THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The
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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."

VOL. XI. VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY, 1947. NO. 1

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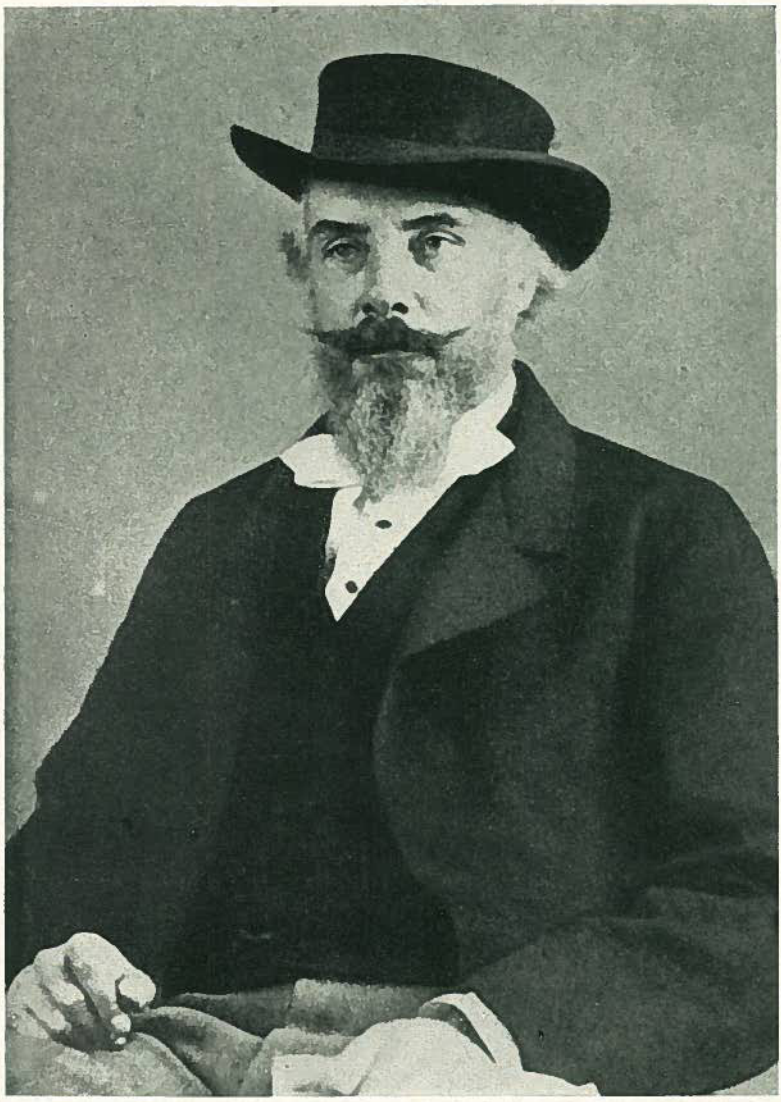

Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie shortly after his arrival in British Columbia.

"DEAR SIR MATTHEW": A GLIMPSE OF JUDGE BEGBIE.*

No record of the formative years of British Columbia can be complete without an account of the work and personality of Matthew Baillie Begbie. As Judge of the mainland colony it was his task to establish and maintain the law in the turbulent days of the gold-rush. At first there were no roads, no towns or villages, no court-houses, and no jails. He was obliged to travel as best he could, on horse-back or by wagon, sometimes on foot, passing along precipices and toiling through mountain gorges. At night he was fortunate to find shelter in a Magistrate's cabin. More often than not he slept in a small Hudson's Bay Company tent that by day had to serve as chambers. His was a vast circuit and one that grew in length, as in the successive seasons the miners pushed up the canyons to fabulous Cariboo. There were between twenty-five and thirty thousand of these adventurers in the first rush in the spring of 1858, and among them a lawless element of gamblers, claim-jumpers, and gunmen who were accustomed to scoff at the law and deride its officers. From April, through the long summer, James Douglas, Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island, held white man and Indian alike under the rule of law. After the territory had become a colony on November 19, he was able to delegate these duties to Judge Begbie, who had arrived from England on the sixteenth of the same month. It was not long before the miners came to entertain a healthy respect for the giant Judge and for the redcoats and bluejackets whom he could call to his aid if the need should arise. Fearless and incorruptible, he made his name a terror to evil-doers who, rather than face his stern and impartial justice in the Queen's court, abstained from violence or fled the country, never to return.

A talented man, Judge Begbie served the colony in many capacities beyond the line of his official duties, becoming, as it were, Governor Douglas' first lieutenant in the field. In addi-

* This is the first of a series of four articles dealing with the career of Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie.

tion to the part he played in framing the law, he drew maps, supervised the sale of town lots, and wrote reports on any subject the Governor asked him to investigate. When the colony became more peaceable and settled, and more government servants were at the Governor's disposal, the Judge was relieved of these duties and was able to devote his time to the civil litigation that began to increase in volume as the miners reached Cariboo. In the early days he had been law-maker and law-giver, and not infrequently served as counsel for the defence and prosecution at the same time. Such conditions were peculiarly suited to his disposition, which was autocratic, and to his methods, which, to say the least, were highly personal in nature. But when barristers appeared in the colony and began to plead in complicated cases, the Judge continued to act as a law unto himself and, as there was no Court of Appeal nearer than London, he generally had his way. As a result, the colony was in an uproar during the assizes; mass meetings of protest were held, and on one occasion a petition was sent to the Governor demanding the Judge's dismissal.[1] But Judge Begbie was as tough and tenacious as his bitterest enemies. When they annoyed him, he gave them a tongue-lashing they never forgot. If they went too far, and he considered that his contemptuous disregard would be taken as an acknowledgment of guilt or serious error, he would clap them in jail for contempt of court. He survived storm after storm, saw governors and governments come and go, and died in 1894 at the age of seventy-five, Chief Justice of the Province of British Columbia.

It is not unnatural that a legend should survive a man of such unusual qualities. The Begbie legend, which is still to be encountered in most parts of the Province, has many rich facets. In the Interior older residents point to trees from which they say Judge Begbie hanged a California gunman with his own hands. Such stories form the basis of the legend of the Hanging Judge. Those who have grown up in the native-son tradition denounce him as an arrogant Englishman, a bully and an ignoramus unfit to administer the law to the peaceful, respectable miners from California. Anecdotes of his grim humour and sharp repartee are still related in clubs and offices, and

(1) Victoria *Colonist*, June 28, 1866.

elderly newspapermen mimic his shrill denunciation, for, like Bismarck, his great stature was offset by a high-pitched voice.[2] In such wise the legends of the Tyrant Judge and the Eccentric Judge have come into being. In the older and still stately homes of Victoria are the survivors of a generation that knew him in his later years. He lingers in their memory as a dear friend and a great gentleman. They point with pride to the chair in which he always sat or the piano where he sang for their entertainment. As their cultivated voices take up the story of "dear Sir Matthew," it is almost possible to see him striding down the drive in his great black hat and cape, with half a dozen spaniels frisking at his heels.

As Judge Begbie sometimes remarked to his friend, Peter O'Reilly,[3] it is impossible to find people who are all of a piece. The most incongruous traits exist in the same person. We have all been surprised to find at one time or another that a person whom we know to be unbearably proud is also capable of genuine humility. The stern and ruthless are sometimes kind and generous. The intellectually gifted sometimes make colossal blunders. The Judge himself possessed many qualities that were seemingly irreconcilable. In the courts he was an autocrat of autocrats, harsh, irascible, and given to handing down the most extraordinary judgments. Yet those who knew him well all agree that he was modest, kindly, generous, and a man of rare intellect. It is small wonder then that a series of legends has grown about his memory. It is also no matter for surprise that the Begbie legends give a distorted picture of the man, for in each case they are exaggerations of one of his many contradictory qualities.

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(2) There is some difference of opinion about Judge Begbie's voice. Of those who knew him, a majority agrees that he had a high tenor voice. Another opinion is that the Judge, when excited or animated, was rather shrill, but normally spoke in rather deep tones. He is said to have sung bass in the choir of St. John's Church, Victoria, B.C.

(3) Peter O'Reilly, born in Ince, Lancashire, England, and educated in Ireland, came to British Columbia in 1859, where he resided until his death at Victoria, September 3, 1905, at the age of 77 years. In April, 1859, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and subsequently he served for many years as Stipendiary Magistrate and Gold Commissioner in the Cariboo and elsewhere in the Province. His friendship with Judge Begbie dates from Cariboo days.

When it came to appointing a man to act as Judge in the new colony, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton recognized at once that his choice must be governed by the special circumstances prevailing in that remote possession.[4] From Douglas' dispatches it was apparent that courage, integrity, and great powers of endurance would be highly necessary qualifications. To control the Indians and keep order among the miners would demand the fortitude and physical presence of a McLoughlin or a Douglas. In the gold-fields, where threats and bribes were a common resort, and where there were unusual opportunities to use official information for gain, the Judge must be a man of impeccable character. As the country was a wilderness, travel meant long journeys under the most trying conditions of climate and terrain. Professional qualifications alone, no matter how high, would not suffice to carry a man over these immense distances in the face of every hardship and danger, nor would they dissuade California toughs from resorting to gun and bowie. As Lytton said, the Judge must be a man who could, if necessary, truss a murderer up and hang him from the nearest tree.[5] In order to find a man in the legal profession would could meet these requirements, and who would be willing to take up a life of hardship and danger on the other side of the world, Lytton sought the advice of Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor-General. He recommended a struggling young barrister with whom he had read law at Lincoln's Inn fifteen years before, a Mr. Begbie, whose unusual personal qualities and love of travel and adventure admirably fitted him for the position.

There can be no doubt that Begbie created a favourable impression at his first interview. He was over 6 feet, well proportioned, and courtly in manner. A photograph taken at the time shows him wearing a jaunty, low-crowned black hat and a black jacket. Although he was only thirty-nine, his hair was white at the temples and his Van Dyke was shot with grey. His moustache was black and waxed to sharp points at the ends. His eyes were luminous. Certainly in Begbie's case looks do not

(4) Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the second Derby administration.

(5) Lindley Crease, " Sir Matthew Begbie," Victoria *Colonist*, June 19, 1938. Mr. Crease points out that Begbie referred to this statement of Lytton's and so created the legend of the " Hanging Judge."

belie character. All of the vitality and intelligence of the man, his strength and arrogance, illuminate his features. There are, too, clearly to be seen, the contradictory qualities of the churchman and the devil-may-care adventurer.

Born in the Tropics in 1819, he was the son of Colonel Thomas Stirling Begbie, 44th Foot, a veteran of the Peninsular War.[6] His mother was the daughter of General Baillie, an officer who served with distinction in the Napoleonic campaigns. On this side of the family he was related to the celebrated physician Dr. Matthew Baillie, after whom he was probably named. The Stirlings, with whom the Begbies appear to have intermarried, were also a military family. The best-known member of the Begbie family is the late Harold Begbie, widely known as the "Gentleman with a Duster." Before winning notoriety as a political writer, Begbie wrote, in addition to a large number of novels, several religious works and a biography of General Booth. The son of a Suffolk parson, Harold Begbie reminds us of the Judge, who was a good churchman and a devout Christian. It seems that most of the Begbie family were either soldiers or clergymen, a fact that brings them within the tradition that has produced its Gordons, Havelocks, and Montgomeries.

In later years Judge Begbie said that he had accepted his position gladly, and that he had never regretted doing so. Its chief attraction appears to have been the opportunities for travel and adventure that it afforded him. He once told an audience at Richfield that he could scarcely remember a time when he had not been travelling from one place to another, and that his earliest recollection of childhood was of being on board a Dutch vessel bound for Antwerp.[7] From early manhood he made it a practice to travel abroad every year, his rambles taking him to most of the countries of Europe and even to Turkey. According to Canon Arthur Beanlands, the Judge, an extremely modest man, was

(6) "A Lecture in Cariboo," Victoria *Colonist*, October 5, 1863. This lecture on "Reminiscences of European Travel" was delivered by Judge Begbie at Richfield on September 12th. He is reported to have stated that he had been born in the Tropics. There is no further evidence to support the alleged statement or to show in what part of the Tropics his birthplace was located. As a rule he is said to have been born in Edinburgh or England.

(7) *Ibid.*, October 5, 1863.

inclined to depreciate his experiences, but on occasion regaled his friends with tales that were worthy of publication.[8] There were, in addition, monetary considerations that made the offer attractive to a man in Begbie's position. He had not succeeded in gaining a footing in his profession and had secured employment as a reporter for the *Law Times*, and later, because of his efficiency, as special shorthand clerk to the Lord Chancellor.[9] To a man doing work of this kind, a judgeship at £800 *per annum* must have been highly attractive. If it is true that his brother, Thomas Stirling Begbie, had supplanted him in a lady's affections, sentiment as well as interest played a part in his acceptance.

He had gone into law, not because it attracted him greatly, but because it seemed about the best thing to do when he failed to win a lucrative appointment in his college, Peterhouse, Cambridge. For reasons for which he was entirely to blame, he disappointed and surprised his tutors by taking what was considered for him a mediocre degree when he graduated in 1841.[10] A marked aversion for taking life ruled out the services, and a letter written to Colonel Moody years later gives the impression that he held such strong views about doctrine and ritual that it might not have been possible for him to have entered the church.[11] It seems that he never cared for the law. His aptitude and preference was for mathematics, a discipline that called for abstract speculation and analysis. Law, on the other hand, was founded on statutes and precedents. It teemed with quids and quiddities that seemed to Begbie to be little more than a hopeless jumble of nonsense. He always insisted that it was a waste of time to read statutes and precedents, as they were both confusing

(8) A. B., " Some Recollections of Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, late Chief Justice of British Columbia," Victoria *The Province*, December 22, 1894. " A. B." was Canon Arthur Beanlands, a close friend of Begbie. His article has been reprinted in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 127–130.

(9) D. W. Higgins, " The Giant Judge—A Court Scene," Victoria *Colonist*, November 8, 1908.

(10) A. B., *loc cit.* Begbie read law after graduation at Lincoln's Inn between 1841 and 1844. He took his M.A. and was called to the Bar in 1844. He is said to have taken a special interest in chancery law.

(11) Begbie to Moody, November 4, 1862, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

and confused.[12] He may, of course, have been rationalizing his own personal distaste for the subject.

He was, none the less, an extremely able man. Indeed, it may be said that he was brilliant. His friend, Canon Beanlands, describes him as something of a genius, relating that at the age of three young Begbie neglected his toys to sit in a corner poring over Sanford and Merton. He was naturally the despair of his first teacher, a sergeant in his father's regiment, who was soon obliged to inform Colonel Begbie that he could teach the young prodigy no more. At this time the Colonel inherited a comfortable estate from a maternal relative which enabled him to settle his wife and family on the Island of Guernsey. The boy's mathematical ability was already so apparent that he was sent to study under a brilliant eccentric who had been senior wrangler at Cambridge. The lad's progress was so rapid that at the age of fourteen he competed for and won a senior scholarship at Elizabeth College. As he was too young to avail himself of this opportunity, he attended Guernsey College, where he won a scholarship for Peterhouse, Cambridge. He had not been long at the university before he was marked as a coming man who would emerge as senior wrangler and win a life fellowship.

Although he had set his heart on this honour, Begbie failed to come near the high place everybody expected him to take. In mathematics he came out a wrangler, it is true, but he stood too far down the list to be given the scholarship. In classics he took a second, narrowly missing a first. His undoing, of course, had been his versatility and love of life. He was an all-round athlete, a singer and musician, he drew well, and, above all, he was a *bon vivant* who became the life of many a charmed circle. He rowed for his college, and is said to have stroked the university eight. He played tennis, boxed, and went in for dramatics. He belonged to a number of clubs and societies. Of these he often spoke with pleasure, especially of a small club he founded himself.

(12) A. E. Beck, a Registrar of the Supreme Court, quotes Mr. Justice McCreight as saying that Begbie never consulted authorities. *See* A. E. Beck, "Sir Matthew Begbie: Terror of Lawbreakers of B.C. Fifty Years Ago," Vancouver *Province*, July 5, 1925; reprinted in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V. (1941), pp. 131–134. Colleagues of the late Mr. Justice McCreight say that he always insisted that Begbie did not know the law.

To qualify, all members had to be taller than he. On one occasion Begbie and his friends went to London and carried off a giant advertising sign and installed it in their rooms as an emblem of the club. In the summers, when more serious students were doing their reading, Begbie was off to the continent, where he travelled through France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, and Italy. On these journeys he spent a great deal of time in picking up languages and in making sketches of people and places that caught his fancy.

It was at Cambridge that he learned shorthand, probably for amusement, for he loved to beguile his time with puzzles, chess problems, cards, and tricks in mental arithmetic. The late Miss Kathleen O'Reilly liked to relate how the Judge would astonish bystanders on the Hudson's Bay Company wharf in Victoria by making rapid and accurate mental computations of the weight of the coal heaps there. Perhaps it was his love of the complex that led him to choose the particular system of shorthand that he used in his note-books and court records. He could not have selected a more difficult or a more cumbersome one. The first Pitman system had been published in 1835, when Begbie was a lad of sixteen, and though it was by modern standards extremely clumsy, it was simplicity itself in comparison with the Gurney system which the Judge used. Two battered note-books which he apparently carried with him on his journeys through Cariboo are preserved in the Provincial Archives. They are written entirely in shorthand. Sample transcriptions taken from separate pages contain nothing of significance. This and Beanland's comment that " he was no diarist " lead one to conclude that they will not reveal much of the Judge's inner life.

Apart from the note-books, the only personal document that has survived Begbie is his will. It is long, highly technical, and carefully designed to save his beneficiaries inconvenience and expense in obtaining their legacies. It has often been said that he was extremely considerate, and there could be no better evidence of this than the fact that on his death-bed—for his last illness was long and very painful—he should remember the misfortunes of others and make a few half-humorous, delicate gestures in memory of old friendships. Two of his bequests throw some light on a side of his life that he never allowed to

become public. It is still said of him that he was a secret giver, often helping the unfortunate with gifts of money, or, when anonymity was not possible, by other devious ways. He made one bequest to a C. F. Moore, an obscure person, it seems, who had suffered a great deal from ill fortune. The Judge left him an interest on $4,000 and the use of one of his houses, rent free, for life. Another clause made provision for a distant relative who had been residing in James Bay for some years. It is said that he supported this woman, Mary Helen Baillie, and the phrase "according to my previous arrangement with her" suggests that he had assumed some responsibility for her in the past. He willed her $25 a month for life. The will was made on March 14, 1894, but as the long Victoria spring passed into summer, it became apparent to the dying man that he had over-estimated the value of his estate and that it was necessary to make certain adjustments. Accordingly, he drew up a codicil on June 9 which modified some of his bequests and included a number of small legacies for friendship's sake. To the clergymen with whom he had been accustomed to dine on Saturday nights, he left $100 each and a case of claret or sauterne "at their choice." To Peter O'Reilly, he left two cases "at his choice." He did not forget his housekeeper and gardener, each of whom received $300. Another phrase, "to Ben Evans, my old friend, I give $100," underlines a long and peculiar friendship that caused amusement in Victoria. Evans was officially the court usher, but is remembered to-day as an unofficial philosopher and friend of the Judge. An ex-poacher from the west of England, he frequently accompanied him on his rambles over the Saanich Peninsula, carrying his gun and encouraging him to break regulations and to poach at will.

After the manner of many bachelors, Begbie formed lasting friendships with the wives and daughters of his friends. He was the best host in colonial Victoria and the most sought-after guest, partly for his wit, but chiefly for a natural *bonté* that is remembered to this day. One lady has said, "He was always kind, most considerate, and had the most charming way of doing little things for us." It was this that prompted him to set down at the end of the codicil to his will: "I wish Mrs. Crease and Mrs. Drake a dozen potted plants and a dozen roses of their choice."

In religious matters, as in the case of his generosity, the Judge was very reticent. He was a good churchman, and seemed to have favoured the evangelical movement in the Church of England. There are hints about him here and there to suggest that he was not many generations removed from the more moderate of Cromwell's followers. While he took wine in moderation, he rarely drank spirits. He wore black a great deal, was able to quote Scripture at great length, and chose many of his friends among the clergy. His bitter denunciations of excess and crime at the end of criminal trials had a puritan twang. Though autocratic and sometimes arrogant in manner, he had the inner uncertainty that is not uncommon in the puritan type. It is thus not surprising that his careful instructions for his funeral, both in the will and the codicil, bespeak a certain humility of spirit. He allowed only $200 for expenses, and directed that his grave be marked by a wooden cross bearing his name, dates, and the inscription "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner." A devoted gardener and lover of flowers, he requested that no wreaths of any kind be put on his grave.

The Judge's religious convictions did not permit him to view the world as a vale of tears and life as a period of sober preparation for another existence. As an Anglican, he saw no harm in pleasure and had no fear of happiness. It is true, of course, that his social life in Victoria seems artificial at times, that his pleasures were too carefully arranged, but that is not uncommon with those who have no home-life and must choose between long grey evenings alone and the synthetic pleasures of society.

When the long and tiresome circuits were over, Begbie went home to Victoria for a well-deserved rest. Of his first home, nothing is known to-day. It is the house in which he died in 1894 which lingers happily in the memory of the older Victorians. In those days it was located on the north-eastern limits of the city, a district which became fashionable at the turn of the century. It was a bungalow of moderate proportions, standing in spacious grounds on the slight elevation where Collinson and Cook Streets now intersect. In the distance were the sea and the Olympic Mountains, of which he had an unimpeded view across the Fairfield marshes. It was here that he and Ben Evans shot duck in violation of the city by-laws. The Judge was an

enthusiastic gardener and employed a man full time to attend to his lawns and flower-beds. There were two grass tennis-courts, and a stretch of lawn planted with seeds that he had collected in the Interior. There were fruit-trees, holly for Christmas, as he said, and the finest display of roses in the city.

Best remembered are the tennis parties. Clad in spotless white and wearing a black velvet jacket, Sir Matthew conducted the ritual of what came to be known as "Tuesday Tennis." With decorum and considerable tact he appointed partners and arranged the games. As a rule he partnered the weakest player in the first set and then, having found an equally chivalrous substitute, conducted his guests about the garden on little conversational tours to the various points of interest. When cherries were in season, he arranged with his Chinese servant to pick a quantity and arrange them on the branches of a near-by bush so that they would be within the reach of all that wanted them.

There were, also, social occasions in which the ladies had no part. These were the Saturday night dinner parties. As a rule the Judge invited a number of clergymen for early dinner and a couple of hours' conversation over the port.[13] He appears to have controlled the conversation much as he directed the tennis, drawing out each of the guests at the right time and on the proper subject. Jenns was an enthusiastic amateur astronomer, and all of them appear to have been interested in literature and history. The Judge, having a good memory, quoted at length and without error from his favourite poets, Horace, Milton, and Shakespeare. He had no use for contemporary poetry, saying that it had no depth, and passed scathing remarks about Charles Dickens, whom he considered to represent the worst features of democracy.[14]

At nine, or thereabouts, the clergymen departed to their sermons, making way for lay friends and old companions of the upper country like Peter O'Reilly. The rest of the evening was spent at cards. The Judge excelled at whist, which was then as popular as bridge to-day. According to Lady Dufferin, who met him on her visit to the West, he was the best player in British

(13) Canon Arthur Beanlands, Archdeacon Austin Scriven, and the Reverend P. Jenns.

(14) A. B., *loc. cit.*

Columbia. She gave a charming sketch of Begbie in her journal, describing an occasion when he played very poorly indeed:—

> Chief Justice Sir Matthew Begbie dined with us. He is a very big man, very amusing, and *the* whist-player of British Columbia; however on this occasion D. and I beat him thoroughly. His mind was, I suppose, distracted, for I found afterwards that he had planned to serenade us, and had arranged for some young ladies to come up at 9:30 to sing with him at our windows; so he was all the time listening for the sound of wheels, while he was attending to the trumps with his eyes. At last D., who had just gone away to do some business, heard voices in the garden, and with well feigned astonishment rushed in to tell me. We brought the singers in, and gave them tea.[15]

As the country grew and prospered, his tasks became less arduous, and he was able to spend more time in his Victoria, which he declared to friends to be the most beautiful town in the world. Rumours of his secret giving began to spread abroad. Oscar Bass, who used to distribute the Judge's anonymous gifts forgot his pledges to secrecy and related acts of generosity that an earlier generation would not have believed of the Hanging Judge. He never quite lost his faculty for rendering decisions unacceptable to the entire community. In 1885, when there was a great deal of opposition to the influx of Chinese labour into the Victoria district, he was perhaps the only resident who did not object to them. He extolled their virtues and proved to his own satisfaction, at least, by the most devious arguments, that they would not affect the local labour market, and refused to hear a word against them.[16] But the pioneers, remembering that the Judge had shared their hardships and adventures, had come to regard him as one of themselves. Such associations led them to take a pride in the eccentric giant, and stories of his courage and wit grew slowly into legend. Like Mr. Chips, he had become a member of a very large family. At dances and picnics and at more intimate family gatherings he was the presiding spirit. In the Provincial Archives there is a photograph of a wedding group, taken after the marriage of James Douglas' daughter Martha. Sir Matthew, clad in his customary black, looms head

(15) Hariot Georgina, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *My Canadian Journal 1872–'78 . . .* , New York, 1891, p. 276. The entry was for Thursday, August 17, 1876.

(16) Victoria *Colonist*, March 15, 1882.

and shoulders above the rest of the party, and with his white hair and beard looks like Zeus himself on a friendly visit.

On Sunday mornings Sir Matthew attended service at St. John's Church, then located on the present site of the Hudson's Bay store. As his legs were too long to afford him comfort in the choir stalls, he sat in a special chair at the end nearest the lectern, and when he rose to read the lesson, people wondered whether his body would ever stop going up. He read beautifully, without accent or affectation. In singing, however, he was not so successful. He had been trained in Italy, and as he grew older it became his conceit that choir and congregation depended on him for leadership. But the organist, whom the others followed, poured forth his praise at a more rapid tempo, with the result that the Judge's song followed the rest in delayed obbligato.

After morning service it was part of his social ritual to go to the O'Reillys for lunch, where he talked at great length about the latest novels, Ireland, horses, and the old days of the gold-rush. A connoisseur of food and cooking, the Judge always complained that his Chinese cook could never make rice pudding to his taste and showed Mrs. O'Reilly just how it should be done. For eleven years he never failed to enjoy this Sunday dessert, and generally had a second helping. But as he approached his seventy-fifth year, he grew thinner and his appetite waned. He could no longer take dessert at all, and his increasing absence from social gatherings confirmed the report that he had cancer. He refused an operation and rejected drugs, saying that he could not endure the thought of dulling his mind. But it was hard to keep his mind clear as the cancer spread. The pain became very severe, and, as he told Miss Agnes McKay, it blotted out the present and all memory of the past. As the summer of 1894 drew on, he took to his bed. In June friends began to sit with him at night. On the night of June 10 he said to Peter O'Reilly, "You must leave me alone to-night, O'Reilly. I must make my peace with God."

His memory lives on to this day at Pentrelew, the residence of the Crease family.[17] Pentrelew is a long, two-storied build-

(17) Sir Henry Pering Pellew Crease was born near Plymouth, England, August 20, 1823. He received his B.A. degree from Cambridge in 1846, and while Begbie was at that time also in attendance at the University, the two

ing set in spacious grounds on Fort Street, at the southern boundary of the old Dunsmuir estate. It is one of the last outposts of the colonial period. It is English in atmosphere and suggests the world that Trollope described and Tennyson knew. The drawing-room is not much changed since Sir Matthew's day, and a fire burns in the same grate where he stretched and warmed his long legs on winter evenings. He sometimes announced his arrival by beating on the door with his fists and calling out in a torrent of Chinook. For many years, says Miss Crease, he spoke of England " as if it were just outside the door," but toward the end of his life spoke of British Columbia as home. Though he would never have admitted it, Judge Begbie had become a Canadian.

SYDNEY G. PETTIT.

VICTORIA, B.C.

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were not acquainted. For a time Sir Henry lived in Upper Canada. He arrived at Victoria, December 15, 1858, and three days later was called to the Bar of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia, thus becoming the first qualified barrister in British Columbia. In October, 1861, he became Attorney-General of the mainland colony. He became a Judge of the Supreme Court on May 13, 1870, and upon his retirement in 1896 he was knighted. He died in Victoria, February 27, 1905.

THE SEA-OTTER IN HISTORY.*

The sea-otter placed Vancouver Island on the map of the world. The coast of what is now British Columbia was a no-man's land until the sailors under Captain James Cook's command took otter skins from Nootka to Canton in 1779, and thereby made known the fact that such valuable fur could be obtained in these parts. The publication, in 1784, of the book giving an account of Cook's last voyage advertised that fact in Europe and America. This brought numerous traders to the coast, and led shortly afterward to the maritime survey of the region by Captain George Vancouver.

The most valuable of all fur-bearing animals is known to scientists as *Enhydra lutris*. The name is suggestive of *Lutra canadensis*, the land-otter. Indeed, they resemble each other. The land-otter is 40 to 45 inches long, it is a lithe-bodied carnivore of weasel-like form with completely webbed feet and a long tail. It has a small head like a cat. The fur is glossy brown. The pelt of the land-otter is worth a mere fraction of that of the sea-otter; however, it was one of the staple furs of the Russians in Alaska.

To zoologists the southern sea-otter is known as *Enhydra lutris nereis*, while the northern variety is named *Enhydra lutris lutris*. The range of these two varieties has never been determined. The sea-otter measures from 4 to 5 feet in length, and weighs as much as 80 pounds. The head is round, with small ears; the eyes are black and beady; the whiskers are white like those of a cat, but stiffer. The teeth are strong. The tail is flattish, 12 inches long, 2½ inches wide, and an inch thick; it is rigid, and is used as a rudder when the otter is swimming.

The fur consists of hairs an inch to an inch and a half long that are dense, soft, and silky. This fur has to be felt to be appreciated. The Makah Indians, near Cape Flattery, use the

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* The substance of an address delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, September 23, 1946.

word *titcak* for velvet and for otter skin.[1] The best skins are obtained in northern waters; their colour is dark brown to black. Silvery hairs are distributed evenly about three-quarters of an inch apart. The skin is loose, like that on the neck of a young dog, so that it stretches to a foot more than the length of the live animal.[2]

The limbs, fore and aft, are remarkably different in structure. The front feet are short and thick, with toes that are short but prehensile. The otter is skilful in using these paws, which serve, like hands, to hold the young and to break shell-fish for food. The hind limbs are longer; at the extremities they are flattened and expanded like flippers. The toes lack muscular power, and the animal can not place its webbed hind feet flat on the ground because, when it tries to walk, the toes are doubled under so that it seems to be moving on its knees.[3] When on shore the otter moves its feet alternately, but when in a hurry it draws the hind limbs under the body and makes quick short jumps. At such times the flippers suffer hurt and abrasion. The otter therefore is essentially a marine animal. Its home is amid the floating kelp. It loves the rocks and a rocky bottom, avoiding both mud and sand.

The cry of the otter is like that of a cat, but harsher. When a mother otter is being chased, her position is betrayed by the mewing of the pup. The female has only one pup at a time, and she does not produce one every year. This slow rate of reproduction has hastened the extermination of the animal. The flesh of the otter has been eaten by savages, such as the Ainu and Aleuts, but most people find it decidedly unpalatable.

The colour of the sea-otter's fur is described variously; in the northern waters it is undoubtedly darker than in the south. Probably when wet the fur looks darker than it really is, but one can not ignore the testimony of several competent observers that

(1) Erna Gunther, " A Preliminary Report on the Zoological Knowledge of the Makah," *in* Robert H. Lowie, (*ed.*), *Essays in Anthropology in Honour of Alfred Louis Kroebler*, Berkeley, 1936, p. 114.

(2) Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941, p. 4.

(3) H. J. Snow, *In Forbidden Seas: Recollections of Sea-Otter Hunting in the Kurils*, London, 1910, p. 275.

sometimes it is jet black. Meares says so,[4] and Jewitt likewise.[5] The best authority is H. J. Snow, who spent twenty years in hunting the otter. He says that " near the roots the fur is of a lustrous pearly whitish colour, darkening towards the outside to black in the best skins." Again, he says, " the finest skins are black."[6] He mentions one that was " perfectly white,"[7] probably an albino. Captain Cook described a typical specimen the fur of which was " glossy black," but the face, throat, and breast were of " a yellowish white, or very light brown colour."[8] The hair of the head and neck is always of lighter tint than that of the body; this gives the otter a queer appearance. An otter was killed by an Indian at Kyuquot, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, in 1930. The skin was confiscated and is now in the Provincial Museum. This fur is light brown.

The habitat of the sea-otter extended originally from Northern Japan to Lower California in a sweeping curve along the Kuril Islands, the Commander group, the Aleutian archipelago, and southward along the Alaskan and British Columbian coasts.

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(4) " The young cubs of a few months old, are covered with a long, coarse, white hair, which protects the fine down that lies beneath it.—The natives often pluck off this coarse hair, when the lower fur appears of a beautiful brown colour and velvet appearance. As they increase in age this long hair falls off, and the fur becomes blackish, but still remains short.—When the animal is full grown, it becomes of a jet black, and increases in beauty; the fur then thickens, and is thinly sprinkled with white hairs.—When they are past their state of perfection, and verge towards old age, their skin changes into a dark-brown, dingy colour, and, of course, proportionately diminishes in value." John Meares, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America*, London, 1790, p. 242.

(5) " The sea-otter is nearly five feet in length, exclusive of the tail, which is about twelve inches, and is very thick and broad where it joins the body, but gradually tapers to the end, which is tipped with white. The colour of the rest is a shining silky black, with the exception of a broad white stripe on the top of the head." John R. Jewitt, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of* . . . , Middletown, 1815, p. 80.

(6) Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

(8) *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World*, London, 1821, VI., p. 270. The drawing of an otter, by Webber, appearing in the written account of Cook's voyages, is thoroughly bad. The front feet can hardly be seen. It looks like a seal, and evidently was drawn from a dead animal.

The total distance was 6,000 miles. The beautiful fur became so much in demand that the otter was hunted relentlessly, with the result that the animal became almost extinct. Some survive on Copper Island, one of the Commander group, where they are closely preserved and carefully guarded by the Russian government. Only a catch of about 200 is permitted each season.[9] A few survive along the coast of the Kuril Islands. In California three herds, or *pods* as the Russians say, have appeared along the coast near Carmel during recent years. Together they number about 350.

The otters like a rocky coast where kelp is plentiful. There they find abundant food and can float on their backs comfortably in the smooth waters of a quiet inlet no matter how the sea is breaking outside.

During the winter of 1938 while in California the writer had the opportunity of watching, by aid of a binocular, a herd of ninety-six sea-otters that had appeared unexpectedly on March 19 off the coast 14 miles south of Carmel. They seemed good natured and playful as they swam amid the kelp 50 yards offshore. Many of them were floating on their backs, and that was why their colour appeared to resemble the brown of an Irish water-spaniel. The under-part of the otter's body is usually of a decidedly lighter tint than that of the back. These otters near Carmel were unmistakably brown. They rolled in the water and occasionally raised themselves so as to look around. They appeared to be made restless by parasites, and were busily engaged in scratching. Frequently they rose from the water and shook themselves vigorously like a wet dog. Others dived to the bottom in search of food, usually the red abalone, *Haliotis rufescens*.[10] Then, lying on his back, the otter held the shell-fish between his paws while he broke it, sometimes with the aid of a stone. Sea-urchins, clams, and crabs are also enjoyed by them. An old hunter is recorded as saying:—

Why, I really believe that them otters has human sense. I've seen 'em dive down, catch a crab, come up to the surface and fasten themselves to a piece

(9) Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

(10) Edna M. Fisher, "Habits of the Southern Sea Otter," *Journal of Mammalogy*, XX. (1939), p. 26.

of kelp, then take the crab in their paws and leisurely eat it, giving the best part to the pup.[11]

The otter rarely leaves the water; all his food is obtained from the sea. He prefers the protection of a rocky shore and the shelter of the kelp-beds. That may explain why the coast from Grays Harbor to San Francisco afforded poor hunting. The sandy beaches of Oregon did not suit the otter. On the coast of Washington the otters were restricted largely to the stretch between Point Grenville and Grays Harbor,[12] where a large bed of kelp made them comfortable. It was at Point Grenville that Bruno Heceta landed in 1775 and obtained some skins from the Indians.[13]

The Russians discovered the sea-otters on the coast of Kamchatka at the end of the seventeenth century and named them *bobri morski,* or sea-beavers.[14] Japanese records show that the animal was hunted a century earlier by the primitive Ainu on the island of Yezo (Hokkaido), now the most northern of the Japanese islands. Later the Ainu migrated from Japan to the Kuril Islands for the same purpose. They used the bow and arrow when hunting in summer, while in winter they clubbed the otters when found on the ice. In 1765 the Ainu people came into collision with the Russians, who had first invaded the Kuril Islands from Kamchatka in 1711. They failed, however, to establish a permanent outpost. The trade in the skins obtained by the Ainu became a monopoly in the hands of the Daimyo of Matsumaye. This Japanese overlord dealt death to any one selling them elsewhere. With the collapse of the feudal system, after 1869, the control of the otter trade passed to the Japanese government.[15]

When Vitus Bering returned from his voyage of exploration along the Alaskan coast in 1741, his crew on the *St. Peter* was

(11) A. W. Chase, "The Sea-Lion at Home," *The Overland Monthly,* III. (1869), p. 353.

(12) Victor B. Scheffer, "The Sea Otter on the Washington Coast," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XXXI. (1940), p. 372.

(13) H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* San Francisco, 1890, I., p. 160.

(14) William Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America,* London, 1787, p. 12.

(15) Snow, *op. cit.,* p. 287.

incapacitated by scurvy. Therefore he sought shelter on one of the Commander Islands, only 120 miles north-east of Kamchatka. The island is now known by his name, because he died there. His ship was driven on the rocks by a heavy gale and wrecked.

The island was found to be uninhabited, but it was occupied by numerous fur-bearing animals, notably blue foxes and sea-otters. A German, named George W. Steller, was a member of Bering's expedition, of which he wrote an account. He was a scientist, and that makes his record valuable. When the *St. Peter* was approaching the island " a number of sea otters came toward us in the sea,"[16] he says. Later, when the invalids from the ships were laid on the beach, they were pestered by the blue foxes, which came " in countless numbers." The castaways built a boat out of the timbers of their wrecked ship, and sailed from the island to Petropavlovsk, in Kamchatka, where their arrival created a sensation, due partly to the fact that all of them were clad in valuable furs.

This fact proved of historic importance, because it caused the adventurous traders in Kamchatka to go to Bering Island as soon as possible. They returned laden with furs, chiefly otter. That was in 1743. During the next year Mikhail Novodchikov, one of Bering's crew, reached one of the westernmost Aleutian Islands. Others followed. From island to island of the Aleutian chain the Russian *promyshlenniki*, or Cossack frontiersmen, went in search of furs, until they reached the Alaskan mainland. There an outpost was established in 1783 by Grigor Shelekhov. This was the beginning of the Russian American Company, which enjoyed a highly profitable fur business until 1863. To indicate the destructive character of the early hunting, it is recorded that Andrew Tolstyk made three voyages, in 1749, 1756, and 1760, during which he collected 9,397 adult skins and 821 cubs, a total of 10,218 otters. Later two Russian sailors, Lukannow and Karekov, killed 5,000 otters in their first year at St. Paul's Island, and a thousand more during the second year. Six years afterward not a single otter appeared there, nor has one been seen since.[17] The Russians employed the Indians in

(16) F. W. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, New York, 1925, II., p. 137.

(17) Alexander Allan, *Hunting the Sea Otter*, London, 1910, p. 2.

their hunting of the otters and their fleets of canoes ranged down the coast as far as Southern California.

In California the Spaniards had become aware of the sea-otter as early as 1733, for Father Sigismundo Taraval had seen them on his trip to Cerros Island on the west coast of Lower California. It is recorded by Miguel Venegas:—

> They found such numbers of them together, that the seamen killed about twenty of them, following them only with sticks. Some of the skins of these creatures the father sent to Mexico.[18]

The Spanish missionaries and soldiers in California encouraged the natives to hunt the otters by purchasing the skins, cheaply, for three or four *reales* apiece. Some of the skins found their way to the Chinese market by means of the galleons that sailed from the Mexican ports to Manila. In 1783 the *Princessa* left Acapulco with 700 pelts. The Indians in California had not developed any successful technique for hunting the otters, probably because in their own warm climate there was no need for wearing such furs. When they learned that they could sell them profitably to the Spaniards, they developed better methods of hunting. Nets and snares were used, supplemented by clubs.

The Spaniards began to trade for sea-otter pelts when they made their first voyage to the Northwest. In 1774 Juan Pérez on the *Santiago* reached Prince of Wales Island, in latitude 55° north, where he and his men exchanged beads and pieces of cloth for " beavers," as they named the otters. The Indians were clad in the skins of these animals.[19] The Spaniards had brought with them a number of the pretty abalone shells to be found on the beaches of Carmel and Monterey. Much to their surprise, the natives in the North were glad to barter their finest furs for these iridescent *cunchi*, or conchs. During the succeeding Spanish voyages of 1775 and 1779 the crews gathered otter skins in exchange for beads and bits of iron.

The French explorer La Pérouse quotes a description of the Indian method of hunting the otter that he took from Antonio

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(18) Miguel Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, London, 1759, I., p. 38.

(19) H. E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crispi*, Berkeley, 1927, p. 331.

Maurelle's journal of the voyage of Juan de la Bodega on the *Sonora* in 1775:—

Their fishing implements consist of arrows made with extreme nicety, as if by a lathe, a large pole, a bladder blown-up, a harpoon pointed with bone, and a long line made of gut and suitably twisted. They throw the harpoon at the *lutra*, or sea wolf; the animal when struck tries to dive, but the bladder prevents it; and the Indian soon drags him within reach.[20]

When Captain James Cook anchored in Nootka Sound on the western coast of Vancouver Island in 1778, his sailors found the Indians in possession of fine furs, such as fox, racoon, wolf, marten, and sea-otter.[21] These furs were used by the natives for clothing. The Englishmen had been away from home for more than two years, and their clothes therefore were in need of repair; so they replaced or patched their jackets and breeches with the furs, and used them likewise for bed-clothes. They obtained them from the Indians in exchange for small pieces of metal or cheap trinkets. For example, a dozen glass beads were bartered for six of the finest sea-otter skins.[22]

John Ledyard, an American, who was a corporal of marines on Cook's ship, has recorded these transactions.

We purchased while here [Nootka Sound] about 1500 beaver, besides other skins, but took none but the best, having no thoughts at that time of using them to any other advantage than converting them to the purpose of cloathing [*sic*], but it afterwards happened that skins which did not cost the purchaser sixpence sterling sold in China for 100 dollars.[23]

It will be noted that he used the name "beaver" instead of "otter." The Russians made the same mistake at first.

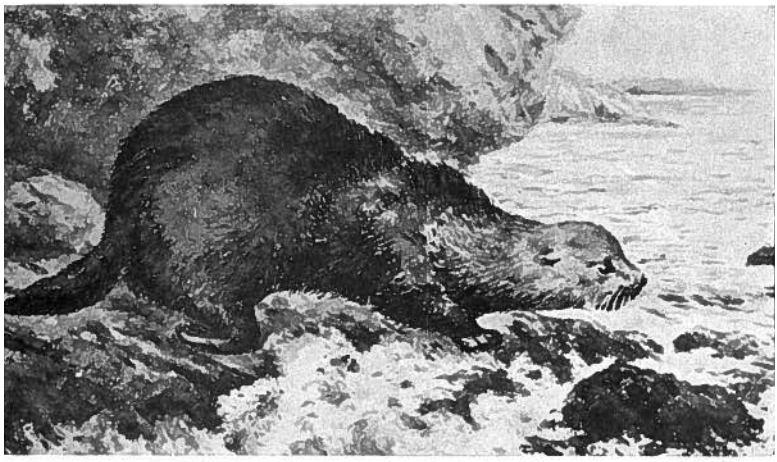
Ledyard, an enterprising fellow, deserted from the British service, and on his return to Connecticut in 1782 did his best to

(20) My own translation, as that in the English volume describing the voyage of La Pérouse, is defective. "Leurs instrument de pêche sont des flèches travaillées comme au tour avec une extrême délicatesse, une grande perche, une vessie enflée, un harpon dont la pointe est d'os, et une longue corde fait de bayaux d'animaux et convenablement tordue. Ils lancent le harpon contre la loutre ou le loup marin: l'animal percé veut s'enfoncer, la vessie ne le lui permit pas; l'Indien l'a bientôt attiré à lui." J. F. G. de la Pérouse, *Voyage . . . autour de Monde*, Paris, 1797, p. 338.

(21) Cook, *Voyages*, VI., p. 248

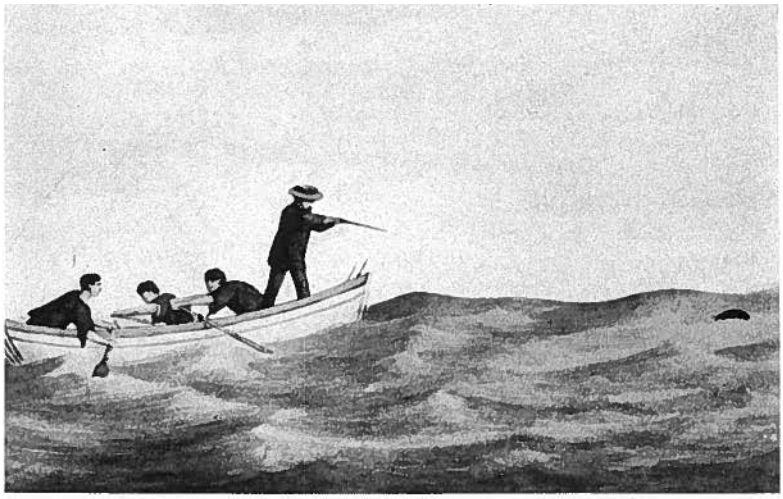
(22) F. W. Howay, "Early Days of the Maritime Fur-Trade on the Northwest Coast," *Canadian Historical Review*, IV. (1923), p. 26.

(23) John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, Hartford, 1783, p. 70.



Sea-otter (from H. J. Snow, *In Forbidden Seas*, London, 1910).

—Courtesy, Edward Arnold, publisher.



—Courtesy, Horace Cox, publisher.

A breaching sea-otter (from Alexander Allan, *Hunting the Sea Otter*, London, 1910).

Aleuts hunting sea-otter in a baidarka (from C. M. Scammon, *Marine Mammalia of the North-western Coast of North America*, San Francisco, 1874).

organize a ship expedition to sail to the Northwest Coast for the purpose of trading in otter skins. He did not succeed, and tried again in Spain and France, in vain.[24] In Paris in 1784 he met Thomas Jefferson, the United States Minister to France. Jefferson suggested that he go by land from Paris to Kamchatka and across the sea to Nootka Sound. Ledyard was aided by Sir Joseph Banks, the scientist that had accompanied Captain Cook, and was able to reach Yakutsk, in Siberia, where he was arrested by Russian officials and sent back to Moscow, probably at the instigation of the Russian American Company.

After Captain Cook's death on one of the Hawaiian Islands in 1779, the two ships, under the command of Captain Charles Clerke, turned homeward. When they called at Petropavlovsk, the crews received an inkling of the value of their furs from the Russians, who bought some of them; and when they reached Canton they discovered that the sea-otter and other furs could be turned into money forthwith, because they were in demand for trimming the robes of the mandarins. Such use of furs in China was traditional. Marco Polo, when there in 1275, remarked that the clothes of the wealthy Tartars were "for the most part of gold and silk stuffs, lined with costly furs, such as sable and ermine, vair and fox-skin, in the richest fashion."[25] The English sailors made the most of their opportunity. The few unblemished sea-otter skins from the North American coast fetched $120 each at Canton. One seaman sold his stock for $800. Altogether $10,000 was obtained for the skins in the possession of the crews. They became greatly excited and insisted on a return to the coast where such valuable furs were plentiful. Discipline prevented mutiny. The two ships were not trading-vessels, but units of the British Navy, and therefore their commanders could not do otherwise than continue the voyage home.

Captain Cook's finding of the otters at Nootka was "as if a new gold coast had been discovered."[26] So says Washington Irving; he had in mind the historic Gold Coast of West Africa. Indeed, the news that Cook's book of voyages gave to the world

(24) Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I., p. 349.

(25) Henry Yule, *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, London, 1871, I., p. 224. "Vair" was the fur obtained from a species of squirrel.

(26) Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Philadelphia, 1836, p. 32.

did induce a rush, which was restricted only by the remoteness of the region.

The Spanish, English, and American traders that exploited the sea-otter industry obtained the skins by barter with the Indians. They did very little hunting on their own account. The Russians did otherwise. After they had established themselves on Kodiak Island they set to work systematically, under the direction of Alexander Baranov, to organize otter hunts on a large scale with the aid of the Indians—the Aleuts, whom they had brought with them from the islands, and the Kenaitze tribes of the Cook Inlet region. To confirm his contract with these natives, Baranov took to wife the daughter of the Kenaitze chief.[27] By payment of small pieces of iron, he persuaded the Indians to assemble in their skin-boats and penetrate the inlets of the rock-bound coast in search of the otters.

They used the same methods of hunting as did the natives of the Aleutian Islands. In their canoes, named *baidarkas* by the Russians and known as *kayaks* among the Eskimos, they scoured the northern coast in quest of their game. Their canoe was made of wood strips or of pieces of whalebone held together tightly by sinews. Over the frame were stretched the skins of seals or of sea-lions. Every seam was sewn carefully, and further to make it water-proof the canoe was smeared all over with oil. It had one, two, or even three hatches, each of which provided a seat for a hunter equipped with paddle and spear. The paddle was double, 7 to 8 feet long. The *baidarka* was long, narrow, and pointed at each end, varying in length from 12 to 20 feet depending upon the number of hatches. The width was 20 to 24 inches and the depth only 20 inches, so that the craft could be propelled swiftly in shallow water. Martin Sauer, who was with the Billings expedition in 1790, testified that in fair weather the *baidarkas* could be made to travel with ease at a speed of 10 miles per hour.[28] Meares describes similar methods of hunting by the Indians on the Alaskan coast and mentioned the speed of the *baidarkas*.[29]

(27) Hector Chevigny, *Lord of Alaska*, New York, 1942, p. 95.

(28) Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia*, London, 1802, p. 159.

(29) Meares, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

The hunter was clad in water-proof skins. He sat or knelt in the hatch, the edge of which was fastened to the bottom of his jacket so as to make a water-tight connection. Alongside the canoe were lashed the darts or spears, pointed with bone, that he used in hunting. The dart was propelled from a fluted board, and a line of sinew was attached to it, so that when it pierced the otter the animal's escape was impeded. The otter could remain under water only two minutes, so it was chased until it rose to the surface.

The Russians were able to assemble flotillas of 400 to 450 Indian canoes, including the larger, slower, and more seaworthy skin-boats known as *baidars*, which resembled the *oomiaks* of the Eskimos. Such hunting expeditions were shepherded by Baranov's men and accompanied sometimes by one of the small schooners in possession of the Russians. As it proceeded southward in search of otters, the flotilla looked like a flock of water-fowl.

Baranov found it profitable to lend his Indian hunters to enterprising Americans. For example, on October 2, 1803, Joseph O'Cain and Jonathan Winship brought a cargo of supplies from Boston to St. Paul, on Kodiak Island, in the expectation of taking furs in exchange. Unfortunately Baranov's stock of furs was low. O'Cain then proposed that the Russian governor give him fifty or sixty Aleuts in canoes to go with him on an otter hunt along the Californian coast. The catch was to be shared equally by him and Baranov. It was stipulated that the Aleuts were to be paid $2.50 Spanish for each otter skin, and if any Aleut was hurt, a compensation of $250 would be paid to his family. The ship's cargo could remain at St. Paul as security, and a Russian officer would command the Aleut flotilla. On March 12, 1804, O'Cain returned with the Aleuts all safe and 2,000 skins, half of which came to Baranov. This represented a profit of $80,000 Spanish.[30] The Russians did not scruple, with their Aleuts, to enter the Bay of San Francisco in pursuit of the otters, which were tame and plentiful. The Spaniards lacked boats wherewith to patrol their own waters. Later the Russians established themselves at Fort Ross, 66 miles north-west of San Francisco. To avoid trouble, they made an agreement with the

(30) Chevigny, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 212.

Governor of California whereby they were permitted to hunt the otter along the Californian coast on condition of giving half of the catch to the Spaniards. This agreement lasted for three years only. The Spaniards were never keen on otter-hunting; it was too arduous to suit their taste.

In later days, 1875–1895, it was the custom to go on an otter hunt in a small schooner, and to pursue the game by aid of three boats, in each of which was a man with a rifle in hand. At first when the hunters penetrated the rocky inlets where the otters made their home it was easy to kill them, because, inquisitive, they would swim toward the boats; they would raise their heads and forefeet to look around, and therefore presented an easy mark. Later, when the otter learned by a cruel experience what the approach of a canoe or a boat might portend, he developed tricks to aid his escape. He would dive, usually to windward, so that the boatmen would have less advantage of speed. He would hide behind rocks. He would make a series of short dives, causing the boats to close up, and then make an exceedingly long dive in the hope of getting out of range. After that he would be exhausted. Sometimes he would start to "breach"—jumping clear of the water like a salmon or a fur-seal—but usually the hunters would succeed in turning him back within the triangle of the three boats. An hour might be spent in the pursuit of an otter, and forty or fifty rounds of ammunition might be expended. Snow says that he himself has spent three hours in the chase of a single otter, and expended 300 rifle shots in the effort to get him.[31] When chased the otter never seeks refuge on land, he makes for the open sea.

Shortly after the publication, in 1784, of Cook's account of his last voyage, as previously stated, the English traders began to come to Vancouver Island in search of the valuable furs he had described. Captain James Hanna arrived in 1785. He gathered 560 skins, which he sold at Canton for $20,600. Next year he sailed again from Macao, but this time he was less successful, returning with only 100 skins, valued at $8,000. In 1785 James Strange organized an expedition of two ships commanded by Captains Laurie and Guise. They sailed from Bombay to Nootka and cruised in Prince William Sound during 1786. Their catch

(31) Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

was only 604 skins, worth $24,000. Captain John Meares came in the *Nootka* in 1786 from Calcutta to Prince William Sound. He obtained 50 otter skins that sold for $91 each, as well as 267 other furs worth from $5 to $70 apiece. Captain Charles William Barkley, in the *Imperial Eagle*, arrived on the coast at about the same time and collected 800 skins of superior quality. His cargo brought $30,000 at Canton. In 1787 Captain George Dixon in the *Queen Charlotte* and Captain Nathaniel Portlock in the *King George*, working together, did a good business in furs with the Indians along the coast, as is recorded in several books. They collected 2,552 otter skins, which were sold for $54,857.

Then came the Boston traders, for most of the American ships that voyaged to the Northwest Coast in those days sailed from Boston. In 1801 fifteen such ships arrived; and in 1802 more than 15,000 otter skins were obtained and taken to Canton. It is probable that the Russians collected 10,000 similar skins in the same year, so that the aggregate for the season was at least 25,000. Captain John Suter in the *Pearl* in two seasons, 1808 and 1809, obtained 6,000 skins. Obviously this portended the extermination of the sea-otter.

In 1804 William Sturgis, of Boston, in the *Caroline*, cruised along the coast from the Columbia River to Kaigahnee, a small island south of Prince of Wales Island, in Alaska. He collected 2,500 sea-otter skins and netted $73,034 from his voyage. Sturgis stated, in 1846, when giving a lecture at Boston, that the skins most highly esteemed were those that had " some white hairs interspersed and scattered over the whole surface, and a perfectly white head." In the course of his lecture he further remarked that " excepting a beautiful woman and a lovely infant, he regarded them [the sea-otter skins] as among the most attractive natural objects than can be placed before him."[32]

The keen competition for furs between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company continued until 1839, when it was brought to an end by an agreement between them. Thereafter they ceased to compete for furs, and the Hudson's Bay Company undertook to provide the supplies needed

(32) William Sturgis, " The Northwest Fur Trade," *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XIV. (1846), pp. 532–38, reprinted in *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VIII. (1944), p. 16 ff.

by the Russians, who previously had obtained them from the Boston ships. Thus the Americans lost their trading advantage, and soon disappeared from the Northwest Coast.[33]

A curious feature of the trade with the Indians was their eagerness to obtain iron in any form. This desire for the useful metal was shown by all savage or backward peoples when they first came in contact with Europeans, especially if they had made the acquaintance of iron previously by trade or, frequently, by accident in the form of drift-iron—that is to say, the iron in wreckage and refuse from ships, such as nails in pieces of timber and iron hoops around empty barrels.[34] Once they discovered that they could shape iron by hammering it with stone, they were avid for it, because out of it they could make useful tools and weapons.

When the Spaniards first came up the coast from Mexico, they obtained furs by trading with iron. It is recorded that during Bruno Heceta's voyage in 1775: ". . . the Indians trafficked with us for various skins of animals, for which they expected some peices [*sic*] of iron in exchange, which they manifested by putting their hands upon the rudder irons. . . ."[35]

" Gold is not more desired in Europe than is iron in this part of America." So remarked La Pérouse in 1786. Five years later Joseph Ingraham met this demand for iron by making iron collars out of rods half an inch thick that were twisted around each other. The collars weighed from five to seven pounds. He also made bracelets in the same manner. These collars and bracelets became fashionable articles of adornment among the Indian women, and, by using them in his trade, Ingraham, in forty-nine days, obtained no less than 1,400 prime otter skins, the rate of exchange being three skins for one collar.[36]

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(33) Henry D. Dee, (*ed.*), *The Journal of John Work, January to October, 1835*, Victoria, 1945, p. 8.

(34) T. A. Rickard, " Drift Iron, a fortuitous factor in primitive culture," *The Geographical Review*, XXIV. (1934), pp. 525–43.

(35) Antonio Maurelle, " Journal of a Voyage in 1775 to explore the coast of America, Northward of California," *in* Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies*, London, 1781, p. 496.

(36) F. W. Howay, " The Voyage of the Hope, 1790–1792," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. (1920), pp. 10, 17.

Meares, when in Prince William Sound, in 1786, says: "It has often been observed when the head of a nail either in the ship or boats stood a little without the wood, that they [the natives] would apply their teeth in order to pull it out."[37] When trading with them, and letting them see the articles that Meares offered in exchange for the sea-otter skins, they shouted with joy and "such as were dressed in furs, instantly stripped themselves, and in return for a moderate quantity of large spike nails, we received sixty fine sea-otter skins."[38]

The Indians on Vancouver Island and along the Northwest Coast were eager to exchange sea-otter skins for pieces of iron. So the English traders gave them adze-blades, which were highly appreciated. These adze-blades, known as *toës*, had a curious history. In 1768 Captain Samuel Wallis returned to London from Tahiti and brought with him some of the stone adzes used by the islanders. He told Captain Cook how eager the Tahitians were to obtain pieces of iron, whereupon the Secretary to the Admiralty caused one of the stone adzes to be copied in that metal.[39] In 1769 when Captain Cook first went to Tahiti, he showed this replica to a chief, who was delighted to accept it. This fact was made known by Cook in his book, and, in consequence, the fur-traders that came after him took a stock of iron adze-blades on their voyages to this coast. The Tahitian word for the stone adze is *toë*, therefore the same name was given to the iron imitation.

The *toë* proved to be the best article of trade with the South Sea Islanders and likewise with the Indians on the North American coast. For example, when in Cook Inlet, the recorder of the voyage of Portlock and Dixon, only known as C.L. (from his signature to the preface of the book published in 1789), says:—

> Toes [as he and the two captains spoke and wrote the Tahitian word] were an article they much delighted in, one of a middling size being thought a valuable consideration for a large otter's skin.[40]

On the Alaskan coast, in 1787 several canoes full of Indians came to his ship. "Some of them being clad in rich beaver

(37) Meares, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

(38) *Ibid.*, p. xv.

(39) Cook, *op. cit.*, I., p. 111.

(40) C. L., *A Voyage Round the World in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788*, London, 1789, p. 29.

[otter] cloaks, we tempted them with hatchets, adzes, toes, pans, and tin kettles."[41] In an adjacent bay, near Norfolk Sound, a flotilla of canoes came alongside.

They were indeed so anxious about the disposal of their commodities [beaver wraps and skins] that there were several quarrels and contentions among them about the priority of their coming along side the vessel, and their claims of being entitled to be served first. Perhaps they were apprehensive that we had not a sufficient quantity of toes to pay for all the articles they had brought us, for hardly any thing else was taken in barter for them, and those [the *toës*] were eagerly demanded. About three hundred and ten beaver [otter] skins were purchased of these people in less than forty minutes.[42]

Captain Dixon, when off the coast of Graham Island (one of the Queen Charlotte archipelago), in July, 1787, says:—

Toes were almost the only article we bartered with on this occasion, and indeed they were taken so very eagerly, there was not the least occasion to offer anything else. In less than half an hour we purchased near 300 beaver [otter] skins, of excellent quality; a circumstance which greatly raised our spirits, and the more, as both the plenty of fine furs, and the avidity of the natives in parting with them, were convincing proofs, that no traffic whatever had recently been carried on near this place, and consequently we might expect a continuation of this plentiful commerce.[43]

When this expedition arrived at Canton, the skins (2,552 otter, 434 cub, and 34 fox) were sold for $54,857 to the East India Company, and the ship's crew sold 1,000 tails for $2 each, the fur-seals for $5 each, and received $50 additional for remnants.

The exclusive right to trade with China claimed by the East India Company had the effect of closing the Chinese ports to all English ships not belonging to that company. Concurrently the South Sea Company claimed a monopoly of trading rights in the Pacific. So the traders coming to this coast sailed under other flags, such as the Portuguese. The use of that flag by Meares and Colnett in 1789 led to the Nootka Controversy, which nearly caused a great war.

In settling the controversy, Britain and Spain entered into a treaty, one of the conditions of which was that British subjects were forbidden to hunt the sea-otter within 30 miles of any part of the American coast occupied by the Spaniards. This meant

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

(42) *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

(43) Captain George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788*, London, 1789, p. 201.

all the waters from San Francisco Bay southward as far as any otters lived. The consequence was that the American traders, who had already been appearing on the coast in large numbers, gained an advantage. Therefore from 1790 onwards the British trade in otters diminished greatly. The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company at the mouth of the Columbia River and later on Vancouver Island enabled that company to trade successfully with the Indians, but by that time the sea-otters on this coast had been very nearly exhausted.

The sailors on Captain Cook's ship received as much as $120 for an otter skin, but statements have been made that a price of $3,000 or even $3,500 had been paid in later days. Of these sales we have no authentic record, but in 1920 the official price rose to $2,500. The fur pelts that now come to the market at long intervals do not fetch big prices, only from $125 to $410.[44] No organized effort to protect the sea-otter was made until 1911; they are now protected by every government on whose coast the few of them survive. A slow increase in their number seems assured.

T. A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(44) Edna M. Fisher, "Prices of Sea Otter Pelts," *California Fish and Game*, XXVII. (1941), pp. 261–265.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ISRAEL WOOD POWELL, M.D., C.M.*

Few men have made a greater contribution to the development of British Columbia or served the public more consistently than did Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M.

He was the first graduate in medicine of McGill University to practise on the Pacific Coast. In the field of his profession he distinguished himself as a capable practitioner, a fact that was recognized by his colleagues when he was selected as the first President of the Medical Council of British Columbia. But it was in other activities that his leadership, patriotism, and unselfish service helped to shape the destinies of this country. He was foremost in his time as an educator; he was a protagonist of Confederation when to be such was an unpopular position; he was the first Grand Master of the British Columbia Grand Lodge of the Masonic order; he took part in organizing the first militia recognized by the colonial government; he was a member of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island; the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs in British Columbia; and a benefactor of the infant city of Vancouver.

His contemporaries acknowledged the debt that the Province owed him by naming Powell river and lake, and streets in Victoria and Vancouver in his honour. Unfortunately, however, to-day the works of this illustrious man are but little known outside of Masonic circles, in which his services for that great craft are recalled with gratitude. He is better remembered by his medical rather than by his military title, for he himself preferred to be designated by his profession rather than by his rank.

Dr. Powell was born at Port Colbourne, Upper Canada, on April 27, 1836.[1] He was the fourth child in a family of seven boys and one girl born to the union of Israel W. Powell and his wife, Melinda Boss. Israel Powell, Senior, was the son of Abra-

*The substance of an address delivered before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, October 21, 1946.

(1) This birth date and place are from a notation made by Dr. Powell himself and included in his personal papers in the possession of the family.

ham Powell, a United Empire Loyalist who had settled in the vicinity of Port Dover, Ontario, following the American Revolution. Dr. Powell's father located at Simcoe and became interested in shipping on Lake Erie and other of the Great Lakes. He was parliamentary representative of that vicinity for twenty-eight years prior to his death in 1852.

The Powell family originated in Wales; one branch still occupies the ancestral estate at Nanteos, near Aberystwith. Among the many distinguished figures in the long history of the Powells was Sir Thomas, who was one of the justices that defied the wrath of King James II. in 1688 and liberated the seven bishops who refused to obey the King's dictates in spiritual affairs. It was a son of Sir Thomas, who followed his Puritan tutor, Roger Williams, to America, who established the family on this continent.[2]

After receiving his early education in the schools of Port Dover and Simcoe, young Israel, having displayed a liking for the profession of medicine, was placed with Dr. Charleston Covernton, of Simcoe, to study anatomy. After three years with Dr. Covernton, the youth was entered at McGill in his twentieth year.[3] It was while a student at McGill that he was admitted to the mysteries of Masonry, being accepted into Elgin Lodge No. 348, G.R. Scotland. He graduated with the degree of M.D. in 1860 and for a short time practised at Port Dover. Here he assisted in organizing Erie Lodge No. 149 in 1861 and became the first Worshipful Master of that lodge.[4]

The young doctor left his native Upper Canada in 1862. At that time he was described as a young man 5 feet 10 inches in height, of slight build, with medium-dark complexion. He was a good speaker, devoted to sports, and a good horseman. He was a member of the Church of England. His intention was to go to New Zealand. The Cariboo gold excitement was at its height in that year, and he decided to visit the coast before going to the South Pacific colony. He came by way of Panama.

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(2) From documents in the possession of the family.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) F. J. Bayfield, "Hon. Israel Wood Powell, M.D., P.G.M., Our First Grand Master," *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Antient, Free and Accepted Masons of British Columbia . . . 1938*, p. 190.

Dr. Powell arrived at Victoria on May 13, 1862, on board the steamship *Pacific*[5] and took lodgings at the Anglo-American Hotel at the corner of Yates and Douglas Streets. Two weeks later he had decided to defer his trip to New Zealand and set up in practice, and to this end he announced that he had taken offices in the hotel.[6] The Victoria *British Colonist* of May 30, in welcoming him to the professional circles of the community, observed: "This gentleman brings very high testimonials with him from Canada, which speak in the most favorable terms of him."[7] One of these testimonials was from a friend and old colleague of his father, whose name was already in the forefront of Canadian affairs, Hon. John A. Macdonald.

The young doctor was welcomed by his fellow Masons, and entered at once into the activities of the order. He assisted in the formation of Vancouver Lodge No. 421, now Vancouver and Quadra Lodge No. 2, G.R.B.C.[8]

Victoria was an active and crowded city in 1862. The rush to Cariboo was on in earnest, and Victoria on Vancouver Island was the chief outfitting place for the Interior gold mines of the sister colony of British Columbia. Supply-houses were open day and night. Governor James Douglas presided over both colonies and was busy laying the foundations of the future Province of the Dominion of Canada. The road to Cariboo was under construction—a most difficult and ambitious undertaking; plans were being made for a road from Hope to the Similkameen country; settlement was starting at Cowichan and Comox; free traders were roaming up and down the coast trading for furs and trafficking in liquor.

It was no wonder that the twenty-six-year-old doctor, with his fluffy brown beard adding but slightly to the coveted appearance of maturity, should see opportunity in this new land. His

(5) Victoria *Colonist*, May 14, 1862.

(6) *Ibid.*, May 30, 1862. Dr. Powell listed himself as a member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Lower Canada, and licentiate of the Medical Board, Upper Canada.

(7) *Ibid.*, May 30, 1862.

(8) F. F. Fatt, "Victoria, B.C., in 1862, and the founding of Vancouver Lodge, F. & A.M., No. 421, G.R. Scotland, with historical notes taken from the first minute book of the lodge," *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . 1933*, pp. 165–6.

decision to make it his home was never regretted. Dr. Powell's practice grew from the outset. There were many Canadians among the newcomers. It was the year in which the great overland trek was made from Fort Garry to British Columbia.[9] Hundreds of other adventurers came by sea from the Canadas and the Maritime colonies. To these immigrants the modest card appearing in the *British Colonist* stating that there was a graduate of McGill practising medicine made an appeal. There were other doctors in Victoria—good doctors—but Powell was soon getting a generous share of the practice.

Brought up in an atmosphere of politics, Dr. Powell's interest was stirred by public affairs in the colony. Politically the place was in a ferment. The strong rule of Governor Douglas that had irked many was drawing to a close. Conscious of his own integrity and high purpose, the old Governor did not make confidants of either officials or legislators. He gave no explanations of his actions, except to the Colonial Office in London. His intention of retiring was greeted with acclaim. Then the British Government issued a series of blue books containing his dispatches, and the critics were silenced.

Arthur Edward Kennedy was appointed to succeed Douglas as Governor of Vancouver Island, and Frederick Seymour to preside as chief executive over the younger Mainland colony of British Columbia. Kennedy was greeted with public rejoicing—a new order had been set up. But scarcely had the welcome been extended than the recipient of compliments ran foul of the House of Assembly. He wanted to know where he was to live. This came as a shock, for Sir James (Douglas had been knighted) had always provided his own residence and secretaries. When the Assembly hesitated, Kennedy purchased, on a Governor's warrant, Cary Castle, the former home of George Hunter Cary, erstwhile Attorney-General. Such was but one of the differences that developed between the new Governor and the House. Within six months of the change of regime those who had been foremost in criticizing Douglas were anxious for his return to office.

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(9) M. S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62* (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. IX.), Victoria, 1931, *passim*.

It was during this interesting period of change that Dr. Powell entered public life. He responded to a petition of a group of electors by announcing his candidature for one of the Victoria seats in the House of Assembly.[10] On July 15, 1863, he issued his manifesto. Already the shadow of hard times was extending over the colony. Disappointed gold-seekers were making their painful way back to the Coast. Great fortunes had come to a few—a very few—for only a very small percentage of those who had toiled up the long, hard way to the diggings had won success. This depression was intensified when in September, 1864, Macdonald's Bank failed, following a robbery and a subsequent run on the institution by anxious depositors. The blow was a severe one, for Macdonald's Bank had issued its own currency, and the paper was worthless when the bank's doors were closed. The colony never recovered.

In accepting nomination for office, Dr. Powell raised the cry of "responsible government," which was to be a continuous objective for him in the years that followed, and the attainment of which was reached only with the entry of British Columbia into Confederation. He would work, he said, for "the introduction of a system of responsible government, whereby the government of the country may be made more subservient to the voice of the people" and he would also "recognize the vital importance of the House of Assembly controlling the revenue and expenditures of the colony."[11] Here was a direct challenge to the Governor and to the powerful Legislative Council, or appointive upper chamber of the Legislature. In Dr. Powell's opinion the need was real, and that was all that was necessary for him to advocate the constitutional change.

There were many planks to the platform that he presented to the electors, including the maintenance of the free port, harbour improvements, a pilotage system, improved postal laws, encouragement of immigration, and the revision of the Act of incorporation of the city of Victoria. But there was one other that was close to his heart, for which he was to battle for its adoption and later for its maintenance—a system of free education. On this subject he stated his views boldly:—

(10) Victoria *Colonist*, July 15, 1863.
(11) *Ibid.*

I shall give my earnest support to the adoption of a measure to promote the educational interests of the country, and shall be a firm adherent to a system of common schools free from any sectarian influence whatever.[12]

It took courage to advocate such a change—to demand the education of every child at the public expense—in those days, particularly at a time when idle men were flocking into the city from the mining camps. It was a period when in the United Kingdom practically the only system of education for children of the masses was in the hands of churches.

Dr. Powell was endorsed at the polls[13] and, in consequence, soon became an active member of the Legislature, serving as a member of a committee on education, as well as in other ways. It was not until the following year, however, that real progress was made in the matter of an educational system. In September, 1864, it was reported by the press:—

Dr. Powell introduced his motion for a Committee of Education. He urged the importance of the subject, and alluded to the inaction of the late committee, of which he acknowledged himself a member. There were 250 children in the city alone who required common school education. He therefore moved an application for the appointment of a committee.[14]

The committee this time had Dr. Powell as its chairman, with Dr. William F. Tolmie and Mr. Charles Street as members. It was the appointment of this committee that in a real sense marked the start of free education in the colony.[15]

In May, 1865, the Legislature passed "An Act respecting Common Schools," based on the recommendations of this committee, which made provision for a system of general education. Dr. Powell was appointed a member of the General Board of Education. In accepting this appointment he wrote:—

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(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Ibid.*, July 20, 1863. Dr. Powell received 203 votes; the other successful candidates were W. A. G. Young and Amor de Cosmos with 229 and 211 votes respectively.

(14) *Ibid.*, September 29, 1864.

(15) Actually the first free school in the colony had been organized in Esquimalt on January 31, 1863. See *ibid.*, February 2, 1863. The most detailed account of the history of the educational system of the Province is to be found in a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., in 1936 by D. L. MacLaurin, entitled *The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M., 1874.

While I regret that the Act is not all that I could desire for the purpose of initiating a perfect school system, yet if in His Excellency's opinion I can be instrumental in promoting the Educational interests of the Colony by becoming a member of the Board I shall esteem it an honor to reciprocate his wishes.[16]

Alfred Waddington was appointed Superintendent of Education on June 7, 1865. His was a difficult position, for the Government did not have sufficient money to give adequate support to the school system. The two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united on November 19, 1866, but instead of an improvement in the financial position of the Government the multiplied demands upon the Treasury far exceeded the ability of the Governor to meet them. The free school system of Vancouver Island was continued, but without sufficient funds. Expenses were pared to the utmost limit, but it was impossible to meet them from the amount of money available. Teachers' salaries were months in arrears.

Dr. Powell could have resigned his position, but he did not. He knew that were he to stop fighting for the maintenance of the free school system, it was likely that the schools would close. Instead of relinquishing the task, he accepted reappointment to the Board on June 3, 1867,[17] and subsequently, at a meeting of the Board held on June 22, he became its chairman.[18] At that time the total indebtedness amounted to $8,192.26, and it was estimated that an additional $3,379.80 would be needed to meet expenses to the end of the year. Governor Seymour gave him assurances that more funds would be available and that the modest budget of $6,000 prepared by the Board would be met. Actually only half this sum was provided.

Waddington resigned as Superintendent of Education on September 18, 1867, principally because he could not get his salary regularly. Dr. Powell thereafter assumed the duties of the office himself. He fought, begged, and threatened the Government in an effort to obtain funds. Some idea of the intolerable position in which he found himself may be glimpsed from a letter he wrote to the Colonial Secretary in November, 1867:—

(16) I. W. Powell to Henry Wakefield, May 29, 1865, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(17) I. W. Powell to A. N. Birch, June 17, 1867, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(18) Victoria *Colonist*, June 24, 1867.

The Board of Education had made arrangements upon the good faith of His Excellency's letter of the 7th of June, wherein the sum of $6000 was placed under its control, and which cannot now be carried out without the proposed assistance. I would further most respectfully represent on behalf of the Board, the almost destitute condition of the teachers who have performed their services from December of last year, until the present time without receiving any remuneration and without any other means of support.[19]

Dr. Powell continued his fight to uphold the educational system for another year and a half. When at last in April, 1869, he retired and the Board was abolished, he was able to announce that the salaries had been paid to the preceding December 31[20] and were then only three months in arrears.

In addition to attending to his professional and legislative duties, the young doctor found time also to interest himself in military matters. He took the lead in organizing the first official militia unit in the colony—the Victoria Volunteer Rifles. He was enthusiastic over the project, as is reflected in a letter he wrote as Chairman of the Committee of Management to the Colonial Secretary on April 2, 1864:—

The Volunteers are disposed to make great exertion in order to turn out with credit on the Queen's Birthday; and many, who, in their enthusiasm, have already purchased material and placed it in the hands of their tailor, are anxiously awaiting to be informed that their uniforms may be gone on with.[21]

Not only was he surgeon for the Volunteers, but he acted gratuitously in a similar capacity for the volunteer fire brigade.[22] His private practice was enlarging, and in April, 1864, he was appointed physician to the French Hospital in place of Dr. Nicolet Michel Clerjon who had recently died.[23]

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(19) I. W. Powell to W. A. G. Young, November 4, 1867, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(20) I. W. Powell to P. Hankin, April 9, 1869, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. There appears to be some confusion as to the date of the final meeting of the Board of Education, for in this letter Powell implies that it was written at the conclusion of the meeting; whereas according to the *Minute Book, Board of Education, MS.*, Archives of B.C., the final meeting was held on March 9, 1869.

(21) I. W. Powell to W. A. G. Young, April 2, 1864, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(22) Victoria *Colonist*, August 24, 1863.

(23) *Ibid.*, April 29, 1864.

His public activities, however, did not interfere with a most important and very personal matter, his marriage. Miss Jane Branks was a beautiful and very accomplished young lady. She was born at Port Nicholson, New Zealand, in 1845, the daughter of Robert Branks, of Kelvingrove, Lanarkshire, Scotland. She accompanied her parents to California when six years of age, and there went to school. Her older sister had married Alexander D. Macdonald, the unfortunate banker, and in 1861 Miss Branks first came to Victoria on a visit to her sister. Following the death of her mother in 1863, she returned to reside in Victoria.[24] The young couple were admirably suited for each other. It was a happy marriage that increased in affection throughout the years.

The ceremony was a quiet one, performed on January 25, 1865, at the home of Alexander Munro, an official of the Hudson's Bay Company and a close friend of the young couple and of the Macdonald family.[25] Rev. James Nimmo, of the Church of Scotland, officiated, for while Dr. Powell was an adherent of the Church of England his bride had been brought up as a Presbyterian, in fact her paternal uncle was one of the early missionaries to New Zealand. Scarcely had the ceremony concluded than the brass band of the Victoria Volunteer Rifles arrived to serenade the young couple.[26] Dr. and Mrs. Powell occupied a comfortable residence at the corner of Douglas and Broughton Streets, and there eight of their nine children were born, the youngest being born at "Oakdene," the beautiful home that was later constructed on Vancouver Street at Burdett, and which is now the residence of the Bishop of British Columbia.

The doctor was too busy to take time off for a wedding trip, but years later he wrote that his honeymoon was a continuing one that would endure as long as his wife lived. He absented himself from the House of Assembly the day after the wedding, but the next he was in his place. It was at this sitting that the House in its desperation and despair at the future of the colony passed a resolution that eventuated in the annexation of the

(24) From documents in the possession of the family.

(25) Victoria *Colonist*, January 27, 1865.

(26) *Ibid.*, January 26, 1865. The following evening they were again serenaded, this time by the various fire companies and the Volunteer Rifles band. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1865.

colony to British Columbia the following year. It urged the immediate union of the colonies "under such constitution as Her Majesty's Government may be pleased to grant."[27] Dr. Powell joined four other members in seeking to modify the sweeping and all-inclusive scope of this resolution by means of an amendment that would preserve for Victoria and Esquimalt the free port system that was in existence. They were not successful.[28] The result was that when union did come, with startling suddenness, the free ports were wiped out. Eventually business and industry moved from the Island to the Mainland when the Canadian Pacific Railroad reached the sea.

Even before the two colonies were united, Dr. Powell and Amor De Cosmos, Canadians both, were fighting to have the Pacific colonies included in the original scheme of Confederation. They brought the question before the House in July, 1866,[29] but officialdom viewed the proposal with disfavour. Instead of pressing their motion to a decision upon this occasion, they once more made a demand for responsible government by moving that a "Ministerial Council" composed of members from the elective and appointive chambers should be set up. In this, too, they were defeated.[30] Powell, De Cosmos, and others favouring a union of all the British colonies in North America now carried the fight to the people. In the struggle that followed, Dr. Powell played an important part. He is credited with having made the first public address in favour of Confederation. He attended every meeting called to discuss the subject; he wrote letters to the press; he argued on the street and wherever opportunity offered.

At a public meeting called to support the Confederation on March 18, 1867, he moved the main resolution: "That the Colony of British Columbia would be greatly benefitted, its progress and permanent prosperity secured by its admission into the proposed

(27) Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, *Minute Book*, September 12, 1864, to August 31, 1866, *MS.*, Archives of B.C., p. 126.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 127.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 474. A notice of motion by Amor De Cosmos on July 23, 1866.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 494 (July 31, 1866), p. 498 (August 3, 1866).

confederacy of British North America upon equitable terms."[31] In reporting the meeting the Victoria *Colonist* said, in part:—

> Dr. Powell pointed out that the terms under which we would consent to join in the Confederation *must be fair and equitable and explicitly stated.* He denied that this was an attempt to alienate the Colonies from the Mother Country, and read the draft of the first Confederation Bill prepared by the North American delegates to prove that the object of Confederation was to cement and perpetuate the connection with the Mother Country. Was it not better if we could ally ourselves with 4,000,000 people, obtain responsible government, and have taxation reduced than to remain as we are—a petty, oppressed, tax-paying colony, with our destinies in the hands of a capricious stranger."[32]

He opened contacts with friends and relatives in the East, learning by mail and telegraph the latest developments in the project. These he made known in Victoria. His brother, Walker Powell, wired him the day following the meeting at which he had spoken that the mechanics necessary for the entry of British Columbia into Confederation were simple. "British Columbia may be admitted by Order in Council upon address from Parliaments of Canada and Columbia."[33] Walker Powell was close to the heart of things. He was Assistant Adjutant-General and was one of the founders of the Royal Military College at Kingston.

This telegram simplified matters, as it clarified the situation. All that was now necessary was to get the endorsement of the Government at Victoria, but this was a most difficult thing to do. It could only be secured by hard work and continued agitation. Governor Seymour was definitely opposed to the union, and officials in the Government service for the most part reflected his views. They were nervous as well as to their own positions in the advent of a consolidation of governments. Others were honest in their belief that it would not be a wise move, that it was premature; and still others favoured annexation with the United States as preferable to uniting with a Dominion separated by 2,000 miles of waste lands.

The doctor was tremendously active. His practice had grown to large proportions. His old medical note-books show that he

(31) Victoria *Colonist*, March 19, 1867.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) *Ibid.*, March 21, 1867.

was busily engaged in his profession. One note of the period, January 25, 1867, is of more than passing interest. It shows that on that day he drove out to Cloverdale, in Saanich, and presided at the birth of a 10-pound baby who became, as the Hon. Simon Fraser Tolmie, Premier of British Columbia.

A story is told of Dr. Powell using psychology as well as pills in his practice. Richard Lewis, a former Mayor of Victoria, and prominent as an undertaker, was ill. He was positive that he was going to die. Nothing that Dr. Powell could do or say would convince him that he was not on his death-bed. Actually there was little wrong with him. One day Dr. Powell came into Lewis' sick-room and greeted him jovially. The patient groaned and moaned and bewailed the near approach of his end. "Well," exclaimed the now exasperated medico, "if you are going to die, hurry up about it. I just met Phillip Swiggert (a competitor in the burial business) outside, and he says he's getting tired waiting for you." "What," shouted Lewis as he sprang from his bed and reached for his clothes, "that man bury me! I'll live to bury him." He did.

With the annexation of Vancouver Island to the Mainland colony and the abolition of the House of Assembly, Dr. Powell lost his seat in the Legislature. He now assumed heavier Masonic responsibilities. In 1867 he was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland to the high office of Provincial Grand Master of lodges of that registry in British Columbia. He continued in that capacity until 1871, when the Grand Lodge of British Columbia was formed, taking in all lodges of both Scottish and English registries. His great services to the order were recognized when he was made the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia.[34]

From his admission to the ancient craft while still a student at McGill University he had been an earnest and enthusiastic member of the order. On his arrival at Victoria he found that the two colonies were open territory. The Grand Lodge of England was the first to establish a lodge, granting a warrant for the formation of Victoria Lodge No. 1085 (later No. 783). The Grand Lodge of Scotland soon followed by authorizing the establishment of Vancouver Lodge No. 421. As other lodges were

(34) F. J. Bayfield, *loc. cit.*, p. 191.

organized under the separate jurisdictions, two minor Grand Lodges were eventually created. Robert Burnaby was named District Grand Master of the District Grand Lodge (English) and Dr. Powell was Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge (Scottish). With the entry of British Columbia into the Canadian Confederation the possibility of Eastern Canadian and United States registries entering the field hastened the creation of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia.[35]

The doctor agreed to offer himself again for political office at the elections for the British Columbia Legislative Council in 1868. This was a less democratic body than had been the Vancouver Island House of Assembly. Only a portion of its members were elective, the others being appointed by the Governor. Dr. Powell very frankly told those who were insisting that he should contest a Victoria seat that he would prefer that some other person be nominated and that he would support any man who would fight for responsible government and for the eventual entry of British Columbia into Confederation. His friends insisted that he must champion those causes himself, and he consented.[36]

He threw himself into the campaign with energy. He urged that the people should not be disheartened but should "agitate, agitate until their rights, as became freemen, were obtained."[37] In referring to Confederation he declared:—

> Wiser heads than mine, eminent statesmen who have stood by the Imperial helm of State, have not, and do not hesitate to declare it to be the ultimate destiny of all the colonies of Her Majesty's North American possessions. Colonial statesmen . . . have devised it, and made a beginning, and the question now with us is, are we not to form a portion of the grand Dominion? I presume there is no one here present who for one moment doubts that it is our manifest and ultimate destiny, though I for one candidly confess that until the Hudson Bay Company have received their price and

(35) "Address delivered by R.W. Bro. DeWolf Smith on the occasion of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the introduction of Freemasonry into the Province of British Columbia," published as appendix No. 2 in *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . 1911*, pp. i.–xv., *passim*. *See also* R. L. Reid, "The Formation of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia," *Proceedings of the . . . Grand Lodge . . . 1938*, pp. 165–85, *passim*.

(36) Victoria *Colonist*, October 21, 1868.

(37) *Ibid.*, October 31, 1868.

settlement and the North West Territory held by them is ceded to the Dominion, that our Confederation would most decidedly be impolitic and premature. . . . I believe that Confederation after the cession of the North West territory will be beneficial, provided we get terms and conditions in every way advantageous to this Colony.[38]

In the heat of the campaign the doctor did not forget his attachment to the cause of education; and he could hardly do so, for he was working day and night in order to obtain enough money for the payment of the teachers' wages. The educational system was going "to rack and ruin," he told the electors; not because it was bad of itself but simply because, while apparently supported by the Government, it was "being literally starved to death for want of funds."[39]

It was a hard election campaign. The forces in opposition to progress were strong, and many of the citizens, disappointed that conditions had not improved but had, in fact, grown worse since the union of the colonies, were not prepared to adventure into a new union with a country several thousand miles distant. Both Dr. Powell and Amor De Cosmos were defeated in November.

An amusing sidelight on the election and one that was eloquent of the manner in which political contests were conducted in those days came a few months later when a saloon-keeper named Orr brought action against Dr. Powell for recovery of $15, which, he claimed, was the cost of liquor supplied to voters. The doctor declared that he had not ordered the liquor nor had he authorized any person to do so on his behalf. The court was sympathetic, but asserted that someone had ordered the liquor and the saloon proprietor had provided it, and consequently the difference was split and the doctor was ordered to pay half the amount and the costs of the case.[40]

Governor Seymour died suddenly in June, 1869, and Anthony Musgrave, Governor of Newfoundland, was sent to British Columbia to succeed him. Musgrave was an ardent Confederationist and had, in fact, been appointed at the suggestion of Sir John A. Macdonald in order to bring British Columbia into the Dominion. On New Year's Day, 1870, Governor Musgrave fell

(38) *Ibid.*, October 24, 1868.
(39) *Ibid.*
(40) *Ibid.*, February 25, 1869.

from his horse and broke his leg. Dr. Powell was one of several doctors called in to attend him, and was retained by him. Daily for months the doctor visited his patient, and the Governor consulted with him on all aspects of union with Canada, asking his advice as to what terms the colony should seek from the Dominion.[41]

With the death of Governor Seymour the opposition to Confederation lessened. Officials who reflected the opinions of those in authority changed their attitudes with the arrival of Governor Musgrave and became advocates of the inclusion of British Columbia within the Canadian federation. There was still some well-grounded opposition, but it was no longer effective. After a lengthy debate in the Legislative Council the Hon. Joseph Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, the Hon. R. W. W. Carrall and the Hon. J. S. Helmcken, M.D., elected members for Cariboo and Victoria City respectively, were sent to Ottawa to discuss the terms of union. The Dominion was even more generous in its acceptance of the colony's programme than could have been anticipated, promising a railroad in place of the wagon-road that was demanded as an essential to any bargain. Dr. Powell was jubilant when, in 1870, the terms were accepted. His dream of a Canada extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific was about to be realized.

He now prepared to visit his old home. Early in 1871 he left for the East and went on to Great Britain, where he succeeded in financing a coal mine that was to start at Baynes Sound. It was his first trip away from British Columbia since his arrival at Victoria in 1862. He had come as an unknown young doctor, and now, on the eve of leaving for his first vacation, the press paid tribute to the services he had rendered to the community. Commenting editorially upon his departure the Victoria *Standard* said:—

> Dr. Powell leaves on the steamer to-day, for Canada. He came here eight years ago,—a stranger. He leaves to-day, with a host of friends. As a practitioner, he holds a first-class position. Medically speaking, there is nothing second-rate about him. As a doctor, he is a success. . . . Socially, Dr. Powell fills the full measure of a man; and but few men in British Columbia are able to measure themselves with him. It is, however, as a

(41) Personal medical note-book in the possession of the family.

public man that he deserves to be considered. Amid good and evil report, he never deserted the Confederate standard. He always kept the Confederate flag flying; and we must say, assisted in making that great movement a success. . . . Had it not been for Dr. Powell and others, the great scheme of Confederation would never have been a success.[42]

The Victoria *Colonist* was equally congratulatory:—

For some time a member of the Legislature, at all times the friend of the needy and the suffering, and the willing and liberal promoter of every good cause and patriotic enterprise, the consistent and constant friend and advocate of Confederation from first to last, Dr. Powell ranks amongst our most valued and esteemed citizens, and we do but give form to the sentiment in this community when we wish him, and those who go with him, a pleasant journey and safe return.[43]

He was accompanied by Mrs. Powell and her sister, Miss Katie Branks, as far as San Francisco, where they remained to visit while he went on to complete his hurried trip to London, England, and Canada.[44] On June 16, 1871, the little party arrived back in Victoria. The doctor brought with him a new Canadian ensign, which he proudly flew on July 1 and again on July 20 when the colony officially entered Confederation. It was the first emblem of the Dominion to be flown in Victoria.

While at Ottawa his old friend Sir John A. Macdonald offered Dr. Powell the high distinction of being the first Lieutenant-Governor of the newly formed Province in recognition of the services that he had rendered to Canada. When this was declined, a seat in the Dominion Senate was proferred. He explained that he could accept neither office and continue his professional practice, and while his growing family required his care and guidance, he could not abandon it.[45]

The following year, however, Ottawa approached him once more with a request that his services be given to Canada. Under the terms of the "British North America Act" the superintendence of Indian Affairs was under the control of the Federal Government. Colonial Governments had made little effort to improve the condition of the native tribes in British Columbia. Now that they had become wards of the Dominion, it was deter-

(42) Victoria *Standard*, March 11, 1871.

(43) Victoria *Colonist*, March 11, 1871.

(44) From documents in the possession of the family.

(45) *Ibid.* *See also* reminiscences of Mrs. I. W. Powell, Victoria *Colonist*, May 18, 1924.

mined that a real endeavour should be made to civilize them. A strong and humane man was required to direct the work in the Province. Such a man was Dr. Powell.

The natives were, for the most part, in a savage state. They were steeped in ignorance and dominated by superstition. Missionaries were fighting valiantly against the evil influences of degraded white men who trafficked in liquor up and down the coast. Murder was almost a daily occurrence amongst the tribesmen, while the killing of white settlers and traders was not uncommon. There was no more discouraging work in the Province than that which was offered to Dr. Powell. But it was an opportunity of service to the lowest and most neglected class of humans in the country, and so he accepted the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Co-incident with his appointment he was given rank as lieutenant-colonel in the militia. It was necessary that he should be clothed with military authority, for he must appear as a great chief in the eyes of the Indians. It was an appropriate appointment, for Dr. Powell had continued actively interested in the first official militia in British Columbia that he had assisted in organizing.

He lost no time in entering upon his new duties and visited the tribes on Vancouver Island. The policy of the department in respect of the Indians had not been fully determined. So it was that he examined and reported upon the possibility of establishing military posts at points strategically placed to control the Indian tribes which were still warring upon each other when the opportunity offered. In his first report he recommended that in the event of it being decided to establish such posts, one be located at Alberni.[46]

He was interested in everything that concerned his new charges. The languages of the natives intrigued him. He found that the Comox Indians spoke a language similar to that of the Umpquas of California. Before he had been a year in office he started a fight for better medical services for the Indians and for educational facilities for the children. He continued pressing these needs upon Ottawa, until when he retired seventeen years later, he was able to boast that there were seventeen

(46) *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia for 1872 and 1873*, Ottawa, 1873, p. 5.

Indian schools—one for each year of his term of office—and that medical attention was available to natives wherever possible. In fact, he had, in 1876, taken over the medical superintendency for Indians as well as his other duties in order to help them. The increase of $400 annually in his salary did not compensate for the added burden.

His work took him to all parts of British Columbia—by gunboat, by canoe, on horse-back, and afoot. In 1874 he visited tribes as far east as the Kootenays and in the valleys of the Similkameen, Fraser, Thompson, Bonaparte, and Okanagan, as well as along the east coast of Vancouver Island. He taught the natives to obey the Queen's law, to permit the education of their children, to trust in white doctors rather than in the medicine men of the tribes, and he warred continuously against the demoralizing influences of the white whisky-peddlers. In 1881 he made a trip of inspection all along the coast as far north as the Alaskan border, travelling aboard H.M.S. *Rocket*,[47] commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Vere Bernard Orlebar. The commander and his passenger became fast friends, and it was in compliment to the doctor that his name was given to Powell River and Powell Lake.[48] It was indeed a fitting tribute to a man who had done so much and would continue to do more for the development of British Columbia. Typical of the times was the fact that on this particular trip a murderer had to be tracked down and witnesses located in another killing.

The work of Dr. Powell for the betterment of conditions amongst the Indians is worthy of a book. Suffice it to say that wherever there was need for his presence, whether combating an epidemic in a squalid native village or arguing with the Government at Ottawa, there he would be found. He played an important part in the settlement in 1887 of the troubles with the Indians in the vicinity of Galbraith's Landing—later named Fort Steele—and he had gone to the Kootenays and composed affairs

(47) Personal diary in the possession of the family.

(48) Captain John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592–1906*, Ottawa, 1909, p. 400. Captain Walbran places the date of the naming as 1880, but it is more probably the following year when he was in the vicinity on board the *Rocket*.

with Chief Isadore before Major Sam Steele and his mounted police detachment arrived to do garrison duty there.[49]

As a business-man and investor Dr. Powell was shrewd. He early saw that a large city must eventually arise on the shores of Burrard Inlet, so in 1877 he bought District Lots 182 and 183 from the Hon. H. P. P. Crease for $3,500. These lots are included in the present-day Vancouver. This was his first, but by no means his last, investment in Vancouver real estate. He was one of the members of the syndicate that purchased the holdings of the Hastings Mill and gave one-third of their property to the Canadian Pacific Railroad as an inducement to extend the rails from Port Moody to Vancouver.[50] Following the incorporation of the city in the spring of 1886 and its destruction by fire two months later, Dr. Powell gave four lots on Powell Street (named for him) as a site for a permanent city hall. A rude building was erected and was occupied by the city for eleven years, after which time the city hall was moved to Westminster Avenue, now Main Street, and the Powell Street site became a junk-yard.

In 1889, in an effort to regain his health that had become impaired by his heavy responsibilities, Dr. Powell, accompanied by Major C. T. Dupont, visited Europe. Mrs. Powell and their daughter Mary, who had come to Europe to finish her education, remained in London while the two friends went ahead to Italy, spending considerable time in Rome. Dr. Powell kept a diary, in which he noted in detail the interesting works of art, historic places, and cultural relics he inspected. But amidst such absorbing wonders he had time to think of Vancouver, for sandwiched in between impressions of Roman art and his amazement at finding that the brain of Thomas à Becket was preserved in the Vatican museum appears a transaction between himself and Major Dupont by which he purchased a lot on Hastings Street and another in New Westminster for $12,500.[51]

British Columbia was constantly in his thoughts, and he filled columns in English newspapers with his descriptions of the opportunities that were to be found in the Province. He pre-

(49) *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs . . . 1887*, Ottawa, 1888, pp. 131–3. *See also* Victoria *Times*, July 7, 1887.

(50) From documents in the possession of the family.

(51) *Ibid.*

dicted that it would become a great fruit-growing country, and he enthused over its mining possibilities. He told of remembering that £80,000 worth of gold—including many nuggets, one being worth £20—was produced in a season on Leech River, only about 20 air-line miles distant from Victoria.[52] After visiting Rome he went on to Cairo, where he was stricken by typhoid fever and almost died. He returned to Venice to convalesce, and there he was joined by his wife and daughter. It was at this time that he resigned his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

On his return from Europe he turned his attention to agriculture. He acquired a property, which he called "Broadmead," in the Fraser Valley, south of New Westminster. He often visited it, taking a keen interest in discussing problems of the soil with Mr. Palmer who operated it for him. Later he bought farms in Saanich and Cowichan Districts.[53] But in his dealings in real estate and his work of directing the improvement of the Indians, he did not neglect public activities. He was one of the central figures in the agitation to have the British Columbia Medical Act passed in 1886, and when this was accomplished, he was honoured by his colleagues by being chosen first president of the British Columbia Medical Council.[54]

Nor did his interest in education lapse. He was in frequent consultation with the Provincial Government, cabinet ministers and officials alike, and was assiduous in pressing the need for improving educational opportunities. He was an advocate of higher education, and was one of those responsible for the passing of the Act establishing the University of British Columbia in 1890.[55] When the first convocation was held in October of that year, Dr. Powell was named the first Chancellor of the University.[56] His memorandum books show him in frequent

(52) Many of these articles are to be found in a scrap-book in the possession of the family.

(53) From documents in the possession of the family.

(54) A. S. Munro, M.D., "The Medical History of British Columbia," reprinted from *The Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 1931–32, p. 26.

(55) "British Columbia University Act, 1890," *Statutes of British Columbia, 1890*, Victoria, 1890, chap. 48, pp. 281–7.

(56) Victoria *Colonist*, October 21, 1890. *See also* correspondence between the Hon. John Robson and Dr. Powell in the possession of the family.

consultation with the Hon. John Robson. They were trying to arrange for the University to become a reality, but when the depression of 1893 struck the Province, it was realized that the construction of buildings would have to be deferred indefinitely.[57] Eventually an arrangement was made with McGill University by which the first two years of the Arts course could be taken in British Columbia, students going East to complete their courses. It was appropriate—and typical of the romance of British Columbia's development—that the young doctor who took the initiative in establishing British Columbia's first system of free education should live to become the chancellor of a university created by legislative enactment.

It was about this time that his eyesight showed the first signs of failing. Twice in succeeding years he visited Europe in an effort to save his sight. Temporary improvement was made as a result of operations, but gradually his vision declined, and the last few years of his life were passed in semi-darkness. He maintained his brightness of mind and keenness of intellect. He followed public events closely and sought to continue his life of public usefulness. Thus, in 1914, a few months before his death, he presented to the Provincial Archives a priceless treasure—the Journal of John Stuart, the companion of Simon Fraser in the exploration of the wilderness west of the Rockies. It had been in his possession for half a century.

On January 25, 1915, friends crowded into hospitable "Oakdene"; newspapers were filled with congratulations, public organizations and societies sent their felicitations, for it was the golden wedding anniversary of Dr. and Mrs. Powell. It was a happy day that the lovers spent amid their children and friends. But the honeymoon that had started in those busy, difficult days when Vancouver Island was a separate colony and he was fighting so hard to give its children a chance in life was drawing to a

(57) The original Act of 1890 was amended in 1891 ("British Columbia University Amendment Act, 1891," chap. 46, *Statutes of British Columbia, 1891*, Victoria, 1891, pp. 383–91), and a date fixed prior to which it was necessary for the Senate to have met. At the date fixed by Dr. Powell, a quorum did not assemble and consequently the Act became inoperative.

close.[58] It was just one month later, February 25, 1915, that the good doctor slept away into eternity.[59]

To-day the busy industrial community of Powell River recalls his name, as do streets in the great cities of Vancouver and Victoria. British Columbia's membership in Confederation is a testimonial to his efforts in the field of active politics. Every public school in the Province and the great university at Point Grey are monuments to his work as a pioneer in the realms of education. The medical services remember his efforts in earlier times with affection, and the great Masonic brotherhood recalls with gratitude his activities in that ancient craft. The Indians have not forgotten that he was their first champion. Truly few men have left such a splendid record of unselfish devotion and achievement for the public good than has Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M.

B. A. McKELVIE.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(58) Victoria *Colonist*, January 26, 1915.
(59) *Ibid.*, February 26, 1915.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Hotel Grosvenor, Vancouver, on Friday, January 17, with over thirty members present. The annual reports revealed that once again the Association had had a successful as well as active year. Paid-up members at the end of the year totalled 505, as compared with 497 in 1945; and of these, 173 belonged to the Victoria Section, 183 to the Vancouver Section, and there were 149 members-at-large. Financially the Association was in a strong position, for the balance carried forward into the new year was $235.74, despite the unusually heavy charges arising from the Oregon Boundary Centenary Celebration.

Points touched upon in the Secretary's report included a brief résumé of the arrangements made for the celebration of the centenary of the Oregon Boundary Treaty (already reported upon in a previous issue of the *Quarterly*), results of the essay competition sponsored by the Association, and the activity of the Historical Marker Committee headed by Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry.

Dr. W. Kaye Lamb presented his tenth report as editor of the *Quarterly*. Once again there had been an increase in the paid circulation: 536 for 1946, in comparison with 524 the previous year. As intimated last year, the editor wished to be relieved of his duties at the completion of Volume X., and the announcement was made that Mr. Willard E. Ireland would continue as editor. The meeting unanimously passed a motion expressing the deep gratitude and abiding sense of appreciation of the service rendered to the Association by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb in editing the *Quarterly* for the past ten years.

The twenty-fourth annual report of Major F .V. Longstaff, convenor of the Marine Committee, was submitted, in which the main maritime events of the past year were outlined and a report given of researches undertaken during the year.

Miss Madge Wolfenden then delivered her presidential address, entitled *Books and Libraries in Fur Trading and Colonial Days*. The history of the genesis of one of the most important educational institutions in our every-day life was detailed in a most informative manner. The text of the address will be printed in a forthcoming issue of this *Quarterly*.

The Secretary then presented the report of the scrutineers. The new Council met immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting, when the following officers were elected for 1946:—

Honorary President - - - - -	Hon. G. M. Weir.
President - - - - - - -	Mr. George B. White.
1st Vice-President - - - - -	Miss Alma Russell.
2nd Vice-President - - - - -	Rev. Wm. Stott.
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Miss Helen Boutilier
Honorary Treasurer - - - -	Mr. J. K. Nesbitt

Members of the Council—

Mr. Burt R. Campbell.
Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.
Dr. T. A. Rickard.
Major H. C. Holmes.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Dr. W. N. Sage.

Councillors *ex officio*—

Mrs. M. R. Cree, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Rev. Wm. Stott, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Miss Madge Wolfenden, Past President.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, *Quarterly*, and Provincial Archivist.

The Council unanimously approved a recommendation from the Victoria Section that a life membership be conferred upon Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson in recognition of her untiring efforts on behalf of the Association.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The life of one of British Columbia's great pioneers was the subject of an address before the Section at its regular meeting on October 21, held in the Provincial Library. Mr. B. A. McKelvie had entitled his paper *Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Wood Powell, M.D., C.M.* Drawing largely upon material kindly placed at his disposal by Mrs. David Doig, daughter of Dr. Powell, Mr. McKelvie was able to present many interesting and new sidelights on the career of one who contributed greatly to the development of this Province. The substance of this address appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Two daughters of the late Dr. Powell, Mrs. David Doig, Victoria, and Mrs. John Fordham, Vancouver, were in attendance at the meeting. The vote of thanks was tendered by Mr. Justice Harold B. Robertson, who, it was noted, had been ushered into the world by Dr. Powell.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library in conjunction with the unveiling of the plaque to the memory of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., on November 19—Douglas Day. Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, had been invited to give the commemorative address and, in consequence, only the report of the scrutineers was submitted, the remainder of the business of the annual meeting being deferred until the December meeting. The subject of Dr. Sage's address was *Sir James Douglas, K.C.B.: The Father of British Columbia.* Few persons have as intimate a knowledge of the life and character of Douglas as fur-trader and colonial administrator alike as has Dr. Sage. In a most interesting manner he sketched the career of the young Scot who, coming to America in 1819 as a clerk in the service of the North West Company, became one of the key-men of the Hudson's Bay Company's organization west of the Rocky Mountains and eventually the trusted colonial governor in the hectic period when empire was replacing fur trade. It is anticipated that this address will be published in a forthcoming issue of this *Quarterly*. Many of Sir James' descendants had gathered for the unique ceremony, and it was only fitting that the vote of appreciation should be tendered to the speaker by Colonel Chester Harris, a grandson of Douglas.

The inaugural meeting of the new Council was held in the Provincial Archives, November 25, when the executive for 1947 was elected:—

Chairman - - - - - - -	Mrs. Muriel R. Cree.
Vice-Chairman - - - - - -	Mr. J. A. Heritage.
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Major Harold Nation.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. R. H. Hiscocks.
Members of the Council—	
Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Mr. John Goldie.
Mr. B. A. McKelvie.	Mr. E. W. McMullen.
Dr. T. A. Rickard.	Miss Alma Russell.
Mrs. Curtis Sampson.	Mr. G. H. Stevens.
Miss Madge Wolfenden.	
Major H. C. Holmes (*ex officio*).	Mr. W. E. Ireland (*ex officio*).

The adjourned annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on December 13 with the retiring Chairman presiding. Reports were submitted by the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer, and Miss Madge Wolfenden presented a report from the Necrology Committee. A unanimous vote of appreciation was tendered to Mrs. M. R. Cree for her faithful services as Honorary Secretary for the past twelve years and the good wishes of the Section extended to her upon assuming its chairmanship. The speaker of the evening was Major A. D. Macdonald, son of the late Senator W. J. Macdonald, who read selected extracts from the printed diary of his father. J. W. Macdonald was a pioneer of 1851 whose active public life in colonial days was given recognition in the honour of being named the first senator after the accomplishment of Confederation.

VANCOUVER SECTION.

The speaker at the November meeting of the Section was the Rev. William Stott, of North Vancouver, who gave an account of his sojourn in the Cariboo, in 1910–15. When he went into the north country the "B.X." express, drawn by a four-horse team, was still the usual means of travel on the Cariboo Road; the "leaders" were usually only half broken, and could be depended upon to dance a jig when first released. Mr. Stott's talk was illustrated with slides, many made from photographs he had taken himself. These pictured Quesnel as a boom town, in Grand Trunk Pacific Railway construction days, and such well-known neighbouring spots as the Australian Ranch and Barkerville. The speaker next dealt with Tête Jaune Cache, and described a journey down the Fraser, partly by raft and partly by steamer, which brought the traveller first to Fort George and, in due course, back to Quesnel. In conclusion Mr. Stott spoke of some of the best-known characters of the time, including Pete Landry, and devoted the last part of a most interesting address to the story of John McLean, and the gold-rush of 1859.

The election of officers resulted in the return of the following slate for 1947:—

Honorary Chairman	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Chairman	Rev. Wm. Stott.
Vice-Chairman	Mr. L. S. Grant.
Honorary Secretary	Miss Edith Sturdy.
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. T. M. Stephen.
Members of the Council—	
Miss Helen Boutilier.	Mr. William Dalton.
Mr. J. W. Eastham.	Mr. George Green.
Mr. A. G. Harvey.	Dr. W. K. Lamb.
Miss Eleanor Mercer.	Mr. Elmore Meredith.
Dr. W. N. Sage.	Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

Mr. G. B. White (*ex officio*).

The last meeting in 1946 was held in the Hotel Grosvenor on Tuesday, December 10, when Mr. Stott, now Chairman of the Section, had the pleasure of introducing as speaker of the evening his friend and neighbour Captain Charles W. Cates. Captain Cates's father came to Burrard Inlet in January, 1886, and as his family had ever since been associated with the maritime activities of the Inlet, he was unusually well qualified to speak on *The Story of Vancouver's Waterfront.* As a boy Captain Cates came to know the Indians well, and he was able to preface the story of later days with some interesting references to old Indian place-names, the raids of the Haidas, the means whereby the local Indians finally learned to counter these, and so on. For a time the speaker's father worked in the old Hastings Mill, but the Cates family soon took to the sea, and in particular to tug-boating. When tugs were small and sailing ships comparatively large, this could be an adventurous occupation, and Captain Cates described, amongst other things, the daring fashion in which a little tug, by taking advantage of a strong outgoing tide, could drop a heavily laden sailing ship through the First Narrows stern first, when the more orthodox plan of towing her out would have been quite impracticable. About 1887–88 sailing ships frequenting the harbour became so large that it was evident that big sea-going tugs were essential, and such famous and powerful old vessels as the *Lorne*, *Pilot*, and *William Joliffe* were brought into service. The *Lorne* was the most powerful of the lot, and could tow a ship at the remarkable speed of 10 knots.

The innumerable points of interest touched upon by Captain Cates can only be suggested here. The *Senator* and other early ferries on the Inlet; the arrival of the first *Empresses* in 1891; the first motorships, which appeared about the time World War I. commenced; ship-building in the days of the Great War; log exporting, the grain trade, and other developments of the '20's; the many adventures and accidents that tugboat-men suffered when the Second Narrows Bridge was first erected; the story of the Burrard Drydock; and, finally, the immense ship-building effort that made Burrard Inlet a factor of importance in the war at sea so recently

concluded—all these and other topics were dealt with competently and humorously in a talk that those present found quite enthralling.

MEMORIAL TO SIR JAMES DOUGLAS, K.C.B.

An impressive ceremony marked the unveiling of a bronze plaque, erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, in the lobby of the Legislative Chamber, Victoria, on November 19, to commemorate the career of Sir James Douglas, K.C.B. Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board presided, and in a few fitting remarks explained that it had been the unanimous decision of the Board that the achievements of Sir James Douglas had been such as to merit his commemoration as a figure of national importance. The inscription reads:—

SIR JAMES DOUGLAS K.C.B.

1803–1877

" The Father of British Columbia "

Fur trader and statesman. In his early life he was associated first with the North West Company and later with the Hudson's Bay Company. He founded Fort Victoria in 1843. By his firm and wise rule as Governor of Vancouver Island, 1851–1864, and Governor of British Columbia, 1858–1864, he laid the foundation of this province.

The Hon. G. M. Weir, Minister of Education, in accepting the plaque on behalf of the Provincial Government, expressed appreciation of the decision of the Board in so recognizing one of the great figures of our history. The actual unveiling was performed by Sir James's granddaughter, Mrs. Fitzherbert Bullen, who in a few well-chosen words expressed the gratitude of the family for the high honour thus paid to her grandfather. At the conclusion of the ceremony those present adjourned to the Provincial Library, where Dr. W. N. Sage addressed the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association.

MEMORIAL CAIRNS UNVEILED IN LANGLEY.

November 19, the anniversary of the formal establishment of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, has a special significance in Langley, for the colony was proclaimed within the limits of the present municipality. This year the day was declared a municipal holiday, and the unveiling of two cairns, marking historic sites, made Tuesday, November 19, 1946, a memorable day for all interested in the history of the lower Fraser Valley.

The first cairn unveiled was erected at Jardine Station, on the Fraser Valley line of the British Columbia Electric Railway. It marks the point at which the celebrated James McMillan expedition, which the Hudson's Bay Company sent north from the Columbia River late in 1824 to seek a site for a trading-post on the lower Fraser, portaged from the Nicomekl River to the Salmon River. Joseph J. Morrison, who was born in Langley in 1861, unveiled the plaque, and Reeve Noel Booth of Langley Municipality recalled

the history and significance of the McMillan party's famous journey. Later in the afternoon Alexander Houston, another old-timer, drew aside the Union Jack that veiled the inscription on the second plaque which stands on land donated by Mr. Houston and marks the site of the original Fort Langley, which was built on the banks of the Fraser in 1827. The bronze plaques on both cairns were presented by the Provincial Department of Trade and Industry. Readers of the *Quarterly* will recall that, thanks to the interest and energy of Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, the Deputy Minister, many points of historic interest in British Columbia have been marked by this Department in recent years.

Following the two ceremonies, Alexander Hope, M.L.A., and Bruce A. McKelvie, the well-known journalist and historian, spoke in the Fort Langley Community Hall, and recalled the highlights in the municipality's eventful history. Mr. Hope pointed out that Langley was the birthplace of the Province's salmon industry, and mentioned other economic developments that could be traced back to the old fort on the Fraser. Mr. McKelvie outlined the history of the various fort buildings that had succeeded one another on several sites in the vicinity, and told the story of the 1858 gold-rush and the establishment of the Crown colony in November of that year.

An interesting feature of the meeting was the presence of Chief Gabriel, whose grandfather was amongst the Indians that met Simon Fraser when the famous explorer descended the Fraser River in 1808.

MEMORIAL TO JUDGE HOWAY.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recently placed a plaque, dedicated to the memory of Judge F. W. Howay, in the Court-house, New Westminster, and the memorial was unveiled at an interesting ceremony held on Monday, November 25, 1946, the seventy-ninth anniversary of Judge Howay's birth.

Mr. G. R. McQuarrie, Secretary of the New Westminster Bar Association, acted as chairman, assisted by Mr. W. Carney Bell, Chief Factor of the Native Sons, and Miss Anne Archibald, Past Grand Factor of the Native Daughters. The actual unveiling was performed by Judge Harry J. Sullivan, Judge Howay's successor on the County Court bench. Recalling that he had known him since boyhood, when Judge Howay had been the family lawyer, Judge Sullivan concluded his few remarks with these words, adapted from the inscription on the headstone that marks the grave of Judge Chartres Brew in the old Barkerville cemetery: "A man imperturbable in courage and temper, endowed with great and varied administrative capacity, a most ready wit, a most pure integrity and a human heart—to the memory of Judge Frederic William Howay, I dedicate this plaque."

Following the actual unveiling, the hundred or more persons who had gathered for the occasion adjourned to Judge Howay's old court-room. Here Magistrate H. L. Edmonds, K.C., President of the New Westminster Bar Association, spoke of Judge Howay's career as a lawyer and judge, while Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia representative on the Historic Sites

and Monuments Board of Canada, outlined the immense contribution he had made as a scholar and historian.

AUGUSTUS SCHUBERT: 1855–1946.

Augustus Schubert, who passed away at the home of his son, Augustus Jr., at Armstrong, B.C., on Thursday, November 7, 1946, was the last survivor of the colourful group of adventurers known as the "Overlanders," that made their famous trek across the prairies and through the mountains to British Columbia in 1862. He was born at St. Paul, Minnesota, on December 23, 1855, and in 1861 his parents with their three children, of whom Augustus was the eldest, moved to Fort Garry. There in the spring of 1862 the family joined the "Overland" party, and Mrs. Schubert had the unique distinction of being the only woman in the group. Augustus, better known to his many friends as "Gus," retained vivid memories of many of the incidents of that journey, which took place in his seventh year.

From Kamloops, which their party reached on October 13, 1862, the Schubert family moved to Lillooet, where Augustus grew up and received a limited education. When he left home he worked at various places, including Clinton and Victoria, until he settled in the North Okanagan in the year 1881, and became one of the pioneers of the Armstrong community. On July 1, 1883, he married Elizabeth Fulton, who predeceased him in September, 1932. His family included one son and five daughters, of whom all but one daughter still survive.

Augustus Schubert was held in high regard by all his neighbours, and though never aspiring to be a public figure, he was elected to serve as reeve in the Municipality of Spallumcheen in 1892, when he held office for two years, and again in 1904 when he served for three years. The funeral service was held in the Community Hall, Armstrong, on Sunday, November 10, and interment was made in the Armstrong cemetery in the presence of a large gathering of friends and neighbours. The old-timers, who had lived in the district forty years or more, of whom there were nearly 100 present, held a simple ceremonial at the grave-side to pay their tribute of respect.

REV. F. E. RUNNALLS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

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Dr. T. A. Rickard is a former President of the British Columbia Historical Association and the author of many books, including *Technical Writing*, *Man and Metals*, and *The Romance of Mining*.

B. A. McKelvie, journalist and historian, has done much to arouse general interest in things historic in the Province. Writer of numerous newspaper articles, he has also written several books, his latest being *Maquinna the Magnificent*.

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THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Growing Pains: the Autobiography of Emily Carr, with a foreword by Ira Dilworth. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi., 381. Ill. $3.

Growing Pains is well named. It is the record of the painful process of an artist's struggle for expression and for recognition—her "growing-up." Emily Carr was a supersensitive soul and in her autobiography she has given an honest picture of herself from her childhood days to her old age, not glossing over the less attractive phases of her life, but portraying the highlights and many of the minor details, unbecoming or otherwise, of her artistic career.

Emily's friends and admirers have awaited the publication of this her latest book with much anticipation, and they will not be disappointed. It is written with the same skill and ease with which *Klee Wyck* and *The Book of Small* were executed. The style is almost journalistic in its crispness and present-day phraseology, and her homely figures of speech are at the same time pungent and humorous.

Although the book is on the whole a sad story of the unfolding and fulfilment of her artistic life, there are numerous amusing episodes in it which relieve the depressing scenes of illness and frustration. Her descriptions of places and events are truly the word-pictures of a born artist. As in her paintings, so in her writing—bold, deft strokes are employed to create with great effect.

Growing Pains is more than the story of Emily Carr's life—it is a revelation of her character and her brave undaunted spirit which, in spite of many handicaps, still strove forward. In it she had revealed herself to her readers; the book might almost have been called "Self Portrait," and in her truly characteristic way she would never have published it during her lifetime. It is a legacy left to those who loved and admired her.

As was to be expected, Emily Carr has here given loud voice to her many antipathies, one being her dislike of England and the English people. One is forced to smile at the emphasis and stress which she puts upon her own Canadian-ness, for her parents were both English and had brought her up in English ways, and so, in spite of herself, she was more English than Canadian. What she is pleased to call her love of Canada and the Canadian woods and untamed wilderness can be reduced, moreover, to an intense love of British Columbia, her homeland. The Eastern Provinces and the Prairies did not appeal to her in at all the same way as British Columbia's forests and sea-coast, where she was most at home and into which she fitted as a hand fits into a glove.

All through the pages of this delightful book the author's hatred of sham and pretence serve to emphasize her own intense honesty and sincerity. Her throwing aside of the meaningless conventions of life as conformed to

by peoples in older lands, and her love of a simpler mode of existence, show her to have been a real product of the West. She quite revelled in being different to her prim sisters, and was often more eccentric than she need have been just because she enjoyed shocking her conventional friends.

Her summary of the British Columbia Indian's artistic talent and conception of art is worth quoting:—

> The Indian caught first at the inner intensity of his subject, worked outward to the surfaces. His spiritual conception he buried deep in the wood he was about to carve. Then—chip! chip! his crude tools released the symbols that were to clothe his thought—no sham, no mannerism. The lean, neat Indian hands carved what the Indian mind comprehended.

From this, one is better able to appreciate and understand some of her own pictures which may hitherto have been incomprehensible.

Growing Pains abounds in delightful descriptions of scenery and wild life. The author's references to the wild geese and the English song-birds will charm every nature lover's heart. Emily had a pronounced understanding of animal life and of primitive people and her portrayal of Indian Sophie displaying her babies' graves is both poignant and penetrating.

In this book Emily Carr has given glimpses into her philosophy of life and hints that she was capable of writing of abstract topics with equal fluency. By this she has whetted one's appetite for the publication of her *Journals* which it is hoped will make their appearance in due course. All through the book the author's deep love for and understanding of nature is most evident.

In format the book is of the usual high standard which the Oxford University Press has established, and the numerous reproductions of the author's work and photographs of her as a young woman add greatly to its charm and to the pleasure of the reader.

Growing Pains is another noteworthy contribution to Canadian literature and a most enjoyable book.

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The Westward Crossings. By Jeannette Mirsky. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. Pp. xv., 365, xii. Maps and ill. $4.50.

This is an excellent book, well written. It tells again, from a fresh point of view, the stories of three historic explorations—namely, those led by the Spaniard, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the Scotsman, Alexander Mackenzie, and the two Americans, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. These three expeditions ascertained the size and shape of North America and prepared the way for the subsequent complete occupation of the northern half of the continent by European invaders.

The author, apparently an American by adoption, stresses the fact that Spanish America is a principal antecedent of the United States. "If we remember England as our mother, we should remember," she says, "that we were sired by Spain." The occupation formerly of a part of the present United States territory by the Spaniards is a fact, but the influence on the

culture and political growth of the States is much less than the author wishes to stress.

The story of Balboa, the first of the *conquistadores*, is told with much spirit. Balboa's untimely death, due to the jealousy and hate of Pedrarias Dávila, is only one of the many dastardly deeds that besmirched the glory of Spanish achievement in the New World. The author tells the story vividly. If Balboa had survived, he, and not a much inferior man, Francisco Pizarro, would have explored and looted Peru. However, if Balboa's life was thus cut short cruelly, his fame is established forever by his discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the proof that the New World was not a part of the Indies. When he stood "lone upon a peak in Darien," on September 25, 1513, he fixed one of the great landmarks of history.

The next story, that of Mackenzie's expedition from Lake Athabaska across the Rocky Mountains to the coast of the Pacific, is wholly different from the Spanish explorations. There is no cruelty to record, and no bloodshed. There might have been both if Mackenzie had been a man of different disposition. On the contrary, in his encounter with various tribes of Indians, some of them inclined to be hostile, he exhibited courage, tact, and good-will. Thereby he obviated friction with the savages. On pages 161 and 162 the author gives a good description of one of these encounters, on the amicable outcome of which the lives of Mackenzie's party and the success of his expedition depended. His party numbered ten, two of them Indians, six French-Canadians, and a Scot, Alexander Mackay. He controlled his party well, by means of the confidence he inspired in his leadership, as also by his good sense and kindliness.

The expedition was stimulated by the information, disclosed by the men that had accompanied Captain Cook to Nootka, that sea-otters were plentiful there. When Mackenzie approached the coast, at Bella Coola, he was given "a magnificent sea-otter robe" by an Indian chief, and when he reached the sea, in Dean Channel, he saw "a great number of sea otters." He started on October 10, 1792, and completed his quest on July 22, 1793. By one of the most poignant accidents recorded in history, he missed a meeting with Captain George Vancouver, who had explored Dean Channel on June 3, only seven weeks earlier. One can imagine what a delight it would have been to these two gallant men if they had met and compared notes.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was sent by Thomas Jefferson, as President, to explore the western wilderness and "for the purpose of extending the internal commerce of the United States"; it was an expression of the idea of "manifest destiny," the seed of which had been planted in Jefferson's mind by John Ledyard, who had been corporal of marines on Captain Cook's voyage to the Northwestern Coast. The author lays stress on the important part that Ledyard played in this development of American policy. She has written an important page of history in explaining the relation of Ledyard's ideas to Jefferson's far-seeing action in extending American control westward to the Pacific Coast.

Both Lewis and Clark were soldiers. This expedition therefore was subject to military discipline, and it was carefully organized. Both men

were well educated, and made the most of their opportunities to study and describe the resources of the region across which they made their laborious way.

A romantic detail of this historic adventure is the assistance given by a young Indian girl, one of the Shoshone tribe, who was the wife of the interpreter, a French-Canadian named Touissant Charbonneau. Her name was Sacajawea, meaning "bird woman." With her travelled her little son, not quite two months old. Her husband proved stupid and lacking in courage, but she herself possessed amply the qualities he lacked. The presence of a woman in the party served to show the Indians whom they met on the way that the purpose of the expedition was peaceful. Sacajawea belonged to a tribe of Shoshones living on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains and had been captured in a raid of Minnetarees, Indians of the great plains east of the Rockies. Charbonneau had bought her when only twelve years old. She was able to guide the explorers to the Lemhi Pass, which took them across the continental divide. She also, of course, aided her husband as an interpreter when various Indians were encountered.

Here we come to an interesting subject—namely, the assistance given to official explorers by "squaw-men." This term, applied contemptuously to white men mated with Indian women, expressed a false sentiment. All along the frontier, where women were lacking, it was not unusual, and it was natural, for white men to mate with Indian girls. The French in the early days of Canada encouraged such miscegenation, because it helped to create friendly relations with the Iroquois. There is scarcely a single report of westward exploration that does not mention the guidance obtained from Indians that knew a little English or a white man that could ask the Indians for the necessary information.

Three times in this book the author speaks of a river fighting its way or forcing a passage through a range of mountains. This is unscientific. John Ruskin, in *Modern Painters*, said truly: "I am not satisfied—no one should be satisfied—with that vague answer,—the river cut its way. Not so. The river *found* its way." The geologist will concur.

The author indulges in several Americanisms which are illiteracies. To write English acceptably one should avoid words and phrases that are not scholarly, whether American or British, such as "readied" meaning to make ready, "that far" instead of "so far," "impractical" instead of "unpractical" or "impracticable," "luscious" meaning richly sweet and applied improperly to otter skins, "nightmarish," "hike," and "cussedness." Some people may like such words, so used. *Chacun à son goût, et le marchand vend tout.*

A few bibliographic references are given, but not in sufficient number for an historical volume. A list of authors is added at the end of the book, but that does not suffice. There is some excuse for this lack of adequate references. The author herself says: "This book, making use of scholars' researches, is written for the wider public that often supposes scholarly research to be tedious, technical and esoteric." Repeatedly the author imparted thoughts and motives to the heroes of her three stories without

giving any evidence therefor. They may add to the charm of her tale, but, in effect, they tend to mar the historicity of her book. These are minor points of criticism. This book has proved interesting and informative.

T A. RICKARD.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Indian Relics of the Pacific Northwest. By H. G. Seaman. Portland, Oregon; Binfords and Mort [1946]. Pp. viii., 157. Ill. $3.

In the contemplation of this review a difficult task is faced, a task difficult for several reasons. Not the least of these is found in the fact that the reviewer is torn between two forces: on the one hand is his duty to the subject and on the other his duty to the author. This trouble is common to all reviewers, but in this immediate case the question is complicated by the fact that the author happens to be an old friend to whom the reviewer owes much.

The book is found to be comprised of one hundred and fifty-odd pages giving a straightforward account of the experiences of the author. These experiences cover a long period of years and were gained while the author was collecting archæological relics along the lower reaches of the Columbia River and the deserts of the southern hinterland reached through the Des Chutes Valley. In view of these geographical limitations those familiar with the cultures found north of the described area may feel that the title of the book outreaches the scope of its discussion.

Nevertheless, those who open the book at random in the comfort of their firesides will feel that Mr. Seaman has presented some very interesting reading and is much to be complimented on his perpetuation of some very excellent pictures. He tells about the location of his hunting-ground and gives some indication of the joys of his hunting. But it is herein that a danger lies. Many people having cars and seeking new interests in life will be inspired by Mr. Seaman's example and will look forward to doing in a smaller way, perhaps, what he has done. Mr. Seaman thus may have given impetus to many, and among them money-conscious hordes, who will increasingly invade what more educated people may regard as "holy ground." To offset this condition the author might have advanced an argument in favour of the superior claims of scientific treatment which, if formulated with examples, would surely appeal to intelligent people. Unfortunately Mr. Seaman has said nothing about this all-important subject in his book. These objects which he handles and of which he treats are held by him in trust for posterity, and posterity will criticize him for whatever errors he may make in omitting to safeguard the interests of its children. We know so little of primitive human life and are so hungry for greater knowledge that we are impatient when we see the sources of that knowledge carelessly handled or despoiled.

In view of Mr. Seaman's great opportunities and long experience it would have been well had he been in closer touch with those trained authorities of whom there are many at work in his State, then perhaps his interesting narrative would have gained merit by the inclusion of guidance

principles. In view of the importance of the argument for science, reference to several minor errors and erroneous deductions have been omitted. None of these, however, overshadow the simpler merits of the book, which, from the point of view of narrative and pictorial representation, are many.

A. E. PICKFORD.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VICTORIA, B.C.

SHORTER NOTICES.

Driftwood Valley. By Theodora C. Stanwell-Fletcher. Boston; Little, Brown and Company, 1946. Pp. 384. Ill. by John F. Stanwell-Fletcher. $4.

Here is a book that will not fail to provide a delightful experience to all readers, whether or not they are interested in the out-of-doors. Written in an informal diary style the contents give a woman's angle of a two-year period spent in a remote portion of the Interior of British Columbia north of Takla Lake. The author and her explorer-artist husband selected this spot in which to make a natural history study for its beauty as well as for its isolation. The result has enriched not only the Provincial Museum of British Columbia, which received many specimens in return for certain assistance, but also readers in general who may share rare experiences so vividly described by Mrs. Stanwell-Fletcher.

The author is a trained biologist, yet she has the enviable ability of describing things simply so that the reader appears to see them through his own eyes. The many delightful accounts of animals and plants add much to the charm of this book, and the life-like sketches of Mr. Stanwell-Fletcher greatly enhance its appeal. *Driftwood Valley* has already given rise to much interest in a hitherto little-known section of our Province and will undoubtedly continue to do so for a long time to come.

G. CLIFFORD CARL.

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VICTORIA, B.C.

Ballads of the Pacific Northwest. By Robert Allison Hood. Toronto; The Ryerson Press [1946]. Pp. xii., 170. Ill. $2.50.

Not often is it possible to commend to readers a book of poetry on an historical theme which is alike pleasing to the poetic ear and satisfactory to the critical eye. Yet to a very high degree *Ballads of the Pacific Northwest* has accomplished just that. The ballad form requires simplicity in the retelling of a well-known story in graphic language. Mr. Hood has selected five general types from the cavalcade of participants in the history of the Pacific Northwest—the sailor, the Indian, the voyageur, the explorer, and the miner. For each of these he has selected representative stories from the vast field of historic lore. Thus we read of the exploits of Captain George Vancouver, Maquinna and John R. Jewitt, Alexander Mackenzie, David Thompson, Sacajawea, Walter Moberly, and John A. "Cariboo" Cameron. Each ballad is accompanied by a brief prose historical narrative. The book is beautifully illustrated and has been printed with care.

W. E. I.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by DON MCDIARMID, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1947.

The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

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