Rowland branched into many different fields. The Hill families resided from 1827 to 1835 at Bruce Castle,<sup>11</sup> a building dating from Norman times. During these years Caroline Hill gave birth to four children: Louisa Mary in 1829, Eleanor Caroline in 1831, Pearson in 1832, and Clara Pearson in 1834.

Education was not a lasting ambition for Rowland Hill. In 1833 he became associated with a body formed to promote

the colonization of South Australia (then unoccupied territory), and two years later he became secretary of the South Australian Commission on Immigration. In 1836 the Hill family moved from Bruce Castle, and Hill appointed his younger brother Arthur headmaster of the school. Hill moved to #2 Burton Crescent, London, and from this house in 1837 produced his famous pamphlet, "Post Office Reform: Its Importance & Practicability." From 1837 to 1839 Hill was involved in postal reform and in 1839, after the passing of the Penny Postage Act, he was given a two year appointment at the Treasury to direct the transition to uniform penny postage, which came into effect 10 January 1840.

In September 1842, following a change of government, Hill was dismissed from his treasury appointment without any reward for his services, despite a public outcry over all his efforts and work for postal reform. He then accepted a position with the London and Brighton Railway, becoming director and subsequently chairman. Hill and his family lived in Brighton until 1848, by which time he had left the railway and been appointed as secretary to the Postmaster General in 1846.<sup>12</sup>

These turbulent or at least disruptive years were no doubt felt by the remainder of the Rowland Hill family. Certainly Eleanor was often sent back to Bruce Castle.

Her son later recounted, "when her father, through new occupation had to leave this oft--most rudely dubbed-- 'Hotten-Tottenham' she would be continually staying there with the Edwins or other cousins."<sup>13</sup>

In 1840, at age fourteen, Eleanor was already beginning to exhibit signs of the creative and forceful personality that she exhibited in her later years. Her first piece of fiction, a fairytale titled "A Brazen Horseman",<sup>14</sup> was written in that year. The volume was painstakingly typeset by hand, by Eleanor, her younger sister, Clara (aged 11), and brother Pearson (aged 13), and then printed as a private, limited edition. This project reflects a resourcefulness, imagination, and inventiveness characteristic of the entire family.

This same year, Eleanor travelled to France where she spent twelve months, possibly with schoolmates. She and her companions were under the guardianship of an English woman with whom they lived. Eleanor later recalled:

The English lady with whom my fellow schoolmates and I lived took care that in addition to the usual formal French lesson with a Parisian governess we should become familiarised with the spoken tongue at its purest; and thus it was our good fortune to go occasionally to the theatre and more frequently to the principal churches....<sup>15</sup>

In 1848 after her father had been working as secretary to the Postmaster General for approximately two years, the family moved to Hampstead, closer to his place of work. Hampstead was chosen partially on the basis of its healing mineral springs, because at 53, Rowland Hill, after years of overwork, was precariously ill, a condition that was to characterize the remainder of his life. Additionally, the relatively new and fashionable residential area of Hampstead was attractive to the Hill family<sup>16</sup> as a reflection of their increasing status in society. These years at Hampstead were the most crucial in the development of the young Eleanor. Until the final breakdown of her father's health, she later wrote, "our house was a favourite haunt of the more intimate of his many clever friends. Scientific, medical, legal, artistic, literary, and other prominent men met, exchanged views, indulged in deep talk, bandied repartee, and told good stories at breakfast and dinner parties...."<sup>17</sup>

Among a vast network of friends, many of whom lived or spent much time in Hampstead, were literary personalities such as Charles Dickens, who, at one memorable visit to the Rowland Hill's for dinner, was "talking humourously, cheerily, incessantly, during the all too brief visit, and...doing so by tacit and unanimous consent, for no one had the slightest wish to interrupt the monologue's

delightful flow...."<sup>18</sup> The writer, Charles Wentworth Dilke, was another acquaintance, "at whose house one met every writer, to say nothing of other men and women, worth knowing."<sup>19</sup> Other visitors included William Makepeace Thackeray, Maria Edgeworth, Harriet Martineau, and Dr. P.M. Roget, "a most cultivated man, with the exquisite polish and stately bearing of that now wholly extinct species, the gentlemen of the old school."<sup>20</sup> Publishers William and Robert Chalmers and Charles Knight also frequented the Hampstead home. These literary and publishing personalities left a deep imprint on Eleanor, who described their visits, conversations, and countenances in vivid detail.

Artists and people connected with the arts were also known to the Hill family. Many resided in Hampstead and together with the literary personages encouraged an atmosphere of appreciation for natural gifts. Artist friends included: Clarkson Stanfield, "the famous seascape painter, and his family, who were musical as well as artistic, and gave delightful parties";<sup>21</sup> W.J.M. Turner, William Mulready, Edwin Landseer, and many others.

Eleanor and her older sister Louisa studied painting under Mr. James M. Leigh of Newman Street West.

There were many other girl pupils in his roomy studio; and most were enthusiasts for Art, and cherished glorious dreams of a time when an appreciative public should regard us with mingled awe and admiration as great women painters, and pay fabulous sums of money for possession of the pictures we should produce.<sup>22</sup>

Her art chums at Mr. Leigh's included Arthur Herbert, son of a famous Royal Academician; George Landseer, nephew of Sir Edwin Landseer; Adolphe Madat; Arthur, son of James Stark; Barbara L.S. Bodichon; and Emily Osburn.

Classes at Mr. Leigh's, like all art classes of the day, were segregated.

Pupils of the other sex in abundance had Mr. Leigh, some of whom later achieved fame as artists; but our master sternly banished them upstairs to a spacious attic; and they only filled the studio downstairs when we were not in possession.... Often when we were assembled in the hall preparatory to departure homewards, and doubtless chattering with at least twenty-woman power, we would, on casually glancing upward, behold a row of picturesque, dishevelled masculine heads--for hair was worn of considerable length by artistic mankind in those days--overhanging the uppermost bannisters, a spectacle which if the master's voice was heard among us, vanished as if by magic.<sup>23</sup>

A good deal of Eleanor's training centred in this studio. Work from models and human skeletons was common. In fact she came to love drawing human bones, sinews, and muscles, no doubt a different opinion than many of the

young ladies in her class who were apt to "flinch from lifting the thing [skeleton] from its perch"<sup>24</sup> into the studio. Her interest in anatomy was coupled with the rather romantic appeal of knights in armour, horses, "and on superlatively beautiful ladies never habited in more modern garb than that of the fifteenth century."<sup>25</sup>

In addition to her artistic training, Eleanor was also given music lessons in the then prevalent Italian operatic tradition. She took lessons from a Mme Frederic Lablache, daughter-in-law of Luigi Isidoro Lablache, Queen Victoria's singing master and friend. Mme Frederic appears to have excelled as both a concert singer and a teacher. Eleanor found her system "so admirable and her taste so pure that her pupils learned to condemn any but first-rate vocalists."<sup>26</sup>

Lablache often stayed at his son's house in London; and on these occasions Mme Frederick's pupils sometimes saw their idol, or heard him in the room below us practising his scales etc.... More than once while we, as members of a large class assembled to sing part-songs, glees, operatic scenes etc. were busily engaged in our task, he would creep quietly upstairs, and be suddenly discovered in our midst, smiling, bowing, and paying us compliments in his pretty, broken English.<sup>27</sup>

The Hill family resided at Hampstead until Rowland's death in 1879. Little is known of the family's activities and social patterns beyond the events recounted in

Eleanor's Reminiscences and her Biography. Nevertheless, in October 1861 the Wolverhampton Chronicle reported the marriage "on the 15th Instant, at the Church of St. John, Hampstead, by the Rev. Thomas Ainger, M.A., Arthur Fellows Esq. of Vancouver's Island, to Eleanor second daughter of Sir Rowland Hill, K.C.B."<sup>28</sup> Arthur Fellows was a son of Isaac Fellows, formerly a school master at Hazelwood School in Wolverhampton, another of the Hill family schools. Nothing is known of their courtship. Arthur possibly knew the Hill family for some years as Eleanor's older sister Louisa had married Arthur's brother Frank on 21 July 1856.

#### Sarah Lindley (Crease)

On 30 November 1826 Sarah, oldest child of Dr. John Lindley, chief botanist at Kew Gardens and professor at London University, and Sarah Lindley, neé Freestone, was born. She was followed by a brother Nathaniel in 1828, and sister Barbara in 1830. The children grew up in the family home at Acton, Middlesex.

In 1820 John Lindley had been elected fellow of both the Linnean and Geological Societies and two years later appointed as garden assistant secretary to the Horticultural Society. By the time of his marriage in 1823, Lindley had published seven major horticultural works. In

1826, he became the sole assistant secretary of the Horticultural Society, with duties in both the gardens at Chiswick and in the office at Regent Street. At this point the Lindley family moved from London to Acton, near Chiswick. In 1829, Lindley became the first professor of botany at the University of London, a position he retained for thirty years. In conjunction with his friend, George Bentham, he organized a very successful series of exhibitions of flowers and fruit in the gardens at Chiswick.<sup>29</sup> After becoming vice-secretary of the Horticultural Society in 1841, Lindley assumed an incredible workload, which he managed until 1858 when he became honorary secretary. Lindley acted as juror of foodstuffs in the International Exhibition of 1851 and resigned from the Horticultural Society in 1862, after being persuaded to take charge of the entire colonial department of the 1862 International Exhibition. Always overworked, Lindley died in 1865 from a "softening of the brain."<sup>30</sup>

The first documentation of Sarah's early years dates from September 1836 at the age of nine. Her parents, on vacation in Wales, left the children at home in Turnham Green under the care of a Miss Fawcett, undoubtedly a governess. Sarah received letters from her father and from her Aunt Ann Lindley during this time, each imploring her to be a good girl while her parents were away.<sup>31</sup>

Two years later, on 28 June 1838, Sarah in company with her father (who had been invited in his capacity as advisor to the British Government on the Status of Kew Gardens) was present in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of Queen Victoria. Although diaries from this period are not extant, the scene was one which impressed the child of eleven. "She often spoke of the touching youthfulness of the young Queen, her simple dignity, and also the fact that just as the Crown was placed on her head and the Peers & Peeresses lifted their coronets to theirs, a ray of sunshine struck them making a wonderful and sudden radiance."<sup>32</sup>

From 1838 to 1842, Sarah attended Mrs. Gee's school at Hendon, nearby Turnham Green. Here the Lindley sisters were taught the usual skills for women including reading, writing, literature, art, and music. After leaving school, the girls had a private governess, a Miss Emma Heinrick, "our German & French weekly governess at home...an interesting person and very charming when pleased."<sup>33</sup> Also living at their house was Miss Sarah A. Drake employed by John Lindley as illustrator of his horticultural publications, most notably Sertum Orchinoaceum, 1838.<sup>34</sup> Miss Drake, in Sarah's words, was "the best botanical draftswoman of her day--not excepting Mrs. Withers who was unrivalled in fruit painting."

"Ducky", as she was affectionately known "was greatly beloved by my mother, sister and self"<sup>35</sup> and lived with the family for many years until her marriage to a Mr. Hastings of Longham Hall, near Norwich.

Sarah's major interest appears to have been art. Both she and her sister had been given lessons by Charles Fox (1794-1849), an old friend and colleague of John Lindley. He "taught us all drawing by way of a personal favour--as he was by profession an engraver."<sup>36</sup> When Lindley was appointed superintendent of the Horticultural Society, Fox, because of his great interest in horticulture and his reputation as one of the best judges of flowers, was chosen as judge and arbitrator of their exhibitions. Fox also superintended the illustrations of The Florist.<sup>37</sup> Sarah's artistic interests were directed along these lines. Along with her sister Barbara, she gained enough skill to assume responsibility for the illustration of some of her father's later works, including the Vegetable Kingdom, 1846, and various articles in the Gardeners Chronicle, which Lindley, Joseph Paxton, and others had founded in 1841. The work of illustration was not merely a hobby but was seen by the sisters as a legitimate form of employment and one which subsidized their pocket money. Barbara wrote to Sarah:

Since you left, I have made several translations from the French for the *Gar Chron.* I like the work decidedly better than any other of the useful kind. I have even attempted and if only had not to trouble Papa to correct it I should have no drawback to it. I have earnt a few pounds in that way which I find most acceptable, for money seems to slip away faster than ever.<sup>38</sup>

Later Sarah wrote, "I have two drawings to make for Ducky before Friday, but I shall have candlelight quite at my disposal...."<sup>39</sup> and again "I am endeavouring to make the most of my time...and next in doing a little drawing wh. Papa gave me the last time I saw him...."<sup>40</sup> Her sketch-books, however, reveal a wide range of artistic interests.<sup>41</sup> Charles Fox gave instruction in pencil and watercolour, and also copper engraving and wood block printing, both rather unusual achievements for women at this time period. These techniques enabled her to copy old masters and provide not only the preliminary drawings but the engravings or prints ready for publication.<sup>42</sup>

Drawing master Charles Fox remained a close friend until his death in 1848. Under his guidance, Sarah, Barbara, and Nathaniel were encouraged in their artistic endeavours. In 1847 he wrote to Sarah:

I visited the Royal Academy the other day and have sent you the catalogue with marks against my favourites.

It is a good exhibition, there is a noble landscape by Stanfield--the best he has ever painted and which was

not sufficiently noticed in the Daily News on Tuesday which in other aspects gives a good account of the exhibition, when the fine weather comes I hope you will again take up the Pencil--pray look at Richmond's portraits at the Academy, they are particularly fine and remind one much of the Van Dyke heads, broad and elegant....<sup>43</sup>

Both this exhibit catalogue and the letter were saved by Sarah and brought out to British Columbia with her in later years,<sup>44</sup> indicating the importance placed on her teacher, his remarks, and the showing of art.

The bulk of her work from 1840 to 1850 is concerned with botanical subject matter, in watercolour, ink, and wood block. A portfolio inscribed "drawings on wood by Esther Jones alias S.L."<sup>45</sup> indicates that Sarah often submitted botanical drawings, either for her father's work or for independent publication under a pen-name, perhaps wishing to be judged on her own skill rather than on associations with her father. The use of pen-names, especially in the field of writing, was not uncommon among women at this time. Although Sarah's pen-name was female, many women used male pen-names, perhaps increasing the chances that in the male-oriented business world, a man's submission would have a greater chance of being accepted. Sarah's botanical illustrations are known to have appeared in Lindley's The Vegetable Kingdom, 1846, The Florist, and the Gardener's Chronicle.<sup>46</sup> Extant works by Sarah

include an etched portrait of her father based on a water-colour portrait by Charles Fox.<sup>47</sup> Included are the copper plate, preliminary pencil sketches, artist proofs, and a run of approximately twenty-five etchings. Close comparison to Fox's watercolour shows that Sarah has captured the qualities of the original art work as well as the likeness of her father. A series of busts and "heads by Van Dyke" done in pen and ink are also extant as well as many detailed pencil drawings based on paintings by the old masters. Many have comments written on them, undoubtedly by Mr. Fox and meant as guidance to his pupil.

The bulk of the art work is landscapes. In varying combinations of pencil, ink, watercolour, charcoal, and crayon, a wealth of visual images from Sarah's adolescence can be seen.<sup>48</sup> Trips to the homes of friends such as George Bentham (a colleague of John Lindley in the Horticultural Society) are recorded in scenes illustrating the home, gardens, surrounding landscape, and buildings. Trips were made to Longham, the home of Sarah "Ducky" Drake and later her Aunt Ann Lindley. Outings to Brighton, a trip to Wales, and many other occasions are all recorded in her art.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to art, Sarah did have some knowledge of music. Like most young ladies of her day she was taught to play the piano. Two instructional piano books indicate

the type of music preferred.<sup>50</sup> It was not as large a concern for her as was her art.

Sarah was well read and often in her correspondence and diaries referred to books just completed or those which had been recommended to her. For example, a letter in October 1849 lists Emilia Wyndham, Revisions of Lady Evelyn, as recommended by her father, John Lindley.<sup>51</sup>

The man who would become Sarah's husband was first mentioned in 1848. His name was Henry Pering Pellew Crease and he was born in 1823 at Ince Castle, Cornwall. His father, Captain Henry Crease, was an officer in the Royal Navy and his mother Mary, the daughter of Edward Smith, owner of Ince Castle. A letter from Nathaniel Lindley to Henry Crease dated 30 August 1848<sup>52</sup> reveals little information but that Nathaniel apparently knew Henry's father and one of his brothers. Crease had evidently met part or all of the family as Natty mentions "Barbara is still at Ramsgate." There is no mention of Sarah. The first evidence of any relationship between Sarah and Henry begins with their correspondence in 1849. In a letter dated 4 July from Sarah it is evident that Henry had recently proposed marriage (27 June) and that she is writing to him for the first time since.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after, the Crease family in an attempt to bolster the somewhat depleted and fading family fortunes,

decided to embark for Canada West where they planned to investigate and perhaps invest in canals and mines in the area of the Great Lakes. Henry had taken his oaths at Winchester and had been sworn in as a barrister. He decided to accompany his family in hopes of finding employment. They departed aboard the Daedalus on 3 August 1849 just after Sarah had sent Henry a letter. "I send you enclosed the sketches of my dear Father, Mother, Brother & Sister. Mama's I consider a very unsatisfactory likeness, but strange to say, I have never yet been able to get a proper likeness of her."<sup>54</sup>

Their correspondence continued over the eighteen month period of Henry's travels. Sarah wrote on an average of once a week, and often for several days running, once or twice a day. The correspondence is valuable as a source of information on the activities of both parties. Although only Sarah's letters to Henry survive, enough can be gleaned to indicate the general content of those she received from Henry. Activities, occasions, and mutual friends are discussed. Sketches are often enclosed to serve as reminders of past events or to better explain or illustrate a current event. With candor and charm, the relationship unfolds. Early on, Sarah related "I cannot sign my proper name as I dislike the name of Sarah and Lindley alone would not look very well,"<sup>55</sup> and so signed

herself "Totty," a childhood nickname she retained all her life. In September she wrote, "You are the cause of a very unquestionable difference which has already taken place in me--Everybody tells me and I cannot deny it that I am getting quite fat!!"<sup>56</sup>

Clues to Sarah's perception and experience of life are evident in her correspondence. An almost unbelievable confidence to Henry on 17 October 1849 records:

I have for the first time in my life seen Papa perform that wonderful and mysterious operation of s-h-a-v-i-n-g!! I know all about it now! I happened to go into his room the other morning when he did not get up so early as usual, on account of his cold, and found him just in the very act of beginning--he bid me sit down, in that white arm chair in the corner on the right hand side--which I accordingly did--and to my great amusement saw the whole operation.<sup>57</sup>

And later in January 1850:

What do you think? I made my first essay to "run alone" last Thursday! I actually went to London in an omnibus by myself and found my way down the Burlington Arcade, Bond Street across Oxford Street down Regent Street into Picadilly where to my delight I found a Kew Bridge Omnibus ready to jump onto, without having to hail it myself and at last got home quite safely without having a shadow of an adventure to relate.<sup>58</sup>

In December 1850, Henry Crease returned to Cornwall from Toronto but all was not well. For some unknown reason there had been a break in family harmony. "The

future does indeed dear Henry appear a blank.... My father who naturally is much concerned in the matter has been talking to me exceedingly kindly on the subject...."<sup>59</sup> "The unfortunate affair which has arisen between yourself and the Capt. [H. Crease] is I think a great perplexity to my father."<sup>60</sup> Throughout January 1851, Sarah continued her correspondence but with a definite tension in her words. Finally on 12 February:

Oh Henry! What does this sad silence and indifference mean? Can you be so changed as to force me to believe, what I cannot bear to own even to myself! Is it possible that I have seen you for the last time--and at that time when I thought myself so happy--could you have been contemplating this unkind neglect. No, I will not believe so much as that. Oh Henry, am I never more to be of interest to you--never again to receive a kindly smile, or hear one more affectionate word. Must I begin to alienate myself from you--to become as a piece of wood or stone towards you.... I will not trust myself to say any more, but remain forever Your friend, Totty.<sup>61</sup>

Two days later, the relationship had improved, and appeared back on the previous basis although Henry was still having problems, possibly because of financial reverses.

During the spring of 1852 a great deal of turmoil and anguish appears to have occurred over the question of the marriage settlement. John Lindley believed that the young

couple should not begin their life without a guarantee of an income of £700 annually. For his part he agreed to assist in housekeeping costs and to supply £140, expecting that Henry and his family should come up with the remainder.<sup>62</sup> Henry, in the midst of establishing a business managing the Great Wheal Vor United Mines in Cornwall, appealed to his father in Canada West. Captain Crease, despite a severe cash flow shortage caused by unfortunate investments and the sinking of a ship (carrying his goods) in the St. Lawrence River, eventually managed to contribute a portion. The remainder was supplied by Henry and his brother Edward. "Now Totty will I hope get in a little better condition than she has been. Uncomplaining patient little girl. I am as happy as a king."<sup>63</sup> From August through the fall of 1852 preparations for marriage included the purchase of housekeeping supplies and furniture. In February 1853 the couple rented a small home. This, with all the furnishings, cost no more than £350.<sup>64</sup>

On 27 April 1853, Sarah Lindley and Henry Crease were married at Acton Church. Barbara Lindley in a letter to Henry's mother described the event:

...all your friends may now come forward and congratulate you upon Henry's marriage, for yesterday at 11 o'clock that knot was tied. I suppose I can scarcely enter too much into

particulars, since you all are so deeply interested in the Bridegroom, he looked remarkably well and spruce a nice frock coat buff waistcoat and grey trousers and shiny boots, his hair and whiskers fresh from Mr. Truefitts's hands, when he entered the church he looked all expectation and natural excitement...the brides dress was white silk like the enclosed pattern a white lace scarf (like the lace dress you once showed us laid up for one of your girls) a very simple white twill bonnet and flowers not orange blossoms and honiton lace veil collar, habitshirt, sleeves and pocket handkerchief, and a bouquet of real orange flowers all the bridesmaids had bouquets, Mr. Thompson, the clergyman we attend at Brentford married them at Acton Church, they both went through the service very well, we then returned to breakfast which was made very short as Papa would allow of no speeches except just a short one from his oldest friend Dr. Wallicks to drink to the health of Mr. & Mrs. Henry Crease.<sup>65</sup>

After the ceremony, the couple travelled to the Isle of Wight where they honeymooned at the Sandrock Hotel<sup>66</sup> and upon their return to London set up residence at #9 St. James Square, Nottinghill.<sup>67</sup>

Henry Crease, with his brother Edward, took over the management of the Great Wheal Vor United Mines in Cornwall, at that time one of the largest in the world. He remained with the company until 1857, when he sold his interest after financial difficulties imposed by general economic depression. Henry had been trained as a barrister and, although had undoubtedly used his training

in running the mining operations, he felt restricted in his ability for advancement and so turned his eyes westward towards North America, where he had previously travelled with his parents. In November 1857, he left Liverpool, bound for New York and then Toronto, leaving behind Sarah and three daughters: Mary, born in 1854; Susan, born in 1855; and Barbara, born in 1857. Sarah and the children moved back to her parents at Turnham Green.

## Chapter I - Victorian Britain

<sup>1</sup>Asa Briggs, Victorian People (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Geoffrey Best, Mid Victorian Britain 1851-70 (Suffolk: Richard Clay Ltd., 1971).

<sup>3</sup>J.F.C. Harrison, The Early Victorians (London: Panther Books, 1973).

<sup>4</sup>Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1980), p. 30.

<sup>5</sup>Nicholas Bentley, The Victorian Scene (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd., 1968), p. 161.

<sup>6</sup>Burstyn, Victorian Education, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup>Advertisement for a Mrs. Taylor's School in Elysium Row, Fulham quoted in Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred, Girls' Education in English History (London: Methuen and Company, 1965) p. 136.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>9</sup>Burstyn, Victorian Education, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup>Jean Farrugia, The Life and Work of Sir Rowland Hill, 1795-1897, (London: National Postal Museum, 1979), p. 4. For the development of the Penny Post, see Eleanor C. Smyth, Sir Rowland Hill, the Story of a Great Reform (London: Fisher Unwin, 1907).

<sup>11</sup>All information regarding the life of Eleanor Hill has been compiled from references in Eleanor C. Smyth [Fellows], An Octogenarian's Reminiscences. Letchworth, private publication, 1916 and personal research by the author.

<sup>12</sup>Farrugia, Sir Rowland Hill.

<sup>13</sup>Arthur Fellows Jr., Correspondence Outward, n.d., uncatalogued; Fellows Papers, Bruce Castle Museum, Tottenham.

<sup>14</sup>Eleanor, Pearson and Clara Hill, "The Brazen Horseman" (Brighton: hand printed, 1840).

<sup>15</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup>Note, Hill file, H.920, Swiss Cottage Library, Camden.

<sup>17</sup>Smyth, Sir Rowland Hill, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Wolverhampton Chronicle, 17 October 1861.

<sup>29</sup>Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 1156-8.

<sup>30</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 1 November 1865, Crease Collection, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, cited hereafter as Crease Collection.

<sup>31</sup>Sarah Lindley, Correspondence Inward, n.d., Crease Collection.

<sup>32</sup>Susan Crease, Reminiscences, n.d., Crease Collection.

<sup>33</sup>Inscription on reverse of ink portrait of Emma Heinrich, unaccessioned, Crease Collection.

<sup>34</sup>Stephen and Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, p. 157.

<sup>35</sup>Inscription on reverse of ink portrait of Sarah Drake, pdp 4780, Crease Collection.

<sup>36</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 31 April 1850, Crease Collection.

<sup>37</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, p. 533.

<sup>38</sup>Barbara Lindley to Sarah (Lindley) Crease, 13 March 1860, Crease Collection.

<sup>39</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 16 November 1852, Crease Collection.

<sup>40</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 20 August 1852, Crease Collection.

<sup>41</sup>The Provincial Archives of British Columbia has approximately 1000 sketches, watercolours, and engravings by Sarah Lindley Crease. All art works referred to on the following pages are from this collection and are prefixed by the initials pdp.

<sup>42</sup>One example of this process is found in the collection of the PABC which includes the pencil sketch, watercolour painting, engraved copperplate, artist proofs, and a small number of signed engravings.

<sup>43</sup>Charles Fox to Sarah Lindley, 6 May 1847, Crease Collection.

<sup>44</sup>Royal Academy of Arts exhibition catalogue, 1847, Crease Collection.

<sup>45</sup>Album entitled "S.L. alias Esther Jones," pdp 4895, Crease Collection.

<sup>46</sup>Information taken from inscriptions on various sketches and watercolours in the PABC.

<sup>47</sup>Portrait of John Lindley, pdp 45, Crease Collection.

<sup>48</sup>A complete listing of all works in the PABC by Sarah (Lindley) Crease is in the process of being compiled. Many are unaccessioned and unavailable through standard retrieval systems.

<sup>49</sup>Various unaccessioned sketches, Crease Collection.

<sup>50</sup>Piano books, Crease collection.

<sup>51</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, October 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>52</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Henry Crease, 30 August 1848, Crease Collection.

<sup>53</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 4 July 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>54</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, July 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>55</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 9 August 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>56</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 17 September 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>57</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 17 October 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>58</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 9 January [1850], Crease Collection. Misdated 1849 as Crease was not in Canada at this date.

<sup>59</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 29 December 1850, Crease Collection.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 12 February 1850, Crease Collection.

<sup>62</sup>Henry Crease to Henry Crease, R.N., 20 July 1852, Crease Collection.

<sup>63</sup>Henry Crease to Henry Crease, R.N., 23 July 1852, Crease Collection.

<sup>64</sup>Sarah Lindley to Henry Crease, 9 February 1853, Crease Collection.

<sup>65</sup>Barbara Lindley to Mary (Smith) Crease, 28 April 1853, Crease Collection.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>As evidenced by return address on Sarah's letters to Henry, 1855 to 1857.

## Chapter II - OFF TO THE COLONIES

The Colony of Vancouver Island.

Fort Victoria, to which the Crease and Fellows families were to immigrate, had its first beginnings in 1842 when James Douglas landed and claimed, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, the area known as Camosack or Camosun. The following year construction of a fort began, and in 1849 this outpost became the Pacific headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company's trade west of the mountains. That same year, Britain, by royal grant, transferred the whole of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company for an annual rate of seven shillings. In return for this right the Company agreed to establish a permanent colony of British subjects to forestall further northerly expansion by the United States.<sup>1</sup>

In 1857 gold was discovered in the Fraser and Thompson rivers. By the following year the news had spread down the coast to California where thousands of miners, entrepreneurs, and itinerants, many of whom had participated in the California Gold Rush ten years earlier, jumped at the news that a new rush was on. Victoria, the fur trade depot that had become a colonial capital, quickly assumed the role of commercial entrepôt for the gold rush.

The year 1858 marked a major turning point in the development of what would later become British Columbia. Until the gold rush, the economy had been primarily based on the fur trade and most of the population were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. This changed dramatically, as Fort Victoria was transformed almost overnight, from a small settlement of a few hundred to several thousand. It has been estimated that twenty thousand people arrived in Esquimalt and Victoria in 1858, primarily en route to the gold fields.<sup>2</sup> Many remained in Victoria, setting up business and catering to the needs of both the new population and the miners. Although most of these twenty thousand left after a year, when the initial fever had worn down, many remained. The population regulated itself at about three thousand for the next fifteen years.<sup>3</sup> That the area could attract and support such a population as this is evidence that a basic change had been wrought by the gold rush.

Prior to 1858 there was little independent settlement. High land prices, the monopolistic tendencies of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the lack of an alternate economic base successfully countered most attempts at colonization. With the gold rush, however, came people who capitalized on the rush, supplying goods and services to the potential miners. With the arrival of merchants,

settlement became more favourable and possible. There was an economic basis for a self supporting colony.

In 1860 Edward Mallandaine, publisher of the First Victoria Directory noted, "at a period of less than two years ago, the population of Victoria numbered but some few hundreds. The inhabitants of the Island consisted of but some twelve to thirty settlers, independently of the Hudson's Bay Company."<sup>4</sup> But now, in 1860

we found a town of already little pretensions. Houses had been built where before only intended; streets were farmed, stores filled and goods sold; wharves built for the convenience of landing passengers and goods....

In trades and professions Victoria possesses seven butchers or meat salesmen, several fish and vegetable dealers, ten bakers, thirteen dry or fancy goods stores, six tailors, thirteen commission merchants, three chemists and druggists, three architects, one ambrotypist, eight or ten carpenters or contractors, twenty grocers and provision dealers, four hair-cutting saloons, three dress-makers, about twenty-five hotels, inns, saloons, and restaurants, six surveyors, three watchmakers, four lumber dealers, eight or nine medical practitioners of different classes, ten legal professors, of which four are barristers at law, two banks, four blacksmiths, machinists, and ship-smiths, three express offices, three newspapers (tri-weekly), seven auctioneers and estate agents, seven dealers in tin and hardware, three wholesale liquor dealers, six cigar and fruit dealers, two ship-brokers, one patent roofing dealer, four lodging-houses, one tanner, one underwriter, one crockery and glass dealer, one

fur-dresser, two seed dealers, two breweries, five milk-sellers, two saddlers, eight wharves.

With regard to religion and education, we have one Episcopalian Church, one Roman Catholic Church, one Wesleyan Mission, one Congregational Mission, one Nunnery--Sisters of St. Anne--also school for females, one school under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Bishop, one Private Educational Institute...one Young Ladies Seminary.<sup>5</sup>

Into this community atmosphere both Arthur Fellows and Henry Crease arrived in 1858. Seeing the newly emerged town of Victoria a thriving commercial centre, both men recognized the potential and emersed themselves in the economic life of the settlement. Arthur Fellows founded a hardware business, while Henry Crease became the first barrister qualified to practise in the colony of Vancouver Island.

The social composition of Victoria also underwent a transformation. Prior to 1858, society was divided along the traditional Hudson's Bay Company distinctions between officers and servants, and also between upper and lower servants. The few independent settlers were considered on a par with the upper servants.<sup>6</sup> This population was supplemented by great numbers of people drawn to the area because of the gold rush, many of whom remained, adding to this social makeup.

In general, immigrants were male. It has been estimated that the early population (pre-1862) had a percentage of one hundred white men to every woman.<sup>7</sup> Men had a much larger degree of mobility than did women. They had an independence which gave them the freedom to travel and look for new areas of settlement or opportunity; once established, they would arrange the transfer of relatives and family to follow.

The early population was very cosmopolitan. Apart from the primarily English and Scottish Hudson's Bay Company core, immigrants hailed from almost every European and East European country, West Indies, China, Mexico, America, and the Sandwich Islands. Victoria was not simply "an English town in happy exile" as might be expected of a British colony, but "an amazingly complex group of peoples claiming an equally amazing variety of nations as their homeland."<sup>8</sup>

Immigrants left their country of origin for a variety of reasons. Most hoped to gain a livelihood in a country that possessed fewer obstacles to advancement. A contemporary observer noted "single young men, many of them well connected and of good education, form a large part of the population." He went on to say, "The habits of some indicate them to have been the 'black sheep' of the domestic fold."<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it may be appropriate to assume

that for some, success in the colony may have meant the chance to retrieve a lost reputation or to end a state of impecuniosity, which made life at home unbearable.

The influx of these men had an effect on the Hudson's Bay Company employees and the few English and Scottish settlers. In 1860, an observer who had been absent for eighteen months returned and commented: "The place is much changed since last year and I do not find it nearly as pleasant, many English people most of a rather questionable standing at home, have come out here and pretend to look down upon the old settlers which has split the people up into sets in a great measure, so that there is no longer the happy family there used to be."<sup>10</sup>

A breakdown of the population by nationality and occupation indicates a class structure drawn on national lines.<sup>11</sup> Most of the non-British (i.e. everyone except the English, Scottish, and Irish) were involved in the trades. Public offices were filled by British citizens while Chinese and Kanakas generally served as domestic servants. Society had its base on old world ideas of a class system but with an important distinction. Here in this new land, society was not static. Social position was not determined entirely by birth or tradition, and advancement was possible by virtue of merit. British subjects acknowledged that within this society, as at home,

individuals could be classified as either "gentlemen" or not. As the population increased after 1858, these distinctions were not as obvious or able to be based on old world values. "Lesser gentry" appeared in professional and higher civil service positions.

A specific examination of the population reveals divisions of "class" based along old world ideas. The British governing elite were led by Douglas and succeeding governors, their wives and families, high supporting officials of the colony, officers, Royal Engineers, and officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. Slightly below were the professionals; British doctors, lawyers, and clergy. The middle class or proprietary group consisted of American and Jewish merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen of every nationality. Beneath these were the labouring classes of all nationalities. Within this latter class there was considerable upward mobility as fortunes could be won and new positions attained. These basic divisions were maintained through the gold rush era and after. Many professionals and middle class members benefitted greatly from the gold rush, managing to maintain a livelihood through the following economic depression, emerging with an economic status greatly improved since their establishment in the Colony. They still had to acquire social status from interaction with the social elite. This often

took some years; the old attitudes of gentry and middle class were slow to alter.

Crease, trained in the law, came to the colonies with the intention of securing a livelihood and then sending for his family to follow. Upon arriving in Victoria armed with letters of introduction from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Lord Salisbury, and others<sup>12</sup> (obtained through the connections of John Lindley) he was appointed by Chief Justice David Cameron as the first barrister qualified to practise in the colony.<sup>13</sup> Thus designated, he set a sign up "Barristering & Soliciting done here"<sup>14</sup> and was in business.

Crease entered the colony with the express purpose of practising law and therefore brought with him an assumption of social position. The middle class in Britain included the professions of law, medicine, education, and religion. Lawyers accounted, in 1851,<sup>15</sup> for four per cent of the population, about 32,000 in number. Upon arriving in the colony and establishing his practise, Crease slipped into the nebulous strata of colonial society that was one notch down from the British colonial and Hudson's Bay Company officials, and a step up from the proprietary group, that formed the middle class of the colony. In terms of status, Crease was well received by the social elite, recognized as a professional, and therefore elevated in status.

Arthur Fellows, on the other hand, appears to have been differently received. His father Isaac Fellows, an educator and self described "gentleman," was of the professional class, but the family was also engaged in trade, centred in Wolverhampton and Birmingham. Various members of the Fellows family, including Arthur and his two brothers Alfred and Frank, were involved in both hardware and ironmongering. Arthur and his brother Alfred arrived in Victoria in 1859. In June, Alfred announced himself in the local newspapers as "A. Fellows, Importer and Wholesale Dealer in English Hardware."<sup>16</sup> In 1860 the New Westminster Times included the following advertisement, "A. & A. Fellows Importers and Wholesale dealers in Hardware."<sup>17</sup> The following month a partnership was recorded. "Messrs. Alfred and Arthur Fellows inform their friends and the public of Victoria that they have entered into partnership to carry on the Hardware business, heretofore conducted by Alfred Fellows. A. & A. Fellows are in connection with the House of F.P. Fellows & Co. Hardware Merchant, Wolverhampton."<sup>18</sup> Fellows advertised that items were cheaper in price as they could be received directly from England rather than bought at inflated prices from merchants in San Francisco. The two brothers remained in Victoria until the spring of 1861 when they returned to England.

### Emigration

The possibility of emigration to a British colony was not unthought of for women by the mid-nineteenth century. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's England and America,<sup>19</sup> published in 1833, encouraged the middle class to emigrate. His basic thesis maintained that England was an insufficient field for investment. An expanding population created excessive competition and inadequate markets, which meant that the profits and incomes of small entrepreneurs and professionals were often unremunerative. This, compounded with rising costs of expenditures necessary to maintain social rank and education, made life difficult. Emigration, it was argued would allow greater opportunities for the middle class and establish an extension of British social hierarchy overseas.

It was not until the end of the 1840s that women emigrants were required for anything other than working class roles, and emigration ceased to have as the primary motivating factor a method for economic relief. Attitudes began to change by mid century, prompted again by Wakefield in A View of the Art of Colonization.<sup>20</sup> He maintained that women should emigrate to bring "honour, virtue and refinement" to the colonies.

The influence of women in this matter is even greater...than that of the men. You may make a colony agreeable to men, but not to women; you can not make it agreeable to women without being agreeable to men.... A colony that is not attractive to women, is an unattractive colony: in order to make it attractive to both sexes, you do enough if you take care to make it attractive to women.<sup>21</sup>

Religion was a vital element in any civilized colony for without it a colony would decline into barbarism. Women were viewed as the natural transmitters of religion. "If you persuade religious women to emigrate," Wakefield insisted, "the whole country will be comparatively virtuous and polite."<sup>22</sup> This gave women a reason to emigrate other than merely to escape poverty.

The various gold rushes in Australia from 1851 to 1861 were important for removing the association of emigration with paupers, poverty, and deported criminals. Thousands of men, women, and children voluntarily emigrated. Wakefield was confident that "as wives and mothers of respectable colonists they would refine and cultivate the New World."<sup>23</sup> The concept of emigration now became a concept of colonization.

Women in Britain were influenced not only by the publications of Wakefield but through the more popular mediums of serialized novels such as Dickens' David Copperfield in which the Mawcaber and Peggoty families

emigrated to Australia. A movement among middle class feminists advocated middle class emigration. Publications such as Emigration of Educated Women,<sup>24</sup> Women and Work,<sup>25</sup> Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies,<sup>26</sup> and Florence Nightingale's Cassandra<sup>27</sup> were available and popularly read. Explicit and honest accounts such as Susanna Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush<sup>28</sup> illustrated the process whereby a genteel woman adapted to crude physical and social conditions. The realities of adjustment to colonial life were also available first hand from returned emigrants or through the correspondence of friends and family resident in various colonial settlements.

Both Eleanor Fellows and Sarah Crease received information on their prospective home on Vancouver Island from their husbands, both of whom were resident in the colony. Records are not extant for Eleanor Fellows of any correspondence with her prospective husband; at the very least she would have heard first hand from him upon his return from Vancouver Island in 1861. Reports must have been favourable for one month after their marriage in October, the new couple along with Alfred Fellows and his wife Louisa (née Morgan), left England on the steamer Niagara bound for British Columbia.<sup>29</sup> The steamer arrived in Boston on 16 November<sup>30</sup> and the Fellows remained in the

city for a brief stay. Eleanor had the opportunity to explore and visit acquaintances including the poet Tennyson. Her knowledge of America had been supplemented to a large degree by information received from family friend Harriet Martineau who in 1846 travelled to America where she toured extensively. Martineau later published an article in the Edinburgh Review, "Female Industry," a discussion of emigration.<sup>31</sup>

After stopping in Boston, the Fellows left for New York and then by steamer to Colon on the Isthmus of Panama. Here they transferred to a "Vanderbilt steamer" and sailed to San Francisco, arriving in Victoria on 6 January 1862 on board the steamer Cortez.<sup>32</sup> As Eleanor described:<sup>33</sup>

Little Victoria, the capital, must have been not unlike our own infant settlements in Britain of a thousand and many more years past, in that it was a wooden town of unpretentious buildings which, except where it faced the sea, was hemmed in by vast forests whose outer fringe only had been explored, and in which roamed packs of fierce timber wolves and other beasts of prey and of preyed upon, among these last the gentle-eyed deer of various tribes and a few of the, in Europe, extinct great "Irish elk." But at least this dense, arboreal barrier, hundreds of miles in thickness, and, thanks to the giant pines, often well over two hundred feet in height, held back the icy northern winds, and hindered from running to waste the bounteous rains which came in their

season, and kept fresh the lovely wild flowers, many of them identical with the blooms we cherish in home gardens, but which in this favoured far-western island grew wherever sunshine fell upon them.

Eleanor and Arthur first took up residence on Birdcage Walk in a small house facing the Legislative Buildings, on land adjacent to that of Sir James Douglas. The family remained here through the birth of twin daughters Mary Clara and Caroline Frances, on 30 July 1863.<sup>34</sup> Arthur resumed management of his hardware business and advertised also as a "commission merchant". His offices were on Wharf Street, around the corner from brother Alfred's hardware and ironmonger shop on Yates Street.<sup>35</sup> Throughout the spring and summer of 1862, the firm of Arthur Fellows and Company imported a great variety and quantity of stock. The stock, ranging from uncut metal and irons, fixtures, pails, pots, pans, tools, steel, chains, and tinware, arrived in Victoria by ship, from San Francisco, originating from the wholesale stock of F.P. Fellows in Wolverhampton, England.

The firm purchased cargo from ships and advertised as such. Business boomed due to the increased population, activity, and needs generated by the discovery of gold in the Cariboo. From newspaper accounts it is evident that Arthur also frequently travelled between Victoria and San Francisco,<sup>36</sup> and perhaps even to the Cariboo,<sup>37</sup> leaving

Eleanor behind in Victoria. The following July an advertisement appeared in the British Colonist concerning the availability of "Thetis Cottage, near Craigflower and on Esquimalt harbour in good condition, partly furnished and suitable for a family, on most reasonable terms."<sup>38</sup> The Fellows arranged to lease Thetis Cottage, moving in later that year. On 2 April 1865 a son, Rowland Hill, was born,<sup>39</sup> followed a year later by another son, Arthur.<sup>40</sup> Eleanor enjoyed her residency in Thetis Cottage. As she wrote, it was:<sup>41</sup>

an old house built by the Hudson Bay Company as a trading-post with the aborigines. It stood far up the Esquimalt harbour, and close to a small peninsula flanked on either side by a little bay, once a charming inlet shut in by thickly-growing shrubs, whence, at times, issued gaily-tinted humming birds of butterfly-like flight, which visited us fearless of harm because never molested, even entering the house, and settling for a brief space on some tall piece of furniture of other coign of 'vantage. This bay was carpeted with layers of smooth, cleanly-looking pebbles, so diminutive that to walk on them was as pleasant as if they had been sand. The other bay was a mere expanse of flat rocks with a muddy shore which even at low tide never seemed to dry....

From the front of the dwelling we had a grand view to southward of the mountains on the United States' mainland, the Olympian and Cascade ranges, whose summits are eternally snow-clad....

A verandah bordered two sides of the house; and here I would often sit, and watch with interest those grand mountains....

The house was far from beautiful, but was substantially built of thick, squared logs, and was warm in winter and cool in summer. It had the small-paned windows peculiar to old-time colonial buildings when a breakage of glass was a serious matter. The rooms were lofty and of fair size, and the kitchen was vast....

Overhead was an undivided attic, well-floored and roofed, and running the entire length of the house. It was the chosen and often noisy play-ground, especially at night when high revels were occasionally held, of the rats who, of their own act, shared the dwelling with us, enjoying board and lodging free.

In June 1866 the Fellows family, having sold their furniture, horse and buggy, and other assorted possessions sailed from Victoria to San Francisco on board the steamer California.<sup>42</sup> They stopped briefly in San Francisco for business reasons. By mid 1868 the Fellows were once again resident in England. Eleanor did not return to British Columbia until a visit in 1909-10.

Emigration was rather a different experience for Sarah Crease. Husband Henry had gone ahead to North America in hopes of finding a more suitable professional situation than he had been able to achieve in Britain. On 6 April 1858 he left for Canada West, arriving in Toronto on 23 April.<sup>43</sup> He remained in Toronto until November but was unable to find a position. He then moved to New York,

boarded a steamer around the Horn, arriving in Victoria on 15 December.

Sarah's father, John Lindley, had meanwhile been exercising his social connections in an attempt to secure a position for his son-in-law. He solicited recommendations from notables such as Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Lord Salisbury, and others.<sup>44</sup> Although the colonies were seen as the place where men might have a more equal chance to prove themselves and establish a position, the "old boy" network among Britain's politicians and civil servants was often the most direct and quick method of getting a foot in the door, a procedure that was not lost on Sarah. "I anxiously await darling your first letter from Victoria after an interview with the Governor, before which nothing will be done."<sup>45</sup> Crease wrote to his wife and described in detail the colony and its environs, the inhabitants and their activities. Several distant acquaintances were resident, making it possible for Sarah to associate names with families in England. The land was somehow less distant as it was inhabited by people who had some relationship to those in her own social sphere. This, combined with Henry's descriptions and drawings, helped to flesh out the colony. It was some time before she knew for certain that this was to be her future home. When she did, her reaction suggested both excitement and

apprehension. "Your proposition of Vancouvers Island was a little startling at first--from its great distance away--but I am quite ready dearest to consider that as our future home if it pleases God to direct our steps hither."<sup>46</sup>

In the months preceeding her departure from England, Sarah had sent out trunks and various containers full of items they would eventually require in the colony.<sup>47</sup>

...I have been packing away all this week darling--and today completed the last of seven boxes, which on Monday are to go on board the "Gomelza" which is to carry them round the Horn... I don't expect they'll burst--for all are strongly bound with iron...all are tinned inside....

Her itemized contents of these shipments in letters to Henry provide an insight into her practical nature and evidence of what she considered to be of priority for life in a new land.<sup>48</sup> The trunks variously contained items such as household furniture, bedding, material for drapes, linen, cooking pots and utensils, dishes, glasses, wash-tubs, clothing, a gridiron, a copper boiler, and bolts of cloth.

The process of preparing for emigration was arduous and, as Sarah related, often times required a little extra help. "I have just got through the fatigue of packing wonderfully--but I fear you would be shocked were I to tell you, how Goody [her mother] has primed me, with, beer

wine & brandy to help me keep going! The work is however done--and not badly--and after a little more sleep I feel I shall be none the worse for it."<sup>49</sup> She even planned work for the voyage. "I have cut out 6 others [white shirts] to make on the voyage--for I intend if possible to be very industrious all the time."<sup>50</sup>

On 5 September 1859, Sarah, with daughters Mary, Susan, and Barbara, in addition to a maidservant, boarded the Athelstan at Gravesend.<sup>51</sup> They arrived in Victoria five months later on 23 February 1860.<sup>52</sup> They were greeted by Henry who had been anxiously awaiting them since their departure. The Creases moved first into a hotel on Yates Street while they searched for rental property more suited to their needs. Unable to find such accommodation, they eventually accepted the invitation of bachelor Benjamin W. Pearse, to share his large stone house, "Fernwood." They moved in on 15 October 1860 and remained there until May 1862 when when they moved to New Westminster following Henry's appointment as Attorney General of the mainland colony of British Columbia. Henry had received his appointment the previous October, but the family remained in Victoria until he was settled in New Westminster and had a house built for them that they promptly named Ince Cottage. The house was located on Sapperton Road, one half mile outside New Westminster and

midway between the settlement and the Royal Engineers camp. Two children were born to the Creases in New Westminster, a fourth daughter Josephine on 7 August 1864, and a son Lindley on 13 March 1867. An additional pregnancy in 1865 was not carried full term.

In 1866 the colony of Vancouver Island was annexed to British Columbia. The family remained in New Westminster until 1868 when the capital was moved to Victoria. Again the Creases searched for suitable accommodation for their growing family, and on 4 December moved into "Woodlands," the home of James Bissett, a Hudson's Bay Company employee. They remained almost two years until October 1870 when they rented the "Gibbs house," a residence in James Bay. During this period two more children were born: Henry Hooker on 30 April 1869, who died the following year in June, and Arthur Douglas on 1 March 1872. The family was now complete.

In the spring of 1871 the Creases "Bought [the] House of E.G. Alston esq. + Land of Sir J. Douglas out of Trust Monies."<sup>53</sup> Alston, an old friend from England was leaving the colony which allowed the Creases to purchase not only the house but also its furniture. That winter construction began on an addition to this house, but in December it burned to the ground, target of an incendiary. The following spring, negotiations began with John

Wright, architect of Ince Cottage, for the construction of a completely new house on the same property. "Pentrelew" was completed in 1875. It was one of the finest and most substantial country houses in Victoria.

### Economic Realities

The economic climate was partially responsible for the directions in which the two families travelled. During the decade of the 1860s there were several boom periods followed by recessions. These were due in main to the discoveries of gold in the Fraser (1858), Cariboo (1862), and Leechtown (1864) plus the amalgamation of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia (1866), itself an attempt to ward off economic disaster. The quantity and proportion of the populations of Victoria and New Westminster shifted with the economy. In times of speculation and gold discovery, the economy of New Westminster and Victoria benefitted with increased sales of merchandise, business, and land. Large numbers of itinerant miners and entrepreneurs arrived on the scene. Population increased for short periods, as long as the boom lasted.<sup>54</sup> During the recessions that followed, the core population attempted to keep afloat, adjusting to the falling price of land and other investments, and fewer diversions and amusements.

Into this environment the Creases arrived. The activities of securing accommodation, setting up a household, and providing for a family were paramount. It must have been an awesome task for Sarah Crease, even though she had previously set up housekeeping in London. Here the situation was quite different. The boom town of Victoria had little available accommodation for families, as most of its energies were directed towards individual immigrants and itinerants. Luckily the Creases had been able to bring some furniture and household goods with them, so living quarters, when found, could be set up quickly.

Initially, the Crease family found themselves on an extremely tight budget. As a barrister, Henry relied primarily on commissions from private individuals. He was not a member of the colonial government or a political appointee, so could not depend upon a fixed salary. He had to seek out his clientele and to maximize income could not afford clerical assistance. Sarah helped him out in this regard, as she had done in the past, by making book copies of all his legal correspondence, keeping his letterbook, and doing accounts. The pressures of domestic responsibility made it impossible for her to do it all, and the first few years of Henry's practise were particularly exhausting. Diligence and initiative eventually paid off, for in August 1861, Crease was appointed Attorney General of the mainland colony.

The family's move to New Westminster in 1862 did little to ease their financial situation. Expenses of moving, building Ince Cottage, and raising a family constituted a large draw on the limited salary of a colonial official. Loans created the customary problems with creditors. The frequent discussion of such matters within family correspondence indicates a continual concern. An example of the financial pressures on Henry occurred in 1863, when creditors wrote to warn "that they had been very patient with Mr Crease but they never expected to have been treated by him as they had, but if he would pay them £125 and £15 within the next 6 months, they would not proceed against him."<sup>55</sup>

Although unaccustomed to doing without, Sarah had had some experience in making do with very little. Her upbringing, although comfortable, had always stressed the virtues of self reliance and thrift. John Lindley's salary as a professor of botany was not large, and although the family had certain properties, there was never enough income to allow extravagant or careless indulgence. In short, Sarah had an appreciation of money and an awareness of how to make do with limited amounts. Although not unfamiliar with fashion and current trends, she followed the instruction and training given by her mother and made do with less frivolous items in regards to

household furnishings, food, and fashion, favouring items which, although current, would be serviceable and worthy of investment. These skills in money management were to serve her well in her new home.

Reducing daily expenses and forgoing unnecessary ones was a major way by which Sarah could assist Henry. Purchases of new clothes for herself or material to make dresses for her daughters were foregone. Her sister Barbara wrote that "under the present circumstances You must not expect a silk cloak now Darling...."<sup>56</sup> and later upon the death of their mother, she sent out a trunk full of linen, clothes, and jewelry, both as a means of sharing the legacy and to help Sarah with the expenses of buying clothing for a growing family.<sup>57</sup>

For the Creases, the most singular catastrophe was the decision to relocate the capital in Victoria, following the union of the two colonies. "The inconvenience and loss which your change of residence must involve is keenly felt by us all,"<sup>58</sup> her brother Nathaniel wrote in 1868. Not only had they built a home, and were in the midst of planning substantial renovations to it, but Henry had invested heavily in land in New Westminster and Lulu Island. These investments, made in the names of their children included a large stretch of land along the Fraser

River.<sup>59</sup> Nathaniel also offered financial assistance.<sup>60</sup>

Having some money to send Henry I have awaited myself dear of the opportunity of sending you £50 so which I am sure will be welcome just now--for the changes consequent on the removal of the capital will I fear be a sad blow to you all.... I trust that whatever happens Henry will not lose his appointment--unless he gets a better--He must do all he can in that way--not get disheartened or disgusted & leave the colony & start fresh where he has no connections and no position....

As it turned out, both Henry's position and salary were re-affirmed, a situation that insured that the "days of arrears of pay and no pay are gone forever."<sup>61</sup> The financial losses in land and property when New Westminster ceased to be the capital were not recovered for many years. Upon their forced removal to Victoria, the Creases attempted to locate suitable housing. "Have at last taken a house, smaller than our present one. Can just squeeze into it + hope not to remain long. Must wait patiently for a chance of buying land for a homestead. Prices all gone up so."<sup>62</sup>

The Fellows family seems to have suffered less from the uncertain economic conditions that attended the gold rushes. As both a commission and hardware merchant, Arthur Fellows was dependant upon the business generated by the influx of miners and speculators. The elimination

of the "free port" status of Victoria in 1866 was damaging to merchants there who had been able to offer goods at a lower price than those in New Westminster. Additionally, revenues from the sales of mining licenses, provisioning, and servicing a transient population declined dramatically. By 1865 the gold economy which supported large populations, trade, and business was gone. Commission merchants who had ordered large inventories in anticipation of the returning miners in the spring now found themselves greatly overstocked. The colonies were in debt and the populations severely depressed. Eleanor Fellows, writing of the long season of depressed conditions in the aftermath of the 1862 gold rush, observed that "many newcomers unused to such ups and downs were reduced to dire poverty at times. Those who could return from whence they came often left forever; others drifting to San Francisco or elsewhere; and little Victoria, with grassy streets and shut up buildings was a dismal spectacle."<sup>63</sup>

The business career of Arthur Fellows is not easy to trace but a few facts are clear. In August 1862 he formed a partnership with Frank J. Roscoe.<sup>63</sup> His assessed taxes for the second half of the year were \$4,000, an increase from \$1515 the previous half year. Two years later the partnership of Fellows and Roscoe was assessed

at \$18,400 and in 1866 at \$20,300. In just four years the value of the business had grown more than 100 percent and they had taken over a rival business.<sup>65</sup> On the surface it appears as though the business was successful. In 1869 the firm opened offices in San Francisco.<sup>66</sup>

Arthur Fellows' business and investment practises are largely unknown. Unlike his brother Alfred (who was assessed on a similar level in 1866) or brother Charles, or for that matter Henry Crease, he did not speculate in land investments. His name does not appear in the assessment records for 1862 to 1866, and the "List of Voters for Victoria, 1865" records him as possessing a "Rental over £12 per annum," compared to his brother Alfred who had "freehold over £50 Government Street and rental not less than £50 Yates Street," and brother Charles who had "Freehold property value £100 and rental over £12 per annum, Government, Pandora, and Beechey Swells."<sup>67</sup> Considering the assessed level of his business in 1866 as within the top one quarter of merchants, it is surprising that he did not speculate in land as did his family and peers. Costs involved in setting up a branch office could account for this, as could the existence of outstanding loans to creditors in England, a situation known also to the Creases. Records of the Fellows during these years do not hint of any

particular financial hardship, although with the birth of four children within three years, expenses must have increased considerably. Eleanor had various servants and nursemaids, so hired help was affordable, and in 1865, with the imminent arrival of their youngest child, the family moved into a larger but less centrally located house.

## Chapter II - OFF TO THE COLONIES

<sup>1</sup>Information on the establishment of the colony is found in John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); Douglas MacKay, The Honourable Company (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949); and Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1964).

<sup>2</sup>Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: Longman, Green, 1865), p. 65.

<sup>3</sup>1871 Canadian census recorded population of Victoria at 3600.

<sup>4</sup>Mallandaine, Edward, First Victoria Directory (Victoria: Edward Mallandaine and Co., 1860), pp. 11-12.

<sup>5</sup>*ibid.*, p. 13, 20.

<sup>6</sup>Information regarding social makeup of Victoria is based on Frederick E. Walden, "Social History of Victoria, British Columbia, 1858-1871," essay for Bachelor's degree, University of British Columbia, 1951.

<sup>7</sup>Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, p. 406.

<sup>8</sup>Walden, "Social History of Victoria," p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, p. 406.

<sup>10</sup>Charles William Wilson, "Journal of Service with the Boundary Commission 1858-1862," p. 34, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC).

<sup>11</sup>The following information is taken from Walden, "Social History of Victoria."

<sup>12</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 7 August 1858 and 1 February 1859, Crease Collection.

<sup>13</sup>Appointment as Barrister for Colony of Vancouver Island, 18 December 1858, Crease Collection.

<sup>14</sup>"H.P. Pellew Crease, Barrister at Law," pdp 4759, Crease Collection.

<sup>15</sup>Results of 1851 census, quoted in Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-70, pp. 105-6.

<sup>16</sup>Victoria Gazette, 21 June 1859.

<sup>17</sup>New Westminster Times, 18 February 1860.

<sup>18</sup>New Westminster Times, 3 March 1860.

<sup>19</sup>Edward Gibbon Wakefield, England and America (New York: Harper, 1967), originally published 1833.

<sup>20</sup>Edward Gibbon Wakefield, ed., A View of the Art of Colonization (New York: A.M. Kelly, 1969), originally published 1849.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 72, pp. 152-8.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>24</sup>Maria S. Rye, Emigration of Educated Women, mentioned in A. James Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen, Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1880-1914 (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1979).

<sup>25</sup>Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, Women and Work, mentioned in A. James Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen.

<sup>26</sup>Herman Merivale, Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies, mentioned in Hammerton, Emigrant Gentlewomen.

<sup>27</sup>Florence Nightingale, Cassandra: an Essay (Old Westbury, New York: Feminist Press, 1979), originally published 1852.

<sup>28</sup>Susanna Strickland Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush (London: R. Bentley, 1852).

<sup>29</sup>Reminiscences, p. 54. Alfred and Louisa probably left at this time as they arrived in Victoria the following week.

<sup>30</sup>Passenger Arrival Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>31</sup>Harriet Martineau, "Female Industry", Edinburgh Review, 109, 1859: 293-336.

<sup>32</sup>Victoria British Colonist, 6 January 1862.

<sup>33</sup>Reminiscences, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup>Colonist, 31 July 1863.

<sup>35</sup>"List of persons liable to pay taxes," Colonist, 3 August 1862.

<sup>36</sup>Colonist, 17 February 1862.

<sup>37</sup>Letter from Alfred Fellows in the Cariboo, Illustrated London News, June 1862, p. 589.

<sup>38</sup>Colonist, 1 July 1864.

<sup>39</sup>Colonist, 3 April 1865.

<sup>40</sup>Colonist, 2 April 1866.

<sup>41</sup>Reminiscences, p. 89-90.

<sup>42</sup>Colonist, 5 June 1866.

<sup>43</sup>Henry Crease, diary, 23 April 1858, Crease Collection.

<sup>44</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 18 August 1858 and 1 February 1859, Crease Collection.

<sup>45</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 1 February, Crease Collection.

<sup>46</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 12 August 1858, Crease Collection.

<sup>47</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 1 April 1859, Crease Collection.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 15 August 1859, Crease Collection.

<sup>51</sup>Sarah Crease, diary, 5 September 1859, Crease Collection.

<sup>52</sup>Henry Crease, diary, 28 February 1860, Crease Collection.

<sup>53</sup>Sarah Crease, "Important Events, 1871," Crease Collection. Trust monies were those arising from investments made upon their marriage settlement and also Sarah's one third share in her mother's estate. She received £2586 after her mother's death in 1869. Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 22 August 1869, Crease Collection.

<sup>54</sup>The 1862 population estimated at 6000 persons and 1500 buildings by Macfie, Vancouver Island.

<sup>55</sup>Barbara Lindley to Sarah Crease, 8 August 1863, Crease Collection.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Barbara Lindley to Sarah Crease, 15 April 1869, Crease Collection.

<sup>58</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 12 September 1868, Crease Collection.

<sup>59</sup>see Henry Crease, "Rough Sketch of Burrard Inlet, Fort Moody and New Westminster," n.d., Map, Crease Collection.

<sup>60</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 17 June 1868, Crease Collection.

<sup>61</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 12 September 1868, Crease Collection.

<sup>62</sup>Sarah Crease to Nathaniel Lindley, 29 September 1870, Crease Collection.

<sup>63</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 87.

<sup>64</sup>John S. Bishop, Diary, Wednesday, 13 August 1862, PABC.

<sup>65</sup>"Notice of incorporation of goods and business of Bickman Tye and Company," Colonist, 1 July 1864.

<sup>66</sup>Colonist, 16 September 1869.

<sup>67</sup>Victoria City Assessment Rolls, 1865-66;  
Victoria Gazette, various dates, 1865-66.

## CHAPTER III - TWO WOMEN IN THE COLONIES

Domestic Responsibilities

The responsibilities of child bearing and rearing were very demanding. Sarah Crease gave birth to four children between 1864 and 1872 while she tended three others born prior to leaving England. Eleanor Fellows bore four children between 1862 and 1865. A great deal of the responsibility of preparation for childbirth was placed on the mother to be. She had to make provisions for the children during her confinement and re-arrange household duties. Nurses were scarce while the busy and irregular schedule of the local doctor made it impossible to be assured that someone would be in attendance at the time of birth. For Eleanor Fellows, inexperience in childbirth was another concern. Her first children--twin daughters--were born while in Victoria. Experience in birthing, however, did little to ease the anxiety of being far from home and family at this important time. As Sarah's mother wrote, "I am very anxious for your safety, my dearest Totty...are you likely to get sufficient attendance during your confinement? I wish I could send you a nice nurse, but is no use wishing you are to[o] far, far off, I can be of no use...."<sup>1</sup> As it turned out, her mother's fears were confirmed and the birth was

unattended. As Sarah's husband related: "At 9 am wife safely delivered of a girl after 1/2 hr labor. I only being present. Nurse (Mrs. Keary) came shortly after Mr. McNaughton Jones."<sup>2</sup>

In the colonies, despite the lack of available help, large families were common. Responsibilities of raising a family effectively curtailed much of the women's free time. For example, no diaries exist for Sarah from 1860 to 1868 and she wrote sparingly until 1863<sup>3</sup> indicating the domination of family duties over leisure. The few clues about her non-household activities are terse notes recorded by her husband in his daily diary that list the occasional visit made and the regular Sunday church attendances.

In addition to bearing and raising children, women were generally responsible for running the household. This included a myriad of duties relating to the physical maintenance of the house and furnishings; the cleaning and upkeep of personal items such as clothing, linen, and bedding; and the acquisition, processing, storage, and preparation of food. Many of these activities were seasonal in emphasis. Winter was a time of indoor work such as mending, sewing, and refurbishing. Spring traditionally brought a turning out of the house and its effects, scrubbing down the winter's accumulation of dirt and grime, taking advantage of the balmy weather to air

bedding and linen. Spring through summer were times of intense activity relating to production and gathering of garden produce. Crops and vegetables were planted in the spring, tended through the summer, and finally harvested. Berry and fruit picking and vegetable gathering led in turn to canning and preserving. Autumn brought fall crops, stock piling of foodstuffs, and preparations for winter.

All these activities were mentioned in the letters and daily diaries of Sarah Crease and they were featured in her sketches. A diagram which accompanied a letter home illustrated the division of the land surrounding Ince Cottage, with space labelled for the various vegetable patches, berry, and fruit crops.<sup>4</sup>

Domestic responsibilities were at times eased by hiring servants or domestics, although budgets only permitted one or two at a time. Both the Creases and Fellows engaged help on a seasonal basis or as an aid in child care. Eleanor Fellows employed "Princess Lucy," an Indian girl, christened by Bishop Demers. Lucy washed the household linen, cleaned rooms, and did many other odd jobs. "She was a good girl, and as sweet-tempered, capable and industrious as any maid could be. She used to paddle her small canoe across from the village, draw it up, and leave it on the pebbly shore, appearing at our door, punctuality

personified."<sup>5</sup> Lucy was responsible for a great variety of household chores, which enabled Eleanor to have some free time with her children, who numbered between two and three at this time. "Lucy was clever at washing the household linen etc., at cleaning rooms and doing many odd jobs which made her, very literally a 'help.'"<sup>6</sup> Employing a domestic was not always without incident.

One day, while busy with a large tub full of the household soiled linen, the poor girl severely scalded one of her arms. She was in dreadful pain, but I at once seized the flour-dredger, and powdered the hurt place liberally, the relief being instantaneous. The washing was laid aside, some tea, and a remnant of cherry-pie, happily discovered in the larder, were administered; and later, she paddled her canoe home again, all smiles.<sup>7</sup>

The Fellows also employed nursemaids. Extant photographs show a white woman in 1863 and an Indian woman in 1866. They were responsible for caring for, supervising, and amusing the children to permit Eleanor more time for other duties or leisure. "I was otherwise entirely alone, my old servant and twin daughters being out of sight and sound, wandering in the forest in search of wild strawberries and flowers."<sup>8</sup>

At another time, a Chinaman was engaged. One amusing incident was recalled:<sup>9</sup>

A Chinaman at one time in my service covered the kitchen walls, doors, etc., very neatly with the local newspapers as fast as we had done with them. The walls being unplastered thus showing the rough boards of which they were built, I rejoiced at John's evident sense of tidiness, never dreaming of what was to follow. When the paste dried he began to inscribe the sheets with large Chinese characters in some black pigment, causing the room to look like one of the usual large tea chests but with the outside inscriptions turned inside.... Some surmised that John was an author of prose or poetry.... But a young English friend much given to tease, suggested that, in order to enlighten those of his own nationality and calling who should come after him...was recording in imperishable form his candid opinion of the household's mistress, and, with singular appositeness, doing so in the darkest of hues.

The Creases also hired Chinese, as both cooks and handy-  
men. 10

We have all been longing to let you know what a charming Chinaman we have got I don't know when we have had things so comfortable as since he came. He is clean, orderly and industrious, bakes and cooks to our hearts content and (what we feared about) washing the clothes quite as well as Sarah at her best.... God, I'm sure sends such Chinamen as all good things come from Him.

Sarah's letters home to her sister Barbara and mother frequently mention the comings and goings of servants and the problems associated with employing good help, which was obviously a constant concern. A few months prior to

the birth of a daughter in August 1864, Sarah wrote "Soon to be without a servant. Ellen leaves in a few days--Should like to have a man and his wife for permanent servants."<sup>11</sup> A month later: "Parted with Ellen and glad at last to get rid of her. Indian boy only now--but a dear one. Self not very well. Obligated to stay in bed--Dear Henry and Mary so kind in managing the house-keeping for me."<sup>12</sup> The following month: "Rec<sup>d</sup> a woman serv<sup>t</sup> Matilda Mahoney from Victoria a few days before confinement."<sup>13</sup> A notation in Sarah's letterbook explained that from August 1864 to January 1865 there were many omissions "from want of time to enter them--cause little baby in arms--and no servant."<sup>14</sup>

Problems with servants continued throughout the next year, due primarily to the employment of a Miss Blanche Compigné, referred to the Creases by friends in Victoria.<sup>15</sup> Her conduct was unbecoming either a servant or colonist and was the subject of scandal. In March 1865 Sarah wrote her sister-in-law a "long acc<sup>t</sup> of Miss Compigné and the great coolness of those who sent her to us--her lover Mr. Brown quickly given her the slip."<sup>16</sup> In May, after having a miscarriage at five months of pregnancy, Sarah wrote her sister enclosing "a letter from Miss Compigné to her Mama. [I am] trying to get her a good husband in our neighbour Mr. McCrea."<sup>17</sup> In June

"Miss Compigné has left us today for Mrs. Goods--The time had fully come for her to leave."<sup>18</sup> "Miss Compigné married today Walter Moberly Esq. just made Asst to Surveyor General at £500 per annum."<sup>19</sup> From August until the following March, the Creases employed a "Big Irish woman"<sup>20</sup> named Sarah and appeared relatively satisfied.

The want of servants and problems associated with them was not unique to the colony or to colonial life, but was made more critical because often the servant in question was the only employee and responsible for a large role in ensuring the smooth run of domestic life. If the servant left, the wife had to take over, shouldering a double portion of physical labour, whereas in most families in England, the loss of a servant would represent a temporary inconvenience in one area of responsibility, the duties of which could be shared by the remaining servants in the interim before a replacement could be secured.

### Leisure Activities

Leisure was regulated not only by duties of business and the home but by the seasons, which determined the type and amount of home responsibilities. Relaxation, social activities, and the personal habits of diary keeping and letter writing occurred primarily when the demands of

domestic chores and responsibilities were less. Almost no personal records and little correspondence issued from the women during the summer months. Copious letters in the fall described the events over the previous few months and calendar annotations of the past year were compiled in December or January.<sup>21</sup>

Both Crease and Fellows were very busy raising families during the first years of their residency. Because Eleanor Fellows' first children were not born until July 1863, a full eighteen months after her arrival, unlike Sarah Crease she did not have to cope with a young family while also adjusting to a new environment. The freedom to visit and pursue recreational activities was more readily available to her than to Sarah Crease. Not tied to as hectic a domestic routine or divided between children, chores, and a husband, Eleanor's writings record in great detail her impressions of the colony and its inhabitants. Arthur's travel and business affairs often left her on her own, and she had ample leisure time, which she used to familiarize herself with her surroundings and seek acquaintances.

Letter writing was an activity in which Eleanor, like most young women of her age, was skilled. For a few years prior to her marriage, she had acted as private secretary to her father, responsible for generating and maintaining

the correspondence of Rowland Hill in matters of postal reform and other business. The letters she wrote while in British Columbia were copious. Filled with the details of daily living, friends, neighbours, and local affairs, they were the only way she could communicate with her family in England and were no doubt a solace for homesickness. She later used these letters as the basis for her reminiscences.<sup>22</sup> Through a series of vignettes, anecdotes, and thematic commentary, she discussed both the people and events of the colony.

The reminiscences describe in detail aspects of her personal life while in Victoria, including not only those of everyday life but the special and social events as well. Inclusion of these latter activities make the reminiscences especially valuable by providing a great contrast to the level of information supplied by Sarah Crease whose terse diary references and those of her husband, are almost the only clues to Sarah's activities.

Leisure activities and spare time in general was spent in much the same manner as it would have been in the old world, except that everything was on a more modest scale. Symphonies, theatres, and ballrooms were replaced by odd assortments of personally owned musical instruments or hand-made substitutes, firesides, and living rooms. The level of personal participation was greater, and enter-

tainment was obtained not through passive exposure to music, song, or dance but through individual and active participation. People sang, danced, played music, decorated rooms, made refreshments and were involved in all aspects of the event. Particular talents and abilities were eagerly sought, and a person adept at music or song was especially popular. "We devoted ourselves to the making of plum puddings and other toothsome things," Eleanor Fellows recalled, "varied with interludes of singing, recitations, games and the tripping of the light, fantastic toe."<sup>23</sup>

Eleanor herself was particularly popular because of her musical talents. Articles in the British Colonist during 1864 record her involvement in concerts at both the Lyceum Hall and in private homes. She had been trained in the Italian operatic tradition and, according to one of her children, prior to her marriage, had wished to become a singer.<sup>24</sup> The opportunity to perform publicly came in 1864 (if not before) at Mrs. Swainson Willis' Drawing-room Concert in the Lyceum Hall. Eleanor was listed on the programme simply as "an amateur". She sang a solo "Commee betto...from Lucretia Borgia" which was rendered "with the greatest taste, feeling, and power."<sup>25</sup> She was largely encored.

The following October she was described as "certainly the finest vocalist we have yet heard in Victoria, combining, as she does, a well cultivated musical taste, with a clear, rich, powerful voice, and an earnestness in her efforts which shows that she enters with the spirit as well as the understanding into the subject of the music...."<sup>26</sup> During the next two years Eleanor sang publicly on several occasions, always eliciting positive and enthusiastic comments from local reporters: "her well trained voice enabling her to accomplish the difficult passages with ease";<sup>27</sup> "she displayed surprising command of voice and most skilled execution";<sup>28</sup> "the solo by Mrs. Arthur Fellows...was most sweetly and artistically sung, and rapturously encored."<sup>29</sup> She also sang at St. John's church, along with other talented amateurs such as "Father Brabant of the West Coast--a fine baritone, Mme. Beckingham, Miss Tissett,"<sup>30</sup> and others.

Sarah Crease recorded socially oriented activities such as seeing "the old + new year in at Trutch's House on Fairfield farm,"<sup>31</sup> dining at the Peter O'Reillys, "Evg at Gov. Seymours,"<sup>32</sup> and attending a "Grand Ball at Gov Kennedy's Victoria V.I. (Castle Cary)."<sup>33</sup>

Outdoor activities included outings to houses of friends in Victoria ("Left with little Mary for VVI

[Victoria, Vancouver's Island] in a visit to the Alstons"),<sup>34</sup> and family picnics "up the arm [of the Gorge] with the Pearses t[a]xing but pleasant,"<sup>35</sup> or at the seaside. "In afternoon walked with wife + the 3 children to Gonzales Hill. Tea + hot cross buns--in the sands of Foul Bay at the foot of the hill--with fire."<sup>36</sup> Other outings in Victoria were trips to Cedar Hill or Cadboro Bay, skating parties, picnics, and riding parties to Langford or Sangster's Plains.<sup>37</sup> New Westminster outings included a four day trip to Yale,<sup>38</sup> attendance at the opening of the Alexandra Suspension Bridge,<sup>39</sup> "boating and trip to Burrard's Inlet,"<sup>40</sup> and "picnics to the head of Pitt Lake & up the Coquitlam."<sup>41</sup>

Pleasures were simple and not dependent upon monetary expense. Pioneers recalled years later with special affection, berry picking afternoons, teas and gardening, "visitors and gay doings."<sup>42</sup> "What jolly little impromptu meals were served up by very amateur cooks, what songs were sung, good stories told, and what a 'high old time' altogether it was."<sup>43</sup>

### Social Relationships

Society in the new colony was very different from that at home. Mary Crease warned her daughter-in-law of this phenomenon based upon her personal experience in Canada

West. "It is perfectly surprising how you get accustomed to a Colonial life--everybody is the same--not the same feelings to guide you as in England--perfectly different."<sup>44</sup> The absence of many customary amenities required a major adjustment on the part of middle class women abroad. Sarah Crease found it "rough to live in, and lacking every mechanical contrivance that tends to be labour saving."<sup>45</sup> These circumstances tended to unite the colonists and break down some of the traditional barriers between classes and nationalities.

In addition to economizing, raising a family, domestic duties, and leisure activities, the other preoccupation of these women was the quest for social acceptance and the nurturing of friendships. Like most newcomers, both women attempted to form social connections both for personal fulfilment and in hopes of furthering the position of themselves and their husbands. These first years were devoted not only to physical hard work but also to establishing an economic and financial footing for the family by making and maintaining social contacts that might promote connections in the fields of business and government. Although initial social status was based on standing in England, relationships developed and grew on the basis of performance and conduct in the colony. Moreover, both families had emigrated because the colony offered a

chance for advancement and opportunity. As Eleanor Fellows later recalled, "In those days we were all young, enthusiastic, and firmly persuaded that we should speedily achieve fortune."<sup>46</sup>

The Crease family arrived in the colony with an inherent social standing created primarily by Henry's profession of law and to a lesser degree by Sarah's position as the daughter of a gentleman. Additionally, Henry was socially acquainted with earlier emigrants such as the Colonial Surveyor Benjamin Pearse, Registrar-General Arthur Bushby, Joseph and John Trutch, and former school fellows Chief Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie and E. Graham Alston. Although Crease had come to Vancouver Island well armed with letters of introduction from Members of Parliament, Hudson's Bay Company officials, and colonial sponsors, they were of little help. Colonial officials were besieged with such documents from practically every colonist. Social and personal contacts had to be formed and nurtured to insure chances for further recognition. In general friendships were formed with people in similar situations as the Creases. The men were employed in official positions with the government such as Gold Commissioner Peter O'Reilly, Registrar-General Arthur Bushby, Colonial Surveyors Benjamin Pearse and Joseph Trutch, Chief Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie, and Governor

Frederick Seymour; or in clerical appointments like Alexander David Pringle, rector at Fort Hope, George Brown at Yale, John Sheepshanks at New Westminster, and Bishop George Hills in Victoria. The wives and families of these men were then by extension the preferred acquaintances of Sarah Crease.

For the Fellows, the situation was rather different. Arthur's position as a merchant in colonial society was viewed as a definite step below the professionals or those employed by government. When Arthur and Eleanor arrived in Victoria they were probably received rather differently than the Creases. Although they mixed with residents such as the Trutches<sup>47</sup> and Bishop George Hills,<sup>48</sup> and were called upon by the Creases,<sup>49</sup> the Fellows' claim to recognition appears to have been Eleanor herself. Upon initial introduction to the Fellows, both Henry Crease and Bishop Hills noted that Eleanor was the daughter of Rowland Hill. Clearly, if Eleanor had come alone, or was married to a man not in trade, she would have been more openly received by the upper eschelon.

Although the Creases mixed primarily with those of their own type--British emigrants of professional or governmental background--the Fellows drew on a more varied group. In addition to French and British, Eleanor wrote, "we knew Americans, Canadians, Germans, Italians, and

others, making little or no distinction of nationality but only of individuality"<sup>50</sup> especially among their contemporaries in the merchant class such as partner Frank Roscoe, businessmen R.P. Rithet, and Thomas Fawcett. "M. Driard, a refugee, proprietor of a noted Victorian hotel,"<sup>51</sup> "a charming old couple M. and Madame Sandrie,"<sup>52</sup> who managed an entertainment hall, scientist-explorer Robert Brown, and professional illustrator Frederick Whympet were also included. They developed friendships also among the itinerant population. Eleanor wrote of the acquaintances made among men who arrived in Victoria en route to the gold fields, and of those who travelled in search of occupation.

Tea at Canvas-town was a sociable, refreshingly unconventional event at which we sometimes assisted, when, instead of society smalltalk, we were regaled with the novel experiences of our hosts.... As our friends got on in the world, they naturally took to dwelling in houses instead of tents; and with improvement in circumstances, pecuniary and social, there came ere long into vogue among us pleasant Saturday afternoon riding parties.<sup>53</sup>

Because the populations of Victoria and New Westminister were small, the Creases and Fellows were acquainted even though they moved in slightly different social circles. The Fellows made a social call on the Creases within days of their arrival, indicating at least an attempt to mix. Exactly why the two women were not

closer cannot be explained solely on the basis of discrepancies in the employment of their husbands. On the surface both women appear to have a lot in common, both heralding from London and having been raised in similar households and backgrounds. Eleanor came from a wealthier family than Sarah and she had added opportunities for education and travel abroad. Both women had studied art and music, and during their youth were exposed to many of the leading intellectuals of their day. The reason for the lack of friendship between Eleanor and Sarah must have been caused by personal incompatibility of some sort. From the writings of Eleanor Fellows it is obvious that she had a very strong and outgoing personality, one which overshadowed that of her husband. This might have been offensive to Sarah who, although being capable and strong willed, deferred to her husband in most circumstances.

Sarah was not averse to friendships with women whose husbands were in merchant or trade occupations. Indeed, throughout the late 1870s the Crease family were very involved with Louisa and Alfred Fellows, sister-in-law and brother-in-law to Eleanor. Alfred was in the hardware business and Louisa ran a private school in which the Crease daughters were enrolled.<sup>54</sup> The children remained at the school even though many of their friends attended the more prestigious Anglican "Angela College" or the

Roman Catholic school run by the Sisters of St. Ann. The relationship between the Creases and Louisa and Alfred Fellows extended beyond that of teacher-pupils-parents. The Alfred Fellows and Creases spent much time together socially at dinner parties, picnics, and outings.<sup>55</sup>

Both Eleanor and Sarah attended music and theatrical performances although in different capacities. Sarah and her husband could be found amongst the audiences while Eleanor, although attending theatre as a spectator, participated in music concerts as a performer. Fellows' public performances placed her in the public eye and may have led to an increasing division between herself and the members of the upper merchant and professional strata. Upper middle class Victorian attitudes to "the stage" and its performers are well documented in British history. It was acceptable for a woman to sing, play the piano or act among friends in a private situation such as a house party, but it was unacceptable for her to do so publically upon a stage. Women such as Sarah Crease who came from a similar background and position as Fellows, while admiring her skill, may have been offended at her actions.

Another major difference between the two women that may have contributed to their lack of intimate association was religion. The Creases belonged to the Church of England and were close friends with various Anglican

clergymen and their families. While in New Westminster they attended Holy Trinity Church, and in Victoria, Christ Church and St. John's congregations. Both Sarah and Henry attended church regularly and faithfully devoted themselves to scripture readings, personal prayer, and reflection. The depth of their convictions is manifest in their correspondence to each other and to others. Bible verses, general religious discussions, advice for appropriate readings, and suggestions for spiritual comfort in times of stress and sorrow occur throughout their daily journals and diaries.

Sarah was active in many church affairs including fund raising and charitable work. She appears to have had specific opinions on religion and the importance of the Church of England. Her discussions with brother Nathaniel Lindley exhibit a rather strict viewpoint that a person must be orthodox to be spiritual.<sup>57</sup> She echoed her brother's concern about his daughter-in-law, a "tall, bright, intelligent, affectionate, simple lady like girl" whose "only drawback" was that she was a Roman Catholic.<sup>58</sup> Sarah's pronounced orthodoxy appears to have been cultivated after her marriage, possibly influenced by her husband, as her upbringing does not suggest this intolerance. In fact, she described her father as "nominally a member of the church of Eng. but made no

professions of religion."<sup>59</sup>

By contrast, Eleanor Fellows held less conventional viewpoints on religion. Although raised in an Anglican family, and married at the Church of St. John, Hampstead, Eleanor had, by her own admission, a lack of orthodox faith.

Among my many men friends, I have counted as some of the staunchest not a few priests of various denominations, men too broadminded as well as too courteous to make allusion to any lack on my part of orthodox faith. I may add that, on the other hand, I have always been free from that worship of the "black robe" which is supposed to be a peculiarity of my sex....<sup>60</sup>

Exposure to a variety of social reformers, educators, authors, and politicians during her youth was no doubt responsible for broadening Eleanor's perspectives. In particular, one person exercised a great deal of influence, Harriet Martineau,<sup>61</sup> who corresponded with her father on postal matters and authored many historical discourses. Martineau was raised as a Unitarian and during her lifetime variously embraced Roman Catholicism, eastern philosophy, and atheism.

Little is known of Eleanor's husband Arthur Fellows, except unlike other members of his family, he appears to have been a Unitarian.<sup>62</sup> Both Eleanor and Arthur were accommodating to the wishes of others in that they were married in an Anglican church ceremony instead of a civil

ceremony,<sup>63</sup> and while resident in Victoria had their first born christened at St. John's.<sup>64</sup> In addition to St. John's Anglican, they also attended a variety of churches. Friend Robert Brown recorded: "Met Mr Arthur Fellows + went with him and Mrs Fellows to the Roman Catholic church," and on a later occasion, "Church (Hills) a Discourse on the Devil, at Mr Arthur Fellows in the evening."<sup>65</sup>

Although Victoria had a wide representation of Christian denominations, the majority of her leading citizens were Church of England and often not terribly tolerant of other faiths or beliefs. This attitude, expressed by Jane Fawcett (whose husband incidentally, was a distant cousin of Eleanor Fellows), may have been shared by Sarah Crease when she noted:

Mr + Mrs Fellows (the daughter of Sir Rowland Hill) I do not expect to derive pleasure from their acquaintance, this family connection of my dear husband... as I believe neither she, nor her husband have any experience of religion.--they are Unitarians--I believe that to be worse than Roman Catholicism....<sup>66</sup>

#### Photographic Records

One additional form of documentation supplements the written records left by both women: namely photographs. This visual documentation is important to the biographies of these women because it not only provides new and unique

evidence but corroborates and substantiates textual evidence. For example, photographs taken of the Crease and Fellows families supply not only objective details of number and ages of children, physical appearances, and clothing styles, but implied assumptions regarding status, relationships, and perceptions.

There are two known photographs of Eleanor Fellows. These are both outdoor shots, taken in front of the residence, and include all members of the family and servants. The use of outdoor photographs for the purposes of recording families was not unheard of during the 1860s in Victoria but it was not common. In general, studio portraits were used to record people, while outdoor photography recorded architecture, urban and rural landscapes. The first photograph dates from 1863 (figure 1) and shows the family outside their residence on Birdcage Walk. Eleanor and Arthur stand side by side. Arthur holds one daughter while a servant holds the twin. Also included is a small boy, identified as Walter Wilson, who may have been connected with the servant. To the left is the artist Frederick Whympers. The inclusion of Whympers and the small boy suggests that this is not a formal pre-planned photograph. A baby buggy provides an additional clue, as do the hats, gloves, and jackets. This casual and almost candid arrangement is not typical for this

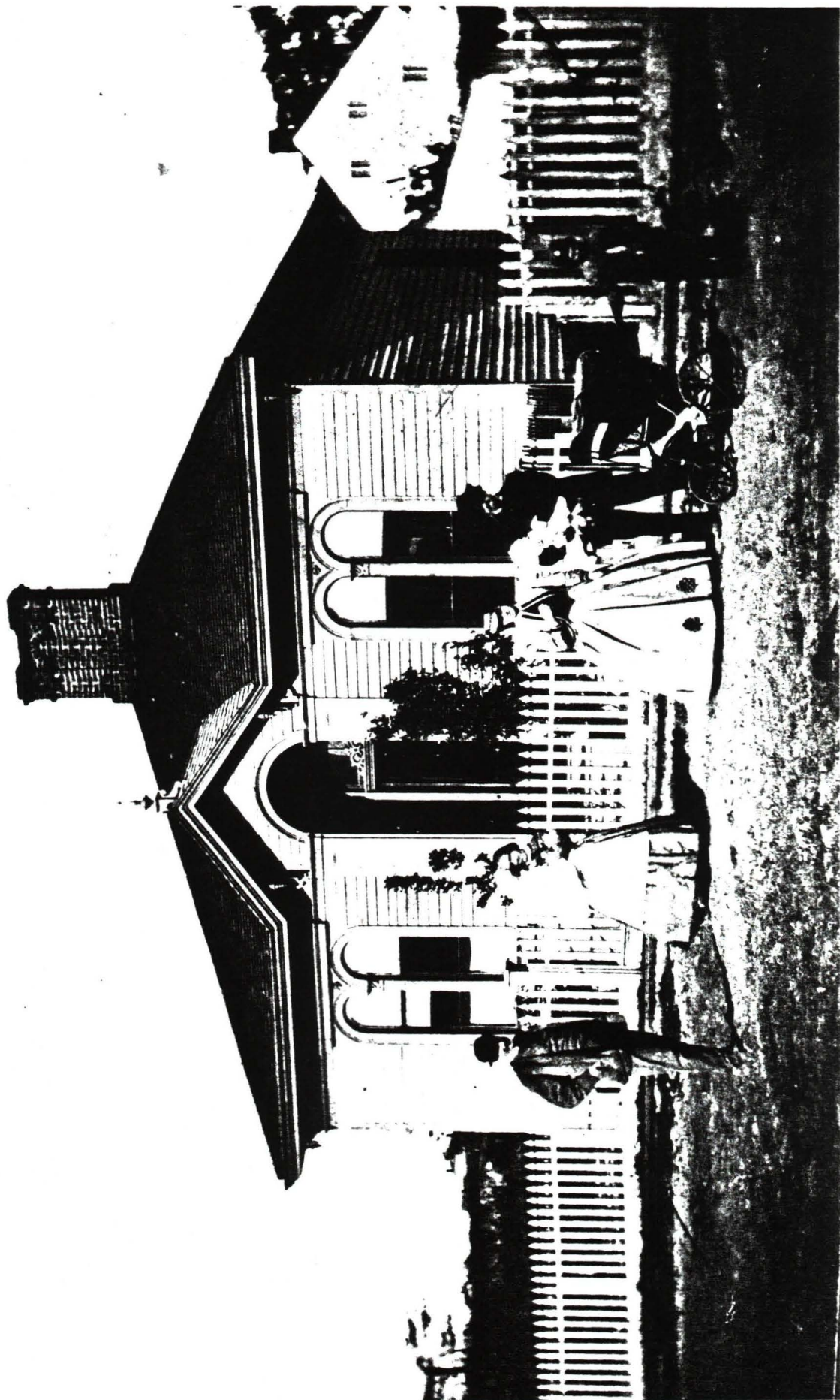


Figure 1 Eleanor and Arthur Fellows outside their house on Birdcage Walk [ca. 1863], Charles Gentile, photographer.

time<sup>67</sup> and suggests a relationship between the photographer and his subjects that was not necessarily confined to business. Friendship between the Fellows and the photographer Charles Gentile cannot be directly established, although ample evidence illustrates a friendship between the Fellows, photographer Frederick Dally, and artist Frederick Whympier, all of whom were close to Gentile.<sup>68</sup> In this particular instance, the photographer probably happened by just as the family was departing or returning from an excursion. The photograph, printed as a carte-de-visite, suggests that it was duplicated and given out to friends, an indication that the Fellows considered this image as an appropriate depiction of their family.

The other photograph (figure 2) has Eleanor and her family seated outside Thetis Cottage in June 1866. Eleanor and Arthur hold the twin girls while both a white and an Indian servant hold the boy Rowland and baby Arthur. The child Walter Wilson is included in this grouping also, holding a small dog. If the previous photograph is considered candid, this image is decidedly casual. Instead of the usual upright poses, these people are all seated. The women are on high backed chairs while Arthur and the boy are seated on the ground with their legs spread out in front of them. The whole appearance is that of a picnic, only the food is missing. There are

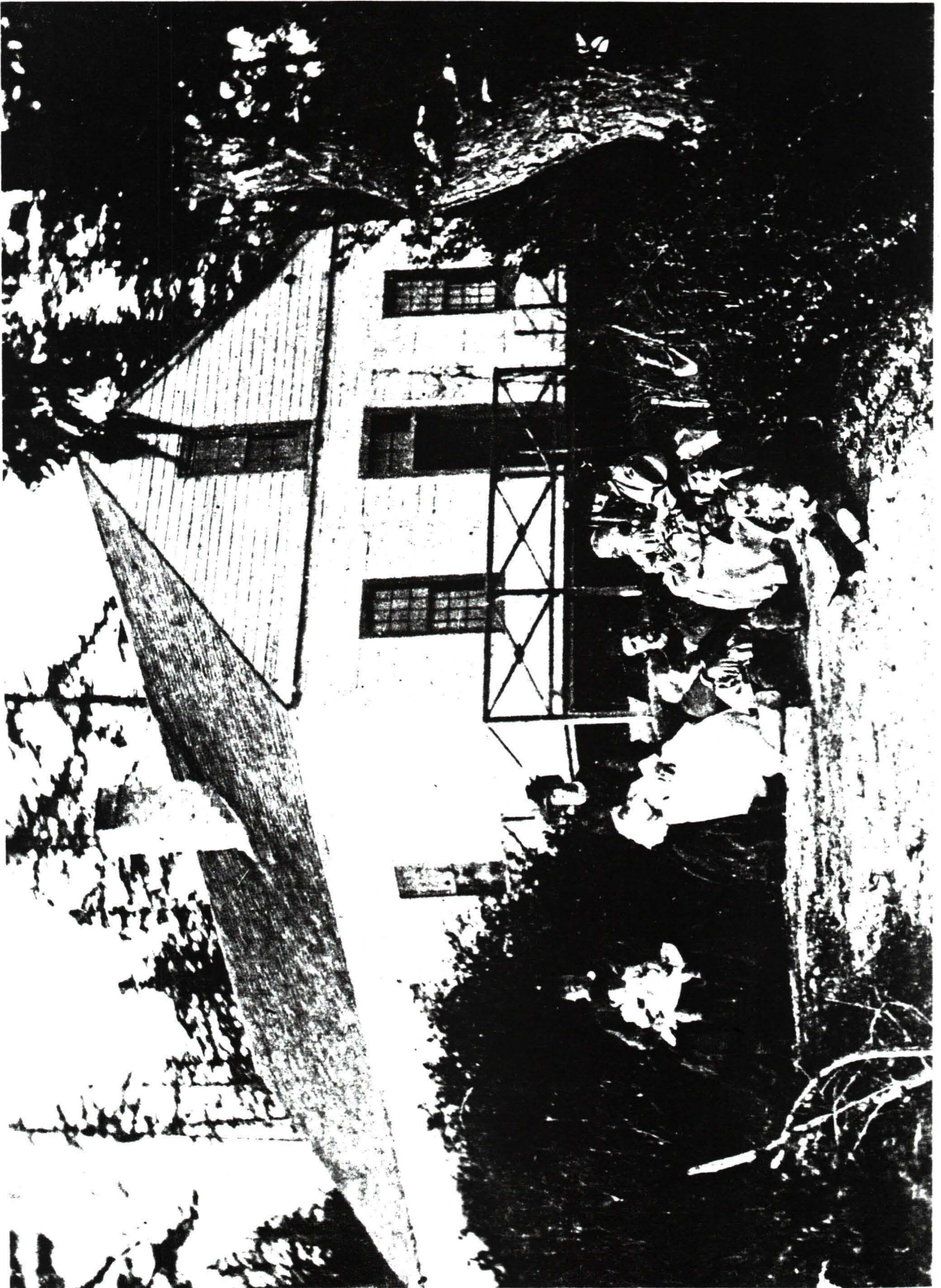


Figure 2 Fellows family at Thetis Cottage [ca. June 1866].  
Charles Gentile, photographer.

many ways in which these people could have been posed outside their house. The verandah and porch would have been a logical choice, as would the steps. The decision to show them in this position reflects a definite desire for a casual appearance.

Both these photographs came from Eleanor's children in response to requests made in the 1930s for information on pioneer women of Vancouver Island.<sup>69</sup> Individual portraits of Eleanor or her husband during their residence in Victoria were not taken or have not survived.<sup>70</sup> The evidence of such traditional images would indicate some adherence to convention.<sup>71</sup> These atypical images therefore are statements of how Eleanor and her husband wished to be seen: neither in the formal lights of a studio, nor in the formal appearances outside the house. This suggests a family of less than conventional ideas, and one which may not have been totally accepted by many of the traditional and more staid families.

In contrast to the Fellows' photographs are those of the Crease family. There are no comparable images. The Creases had individual portraits taken in photography studios. Children were photographed individually, or in groups of two or three<sup>72</sup> and were never all photographed together in the same image. Likewise Sarah and Henry were

photographed individually or together;<sup>73</sup> (figures 3, 4, 5) no photographs with the children have survived. This is an interesting contrast to the Fellows family, where individual portraiture appears not to have existed, and reflects a concern for individual likenesses rather than a concern for the image of the family unit.

Whereas Eleanor and her family are shown outside their residences, the Creases did not focus on their residences as subjects for photographic records. Although sketches and plans for Ince Cottage were made and sent to relatives, only one photograph exists, by photographer Frederick Dally, and this depicts the back rather than the front of the house. It is unlikely that other images ever existed.<sup>74</sup> Not until the construction of "Pentrelew" in 1874 were many photographs taken of their residence. Whereas the Fellows family were shown in relation to their residence, the Creases felt no compunction to do so, perhaps indicating that, although construction of Ince Cottage established their settlement in New Westminster, it represented a temporary or an inappropriate reflection of themselves. In this light the family was important rather than their residence, the house not being viewed as a suitable symbol, hence the proliferation of individual photographs. ✓



Figure 3 Sarah Crease, June 1863, pannotype, George R. Fardon, photographer.



Figure 4 Sarah Crease, summer 1861, George R. Fardon, photographer.



Figure 5 Henry Crease [ca. 1861], Charles Gentile, photographer.

## Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>Sarah Freestone Lindley to Sarah Crease, 13 June 1864, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, 7 August 1864, Crease Collection.

<sup>3</sup>Her letter book begins in 1863.

<sup>4</sup>Floor Plan and Grounds of Ince Cottage, 9 April 1863, Sarah Crease, Map, Crease Collection.

<sup>5</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.78

<sup>10</sup>Sarah Crease to Barbara Lindley, 5 July 1864, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>11</sup>Sarah Crease to Barbara Lindley, 16 June 1864, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>12</sup>Sarah Crease to Barbara Lindley, 5 July 1864, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>13</sup>Sarah Crease to Sarah Freestone Lindley, 19 August 1864, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>14</sup>Notation in Sarah Crease Letterbook, 1863 to 1870, Crease Collection.

<sup>15</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, 24 January 1865, Crease Collection.

<sup>16</sup>Sarah Crease to Emily Crease, 14 March 1865, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>17</sup>Sarah Crease to John Lindley, 19 May 1865, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 14 June 1865, Crease Collection.

<sup>19</sup>Sarah Crease to Barbara Lindley, 27 June 1865, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>20</sup>Sarah Crease to Barbara Lindley, n.d. March 1866, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>21</sup>Sarah Crease calendar notations were written all at one time in yearly diaries.

<sup>22</sup>Arthur Fellows Jr. To N. de Bertrand Lugrin, n.d. [c.1927], Arthur Fellows Papers, Bruce Castle Museum, Tottenham.

<sup>23</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 87.

<sup>24</sup>Caroline F. Fellows, quoted in Nora de Bertrand Lugrin, The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866 (Victoria: Women's Canadian Club, 1928), p. 211.

<sup>25</sup>Colonist, 26 July 1864.

<sup>26</sup>Colonist, 27 October 1864.

<sup>27</sup>Colonist, 26 July 1864.

<sup>28</sup>Colonist, 27 October 1864.

<sup>29</sup>Colonist, 20 April 1864.

<sup>30</sup>Edgar Fawcett, Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), p. 122.

<sup>31</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, 1 January 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 1 January 1867, Crease Collection.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 26 October 1865, Crease Collection.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 22 October 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 29 June 1863, Crease Collection.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 18 April 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>37</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, 18 and 21 September 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>39</sup>Sarah Crease to Ann Hastings, 17 October 1863, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>40</sup>Sarah Crease to John Lindley, 6 August 1865, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>41</sup>Sarah Crease to Sally Lindley, 26 June 1866, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>42</sup>Sarah Crease to John Lindley, 6 August 1865, Sarah Crease Letterbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>43</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 85.

<sup>44</sup>Mary Smith Crease to Sarah Lindley, n.d. [March] 1849, Crease Collection.

<sup>45</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 77.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 80

<sup>47</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>48</sup>Bishop G. Hills, Diary, 11 February 1862, Hills Collection, Archives of the Anglican Synod of B.C. and the Yukon.

<sup>49</sup>Henry Crease, Diary, January 1862, Crease Collection.

<sup>50</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, p. 87.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-5.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-6.

<sup>54</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 5 March 1877, Crease Collection.

<sup>55</sup>For social activities, see Sarah Crease, Diary, various dates and Susan Crease, Diary, various dates, Crease Collection.

<sup>56</sup>Colonist, 26 July 1864.

<sup>57</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 24 October 1901, Crease Collection.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Sarah Crease, Miscellaneous Notes, 13 March 1912, Crease Collection.

<sup>60</sup>Smyth, Reminiscences, pp. 116-7.

<sup>61</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, v 12.

<sup>62</sup>Jane Fawcett to Emma Wignall, 1862 extract, Fawcett Collection, PABC.

<sup>63</sup>From 1837, legal marriages could be performed civilly. Marriages, births, and deaths could also be recorded civilly. Richard Allrick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 210.

<sup>64</sup>Record of Baptism, 1863, St. John's, Victoria.

<sup>65</sup>Robert Brown, Diary, 11 December 1864 and 17 January 1865, Robert Brown Collection, PABC.

<sup>66</sup>Jane Fawcett to Emma Wignall, 1862 extract, Fawcett Collection, PABC.

<sup>67</sup>Photographs during the 1850s to 1870s were largely formal because of the long exposure times and the bulky, less-than-portable cameras and accessories.

<sup>68</sup>Robert Brown to Eleanor Fellows, 10 January 1870, Robert Brown Collection, PABC.

<sup>69</sup>See correspondence between Nora de B. Lugin and Caroline Frances Fellows, PABC.

<sup>70</sup>There is no reference to further photographs in the above correspondence or in correspondence between Arthur Fellows Jr. and Mrs. Cree during the 1930s, in PABC and Hill Castle Museum.

<sup>71</sup>Studio portraits of Alfred Fellows and his wife Louisa, both together and separate, indicate that such work was done for people of their position (merchant) in Victoria society.

<sup>72</sup>See Crease photograph files, PABC.

<sup>73</sup>HP 24217, by C. Gentile, shows Henry Crease only. Sarah, who stood beside him with her arm entwined with his, has been blocked out.

<sup>74</sup>Given the immense volume and scope of family records kept by the Crease family, if other photos had been taken, they would likely have been saved or at least referred to in diaries and correspondence.

## CHAPTER IV - AMATEUR ARTISTS

The Artistic Community in Victoria.

Artwork produced by Sarah Crease and Eleanor Fellows adds another dimension to their biographies by allowing interpretations of their private and personal thoughts in a way that cannot be duplicated by written records. These women are unusual because in terms of their time, position, and sex, they created a substantial body of both written and visual records. Comparable records for their counterparts in colonial British Columbia do not exist.

The function of amateur artists and their relationship and interaction with art forms and traditions changed remarkably during the 19th century, resulting primarily from an integration of the school of landscape art and the topographic or documentary landscape tradition.<sup>1</sup> The latter was introduced by Paul Sandby, an instructor at the military academy at Woolwich (1768-1797).<sup>2</sup> The topographic documentary technique involved a method of recording different levels of information within the composition of a landscape scene by means of colour and scale. The scene was recorded first in pencil and then watercolour. In this manner military artists had a common means of conveying information.

Landscape was not considered as legitimate subject matter for artists until the nineteenth century and then only after artists such as Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) and later Alexander Cozens (1717-1786) had popularized it as a vehicle for artistic and emotional expression and worthy of use in its own right, rather than merely as a backdrop for narrative content. This interest in landscape was narrowed in the late eighteenth century by the Reverend William Gilpin who defined a concept of "picturesque beauty" as that which "would look well in pictures".<sup>3</sup> This beauty he perceived as a roughness and irregularity commonly found in nature. Concepts of the picturesque and the sublime were important in developing the nineteenth century school of landscape painting, which combined the picturesque and the topographical technique. It was adopted by the general public after a series of treatises that appeared in the 1830s became the basis for instruction in schools and academies throughout England.

The legitimacy of landscape and the use of water-colours transformed the concept of amateur art. The portable nature of watercolours and paper allowed artists to carry their materials with them. Scenes could be recorded on the spot rather than in the studio. In this way the artist could capture images surrounding him while on walks, visits, and outings. Technical evolutions in

transportation and communication, allowed greater ease of travel throughout the British Empire and increased the sketching field. Amateur artists travelled to novel and picturesque locations, which they then recorded on the spot in sketches. Sketches illustrated both what they saw and where they went, much as snapshots do today. Amateur and professional artists travelling to the colonies came from this milieu, their works reflect these traditions and concepts, and for this reason their art is essentially documentary and non personal. They recorded the landscape and surroundings but did not involve themselves in it.

Artistic activities within the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were dominated by the presence of professional documentary artists who entered the colonies either in an official capacity with the Royal Navy or Royal Engineers, privately as surveyors or engineers, or as free lance illustrators. These artists had been trained in a documentary landscape tradition, a style reflected in the art of their amateur contemporaries, specifically Eleanor Fellows and Sarah Crease.

Topographic artists sketched in the colonies for a number of reasons. In the eighteenth century, artists such as John Webber who accompanied Captain Cook recorded not only the landscape, but the flora and fauna, co-operating with botanists and other scientists who saw

these explorations as an opportunity to record new species and disseminate information. During the next century, artists in the Royal Navy or Royal Engineers were employed to document visually the activities of their ship or regiment and the environs through which they travelled. These art works often accompanied official reports. With the establishment of the Pacific Squadron at Esquimalt in 1865 many naval artists were stationed close to Victoria for months or seasons at a time. The activities and relationships of artists such as Edward P. Bedwell, Frederick Bedford, William G.B. Willis, and Edwin A. Porcher with the local population is well documented in both contemporary social announcements in local newspapers and the personal records of colonists themselves. Sketching parties made up of both naval and civilian participants were common.<sup>4</sup>

Works created by professional artists were not used solely for official purposes--that is, to accompany reports. In their free time, these men often made duplicate sketches of "official" subjects<sup>5</sup> or created new ones (such as views of boaters on Prospect Lake)<sup>6</sup> to give to various friends and acquaintances. This practice accounts for the proliferation of works by official artists that have a provenance completely unassociated with official channels, and the duplication of images that are often found in different archival institutions.<sup>7</sup>

A number of professional artists and illustrators travelled to the Northwest Coast during the 1860s. William G.R. Hind, for example, accompanied the Overlanders in 1862 as "expedition artist" and arrived in Victoria as early as December 1862.<sup>8</sup> Hind remained in the colony until about 1869. Ex-Royal Engineer John C. White and colonial surveyor Herman O. Tiedemann travelled throughout the colonies on various assignments. Freelance illustrators and journalists such as Edward Richardson, Frederick Whympere, and Edmund T. Coleman likewise arrived in Victoria in 1862<sup>9</sup> and for a number of years sent back sketches of their travels, often accompanied with written abstracts, to journals such as the Illustrated London News.<sup>10</sup> These men advertised themselves as professional artists and gained employment on ventures such as the Collins Overland Telegraph<sup>11</sup> and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition.<sup>12</sup> They often made duplicates of popular images, which they sold to colonists and travellers alike.<sup>13</sup>

The presence of professional artists had a visible effect on the artistic climate in the colonies. Not only were these artists actively engaged in sketching,<sup>14</sup> they often opened studios<sup>15</sup> where they sold their works. To generate interest and support for their product, they also gave lessons.<sup>16</sup> As the local newspaper observed, "This

is a very limited community for a professional landscape painter to find remunerative employment, though our scenery offers an unequalled field to the painter."<sup>17</sup>

Because of their interest and employment as artists, these men were often involved in schemes designed to promote an awareness of art and an appreciation and involvement by the community. For example, Whymper was instrumental in organizing the first public art exhibit in Victoria in 1864, held in rooms in the government buildings.<sup>18</sup> The exhibit included many of Whymper's works alongside native Indian baskets and carved items.

Amateur artists were influenced by the activities of these professional artists. Both the Crease and Fellows families knew and entertained many of these artists. The Creases were familiar with most of the officers from the Royal Navy ships assigned to the Pacific Station, and personal diaries reflect relationships over a number of years. For example, Captain Bedford visited the Pacific Coast for many years. A diary notation in 1878 records his inclusion on a sketching trip with members of the Crease family, indicating an established pattern.<sup>19</sup> A small sketch of Frederick Whymper by E.M. Richardson was contained in a Crease sketchbook.<sup>20</sup> Direct interaction between the Fellows family and professional artists is even more apparent. Explorer-scientist Robert Brown

recorded almost daily visits in November 1864 along with his friend Frederick Whymper.<sup>21</sup> The artist Edmund Coleman was also a friend, one with whom the Fellows kept in touch even after their return to England.<sup>22</sup>

#### Works by Crease and Fellows

The art works produced by both Crease and Fellows are similar in many ways to those produced by the professional artists in the colonies. Both utilized the technique of pencil sketch often followed by the addition of water-colour. Works were small in format for portability. The themes and subject matter were similar to those of the professional artists in that each was attempting to communicate information concerning the geography and scenery of the area surrounding them. The primary difference between them was the circumstances of their creation. These women sketched primarily for leisure rather than for employment;<sup>23</sup> their art served as relaxation and pleasure. Nevertheless it also was intended to benefit others, by describing the scenery and circumstances of colonial life to friends and family in Britain. Sketches often accompanied or illustrated written extracts, fulfilling the old axiom that "a picture is worth ten thousand words." And they were appreciated. "I am so fond of my B.C. sketches,"<sup>24</sup> one family friend remarked. Another

stated, "I value the littler painting very much.... I often think how lovely the scenery of British Columbia must be, & the little sketch on the river is one of the prettiest I have ever seen."<sup>25</sup> Sarah's brother Nathaniel had the highest praise. "I cannot tell you my dear child what very great pleasure your beautiful sketches gave me...and everyone else who has been favoured with a peek at them. I would rather have them than a bag of Frazer River Gold."<sup>26</sup>

Works were generally on a small format, which made them ideal for inclusion in letters and packages. Many extant sketches exhibit fold lines indicating reduction to fit the size of the standard envelope, two inches by three inches. Size was determined not only by the necessity of conforming to postal guidelines but by the dearness and inavailability of good sketching paper. "I tried to put in some drawing paper for you but it increased the bulk I thought too much," Sarah noted in one letter, "I have instead put in some very thick note paper, which I think will be nice for small sketches...."<sup>27</sup>

The works include rough sketches which in some cases would have been utilized as the basis for later, more finished works but more often were meant only as quick first impressions, spontaneous records drawn to capture a moment or situation. The finished works are either in

pencil or watercolour and are often initialled or signed indicating the artist considered them complete. In general the works are typical of the kinds of sketches created by both amateur and professional artists who travelled and visually recorded their impressions in sketch-books or accompanying letters. Sketches made by visitors such as Lady Dufferin in 1876 and residents Helen Kate and Emily Henrietta Woods who sketched from the mid 1870s through to 1890s, are similar in size, composition, medium, and technique, indicating a common and widespread level of proficiency among the leisured and educated classes.

Both Crease and Fellows had a facility for art. Several of their works are technically good, yet neither woman can be considered as anything more than amateur, both in terms of quality of work produced and circumstances of creation. Similarities between Crease and Fellows, and contemporary professional artists in the colonies are occasionally seen in their choice of views or composition, use of watercolour, and implementation of the topographic landscape style. Even though Crease and Fellows sketched actively and friends and family were aware of this preoccupation, it is unlikely that they would have had a public exhibition of their work or promoted it in any way other than in an anonymous fashion.

For instance, in 1860, shortly after her arrival in the colony, Sarah Crease created twelve watercolours which she then sent to her father John Lindley who, as commissioner of the International Exhibition of 1862 in Hyde Park, displayed them in the "British Columbian department of Canada" section along with other local productions such as foodstuffs and mineral specimens. As Sarah recorded: "My father's sole object in displaying these poor sketches to the public, was simply for the interest of those who had dear friends or relations in Victoria B.C. and for those who might be thinking of going to that Colony themselves."<sup>28</sup> They were exhibited as "the work of an amateur" with no acknowledgement of the artist. Similarly, Captain R.C. Mayne used at least two of her works as the basis for engravings to illustrate Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, 1862.<sup>29</sup> Among others, Mayne credited Dr. Lindley (presumably Sarah's father) for sketches used in illustrations. "A Street in Vancouver Island" and "Block House Fort of the Hudson Bay Company" are taken from works presently in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Additionally, one of Sarah's sketches of the Comox Valley in 1878 was used to accompany the annual Columbia Mission Report.

### Landscape

Works produced by Crease and Fellows can be divided into three general categories. In the first category, the artists attempted to provide a context for the colony by sketching it within a panoramic framework. Small clusters of settlement or other signs of the colonial presence are shown amid vast forests, rivers, and mountains. The remoteness of the colony is emphasized by its smallness in relation to the natural surroundings. Annotations on the sketches often amplify natural features such as mountains, lakes, and celestial bodies.

Sarah Crease executed a number of pencil sketches upon her arrival at New Westminster in May 1862. Three sketches in particular capture the isolation of the young settlement. These were quickly and roughly sketched, possibly while on board a steamer heading towards New Westminster. They are of an identical size, horizontal in format, and are divided roughly into two sections. The lower half representing the river, and the upper half, the broad panoramic sweep of shoreline, as it was visible from the water. In each sketch the rough, treed, and mountainous terrain is evident. Two views entitled "Frazer River below New Westminster" (figure 6) and "On the Frazer below New Westminster (figure 7) are devoid of human activity



*Frazer River below New Westminster*

Figure 6. "Frazer River Below New Westminster" [1862].  
pencil, Sarah Crease.

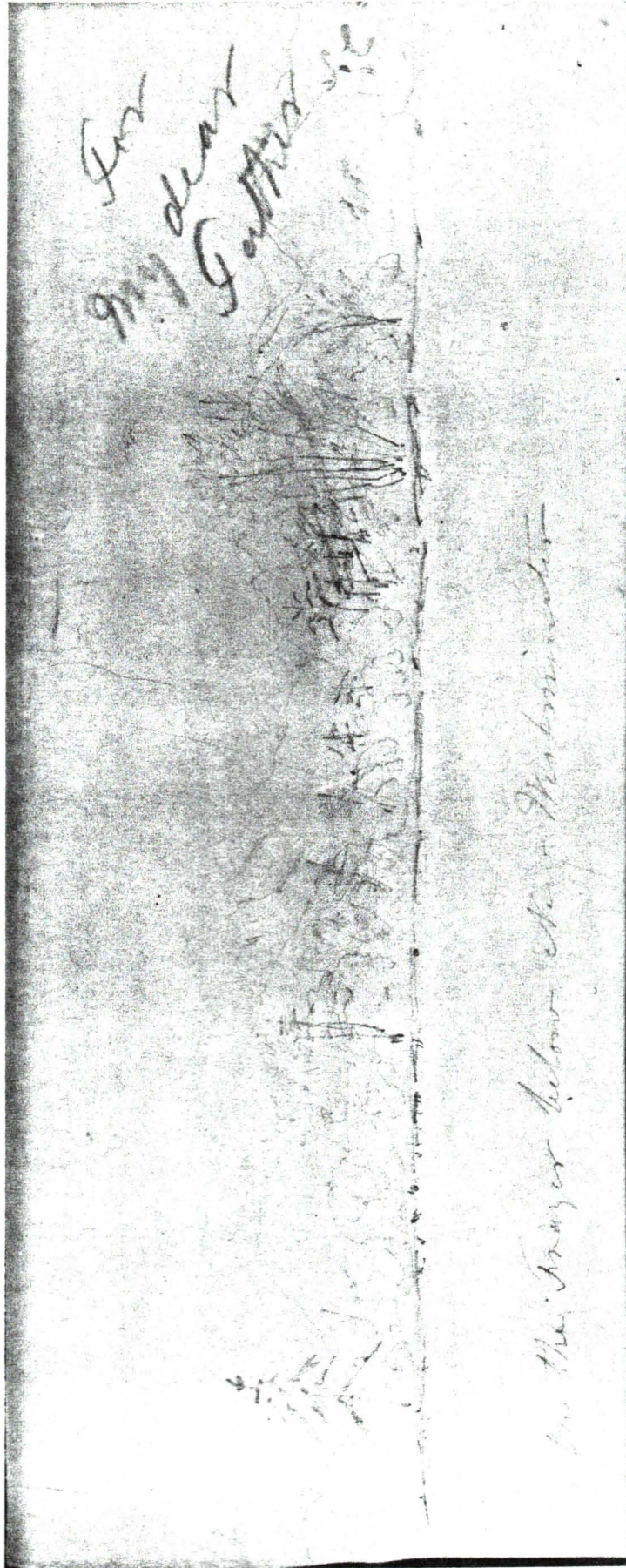


Figure 7 "On the Frazer below New Westminster" [1862], pencil, Sarah Crease.

yet, when combined with the third sketch in the series, are placed in perspective. The third sketch, "Our first glimpse of New Westminster, 11 May 1862" (figure 8), combines the elements of river and shoreline with the human scale. In the foreground is a canoe while the middle-ground contains the "first glimpse" of a jumble of frame buildings constructed on a hillside up from the waters edge.

Each of these three sketches are snapshot views, completed on the spot and with no attempt at refinement. They were not meant to be anything other than first impressions, quickly captured as an amateur photographer today would record a similar journey. This function is clearly evident in the inscription on the front of one of the sketches, "For my Dear Father. S.C."<sup>30</sup>

Another sketch, "The Frazer, New Westminster B.C." (figure 9), executed four months later in September 1862, has the same components as the earlier sketches. A view of the river with shoreline and mountains is given human scale with the inclusion of people in the foreground, steamers on the river, and settlement in the middleground area. Subjectively, it transmits to the viewer a very different feeling than that produced by the earlier sketches. This is a finished work. Created at leisure, it is carefully delineated with an attention to detail and



Figure 8 "Our first glimpse of New Westminster,"  
11 May 1862, pencil, Sarah Crease.

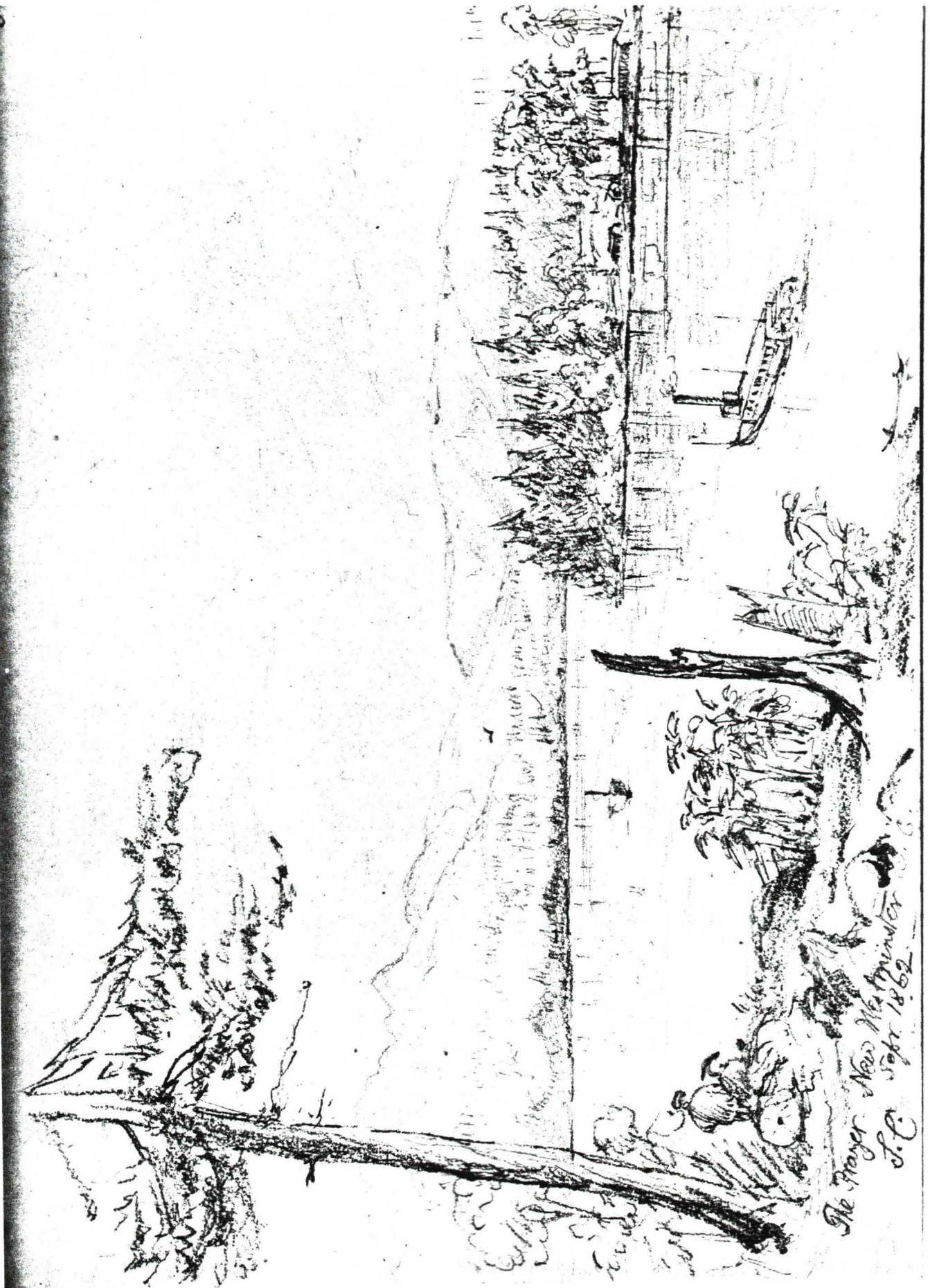


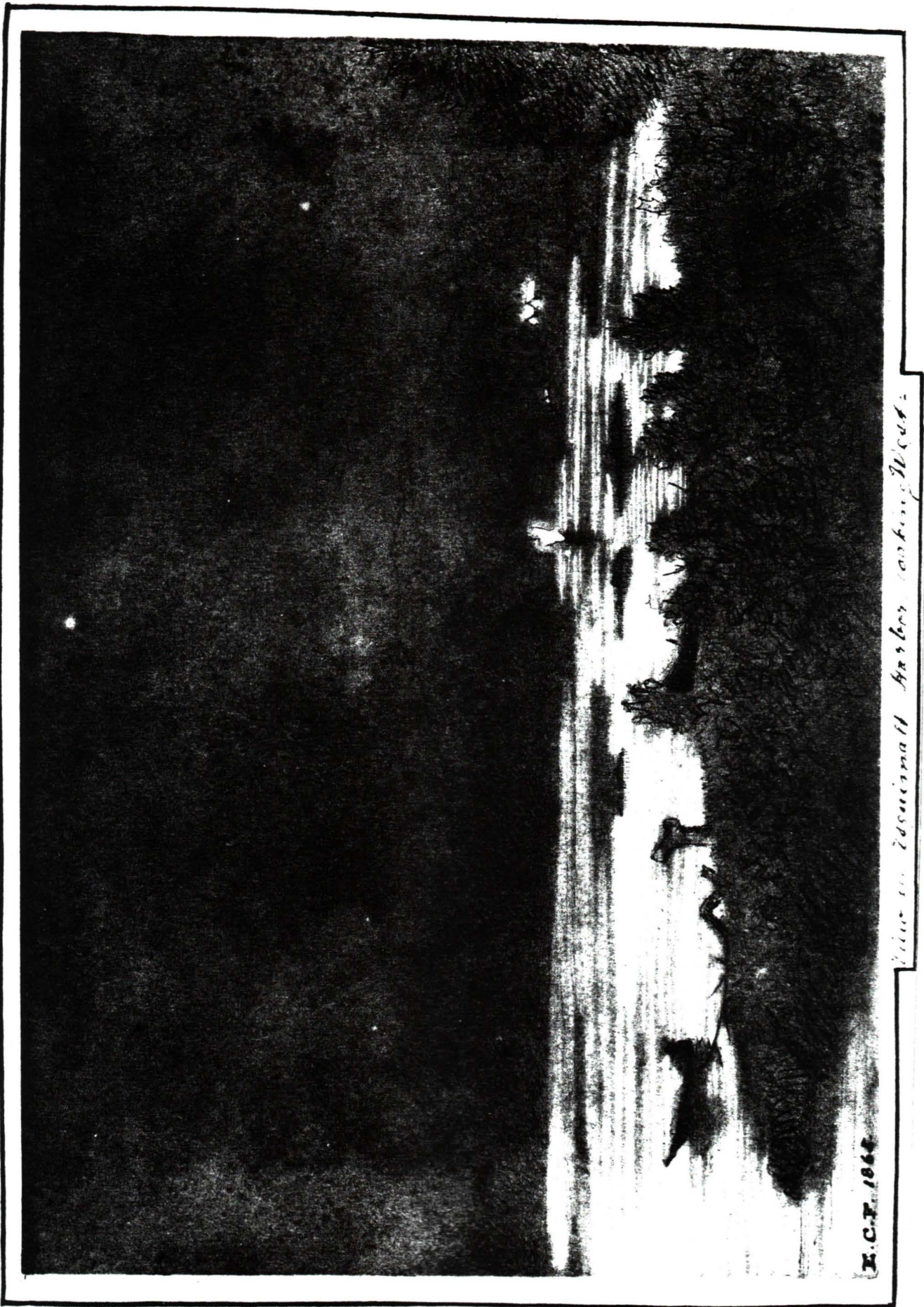
Figure 9 "The Frazer, New Westminster, B.C.," September 1862, pencil, Sarah Crease.

composition. Although depicting a similar theme, this sketch reflects the artist's change in attitude and viewpoint. Whereas the first sketches transmit the wildness and isolation of the Fraser, this sketch conveys tranquility and harmony. The people in the foreground are seated overlooking the river and its passing ships. A picturesque grouping of wind torn tree trunks and birds flying over the river complete the impression. The sketch therefore transmits a change in attitude on the part of the artist who, after several months residence, appears more comfortable and at ease with the environment. A similar composition from the Victoria area is found in her "Esquimalt Harbour from near the Hospital (Naval)," (figure 10).

Eleanor Fellows executed similar works such as "View in Esquimalt Harbor looking West" (figure 11) and "Cadborough Bay looking S.E." (figure 12) which, like Sarah Crease's New Westminster views, incorporate a foreground of water, in this case, ocean, with shoreline and mountains in the background. In each composition, boats and people provide scale. Although these works are water-colours, they do not have a polished look, indicating that they were fairly spontaneous. Inscriptions, titles, and dates are clearly later additions. They were meant, as were Sarah's works, to be quick impressions for family members in England.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 10 "Esquimalt Harbour from near the Hospital (Naval),"  
22 September 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



*View in Esquimalt Harbor looking West.*

Figure 11 "View in Esquimalt Harbor looking West," 1865, pencil, Eleanor Fellows.

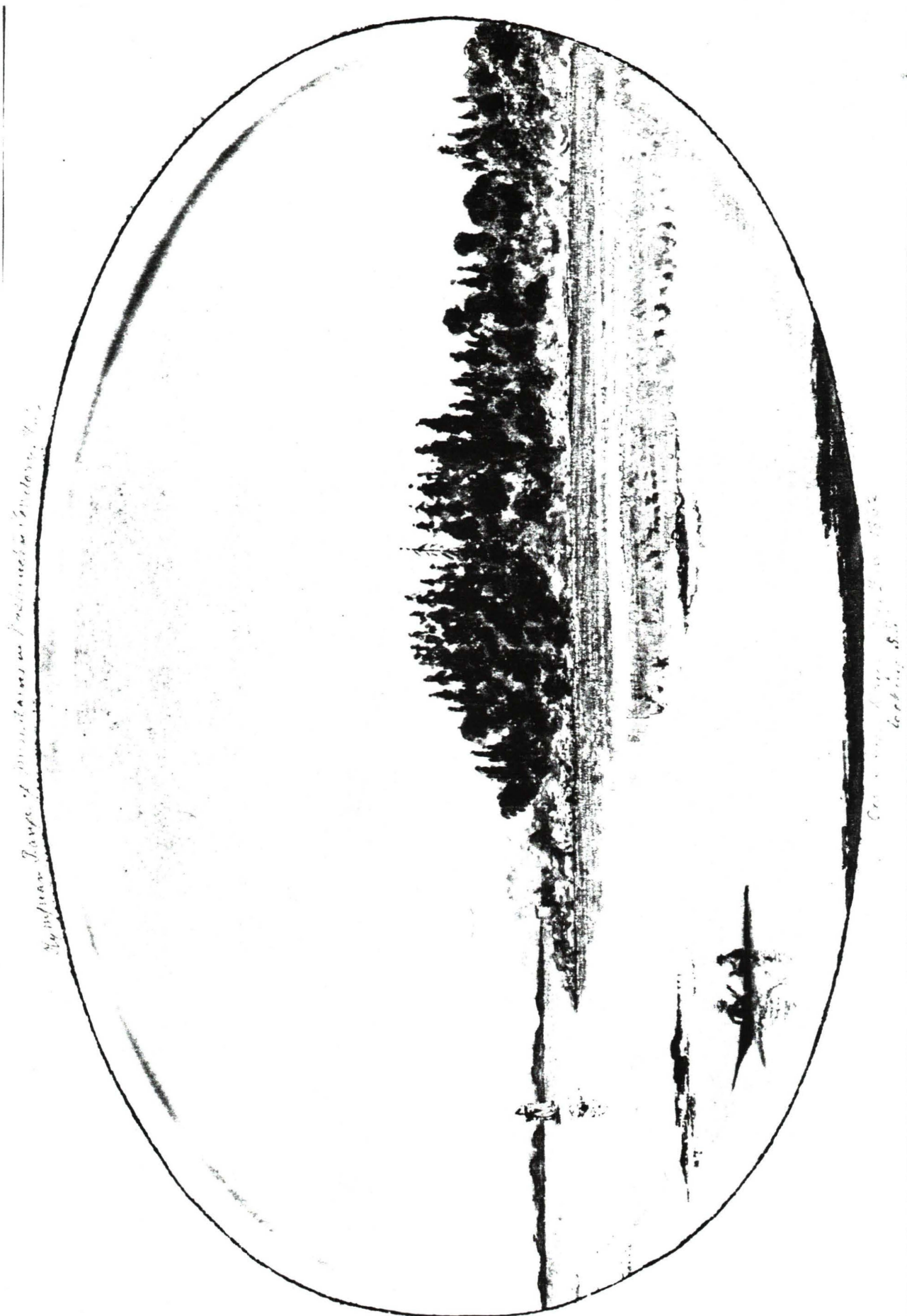


Figure 12 "Cadborough Bay looking S.E.," 16 August 1862, watercolour, Eleanor Fellows.

Like the professional artists who often duplicated popular scenes for sale purposes, or upon demand from friends and acquaintances, these amateur artists completed various versions of the same scenes, fulfilling requests and providing correspondents and family with similar information. A few examples illustrate this point. Two virtually identical views of Cadboro Bay were painted by Eleanor Fellows. One, referred to above, "Cadborough Bay looking S.E." (figure 12) was obtained by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia from a man who purchased it some years earlier in England,<sup>32</sup> while "Cadborough Bay, Near Victoria V.I." (figure 13), remained in the collection of the artist. Sarah Crease included small ink sketches such as "An idea of the view from our Dining Room Window at Fernwood, October 1861 (figure 14) and "View from our bedroom window at Fernwood Victoria Vancouver's Is." (figure 15) within letters sent to her family in England. They were sketched at the bottom or ends of pages, and later were clipped out and inserted in family scrapbooks amid other art works and photographs. These works are rough sketches having no pretense of aesthetic merit. They were purely a means of transferring information. Clipped portions of correspondence surrounding the sketches indicates their direct relationship to the text. These sketches are very similar in function to two

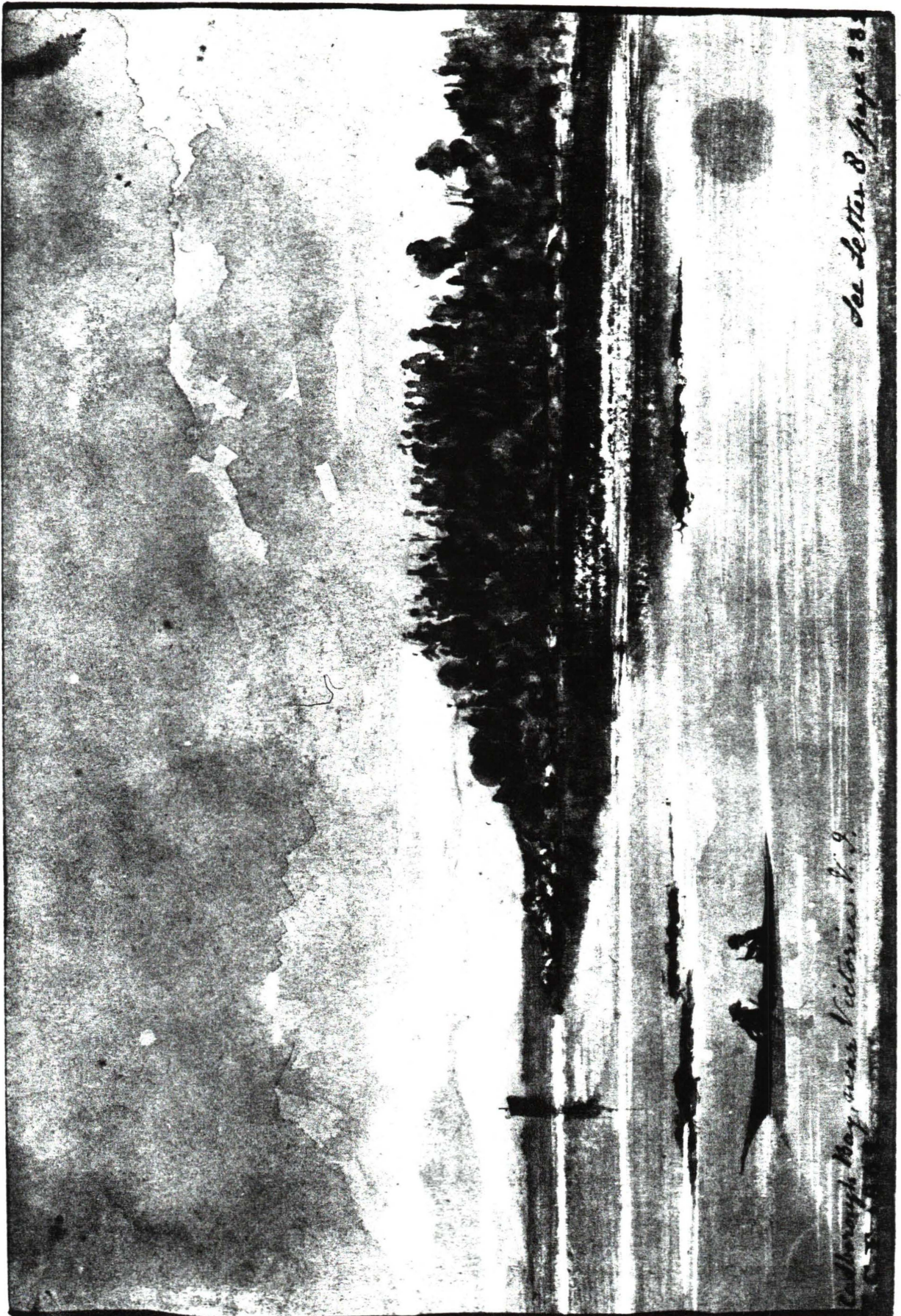


Figure 13 "Cadborough Bay near Victoria V.I.," 1862, water-colour, Eleanor Fellows.



a sketch attempt at giving you an  
 idea of the view from our dining room  
 window at Fernwood - 176 to complete  
 S. Crease -

Rec'd Oct. 1861

Figure 14 "An Idea of the view from our Dining Room Window at Fernwood," October 1861, ink, Sarah Crease.



Figure 15 "View from our bedroom window at Fernwood Victoria Vancouver's Is.," September 1861, ink, Sarah Crease.

scraps attributed to Sarah's husband Henry, which were also sketched within letters to illustrate his first offices.<sup>33</sup>

"View from our bedroom window at Fernwood," (figure 15) is complete with annotations and identification of geographic features. The view encompasses a panoramic sweep from Chatham and Discovery Islands across Mount Baker to San Juan Island. The foreground includes the immediate rocks and bushes overlooking a lowland area leading to the ocean. Sarah captured this view again in a watercolour "Which was taken from B.W. Pearse Esq. Drawing Room Window at Fernwood, 19 November, 1860" (figure 16). It contains the same components and illustrates the same rather breathtaking view. These two views, presumably along with others sent to relatives in England, gave sufficient information for Sarah's mother-in-law Mary Smith Crease, to paint a large watercolour, a composite of the views sent by her daughter-in-law. "Fernwood from the Rocks on the S. Side of Cadboro Bay Rd. (Regents Park)" (figure 17) is a remarkably accurate rendition, not unlike T. Somerscales "Mt. Baker from Regents Park," 1869, and W.G.R. Hind's, "View from Gonzales".<sup>34</sup>

#### Human Environment

Contrasting with these views of isolation and natural scenery, are many views concentrating not on nature but on the more identifiable and comfortable environment created



Figure 16 "Which was taken from B.W. Pearce Esq. Drawing Room window at Fernwood," 19 November 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



Figure 17 "Fernwood from the Rocks on the S. Side of Cadboro Bay Rd. (Regents Park)," [ca.1862], watercolour, Mary Smith Crease.

by man. Views focussed within the colony portray different aspects of progress and civilization. These works include views of forts and other urban subjects emphasizing the changes wrought by colonization, and the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise.

The sketches themselves document human aspects of the colony. The bustle and activity of 1860 Victoria was captured in three works, "Fort Street" (figure 18, verso figure 19), "Yates Street" (figure 20), and "Government Street" (figure 21, verso figure 22). Both brick and wooden buildings were shown, along with a clutter of traffic on boardwalks or in the street. The commercial prosperity of Victoria comes out most clearly. Further written references on the reverse of the sketches indicate specific businesses, activities, and associations. "Our first house in Victoria an old wooden one built by the H.B.C." (figure 20) and "The 'Colonial' + 'French Hotel' Restaurants, Henry's Chambers are just behind the 'French'," (figure 22) are just some of the inscriptions. Many were added later and often dated, indicating changes in the urban landscape.

In contrast to these "colonial scenes," Sarah also executed views illustrating the previous regime of the Hudson's Bay Company. "Interior of the Old Hudson's Bay Company's Fort" (figure 23) and "S.W. Bastion of the Old Fort with 12 nine pounder guns" (figure 24) record the



Figure 18 "Fort Street," September 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



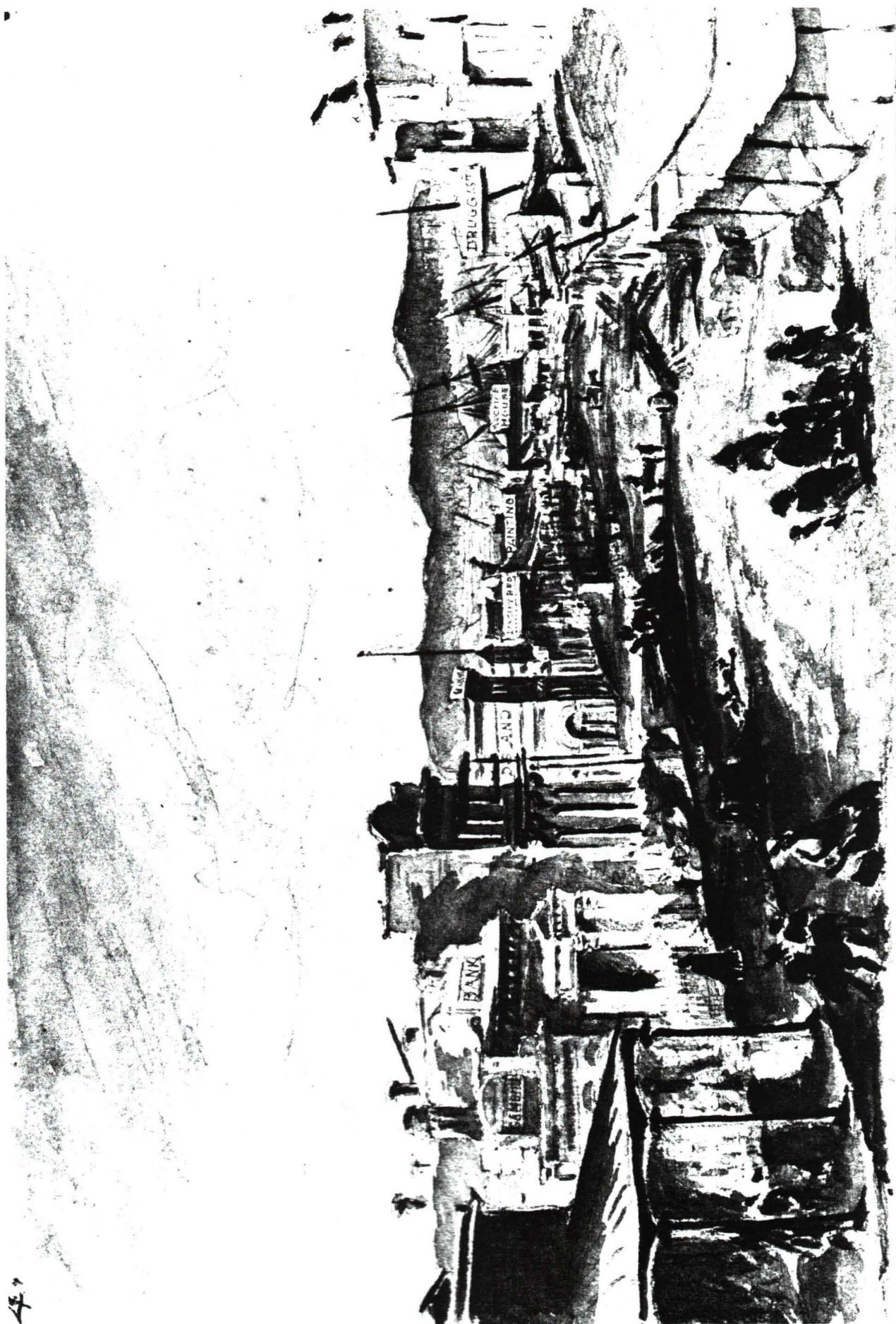


Figure 20 "Yates Street," 2 October 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



Figure 21 "Government Street," 8 October 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.





Figure 23 "Interior of the Old Hudson's Bay Company's Fort,"  
25 September 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



Figure 24 "S.W. Bastion of the Old Fort with 12 nine pounder guns," 8 September 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.

original Fort Victoria that by 1860 was obsolete. As noted on the reverse of figure 23, "The old stockade facing the picture are now all pulled down (Jan. 1861) & open the harbor to the full view of Fort St." She recorded the transition of Victoria and its growing population as the seat of colonial government in "Bridge leading to Red Govern<sup>t</sup> Buildings, from the top of which this view is taken" (figure 25), "James Bay" (figure 26, verso 27), and "Victoria Harbour & James Bay from the Church Hill" (figure 28).<sup>35</sup>

More personal views are found in works depicting the residences and residential areas. Both artists attempted to define the setting of the residence within the landscape. Eleanor's "Thetis Cottage, view in Esquimalt Harbor looking S" (figure 29) states quite clearly the relationship of residence to environment by depicting the cottage on a groomed section of land, overlooking a vast harbour view. The cottage itself has been meticulously worked with great attention to detail, while the setting, a panoramic spread of the landscape, that comprises four fifths of the scene, is only vaguely defined. What this suggests about the artist is not only that she wished to emphasize details of the residence such as size, layout, and construction, but that it was necessary to portray it in-situ, to emphasize its relationship to the surrounding landscape.



Figure 25 "Bridge leading to Red Gover<sup>t</sup> Buildings, from the top of which this view is taken," October 1860, watercolour. Sarah Crease.



Figure 26 "James Bay," 10 October 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



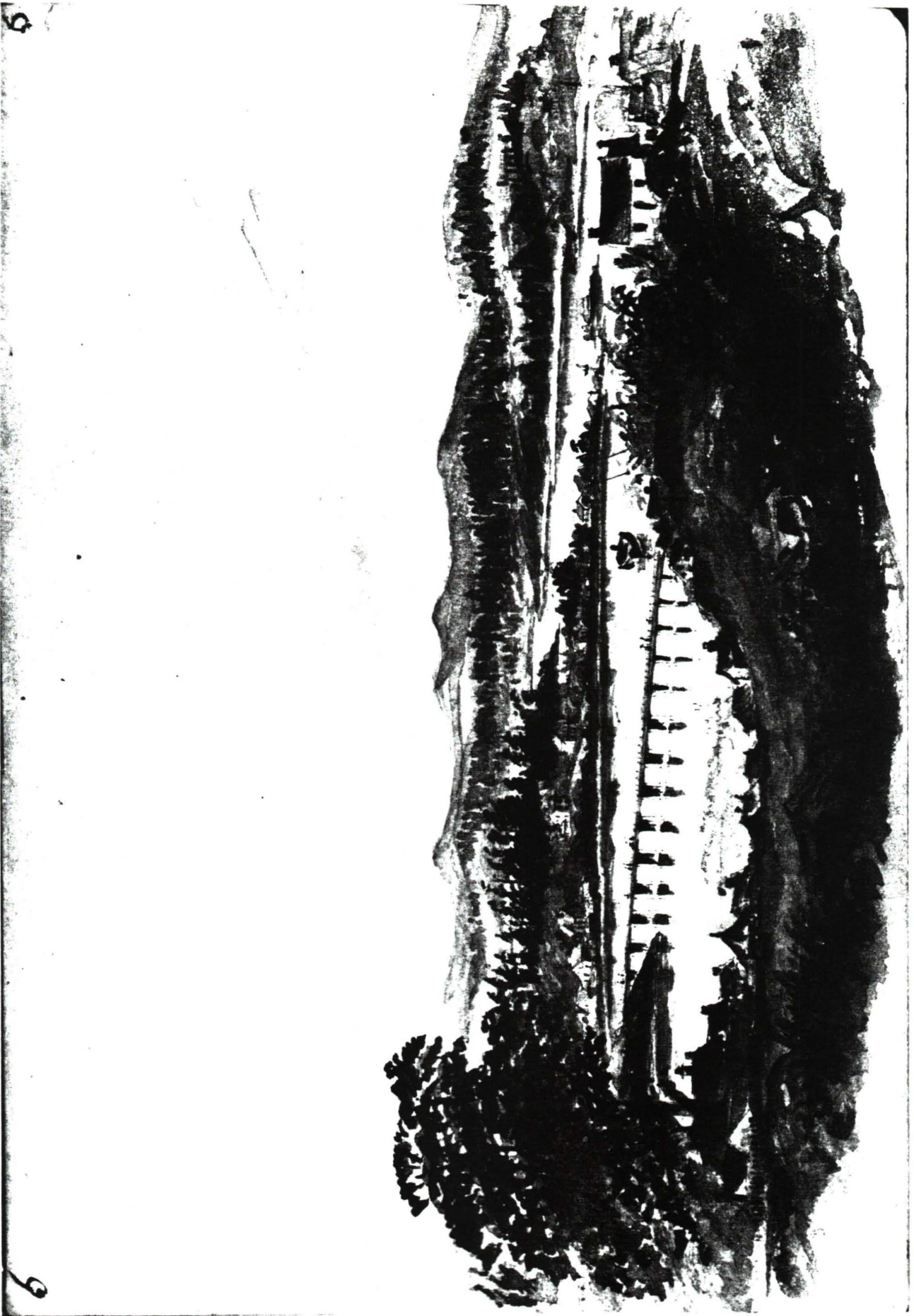


Figure 28 "Victoria Harbour & James Bay from the Church Hill,"  
September 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



Figure 29 "Thetis Cottage, view in Esquimalt Harbor looking S.," 1866, pencil, Eleanor Fellows.

This need to explain context appears also in Sarah Crease's pencil sketches "E. End of Ince Cottage, New Westminster, B.C." (figure 30) and "Ince Cottage, N.W., View of Pine Stumps on banks of the Frazer as taken from bridge over first Ravine" (figure 31). In both instances the residences are carefully delineated, including as much detail regarding construction, layout, and size as could be conveyed. In both they represent less than one fifth the size of the entire sketch, fitting into a general and sketchy landscape setting. Although close adherence to detail is not found in the landscape, enough detailing is evident to provide the basic information to establish context for the main subject of the sketches--the house. In each, property lines are indicated by fences, and the rough "colonial" setting is revealed by vast fields of tree stumps. The important activities of claiming and clearing new lands were transmitted graphically in sketches such as these.<sup>36</sup>

### Race and Culture

A third category of works centred not on the white presence in the colony but on the aboriginal population. Like the panoramic landscapes, these works put the infant white colony in perspective. They provide objective information about the size, situation, and composition of

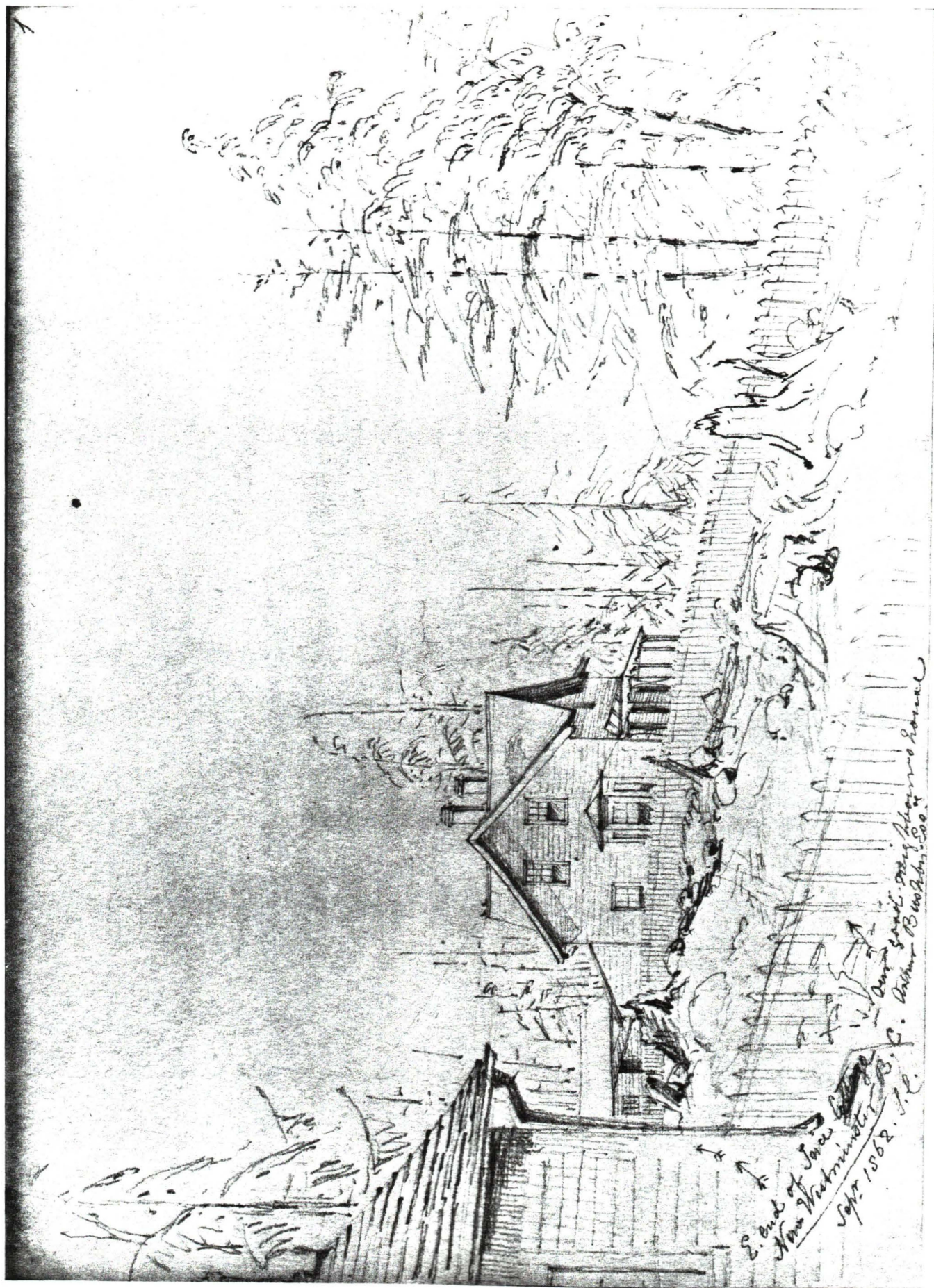


Figure 30 "E. End of Ince Cottage, New Westminster, B.C.,"  
September 1862, pencil, Sarah Crease.

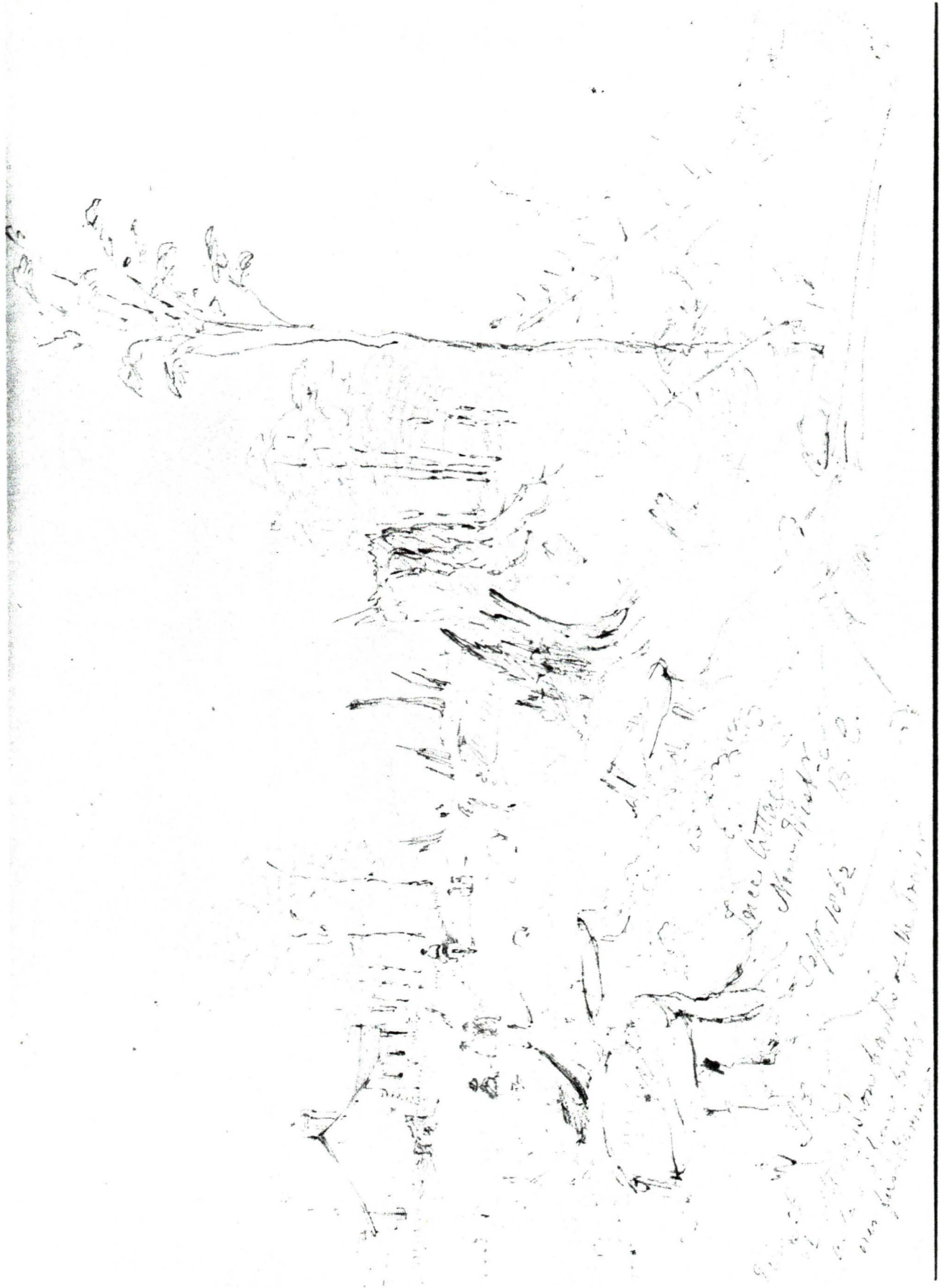


Figure 31 "Ince Cottage, N.W., View of Pine Stumps on banks of the Frazer as taken from bridge over first Ravine," September 1862, pencil, Sarah Crease.

aboriginal settlement, and subjectively reveal clues as to the attitudes and perspectives of the artist. Sarah Crease's "Indian Reserve, Fort Yale" (figure 32) is a companion to two other views of "Fort Yale" (figure 33, figure 34) that depict the commercial and residential aspects of the white civilization. The latter two exclude any reference to the native population and focus only on the white presence. Likewise "Indian Reserve, Fort Yale" (figure 32) depicts only the non-white area of town. Although the artist portrayed both aspects of the populations resident at Fort Yale, she portrayed them separately, the white contrasting against the non-white and in so doing, the artist has communicated something of her attitude. The populations are not viewed as one or the sketches would have included elements of both. This reflects the contemporary attitude that colonization should be considered separate from aboriginal settlement and that distinctions between races be maintained.<sup>37</sup>

The same is true of works by both artists portraying the Songhees reserve at Victoria. Eleanor's "Indian Village, Victoria Harbor, and Plan of Hut" (figure 35) and Sarah's "Indian Village opp. the Town" (figure 36) isolate the reserve from its relationship to the town across the harbour, reflecting the attitude that moved the reserve from its previous proximity to the town. Both sketches

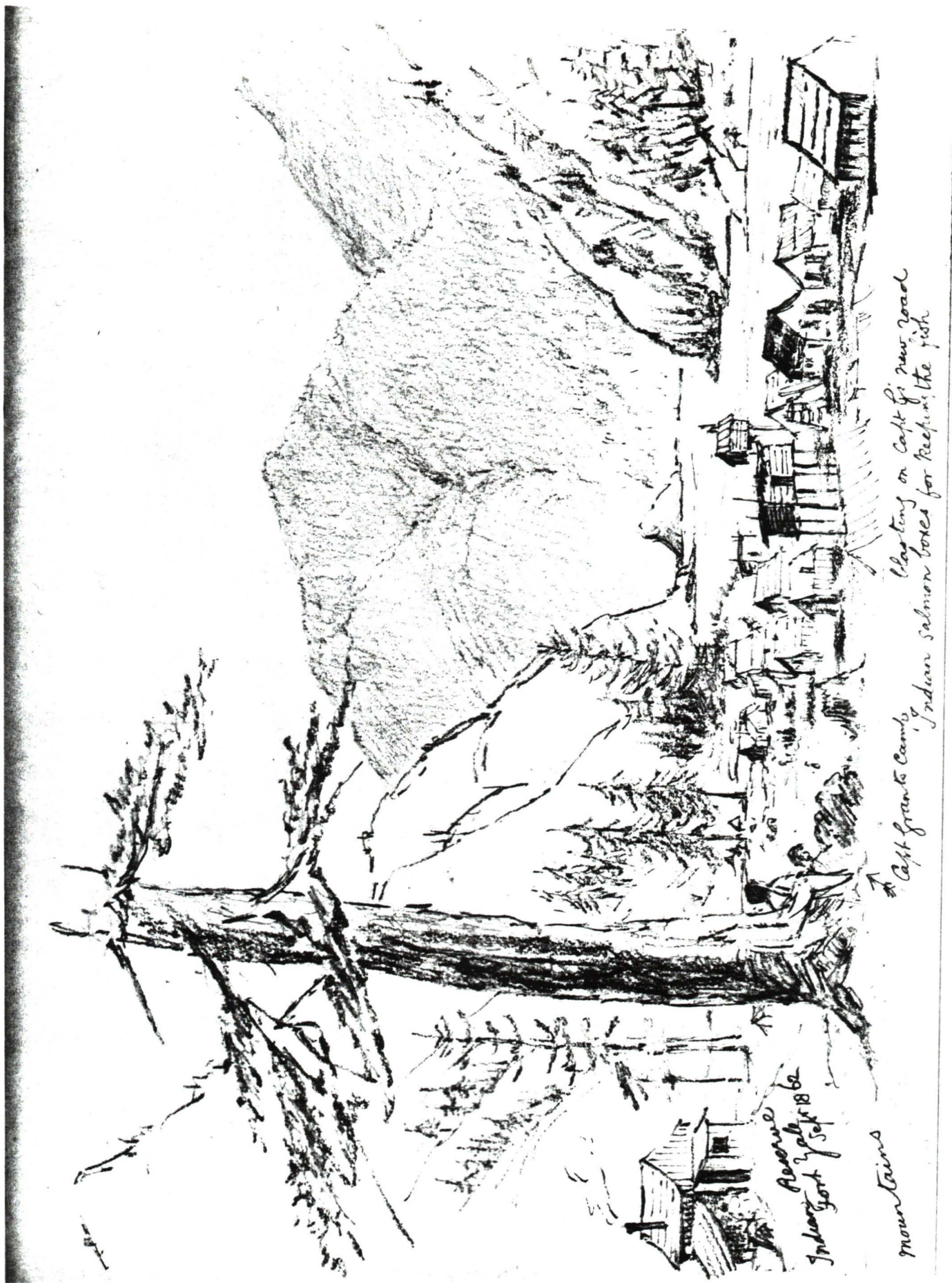


Figure 32 " Indian Reserve, Fort Yale," September 1862, original pencil no longer extant, photographic copy, Sarah Crease.

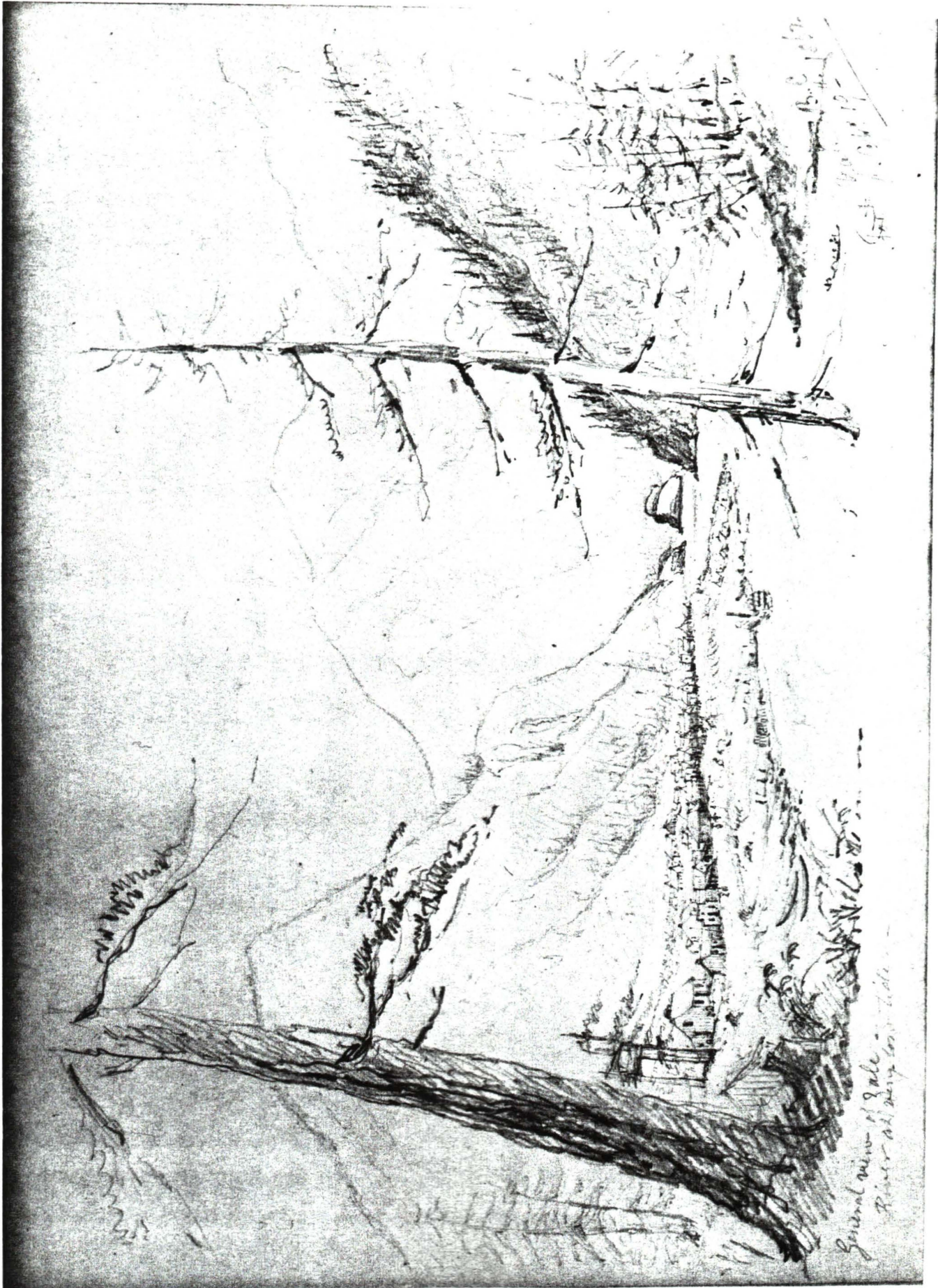


Figure 33 "Fort Yale, B.C.," 19 September 1862, original pencil no longer extant, photographic copy, Sarah Crease.



Figure 34 "Fort Yale, View of Street from Steps of H.B.Co's store," 19 September 1862, original pencil no longer extant, photographic copy, Sarah Crease.

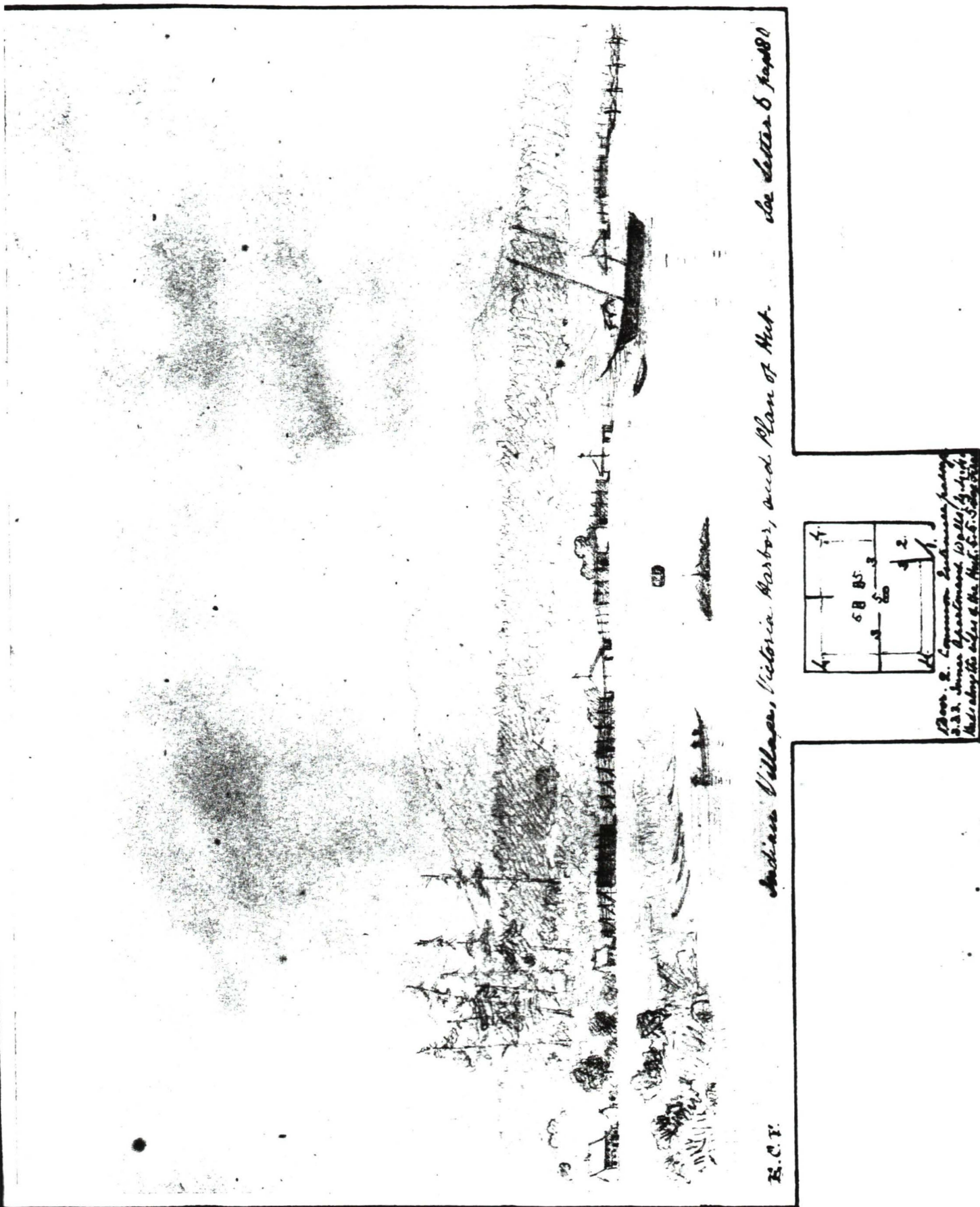


Figure 35 "Indian Village, Victoria Harbor, and Plan of Hut" [ca. 1862-1866], pencil, Eleanor Fellows.

12

x All the descriptions with the x attached  
 or prefixed, apply to the sketch on the  
 opposite side of the paper.  
 which was taken from B.W. Pearce's copy.  
 Looking window at "Fernwood" S.C.

x Mount Ricker distance 100 miles 14,000 high

Nov 19<sup>th</sup> 1860  
 S.C.

x The small white specks on the  
 mountain range are  
 the small white specks on the  
 mountain range are  
 the small white specks on the  
 mountain range are

Good road for a stagecoach  
 through the Rocky Mts  
 leading to the summit of the  
 range  
 x Mt. Young - Van Dusen Mt.  
 (looking in depth  
 from S.W. of  
 United States)

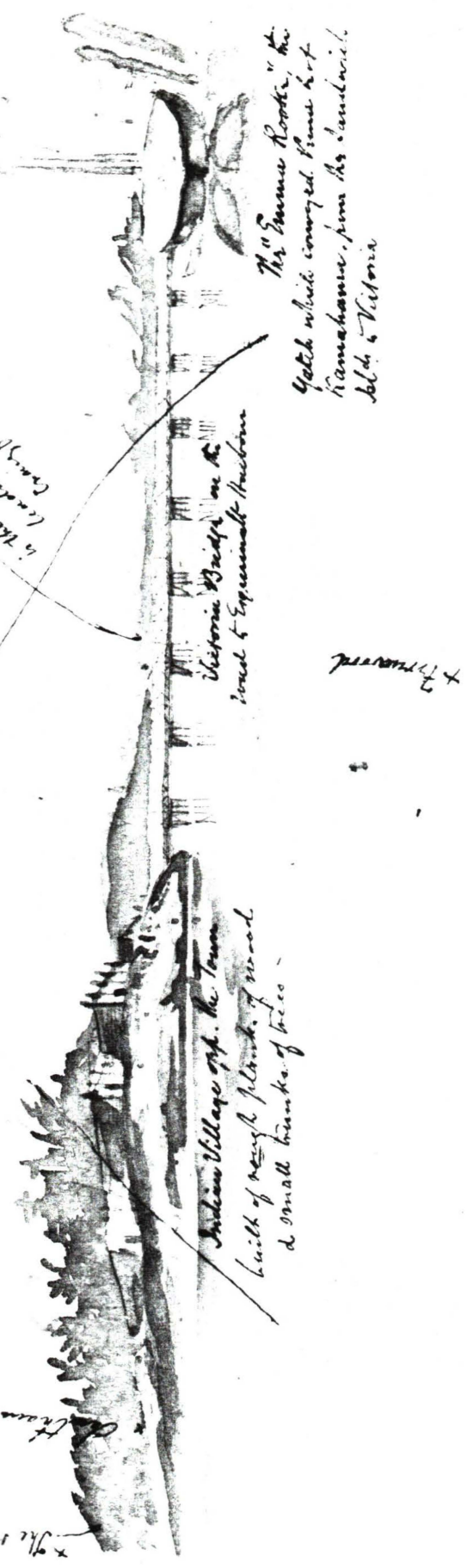


Figure 36 "Indian Village, opp the Town," 19 November 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.

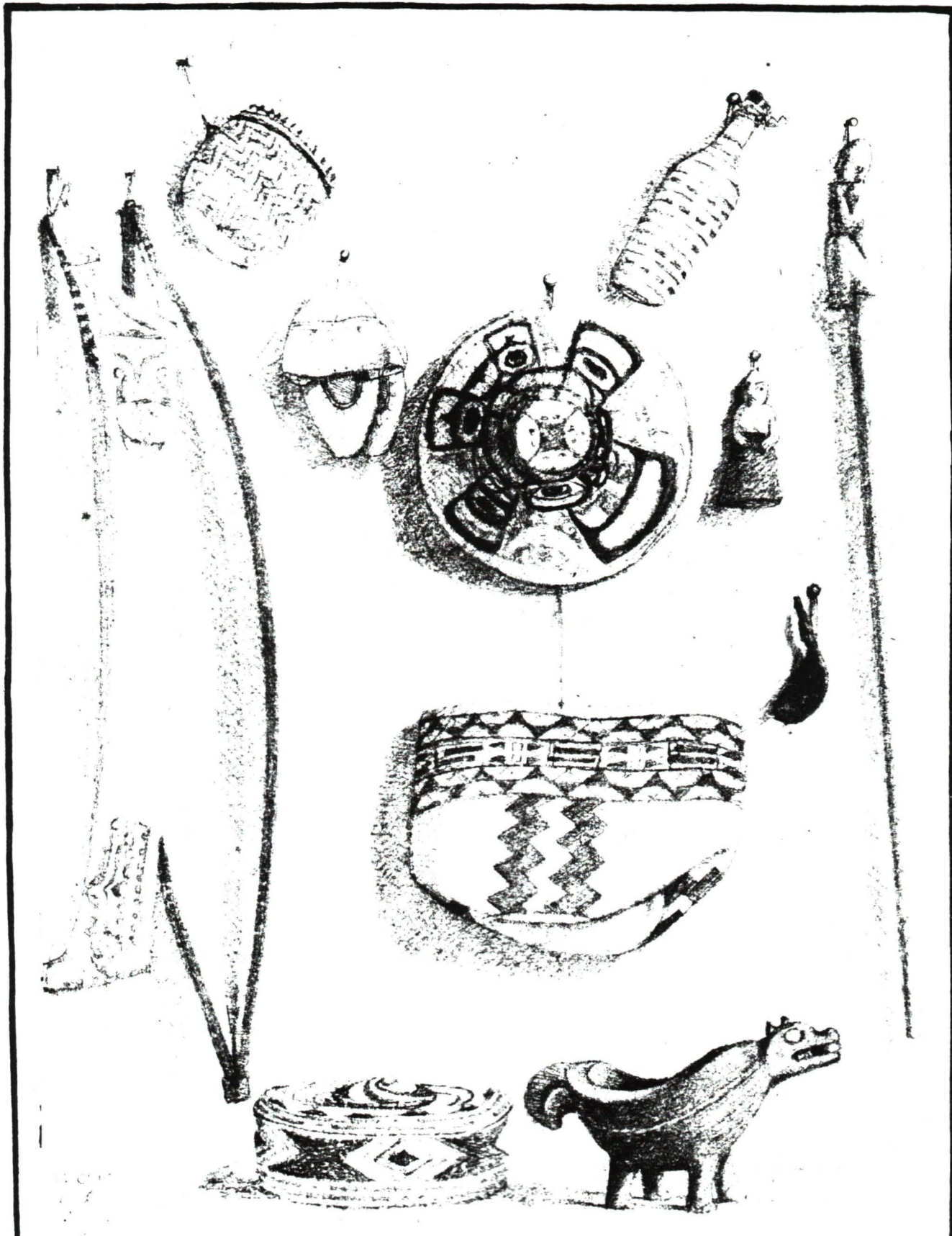
attempt to relate the unfamiliar architectural type in understandable terms and feature notations such as "built of rough planks of wood & small trunks of trees" and the inclusion of a floor plan. Similarly, "Tsartlip Indian Huts outside the Governor's garden" (figure 37) presents a close-up view of the Tsartlip people, their habits and housing. Although details of landscape and setting provide context, again the scene is isolated, with no glimpse of the Governor's garden and house or any white presence.

A general scientific curiosity, influenced in part by interest in race and racial theories popularized by publications such as Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859), created a concern to know peculiarities within the British Empire and to collect and illustrate items relating to non-British cultures. This is clearly reflected in detailed pencil sketches intended to explain or illuminate peculiarities of native culture.

Eleanor's "Group of Indian Curiosities" (figure 38) is just that, a collection of craft items produced by the Indian people, including a ceremonial bowl, goat horn spoon, staff, various woven containers, model canoes, mocassins, and a hat. The group is a selection of objects from different tribal groups along the Northwest coast from Alaska to the Puget Sound and inland as well. Each



Figure 37 "Tsartlip Indian Huts outside the Governor's garden,"  
October 1860, watercolour, Sarah Crease.



*See letter 9. Page 263*  
*Group of Indian curiosities.*

Figure 38 "Group of Indian Curiosities," 1867, pencil, Eleanor Fellows.

object has been carefully delineated with the accurate rendering of recognizable tribal features and decorative motives. The items are displayed hanging on pegs from walls forming an exhibit as might be found in a store window or private collection. Fellows illustrated them in this context confirming that they were viewed not as functional items but as objects of curiosity. The sketch originally accompanied a written commentary.

In addition to craft items, the habits and customs of the Indian people (in particular those relating to clothing, housekeeping, and child rearing) were of particular interest to the white settlers, who viewed these methods with curiosity and often derision. One such example is found in Eleanor's sketch, "Indian Method of Rocking the Baby" (figure 39), that illustrates the local equivalent of the cradle. This sketch provides a wealth of additional detail. The woman, although wearing non-traditional clothing, is Indian. She wears a labret in her lower lip and is seated, sewing. Beside her is a woven basket of Puget Sound origin. The house is west coast plank style with modified entranceway. Again the subject matter parallels works by Whympers, A.T. Agate, E.A. Porcher and others.

The art works of Crease and Fellows, except for differences in technical expertise, are not unlike those



produced by professional artists who transferred to an awaiting public, their impressions of the colonies. The themes prominent in their art illustrate how the women viewed their colonial life, while the technique and mediums chosen reflect the artistic training then prevalent among the middle classes who perceived artistic skills as a desirable and fashionable mode of expression.

## Chapter IV - Art

<sup>1</sup>For an in-depth discussion see: Helen Bergen Peters, Painting During the Colonial Period in B.C., 1858-1871 (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1979).

<sup>2</sup>Information on the documentary landscape tradition and 19th century landscape has been drawn from Peters.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>See Crease Diaries, various family members, various dates, Crease Collection.

<sup>5</sup>E.A. Porcher's view of Metlakatla was reproduced as an illustration to accompany the Bishop's journal in the Columbia Mission Report, 1866.

<sup>6</sup>Susan Crease, Diary, 18 July 1878 "Capt. Bedford shewed me new sketches of Prospect lake...", Crease Collection. Views of settlers' residences were particularly popular and created by naval artists such as F. Bedwell. See "Colwood, home of E.E. Langford" (PABC) and W.G.B. Willis, "Oaklands" (Public Archives of Canada).

<sup>7</sup>For example, the E.A. Porcher view of Metlakatla is found in three versions: one in PABC; one in a Dally album, Toronto Public Library; one in a private collection.

<sup>8</sup>Colonist, 5 December 1862, "Mr. W.G.R. Hind, Artist," an advertisement for a lecture.

<sup>9</sup>Arrived on the Tynemouth, September 1862.

<sup>10</sup>See Illustrated London News, various dates 1862-1870.

<sup>11</sup>J.C. White.

<sup>12</sup>F. Whympier.

<sup>13</sup>Colonist, 1 December 1863, "Fine Arts.... Mr. Whympier will be glad to supply copies of the sketches to any parties wishing to procure them."

<sup>14</sup>Colonist, 12 March 1863, "A Celebrity--We observe that Mr. Edward [sic.] T. Coleman has been making a series of landscape views of Victoria and environs.... We regard Mr. Coleman...as an acquisition to our population, and trust that his pencil may be adequately employed."

<sup>15</sup>Advertisement for W.G.R. Hind, Colonist, 23 November 1866.

<sup>16</sup>Lessons were given by G.M. de L'Aubinière and others.

<sup>17</sup>Colonist, 12 March 1863.

<sup>18</sup>Colonist, 24 November 1864. Although artists in the previous few years had exhibited their works in shops or studios in town, this exhibit, held in the government buildings, is the first documented public sponsored exhibit.

<sup>19</sup>Susan Crease, Diary, 18 July 1878, Crease Collection.

<sup>20</sup>Formerly inserted within a Lindley Crease sketchbook, Crease Collection.

<sup>21</sup>Robert Brown, Diary, 1864, Robert Brown Collection, PABC.

<sup>22</sup>Robert Brown to Eleanor Fellows, 24 January 1870, Robert Brown Collection, PABC.

<sup>23</sup>Subsequent use of works by Sarah Crease as engraved illustrations in the Illustrated London News and Columbia Mission Report involved no financial benefit to her. The works were unattributed.

<sup>24</sup>Ernest Boyle to Sarah Crease, 13 March 1889, Crease Collection.

<sup>25</sup>Charlotte Maria Alston to Sarah Crease, 9 January 1888, Crease Collection.

<sup>26</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 13 August 1861, Crease Collection.

<sup>27</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 15 July 1858, Crease Collection.

<sup>28</sup>Inscription on Sarah Crease watercolour in the PABC (pdp 4567).

<sup>29</sup>Richard Charles Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: J. Murray, 1962.)

<sup>30</sup>Inscription on a pencil sketch in the PABC (pdp 1415).

<sup>31</sup>See inscriptions on each item.

<sup>32</sup>Provenance records indicate the painting was purchased in 1965.

<sup>33</sup>Works in the PABC are pdp 1394, an ink sketch by Henry Crease dated 1858, pdp 4759, an ink sketch by Henry Crease [1858].

<sup>34</sup>M. Somerscales, "Mount Baker from Regents Park," 1869, PABC, Hind, "View from Gonzales Hill," [1863], McCord Museum, Montreal.

<sup>35</sup>Corresponding works by professional artists include: E.M. Richardson, "Inner Harbour," 1864, E.T. Coleman, "Victoria," c.1862; F. Whympers, "Victoria, Vancouver Island", c.1863. The latter two are very similar views to Sarah Crease's "James Bay."

<sup>36</sup>Corresponding works by professional artists include E.P. Bedwell "Colwood, Home of E.E. Langford," and W.G.B. Willis, "Oaklands."

<sup>37</sup>This separation is shown again in Hind's "View of Victoria" (McCord Museum), which separates the white and non white areas into opposite sides of the picture, with a waterway compositionally centred between them.

## CHAPTER V - LATER YEARS

The Fellows family left for England in mid 1868 but shortly made plans to return to settle in the "Far West", either in San Francisco or Victoria. Arthur returned to Victoria in March 1869<sup>1</sup> but relocated to San Francisco the following September<sup>2</sup> when he opened a branch of Fellows, Roscoe and Company. The city directory for 1871 listed him as a resident in Oakland.<sup>3</sup>

Plans for the departure of Eleanor and the four children were well underway by January 1870. "I am sorry to hear you are going off so soon as I had hoped to see you when I came to London at Easter", former colonial resident and friend Robert Brown wrote. "There is however nothing for it but to wish you all manner of happiness in San Francisco.... I would willingly toss all my 'good expectations' overboard for the pleasure of such a life as I used to lead in the North West."<sup>4</sup> For reasons that remain obscure, they did not leave as anticipated but remained instead in Hampstead, London, close to Eleanor's parents and brother. From 1869 to 1873 directories list Eleanor as the primary occupant of #2 Prevost Road, Hampstead,<sup>5</sup> but no reference is made to Arthur Fellows.<sup>6</sup>

That the separation was not apparently due solely to business reasons is evidenced by the fact that in 1872 Rowland Hill inserted a very specific provision in his will barring Arthur Fellows from any control of or access to the one-third share in the estate of Eleanor's grandfather, which Hill was transferring to her. In fact, the will specifically gave the trustees the right, should they deem it appropriate, to hold the share in trust for her children.<sup>7</sup> This attitude on the part of Eleanor's father indicates a serious concern for the welfare of his daughter following the breakdown of her marriage. Evidence does not survive to indicate where Arthur lived, exactly how long he was in San Francisco, and if he returned to England. According to his son Arthur, he lived until 1892,<sup>8</sup> but little is known of his later activities or whereabouts. He may possibly have continued to reside in San Francisco because no record of either a death certificate or will has been found in England.<sup>9</sup>

Despite marital difficulties, Eleanor maintained and nurtured the contacts she had made in British Columbia. She corresponded with friends still resident in the colonies, and like former colonial Robert Brown continued an active interest in colonial affairs. She also read the British Colonist, copies of which were regularly posted to England. Her interest in colonial politics and

journalism led her to express her opinions in a series of articles written under the pseudonym, "Eve's Grand-daughter." These appeared in both the San Francisco and Victoria newspapers and were the subject of some controversy. In 1878 her identity was revealed when Arthur Fellows wrote to the San Francisco Newsletter requesting "the name of the person who writes the articles commenting on the writer of London letters of the Chronicle. You are already aware that lady is my wife."<sup>10</sup> The newspaper replied that it had not realized this and regretted "being now informed of the fact, for we always imagined the letters referred to, to be of San Francisco manufacture, and the Chronicle's London correspondent a woman of straw."<sup>11</sup>

In 1903 Eleanor married one Henry Smyth, about whom nothing is known.<sup>12</sup> In November 1909, at age 78, she and her daughters finally returned to British Columbia again, staying with her son Arthur, who was then living in Victoria, until May 1910.<sup>13</sup> According to her daughter, after forty years absence, she "naturally found many changes in the Far West, and, though she greatly enjoyed her visit and meeting again some of the old timers and their descendants, still the city of her dreams had almost passed away and many of the old friends and landmarks had gone."<sup>14</sup> Josephine Crease, youngest daughter of Sarah

and Henry Crease, recorded a social visit paid by Eleanor to her mother. "Callers all afternoon, among them a Mrs Smythe and her daughters the Misses Fellows--not exciting."<sup>15</sup>

Eleanor's return to B.C. was undoubtedly the impetus for An Octogenarian's Reminiscences, completed in manuscript form by the summer of 1914 and published two years later. The primary focus of the Reminiscences was the time she had spent in the colonies, which she based heavily on her correspondence and letters of the 1860s.

To the end, Eleanor remained a public personality. Although she maintained a large personal correspondence, she made many of her views and opinions quite public. In addition to her Reminiscences and letters as "Eve's Granddaughter," she wrote a number of diverse articles and one major book. An article entitled "Nova Scotia's Cry for Home Rule"<sup>16</sup> was written after her residence in that province during 1882-83. This was followed by a pamphlet, Truth vs Fiction re: The Chalmer's Claim<sup>17</sup> (1892), a rebuttal to those she believed were false claimants to the invention of the postage stamp. This pamphlet combined with "a few brief writings...in some of the later volumes of 'Notes and Queries' [and] sundry letters to the press"<sup>18</sup> all dealt with postal reform. Her greatest work, Sir Rowland Hill: The Story of the Great Reform,<sup>19</sup>

was published in 1907. At age 87 she completed The Passing of the Penny Post<sup>20</sup> (1920), and at age 93, A Thirteenth Century Prophet and Some of His Contemporaries<sup>21</sup> (1923), which in turn was followed by An Essay on Chaucer<sup>22</sup> (1924). Unfortunately Eleanor's visual records were not as lasting. Apart from her pencil and watercolour sketches of Victoria, no other works are extant. She recounted in 1907 that she used "to sketch from nature, as it was called in my youth. But I was not great at...it and gave up...long ago, finding it easier to handle the pen than the paintbrush."<sup>23</sup>

Eleanor remained active and vocal throughout the last years of her life. Daughter Caroline later recalled that:<sup>24</sup>

In her 88th year she went out in the rain to record her Parliamentary vote.... Her activities during the last few years failed very gradually, but perceptibly, and though interested to the last in public events, and in friends near and across the seas, she at length passed peacefully away on December 31st, 1926, within three months of completing her 96th year.

The passing years treated Sarah Crease rather differently. Although financial problems were ever present, the family eventually prospered primarily because of Henry's promotions and investments. In 1870 he gave up his appointment as Attorney General and a member of the Legislative Council, for a puisne judgeship of the Supreme

Court,<sup>25</sup> a position he held until his retirement in 1895. Crease served on various Royal Commissions throughout the 1870s. In 1896 the Creases finally attained the pinnacle of social standing when Henry was knighted for his services to the province<sup>26</sup> and Sarah became Lady Crease.

As the family grew, Sarah and Henry sent their children to school in England. Lindley and Arthur obtained most of their formal education at Conyngham School in Ramsgate and Haileybury College. In 1872, at age 18, Mary went to England for a visit, and did not return until September 1875.<sup>27</sup> Her younger sisters Susan and Josephine studied art at King's College, London, while on a three year visit in 1889-1891.

An English education enabled the children to keep in touch with their British background and strengthen family ties. Although both parents longed to see England again, they felt it was more important that their children have the opportunity and "bring the place once more before our mind's eye when it pleases God you come back...."<sup>28</sup> In 1889 Sarah hoped to accompany Susan and Josephine, but her health would not permit it. Her brother was greatly disappointed. "So your two girls are coming without you!...We are of course disappointed & sorry to be so deprived of the great pleasure of seeing you...."<sup>29</sup>

Another advantage of education at "home," firsthand knowledge of Britain was an important social distinction in Victoria. "I am very glad that both of you should see a different way of living to that you have been accustomed to- as it will help you better to understand people whose homes have been, or are, on the higher social scale,"<sup>30</sup> Sarah wrote shortly after their departure. Or as Henry observed, "No one else who is now in or who comes to Victoria or B.C. will be able to crow at you for not having 'been to England.'"<sup>31</sup>

The outward manifestation of the Crease's social prominence was "Pentrelew" the large Victorian mansion that underwent extensive additions in 1891. These doubled the size of the residence, adding a tower and another wing. The house made it possible for the family to fulfill its social commitments by providing a suitable space to receive callers, entertain guests, and lodge overnight visitors. Sarah's position as the wife of a leading citizen made it necessary for her to pay endless social calls and entertain at dinners and parties. She did not allow herself to get caught up in obligatory gestures, however, and both she and Henry managed to extract themselves from many functions, preferring to spend the time with their family in a gentile home atmosphere.

Although domestic duties were lightened by the employment of Chinese cooks and often times a general servant, they still occupied a portion of Sarah's time. As her daughters grew up, she taught them practical skills such as the preparation of meals, making jelly and jam, pickling and preserving.

Sarah maintained her interest in art throughout her life although her output declined after the 1860s. There are several watercolours extant, most notably a series completed in August 1877 while on a journey to Comox,<sup>32</sup> and several from the interior of B.C. which she visited on different occasions while accompanying Henry on circuit. Diary notations by her family<sup>33</sup> indicate that she was present on many sketching afternoons, attended art exhibitions, and knew both amateur and professional artists.

The decline in Sarah's output occurred because of failing eyesight. Her eyes had always been weak and she had been susceptible to headaches and fatigue. In 1883, suffering from glaucoma, she travelled to San Francisco for an operation on her right eye.<sup>34</sup> Three years later, "Dr Bankan called at Pentrelew...examination of my eyes very satisfactory. Thank God."<sup>35</sup> The following year "Dr. O.M. Jones exam<sup>d</sup> my eye. No stronger lenses to be had."<sup>36</sup> In 1893 she again travelled to San Francisco

for an operation on her right eye, "The left eye too far gone."<sup>37</sup>

Sarah also channelled her creative energies in a voluminous correspondence with relatives and friends in Britain. Over the years letters included those to friends from the colonies who had returned to Britain and increasingly to a generation of nieces and nephews and her own children, who were either at school or travelling.<sup>38</sup> She continued to record brief notes in diaries and highlight particular calendar dates in notebooks. These activities required blocks of time and in some instances created a backlog. She then "denied myself to visitors and wrote letters to England."<sup>39</sup>

Sarah was active in a number of philanthropic and charitable endeavours. In the latter years she was a founding member and honorary president of the Local Council of Women, established in 1894, which formed the Friendly Help Association to assist families in distress.<sup>40</sup> She served as a member of the Women's Auxiliary of the Royal Jubilee Hospital<sup>41</sup> and taught Sunday school at Christ Church. Her religious convictions remained central to her life and were responsible in guiding and shaping her activities and interests. Both her diaries and correspondence indicate a continual self examination and evaluation of her beliefs and lifestyle.

In 1878 she recorded: "Self 52 years old today--and what can I say for myself!! Alas! Alas! that I should be such a Christian dwarf."<sup>42</sup> She remained physically active until three years before her death, when she fell and fractured a hip, and continued to be interested in national and local affairs until her death on 11 December 1926. The Victoria Colonist reported:

Lady Crease was revered by all those who knew her, being conspicuous during her whole life for her sense of justice and an unusual degree of moral as well as physical courage. She was endowed with strong common sense, a deep sense of her duty both to God and her fellow man, [and] an affection for family....<sup>43</sup>

## Chapter V -Later Years

- <sup>1</sup>Colonist, 30 March 1869.
- <sup>2</sup>Colonist, 16 September 1869.
- <sup>3</sup>The San Francisco Directory (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1871), p. 243.
- <sup>4</sup>Robert Brown to Eleanor Fellows, 24 January 1870, Robert Brown Collection, PABC.
- <sup>5</sup>Rate books, 1872-74, Parish of St. John, Hampstead, London, Corporation of Greater London.
- <sup>6</sup>The London Post Office Directory (London: Kelly and Company, 1874).
- <sup>7</sup>Rowland Hill will, 20 December 1872, Somerset House, London.
- <sup>8</sup>Arthur Fellows, Outward, 10 April 1928, Arthur Fellows Jr. Papers, Bruce Castle Museum.
- <sup>9</sup>A search of National Registry Offices and Somerset House failed to locate the date of death or probate for Arthur Fellows.
- <sup>10</sup>Colonist, 25 August 1878.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Eleanor married Henry Smyth, 2 July 1903 at St. Georges Church, Edgebaston, Birmingham.

<sup>13</sup>Reminiscences, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup>Caroline F. Fellows, quoted in Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, p. 212.

<sup>15</sup>Josephine Crease, Diary, 4 November 1909, Crease Collection.

<sup>16</sup>Eleanor C. Fellows, "Nova Scotia's Cry for Home Rule," The Nineteenth Century (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co., 1886), p. 20-32.

<sup>17</sup>Eleanor C. Fellows, Truth vs Fiction, re: The Chalmer's Claim (London: R. Forder, February 1892).

<sup>18</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth to L.V. Morten, 24 December 1907, Arthur Fellows (Jr.) Collection, Bruce Castle Museum.

<sup>19</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth, Sir Rowland Rowland Hill, the Story of a Great Reform (London: Fisher Unwin, 1907).

<sup>20</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth, The Passing of the Penny Post (London: private publication, July 1918).

<sup>21</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth, A Thirteenth Century Phropheet and some of His Contemporaries (Bexhill-on-Sea: private publication, August 1923).

<sup>22</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth, An Esssay on Chaucer (Bexhill-on-Sea: private publication, April 1924).

<sup>23</sup>Eleanor C. Smyth to L.V. Morten, 24 December 1907, Arthur Fellows (Jr.) Collection, Bruce Castle Museum.

<sup>24</sup>Caroline F. Fellows, quoted in Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, pp. 214-215.

<sup>25</sup>Commission as Judge of the Supreme Court, 13 May 1870, Crease Collection.

<sup>26</sup>Letters Granting Knighthood, 1896, and Seal of Knighthood, Crease Collection.

<sup>27</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 17 September 1875, Crease Collection.

<sup>28</sup>Henry Crease to Mary Maberly Crease, 18 August 1872, Crease Collection.

<sup>29</sup>Nathaniel Lindley to Sarah Crease, 28 April 1889, Crease Collection.

<sup>30</sup>Sarah Crease to Josephine Crease, 2 October 1889, Crease Collection.

<sup>31</sup>Henry Crease to Josephine Crease, 3 June 1890, Crease Collection.

<sup>32</sup>Watercolours from this trip are in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, (pdp 3165 and pdp 4191 to 4196). Sarah Crease, Diary, August 1877, Crease Collection.

<sup>33</sup>See Josephine and Susan Crease, Diaries, various dates, Crease Collection.

<sup>34</sup>Josephine Crease, Diary, 13 October 1883, Crease Collection.

<sup>35</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 25 October 1886, Crease Collection.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 25 October 1887, Crease Collection.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 13 October 1893, Crease Collection.

<sup>38</sup>Sarah Crease Letterbooks, 1863-1915, and Correspondence Inward, 1860-1922, Crease Collection.

<sup>39</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 16 February 1880, Crease Collection.

<sup>40</sup>Colonist, 12 December 1922.

<sup>41</sup>Membership list, 1899, Women's Auxiliary Royal Jubilee Hospital, 1899-1901, PABC.

<sup>42</sup>Sarah Crease, Diary, 20 November 1878, Crease Collection.

<sup>43</sup>Colonist, 12 December 1922.

<sup>44</sup>See Arthur Fellows Collection, Bruce Castle Museum, Tottenham for a proliferation of correspondence and articles.

## CONCLUSION

The later years of Eleanor Fellows and Sarah Crease reveal that the strong and energetic characters which emerged in the 1860s had matured and developed. Eleanor's prolific literary output reflected not only a wide and varied education but, more importantly, illustrated a lifetime desire to contribute to society. Through publication Eleanor insured that her views on specific and varied subjects became a permanent record. Sarah Crease was also determined to make a mark on the world, to improve and uplift conditions for others. Because her written records were personal rather than public, the evidence is more intimate and fragmented. Particular views and opinions are evident only by examining a large body of material produced over a lifetime.

The artistic records, so prolific during the 1860s declined, although both women continued to be involved with art and artistic endeavours. In retrospect, the art of Crease and Fellows, produced at a time when settlement was sparse and educational and cultural institutions undeveloped, is important as the forerunner of the strong artistic tradition that was to follow in the 1880s and 1890s among the next generation of pioneer families. Sarah Crease especially, instilled in her family a love of

art which they transferred to others. With the exception of Arthur, all the children sketched, were given professional instruction, and advocated and promoted artistic development within their community. Most notable was Josephine Crease who was a founding member of the Island Arts and Crafts Society, established in 1909, a rather conservative organization that promoted the British landscape tradition advocated years earlier by Sarah Crease and Eleanor Fellows.

The women's impact as artists within the colonies is hard to judge because, unlike Eleanor's public performances as a singer that were reported and discussed in the local newspapers, their artistic endeavours were not recorded. Newspapers are filled with the accounts of professional artists but no mention is made of the amateur. It is unlikely that either woman would have taken part in a public showing of art because it would have been considered immodest and unbecoming for a woman to exhibit publicly. Contributions made by Sarah to the London International Exposition were acknowledged only as the work of a colonial amateur. This anonymity seems to have been the accepted fashion for the public exhibition of women's art.

While Sarah passed on her artistic skills to members of her family, Eleanor transferred a love of writing to

hers. Arthur Jr. in particular appears to have been influenced by his mother in both his preoccupation with the development of penny postage and his contributions to the newspaper in the form of letters and special articles.<sup>1</sup> She also passed on her love of the "Far West" as she called it. Arthur Jr. came to reside in Victoria for several years after the turn of the century, and both Mary and Caroline visited in 1909-10. Caroline also wrote biographical excerpts for publication in The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island in which she enthusiastically reported her mother's interest and fondness for the Far West.

As a generalization, the records of Eleanor Fellows and Sarah Crease are important because they were created from the nineteenth century perspective of wives and mothers whose views focussed upon the home rather than upon a business or government as did most of their male counterparts. In this sense they provide a unique viewpoint for historical study as previous studies of colonial Vancouver Island and British Columbia have relied primarily on the records of male colonists. The women's records provide details of colonial society from the viewpoint of middle class women, and also reveal the personalities of these two women who underwent enormous changes in lifestyle and expectations upon their arrival in the colonies.

Both women emerged from an upper middle class background and their social position carried with it a number of social pretensions and assumptions that were natural in Britain but had to be re-evaluated in the colonial setting. Their ability to re-evaluate and then act accordingly was proportional to the degree to which they settled into colonial life. Both women appear to have accepted the challenges and unfamiliarity of colonial life, a testimony to the type of people they were. In fact, the overwhelming attitude perceived from their records is positive. They were inexperienced, unaccustomed, and overwhelmed in their new situation, yet they chose to view things positively, never letting the negative aspects overcome their optimism.

Not all women in nineteenth century Britain could have been transplanted successfully into the colonies. Indeed, many male colonists had wives and families at home in Britain from whom they were separated for years at a time. Financial costs for the journey to the colonies were prohibitive but not impossible. It appears rather, that many women lacked the desire to emigrate and thus had to endure separation from loved ones for so long as was necessary to convince them to come out or for the colonists to return home. It is apparent that both Crease and Fellows were atypical in that they were willing to

emigrate and once in the colonies appear to have settled in to the new life. "...Not everyone was suited for taking up life in a frontier settlement. Youth, health, adaptability, and a willingness to work hard were what counted in the successful settler; genteel accomplishments could be dispensed with, and usually were."<sup>2</sup>

There were few white women in the colonies and even though the general population increased dramatically with the gold rushes, most newcomers were men. The ratio of one hundred white men to every one white woman has been cited as typical of the early 1860s. This situation had not changed when the Crease and Fellows families arrived. Apart from the handful of women who had emigrated in connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, the majority of female arrivals came either with husbands or their families and were of the middle class. In time, the total number of women and children in the colonies increased yet there was no corresponding influx of the lower classes. In short, there were no domestics for hire. This situation was not relieved until the arrival of the "bride ships" most notably the Tynemouth in 1862, which brought single women, mostly of the working class, to Victoria.

The situation of women in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia was the reversal of the other British colonies which had been settled earlier, at a time

when emigration was an option for the distressed and poor. Thus in most colonies there was already a base of domestics and servants quite familiar with colonial life when the middle class women emigrated.

Here was one obvious challenge for Sarah Crease and Eleanor Fellows. It meant casting aside all views regarding distribution of labour and household chores. As there was little or no experienced domestic help available, the few Indian or Chinese people willing to be so employed had to be trained. Language barriers created communication problems and the demands of family and the lack of labour saving devices (let alone help), created a burden of labour not normally experienced by middle class English gentlewomen. One historian<sup>3</sup> has postulated that emigration west threatened the idea of domesticity of women because, due to a lack of manufactured goods and marketplaces, women regained an economic importance because they, (like all family members) had to work to feed, clothe, and protect themselves. In the cases of Crease and Fellows they appear to have viewed things not as a threat, but as a challenge to their resources, however inconvenient and hard it was.

The shortage of white women forced an interaction between women, who in Britain may not have mixed with each other because of different social or financial

backgrounds. These white women did have a common connection, in the fact of their emigration. Each had left behind family and friends and were deposited in a strange and foreign land, and each experienced the same problems of homesickness and less than familiar living conditions. The small communities of Victoria and New Westminster strove to preserve what they could of their cultural traditions and perspectives in order to feel more at home in this distant land. Outward conventions such as government and education were maintained, but more importantly, attitudes and viewpoints were also preserved. Most obvious in the records of both Crease and Fellows is the paternalistic attitude with which they viewed the Indians and Chinese. They spoke of these people as childlike and naive, needing the influence and guidance of their white superiors.

Although servants were certainly a necessity for families with young children, especially when the wife was unused to colonial life, they functioned not just to lighten the load of domestic chores, but to increase the amount of leisure time for the wife or mother. Leisure may have been used as a time for creative expression in art or writing or through social interaction with peers. In these ways the women found a way to retain some of the pleasures of life as they used to know it. It is obvious

from the extent of their records that both Crease and Fellows spent a large percentage of their leisure time in creative expression. Sarah Crease had the full support of husband Henry in regards to her artwork as he, too, was an avid amateur artist. In fact, this common interest was one of the first bonds between them. Sarah wrote:

You know how I have told you before, that I fell in love with your drawings.... I read in them a character which I was sure I could not help loving. They were free, bold and manly, with a tenderness and refinement which quickly found a way to my heart and made me think that he who executed them had a soul which I could deeply love and honour.<sup>4</sup>

Although evidence does not indicate that Arthur Fellows sketched, he certainly knew many professional artists in Victoria and often entertained them at home. This indicates an acceptance of their profession and by extension perhaps an approval of Eleanor's interest in art.

Writing was another priority of leisure. The physical act of writing and expressing their innermost thoughts was a tonic for homesickness. The desire to share the newness and uncertainty of colonial life with family and friends in letters was important for both Crease and Fellows, a phenomenon not uncommon for most women. Again, restraints imposed by domestic responsibilities and insufficient leisure time curtailed many opportunities. Women on the frontier of the United States experienced the same

conflict. "I could have written a great deal more if I had the opportunity. Sometimes I would not get a chance to write for two or three days, and then would have to rise in the night when my babe and all hands were asleep, light a candle and write."<sup>5</sup>

The large amounts of time spent on domestic life were counteracted by the organization of benevolent societies and church women's groups, that provided "the opportunity for leadership, community work, and sisterhood which isolated domestic life might otherwise have denied them."<sup>6</sup> Sarah Crease was active in church organizations while Eleanor Fellows acted, for example, on "a committee of female infirmary," which collected donations on behalf of the women recently arrived on the "bride ships," and was one of four women who "gave temporary accommodation to some of the governesses and the sick."<sup>7</sup>

Throughout their records Crease and Fellows constantly reveal the differences between colonial life and that in Britain. The art and writings reinforce themes of not only domestic responsibilities and those of isolation and distance from loved ones, but of the wild and untamed nature of the land, the smallness and intimacy of the white community, and the education and expansion of their facilities brought upon by this situation. To a limited degree, they also reveal the variables of their personal

success in the colonies. Each woman had her own personal goals and aspirations, but her general circumstances were largely dependant upon the role and position of her husband. Here lies the real difference between the ultimate acceptance of the women into colonial society.

Emigration was seen as an opportunity for financial improvement in a setting that allowed greater social mobility than Britain. Arthur Fellows established a business that thrived over the decade of the 1860s, and if he had remained in the colonies, he would, no doubt, have continued a successful mercantile career. His peer, R.P. Rithet, eventually rose in stature to become one of the most influential businessmen in Victoria and the founder of a socially prominent family. Unfortunately the Fellows left the colony before they had been there long enough to establish themselves as prominent citizens. The potential was there, given Arthur's business success and Eleanor's social background. If the Fellows had viewed their residency in the colony as a permanent position they may have been more generally accepted, but a line between those seeking quick financial gain and those who planned to remain and establish their families in the colony appears to have been drawn. Social interaction was common amongst the potential permanent residents, more so than between this group and the short term residents.

The Creases on the other hand came to the colonies knowing that this would be their future home. They were here to stay and this attitude may have been responsible for the selection of Henry Crease for a prominent role in colonial government as he was viewed as someone who would be there for the duration. The visible position of Henry Crease as Attorney General and member of the Legislative Council forced Sarah into the spotlight, ensuring a prominancy in social life, unlike Eleanor Fellows who was merely the wife of a businessman (however successful) who had made no permanent commitment to the colony.

Examination of both the public and private records of Crease and Fellows reveals an important fact. They were created by the women as a conscious decision to document themselves. In this respect they differed from many other women of their time whose views were equally opinionated but were never recorded. Both the written and pictorial records were created not only for the women but with the intention that others would utilize them. Each woman made a conscious decision to retain the records past their current usage, for future viewing by themselves or others. In general, the diaries, correspondence, and visual records created by other women that have survived, are fragmentary and incomplete; they are extant largely by luck rather than because of individual efforts at

preservation. The records of Crease and Fellows are voluminous in comparison and stand as permanent testimony to the creators who passed on to their descendants a belief that such records should be retained.

The written and artistic records of Crease and Fellows after the 1860s are not as prolific or thorough as for the earlier period, an interesting phenomenon when one considers that the 1860s were the busiest time in terms of raising children, dealing with primitive living conditions, and adjusting to a new environment. This flowering may be attributed to the enthusiasm and vigour of life in the colonies or to a realization that their presence at the particular time and place was significant in terms of history--and thus the decision to create and maintain extensive records.

Because parallel records for other women in the colonies are not available, it is impossible to say how well Crease and Fellows reflected the attitudes and opinions of women in the colonies. The fact that their records show similar preoccupations with themes such as domestic life and reaction to the environment indicates a common perspective which must have been similar to other women at the time. Their primary importance then is not in how representative they were of all women in the colonies but rather in how the similarities in recorded

information provide a different viewpoint than that of earlier historical studies which have relied primarily on the records of men.

## CONCLUSION

<sup>1</sup>See Arthur Fellows Jr. Papers, Bruce Castle Museum, Tottenham for a proliferation of correspondence and articles.

<sup>2</sup>Susan Jackel, ed., A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup>Julie Roy Jeffrey, Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979).

<sup>4</sup>Sarah Crease to Henry Crease, 27 July 1888, Crease Collection.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted in Jeffrey, Frontier Women, p. 26, an account by Elizabeth Geer, a woman from Indiana.

<sup>6</sup>Beth Light and Alison Prentice, ed., Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980), p. 182.

<sup>7</sup>Edward Cridge to James Douglas, 14 July 1863, Cridge Collection, PABC.

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Two Victorian Gentlewomen in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia: Eleanor Hill Fellows and Sarah Lindley Crease

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