

"Roughing It in the Bush" in British Columbia: Mary Moody's Pioneer Life in New Westminster 1859-1863

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In the Provincial Archives of British Columbia are letters written by Mary Moody, wife of Colonel R.C. Moody, while she was in British Columbia from 1859-1863.¹ Her use of the term "roughing it in the bush" to describe her life on the goldrush frontier was intriguing because Susanna Moodie, who was no relation to Mary, had written a widely read account of her experiences in the 1830s in Upper Canada. That book, now a Canadian standard reference on female settlement, included Susanna Moodie's advice to middle class British families. She warned them against "shipwrecking all their hopes, by going to reside in the backwoods of Canada."² Mary Moody, who seems to have read *Roughing It in the Bush* while she lived in England, still went to British North America with her husband and four small children. Mary Moody's experience as a gentlewoman in British Columbia could be called privileged pioneering, yet in some ways her letters also cast a light upon female settlement in British Columbia in general. Her everyday activities were conditioned more by the Pacific frontier than by her gentility.

Mary Moody's letters about her experiences on the goldrush frontier of British Columbia are similar in many ways to writing done by pioneer gentlewomen elsewhere in North America. Her letters seem most closely related to the autobiographical sketches of Susanna Moodie, although the latter were fictionalized accounts written in hindsight about the 1830s and published in 1852. While Susanna Moodie concluded that to "the poor, industrious working man [Canada presented] many advantages; to the poor gentleman, none!"³ Mary Moody was not so overcome. Like Susanna Moodie, she came from a middle class background but hers was a more positive outlook on emigration and pioneer settlement. Perhaps this was because she regarded herself as higher in status, or as being prepared for adventure as a result of earlier foreign service: she had travelled on mountain

climbing expeditions in the Alps, she had borne children and kept house in the Crimea. Furthermore, her husband was a career officer of high status in this posting to British Columbia where the weather and living conditions did not resemble being a stump farmer in Upper Canada. Probably Susanna's book lessened the shock, too.

Mary Moody obviously compared her own experiences to those about which she had read in *Roughing It in the Bush*. That book coloured her views of the whole experience of going to the Pacific. For example, en route there she described a Mrs. W.D. Gosset as "rather *uppish*, a fine lady not fitted for roughing it" but she conceded that the woman had not been well so she might yet "shine in the bush".⁴ By November 7, 1859, she could write home regarding the fine dinner she provided Judge Matthew Begbie: "roughing it in the bush is not such very hard work."⁵ Her reports from her home at New Westminster included the occasional ball: "our new mode of roughing it in the Bush"; as well as her call on a Canadian family settled in the "Forest Primeval" where they were really "roughing it in the Bush."⁶

Mary Moody's upbringing and her life as a military officer's wife influenced her expectations of life in British Columbia. She was born in 1829 in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England. She was the eldest of the three daughters of Mary Boyd Hawks and Joseph Hawks, a banker. Her parents cultivated business, social and clerical connections in northern England. Joseph Hawks' banking concerns had prospered in the 1830s and 1840s so that he moved his family from a house in Central Newcastle to Ryehill House in Western Newcastle, and then to a suburban estate, Jesmond House, in the picturesque district of the same name. There Mary Boyd Hawks supervised the instruction of her daughters in penmanship, literature, riding and household management. A term at ladies' school finished their education with instruction on deportment and in foreign languages. Young Mary and Emily learned about the care of invalids, too, because their sister, Juliana, was crippled in her youth.

In 1852, twenty-three year old Mary Susannah Hawks married thirty-nine year old Captain Richard Clement Moody, Commanding Royal Engineer at Newcastle-on-Tyne, who had already been a governor in the Falkland Islands in the 1840s.⁷ Though Mary's marriage to such a man portended separation from her family, it met with their approval. Her banker father saw this alliance with a commissioned gentleman, whose brothers were also career military men, as an advancement of the Hawks family fortunes. Captain Moody's concern for his widowed mother and spinster sisters also impressed the bride's parents. His religiosity accorded well with their clerical Boyd relations.

After their marriage, the Moodys maintained close ties with the Hawks family. They wrote them long descriptive letters from their wedding tour to France, Germany and the Swiss Alps. The Moody's first child, Josephine, or "Zeffie", was born in 1853 in the home of her maternal grandparents. Emily Hawks went to Malta with her sister when Richard was appointed executive officer there during the Crimean War. The birth of Mary's second child, Richard, delighted his grandparents, who longed to have the Moodys return. Mary was homesick and she worried over the effect of the Maltese climate on

her husband and children, but she resolved to "make the best of it", since, as Richard said, he was "chained to this Rock and Colonel Thompson's ungenerous petty childish disposition."⁸ The Moodys did not go back to Newcastle until Richard contracted a local fever and was sent home to recuperate. His next posting, to Edinburgh as Commanding Royal Engineer, meant that the birth of Charles and then Walter could occasion family visits. The Hawks could also bask in the prestige of R.C. Moody's preparation of a restoration scheme for Edinburgh Castle which drew favorable attention from the Queen and Prince Albert. In 1858, Richard was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the new gold colony of British Columbia where he was also to command the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers who were being sent out to assist its governor, James Douglas.

Although her middle daughter, Juliana, died in August, 1858, Mary Moody was en route to British Columbia in the autumn of 1858. Her letters home, suitably edged in black, are filled with concern for her family's spirits, as well as diverting tidbits about the Moody's reception in New York and San Francisco, and notes on the children's health and activities. After Christmas, 1858, Mary Moody and her children settled in temporary quarters at Victoria on the colony of Vancouver Island. She regaled her parents with details of Colonel Moody's prospects in the mainland colony of British Columbia and copied out for them a long letter he wrote to a friend in the Colonial Office describing his first impressions of the gold colony.⁹

Through the spring and summer of 1859, while her husband and the Royal Engineers surveyed and established both their camp and the capital city of British Columbia, Mary Moody looked forward to going to Queenborough, or, as it was soon retitled, New Westminster.¹⁰ Life there would be perhaps lonely, inconvenient or even difficult. However, she cheered herself and her parents with comments on the support she would receive from Richard and his staff, and the attendance of the servant couple she had brought with her. She also had with her, or was having sent out to the colony, all manner of material comforts on the advice of Richard's brother, Hampden Clement Moody, and other Royal Engineers who had been stationed in British North America.¹¹ But before she had to journey across the Straits of Georgia, Mary Moody reported a kind reception by the military officers, colonial servants and clergy already stationed at Victoria. Though Mary Moody did complain about the scarcity of servants, the expense of food, and the Governor's slowness in arranging for completion of her new home, her optimism about the family's venture remained. She wrote on March 21, 1859: "I am quite looking forward to "flitting" up to Queenborough, I quite enjoy the idea of "roughing it in the bush" and we have the whole of the summer before us, so we sh. do very well. I hope by winter we shall be luxuriously comfortable."¹²

In 1859, Mary Moody seems to have expected that Douglas would resign from his governorship of the mainland so that her husband could become British Columbia's chief officer. The prospect of becoming the governor's lady sustained her while she moved her household to the tent city on the mainland in the spring and back to Victoria in the summer, hosted numerous

visitors, copied official correspondence for her husband, and coped with the illness occasioned by the onset of her fifth pregnancy.¹³

When, in autumn of 1859, the Royal Engineers Camp and her new house were ready, the Moody family finally settled into New Westminster. Being in 'Government House' involved difficulties as well as romance and prestige. Uncertainties about her husband's office aggravated her problems in managing her household. For several years Mary could not be certain whether to provision it or not. The commissions her husband held as Commanding Royal Engineer of the Columbia Detachment and as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the mainland colony had specified that he was to remain in the colony one year from the date of his arrival.¹⁴ But, the 1859 boundary crisis over the San Juan Islands meant that the Colonial Office did not withdraw the Royal Engineers from British Columbia. Its officials did not, however, hurry to inform the colony.¹⁵

The indefiniteness of Colonel Moody's office in British Columbia contributed to his strained relations with Governor James Douglas. Initially, despite the ambiguity of Moody's triple assignment and Douglas' dual governorships, the two men seem to have gotten along well.¹⁶ Douglas' attitude to Moody deteriorated once the Colonial Secretary explained to him the dormant nature of Moody's commission as lieutenant-governor.¹⁷ The fractious relationship between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody burdened Mrs. Moody socially and politically at 'Government House' in New Westminster. She could not at first be sure even that that house was *her* home. The Governor treated it as *his* official residence on his trips to British Columbia, staying there "as a matter of course", which Mary Moody regarded as "a nuisance".¹⁸ Not until May 1861 did he rent a house in New Westminster.¹⁹ Mary Moody had to evacuate her parlour to accommodate extra guests. When Lady Franklin and her niece, Sophia Cracroft, visited New Westminster in March 1861 they were "most kindly welcomed" by the Moodys though they were already hosting Governor Douglas. However, Mary delighted in the prestige of this visit so much that she even went to the Governor's official dinner at a hotel in the town.²⁰

Lady Franklin's niece commented on some of the strains in Mary Moody's domestic life. She, like other officials' wives in the frontier capital, had to "be her own head nurse, if not *sole* nurse", though with some assistance from a governess. "[A]ll the ladies here [take] it for granted that they must do without servants or at least *may* have to do so."²¹ Sophia Cracroft pitied "the ladies" of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, "as they must absolutely & unreservedly devote themselves to the smallest cares of everyday life-- at any rate they must *expect* to have their hands so filled day by day & be prepared for the worst."²²

Mary Moody, despite her privileged public position, experienced difficulties common to pioneer women. While the realities have often been confided to diaries by women, Moody's documents typically are assurances to her parents. As a loving daughter she censored the descriptions which she wrote home of everyday life in British Columbia. For example, she mentioned obtaining smallpox vaccine for the children as if it were a routine involved in their care. In fact, it was a critical necessity during the epidemics which

affected the colonies and particularly the large Native Indian populations of Victoria and New Westminster in the early 1860s.²³ She was frank, though, in reporting her own spells of homesickness, concern for her father's business failures, and her worries about Richard: the tensions of his roles in the colony and the strain of incessant work on his health.²⁴ Yet Mary Moody worked for her husband when she could. After Governor Douglas' economizing deprived Colonel Moody of his secretary, she considered herself "quite fitted to accept any Private Secretary-ship" for she frequently copied out "official letters for Richard all day!"²⁵

She was lonely and worried when Richard travelled to distant parts of the wilderness on official duties but she resolved to "make the best of it."²⁶ Her activities as the mother of a growing family in a frontier settlement illuminate the gravity of her resolution. When Mary Moody came to British Columbia in 1859, she already had four children under the age of six. During the next five years she bore three more, and was expecting her eighth child when she left New Westminster in November, 1863.²⁷ She had the aid of camp doctors in childbirth but Richard could do little to assist her during or after pregnancy. Household help was always at a premium; nevertheless, her letters to her parents are full of pride in her babies and pleasure in her children.

Her correspondence also reveals the state of her own health as a pioneer woman. On hearing that one elderly relative at home was keeping well, Mary commented that the relative had "never had any Colonial roughings-- Here we are all growing prematurely old."²⁸ Mary's references to toothaches while she was pregnant, constant sleepiness, and later the need "to take to Caps" when she got home, support her observation.²⁹

The children's care continually concerned Mary Moody despite the availability of military doctors and the assistance of other adults. Doctors could offer scant protection against the children's perpetual colds in the rainy coastal climate. Other than smallpox vaccinations, there was little doctors could do to protect the children from disease.³⁰ Other officials' wives, like Mrs. Grant,³¹ might help with the Moody children when they were not pregnant or confined themselves. Yet even childless Mrs. Bacon, whom Richard dubbed "Goody Two-shoes" because she was "always helping everybody", could only do so much since she did her own cooking and cleaning.³² The scarcity of domestic servants, particularly nursery staff, in the goldrush town meant that "Gentlemen" became "experienced Nurses" there, for they were "obliged to help in holding the Babies," by courtesy, or, if necessary by request.³³

Mary Moody took charge of most of her children's education. She prided herself on informal inculcation of the alphabet and spelling. She also hired a Victoria official's daughter, Jessie Nagle, as a governess. However, Nagle, who soon became engaged, made long visits to her family and fiancé in Victoria.³⁴ Mary Moody considered nursery lessons insufficient for her two oldest children, Zeffie and Dick, for they needed "good teaching". Mrs. Moody was not satisfied to have the doctor give Zeffie drawing and music lessons, or to "bribe the Archdeacon to teach Dick Latin...."³⁵

Besides watching over her own children, Mary Moody also kept in touch



PABC #2492

Mary S. Moody

The four eldest Moody children.



PABC #4060

with young British friends who came out as gentlemen adventurers to the goldrush frontier. For example, on August 16, 1859, she informed her mother of the arrival of Mr. Annandale to whom Richard had given advice and letters of introduction to people at Fort Hope. By June 4, 1860, Mary wrote that she had seen young Annandale: "He was very well & going up the country." His attempts at mining there met failure, for on November 4, 1861, Mary wrote that he "seems to be very unsettled just now." He and five other men had the contract to cut wood for the camp winter fuel supply. He was "living in the Woods, behind the Camp, chopping logs, & bringing it here for use! He will make good Wages by it..., but one wd. wish him to be more constantly employed at something better." In January, 1862, he would have died of exposure in the extremely cold winter weather had not Colonel Moody's men rescued him and paid for his treatment at the camp hospital. Mary Moody not only reported the incidents to her mother but also wrote to reassure Annandale's mother.³⁶

Mary's privileged position of chatelaine carried with it complications of finances of the goldrush frontier economy. The decline in her father's banking business in Newcastle meant that she and Richard could not rely on assistance from her parental fortunes. They were dependent on Richard's salary and the investments he made.³⁷ Also, he was contributing to the support of his widowed mother and unmarried sisters at Winchester. But the demands of daily and seasonal living were more immediate. In British Columbia from 1859 to 1863, one of Mary Moody's major domestic responsibilities was controlling the family possessions. She had had the assistance of relatives, friends, servants and soldiers in packing them to go to the colonies, and then to move from Vancouver Island to British Columbia but the Moodys lived only temporarily in the tents at the site of the new capital in the spring of 1859. Mosquitoes drove mother and children back to Victoria where they waited for their new home to be finished. On September 1, 1859, she complained "we are getting tired of living in our boxes". Once unpacked and settled at New Westminster Mary Moody had to prepare the family to move with the Colonel on official duties, or vacations, or to avoid the summer mosquito plagues. Although going to Victoria for the summer of 1861 was "comparatively an easy matter" to removing to Hope in 1860, when she had had "so many groceries &c to provide & take up", still lodgings in Victoria were "a ruinous expense."³⁸ Preparing the children's clothing meant "endless" sewing. Every new day brought "something new with it to be done which Mary Moody "had not before thought of...."³⁹

Mary Moody found provisioning her household a burdensome task, particularly her children's furnishings, and sewing notions. She relied on her parents to send boxes of such items, and on family friends, like Bishop Hills, who were coming out to British Columbia, to bring the goods she requested.⁴⁰ The irregular mail service interrupted transport of the boxes and correspondence acknowledging them.⁴¹ Furthermore, correspondence making comments on the contents of the boxes entailed long sessions at the writing table. Meanwhile, even in the capital city of the colony, ready-to-wear items and seamstresses were scarcely available. Mary made and altered so much clothing that she titled herself "a capital Manager."⁴²

Mrs. Moody, as mistress of 'Government House', could call on the Royal Engineers for orderlies or garden produce or she could hire a soldier's wife to cook for special occasions, but she herself managed the residence, particularly its kitchen and household staff. Crisis and inconvenience were not uncommon. During the extremely cold winter of 1862 the river froze, cutting off communication to Victoria, so New Westminster was threatened with famine. At other times the death of a cow or the delay of a pump threatened supplies of water.⁴³ Like other women of British Columbia, she resented the fact that Victoria was a duty free port while New Westminster was not.⁴⁴ She complained "*Everything* is so dear *here* that I find it much cheaper to get groceries from Victoria & pay the freight up here than to buy them on the spot."⁴⁵

The problem of getting and keeping household help plagued Mary Moody's work. The servant couple she brought out from Britain to Victoria left her by September 1859 to run a public house in the town.⁴⁶ Later a quarrel with her sapper servant meant that he returned to his duty and she had "a new man to teach", a plasterer by trade, "who couldn't be supposed to know how to wait &c. &c."⁴⁷ Then the "Canadian 'Help'", a local farmer's daughter who replaced vacationing governess Nagle over Christmas 1861, proved to be "very independent". Furthermore, she allowed the five children to "have pretty much of their own way" while she amused herself.⁴⁸ She would not go into the kitchen for her meals, but to Moody "the comfort of having her" was "more than the nuisance of her Company...."⁴⁹ In 1862, Mary Moody arranged through her "Cousin Lou", Louisa Twining, active in female emigration societies in England, to have a young girl sent out to help with the children and the housework, especially caring for the babies. She hoped that a young girl would be less likely to marry and also less expensive. The girl who arrived in September 1862, with the contingent sponsored by Bishop Hills' Columbia Emigration Society in cooperation with the London Female Emigration Society, was too young, too small, and incapable of sewing. She had to be replaced with an older woman.⁵⁰

In spite of her difficulties as wife, mother, and household manager, Moody could still feel kindly toward her community. She had written to her mother April 3, 1862, that "we get on so well together[in the Royal Engineers' Camp] that we..... look upon ourselves as a large family." Loyal to the duties of friendship, even during her husband's absence, her own seventh pregnancy and usual servant problems, she aided newcomers. In May 1862, Attorney General Crease and his family arrived at New Westminster to take up residence in a new house near the Camp, "before the workmen were out of it, without a Servant of *any* kind--(The one they had at Victoria having left them on the Wharf there...having changed her mind about coming out to B.C.!) " Mary Moody took the Creases and their three daughters into her own home for a fortnight. Her letters emphasize the pleasure of the 'visit', not the housework and overcrowding created by extra people.⁵¹

Optimistic, capable, coping Mary Moody, who looked back on her experience happily,⁵² was not an unusual female pioneer settler at New Westminster in the 1860s. Even the Victoria *British Colonist*, which gloried in every bit of bad news from the rival city, happily could record only one tragic

incident: the wife of a Royal Engineer murdered her children and then committed suicide.⁵³ Newspapers, memoirs, and oral traditions abound with references to competent, coping, pioneer wives and mothers.⁵⁴ Mrs. Crease held her household together through the ups and downs of the goldrush economy and the removal to Victoria necessitated by colonial politics. Mrs. Keary, the young wife of one of the soldiers who settled in New Westminster, found herself suddenly widowed, but, on her own, she started a boarding house and raised her family. Another ex-soldier's wife, Mrs. Bonson, ran a temperance hotel in competition with her husband's hostelry. Perhaps those scholars who have taken Susanna Moodie's bitter conclusions on gentlewomen's pioneer experience at face value need to make a reassessment.

Finally literary critics and historians are beginning to make more positive comments on pioneer gentlewomen's lives in North America.⁵⁵ They have pointed out how education, experience and foreknowledge did prepare gentlewomen for pioneering. Furthermore, because most of these women were wives and mothers in nineteenth century, pre-industrial families, they accepted their roles within the family and household through which they supported a husband's career and aided family fortunes by acting as secretaries and lobbyists. Able to maintain some optimism about roughing it in the bush, they endured and survived like Mary Moody and Susannah Moodie. Middle class British women settlers took hold of themselves on the unfamiliar frontier and adapted. "The sort of family that was held together by the successful pioneer wife... was [the] family pattern which produced many Canadian feminists" according to Deborah Gorham.⁵⁶

Footnotes

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1. Mary Susannah (Hawks) Moody Correspondence, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (Hereafter cited as PABC). This paper will use the name Mary Moody just as the R.C. Moody family did. All the letters are signed Mary S. Moody, however, so archival collections and footnotes refer to Mary S. Moody correspondence.
2. Susannah Moodie, *Roughing It In the Bush*, Introduction by Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962, New Canadian Library Number 31): 237. The first London edition was published by Richard Bentley in 1852 and sold in railway station book stalls. Mary S. Moody took long train trips in 1852 and 1854 and probably purchased this book en route.
3. *Ibid.*: 236.
4. Mary S. Moody, 6 December 1858.
5. Mary S. Moody, 17 November 1860.
6. *Ibid.*: 17 November 1860.
7. This biography of Mary Susannah (Hawks) Moody has been compiled from that of her husband R.C. Moody in the *Dictionary of National Biography* 1894 vol.38: 332-333; their correspondence; the records of Somerset House; British censuses; and Newcastle-on-Tyne directories.
8. Mary S. Moody to "My dearest Mamma," 19 November, 1854 MS, PABC. Mrs. Moody's letters home were intended for both her parents and sister, but were addressed independently to 'Mother' or 'Emily'. There are, however, no major textual differences in the letters to mother and sister, so subsequent references to them will be by author and date only.
9. Mary S. Moody, 18 February 1859. See also Willard E. Ireland, ed., "First Impressions: Letter of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R.E. to Arthur Blackwood, February 1, 1859," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* XV (1951), 85-107.
10. Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: a History* (Toronto: Macmillan 1958): 175. Also known as Queensborough.
11. Hampden Clement Moody, R.E., toured the Great Lakes defences in the Canadas in 1844 and was at Lower Fort Garry from 1846 to 1848. See J. Mackay Hitsman, *Safeguarding Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1967), 144; and William R. Morrison, "The Sixth Regiment of Foot at Lower Fort Garry," *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No.4 (Ottawa, 1970): 171-173.
12. Punctuation has been supplied in this and other quotations for ease of reading. In this case a period was inserted after "we sh. do very well."
13. For discussion of the Moody-Douglas relationship see Frances Woodward, "The Influence of the Royal Engineers on the Development of British Columbia," *BC Studies* No. 24 (1974-1975): 11.
14. Frances Woodward, "'Very Dear Soldiers' or 'Very Dear Laborers': the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, April 1860," *B.C. Historical News* Vol. 12 No. 1 (November 1978): 11.
15. *Ibid.*: 8-15.
16. Ormsby, *BC.*: 173.
17. Woodward "Influence of the Royal Engineers": 16.
18. Mary S. Moody, 11 February 1861.

19. Mary S. Moody, 20 May 1861.
20. Mary S. Moody, 14 March 1861.
21. Sophia Cracroft, March 12, 1861 in Dorothy B. Smith, ed., *Lady Franklin Visits the Pacific Northwest* (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1974): 66.
22. Sophia Cracroft, March 23, 1861 in Smith, *Lady Franklin*: 81.
23. Mary S. Moody, 28 June, 1863. The new baby (Margaret Moody, born 14 January 1863), had "not yet been vaccinated," but Mrs. Moody wanted to have her done and "Zeffie and Dick vaccinated again." For a description of the 1863 smallpox epidemic which reduced the native population of British Columbia "from some 60,000 persons to around 40,000," see G.P.V. Akrigg and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Chronicle 1847-1871. Gold and Colonists* (Vancouver, Discovery Press, 1977): 253. See also New Westminster *British Columbian* May 3, 1862 and April 29, 1863.
24. See for example Mary S. Moody, 7 January 1863.
25. Mary S. Moody, 16 August 1859.
26. Mary S. Moody, 12 September 1861.
27. The children of R.C. and M.S. Moody were by year of birth: 1853 Josephine (Zeffie); 1854 Richard (Dick); 1856 Charles; 1858 Walter; 1860 Susan; 1861 Mary; 1863 Margaret; 1864 Henry; 1867 Gertrude; 1868 George; 1870 Ruth and Rachel. Information supplied by Mrs. R.E. Holford, descendant of George Moody.
28. Mary S. Moody, 12 September 1861.
29. Mary S. Moody, 28 June 1863.
30. Children at the Royal Engineers Camp at New Westminster were remarkably free from childhood diseases according to Army Medical Department records for 1860, cited by the New Westminster *British Columbian*, July 1, 1863. The journal attributed the children's health to the "salubrity" of the local climate. Isolation of the community was no doubt also a factor.
31. Wife of Captain John Marshall Grant, R.E., and, like Mrs. Moody resident of British Columbia from 1859 to 1863. For a brief biography of J.M. Grant, see Dorothy B. Smith, ed., "The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, (1858-1859)," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1957-1958), "Biographical Appendix," p. 178.
32. Mary S. Moody, 11 February 1861.
33. Mary S. Moody, 4 November 1861.
34. For a brief biography of Jessie Melville Nagle, daughter of Captain J. Nagle, Harbour Master of Victoria, see Smith, *Lady Franklin Visits*: 66, note 117.
35. Mary S. Moody, 12 September 1861 and 14 November 1861. See David J. Lloyd, *Country Grammar School* [Ludlow], 1977, 141: "In 1861 R.S. Moody [Dick], aged fourteen, son of Colonel Moody of Caynham House, who had finished sixth in the school the previous summer, came first out of fifty candidates competing for places at Cheltenham College."
36. Mary S. Moody, 3 January 1862.
37. R.C. Moody to H.P.P. Crease, Private, 11 April 1860, MS. PABC. R.C. Moody made his wife a gift of the Mayfield farm, his rural lands in New Westminster district, as he was worried about the state of her father's finances.
38. Mary S. Moody, 18 June 1861.
39. Mary S. Moody, 4 June 1861.
40. Mary S. Moody, 11 February 1861.
41. Mary S. Moody, 3 April 1862.
42. Mary S. Moody, 4 June 1861.
43. Mary S. Moody, 18 February 1859 and 3 April 1862.
44. Jacqueline Kennedy, "New Westminster 1861-1869: a Disappointed

- 'Metropolis'," B.C. Historical News, Vol.2 No. 2 (February 1969): 11.
45. Mary S. Moody, 29 January 1861.
46. Mary S. Moody, 1 September 1859.
47. Mary S. Moody, 14 November 1861.
48. Mary S. Moody, 18 December 1861.
49. Mary S. Moody, 14 November 1861.
50. Mary S. Moody, 23 September 1862.
51. Mary S. Moody, 28 May 1862.
52. Mary S. Moody to Lady [Sarah] Crease, 3 December 1900. Crease Correspondence MS PABC, reference to British Columbia as the "place where we spent 5 very happy years."
53. Victoria *British Colonist* November 4, 1859, "Awful Murder and Suicide at New Westminster."
54. Margaret A. Ormsby, editor, *A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1976): 17-19. Gail Robertson interview with Rod Keary, 1981 for History 110 (Local History) Douglas College, New Westminster.
55. Marion E. Fowler, "Portraits of Susan Sibbald: Writer and Pioneer," *Ontario History* LXVI (1974), 50-64; Sandra L. Myres, "Evy Alexander: the Colonel's Lady at McDowell Arizona," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* XXIV (1974), 26-38; Tamara K. Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time", *Daedalus* Vol. 106 (Spring 1977): 57-70.
56. Deborah Gorham, "'Singing Up the Hill'" *Canadian Dimension*, June 1974: 37.

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