

THE
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY



JANUARY - APRIL, 1954

The

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published by the Archives of British Columbia
in co-operation with the
British Columbia Historical Association.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. XVIII

VICTORIA, B.C., JANUARY-APRIL, 1954

Nos. 1 and 2

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THE EARLY MILITIA AND DEFENCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1871-1885

When the Crown Colony of British Columbia entered into confederation with the Dominion of Canada in 1871, the problem of its defence was automatically assumed by the Federal authorities. At that time there existed in British Columbia, at least in name, three militia units. In the Provincial capital was the Victoria Rifle Corps, a unit formed in the summer of 1864, consisting of two companies, each of which once had a peak strength of some forty-five men. On the Mainland, in New Westminster, were two militia companies. The New Westminster Volunteer Rifles had been formed in November, 1863. In its ranks were to be found many men who had served with the recently disbanded detachment of Royal Engineers.¹ The Seymour Artillery Company, also of New Westminster, was organized in July, 1866, as a direct result of the Fenian scare in the East, but it was not until a year later that this company received its main armament—two 24-pounder bronze cannon.

The artillery and infantry companies were, as their names suggest, composed entirely of volunteers. Then, as now, interest in the militia units was governed mainly by the imminence of internal or external danger to the colony. Thus, during the time of the Fenian scare in 1866, the militia ranks had been swelled to their greatest numbers. As fears of such a raid subsided, interest in the companies waned and their strength melted as a consequence. In many respects the attention paid the militia by the local government and the Colonial Office paralleled that in the colony itself. At the height of the Fenian scare the War Office shipped a supply of guns, rifles, ammunition, and equipment to the colony, most of which, when it arrived in 1867, was used to outfit the New Westminster companies. No comparable supply of warlike stores reached British Columbia again until six years later. The colonial government, whose past financial grants to the militia companies were both few and meagre, was delighted at the response to the threatened Fenian raid. Not only did the men enrol in the militia, but they pur-

(1) The first detachment of Royal Engineers to be sent from England to British Columbia arrived in the colony in 1858. Of a total of 165 who came, about 130 decided to remain in the colony when their detachment was disbanded in 1863. F. W. Howay, *The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1858 to 1863*, Victoria, 1910, p. 11.

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chased their own uniforms and contributed toward the maintenance of the companies. This spirit of sacrifice, applauded but unmatched by the colonial legislature, subsided into an apathy and neglect from 1867 onwards.

By 1871, therefore, the militia in British Columbia was but a shadow of its former state. Armed with outmoded muzzle-loading rifles,² ignored by the authorities in London, faced with indifference at home, the companies were weak in morale, strength, armament, and training.

With no effective military force available, the defence of the Pacific Coast rested with such British naval vessels as were present at the Esquimalt naval base. Here, too, the situation was not always satisfactory. The Pacific Squadron was responsible for the protection of British interests in a sea area covering many thousand square miles, and the troubled waters off South America frequently denuded the British Columbia coast of all but one or two gun-vessels. Indeed, such was the situation when, a few months after its confederation with Canada, an incident occurred which was to emphasize the defenceless state of British Columbia and which, ultimately, was to hasten the establishment of the first Canadian militia forces in the Province.

On December 31, 1871, the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, Joseph W. Trutch, received an anonymous letter which read as follows:—

Victoria, B.C.

To His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor 29th December, 1871

Sir:

There are now in town a Company of Fenians who hold regular meetings and are well drilled. Take a warning—they are now in part of the Dominion and will have revenge yet from the Canadians. Several of the Government Rifles and Bayonets are in their hands, also some of the ammunition for Long Enfield Rifles.

This, Sir, is a warning. You may treat it as you think, but it is true nevertheless.

[Signed] "From a Loyal Subject
in Victoria"³

(2) In March, 1875, when the Provincial Government handed over its obsolete military stores to the Department of Militia and Defence, 496 Brunswick Short rifles and 289 Enfield Long rifles were included in the transfer. These weapons were far inferior to the breech-loading Snider-Enfield rifles provided the Canadian militia in 1867. Public Archives of Canada, Papers of the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, Letters Received, 1875, No. 01424. (Hereafter this source will be cited as *D.M. Papers*.)

(3) *Ibid.*, No. 6278. This docket contains all the correspondence between Trutch and the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Joseph Howe, regarding the Fenian scare in Victoria, together with enclosures sent to Howe relating to Trutch's correspondence with Captain Cator and others.

Upon receipt of this warning, and after a hurried meeting with his Executive Council, the Lieutenant-Governor took immediate steps to forestall any Fenian raid from within or without. On New Year's Day he sent a message to Captain R. P. Cator, R.N., then Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, advising him of the warning note he had received. In this message he stated he did not seriously apprehend any such attack to be impending, but, he added:—

. . . In view of the events which happened in 1870 in the Province of Quebec and still more recently in the Province of "Manitoba" and the known character and aims of the Fenian organization, I think it incumbent to take such steps as are in our power to prevent the perpetration of robbery and outrage in our neighborhood.⁴

Under the circumstances, therefore, Trutch requested Cator to station the gun-vessel H.M.S. *Boxer*⁵ in Victoria Harbour and to take any further steps he thought advisable after consulting with the Attorney-General, Honourable J. F. McCreight, the bearer of the message.

Captain Cator's action was prompt. The *Boxer* was immediately sent to the harbour, but, after further consultation, a more elaborate scheme of defence was worked out. H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk*⁶ was directed to lay off the harbour-mouth to prevent the entry or exit of all boats and vessels to and from the harbour until satisfied they were engaged in lawful business. It would also render assistance should there be any attack on Victoria. The *Sparrowhawk* was also to keep a lookout for a signal made by those on shore should the Fenians attack from an unexpected quarter. In such a case, the Victoria Police were to fire a series of rockets from the Government Buildings. On seeing this signal, the *Sparrowhawk* would fire three guns in succession. This would both answer the signal on shore and at the same time alert the ships in Esquimalt. On hearing the signal guns H.M.S. *Boxer* was to get up steam immediately and call alongside the *Scout*⁷ and *Sparrowhawk* for the purpose of collecting a party of fifty Royal Marines. These men, under the command of Lieutenant Hume, R.M.L.I., would be rushed

(4) *Loc. cit.*

(5) H.M.S. *Boxer*, commanded by Lieutenant-Commander F. W. Egerton, was a composite-built screw gun-vessel mounting four guns.

(6) H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk*, commanded by Commander H. W. Mist, was a somewhat heavier and more powerful gun-vessel than the *Boxer* but carried the same number of guns.

(7) H.M.S. *Scout*, commanded by Captain R. P. Cator, was a screw-propelled corvette carrying seventeen guns. Its displacement (2,187 tons) and power (1,327 horse-power) were respectively more than triple and double that of the gun-vessels.

to Victoria and landed near the Government Buildings, while the *Boxer* would proceed up the harbour to act as the circumstances warranted.⁸

The plan of defence, awkward as it appears, was probably as effective a plan as was feasible at the time. In Victoria the government was unable to call upon the militia to render assistance,⁹ and the available handful of police was little more than a token force. Captain Cator had his own problems, too, since in case of a raid it would be his special duty to guard the Esquimalt naval base, and for that purpose he would require a large part of the naval force under his command. As he pointed out to Trutch:—

. . . Without some more efficient force than now exists in Victoria it is evident that such outrages as are alleged to have been intended, may be organized with impunity in your midst, and I cannot but suggest that this force should be so increased and reorganized as to furnish a real protection to life and property, and so prevent the re-occurrence of such alarms as we have been subject to lately. I would also bring before your notice the very exposed position of British Columbia, with scattered towns which would be unable to afford each other assistance in consequence of their distance apart, and the whole appearing to me entirely dependent for protection in case of outbreak or raid on what little assistance that can be offered by Ships of War present at Esquimalt. This I attribute to the entire absence of any Military force in the Province and would again suggest that Victoria should be made the depot of a well organized body of Militia and Police, not only for the protection of that town, but such as to be able to render assistance in case of emergency to other parts of the Colony [sic].¹⁰

These military facts of life had already become glaringly apparent to Trutch and his Executive Council. On January 2, with the *Sparrowhawk* patrolling the harbour-mouth and the *Boxer*, with steam up and guns ready for action, stationed inside the harbour, Trutch wrote Joseph Howe informing him of the steps he had taken.¹¹ These measures seem to have been effective, for if there was any factual basis for the warning—

(8) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6278, Cator to Trutch, January 2, 1872; Trutch to Cator, January 3, 1872.

(9) The Victoria Volunteer Rifle Corps was in no condition to act in this crisis. A local newspaper commented on the unit as follows: "It is problematical to what extent it would be safe to rely upon this force as a means of repelling a Fenian invasion. If we are correctly informed that it has lapsed into a torpid state, it would, perhaps, be wisest not to count upon it at all as a means of defence." *Victoria Colonist*, January 4, 1872.

(10) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6278, Cator to Trutch, January 7, 1872.

(11) *Ibid.*, Trutch to Howe, January 2, 1872. In this letter Trutch wrote that, aside from the warning letter he had received, "certain significant though inexplicit rumours . . . of late reached us from San Francisco of some contemplated Fenian movement in this direction. . . ."

and certainly the Victoria Police could find none—the naval preparations would appear to have forestalled any proposed raid. Local interest in the scare quickly subsided, but although it was soon treated as a joke, newspaper comment expressed the hope that the Province might soon have better protection.

Stronger defences were also uppermost in the minds of the Executive. At the meeting held on January 2 it was decided that in view of the inadequate state of the militia and the uncertainty of the naval protection afforded by the warships at Esquimalt, the Dominion Government should be urged to take the following steps. First, every effort should be made to induce the Imperial Government to make Esquimalt the permanent headquarters station of the British North Pacific Fleet, and to agree to keep, in addition to the gun-vessels detailed for service in British Columbia waters, at least one heavy frigate. Further, the Canadian militia system should be extended to the Province and a regular force of 100 men stationed there. Finally, the Executive asked for a reliable detective to keep watch on the Fenians and report their intentions or movements.¹²

In communicating these views to the Federal authorities, Trutch pointed out that British Columbia, and especially Victoria, was more exposed to a hit-and-run attack than perhaps any other portion of the Dominion. Not only would an attack by sea give all the advantages of concealment and surprise to the enemy, but the geographical remoteness of British Columbia from the rest of the Dominion made any hope of timely aid out of the question. Under such circumstances, and until an efficient militia force was organized, the Navy formed not only the first but the only line of defence. If the Province could rely upon the Navy having a minimum of two gun-vessels and a frigate present at Esquimalt, then, thought Trutch, it would be impracticable for any party of marauders to get away from the Island even if they should overpower those on shore. However, as matters stood, H.M.S. *Scout* was under orders to go to the Sandwich Islands in March, and the Admiralty had intimated a few months previously that it wanted the *Sparrowhawk* removed from the station.¹³

(12) Minute of the Executive Council of British Columbia, January 2, 1872, enclosed in *ibid.*

(13) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6278, Trutch to Howe, January 9, 1872. Four days before sending this message, Trutch had telegraphed Sir John A. Macdonald outlining the measures he had taken. The Prime Minister, in a personal letter to the Governor-General on January 18, suggested that the Fenian "scare" would be

Part of Trutch's fears, however, was soon dispelled. On January 20 word was received in Ottawa that the Admiralty had decided to leave the *Sparrowhawk* at Esquimalt for the present, and, further, that a vessel of similar tonnage and armament would replace her when that vessel was recalled.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the gun-vessel still remained on guard outside the harbour-mouth, waiting in vain for the Fenians. At the end of the month the Executive Council reconsidered the necessity of keeping the *Sparrowhawk* at its station. Trutch suggested to Cator that, in view of the severe weather, the ship might be anchored within the harbour itself, but Cator countered with the proposal that the vessel should be withdrawn altogether. Despite every appearance of continued peace and calm, Trutch remained cautious and tartly replied that he had not received any information ". . . as would warrant the conclusion that the special protection offered during the past month by the Naval Force under your command can be dispensed with, without risk of life and property in the city."¹⁵ A gun-vessel continued to guard Victoria until the end of February, but target practice provided the only break in the monotony for its officers and crew.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, Trutch's correspondence and the obvious need of a system of defence in British Columbia had come to the attention of the Minister of Militia and Defence, Sir George E. Cartier. It was the opinion of the Adjutant-General of Militia, Colonel F. Robertson-Ross, that for the present time a quota of no more than 500 militiamen should be raised in Military District No. 11.¹⁶ However, he suggested that for "prudential reasons" a depot consisting of sufficient arms, equipment, and ammunition for 1,000 men should be formed in Victoria

sufficient grounds for repeating the request to the British Admiralty to retain the *Sparrowhawk* at Esquimalt for another season. Public Archives of Canada, *G 20*, Vol. 140, No. 2286, Macdonald to Lisgar, January 18, and enclosed telegram, Trutch to Macdonald, January 5, 1872.

(14) Public Archives of Canada, *G I*, Vol. 185, p. 32, Kimberley to Lisgar, January 4, 1872. These instructions reached Ottawa sixteen days later. On that day Trutch had written Macdonald: "I do trust you are intending to do something at once to put us in a more decent state of defence. . . . We ought to have not only a detachment of permanently embodied militia quartered here but a fort for the protection of the entrance to Esquimalt and Victoria Harbour garrisoned by a proper force of artillery." Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald Papers*, Vol. 278, pp. 150-151.

(15) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6322, enclosures, Trutch to Cator, January 31, 1872.

(16) British Columbia was designated Military District No. 11 on October 16, 1871. *Militia General Orders*, October 16, 1871. (Hereafter cited as *M.G.O.*)

immediately. This suggestion was acted upon, and on February 26 an order for arms and equipment was sent to England. Although no cannon were included in the purchase, the arms ordered were the latest type of breech-loading Snider rifles.¹⁷

The choice of a suitable commander for British Columbia fell ultimately on Charles F. Houghton. An Irishman by birth, Houghton had served as a commissioned officer in the 57th and 20th Regiments of Foot, both in England and abroad. In 1863, at the age of 25, he sold his commission and came to British Columbia, where he took up farming in the Okanagan Valley. In 1871 he was elected a member to the House of Commons, and it was in Ottawa that he heard the appointment of Deputy Adjutant-General for Military District No. 11 was to be filled.¹⁸ His application for the position was strongly supported by his fellow members of parliament from British Columbia, and at the end of the session, after talking to Cartier, Houghton returned home in June confident his appointment would take place immediately.

The decision to appoint Houghton to the vacant post was delayed by the proposed visit of the Adjutant-General to British Columbia to survey the military situation there for himself. Robertson-Ross arrived in Victoria for a two-week visit on October 28, 1872. In his report he suggested the formation of two companies of militia at Victoria, one in Nanaimo, New Westminster, and Burrard's Inlet, and the reorganization of the almost defunct artillery company at New Westminster.¹⁹ The death of Cartier once more delayed Houghton's appointment, and consequently the implementation of the Adjutant-General's recommendations. It was not until March 21, 1873, that Houghton was given the

(17) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6279, Memorandum, Robertson-Ross to Cartier. These stores cost approximately \$50,000. The arms, etc., were shipped direct from England to Victoria.

(18) *D.M. Papers*, No. 6521, Houghton to Cartier, April 22, 1872. Another applicant for the vacancy was Captain W. A. Delacombe, who at this time was in charge of the detachment of Royal Marines on San Juan Island. This officer's application was supported by the signatures of over 200 residents of Victoria. Houghton's political supporters, however, carried more weight and influence in Ottawa. See also *ibid.*, Nos. 6708 and 7785.

(19) Department of Militia and Defence, *Report on the State of the Militia of the Dominion of Canada . . . 1872*, Ottawa, 1873, p. cxxvi. (Hereafter cited as *Militia Report* with the appropriate year.) This inspection tour across Canada by Robertson-Ross was probably the most remarkable tour ever made by an Adjutant-General of the Canadian Forces. See R. H. Roy, "The Colonel Goes West," *Canadian Army Journal*, VIII (1954), pp. 76-81.

rank of lieutenant-colonel and designated the Deputy Adjutant-General of British Columbia.²⁰

The arms and equipment from England did not reach Victoria until the summer of 1873, and since the town possessed neither magazine nor armoury, they were stored in private warehouses until that situation was remedied. In October, Houghton received authority to proceed with the raising of five companies of militia; the two in Victoria were limited to an enrolment of fifty other ranks, while a limit of forty militiamen was placed on the rifle companies in the other centres. These men were to be raised, drilled, and paid under the same militia system existing in the rest of the Dominion. To encourage the formation of the new corps, band instruments were purchased to help raise the martial spirit, and both a rifle range and drill-shed were promised, providing the land was donated by the several municipal authorities.

The formation of the rifle companies at Victoria and New Westminster was completed with little difficulty. Nos. 1 and 2 Company of Rifles at Victoria came into existence on February 13, 1874. No. 1 Company of Rifles at New Westminster was posted in orders on the same day.²¹ The Company at Nanaimo was not formed until some months later. The method used by Houghton to raise this company was quite typical of the times. He journeyed to Nanaimo on April 14 and, he wrote:—

On arrival . . . I immediately posted notices and convened a public meeting at the Court House on the evening of the 16th. On which occasion, having explained the Militia Act and Regulations to them, I succeeded in enrolling seventeen volunteers. At a subsequent meeting held at the same place I enrolled nineteen more names, making a total in all of thirty-six, from which number I selected a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign in whose hands I placed the roll for completion.²²

A further problem Houghton had to deal with was the lack of a drill instructor for the Nanaimo company. For a short time a private from one of the Victoria companies, himself newly trained, drilled the volunteers, but it was feared, with good reason, that he was likely "to do as

(20) *M.G.O.*, No. 6, March 28, 1873.

(21) *M.G.O.*, No. 3, February 13; No. 8, April 11, 1874.

(22) *D.M. Papers*, No. 9937, enclosure, Houghton to Colonel Powell, May 4, 1874. Colonel Powell succeeded Robertson-Ross as the Adjutant-General of Militia.

much harm as good.”²³ Finally the services of a gunner’s mate from H.M.S. *Myrmidon*, then stationed at Esquimalt, was acquired for six weeks, and No. 1 Company of Rifles at Nanaimo set to work with a will.

The summer of 1874 also saw the formation of the Seymour Battery of Garrison Artillery in New Westminster.²⁴ Although provided with new uniforms and rifles, the battery—actually a half-battery—had only the two outmoded 24-pounder howitzers for its main armament. Moreover, the field carriages on which these bronze cannon were mounted and the harness needed to pull the carriages were fast deteriorating through long neglect.

Once the new militia was organized in British Columbia, the need for drill-halls, magazines, and rifle ranges in Victoria, New Westminster, and Nanaimo became pressing. By June, 1874, tenders for the construction of a drill-shed in Victoria had been received, and work on the building began in August. When completed in December it cost almost \$4,500. Measuring 112 by 64 feet, it had a fairly large central hall with five rooms on either side containing offices and storerooms. At either end of the hall was a door, one acting as the front entrance, while the other led to a cleared plot of land at the rear which was used for drill purposes.²⁵

A magazine for the storage of ammunition, powder, and explosives was built several years later. For some time the Hudson’s Bay Company rented space on their powder-barge at Esquimalt for military stores, but by 1878, after paying well over \$3,000 in rentals, the Government decided it would be cheaper to construct their own magazine. At first it was proposed to build one on Government land within the city, but the protests of the City Council, supported by the opinion of the Provincial Premier, who thought the new magazine would be much too close to the Parliament Buildings, resulted in a change of plans. Beacon Hill, a site situated on the outskirts of the city, was finally chosen, and construction of the \$1,200 building began in February, 1879. When completed four months later, it was used to store artillery as well as small-arms ammunition.²⁶

(23) *Ibid.*, enclosure, Lieutenant Prior to Houghton, June 11, 1874. Prior was second in command of No. 1 Company of Rifles, Nanaimo, when it was posted in orders on September 11, 1874.

(24) *M.G.O.*, July 10, 1874.

(25) *D.M. Papers*, No. 0433, Building Agreement, Victoria Drill-shed.

(26) *Ibid.*, No. 02385.

In Nanaimo the militia company waited in vain for its drill-shed. For several years the company used the small "Mechanic's Hall" as a poor substitute, and even this was denied them in 1878, when they were forced to use a sash and door factory for their drill. There is little doubt that this lack of proper facilities contributed in no small measure to the losing struggle for existence of this small company. The Nanaimo militiamen had built their own rifle range without government aid, but their enthusiasm waned as the years passed without any indication of Federal assistance.²⁷

New Westminster was for a short time slightly better off than Victoria or Nanaimo. A drill-shed had been built there by the colonial government in 1866 for the volunteers. Moreover, the Royal Engineers had constructed a magazine in the town, a brick and stone building with copper doors. Both these buildings were taken over by the New Westminster units in 1873, and although their foundations were even then beginning to sag, they served their purpose for several years.

During this time, and indeed for a number of years thereafter, there were no militia units in the Interior of the Province. When he made his western inspection tour in 1875, Major-General E. Selby Smyth, commander of the Canadian militia, was asked to establish some sort of a protective force at Kootenay Village and Joseph's Prairie. Kootenay lay west of the Rockies and was some 600 miles journey from the Provincial capital. In this position—"one of the most isolated portions of the British Empire," as the general aptly described it—a small white population of about 150 was surrounded by almost six times their number of Indians. Smyth recommended the establishment of a police force of fifty men in the area, but no further action was taken. He also thought it desirable to establish a small corps of mounted infantry or riflemen at Kamloops, and further suggested raising additional small corps at Clinton, Cache Creek, and Okanagan. These latter units, he said, could drill once a month independently, and once a year the whole could assemble at Kamloops and drill together with the mounted rifles.²⁸

Although Smyth was thinking in terms of an available force to quell internal disturbances, another British officer looked on the lack of militia in the Interior as a dangerous gap in the southern defences of the Province. Colonel G. F. Blair, late Royal Artillery, had been sent to British

(27) No. 1 Company of Rifles, Nanaimo, was finally disbanded on May 2, 1884.

(28) *Militia Report* . . . 1875, Ottawa, 1876, pp. vi-viii.

Columbia to survey the sites for possible defensive works at Victoria and Esquimalt. At the request of the Federal authorities, he wrote what is possibly the first military intelligence report of British Columbia. The problem of defending the seaboard he thought beyond the resources of the Dominion, and felt it must be left in the hands of the Imperial Government. It was the southern frontier which demanded most attention from a strictly military point of view. If, through an unfortunate series of circumstances, relations with the United States deteriorated to the point of war, Blair wrote that:—

. . . in the present state of things a Regiment of United States Light Infantry, preceded by a Corps of Indian Guides and supported by a battery of light rifled mountain train guns, with a transport of Indian pack horses or mules marching by the Whatcom trail, could seize upon and paralyze the communications of the whole country, viz. the New Westminster and Hope wagon Road and the Lower or Navigable portions of the Fraser, i.e. all below Fort Hope.²⁹

This would be but a prelude to the main action, which Colonel Blair envisaged as a sweep by a larger force cutting off and enveloping the more populous coastal towns from the east, while at the same time an American naval squadron would land troops on Vancouver Island to take Esquimalt, Victoria, and Nanaimo from the rear. The establishment of a corps of guides along the southern frontier, having a nucleus composed of the ex-Royal Engineers who had settled in the Sumas and Matsqui areas, was deemed essential by Blair, together with a survey of the frontier from a military point of view.³⁰

Both Colonel Blair and General Smyth were unanimous in their recommendation that Victoria and Esquimalt should be protected by artillery, for in the absence of a ship-of-war at the naval base there was nothing to prevent an enemy cruiser from destroying either place with no fear of retaliation. While on his inspection tour, Smyth noted two 7-inch and four 40-pounder muzzle-loading rifled guns at the naval dockyard about to be sent back to England as obsolete for naval service. He proposed, therefore, that they be transferred to the Dominion Gov-

(29) *D.M. Papers*, No. 02638, Colonel G. F. Blair, "Memorandum on the Defence of British Columbia." In 1875 the Intelligence Department of the British War Office asked for detailed reports from the colonies. In Canada the commander of each military district submitted a report, and Colonel Blair's served for British Columbia. Among other steps he suggested to place British Columbia in a proper state of defence, Blair recommended the purchase of Alaska "if possible," the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the establishment of a British garrison at Esquimalt.

(30) *Loc. cit.*

ernment and be used to arm an earthwork battery he would have constructed at Macaulay's Point, a commanding promontory midway between Victoria and Esquimalt Harbours. Should such a battery be established, he reported, no vessel but an iron-clad would venture to run the gauntlet of its fire, and even such a ship would have its unarmoured decks exposed to the plunging fire the battery would deliver.

Despite the obvious need of establishing land batteries to defend the naval base and Provincial capital, no action was taken on the general's suggestion either by the Admiralty or the Dominion Government. Indeed, every effort was needed to keep the present militia companies in a proper state of efficiency. The financial depression of the seventies, combined with the steadily improving relations with the United States, reduced militia expenditure almost by half, and cut by more than a third the number of trained militia.³¹ In British Columbia, as elsewhere, the effect of such a parsimonious budget was evident in the ill-fitting and worn uniforms of the men, the reduced amount of ammunition allowed for annual target practice, and in other similar ways, which decided many men against re-enlisting when their three-year term of service was completed in 1876. Nevertheless, the companies continued to function as new volunteers stepped forward to fill the places of the disgruntled minority who left. Colonel Houghton even received applications requesting the formation of two additional militia companies on the mainland, but these had to be turned down, since there were scarcely sufficient funds to support existing companies.³²

The threat of a Fenian raid had caused the Federal Government to hasten the formation of militia companies in British Columbia in 1872; five years later it was another threat of a raid—this time by Russian war vessels—that caused both the Dominion and British Governments to look on British Columbian defences with renewed interest.

In Europe the long-smouldering Balkans had burst into flame when Russia declared war on Turkey in April, 1877. Britain's relations with Russia worsened steadily as Russian troops drove toward Constantinople and the Bosphorus. To counter what was regarded as an intolerable threat to her Near Eastern possessions, Great Britain took strong military and naval measures which clearly indicated her determination to prevent Russia's domination of Turkey.

(31) C. F. Hamilton, "The Canadian Militia: The Dead Period," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, VII (1929), pp. 78-89.

(32) *Militia Report . . . 1877*, Ottawa, 1878, p. 274.

The danger of war with Russia led Britain to review the defences of her empire as a strategic whole. It was very obvious that despite her immense naval power and resources, the Royal Navy and the widely scattered British garrisons would be unable to prevent damaging attacks on her possessions by enemy naval forces. In March, 1878, a secret circular dispatch was sent from the Colonial Office pointing out the necessity for the various colonies to be in readiness to protect themselves as far as possible in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. Should war ensue, the dispatch warned:—

The danger against which it would be more immediately necessary to provide would be an unexpected attack by a small squadron or even a single unarmoured cruiser, with the object of destroying public or private property . . . rather than any serious attempt at the conquest or permanent occupation of any portion of the colony.³³

The danger of a hit-and-run attack by Russian naval forces had been brought quite forcibly to the attention of British Columbia a month before this dispatch was sent. On February 9 the newspapers reported the arrival in San Francisco of a Russian naval squadron.³⁴ This, combined with reports of increasing tension in Europe, created considerable apprehension in Victoria, especially as the major portion of the Esquimalt-based squadron was cruising in South American waters. In view of these circumstances, a special meeting was held by the Premier of British Columbia with the senior naval and militia officers, at which it was decided to organize a corps of volunteer artillery. Captain F. C. B. Robinson, R.N., then Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, promised to supply guns, which would be placed at selected points covering likely approaches to the harbours, and also agreed to loan the services of a naval artillery instructor to train the corps. Volunteers for the new corps quickly filled its ranks, and within a few days the artillery unit started holding regular drill parades.³⁵

While these *pro tem.* arrangements were being made on the Pacific Coast, the arrival of the Russian steamer *Cimbria* at Ellsworth, Maine, caused considerable apprehension in Ottawa. According to the Commander of the Militia, Major-General E. Selby Smyth, the *Cimbria*, manned by 60 officers and 600 seamen, had on board a cargo of guns

(33) *D.M. Papers*, No. 04375, enclosure, Colonial Office, Secret Circular Dispatch, March 11, 1878. In Canada the warning was probably more applicable to Victoria and Esquimalt than to other Canadian ports.

(34) *Victoria Colonist*, February 9, 1878.

(35) *Ibid.*, February 17 and 20, 1878.

and warlike stores which were to be used to arm fast steamers purchased in the United States which, in the event of war, would be used against British shipping in the Atlantic. While warning that the Atlantic ports must be put in a proper state of defence, Smyth did not forget the vulnerable Pacific Coast. In this respect he added:—

I have so frequently brought to notice the totally unprotected state of the harbour of Victoria and the entrance to Esquimalt in Vancouver Island as well as the immensely important coal mines of Nanaimo that I need only once more very earnestly urge that guns now lying in Esquimalt Dockyard . . . may at length be handed over and mounted on Macaulay's Point to command the entrance to both harbours.³⁶

Smyth's long battle to have the spare cannon at Esquimalt released for land defence had been won even as he wrote the above. A study of the defensive needs of Vancouver Island had been undertaken by a Colonial Defence Committee in Great Britain earlier in the year. Spurred by the danger of war with Russia and appreciating the remoteness of the Pacific ports and the time lapse before its recommendations could be put into effect, the Committee made a special early report on Victoria and Esquimalt. In view of the fact that Esquimalt was "the only refitting station in British territory on the western coast of America," the Committee recommended that some eighteen medium and heavy guns should be sent out from England for the protection of the two ports. Since this would take considerable time, the Committee suggested that the Admiralty should loan such available armament at Esquimalt to the Dominion as could be spared. The guns were to be loaned only until they could be replaced by those sent from England or until required for use by Her Majesty's ships. The letter from the Colonial Secretary accompanying the Committee's report informed the Dominion Government that the Admiralty had agreed to the loan, and that "the whole armament in store at Victoria and Esquimalt, whether belonging to the War Office or the Admiralty, will be at the disposal of the Dominion Government for the defence of these points."³⁷

(36) *D.M. Papers*, No. 04441, confidential, Smyth to the Honourable A. G. Jones, Minister of Militia and Defence, May 3, 1878. For further details of the *Cimbria* affair see L. I. Strakhovsky, "Russia's Privateering Projects of 1878," *The Journal of Modern History*, VII (1935), pp. 22-40.

(37) Public Archives of Canada, G 21, No. 165, Vol. 3, secret, Hicks-Beach to Dufferin, May 11, 1878, and the enclosed Colonial Office print, secret and confidential, "Report of a Colonial Defence Committee on the Temporary Defences of the Naval Station of Esquimalt and the Important Commercial Town and Harbour of Victoria," April, 1878.

The Admiralty's decision, cabled to Ottawa, permitted Major-General Smyth to take the first concrete steps toward setting up a system of land defences for Victoria and Esquimalt. On May 11 he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel D. T. Irwin, Inspector of Artillery, to proceed immediately to British Columbia to supervise the construction of the proposed coastal batteries.

Irwin arrived in Victoria on May 27, and on the same evening attended the first regular enrolment of the volunteer artillery company. About thirty men enlisted that night, and within a few weeks the new corps was up to its establishment of fifty all ranks. Although it had been training for several months, the new corps, officially styled the Victoria Battery of Garrison Artillery, did not receive official authorization until July 19.³⁸

Upon his arrival in Victoria, Irwin met with the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Squadron, Rear-Admiral A. F. R. de Horsey, who appointed a small group of Royal Navy and Royal Marine Artillery officers to co-operate with Irwin on the siting of the batteries. These officers went over the ground quite thoroughly in the following weeks, and although the naval and military views on defence sometimes differed, there was a much greater area of agreement.

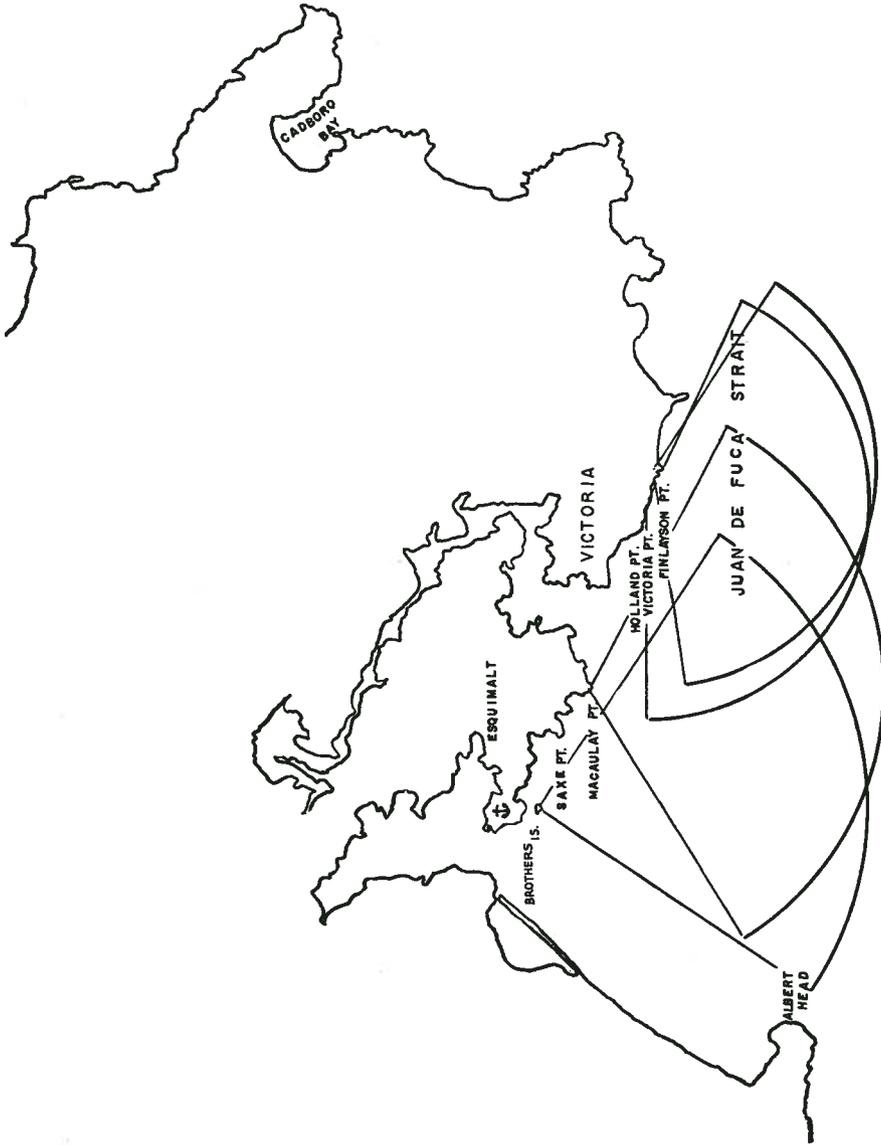
Before leaving Ottawa, Irwin had been given the plans for a proposed system of defence drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Blair three years previously. Blair had envisaged one battery at Victoria Point (at the base of Beacon Hill) commanding the approach to Victoria Harbour; one at Macaulay Point, which would cover the entrance to both harbours; and one on Fisgard Island, a small rocky isle at the mouth of Esquimalt Harbour. Of these three positions, the Macaulay Point battery was felt to be the most important.³⁹ Work had started on this latter site even before Irwin arrived in Victoria. However, for some time work on the battery had been held up by the owners of the site, the Puget Sound Company, who demanded \$2,000 for the 1½ acres needed for the battery. In June, Irwin was ordered to take possession of the land and construction of the battery continued.⁴⁰

While waiting for permission to continue work at Macaulay Point, Irwin received authority to begin construction of a battery at Victoria

(38) *M.G.O.*, July 19, 1878.

(39) *D.M. Papers*, No. 04470, Smyth to Irwin, May 11, 1878.

(40) *Ibid.*, Smyth to Scott, June 29, 1878. The Honourable R. W. Scott was Acting Minister of Militia and Defence at this time.



Sketch-map of the Victoria-Esquamalt district showing the approximate areas covered by artillery batteries, 1878.

Point. For various reasons two 2-gun batteries were constructed at the sea base of Beacon Hill—one to command Ross Bay on the east, the other to guard Victoria Harbour on the west. Irwin had wanted to place one of these batteries on Holland Point, where the guns would have a greater arc of fire. However, it would have cost \$400 to purchase the necessary land, whereas the positions at Finlayson and Victoria Point at the sea base of Beacon Hill were owned by the Government.⁴¹

The naval view of the proper location of the various batteries differed in several respects. Although he did not deny the potential usefulness of the batteries under construction for the defence of Victoria, Admiral de Horsey pointed out that owing to the shallowness of the harbour no enemy ship of any size could enter it. Further, he added:—

In the absence of defensive works of any extent not now contemplated, that city is not defensible except by sufficient land forces to meet an enemy in the field. . . . It will be seen how easily it can be taken in the rear by an enemy landing in Cadboro Bay, Cormorant Bay or indeed anywhere along a coastline of some 13 miles or more extent, and yet with a march of only 3 to 5 miles of that city.⁴²

Moreover, the admiral was interested in having the batteries arranged so as to be able to bring their fire to cover the approaches to Esquimalt Harbour and the harbour itself. The final result was that the proposed battery on Fisgard Island was dropped, since the rocky nature of that island would make the construction of a battery there extremely expensive. Brother's Island, also located at the mouth of Esquimalt Harbour, was chosen as an alternative site.

By the end of August, after three months of steady labour, the batteries were completed. The two strongest were those on Brother's Island and Macaulay Point. The former held one 8-inch 9-ton and two 64-pounder R.M.L. (rifled muzzle-loading) guns, while the latter had three 7-inch 6½-ton R.M.L. guns. The two batteries at the base of Beacon Hill each had two 64-pounder R.M.L. guns. All the guns were mounted *en barbette* behind earthen breastworks, and each battery had a small expense magazine and an additional wooden building to hold various small stores needed to work the guns. The four largest guns were enclosed in weather-proof wooden sheds, triangular in section, to protect the guns, slides, and carriages from the elements.⁴³

(41) *Ibid.*, same to same, June 29 and July 20, 1878.

(42) Public Archives of Canada, *MG 13*, A 6, Vol. 4, 285a-287, de Horsey to the Secretary of the Admiralty, July 28, 1878.

(43) *Militia Report . . . 1878*, Ottawa, 1879, pp. 306-312. For an appreciation of Lieutenant-Colonel Irwin's work in Victoria see J. F. Cummins, "Colonel

Even as the batteries were being built, it was obvious that the problem of manning the guns was not solved with the enrolment of fifty volunteer artillerymen. Irwin had warned his naval associates that with this number he could barely man five guns, and these would naturally be, as all the men were enrolled and drilled in Victoria, the batteries at Beacon Hill and Macaulay Point.⁴⁴ The question of getting sufficient trained men to serve the batteries was to be raised time and again for the next decade.

There had been little trouble in enrolling men to volunteer for the new artillery unit when it was first formed, but the militia rifle companies had suffered as a consequence. Houghton reported at the time that artillery drill and practice was much more to the taste of the young men of Victoria, and this, together with the attractive blue tunics worn by the gunners, made it the popular corps with recruits. Even men who had put in their three years with one of the rifle companies had joined the artillery.⁴⁵

Enthusiasm alone, however, could not make up for the lack of numbers, despite the fact that the unit was filled to its authorized strength. Moreover, the militia commander had grave doubts as to whether they could be properly trained to man the guns and maintain an effective fire against armed ships in motion. The naval commander had further objections. In a letter to the Admiralty he wrote:—

. . . Esquimalt should be defended by Imperial resources and under naval control. The Dockyard is Imperial property and bears the same relative position to our Squadron in the Pacific as Halifax does to the Squadron in the North Atlantic, but with three-fold force as there is no Bermuda or Jamaica in these waters, no British possession within possible reach for supplies and repairs. It is lamentable to think that in the present defenceless condition of this harbour and viewing the trifling number of Volunteer Militia, any fairly organized enemy's expedition should suffice to destroy the dockyard and be master of the position until again ejected by hard fighting.⁴⁶

For their separate reasons, therefore, both the militia and naval commanders recommended that a force of 100 marine artillerymen should

D. T. Irwin, a Distinguished Artillery Officer," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, V (1928), pp. 137-141.

(44) Public Archives of Canada, *MG 13*, A 6, Vol. 4, 288-296. Bedford to de Horsey, June 27, 1878. Captain F. D. G. Bedford, R.N., was chairman of the board of officers appointed by Admiral de Horsey to co-operate with Lieutenant-Colonel Irwin.

(45) *Militia Report . . . 1878*, Ottawa, 1879, p. 214.

(46) Public Archives of Canada, *MG 13*, A 6, Vol. 4, 286-287, de Horsey to the Secretary of the Admiralty, July 28, 1878.

be stationed at Esquimalt to take charge of the coastal batteries. Their recommendation to establish a permanent artillery corps came at a poor moment. In Europe the Congress of Berlin had restored at least a temporary calm in the Balkans as Briton and Russian faced each other across a conference table instead of a battle-field. As tension eased, less attention was paid to the need of a permanent artillery corps for Esquimalt. The only result was that permission was given the Victoria Battery of Garrison Artillery to increase its establishment to five officers and eighty-five other ranks.⁴⁷

During the latter part of 1878 Great Britain tried to interest Canada in sharing the expense of erecting permanent works for the defence of Esquimalt and Victoria, and suggested an Imperial and a Canadian officer should jointly examine and report on the defensive needs of British Columbia. The Dominion Government stated that it was unable to take upon itself a share in the cost of erecting permanent defences, but agreed to co-operate in a military survey of the Pacific Coast. The British representative selected was Colonel J. W. Lovell, R.E., then stationed at Halifax, while the Senior Inspector of Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Strange, R.A., represented Canada.

Colonel Lovell made a very thorough inspection of the defences of British Columbia in 1879, and in his report made recommendations which, if carried out, would have made Esquimalt a second Halifax. Of the temporary batteries he wrote: "As neither the excavations for the batteries nor the material of which they are constructed could be utilized in permanent works, and the sites do not seem adapted for such works, I would recommend that the batteries should be left as they are in charge of the Dominion Government. . . ."⁴⁸ The sites he selected for locating permanent batteries were, with one exception, chosen to provide for the defence of Esquimalt rather than Victoria. At Sangster's Knoll and Cape Saxe, both close to Esquimalt, he would have a battery of six 10-inch guns, on Rodd Hill six 7-inch guns, and on Signal Hill, a feature commanding Esquimalt Harbour and the land approaches to the peninsula where the naval base was located, he suggested placing two 10-inch guns. All these formidable batteries commanded the sea approaches to Esquimalt and Esquimalt itself. For Victoria, Colonel Lovell proposed a battery of six 10-inch guns atop Beacon Hill.

(47) *M.G.O.*, August 1, 1878.

(48) Public Archives of Canada, Colonel J. W. Lovell, "Report on the Defences of Esquimalt and Victoria, December, 1879," in "Correspondence of the Committee on the Defences of Canada, 1886." Vol. VI, p. 437.

Nor was this all. To defend the Esquimalt base against an attack by land, Lovell suggested that twelve field guns—40- or 20-pounder Armstrong guns—should be accessible to the garrison. In addition, he thought one or two armour-plated gun-boats stationed permanently at the naval base would help to prevent an enemy landing, and, further, that the mouth of Esquimalt Harbour should be protected by a system of torpedo defence in time of war. Finally, the British representative recommended the establishment of a means of telegraphic communication from Victoria and Esquimalt to the Strait of Juan de Fuca and around the coast to the north of the Saanich Peninsula.

To man these defences, Colonel Lovell believed there ought to be a minimum garrison of 1,138 Imperial regular soldiers in the Province. Of this number, 120 would be Royal Engineers, 20 of whom would be specially trained as submarine miners to take care of the torpedo (or mine) defence. He felt, too, that 900 Imperial infantrymen were needed to repulse an attack by land, and that at least 118 Royal Artillery men were needed to man the batteries. Both latter corps would be assisted in their duties by the militia. For example, 500 militia infantrymen would be raised locally to co-operate with the Imperial force. As for the artillery, Lovell thought each battery should be served by a force which would be one-third regular and the remainder militia artillerymen, with an additional reserve of militia totalling one-third of the entire force also drawn from the local populace. Thus, in addition to the 1,138 Imperial troops, Lovell would have Victoria provide an additional force of 854 militiamen!

On the special request of the British Government, Colonel Lovell went on to visit Nanaimo, New Westminster, and Burrard Inlet (Vancouver). For Nanaimo he proposed another permanent Imperial garrison to man from six to nine heavy guns which he felt were necessary for the defence of that important coal-mining town. As an alternative, he suggested placing eight 40-pounder Armstrong guns there, which, evidently, he would have manned by the militia. He thought a few field guns and water obstructions would be sufficient to protect New Westminster from an attack by gun-boats coming up the Fraser River; and for Burrard Inlet, he believed the harbour entrance could be well protected by a battery on the high ground on each side of the First Narrows, together with additional batteries on Points Grey and Atkinson to cover English Bay.

In summing up his report, Colonel Lovell stated bluntly that the Pacific Province could not be protected from an invasion from the south, as indeed it could not. He added, too, that the greatest need for the defence of British Columbia was the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and an all-Canadian telegraphic route.⁴⁹

The report by Lieutenant-Colonel Strange on the defensive needs of British Columbia was, in many respects, similar to that made by Colonel Lovell.⁵⁰ Strange, too, believed it essential to establish a system of telegraphic communication around the southern tip of Vancouver Island to warn of an enemy's approach. Further, he saw the need of some sort of torpedo defence for Esquimalt Harbour. He felt, however, that four rather than twelve field guns in the hands of the militia artillerymen would suffice to meet and defeat an assault from the sea. Strange also advocated the construction of batteries on Signal Hill and Rodd Point, but he would make the Brother's Island battery permanent. To give Victoria further protection, he recommended the construction of a battery on Holland Point. A type of keep or blockhouse on Belmont and Beacon hills—both high features a few hundred yards behind the Rodd Point and the Victoria batteries respectively—would, Strange reported, secure the rear of these batteries from attack.

To man these and the existing batteries, Strange thought it necessary to have 200 marine artillerymen at Esquimalt working under naval control, and an additional permanent garrison of 100 men at Victoria to man the batteries there. To increase the number of militia artillerymen and to better their instruction and training, Strange proposed that a four-battery brigade of garrison artillery should be formed. The existing battery in Victoria would be complemented by changing No. 1 Company of Rifles, Victoria, into a second battery. A strengthened Seymour Battery would make a third, and a new battery to be raised at Nanaimo would make a fourth. Of all the recommendations made by both officers, a variation of Strange's last proposal was the only one acted upon in the next four years.

Although the pressing need of a permanent garrison of artillerymen continued to be brought before the Dominion Government in the following years, the more immediate problem of providing sufficient militia gunners to man the temporary batteries was foremost in Lieutenant-

(49) *Ibid.*, pp. 440-446.

(50) Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Strange, "Report on the Defences of British Columbia, November, 1879," in *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 416-425.

Colonel Houghton's mind. To furnish these men, he endorsed the Artillery Inspector's plan to convert the riflemen to gunners. At the annual muster in 1879, although each rifle company had an authorized strength of two officers and forty other ranks, both companies could parade no more than a total of thirty-one all ranks. The Victoria Rifles, Houghton wrote, were being "annihilated by absorption," and the only remedy was to convert them into artillery batteries of fifty or sixty men each, thus forming a three-battery Brigade of Garrison Artillery in Victoria.⁵¹

The attempt to strengthen the gun crews by increasing the authorized strength of the existing battery from fifty to eighty-five was found to be unsatisfactory. From the beginning the battery commander, Captain Dupont, felt that since his was the most popular corps, he could be selective. Thus, when he was authorized to raise an additional thirty-five men for his corps, he made little attempt to do so until he received sufficient uniforms to clothe the recruits properly. Also, until 1881 he insisted that the recruits must be of the regulation height for the artillery. His attempt to enrol only permanent residents of Victoria, and so avoid the expense and waste of training men who would soon move on to greener fields, was another factor that tended to keep the battery from reaching its full strength. Nevertheless, the battery continued to be one of the best units in British Columbia during its existence, and the enthusiasm of the men for their corps was remarkable. In 1880, for example:—

They . . . established a school of arms in the battery and rented a building for this purpose, where lessons in broad sword, single stick, fencing and boxing are given one night in each week during the winter season. The necessary material for the school was imported from England, and the expense of the purchase, as well as rent, fuel, and pay of instructors, etc., was provided by members of the Battery by general subscription.⁵²

The reorganization of the British Columbia artillery did not take place for several years owing mainly to a change in staff officers. In October, 1880, Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton was transferred to Military District No. 10, with headquarters in Winnipeg, where, ultimately, he later played an important part in the Riel Rebellion.⁵³ For over two

(51) *Militia Report* . . . 1879, Ottawa, 1880, pp. 214–218.

(52) *Militia Report* . . . 1880, Ottawa, 1881, p. 67.

(53) *M.G.O.*, No. 20, October 15, 1880. Colonel J. W. Laurie was appointed to replace Houghton, but he was on an extended leave and retired from the militia in 1882 without taking over the post. *Ibid.*, No. 2, February 3, 1882.

years British Columbia lacked a permanent Deputy Adjutant-General. Captain Dupont attempted to carry on the duties of Deputy Adjutant-General, but during the absence of a permanent officer in that post the British Columbia militia did little more than hold its own against indifference in Ottawa and apathy at home.

More serious than the modest turnout for drill and annual training was the deterioration of the military equipment and facilities. Both the drill halls in Victoria and New Westminster were now inadequate and in serious need of repair. Indeed, the latter was only kept in a useable state by the support of the population of the town, who held their public meetings in it. The guns used by the Seymour Battery were in such bad shape that the battery commander feared for the gunners' safety if the guns were fired. Even the coastal batteries around Victoria suffered from neglect. As Captain Dupont wrote in 1881: "There are no fences around the batteries and cattle range over the parapets and tramp them down, mischievous persons take out and throw away the quoins and tampions and fill the guns with sticks and stones, hence everything movable is taken away and kept under key. . . ."⁵⁴

A change for the better in British Columbian military affairs came with the appointment of Captain (Brevet Major) J. G. Holmes, "A" Battery, Royal School of Gunnery, to the position of Acting Deputy Adjutant-General of British Columbia in 1883.⁵⁵ Holmes arrived in Victoria on May 1, and immediately set to work to bring a greater degree of military efficiency to his new command. He visited the militia companies, talked with their commanders, reviewed the recommendations made by Lovell and Strange, and made a report to Ottawa on his findings.

Holmes's first major success came late in 1883, when he succeeded in having the authorities in Ottawa order the establishment of the British Columbia Provisional Regiment of Garrison Artillery.⁵⁶ This regiment was to consist of four batteries: No. 1 Battery was formed from the old Seymour Battery; Nos. 2 and 3 were created by dividing and strengthening the existing garrison artillery in Victoria; and No. 4 was formed from No. 1 Company of Rifles, Victoria.

The establishment of this militia artillery regiment came hard on the heels of another important event in British Columbia's military affairs,

(54) *Militia Report* . . . 1881, Ottawa, 1882, pp. 62-63.

(55) *M.G.O.*, No. 7, April 13, 1883.

(56) *Ibid.*, No. 22, October 12, 1883.

for two months previously the first Canadian Permanent Force militia unit to be stationed in the Province was authorized to be raised in Victoria. This new artillery unit, together with other infantry and cavalry units, was authorized by the Militia Act of 1883, an Act necessitated by the obvious need for additional Permanent Force militiamen to provide the long-neglected caretaker and instructional service given by Imperial regular troops up to their withdrawal in 1871. Prior to the passing of this Act, there existed only two Permanent Force artillery batteries in Canada, "A" and "B" Batteries, stationed at Quebec and Kingston. The formation of a third, or "C" Battery, which with the others would form the first Regiment of Canadian Artillery, was discussed as part of the Militia Act in the House of Commons in April. The establishment of the new battery was urged on the grounds that it would serve as a needed additional school of gunnery instruction rather than as a military necessity for British Columbia. "C" Battery, Regiment of Canadian Artillery, was authorized to be organized at Victoria on August 10, 1883.⁵⁷ Captain Holmes was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and was given the command of the battery while continuing to act as Deputy Adjutant-General.

It would appear that, with the authorization of "C" Battery, those responsible for militia affairs in Ottawa believed a major gap in the defence of British Columbia had been filled. However, a new problem arose which was to hamper the actual formation of "C" Battery for another four years—the problem of recruiting sufficient men in Victoria to serve in the permanent militia.

At the time recruiting for the new battery commenced, British Columbia was in the midst of a railway boom which provided good wages and steady employment for its relatively scanty population. Thus only a handful of men were interested in enlisting in the artillery unit at a time when much higher wages could be gained in private employment. As the months went by with no change in the situation, the Minister of Militia and Defence, the Honourable A. P. C. Caron, seized upon an idea presented to him by Captain J. R. East, R.N. This officer had accompanied the Marquis of Lorne to British Columbia when the latter visited Victoria in 1882, and he had discussed the matter of Pacific defences with Lorne when they met in London in the summer of 1884. In a letter to Caron, East suggested that the Canadian Government should enlist pensioners from the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to fill

(57) *Ibid.*, No. 18, August 10, 1883.

the ranks of "C" Battery. These men, all having artillery training, should be induced to settle in Vancouver Island and other special points in British Columbia, and thus, wrote East, the Dominion would have available on the Pacific Coast a body of trained gunners already accustomed to discipline. Moreover, such men, drawing a life pension of from £30 to £50 per annum, would not risk losing their pension by deserting or by moving to the United States.⁵⁸

This novel scheme was adopted by Caron as one which would provide a permanent, well-trained force to man the guns at Esquimalt and Victoria and, at the same time, would make available a cadre of instructors which otherwise would be most difficult to find in Canada. The British Government was sounded out and favoured the proposal. The Admiralty, however, while waiving any objections to the pensioners retaining their pension while serving in the Canadian militia, refused to accede to Caron's request that, pending completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, British war vessels transport the men to British Columbia. The Admiralty was then asked if they would transport the men to Halifax in the spring of 1886, an alternative which the Admiralty favoured provided the Canadian Government would bear a share of the cost, estimated at £300. Canada in turn suggested that Britain should transport the pensioners to Halifax free of charge since the Canadian Government would bear the greater expense of taking them to Victoria via the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁵⁹

While this haggling over the transportation question was going on, Caron visited England and in July, 1886, went to see Lord George Hamilton, the First Lord of the Admiralty, on the subject. Agreement as to the principle of recruiting British pensioners for British Columbia was again confirmed, but there was a mass of detail which remained to be cleared up after Caron's departure. It was not until July of the following year that recruiting posters for "C" Battery were put up in England, and then it was found that on the posters someone had made the mistake of asking for unmarried pensioners. Since most of the pensioners were married, it was scarcely remarkable that the recruiting

(58) Public Archives of Canada, East to Caron, July 8, 1884, in "Correspondence of the Committee on the Defences of Canada, 1886," Vol. VI, pp. 851-855. At a later date, pensioners from the Royal Artillery were included in the proposal.

(59) "Correspondence with Imperial Authorities Respecting the Enlistment of Pensioners from Royal Navy and Marines for Service . . . in British Columbia, 1884-1885," in *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 849-917. This correspondence, covering the period from 1885 to 1887, is continued in *D.M. Papers*, No. A3167.

campaign was a dismal failure. As a result, Caron informed the British authorities to take no further steps in the matter, and eventually he secured recruits for "C" Battery from the permanent artillery batteries stationed in Quebec and Kingston.⁶⁰

In the four years between the authorization and actual organization of "C" Battery, Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes had been partially successful in his efforts to strengthen the efficiency of British Columbia's defences. During this period various additional recommendations were made by naval and military officials regarding the number and siting of the coastal batteries defending Victoria and Esquimalt. None of these was acted upon by the Canadian Government. Holmes, meanwhile, concerned himself mainly with the condition of the existing batteries, all of which were in need of repair. The carriages, slides, and platforms of several of the heavier guns were becoming unserviceable from decay. Moreover, he warned, the militia was dependent on the naval magazine at Esquimalt for ammunition to serve the batteries. "We have less than 100 rounds per gun for the 7-inch and 8-inch guns," he reported, "and hardly any for the 64-pounders. At least 400 rounds per gun should be always in reserve for these guns."⁶¹ To add to his difficulties, the Royal Navy was in the process of adopting a new pattern of gun, and thus even the small quantity of available ammunition was liable to depletion without replacement. For somewhat the same reason, Holmes recommended that the British Columbia militia should be issued with Martini-Henry rifles. The Royal Navy and Marines now used these new weapons, and consequently the largest amount of rifle ammunition on the Pacific Coast—that held in the naval magazine—was of the Martini-Henry pattern. The problem of defending Victoria from the rear led Holmes to suggest that his command be supplied with four field guns, a recommendation made several years previously by Colonels Lovell and Strange. One of these guns Holmes would issue to the Seymour Battery, while the others he would hold in Victoria.⁶²

For several years Holmes was unable to secure either the new guns he wanted or repairs to the existing batteries. Nor was he able to accept the services of interested groups of men in Nanaimo, Burrard

(60) *Ibid.*, Caron to Tupper, September 23, 1887; *M.G.O.*, No. 16, October 6, 1887.

(61) *Militia Report* . . . 1885, Ottawa, 1886, p. 56.

(62) *Militia Report* . . . 1883, Ottawa, 1884, pp. 51-54. The Seymour Battery was to remain without new armament for a number of years. Of this battery, Holmes wrote: "How the officers and men manage to maintain interest in their work, with their present obsolete weapons, mounted on rotten carriages, I can hardly imagine." *Militia Report* . . . 1885, Ottawa, 1886, p. 56.

Inlet, and several towns in the Interior of the Province who offered to raise artillery and mounted rifle companies to be incorporated in the militia. These offers, recommended by Holmes, had to be turned down owing to the parsimonious budget allowed the Militia Department.⁶³

It was not until the spring of 1885, following yet another scare of a war between Russia and Great Britain—this time over Afghanistan—that Ottawa was willing to spend additional money on British Columbia defences. In Victoria the war scare created the usual alarm over the defenceless state of the Province. One gentleman, a retired naval officer, advocated the formation of one or two companies of mounted volunteers, armed with field-pieces or Gatling machine-guns, to protect the city from an attack in the rear.⁶⁴ The Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station, Rear-Admiral J. K. E. Baird, was moved to review the defences of Esquimalt and made several recommendations regarding necessary additional coastal and field guns.⁶⁵ Various public meetings were held in Victoria which, together with newspaper editorials, expressed concern over the exposed position of the Provincial capital, and both the Victoria Municipal Council and the British Columbia Executive Council asked the Dominion Government to strengthen British Columbia defences. However, as Holmes pointedly reported, very few persons came forward to assist themselves by joining the men already enrolled in the Active Militia.

The Federal Government took the minimum precautionary measures possible to combat any attack. Sufficient funds were advanced for the repair of the coastal batteries, but that was all. The ammunition problem remained a matter of grave concern to the artillery commander, who realized that, should an actual attack be made, all the available

(63) Public Archives of Canada, *Adjutant-General's Correspondence*, Letters Received, Nos. 04710, A449, and A488; *Militia Report . . . 1885*, Ottawa, 1886, pp. 54–57.

(64) *D.M. Papers*, No. A1518, Baker to Caron, May 2, 1885; *Victoria Weekly British Colonist*, April 17, 1885.

(65) Public Archives of Canada, *Adjutant-General's Correspondence*, Letters Received, No. 09577, Baird to Holmes, April 4, 1885. Among other measures, Baird recommended the construction of a telephone-line between the batteries. Holmes asked for and received permission to construct such a line, but was told by the Adjutant-General: "Of course this expenditure [\$1,000] will not be made unless war is actually declared." *Ibid.*, Letters Sent, Vol. 46, p. 683, Powell to Holmes, May 5, 1885. A good idea of the condition of the Canadian militia after ten years of such penurious restrictions may be gained from G. F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers, 1604–1954*, Toronto, 1954, pp. 263–264.

ammunition would be expended in a matter of a few hours. No action was taken to implement the recommendations made by Holmes and other senior militia officers regarding additional arms and equipment necessary for the proper defence of the Pacific Coast. Indeed, probably the only important result of this war scare for British Columbia was that it renewed Imperial interest in the defence of Esquimalt and focused attention on the necessity of a firm British-Canadian plan of defence for the naval base.

The greatest and most significant addition to the real and potential strength of the defences of the Province came with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in November, 1885. The rapid transportation of militia and supplies from the Eastern Provinces to crush the Riel Rebellion had already demonstrated the strategic importance of the railway to the nation. When completed in the latter part of the year, it assumed an important place in Imperial strategic planning as well. For those charged directly with the task of defending British Columbia, the termination of the all-Canadian transportation and communication route brought additional responsibilities as well as additional strength. The story of how these new responsibilities were met is beyond the scope of this paper. It must suffice to note that then, as now, the militia continued to look to the sea-coast rather than the border for the approach of a potential enemy.

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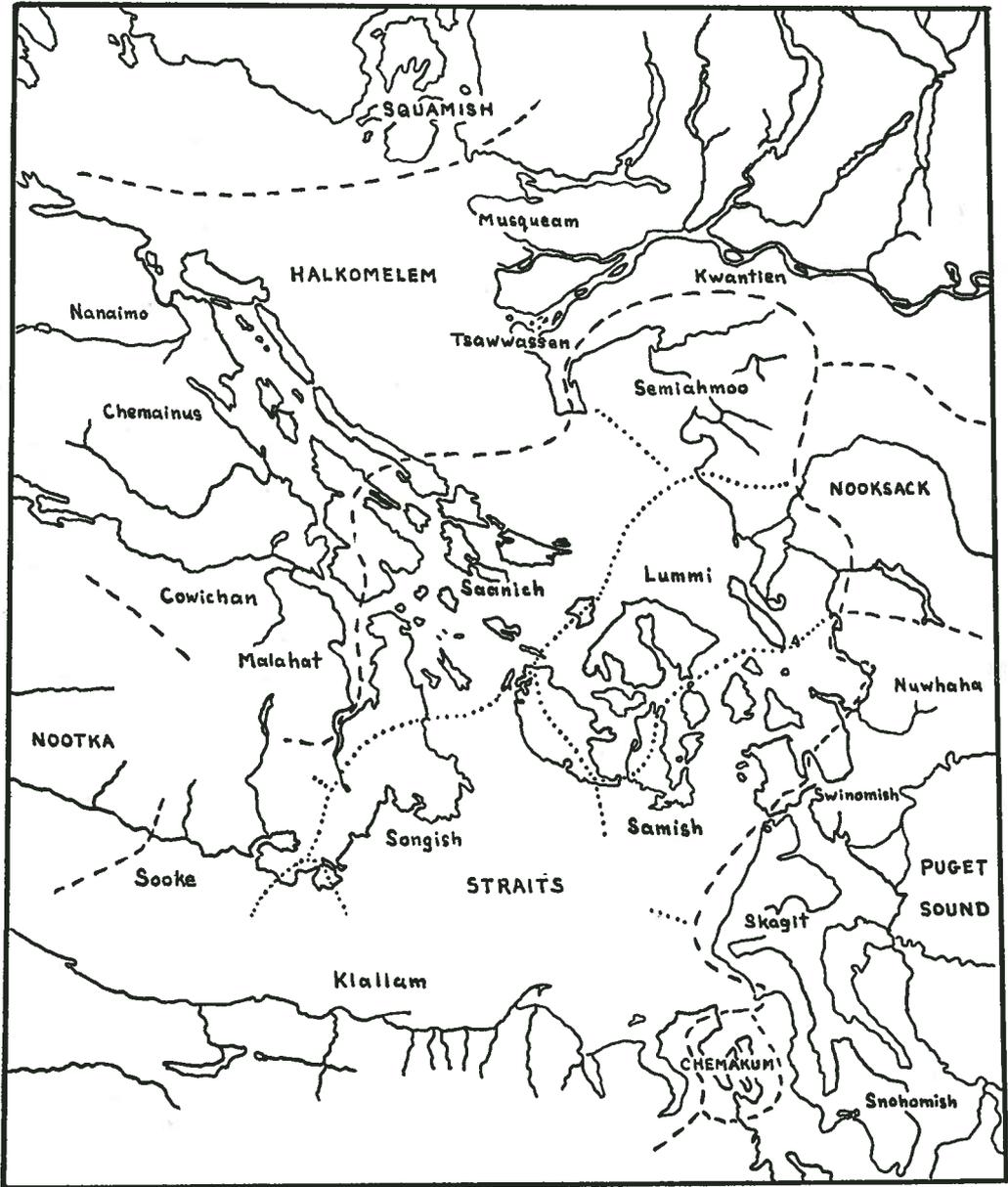
POST-CONTACT CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE LUMMI INDIANS

INTRODUCTION

The Coast Salish peoples of the inland waterways of Southern British Columbia and Western Washington seem to have formed a cultural and social continuum that extended from the northern end of Georgia Strait to the southern end of Puget Sound or beyond. However, in that aspect of culture that Europeans habitually look to as a basis for classifying people, political organization, the continuum had no unity at all, and no discernible units. Political organization as Europeans understand it was lacking. Here were only autonomous households. These, singly or in small groups, formed recognizable villages, and groups of these villages formed recognizable units that we now call "tribes," but neither village nor tribe had any formally separate machinery of government. Kinship, community of interests resulting from common residence, community of habitual act, and speech were the bases of recognized units. But weaker ties of the same sorts united tribe with tribe. While members of a village might make war upon more distant villages, they obtained wives from and held potlatches for villages immediately around them. Thus a network of marriage relationships and potlatch obligations overlay the whole area. Culture differed gradually in content and in emphasis from one end of the area to the other, but the underlying pattern was the same.

Within this area, linguistic and cultural divisions larger than the tribe were also distinguishable. Such a group of tribes is one that I have called the "Straits" division of the Coast Salish. It can be set off from its neighbours on the basis of two items—its speech and its most important subsistence activity. To this division belong the tribes Sooke, Songish, and Saanich of South-eastern Vancouver Island, and the Semi-ahmoo, Lummi, and Samish of the Washington mainland to the east. The territories of all but the Sooke met in the Gulf and San Juan Islands, so that they occupied a continuous area that lies right across the present International Boundary. These tribes spoke only slightly differing dialects of the same Coast Salish language; a more divergent dialect was

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2.



Territory of the Straits tribes. (Heavy broken lines indicate language boundaries; dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries.)

spoken by the Klallam on the Olympic Peninsula. This language,¹ called *lk'wəñi'nəŋ* by its speakers, was unintelligible to speakers of neighbouring languages, that is to say, to persons who spoke only one of the neighbouring languages; bilingual and even trilingual persons were fairly common throughout the whole area. These tribes built their yearly round of subsistence activities around the yearly runs of salmon, the most important of which was the sockeye run to the Fraser. They took this fish in reef-nets set in salt-water channels off the southern shore of Vancouver Island and in the Gulf and San Juan Islands. This fishing technique contrasts with those used by neighbours both to the north and to the south, fishing in streams with smaller mobile nets or with weirs and traps. Associated with reef-netting were several unique ritual practices and a great stress on the private ownership of the fishing locations. In other respects the Straits tribes differed slightly from one another and perhaps only slightly more from their most immediate neighbours to the north and south.

In their earliest contacts with Europeans the Straits tribes also shared in the same experiences. Their territories were all seen by the first explorers in the 1790's, though contact was nowhere very great. They were all able to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley after its establishment in 1827 and at Victoria after 1843. By 1850 they had all been converted to Roman Catholicism, and by 1875 all had felt the impact of settlement among them of English-speaking Canadians and Americans. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, what white control there was over them was largely in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. But since 1855 the Lummi, the Samish, and a part of the Semiahmoo have been under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, while the Sooke, Songish, Saanich, and the rest of the Semiahmoo have since come under the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada.

I shall now give a brief sketch of the native culture of the Straits peoples and of their earliest contacts with Europeans; then I shall devote the remainder of this paper to the post-white history of one of them, the Lummi of Washington.²

(1) Native terms are transcribed with the phonetic symbols currently used for linguistic work in this area. See Duff (1952), p. 132. For detailed bibliographic reference to source material, see the appendix accompanying this article.

(2) The Straits peoples have received a rather uneven treatment in the literature. Two early papers appeared on the Songish by Boas (1890) and Hill-Tout (1907); Curtis (1913) touched upon all but gave more attention to the Lummi;

THE NATIVE CULTURE

The aboriginal culture of the Coast Salish of this region was vastly different from that of the Europeans who met them. It lacked many features that have been basic in Old World civilization for several thousand years—agriculture, animal husbandry, metallurgy, a system of writing, hereditary tribal rulers, elected tribal councils, an organized priesthood, a belief in an omnipotent deity. It lacked many of the features that Europeans had already encountered in the cultures of natives elsewhere in the New World—the corn and squash and matrilineal clans of the Iroquois, the tepees and feather bonnets and warrior chiefs of the Plains tribes. The words “chief” and “tribe” themselves cannot be understood in the same sense as they are used for Indians east of the Rockies. What are called “chiefs” were leaders with prestige but without clearly defined political power; what are called “tribes” are groups of people forming linguistic and cultural, but not political, units.

Coast Salish technology was basically simple. Knowing how to work stone enabled men to produce cutting-blades; knowing how to twist or spin vegetable fibres enabled them to make a variety of cordage. With these they made woodworking tools, and with woodworking tools they made the great cedar-plank houses they lived in and the great cedar dugout canoes they travelled in. With cutting-blades and cordage they made the great variety of spears, arrows, harpoons, hooks, and nets that they used in taking fish and game. And the Northwest Coast was so rich

Barnett covered the Saanich in his paper (1938) and element list (1939); but only one ethnography exists for any Straits group, that of Stern (1934) on the Lummi. In addition to these works, I have had access to a manuscript by Diamond Jenness on the Saanich. In 1946 I began what developed into a comparative ethnographic study of the Straits tribes, centring about economic life (Suttles, 1952, *MS.*). This work was supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington and by a Wenner-Gren Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship. The results will appear as a separate monograph. The present paper began simply as a by-product of the main study, which was on aboriginal culture. It began when I went systematically through the early Indian Agents' reports on the Lummi and their neighbours, and added to these notes data and impressions gathered from Lummi informants. To this I have added material obtained from further work in the field, this time supported by the Carnegie Grant to Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. I am indebted to Mr. H. E. Buswell of Marietta, Washington, for many helpful suggestions and data on local history. My Indian informants, to whom I am most greatly indebted, are too numerous to list here; moreover, they are not responsible for my interpretation of their culture and history.

in fish and game, and methods of fishing and hunting were so efficient, that this area not only supported as large a population as has lived anywhere without domesticated food plants and animals, but also gave them the leisure to develop art and ceremony.

Coast Salish society was divided into politically and economically independent households. Each great cedar house held several families, as we would understand the term, united by bonds of kinship—usually their heads were brothers or male cousins. Men usually took wives from outside the household, so each of these households was united by bonds of marriage. These bonds required the exchange of food and wealth and some ceremonial co-operation.

In addition to this division into local units, each unit was stratified. Society here was not at all equalitarian: there were slave and there were free, and among the free there were high and low, noble and commoner. But there was no formal political organization. Each house was led by its highest-ranking member or members. A wealthy and strong-minded house-leader might impose his leadership upon other households, but through ties of kinship and marriage and the obligations that followed, not through institutions that we would call political. Early whites saw leaders and called them "chiefs," saw aggregates of people and called them "tribes," but neither word then meant the same thing here that it meant in Eastern North America. A few old Indians can still tell you there were no chiefs until they were appointed by the missionaries and the Indian Agents.

The kernel of beliefs that may be called religion seems to have been something like this: In the beginning the world was quite different from what it is to-day. The First People lived then. They looked like us but were called Deer, Raven, Mink, Wolf, and such names, and they also could use the forms that we now associate with those names. There were also then many dangerous beings. Then a powerful being came through the world and transformed things. He transformed the dangerous beings into rocks and other natural features, and he transformed Deer, Raven, and the others into their present forms—to be food for or to help the Second People. The Second People appeared. They were the Indians. To them the Transformer taught the essential arts of life, to a few of the First Men of these Second People he taught secret words and songs giving supernatural power, and to all he taught that power might be obtained from nature—from animals, plants, and natural objects—by bathing, fasting, and removing from oneself all human taint. The Transformer then went away and came back no more.

The function and the status of the individual in Coast Salish culture seems to have depended upon what he owned. Material possessions—food and wealth in blankets, canoes and slaves—were important. But they were acquired only to share. It was the mark of a great man that he had plenty and that he was liberal with it. A man ought to have food to share with the members of his own household. He ought to have wealth to give to his wife's people and other guests at intertribal feasts. The height of liberality was displayed in the feast well known by its Chinook jargon name "potlatch." But the essential feature of this giving was that it validated the status of the giver or some member of his family and demonstrated the ownership of some non-material possession.

Material wealth itself was an indication that a man had non-material possessions. It was the non-material things that brought him the wealth. How could he better demonstrate his ownership of non-material things than by liberality with their products, material wealth? By giving away material wealth he established good relations with others for his family and household, while at the same time he was able thereby to preserve and cherish those non-material possessions that caused him to be wealthy.

Non-material possessions, then, were what Coast Salish stressed. These were of three sorts: First, there were rights that one inherited from his ancestors; second, there was instruction, private knowledge, that one obtained from his fellow man—possibly from an older member of the family but not necessarily, since it might be purchased or even stolen; and, third, there was supernatural power acquired directly by the individual by fasting and bathing and seeking it in nature.

Inherited rights included names, rights to fishing locations, clam and bulb beds, and rights to certain songs, dances, and other performances. Inherited names were necessary to upper-class status and participation in ceremonial life. Fishing locations, clam-beds, etc., clearly were sources of wealth. Inherited songs, dances, and other performances were often regarded as being used for individual purification or for the well-being of the community, but, in fact, their main function seems to have been to display and to validate status.

Knowledge acquired from others included knowledge of the uses of plants for herbal remedies, which might lead to professional status as a healer. It included knowledge of spells and incantations, some of which might be used in hunting or fishing, some in crafts, some in sports, and some to separate or reunite sweethearts or husbands and wives. Knowl-

edge of such spells and incantations led to specialization as a ritualist. Private knowledge also included something called "advice." Some families were said to have advice to give their children; others had none. This advice consisted of rules of conduct, some ordinary enough, but some depending on knowledge of forms of behaviour which served to set off upper-class people from lower-class people. It also included knowledge of one's own genealogy and great past and of one's rivals' family skeletons-in-the-closet. Advice was essential for upper-class status.

Possessions acquired directly from the supernatural included guardian spirits and the songs and dances given by guardian spirits. Spirit power conferred a variety of abilities that led to professional status. That is to say, the warrior was believed to owe his ability to his possessing a warrior's guardian spirit. Similarly, an "Indian doctor" could find lost human souls and cure illness through his doctor's guardian spirit. A seeress could see into the distance through her guardian spirit. Expert hunters and craftsmen owed their abilities to special spirits.

The acquisition, transfer, and function of these possessions is a constant theme in the life-cycle of the individual. The infant at birth consisted of nothing more than a body, which was subject to physical ills and contaminations, a "person," which was easily displaced or stolen and the loss of which meant another sort of illness, and the "life," the animating entity the loss of which meant death. This was the bare individual who ought to be adorned with the incorporeal possessions—the inherited rights, the knowledge, and the spiritual power—that were necessary to completeness. This individual was a new stone in a mosaic of family and community relationships; all his life he would be a part of this mosaic, his value to it depending upon the colour and brilliance of his possessions.

At his birth the infant and his mother were aided by a midwife, probably a kinswoman, who owed her professional status to her possession of private knowledge, either of herbs or of spells. After the birth, its contaminating effect on both the parents made it necessary for them to cease ordinary activities, which they resumed after being treated by a person having the knowledge of the proper spells and ritual acts needed to purify them. The infant received a cradle and its accoutrements from kinsmen of his grandparents' generation. In his cradle, if he were not a slave child, he would be bound about the forehead to produce the flattened head that was the mark of a free man.

As a child, the individual was cared for by older siblings, uncles and aunts, grandparents, and great uncles and aunts, as well as parents. Persons of the grandparents' generation were particularly important; publicly an old man might lecture the children on their behaviour and make them bathe on winter mornings to toughen them; privately among upper-class families an old person might instruct a child in its family history, in upper-class values and etiquette, and in methods of obtaining guardian-spirit visions. In this way the upper-class child got the "advice" necessary for upper-class status. For all children of both sexes the toughening led to deliberate guardian-spirit quests with fasting, bathing, and scrubbing the body with conifer boughs. The vision sought at this time might come then or might come unsought later in life. The child of an upper-class family also received his first inherited name, at a gathering that had other functions as well, through the expenditure of some wealth. At puberty, girls and boys as well were given special treatment. In the case of a girl the danger of contamination from the first menses was great, and so this was an occasion for purification by a ritualist possessing the proper formulæ and for the display of the family's inherited rights.

For the adolescent there was little freedom in the selection of a mate. A boy's family chose his future wife from a family with which they wanted an alliance, and carried out most of the negotiations. The wedding itself was an occasion for the exchange of wealth and privileges; the groom's family brought a bride-price of wealth in blankets and other goods; the bride's family nearly matched the wealth for a dowry and perhaps added to it an inherited name or other privilege to be used by the as yet unborn son of the couple. Later exchanges of food and wealth might be carried on for years.

Some time between puberty and middle age most persons became "new dancers"; that is to say, they began to sing during the winter dancing season songs acquired from their guardian spirits. The spirit song seems to have been regarded as an entity separate from the spirit seen in the vision. In the winter, songs came to their owners and caused an illness that was relieved only by singing and dancing. During the winter dance season, individuals or households sponsored feasts at which all persons who had spirit songs became possessed, and one at a time sang and danced. Some songs came unsought to persons in middle age, especially after a tragedy; singing them gave their owners a feeling of well-being only. Others were the means whereby a person tapped the

power of the spirit who had bestowed the song. Some of these gave powers of divination, clairvoyance, and communication with the dead. On Vancouver Island one kind of song could be induced by older dancers into a young person who had not yet had a vision. The acquisition of a song, especially of this last sort, and the first singing of it, comprised an occasion comparable to any other life crisis, an occasion that might require purification by a ritualist, the display of an inherited privilege, and the expenditure of wealth. Only the shaman did not use his shamanistic spirit song as a winter dance song; he used it only to bring into him the power to handle the souls and guardian spirits of others, enabling him to treat the sick.

When a person became ill, the family made a preliminary diagnosis and, depending on it, called in a shaman, ritualist, or person with one of the more specialized spirit powers. At his death, persons of other professions were called—an undertaker to care for the body, a woodworker to make a coffin, a medium or a ritualist to burn the personal effects of the deceased and to purify his house and kinsmen; each of these persons owed his profession to the possession of special knowledge or spirit power. It was expected that the non-material possessions of the deceased would be inactive for a time but might be used by his descendants later. His name was taboo until given to a descendant. His more material privileges went, ideally though not always, to his eldest child. His guardian spirit and song might be obtained again by anyone, but close relatives were more likely to get them. His "person" or soul became a ghost and was for a time close to this world; it was believed possible for it to be born again into a descendant. Some time after a man's death, his family found the occasion to pay the persons who assisted them at the time of the death and possibly to display some memento of him. This display required the expenditure of wealth, and at the same time probably better established their claim to what he had left them.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

I. EARLY MARITIME CONTACTS: 1790 AND AFTER

The first recorded European contact with any Coast Salish was in 1790, when the Spanish Quimper expedition explored both shores of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the country of the Sooke, the Songish, and the Klallam. In 1791 the Eliza expedition explored further; the Spanish passed through Padilla Bay and Bellingham Bay into the southern end of Georgia Strait at least as far as Point Roberts and returned southward

evidently by way of Haro Strait, thus seeing the country of the other Straits peoples. In 1792 the Spanish continued their exploration while the British Vancouver expedition completed the task. Vancouver explored both Puget Sound and the rest of Georgia Strait and established the fact that the island named after him is indeed an island.

Members of both Spanish and British expeditions left some record of observations of the native peoples; none of their observations on native culture reveal anything startlingly different from what might be expected from work with the traditions of living Indians. But both Spanish and British accounts indicate that the native peoples already had at least indirect contacts with European culture. In 1790 Quimper observed the Klallam at Dungeness using as ear ornaments pieces of copper, beads, and English, Portuguese, and Chinese coins; he believed they had obtained these in trade with the people at the entrance of the strait, that is, the Makah.³ The following year, 1791, at Point Roberts, the Spanish encountered many Indians fishing for salmon, probably the Saanich and Semiahmoo at their reef-net locations. Here they were told, or believed that they were being told, that larger vessels had been in Georgia Strait before, and from them the Indians had obtained engraved brass bracelets, which the Indians showed them. They also learned that these Indians traded with others who came on horseback through a flat country "on the north," probably meaning up the Fraser.⁴ Vancouver found the natives of Queen Charlotte Strait already armed with muskets.⁵

Whether anyone preceded these explorers or not, British and American trading-ships undoubtedly followed them. But during the period of maritime trade that brought the Spanish and British explorers into the Strait of Juan du Fuca, the interest of the traders was primarily in obtaining sea-otter furs, which they took to China. As the Spanish observed, the natives inside the strait had few sea-otter pelts, so it is probable that fewer trading-ships appeared inside the strait than visited the Nootka and others to the north.

II. THE FUR-TRADERS: 1827 AND AFTER

However, early in the nineteenth century, fur-traders began reaching toward the coast from the landward side; this time the interest was primarily in beaver. In 1808 Simon Fraser, of the North West Company,

(3) Wagner (1933), p. 109.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(5) Newcombe (1923), p. 80.

descended the river named for him, looked briefly at the gulf, heard from the Musqueams that he should beware of the Cowichans, and returned. This expedition was followed by a period of little or no contact between the fur-traders and the people of the strait and the gulf. Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, and the Astorians were establishing posts on the Columbia from its mouth to its headwaters, and on the Upper Fraser. Then the North West Company absorbed the Astorians and the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the North West Company, acquiring a monopoly over the fur trade of the entire area. Finally in 1824 McMillan and Work came north from the Lower Columbia to reconnoitre the Lower Fraser; in 1827 McMillan returned to establish Fort Langley. The following year Simpson made what was only the second trip down the Fraser made by a European. Fort Langley, from its founding until 1843, was the centre of trade for tribes throughout Georgia Strait and up Puget Sound at least as far as Port Madison. The *Fort Langley Journal*, kept during the fort's first three years, gives an impressive picture of the goings and comings of numerous peoples on the Lower Fraser.⁶ After 1843 Fort Langley took second place to Victoria, for the Straits people at least, as the centre of trade. Victoria also became a trading centre for native tribes far up the coast.

The aim of the fur-traders was not to revolutionize native culture. The fur-traders wanted only a re-emphasis; primarily they wanted the natives to spend more time hunting fur-bearing animals and less time quarrelling among themselves. They also needed the natives to some extent as a source of labour and of food—fish, meat, and potatoes. The additions that they made to native culture were mainly in material culture rather than in social organization or religion.

III. EARLY MISSIONARY CONTACTS: 1841–1857

It is quite likely that the Coast Salish learned something of Christianity from the fur-traders or even from other Indians before they had direct contact with missionaries. The tradition that there was something like the Prophet Dance of the Plateau suggests this. However, the first recorded contact with missionaries was in the late 1830's. Occasional contact continued through the 1840's, but steady contact between missionaries and natives probably did not exist until the 1850's.

In 1837 two Roman Catholic priests, Blanchet and Demers, arrived on the Lower Columbia and established a mission on the Cowlitz River

(6) The originals of these *Journals* are in the Archives of B.C. See also Duff (1952), pp. 25–26.

in Coast Salish territory. In 1839 they were visited by several Puget Sound Indians; between that year and 1843, Demers, Blanchet, and Bolduc preached to Indians at Nisqually, Whidbey Island, Fort Langley, and Victoria. Probably the first priest that Straits people saw was Demers in 1841. The priest baptized children, taught prayers and hymns in Chinook jargon, and distributed and explained the "Catholic Ladder," a piece of wood with groups of notches and symbols carved on it to represent the passage of time and the principal events since Creation. The first response of the natives was one of apparent enthusiasm; native leaders gathered their followers for worship and enforced obedience of some of the rules. But this initial enthusiasm waned and plans to establish a mission on Whidbey Island did not materialize.

There was apparently little contact between the Straits people and the missionaries again until the early 1850's. In 1847 Demers was appointed Bishop of Vancouver Island, but he was not able to reach Victoria until 1851, when he discovered to his dismay that an inexperienced priest had just preceded him and had baptized and married many Indians without having given them proper instruction in Catholic doctrine, thus making future work more difficult. This priest, whose name is not recorded, may have been the first to visit the Saanich and Cowichan, although many from these tribes may have seen Demers earlier on the Fraser. Regular contact with priests began only after the arrival of the Oblate Fathers, who established their headquarters at Esquimalt in 1857. The most influential of these men on the American side of the boundary was Father Casimir Chirouse, who established a mission at Tulalip on the Snohomish Reservation in the same year, 1857. During the next few years, chapels were built for most of the tribes in the Straits area. Chirouse was especially active among the Northern Puget Sound and Straits tribes.⁷

Protestant influence was later and less successful. In time a few tribes—the Klallam, the Twana, and the Nooksack, to name three—were converted to Protestant denominations, and Protestant minorities in time came to exist elsewhere; but this was part of a later phase of history.

The missionaries aimed at a much more profound change in native culture than did the fur-traders. While the fur-traders seem to have sought to influence the native culture only in a few of its aspects to suit their own needs, the missionaries obviously sought to revolutionize native culture. Whether they were conscious of it or not, they were making a

(7) For early missionary work in this area, see Morice (1910), Vol. II, part 6.

direct attack on native social organization as well as on native religion when they struck at the crisis rites, the guardian spirits, and shamanism.

IV. WHITE SETTLERS ARRIVE AND LANDS ARE CEDED: 1849-1859

Probably the first independent white man to settle in Straits territory was W. C. Grant, who purchased land from the Hudson's Bay Company on Sooke Harbour in 1849. In the next decade, settlers established themselves near enough to most Straits villages for rather constant contact. In 1850 and 1852 Governor James Douglas negotiated a series of treaties with the Straits tribes of Vancouver Island by which they ceded all of their lands except their accustomed village, camp, and fishing sites; most of these sites later became reserves. In 1855 Governor Stevens of the Territory of Washington persuaded the tribes of Western Washington to sign treaties ceding their lands except for certain areas to remain as reservations, each for several tribes; in addition, fishing and hunting rights elsewhere were guaranteed. Of the Straits tribes in Washington, Klallam and Lummi representatives clearly signed; Samish and Semiahmoo perhaps did not, but later interpretation made them subordinate to the Lummi and obliged to settle on the Lummi Reservation. The Klallam were supposed to go with the Twana on the reservation at Skokomish. In actuality those tribes who were assigned to reservations that were in the territories of other tribes generally did not move. The result was that those without reservations were usually left without legal protection from white settlers, who often appropriated their village-sites and drove them off.

After the discovery of gold on the Fraser in 1858, white settlers were perhaps a minor nuisance to some of the Straits tribes compared to the stream of transients bound for the goldfields. In 1859 ten or twelve thousand came to Victoria and crossed through the Gulf Islands or San Juans to the river. Others landed on the Mainland at what became Bellingham and Blaine, to go overland or up the Nooksack River from there. Probably of the Straits tribes the Songish, the Lummi, and the Semiahmoo felt most the impact of the gold-rush. But the heavier settlement left by the gold-rush marks the beginning of constant white contact for all.

EFFECTS OF EARLY CONTACT

I. POPULATION

The presence of Europeans on the North American Continent had its effect on Coast Salish population even before the first recorded con-

tact. Mooney calculates that North-western North America experienced its first smallpox epidemic about 1782, nearly a decade before the Spanish sailed into the strait, and that losses everywhere were heavy. Native traditions corroborate the pre-contact date and indicate that several villages were completely wiped out, while all suffered losses. Later epidemics came in 1852 and 1862, but probably with less severity.

Another factor contributing to a decline in population was the increase in raids from northern Indians, especially the southernmost Kwakiutl group, known locally as Yukulta. The Yukulta evidently received firearms a few years earlier than the Salish; they already had muskets in 1792. This advantage, perhaps added to a culture that already valued aggression, enabled the Yukulta to expand from their original homes on Johnstone Strait down Discovery Passage to Campbell River and Cape Mudge, where they replaced the Salish-speaking Comox. From here they raided the Coast Salish, going as far south as Puget Sound, and even ascending the Fraser River a short way. They killed, looted, and carried off women and children as slaves. These activities persisted until the 1850's or even later.

The Straits tribes themselves seem to have been expanding their territory just before discovery; the Lummi and possibly the Samish had only recently reached the Mainland from the San Juan Islands. Then, when the smallpox wiped out a small tribe on Boundary Bay, the Semiahmoo took over their territory. After the introduction of firearms there seems to have been some fighting at the western end of Straits territory; according to one account, the Sooke employed the Makah to wipe out another small tribe on Sooke Bay so that they could expand westward. But the combination of epidemics and raids from the north produced some empty pockets in the centre of Straits territory. The Gulf and San Juan Islands were particularly vulnerable to attack from the north, and probably for this reason the Saanich villages at Active Pass and elsewhere in the Gulf Islands moved to the Saanich Peninsula. In the San Juan Islands two or three Lummi villages and one or two Samish villages were nearly wiped out by smallpox, and the survivors moved to Mainland villages. These tribes still used the islands seasonally, but no longer built their winter villages there; that is, they no longer made them their bases of operation. Epidemics left another gap on the south shore of Vancouver Island, between the Sooke and the Songish. A part of this was filled, just after Victoria was established, by Klallam from across the strait.

For 1780 Mooney estimates the population of the three Vancouver Island tribes—Sooke, Songish, and Saanich—as totalling 2,700; on the Mainland he puts the Semiahmoo at 300 and the Lummi and Samish together with the Nooksack at 1,000.⁸ Kroeber⁹ points out that Mooney's figures seem generally a little high for the Coast Salish of British Columbia and a little low for those of Washington. As a matter of fact, Gibbs¹⁰ gives the following figures for 1854: Semiahmoo, 250; Lummi, 450; Samish, 150; Nooksack, 450; totalling 1,300, the same as Mooney's total for these four tribes for 1780. It is my feeling that Mooney's 1780 figure for the Vancouver Island tribes comes closer to being correct, but that the figure for the Mainland Straits tribes (that is, the Semiahmoo, Lummi, and Samish, excluding the Nooksack) should nearly equal it. This would mean a pre-smallpox total of nearly 5,000 for all six tribes, which is more in line with Mooney's estimate of 5,500 for the Island Halkomelem and 2,000 for the Klallam.

II. MATERIAL CULTURE

The changes in Straits Salish material culture that occurred during the early contact period were mainly additions and substitutions of relatively isolated elements that did not disturb underlying complexes.

The Straits tribes evidently obtained metals from other natives before they had direct contact with whites. Iron or steel was substituted rather rapidly for stone as the material for blades of woodworking tools—knives and adzes. To the native inventory, traders added steel axes. The increased efficiency of the new tools may have stimulated a little more carving than had existed previously, but there was no development of this art comparable to what seems to have occurred on the coast to the north. This in part reflects a difference in the interests of the two cultures. But the new tools did help to satisfy an increased need for fortifications and for house posts and planks to replace those destroyed by enemy raids. Metals also replaced stone for the points of game and war arrows and replaced shell or bone for the points and blades of harpoons. Bone continued to be used for other arrow-points, and antler for harpoon spurs. Traders introduced large iron cooking-pots; these replaced to some extent the boxes and baskets used for stone-boiling and,

(8) Mooney (1928), p. 15, has figures for Washington and for British Columbia on page 26.

(9) Kroeber (1939), p. 133.

(10) Gibbs (1855), p. 435.

since cooks were now able to boil directly over a fire, probably made stews more popular.

Potatoes were probably introduced by the Fort Langley traders soon after 1827; they were also spread from tribe to tribe, some receiving them before they had direct contact with the whites. Potatoes were generally planted and dug up by women with digging sticks; their cultivation and use fitted rather easily into native gathering practices.¹¹

Firearms were also introduced by traders probably early in the last century. The gun came to replace the bow and arrow for single hunters hunting larger land game, but the deer drive with the net may have been used longer. Sea hunters came to use guns for killing sea-mammals and harpoons for retrieving them. The native methods of taking waterfowl, with nets and spears, were used until much later, probably being the most productive while waterfowl were still plentiful. The gun also replaced the bow and arrow as the weapon of defence, but the club may have continued as the weapon of offence in the surprise night attack.

In pre-contact times, trapping was probably not a very important activity; a deadfall was used for bears and the smaller fur-bearing animals; beaver were possibly harpooned; the furs were perhaps of not much more importance than the flesh. The market for furs that the traders provided undoubtedly increased trapping, and perhaps the native deadfall was used more than previously, even after the introduction of the steel trap.

Some practices associated with hunting and with skin-dressing may have been introduced by Hudson's Bay Company employees—the use of the snowshoe, for example, and the use of smoke in tanning. Skin garments became more widely used; in this, local Indians were probably copying the dress of Hudson's Bay Company employees.

Blankets made on the roller loom from mountain-goat wool, dog-wool, and other native materials were probably important items of wealth in pre-contact times. After the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, these were supplemented by the blankets that the company paid out for furs, local foodstuffs, and labour. The Hudson's Bay blankets became the most important item of wealth, not the most valuable, but almost a unit of value by which the more valuable items, such as canoes, guns, fine skin garments, slaves, and native blankets, could be measured.

The increase in raids from the north, its effect on population, and the increased need for defence have already been mentioned. By the

(11) See Suttles (1951) for discussion of the problem.

1840's nearly all of the larger villages on the strait and on Northern Puget Sound had stockades for refuge in time of danger. Informants' descriptions include such items as trenches with sharpened stakes, poisoned stakes, tunnels to loopholes in hillsides, and pitch flares that could be hoisted to the tops of poles. Accounts of Samish, Lummi, Semiahmoo, and Saanich forts indicate that they were probably built in the 1820's or '30's. They may have been inspired by the forts built by the whites, but this cannot be said with certainty.

I believe that smoking was introduced by the whites. It is clear that the natives smoked kinnikinic, madrona (*arbutus*) leaves, and yew leaves, and in stone pipes. But anecdotes describe how surprised the natives were when they first saw whites with smoke issuing from their mouths. One informant who related such an incident suggested that the native leaves were first used to adulterate the traders' tobacco because it was too strong to take straight.

Alcohol was, of course, introduced by whites, but I do not believe any method of manufacture was ever introduced or has ever been used; the Straits people have always obtained alcohol from the whites. One informant's account, which may refer to this period, tells how a trading-ship gave the Lummi a keg of rum; the Lummi poured it over a great feast-dish filled with salmonberries and ate the rum-soaked berries with their spoons. But probably alcohol was not obtained very often before the 1850's.

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Native social organization was undoubtedly disturbed by three factors—the decline in population, the increase in total wealth, and the broadening of contacts among native groups.¹²

The decline in population, which evidently began with the devastating epidemics of 1782 or thereabouts, probably had the effect of shifting persons into positions they would not otherwise have occupied. One of the requisites for upper-class status was family continuity maintained by tradition; lower-class people, in the words of one informant, were people who had "lost their history." Very likely children orphaned by epidemics or raids from the north "lost their histories" and were added to the ranks of the lower class. Some of the separate villages in serf-like status may have been created by the loss of all adult upper-class persons. In other villages, persons remotely related to wiped-out upper-class

(12) The first two factors in the historic social organization of the Northwest Coast as a whole have been discussed by Drucker (1939) and others.

families may have assumed their privileges with an imperfect knowledge of the associated traditions. In a society where private knowledge is valued as highly as it was and is in Straits Salish society, a sudden loss of a part of its personnel could mean actual cultural loss.

The new wealth, trade blankets, guns, and other goods, and the new methods of gaining wealth, through the sale of furs and labour, were probably the basis of an increase in social mobility. Hill-Tout writes of a class of *nouveaux riches* among the Songish; my data would not permit me to speak of such a "class," but I am certain that individuals raised their status by gaining wealth from the whites. For example, the granddaughter of Kwetiseleq, the Semiahmoo "chief" of the 1850's, said that her grandfather had become rich by selling furs at Fort Langley and had bought slaves with what he had earned.¹³

A broadening of contacts among native tribes began during the early contact period and has persisted to the present. It appears that in pre-contact times there was occasional fighting among rather close neighbours. This was discouraged by the traders and later by the missionaries and government agents. The Salish tribes themselves may have felt the need in time to maintain peace while dealing with the whites, but also they felt a growing need for co-operation among themselves against the Kwakiutl. According to accounts, some of them published,¹⁴ the Salish finally retaliated by sending against the Kwakiutl one or two expeditions that involved the co-operation of parties from several tribes. (Evidently tribes from the Nanaimo to the Suquamish and the Skagit participated; the degree of co-operation and basis of organization, in what appears to be a rather loosely organized society, presents an interesting problem which has yet to be solved.) This need for co-operation, together with the increased amount of wealth available, may have speeded up the process of substituting the potlatch for war, a process that has been described for the Kwakiutl,¹⁵ and which seems to have occurred among the Salish as well.

Another factor, but probably of minor importance, in the increase in contacts among natives, was Chinook jargon. Chinook jargon, a sort of pidgin Chinook, evidently grew up on the Lower Columbia in the early maritime trading period and was spread northward by the Hud-

(13) Collins (1950) has discussed the development of greater class differences among the Upper Skagit which resulted from the increase in wealth at this time.

(14) Boas (1889); Curtis (1913), p. 32.

(15) Codere (1950).

son's Bay Company, missionaries, and settlers. It may not have reached Puget Sound until around 1850; Swinomish informants have stated that the Indian who interpreted at the Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855 was the first man to learn Chinook in this area. It was a useful though limited means of communication between Indians and whites, and probably also among Indians who could not communicate otherwise.¹⁶

Another practice by which the natives both widened their social relationships and gained economically was that of supplying the whites with women. Many native women were taken as wives in permanent marriages, many were taken as temporary wives, and many merely used for the moment. In the native culture a marriage was regarded as a bond between families and was generally arranged by the families rather than by the couple. Usually the family of the prospective groom began negotiations with a gift of food. If this was accepted, the groom himself might appear, to wait at the prospective bride's door until he was accepted; the bride's family signalled acceptance by offering food to him. Then his family brought an agreed amount of wealth to give as a bride-price and received with the bride a dowry of nearly the same value. Further exchanges of property occurred later. If both families regarded the bond between them politically and economically useful, they sought to make the marriage a stable one. To a Salish leader a white trader offering blankets for his daughter probably appeared as a good prospective son-in-law and potential ally. To the trader, unaware of the obligations a native marriage involved, it may have seemed more like buying a chattel. On the other hand, it was also possible for the trader to buy a woman as a chattel if he chose to buy a female slave.

Prostitution is not universal and was probably lacking in aboriginal Straits culture. Where it exists, it is culturally defined; from the viewpoint of European culture it is difficult to draw the line between prostitution and marriage by purchase. From the Salish view-point even a marriage of short duration was still a marriage if some formal exchange of property had taken place and the intent to establish a bond had been announced. If it did not last, it was merely a poor marriage. In time some Salish slave-owners learned to prostitute their slaves to the whites, and some free women undoubtedly entered the profession themselves,

(16) Howay (1942) clearly disposes of the notion that the Chinook jargon was widespread in pre-contact times. However, Jacobs (1932) describes a form of the jargon spoken on the Lower Columbia that is so much more complex than that used elsewhere that it can only be a native development; it may be that in a small area it was pre-white.

but I am inclined to believe the Salish when they deny that men consciously prostituted their daughters as the northern people did so systematically for many years. The northern peoples' willingness to prostitute kinswomen may in part be due to a kinship system that readily substitutes one member of a kin group for another, so that in the native society a man's brother and nephews might legitimately have sexual relations with his wife; adultery was defined as relations with someone of another group.¹⁷ Among the Salish the principle of equivalence of kinsmen was not carried to this extent, and adultery appears to have been defined about the same as among Europeans.

IV. RELIGION

Both the pre-missionary cult and Christianity differed from the native religion in the kind of participation they offered the members of a native community. Native religion was centred around the individual. Basic to it was the notion that the individual human being can exert an influence on his environment through his possessing the ability to manipulate several sorts of supernatural entities or the knowledge of magical spells and other formulæ which tapped the power inherent in natural phenomena. The expert in handling supernatural entities, spirits, souls, etc., was the shaman; the expert with spells and other ritual acts was the ritualist. Basic also was the notion that at certain times during his life the individual is particularly susceptible to the influence of the supernatural, at which time he must receive care by one of these experts in dealing with it. Most, perhaps all, activities that might be called religious rites or ceremonies had individuals as foci. They were either purely demonstrations of an individual's control of supernatural entities, as in spirit dancing, or were the occasions for treatment of an individual in danger by another individual with supernatural power, as when a shaman treated a sick person or a ritualist treated a person at a life crisis. Dozens of people might participate in such a ceremony but as participant-spectators, helping the chief participant, he hoped, through their own power or simply their good will; but the mere presence of a man in such an audience did not mean that he was helping, for he might even be working against the chief participant with his own power. Several hundred people might be present at a session of spirit dancing and dozens of persons might dance, but individually, one at a time, with the others only helping to provide the proper musical and emotional back-

(17) See Murdock (1934) for example.

ground. Indirectly each person's demonstration of power or safe passage through a crisis helped the group, since it eliminated potential dangers to others. But the only occasions that I know of when a ritual act was directly for the benefit of a group were the first-salmon rite and the purification of a house and all its members after a death. But the purification may have had the deceased individual still in an important role, and the first-salmon rite, elsewhere often a tribal affair, among the Straits people was closely associated with the individually owned reef-net locations where the first salmon were taken. Both the purification of mourners and the first-salmon rite were conducted by persons who did so because they possessed the knowledge of the ritual words and acts, that is, ritualists rather than shamans.

Pre-missionary Christian influences brought a rite with another sort of group participation. Information about this rite is poor (I shall give the evidence elsewhere), but accounts given by informants from several tribes suggest that it rather closely paralleled the "Christianized Prophet Dance" of the Plateau identified by Spier,¹⁸ and that it flourished at about the same time, probably during the 1830's. Its important features were community participation in prayer to a Supreme Being, identified by some with the Transformer of aboriginal mythology, and in a circular dance during which persons could choose marriage partners and be immediately married. The rite was performed under the direction of a leader, who may also have prophesied changes in the world. According to one account, the rite came from Eastern Washington via the Skagit River, was spread to a number of tribes from Southern Puget Sound to Georgia Strait, and then was rejected when it was demonstrated that lower-class men could obtain upper-class wives through it. This account may be correct; the freedom of choice given by the rite certainly conflicted with the family-arranged marriages preferred by the upper class. However, it is likely that other new elements introduced by the rite had functions that the Coast Salish later found in Christianity. The rite may also have failed because Christianity came too closely behind it.

As Spier indicates, the Prophet Dance of the Plateau may have had an aboriginal basis that was later modified by knowledge of Christianity; the typical Plateau prophet was a man who had come back from the dead to prophesy a return of the Transformer and to urge his followers to institute moral reforms or new practices; after a knowledge of Christianity reached the Plateau, the prophets incorporated Christian practices

(18) Spier (1935).

into their teachings. One of the non-Christian elements of the Plateau Prophet Dance was the circle marriage dance. The importance of the circle marriage dance in the Coast Salish complex seems sufficient to identify it as the Plateau Prophet Dance, whether it came to the Coast by way of the Skagit, the Fraser, or even the Columbia. The circle marriage dance was clearly an element that was not native to the Coast and that could not be integrated into Coast culture.

The character of the prophet, identified by Spier as aboriginal in the Plateau, may also have been aboriginal on the Coast, but not enough on the leadership of the Coast Prophet Dance is available. The only leader identified among the Straits tribes was the one at Lummi, a man who was later known as David Crockett and who became a leader in the Catholic Church. Several stories exist of men who died and returned from the dead; some of these stories may have been associated with the leaders of the Prophet Dance, but at least one is of a much more recent time. The founder of the later Shaker Church was, of course, a successor of the same line.

Probably the most significant features of the Prophet Dance were the community participation and the concept of a Supreme Being. As I have indicated, it was a rare occasion in pre-contact times when all persons present dealt with the supernatural jointly for the common good. On those few occasions when this might have occurred, the chief participant was probably a ritualist using his knowledge to tap the power inherent in natural phenomena. In the Prophet Dance the leader was a person who, like a spirit dancer or shaman, claimed to have established a relationship with a specific supernatural being. But unlike the ordinary possessor of a guardian spirit, he claimed for this being enormous power, perhaps identifying him with a Creator or Transformer of myth age, and he claimed that others could approach him, too, for the common good. I suspect that this concept was startlingly new. Though the Prophet Dance was probably short-lived, it must have prepared the way for the missionaries who followed.

Collins¹⁹ and Duff²⁰ describe prophets among the Upper Skagit and the Upper Stalo. Duff regards the Upper Stalo prophets as probably Christian-influenced; Collins says the Upper Skagit prophets had actually had first-hand contact with missionaries elsewhere and had returned to work out the amalgam. Neither mentions the circle marriage dance

(19) Collins (1950), p. 340.

(20) Duff (1952), pp. 119-120.

as a part of the complex, so these occurrences may not have been of the same source or contemporary with the Straits complex, though they are certainly of the same genus. Collins also points out how the leaders of these cults were able to use them to institute a stronger sort of authority than had hitherto existed in native society. I believe that this was equally true of the leader at Lummi. Like others elsewhere, this man evidently derived authority first from his leadership in a cult and later from his position as a strong convert to the new church; his activities extended over two periods in native history.

THE LUMMI

UP TO 1852

According to their traditions, the Lummi are the descendants of people who once lived only in the San Juan Islands. One tradition tells that the First Man dropped from the sky at the north-eastern end of San Juan Island and became the ancestor of the Klalakamish people.²¹ Another tells that when the Klalakamish had become nearly extinct, the last man of them gave his house to a man that owned a house that stood on Flat Point on Lopez Island; the latter, now having two houses but not enough space to line them up, put the new one at a right angle to the old one to make an L-shaped structure. This L-shaped house was called x^wláləməs (facing each other), and from this name comes the name x^wlə'mi (Lummi). This house was later moved to Gooseberry Point on what is now the reservation.²² A third tradition tells how a man of the Swallah (swə'ʔləx) people on East Sound on Orcas Island, to avenge the murder of his brother, sought and obtained a spirit power that enabled him to kill all but a few of the Skalakhan (sk'əle'xən) tribe, who lived at the mouths of the Nooksack River. The surviving Skalakhan gave to the hero and his descendants the river to use for a salmon-weir, whereupon the people of the islands established themselves on what is now the Lummi Reservation. This last is by far the best known of these traditions. It has been published at least three times,²³ and I have obtained several versions. Curtis, on the basis of genealogies, calculates that the event took place about 1725. I am less certain of the date, but

(21) Stern (1934), p. 107, and my own informants' versions.

(22) Stern (1934), pp. 107-108, gives this tradition and the first as one; some of my informants knew the first, but none gave the second.

(23) Curtis (1913), pp. 25-30; Roth (1926), pp. 964-965; Stern (1934), pp. 115-120.

I believe that the fact that the Lummi have come from the islands to the Mainland is supported by other bits of evidence. Place-names on the Mainland shore, for example, frequently have forms that are of some other Salish language, while in the islands they are clearly of the Straits language.

Whatever the truth of the traditions, other data given by informants on former land use, knowledge of its resources, and transmission of inherited rights, all indicate that before white settlement Lummi territory consisted of about half the San Juan Islands and a few miles of Mainland shore to the east. Informants from other tribes define it about as Lummi informants do. In the islands, Lummi territory included all of Orcas and the smaller islands around it, Shaw, the north-western half of Lopez, and the north-eastern half of San Juan Island. On the Mainland it included the shore from Point Whitehorn to Chuckanut Bay and extended inland as far as Lake Terrell and the site of the present Ferndale. The immediate salt-water neighbours of the Lummi were other Straits-speaking tribes—the Semiahmoo to the north, the Samish to the south, and the Saanich and Songish to the west. Their inland neighbours were the linguistically isolated Nooksack in the Nooksack Valley above Ferndale and the Puget Sound-speaking Nuwaha in the Samish Valley. On Lake Whatcom were the “Lake People,” a mixed Nooksack-Nuwaha group. The Lummi seem to have shared the shore from Whatcom Creek to Chuckanut Bay with the Nuwaha, and possibly with the Nooksack as well. Straits, Nooksack, and Puget Sound are mutually unintelligible Salish languages.

Originally the principal villages in the islands were on the north-western end of San Juan Island, on West Sound and East Sound on Orcas Island, and on the north-western end of Lopez Island. The principal villages established on the Mainland were at Gooseberry Point and at The Portage of what is now the reservation. The people of San Juan were called Klalakamish (x̣əɬ'qəməʃ); those of West Sound, Alaleng (ɛ'ɬɛ'pɬəñ) people; those of East Sound, Swallah (swɛ'pɬəx̣) people. The last two names are evidently primarily place-names; the last is the name for Mount Constitution. These names applied perhaps to clusters of villages. I have recorded no similar name for the people of North-western Lopez; it may be that the term “Lummi” was originally used for these people only, co-ordinate with Klalakamish, etc. And then perhaps when this group moved to the Mainland the name went with them, and as other groups joined them and the islands became depopu-

lated, the meaning was enlarged to include all. On the other hand, the recent use of the term "Lummi" to include the people of the whole territory just outlined may still be an early usage.

By the middle of the last century the islands were becoming depopulated; that is, winter villages were disappearing, though they were still being used seasonally by people from the Mainland. Some of the island villages had been wiped out, or nearly so, by the first smallpox epidemic in the 1780's. Raids from the north undoubtedly also struck the island villages, possibly more often than those on the Mainland. By 1850 the most important villages were those at Gooseberry Point and The Portage on the Mainland. The important leaders of the 1850's were from these villages and, so far as I know, from no others.

About 1850 the leaders of the Lummi were Chowitsut (čáwicut) and his brother George Celic (c'ilík^w), Washington (xəčéusəm), Jefferson (x^wláləq^w), Bainbridge (sie'nəltx^w), David Crockett (x^waile'nəx^w), and a few others. Perhaps all had plank houses at Gooseberry Point, where there was in addition a stockade that seems to have belonged to the group. But Chowitsut also had a large "potlatch house" at The Portage, where there were some other smaller houses. At these two villages the Lummi passed the winter. In the spring they ordinarily left the Mainland to go out into the islands to dig camas, troll for spring salmon, fish for halibut, dig clams, and hunt deer. During this season they might move about as individual families or in small groups. Then by July the owners of reef-net locations would have chosen their crews, made their nets, and set up their gears in their places. Celic, Bainbridge, and several others had locations off Village Point on Lummi Island, where several gears could be set in a row; Washington and Jefferson had locations off Fisherman's Bay on Lopez Island. A few others had locations off Shaw or Orcas; some may have had locations on the reef at Point Roberts. Some had none and perhaps could not easily get a position on another's gear. After a month or two of reef-netting, most of the Lummi returned to the Mainland to use a weir that was built on the main mouth of the Nooksack River, then the west mouth, the present Lummi or Red River, just below its forks. According to one informant, the weir was built under the direction of Washington and his brothers, but the fish were evidently communally taken and shared. Three plank houses stood by the weir—one owned by Washington and his brothers, one by Chowitsut, and another smaller one, the owner of which is forgotten. Here the whole tribe caught and smoked the fall run of salmon.

From here they returned to their winter quarters on the salt water for the winter spirit dance season. Potlatches, when they were given, came usually in the fall. Chowitsut was evidently the wealthiest of the Lummi leaders and the chief sponsor of a series of potlatches.

1852-1862

The ten years from 1852 to 1862 were probably the most significant ones in Lummi history. During this decade white settlement remade the native economy, white government imposed new authority to replace in part the older system of controls, and white religion made a headlong, though not wholly successful, attack on native religion and indirectly on the whole structure of native society.

I. WHITE SETTLEMENT

In 1852 two white men established a mill at the falls just above the mouth of Whatcom Creek. This became the nucleus of the present city of Bellingham. Shortly afterwards coal was discovered on Bellingham Bay and mines were established. To protect themselves against possible attack from northern Indians, the settlers built a stockade in the winter of 1855-56. The following year the U.S. Army established Fort Bellingham and stationed a company of troops there.

The year that brought the first whites to Bellingham Bay also brought an epidemic of smallpox among the Lummi.²⁴ At the same time, danger of raids from the north was mounting, and their consequences were worse for the natives than for the whites. Thus weakened by disease and attacks, some must have seen the white settlement as offering protection, and a few families moved across the bay to establish settlements at the mouth of Squalicum Creek and one or two other places near the mines.

The prospects of trade and of jobs must have been as inviting as the prospect of protection. For a quarter of a century before this the Lummi had been trading with the Hudson's Bay Company, exchanging furs and possibly potatoes for metal tools, firearms, blankets, and clothing. This trade was evidently continued with the whites on Bellingham Bay. The agent Fitzhugh reported in 1857 that the Lummi were disposing of a great many surplus potatoes to the whites, by this means getting the

(24) Mooney (1928).

greater part of their clothing.²⁵ Work at the coal mines attracted members of other tribes as well as Lummi. The settlement of Sehome was named after a Klallam who settled among the Samish and gave his daughter in marriage to Fitzhugh, who was operating the coal mine there.

In 1858 the Lummi were enabled to sell more than potatoes to the whites, with dire consequences. The agent reported:—

The discovery of gold on Fraser and Thompson rivers has caused an immense concourse of people to gather at this station [Bellingham Bay], it being the starting point to the mines. The Indians have sold all their canoes, being tempted by the large prices, and are now destitute of the means of fishing. The money they have received is worse than nothing; it has been the means of their getting quantities of rum.²⁶

The agent was unable to control this trade and predicted the speedy extinction of the natives. But the boom did not last, and the Lummi became again a somewhat prosperous though certainly changed people.

II. WHITE GOVERNMENT

One of the major agencies of change was the white government. In 1855 the territorial governor met at Point Ellice (Mukilteo) with representatives from most of the tribes north of Seattle and persuaded the Lummi "chief" and his "sub-chiefs" to sign away all but the peninsula upon which their villages stood. From 1857 on they were under the supervision of an Indian Agent, who himself stood on the bottom rung of a bureaucratic ladder which led to Washington, D.C.

Thirteen important Lummis signed the Treaty of 1855. At their head was Chowitsut, whom the whites credited with control over all the tribes between the Swinomish and the border. According to the treaty, the island made by the mouths of the Nooksack River was to be the Lummi Reservation. Despite the fact that no Samish, Semiahmoo, or Nooksack names appear on the treaty, these tribes were to occupy the reservation with the Lummi. This arrangement did not work out well. Members of other tribes came for the annuity goods which the Government passed out yearly at Lummi, but it is doubtful if many tried to settle on the reservation. Those who did became discouraged at the Government's negligence in surveying the reservation and giving out individual allotments, and most of them eventually drifted away. Also,

(25) *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1857, p. 326.* Hereafter cited as *CIA-AR* with year of report.

(26) *CIA-AR, 1858, p. 230.*

they were probably unwilling to settle on the land of another tribe.²⁷ Most of the Semiahmoo had settled just north of the border by the 1860's. The Samish remained on Samish Island till about 1875, when they moved to Guemes Island. The Nooksack, with few exceptions, remained in the upper valley. Some of the Nuwaha, judging by early agents' reports, were to settle at Lummi, but they did not do so. A few Lummis also drifted back into the islands.

According to the treaty the Government was to provide the signatory tribes with: (1) Twenty instalments of \$150,000, to be expended under the direction of the President; (2) twenty instalments, for agricultural schools and teachers; (3) twenty instalments, for a smithy and carpenter shop and tools; (4) twenty instalments, for blacksmith, carpenter, farmer and physician.²⁸

The Government established an agency at Tulalip, with sub-agencies at the other reservations, including Lummi. It supported a boarding-school established at Tulalip by Father Chirouse, and for a time a day-school at Lummi. The smithy and carpenter shop and much later the physician were at Tulalip, but at Lummi there was a resident farmer, sometimes in addition to, sometimes equivalent to, the sub-agent.

Agents and sub-agents came and went, some with great rapidity. A few left the Indian service to settle down with Indian wives. Probably the most influential representative of the Government (not considering Father Chirouse as such) was C. C. Finkbonner, who came as resident farmer in 1862, and stayed as sub-agent at least until 1870, outlasting several administrations and equally praised by each. Finkbonner married a Lummi woman and has descendants on the reservation to-day.

The annuity goods promised by the treaty were handed out annually, with perhaps a year or two skipped and a few double payments, from 1861 to 1879.²⁹ The Government passed the payment out in the spring of the year at a clearing on what was then the east bank of the main mouth of the river. The Lummi remember it to have consisted of axes, hoes, mattocks, shovels, shoes, flour, sugar, coffee, rice, beans, and the like. These goods were probably received by a few members of the tribes said to be "subordinate" to the Lummi.

(27) I am writing here of members of other tribes who were expected to come and settle as such. Later, when individual allotments were available, a number of persons whose primary identification had been with other groups came to receive allotments because of part Lummi ancestry.

(28) *CIA-AR*, 1878, p. 194.

(29) *CIA-AR*, 1861, p. 173; *CIA-AR*, 1878, p. 164.

Because of changes in the course of the river and of the fear of white encroachment, the northern boundary of the reservation was revised in 1878 to correspond with the section lines rather than less permanent natural features. But the Government did not give out allotments of land to individuals until 1884. To judge from agents' reports and from statements of informants, this move was earnestly desired by many Lummi. It was not, as has often been suggested,³⁰ simply the expression of a naive view on the Government's side that private property would be an inducement to industry and self-support. Some saw it as applied anthropology, a blow for the conjugal family against tribal organization.

III. CATHOLICISM

Like other tribes in the area, the Lummi experienced the passing of a Christianized Prophet Dance evidently just before the first direct contact with Christianity. Informants' statements suggest that this dance was later interpreted as an earlier, mistaken form of Christianity. The Lummis' first direct contact with the religion of the whites came probably around 1840, when the Catholic missionaries Demers and Blanchet preached at Nisqually, Whidbey Island, and on the Fraser. Their first steady contact could only have come after Father E. C. Chirouse, O.M.I., founded his mission at Tulalip in 1857.³¹ Even so, the influence of Catholicism must have been very strong in the late 1850's, and a major factor in the Lummis' relations with the whites. In 1859 David Crockett, who had been a leader in the prophet cult and was now a Catholic, became the new "chief," more through his piety than through inherited privilege or wealth.

Father Chirouse had probably a stronger influence upon the Lummi, and upon all the northern sound tribes, than any other white man. He worked tirelessly for twenty-one years, preaching, teaching, building, not only in Washington, but in British Columbia as well. From 1857 to 1878 his was the only school for Indian children in the whole area. For part of this time he was also sub-agent for the Tulalip agency. He was praised by whites in and out of the Government, Catholic and non-Catholic.

Father Chirouse's job was to convert the natives to Christianity and to Christian ways of life. This meant, above all, replacing native religious concepts with those of Christianity. To do this he had to attack spirit

(30) Underhill (1944), p. 219.

(31) For information on Father Chirouse I have used Sullivan (1932).

singing and shamanism. It also meant replacing native observances at the life crises with the sacraments of the church. Occasions upon which he administered the sacraments—baptism, marriage, death—were the very occasions which were so significant in native life for the exchange of wealth, the transmission of privilege, and the establishment of the mutual obligations which made native society function. Here he was striking close to the roots of native society itself. Moreover, he attacked certain practices which he saw as inimical to Christianity, but which provided to the native eye symbols of inherited status or acquired power—slavery, head-flattening, gambling. And finally he attacked practices introduced by the whites themselves—drinking and prostitution. In most of this he had the close co-operation of the representatives of the Government.

In spite of the Church's opposition to so much of what was basic to native culture, in a short time the majority of all of the salt-water tribes had apparently accepted the Catholic faith. In 1861 Father Chirouse built the chapel of St. Joachim on the west bank of the new mouth of the river. When Father Chirouse himself was not present, David Crockett led the Lummi in services. Around the chapel there grew up a settlement which became the centre of the Lummi community, "Old Lummi Village."

OLD LUMMI VILLAGE

I. THE RIVER

Besides sustaining a threefold attack from white culture, the Lummi suffered another calamity some time during the 1850's;³² the river struck out to the south from a point above the weir-site, swung west to pass close to the higher ground, and then turned east again to form a new mouth on Bellingham Bay at Marietta. Part or all of this new main channel was probably a former slough which had been a secondary mouth; now the former main channel became a slow-moving slough and the old weir-site was of little value.

One man, Bainbridge, moved his house planks from the old weir-site up to a place above the new course of the river and re-established

(32) The date of this change is not easy to determine, but I believe it occurred after 1853. In that year Winthrop made a trip from Victoria to Bellingham Bay, during which he visited the Lummi weir; but his account does not make his route clear. The simplest explanation seems to me to be that he went up the main mouth, then flowing into Lummi Bay, saw the weir, and then descended the slough to Bellingham Bay. Winthrop, 1913, pp. 264-266, 278-280.

himself. One reason for his choice of the place was its greater safety from attack, but perhaps primarily it was the fishing. With two sons-in-law from Fraser River he built a weir there for a time. The rest of the Lummi, however, appear to have given up weir fishing altogether.

It was on the west bank of the new main course of the river that Father Chirouse built his chapel in 1861. Here also the resident farmer Finkbonner built his establishment. Around the chapel the Lummis began to gather, some in great old-fashioned plank houses and some in single-family white-style houses which Finkbonner helped them build. They were encouraged to build here by both the priest and the farmer—and perhaps also by the still-present threat of raids from the north.

Old Lummi Village lasted as long as the river held its course. But beginning in 1888 the river shifted again. This time the main channel flowed straight south past Fish Point, by-passing Marietta. In the process of finding a new bed, the river washed out the greater part of Old Lummi Village. The church was moved to higher ground, and some of the buildings were moved to Fish Point, but by this time there was no longer the need for such a concentration.

II. THE VILLAGE

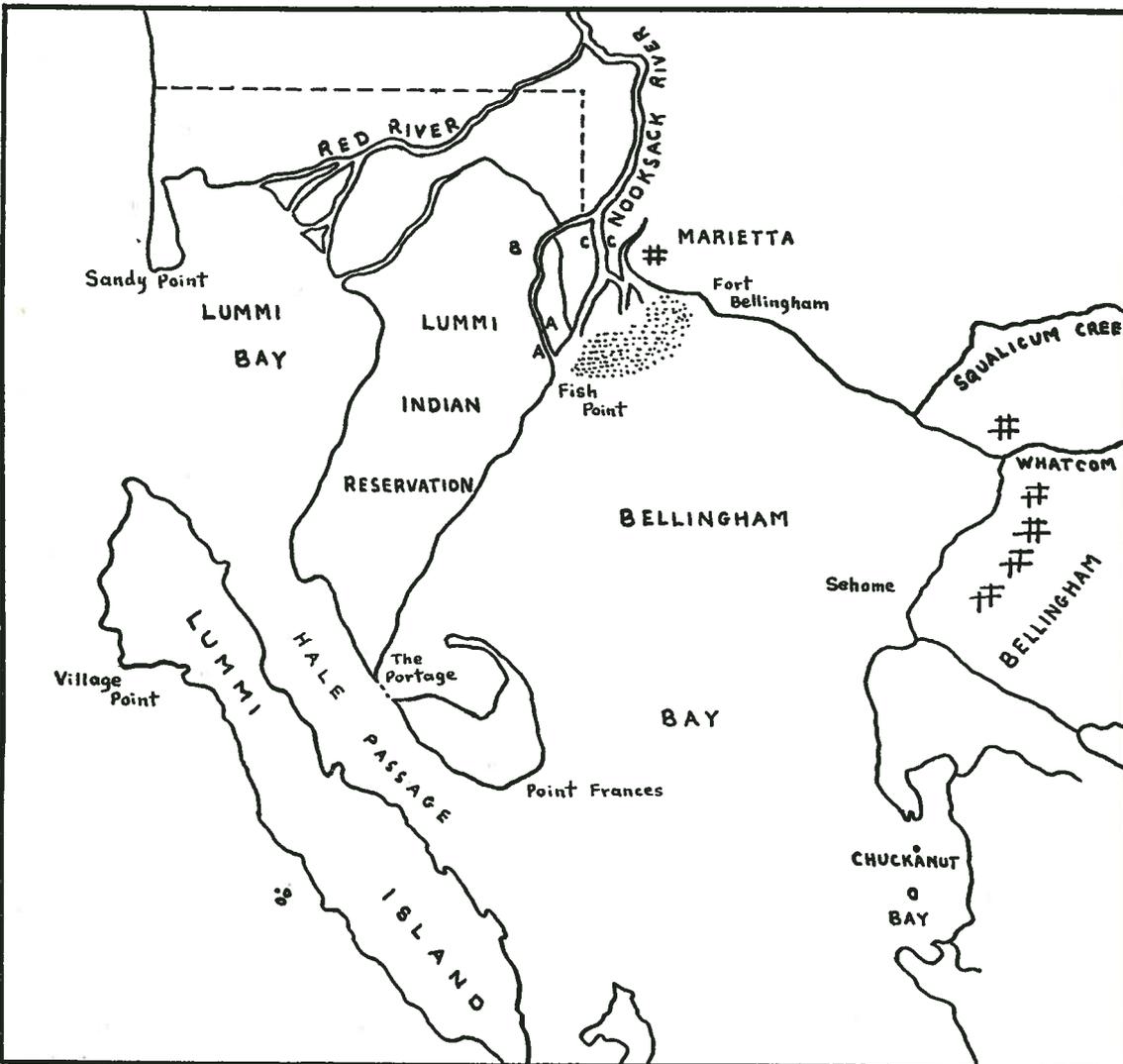
In his report for 1865, Finkbonner recommended good houses as the best civilizing influence.³³ In 1867 he reported:—

The Indian town and agency home is built at the mouth of the main branch emptying into Bellingham Bay, and contains sixty good substantial board dwellings, with floors, windows, shingle roofs and chimneys. There is also one good church twenty-four by forty-five feet, besides a number of large Indian buildings made out of hewn and split cedar trees. Those are used by the old Indians, and for drying and smoking their salmon. All of these buildings have been put up with Indian labor, with my assistance.³⁴

This settlement was not a town in the sense that the settlement of whites across the bay was; it was a later equivalent of the earlier winter village. The houses were occupied by some the year round, but by others only in the winter. Some of those who left seasonally went to the islands for fish and clams; others, persuaded by Finkbonner, established farms on the reservation and maintained native or white-style homes there as well. This pattern was established by 1871, when a visiting commissioner wrote:—

(33) *CIA-AR*, 1865, p. 74.

(34) *CIA-AR*, 1867, p. 58.



The Lummi Indian Reservation. (A, site of old Lummi village; B, present site of church and school; C, present River Village.)

They dress as white men and live in wooden houses, which are scattered over the reservation on their small farms. They have also a village, where they chiefly congregate in the winter.³⁵

Informants have described Old Lummi Village as it was perhaps in the late 1870's. It consisted of two parts with the church between them. Below the church were two rows of white-style houses, parallel to the river. Above the church were four big native-style houses in a row parallel to the river. They were owned by (coming down-stream) Jim Eldridge, General Harrison, Timothy Yellacamut, and Henry Kwina. They faced the river and a road passed in front of them. Between the first two was a store which had belonged to a white couple named McDonough. McDonough came to the reservation in 1871; in 1879 he moved across to the far shore to found the town of Marietta,³⁶ and when he left he sold the building to General Harrison. In front of the store was the ferry-landing.

Kwina's and Yellacamut's big houses were all of hewn planks and had shed roofs. Kwina lived in a white-style house and used the big one only for feasts. Yellacamut usually had his house full. Harrison's house had plank walls but a gabled shake roof. With him lived his wife, stepson, and brother and family; others came to stay with him during fishing season.

III. THE LAST BIG HOUSE

Jim Eldridge's house was the last big house to be lived in. By the middle or late 1880's the others were no longer occupied. Mrs. Julius Charles, the wife of one of my principal informants, was the grand-niece of Jim Eldridge and grew up in this house. She described it as it was in her childhood.

It was not made of native materials; the walls were of milled lumber and the gabled roof of shakes. As in the other big houses, the floor was just the earth under it. The ridge-pole was held up by a post at each end with perhaps one in the centre. These and the posts along the walls were neither painted nor carved. Around the walls ran a bed-platform about the width of a modern double bed and at about the same height. Around the walls overhead ran a storage-shelf. Mats lined the walls, and mats could be used to construct partitions between family sections.

(35) *CIA-AR*, 1871, p. 121.

(36) Roth (1926), p. 854, and a personal communication from Mr. H. E. Buswell.

Seven families stayed in this house. Each had its own section and its own fire. Two square holes in the roof allowed the smoke to escape. Each family stacked its bedding on the bed-platform of its section, stored its fuel under the bed-platform, and stored its provisions, including bundles of dried fish, on the shelf above. The door was at the north end, and the corner to its left as you entered was Jim Eldridge's section. This was the section appropriate to the owner of a house.

The family sections in such a house were designated as "first," "second," "third," etc., beginning with the section at the left of the door as one looks in and continuing around in a clockwise direction. This house had three sections on each side and one at the end opposite the door. The family heads were, by section: (1) Jim Eldridge, (2) George swelə'k'wtən, (3) Polan čilx'a'mətqən with his nephew Mike ɣaik'wi'məlxw, (4) Tom Squiqui, (5) Louie t'i'x'wiə, (6) Frank Hillaire, (7) George tieli'š. Each of these men had a wife, making a total of sixteen adults. Their children brought the house total up to forty or forty-five persons.

Jim Eldridge was the owner of the house. He built it, or at least he had got the materials for it and supervised its building. Jim worked for a white man in Bellingham named Edward Eldridge and possibly got the lumber from him. This was not the first house Jim had owned here, for behind this one was an older house, all of hewn planks, with a shed roof, by then converted into a chicken-house.

Jim also freighted groceries up the river to Ferndale and Lynden by canoe. This was fairly steady work and did not require any seasonal change in residence. He owned land down at Fish Point, but this was not far enough for a separate house until he grew old. Some of the other members of the house, however, left each spring for other quarters and returned in the fall. George tieli'š, for example, had a farm on "Onion Bay," just inside Sandy Point. He and his large family left the big house in the spring to go there to plant his crops. They returned after harvest-time and when fall fishing started on the river.

Jim Eldridge and George swelə'k'wtən were Nooksack, married to Lummi women. (Few other Nooksack settled on the Lummi Reservation.) Tom Squiqui was a Skagit married to a Lummi woman; Frank Hillaire had been raised at Saanich, but his father had been Lummi. The others—Polan, Mike, Louie, and George tieli'š—were Lummi. At least the last three had non-Lummi wives. Of the sixteen adults, seven or eight (nine if Hillaire is included)—that is, about half—were Lummi.

All of the member-families of this house were related. George swelə'k'wtən was a relative of Jim Eldridge, and so was George tieli's, but the others were not related to him. All the member-families, however, were related to Mrs. Eldridge, their heads addressed by either one of two native kinship terms signifying "older sibling" and "deceased parent's sibling."

IV. THE NEW PATTERN: ECONOMY

A new pattern of life flourished on the Lummi Reservation during the existence of Old Lummi Village. It was a pattern that combined elements of the old life with elements of white culture, though not always elements shared by white neighbours. It was also a pattern which differed somewhat from that of other Indian groups. And it was one which did not outlive Old Lummi Village.

The economic life of the Lummi in the 1880's and '90's differed from that of pre-white times both in content and in form. Its content included both old activities and new ones. The old hunting, fishing, and gathering survived, but in truncated or modified form. After the coming of firearms there may have been some increase in individual hunting, but by this time game had certainly become more scarce and areas open to hunting fewer. Trapping, too, may have increased some during the earlier period of trade with the Hudson's Bay Company, but certainly it declined during this period; the agent reported \$2,000 worth of furs taken in 1867, only \$130 worth in 1884.

The gathering of food persisted, especially clam-digging and berry-picking. Native wild roots found substitutes in cultivated roots, but native wild berries found a market among whites. Cranberries especially sold well. The gathering of this period had a different emphasis and to some extent a different motive.

Fishing was still important, but not without changes. Old techniques were dropped and new ones added, and by the 1880's the motive was at least partly profit in sale to the whites. Families went out in late spring and summer to catch ling-cod, rock-fish, and halibut, and to troll for springs and silvers, using pre-white techniques but with white-made gear. Some of the halibut and salmon could be sold to whites. Reef-netting was very important until whites blocked the old locations with their traps in the mid-nineties. During the late eighties and early nineties a large part of the reef-net catch was sold to whites.

The Lummi no longer built a weir, but used other techniques in its place in fall fishing. They continued to use harpoons and gaff-hooks

from the shore or from canoes. To these they added gill-nets and seines. The gill-net seems to have been a pre-white device which had fallen into disuse and was later revived with white materials. The Lummi in pre-white times caught flounders with a kind of seine, but not salmon as they did later. Finkbonner's report for 1867 lists a seine worth \$400 as a part of the Government's property at Lummi; this may have been the first.

Another item of increased importance was fish-oil, especially dogfish-oil, which went to logging companies for skid grease. In pre-white times, dogfish had not been used much, but now fishermen caught them with set-lines of many hooks.

The Lummi also continued to take waterfowl by both old and new methods. These were useful as food both for the hunters and for whites, to whom they were sold. The feathers were no longer twisted into yarn by the hunters' wives, but they, too, could be sold to the whites.

Such items as these could be sold off the reservation or could be sold to McDonough in Old Lummi Village. An observer wrote of McDonough's store in June, 1875:—

Indian trade at this store is considerable. It consists of fish oil, furs, hides, feathers, etc. The day we called the Indians brought in three hundred and twenty pounds of duck feathers which were caught in nets at the Portage, at Sandy Point and Birch Bay.³⁷

One of the chief aims of the Indian service seems to have been to replace hunting, fishing, and gathering wholly with agriculture. The agents recognized that some fishing and clam-digging was essential to self-support and made an effort to defend the Indians' rights to fishing locations and beaches, but they tolerated these activities rather than encouraged them. To teach the Lummis farming, they stationed resident farmers on the reservation.

The first farmer established himself on the reservation in 1859, helped clear some land, and in that year 35 to 40 acres were brought under cultivation, mostly in potatoes.³⁸ Their only tools at this time were hoes.

By 1867, 155 acres were under cultivation. The farmer had four ploughs and a team, and the Indians had a few head of horses and cattle and some pigs and chickens. Finkbonner describes the economy:—

These Indians cultivate their lands in severality, i.e., each head of family clears off and cultivates from one to four acres, the principal crop raised being potatoes. There is planted in all this spring about 150 acres in potatoes and other vegetables,

(37) Roth (1926), p. 175.

(38) *CIA-AR*, 1859, pp. 338-340.

and five acres in wheat. These Indians raise all the potatoes and vegetables they can eat, and sell all they can find a market for, which enables them to buy their necessities, such as flour, clothing, groceries, etc., etc. It is very difficult for me to approximate at anything near the amount of labor performed on a reservation. I will, however, give some of the principal labor performed: First, in clearing off land and planting their crops in the spring, and hoeing during the summer; second, in gathering berries, which grow in great abundance and variety. Those which prove the most profitable are the cranberry. From June to October salmon commence running, during which time all the Indians are engaged in taking, curing, and salting for winter use. During the winter months they are engaged in various occupations; some are employed by the whites; some are engaged in the chase and hunt, and others are at work on the reservation, making canoes, and improvements around home. They cut and put up from twenty-five to thirty tons of hay every year. The Indians also make all the shingles used on the reservation, cut roads, make repairs and other improvements for their comfort, etc., etc.

I would, most respectfully, before I close, urge the necessity upon the department to furnish more lumber and building materials for the reservation. They only have dwellings for about one-half the Indians here, and they all want buildings; it conduces more to civilize Indians than any other class of property the department can furnish them.

They take great pride in good dwellings and they try to excel each other in this respect, and in furnishing their houses with the comforts of chairs, tables, cooking stoves, window curtains, beds, etc.³⁹

He gives an evaluation of Indian property on the reservation, which includes \$1,300 worth of live stock, about \$7,000 worth in canoes, and \$2,500 in firearms. The Lummi took, he says, about \$2,000 worth of furs and skins (referred to above) and raised 10,000 bushels of potatoes, which were worth, at 75 cents a bushel, \$7,500, 150 bushels of wheat worth \$150, and \$150 worth of other vegetables, and they cut 30 tons of hay.

During the 1870's and '80's, agricultural production increased, herds of live stock increased, and some farmers began selling poultry and dairy products. Agents estimated the subsistence of the Lummi in the early 1880's as 75 per cent from "civilized pursuits"; 12½ per cent from hunting, fishing, and gathering; and 12½ per cent from Government rations. They were, on the whole, very optimistic; in 1884 the agent Buckley at Tulalip wrote:—

The Lummi number 275, are a proud people, being both industrious and intelligent; 75 of them have received their allotments in severality. They are a home-loving people, and give their attention entirely to farming. Many of them have excellent farms, good dwelling houses and barns, and every family has cattle, horses, hogs and poultry. They raise large quantities of grain, hay, and all the

(39) *CIA-AR*, 1867, p. 54.

garden vegetables, and during the last year have made 1,200 pounds of good butter.⁴⁰

Agriculture was not the only "civilized pursuit" of the Lummi. Since the first white settlement, some had worked as labourers for the whites, especially as loggers. This sort of labour often separated young men from their families, but the distance was usually not far. Some time in the 1880's another kind of labour came into being—hop-picking. This was a job that required travelling a greater distance, but it was a job the whole family could participate in. In this last respect it resembled some of the pre-white summer activities. The two-month outing to the hop-fields became the high point in the year's activities for many families from all over Western Washington and British Columbia. The hop-fields thus became an important point of contact between many Indian groups who otherwise saw little of one another. This activity was one of the causes which the agents cited as accounting for the decline of agriculture.

There was some survival of native crafts in this period. Men no longer made house-planks, but some occasionally made house-posts and some still made dugout canoes. Some women still made mats and baskets and even blankets. The agent gives figures for production in native industries for 1881 (this is for the whole Tulalip agency, so Lummi is only a fraction of the total): "4,985 yards matting, 322 canoes, 1,485 baskets, 40 Indian blankets." He adds, as products of hunting, fishing, and gathering, "3,320 deer and other wild animals, 1,110,000 pounds of fish, and 2,638 bushels of berries."⁴¹ Silversmithing, so important among some American tribes, was practised by one Lummi, Jack Pierre, who learned the craft from a Makah and in turn taught it to a Samish.

To summarize the yearly round of activities: people concentrated in fall and winter in the village; moved out in the spring to scattered farms to plant, or to camps in the islands to fish and to gather wild foods; fished intensively at reef-net locations in July and August and on the river in September and October, but with increasing numbers leaving for the hop-fields in August and September. A few engaged in year-round farming (dairymen, for example) and year-round work off the reservation (loggers, sawyers, etc.).

(40) *CIA-AR*, 1884, p. 169.

(41) *CIA-AR*, 1881, pp. 172-173.

V. WHITE-IMPOSED INSTITUTIONS: GOVERNMENT

1. *Chieftainship*.—Whatever native government was, it was not a separate institution with a formal organization. Political influence depended upon social position. Social position came from the possession of incorporeal privileges and the wealth to display them. The wealth came from the possession of economic privileges or of supernatural power. Persons with rank of this kind were members of the upper class. I doubt if the pre-white "chief" was anything more than the ranking member of the upper class, probably the house-leader of the most influential household. I doubt if he had any formally recognized authority over anyone outside his own household or beyond his village.

The last Lummi "chief" of the old sort was Chowitsut, who began as a shaman, accumulated wealth, got a wealth power, and gave a number of potlatches. What I have been able to learn about him suggests that his success was due far more to his personal abilities than to inherited position. But he had to have upper-class status in the first place, and he had to have the co-operation of the other upper-class men in order to potlatch. Because of his wealth and his leadership in potlatching, he was the biggest of the big men at Lummi.

"After the priest came," said one informant, "the chief was the man who could say his prayers best." David Crockett, who became chief about 1859, undoubtedly could say his prayers well; he led the Lummi in daily Catholic services morning and evening. But he was not otherwise a nobody. He had come from an upper-class family, and he had been the leader of the pre-Catholic cult. The majority of Lummis had accepted Catholicism as superior to the native system of beliefs, so perhaps it was perfectly natural for the man who controlled the new system best, the ranking Catholic, to become chief.

About 1865 Crockett chose Henry Kwina as sub-chief, and when Crockett died in 1874, Kwina succeeded him as chief. Kwina probably had more claim to upper-class status than Crockett, being the nephew of Chowitsut. Kwina was chief for a little over half a century, from 1874 until his death in 1926.

In pre-white times the functions of a chief were probably not much more than those of a house-head. His ranking position seems not to have been a permanent one, but one dependent on his continuing to display the proper qualities and one subject to constant reappraisal.

Under white rule the functions of the chief were quite different. White rule has been both direct and indirect; in so far as it has been

indirect, the chieftainship has been one of its principal instruments. To the white government the chief was the leader of the whole tribe; his position was permanent, (short of impeachment) and he was partially responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the administration of justice. The question of the existence in pre-white times of leaders of units larger than the village does not matter, since now the whole tribe was in fact a single village. But certainly the support of the agent (if the chief had it) must have given the chieftainship more stability than dependence upon popular goodwill alone had given. The law and order the chief was supposed to keep and the justice he was supposed to administer were formerly perhaps his concern only within his own household. The majority of offences were punishable by the household, not by any larger community. The house-head may have been judge within his own house and represented his house in friendly dealings with others, but in the case of an offence from a member of another house he seems to have temporarily given over his leadership to a warrior. Now the chief was expected to represent all households in dealing with offences against any and to suppress the exercising of private justice.

To the Lummi their chief was their spokesman in their relations with the whites. Accounts of informants suggest that the chief was influential in getting allotments and in getting help from the agent. This patronage may have been analogous to that of the pre-white house-head. But it must have been difficult for members of other households, or after the break-up of the big households, of other family lines, to see the chief as equally responsible for and to all.

2. *Police*.—As an aid to administration, the agent appointed Indian policemen—a captain at Tulalip and two privates on each reservation. Their duties were to arrest persons breaking both laws applicable to all persons in the territory and also agents' rules applicable to Indians only—rules against drinking, spirit dancing, and shamanizing.

I do not know what the position of the Indian policeman was in the community, but have some indication that he stood well with the local whites. Probably it was a position which gave enough prestige to satisfy native needs. One might expect a parallel to the pre-white warrior.

3. *Courts*.—Using the chiefs as judges obviously had its disadvantages, and apparently to remedy the situation the agent established a court system. The agent wrote in 1889:—

Indian courts have been established with fair success on all the reservations belonging to the agency, but my main reliance has been upon the court located at agency headquarters (Tulalip), which is composed of the best material we have.

This court tries all cases of importance, and generally disposes of the most of them satisfactorily to all concerned. It has greatly assisted me in maintaining order on the reservation and the farmers in charge of the Swinomish and Lummi reservations say the court system is a great improvement on the old plan of governing by chiefs and head men.⁴²

He adds that the courts would be unnecessary if whisky had been inaccessible to the Indians.

In his 1891 report he gives the three judges at Tulalip as George Archille, whom he calls well educated, David Teuse, and Dick Shoemaker. Their decisions, he says, were fair and were taken as final. The prosecutor was Jim Thomas, who was also captain of police. The convictions for criminal offences during the year 1891 were two adultery, two assault, thirty-nine intoxication, one neglect of sick, five perjury, one "Ta-man-no-us" (Indian conjuring), two wife-beating; and forty-eight civil cases were tried.⁴³ The sentences were, I believe, largely to labour on reservation roads; however, there was a jail at Lummi. The next year's report mentions two judges at Lummi.⁴⁴

VI. THE CHURCH

There seems to have been little open resistance to conversion to Catholicism. It may be that the new religion was reinterpreted to accord with native beliefs. The native may have seen Catholic worship as another means of making contact with supernatural beings in order to acquire power. He may have seen Catholic taboos as parallel to those sometimes imposed by native guardian spirits. The participation of the "Indian priest" in the services he may have seen as an exercise of a personal possession like the inherited privileges or the secret ritual knowledge of native society.

It would be unfair to Catholicism, however, to suggest that it was a simple substitution; the Christian doctrine of sin and salvation and the God-given commandments surely had no close parallels. Native eschatology and native ethics were two separate systems—one bound up with concepts of disease and psychology, the other with the organization of society. The more integrated system presented by the priest must have seemed clearly superior to many philosophical natives. The priest himself, too, was without a close native parallel. The native ritualist's

(42) *CIA-AR*, 1889, p. 289.

(43) *CIA-AR*, 1891, p. 459. This was at Tulalip, so may not include Lummi cases settled at Lummi.

(44) *CIA-AR*, 1892, p. 506.

functions at crisis rites were similar to those of the priest, but the range of the ritualist's activities covered only a portion of that of the priest. Indians rightly identify the native shaman with the white doctor.

But perhaps the principal reason why Catholicism was accepted was the one so often given to account for a primitive people's conversion: "The whites are more powerful, therefore it must be that their religion is more powerful. Let us accept their religion and gain their power." Trite as this is, it may be true. In the native system, success was usually interpreted as resulting from the possession of some sort of power. The whites were certainly more powerful, and the whites themselves argued that conversion was the first step in becoming like whites.

It is even possible that the whites themselves were regarded as a source of power. An informant once remarked to me as we stood watching one of the more complex manifestations of white technology, "'Ain't no person, white man,' the old people used to say. 'White man sʔε'ləqəm.'" A sʔε'ləqəm is a being with supernatural power.

The real conflict was probably between the exclusiveness of Catholicism and native practices. If participation in Catholic ritual was taken as an exercise of privilege and thus a source of prestige, then its exclusiveness may have rankled. Catholicism was accepted, but not to the exclusion of native practices. Performances of spirit dances and shamanistic curing continued in secret. It was secret at least on the reservation, of necessity since it was illegal; among those small groups living off the reservation, as among the Samish on Guemes Island, it was open and active.

Both Lummi and non-Lummi say the Lummi were "strict" in their Catholicism. Informants who know the old culture best say too strict. One said that at first there were no pews in the church, and the people had to kneel the whole time; another said that persons caught drinking or spirit dancing were whipped; the crowning insult, in the view of a third, was the fact that Father Chirouse not only confiscated the spirit-dancing costumes, but dressed up his schoolboys in them to put on a show for whites in order to raise money. How much of this is true is hard to say. The fact remains it was the Lummi who were strict; the priest was present only part of the time, and the resident farmers were probably not Catholics.

There were some who held out. One informant, whose family is entirely Catholic, said in their defence:—

Very few people didn't care to listen to the priest. People were told "don't make friends with them, they're devils." But at the same time those people they called devils know who made the world—they knew it was *x̄e'els* [the Transformer].

VII. THE SCHOOL

The Indian Agents' reports praise the school as a great civilizing influence—an example of what Wissler identified as a basic theme of our culture, faith in the efficacy of education. Trying to discount our cultural bias, I think the agents may have been partly right. Only a fraction of the Lummi went to school, but those who did must have been the most important channel for the dissemination of white culture. At the same time, however, the school-children themselves were systematically uprooted from the native culture, so that the familiar drama of the returned student who finds his home no longer a home may have been re-enacted many times.

Father Chirouse established his first school at Tulalip in 1857. He took students from all over the area of the Tulalip agency. In 1861 he had twenty boys and five girls.⁴⁵ Some were no doubt from Lummi; yet in 1867 Finkbonner reported that, of 125 Lummi children of school age, only ten boys were at the Tulalip school.⁴⁶

By 1880 there was a little day-school at Lummi with two teachers—one a half-breed and the other an Indian, both educated at Tulalip.⁴⁷ But, according to informants, this school was moved back to Tulalip in 1884.

The language of instruction at Tulalip was, of course, English, but Father Chirouse also used the Puget Sound language for hymns and prayers, so that pupils from Lummi learned another Salish language as well. The report of agent Patrick Buckley for 1884 includes data on the Tulalip school. It is referred to as an agricultural and industrial boarding-school. There were at that time fifty-five boys and forty-five girls and eight employees—two men and six Sisters of Charity. The instruction for boys consisted of (1) school exercises—prayer, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, composition, history of the United States, book-keeping, and "familiar science"; and (2) manual labour—type-setting, attending to live stock, procuring and chopping fuel, gardening, farming, and carpenter work. The instruction for girls consisted of the same school exercises and the following industries: General

(45) *CIA-AR*, 1861, pp. 180–181.

(46) *CIA-AR*, 1867, p. 58.

(47) *CIA-AR*, 1880, pp. 165–166.

housework, washing, ironing, mending clothes, cutting out and making garments, gardening, dairy work, crocheting, braiding, embroidering, and different kinds of fancy work. The hours of school instruction were 8 to 11.30 a.m. and 1 to 8 p.m. each day. The methods of instruction, says the agent, were the same as those of the leading schools of the territory, and the teachers were in every way competent.

The good done the Indian people by this school is incalculably great . . . with the church, the school is the great civilizing element and those who have been brought up in both form the better class among our Indians. Their houses are neater and better furnished, their partners and their children are better dressed, their gardens better cultivated; they attend church regularly and are industrious and well behaved.

He also mentions the fact that Father Boulet, who had replaced Chirouse in the late 1870's, was publishing—

a neat little monthly paper, dedicated to the advancement of Indian youth; it contains much good advice and pleasant reading and is valued by the Indians. It has quite a large circulation, and as at least one Indian in every family can read, it accomplishes much good.⁴⁸

The statement that at least one Indian in every family could read is disproved by the statistics for the year. The population at Lummi in 1884 was 275; of these, 50 persons spoke English, 40 could read, 60 families were engaged in agriculture, etc.⁴⁹ From this it appears that literacy was actually a little less than 15 per cent; about one in seven could read, certainly less than one in every conjugal family. The agent was, I suspect, overly optimistic. Yet the school must certainly have made a difference.

In 1892 a day-school reopened at Lummi, but the teacher was beset with difficulties, and the school did not receive much support from the people. I shall discuss possible reasons for this later.

VIII. PERSISTENCE OF NATIVE CULTURE

In spite of attacks by white culture and the acceptance of much of white culture by the Lummi, some native institutions persisted in the life of the people of Old Lummi Village. In some cases, survival was without conflict. The private ownership of reef-net locations, for example, fitted quite well into white theory; the Lummi later lost their locations simply because they could not legally defend them.

Other native institutions survived under great pressure. Spirit-dancing and shamanistic curing went on in secret, but not in Old Lummi

(48) *CIA-AR*, 1884, p. 170.

(49) *CIA-AR*, 1884, pp. 288-289.

Village. Mrs. Charles, who was raised in Jim Eldridge's smoke-house there, said that she never saw spirit dancing when she was a child. This was in spite of the fact that several of the family-heads were, at that time or later, dancers, and one, Tom Squiqui, was a shaman. Some were exclusively "strong Catholics," however; Mrs. John Brown said that her father, George tiel'š, did not believe in powers and would not accept one that he might have had.

Those who still danced or cured did so in secret at some place away from the village or off the reservation entirely. Those who were caught dancing on the reservation were arrested and fined or sentenced to labour on the road. Off the reservation less secrecy was required; the *Bellingham Bay Mail* even describes a shamanistic performance held at the "rancheree" at Sehome on August 1, 1874, with the help of some visiting Semiahmoo.

Slavery was, of course, forbidden and so was head-flattening, the older mark of status. And apparently there was some attempt to forget old class differences; Mrs. Brown says that her father never spoke of class differences, and that she did not know of such things until she married at Musqueam. At least one former slave married another, received an allotment, and raised a family. But Mrs. Brown's present strong class-consciousness as well as her spirit dancing suggest that some basis for them was built up in childhood, despite her father's professions. And none of the former slaves' children married Lummi, a fact supporting the likelihood of the persistence of class-consciousness.

Gift-giving was also forbidden or at least discouraged by the priests and the agent, but it persisted even more openly than spirit dancing and shamanism. So far as I know, the Lummi have not had any *łe'nəq* since Chowitsut's time. A *łe'nəq* was a "real potlatch" given by several persons "going company" and inviting members of other tribes. The *Bellingham Bay Mail* reported "potlatches" in October of 1873 and December of 1875, but these were, I suspect, the "paying off of funeral expenses" or some other obligation of single individuals. In contrast, the Samish had several full-dress *łe'nəq*, the last in 1905.

The persistence of gift-giving was in practices which were a blend of the old culture and the new.

IX. AREAS OF COMPROMISE AND EMERGENCE OF NEW FORMS

It was in the observance of the life crises that native practices came the nearest to blending with white practices. Here people recognized

the necessity of the sacraments and the priest's jurisdiction over them, but since the life crises were vital to the native culture, they endeavoured to observe them in the old way as well. The fact that the priest was not always present made this fairly easy.

So far as I know, recognition of birth and of puberty received little, if anything, from white culture, and native practices tended to dwindle. Catholic baptism came sooner after birth than did any naming ceremony in the old culture, where boys and girls were often simply called "boy" and "girl" until old enough to receive inherited names. Now they received Christian names first and native names later.

The first converts received Christian names only, no surnames. A few of the first generation later used native names as surnames. Some received full European names from the whites, either for famous persons such as George Washington or for the settlers they worked for, like Jim Eldridge, who worked for the early settler Edward Eldridge. In some cases English nicknames stuck. But the majority of the first generation seem to have done without European surnames, and most of their children seem to have used their fathers' given names as surnames. In most cases the original given name became the surname of the third and following generations, but some tendency to repeat the first step in the process remains. Frank Hillaire's son by his first wife calls himself Edward Frank, but his children by his second wife are all Hillaires. The result of this practice is a population bearing names which to the outsider seem at first hopelessly indistinguishable—Joe Bill, Bill Joe, George Charles, Charles George, and even Joe Joe and George George, the last being called Double George. Most of the native names used as surnames appear to have been dropped, and some of the original baptismal names, being French, became unintelligible to English-speaking whites and therefore impractical; I did not recognize uš'e'n as "Eugene" or pe'tlās as "Patrice."

In addition to English given names and surnames, nearly everyone received a native name. This required some expense, since the name had to be given in the presence of others, who were paid to witness the event. Later in life if a man had an unused name in his genealogy and could afford it, he might take it, too. So far as I know, there has never been any attempt to use English names as inherited privileges; the two systems have existed simultaneously but separately. To identify a person completely requires getting his English given name, surname, and possibly nickname, and his native inherited name or names, and possibly native

nickname, since he may have been known by only one or two of these by different people at different places or times. While in native theory the inherited name, or perhaps the last inherited name used, was the person's real name, the English given name appears to be the most useful for any cataloguing purposes, since it usually endured the whole lifetime.

A far greater blending of the old and the new was to be found in marriage and marriage relations and in practices associated with death. To judge from several accounts, among the better off at least, a marriage was arranged by the families of the couple. The family of the groom paid a bride-price in money and perhaps made a gift of food besides, which the family of the bride used for a feast. When this had been done, the priest was invited to unite the couple in a Catholic wedding. After the wedding the bride's family gave a feast, killing stock for the meal and putting down a temporary floor in the smoke-house and hiring a fiddler and caller for a square dance. The parents of the couple called each other *sk'wə'lwəs* (co-parents-in-law), and engaged in later exchanges of food and wealth. For example, a man might bring a canoe-load of boxes of hard-tack or biscuits, a favourite article, to his son-in-law and the latter's father, at which time they in turn were obliged not only to pay for the food, but also to pay each of the men who helped to bring it. This kind of exchange perhaps received more emphasis when the marriage was between a Lummi and a non-Lummi. Occasionally it led to open rivalry between co-parents-in-law. This type of marriage was purely native in function for the families of the couple. From the native point of view the Catholic wedding service could have been merely a substitute for the earlier display of an inherited privilege on the occasion when the couple were brought together before representatives of the two families. The other foreign elements—the money, the slaughtered beef, the hard-tack—were only borrowed means to native ends. On the other hand, the Catholic wedding may well have been the more significant even for many of the young couples themselves, trained as they had been in the Catholic school, since some of these marriages lasted for life, a permanency that might not have been attained in pre-white times.

A death meant considerable expense for the bereaved's family, if they could afford it. Burial was the rule, and a Catholic funeral service was required. But before the funeral the family had to hire two persons of the same sex as the deceased to bathe and dress the body, two more to keep a wake, two men to make a coffin, two to make the outer cover for it, two to dig the grave, and six to act as pallbearers. The bathing

of the corpse and the making of the coffin were professional tasks in pre-white times when the dead were put into raised canoes or grave-boxes, and those who performed the tasks did so because of their knowledge of the proper spells and ritual acts. The spells were still used at this time, and even though burial in the ground was a recent practice, there were spells for grave-digging, too. After the funeral the family of the deceased had to give a feast, at which they paid their "funeral debts"; that is, paid those who had performed the services just listed. At the same time, or later, they might display a memento or sing the spirit song of the deceased and pay those who witnessed. The payment of funeral debts was perhaps the public repayment of obligations that most nearly reached the proportions of the earlier potlatch, which had this as only one of several functions.

THE 1890'S: THE END OF OLD LUMMI VILLAGE

In spite of their earlier praise of the Lummi as successful farmers and optimism about their progress toward civilization, by 1890 the agents' reports were beginning to express some dissatisfaction with them. In 1889 the Lummi were merely not "holding their own";⁵⁰ by 1891 the statistics themselves show a decline in agricultural production—350 acres cultivated as compared with 500 in 1884, 50 bushels of wheat and 60 of oats as compared with 450 and 2,000 bushels in 1884, 450 cattle as compared with 600 head, and so on.⁵¹ Figures for 1897, however, show a gain in production, but since they also show a gain in population, production *per capita* may not have improved.

The agents' reports for the early 1890's also express a dissatisfaction with the Lummi over their day-school; the Lummi were unco-operative and failed to support the school. The agents seem to be expressing a feeling that the Lummi were undergoing a general cultural decline, or at least were losing interest in the things which had made the agents optimistic a decade or two earlier.

There are several possible reasons for this decline; the first three of the following were suggested by the agents themselves:—

(1) The isolation of the Lummi allowed them to slip out of the control of the agency.

(2) The opposition of the old people undermined the agency's work.

(50) *CIA-AR*, 1889, p. 288.

(51) *CIA-AR*, 1884, pp. 298–299; 1891, p. 459.

(3) The attraction of other pursuits, particularly hop-picking, took people away from the reservations during the season when they should have been farming.

The following quotations will illustrate some of these views:—

One of the largest and naturally most fertile of the five reservations is the Lummi, but, being more remote and less accessible from the agency than are the other, the same discipline cannot easily be maintained with these Indians—exposed to the evil influence of whites and Canadian Indians—as with those on other reservations. They are more independent and show less inclination to cultivate their land than do the Indians of most of the reserves, though not a few of the younger men have industriously cultivated their several holdings and have comfortable farm-homes. For the most part, however, they engage in fishing, sealing and logging.⁵²

And speaking of all Puget Sound Indians, not just the Lummi:—

The Indians, as a rule, are not systematic farmers. Farming is with them the incident and not the business of everyday life. Some of them, the more thrifty and industrious, have well-cultivated farms and comfortable houses, and are anxious to have their children educated. They generally live like white people. Those, however, are the exception. A large majority spend most of their time in their canoes, fishing, especially during the salmon season. In the summer they are absent most of the time picking berries. In early fall, with few exceptions, all, little and big, young and old, go to the hop fields, where they meet old friends from all over the sound and east of the mountains. Here they drink, gamble, and, as they say, have a good time generally. This annual pilgrimage to the hop fields is very demoralizing and positively injurious; but as it has been their custom for many years, and always permitted by former agents, I did not feel justified in interfering with what they seem to regard as one of their vested rights.

From close observation I am satisfied that the greatest obstacle to progress and to the advancement of the young Indian is the old Indian. He still clings to his old superstitions and cherishes secretly the old traditions and teaching of his savage ancestors. He is opposed to sending his children to school; creates all the dissatisfaction and distrust that he can secretly foment in the child's mind; interferes with the agency physician in the treatment of patients and does whatever he can in the two months of vacation to neutralize the good effect of the ten months' school session. With his disappearance from the scene of action, a more rapid and marked advance will take place among the younger Indians.⁵³

(4) To the attraction of hop-picking I would add the attraction of reef-netting for sockeye. This activity became a source of cash as well as food about 1891, when the canneries began buying fish. And after the Lummi lost their locations, some went to work for the canneries.

(5) A log-jam caused by a boom at the mouth of the Nooksack River made it necessary for people to go several miles up-stream before

(52) *CIA-AR*, 1891, p. 459.

(53) *CIA-AR*, 1895, p. 319.

they could cross to go to market. This was not only a deterrent to intercourse between Lummi and the neighbouring white communities, but also resulted eventually in the destruction of Old Lummi Village.

(6) A further factor in the decline in agricultural production may have been in the difficulties that were arising over the inheritance of allotments. These difficulties are mentioned in the reports of 1890 and 1891. Much later, in 1914, the agent Buchanan wrote that cases had been accumulating for years, and that land had lain idle because its ownership could not be determined.⁵⁴

(7) A final factor in the decline of agriculture and what was perhaps a general cultural decline may have lain in the conflict that had arisen between the two controlling forces, church and state, and the effect this conflict must have had upon the Lummi. Whatever the truth of the following statement, it certainly indicates that there was such a conflict; this is from the school-teacher's report of 1902:—

A serious obstacle to the intellectual progress is, I fear, the presence of the priest [Father Boulet] under whose teachings they [the Lummi] are. He is opposed to Government schools in general and does what he can to influence the Indians against them and to prevent their patronizing such schools.⁵⁵

This conflict must surely have had an effect upon the Lummi. Since the first settlement no doubt their newly acquired values were under constant attack from what the agent Buchanan later called the "vicious and meddlesome white man" as well as from the most conservative of their own group. Now it appeared that the two chief white exponents of the new values—the agent and the priest—themselves disagreed. Why then, especially in the face of other difficulties, should one be a sober, pious, industrious, literate farmer?

To make an even more generalized suggestion, it may be that the Lummi were, or at least appeared to be, sober, pious, and industrious in the 1870's and '80's because a new cultural pattern had developed which permitted it, but that this cultural pattern was one which could not survive in the face of changes going on around it.

Probably the worst blows the Lummi have suffered since the 1850's were the effects of the log-jam at the mouth of the river and of the building of the fish-traps at Point Roberts and Village Point, Lummi Island. I have already indicated the damage done by the log-jam. The effect of the traps was to block all the principal reef-net locations so as to make them difficult or impossible to use. In 1895 the Government filed

(54) Buchanan (1914), *MS*.

(55) *CIA-AR*, 1902, p. 362.

suit for the Indians against the companies concerned. The agent reported the decision, which was reached two years later:—

The suits instituted by direction of the honorable Attorney-General in the interest of these Indians, one for the obstruction of the Nooksack River for navigation purposes by the Fairhaven Lumber [Land?] Company, the other against the Alaska Packing Company [Alaska Packers Association?] for obstruction of the fishing privileges of Indians, have both been decided against the Indians in the United States district court for Washington. These cases are still pending an appeal to the United States circuit court. Meanwhile the navigation of the Nooksack River is practically closed by an immense accumulation of driftwood caused by the obstructions placed near the mouth of the river by the Fairhaven Lumber Company, the current of the river having been deflected from the east to the west bank thereof, expending its full force against and overflowing the lowlands of the Lummi Reservation upon which is located the government day school building and the Indian village; and the Alaska Packing Company and other cannery companies have practically appropriated all the best fishing grounds at Point Roberts and Village Point, where the Lummi Indians have been in the habit of fishing from time immemorial. The State legislature, at its last session, passed an act imposing a tax upon all persons fishing with nets in its waters, and at the same time prohibiting persons using nets from fishing within 240 feet of any fish trap. The average Indian regards the decisions of the courts and the recent legislation of the State as especially directed against him, and no amount of explanation on my part is sufficient to convince him to the contrary.⁵⁶

SINCE 1900

During the years before the First World War the Lummi saw the school system pass completely out of the hands of the church (1901). The agency finally straightened out the tangled lines of heirship of a number of unused allotments, though more accumulated. Some Lummi found themselves able to lease their lands, and some were even declared competent to sell if they chose to. A couple of allotments were sold because of a lack of agreement among the heirs. Also some of the Lummis made successful stands against the Fish and Game Commission's attempt to apply its rules to the reservation.

There also began an open conflict of religions. About 1910 the Shakers first made converts in the area; these were the followers of John Slocum, a Puget Sound prophet whose immediate disciples synthesized native and Christian practices.⁵⁷ In 1912 spirit dancing took a first step toward becoming legal.

From 1912 to 1917 the Lummi held an annual "potlatch," a picnic and clambake. It was to commemorate the victory of the Lummi over

(56) *CIA-AR*, 1897, pp. 296-297.

(57) Gunther (1944).

the Yukulta at Gooseberry Point, in, according to William McCluskey's calculations, 1820, and presumably to make money on the crowds of whites who came from Bellingham to see the show. For the picnic some old dances and songs were revived and in some cases revised. Some features perhaps not originally Lummi, such as the s̄x̄w̄áix̄wei mask and dance, were added.

Between the wars the Lummi Reservation saw a considerable increase in population, from 472 in 1921 to 632 in 1932. In 1930 a dyke was completed around most of the "flats," the delta land which is the best soil on the reservation. In the early 1930's State schools became open to Lummi children. And during the 1930's the Lummi rejected, while the Swinomish and Tulalip people accepted, the Indian Reorganization Act.

After the river washed away Old Lummi Village in the 1890's, some of the people moved their buildings down to Fish Point. This did not last as a settlement, however, and for some years there was no village on the river. Then, I believe in the 1930's, fishermen began building shacks on the banks of the new river-course, now off the reservation. In time a strip of land on each side was bought as tribal property, some improvements were made, and this is the present "River Village."

THE FREEING OF THE POWER SONGS

In 1914 Dr. Charles Buchanan, the agent at Tulalip, wrote:—

So far as is generally known the old Indian dances are obsolete. They are not generally seen so far as any public knowledge of them, at least, is concerned. They are of interest only as steps in the past history and evolution of the race (in which sense they may be considered, in a certain sense, as historic records). The children in the school are taught to regard these ancient dancing practices as stages and incidents of a barbarism that is past, though they are stages experienced by all primitive and uncivilized peoples. They are therefore indicative of lack of progress and lack of desire for progress and improvement. They are never seriously given or seriously seen any more. There has grown up at Tulalip a local Indian holiday, the anniversary of the treaty, January 22nd, which we term Treaty Day and, in a sense, Old Folks Day. That day is considered a page out of the history of the past, brought into the present for purposes of comparison and of historical comparison. Indian history is not written; therefore it can only be exemplified by oral tradition or by dramatization in the form of what is now popularly given under the designation of pageantry. In this spirit and with this in view, we often reproduce at Tulalip many of the old Indian customs, practices, games, etc., on Treaty Day as a portion of its pageantry, but in no more serious sense than this.⁵⁸

(58) Buchanan (1914), *MS.*, December 1, p. 17.

The old dances were, of course, not obsolete, but, as was probably generally known, had merely gone underground because of the Government's policy of suppression. According to several Lummi informants, Buchanan freed the power songs on Treaty Day only, for three years, then forbade them again. They were later freed as far as the Lummi were concerned through the efforts of John Alexis.

At Tulalip Mrs. William Shelton described the events there as in part the result of her husband's diplomacy:—

The Treaty Day celebration started because the agent Buchanan wanted to have a celebration of the anniversary of the signing of the treaty. The first time he tried it a number of people said that they were not going to celebrate the occasion upon which they lost their lands, etc., etc. Buchanan then asked William Shelton how he could manage to interest people in making it a holiday. William suggested that they give a show imitating the old *skəla'litut* dances, and the agent agreed to let them do it. The first year they had it in the schoolhouse. They collected about fifty dollars to imitate a potlatch, and Johnny Fornsby sang and gave it away. A few others danced. They invited the Swinomish for this.

Because this was in the school building the children were not fed enough [?], so William said that he would build an old-fashioned house for the following year. So Buchanan said he would permit it and provided the lumber. William made the posts and had two fellows build it. This time they invited the Lummi as well as the Swinomish. This was 1913 when the smokehouse was built, the second year that they had the dances on Treaty Day. The Swinomish built their smokehouse the same year and used it to practice in before the Treaty Day celebration. The Lummi built theirs just after William built his. The Lummi smokehouse was on Jack Pierre's place.

Measles broke out about the time for the celebration and Buchanan stopped it for one year because he was afraid that the measles would spread among the children. So that year the Swinomish went to work and put it on. Since then they have done so. The old people here had died so William let the Swinomish go ahead and put it on.

Mrs. Shelton's daughter, Mrs. Harriet Williams, added that her father had written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and also, she thought, to the Secretary of the Interior asking that the Indians be given the right to perform their old dances. I do not know whether this was before the first Treaty Day show or after the subsequent prohibition; perhaps it was the latter.

The Johnny Fornsby mentioned by Mrs. Shelton was the Upper Skagit shaman whose life-history Collins recorded.⁵⁹ She gives his version of what happened verbatim, and unfortunately, I think, without comment or analysis. The gist of it seems to be that it was Fornsby's

(59) Collins (1949).

own *skʷədi'lič* power that forced Buchanan to free the spirit dances. A man was lost in the woods in the winter-time at Tulalip. Fornsby's version holds that Buchanan said, "If John finds that man, I'll let them use all the power they want and have a time." Fornsby made *skʷədi'lič* "boards" of cedar-bark, and they led him toward the man. He did not find him, but he gave up within 80 yards of where a logger found him in the spring. Then Buchanan gave the songs back. At the first performance, in the school-house, Fornsby started with *héyida*, a wealth power, followed by others, including John Skudab with *q'wa'xq'əd*. In the middle Fornsby sang *skʷədi'lič* with the boards. The school-teachers were frightened because the boards got rough to show their power.

That is how we got Treaty Day. Dr. Buchanan didn't want the Indians to have the old time way. But that time they saw how the Indians fixed power. And he saw the guarding power [*skʷədi'lič*] shake right in the room, running around the school building.

That is why those folks have a time now on Treaty Day.⁶⁰

It is difficult to say, from the evidence at hand, just what Buchanan's motives were. Mrs. Williams believed that they were more or less those he expressed in the above quotation from him, to show the children what the old culture had to offer so that they might see better the contrast between it and what they were learning in school. The effect may not have been what he desired; Mrs. Williams was a school-child herself at the time and remarked on how thrilled the children were to hear the drums as they were marched over to where the show was put on.

Mrs. John Brown at Lummi said merely that Buchanan "got inquisitive about the old potlatch" and asked to see what it was like. Buchanan certainly was interested in learning about the old culture, as his writings indicate, so this may have been a motive also.

There is a third, though less likely, possibility. The Shakers had begun making gains at Tulalip not long before, and in the same 1914 report quoted above Buchanan roundly denounces Shakerism as a disguised form of the old "tamanumus" religion.⁶¹ Informants say that he even tried to suppress the Shakers for a few years. It is barely possible that he freed the spirit songs, hoping to fight fire with fire.

It seems likely that the power songs would have come out into the open in time regardless of Buchanan. There were old people who had sung in secret or away from the reservation who needed support from younger people, and there were middle-aged people who had never sung

(60) *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324.

(61) Buchanan (1914), *MS.*

but might have in the old life and felt they needed to now. But the Treaty Day shows may have given more impetus to the revival. Several of the people Wike⁶² worked with at Swinomish told her that they had first become aware of their powers while mimicking the old dancers for the first Treaty Day shows. Perhaps Mrs. John Brown expressed Buchanan's role accurately when she said, "Buchanan seemed to unwind the thing."

At Lummi, perhaps until about 1920, it was evidently necessary to fight both Buchanan's restrictions and the opposition of the local priest. Here John Alexis was a man who needed to sing. His wife had died and he wandered around mourning her. He found in the Bible a passage, "They shall have dreams of dreams," so he wrote Washington saying that the power songs come from dreams and thus the Bible justifies them. He argued with the agent that not all the old dances consisted of cutting oneself with knives and drinking blood, and that these would be left in the past. He invited two priests and a Protestant minister to a feast for spirit dancing and convinced them that it was "just a social gathering."

THE LUMMI IN 1953

The Lummi tribe exists at this time both as a separate social entity and as a separate political entity. Its separate existence as a social entity springs in part from the physical and cultural differences that exist between the Lummi Indians and their white neighbours, but perhaps also in part from their political separation. The separate existence of the Lummi as a political entity springs from the fact that their land, the Lummi Reservation, is in a special status, subject to restrictions not applicable to adjacent lands and not directly under the jurisdiction of local and State governments. The total area of the Lummi Reservation is 12,502 acres, of which (in 1950) 2,338 acres are held in fee patent and the rest restricted. The present population is 834. All persons born in the United States are citizens and have the right to vote, but those living on the reservation are subject to restrictions regarding liquor, and those on restricted land are subject to restrictions regarding the use and disposal of that land and enjoy freedom from paying taxes on that land. Membership in the tribe is determined by the tribe.

The business of the tribe is conducted according to a written constitution by a tribal council. The tribal council consists of twelve mem-

(62) Wike (1941).

bers, one of which, the chief, is a life member and the rest of which are elected to three-year terms. The terms are so arranged that two or three expire annually. Elections are by secret ballot; all adult members of the tribe may vote. However, either the Lummi are well satisfied with the council or else interest in tribal politics may not run very high; it is said that at the last election only forty or fifty persons voted, and the same persons have been in office for some time. Since the death of his father-in-law, Chief Kwina, in 1926, August Martin has been the chief of the Lummi tribe. He is now advanced in years and does not participate much in tribal business; his main function seems to be that of tribal historian and genealogist. If any question of membership in the tribe comes up, it is submitted to his judgment, and his truly remarkable memory for family relationships usually settles it. After each election the council members elect their officers. At present they are: Norbert James, chairman; Earl Thomas, vice-chairman; Joseph Hillaire, secretary; and Victor Jones, treasurer. The council also appoints committees; there are standing committees on health and education, and others appointed to handle specific matters to be discussed with agencies of the county or state governments. The tribal council also handles tribal property and funds. In addition to the tribal council, there are four other public officials—a judge and a policeman, nominated by the council and commissioned by the Indian Bureau, and a road supervisor and a dyke supervisor, hired by the Indian Bureau.

All of the dry land on the reservation was allotted, so that the only lands remaining as tribal property are the tide-lands around the reservation. These afford some income for the tribe; areas are leased as booming-grounds, oyster-beds, and resort beaches in front of some of the allotments that have been sold to non-Indians. Additional income is derived from the sale to non-Indians of permits to hunt on the reservation, and the sale to members of the tribe of permits to fish in the tribally owned waters of Bellingham Bay and the mouth of the Nooksack River. The tribal income is used for the maintenance of the tribal cemetery and for the salary of the policeman. Fines levied by the judge in cases tried on the reservation also go into the tribal fund.

The Federal Government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is ultimately responsible for the use and disposition of land on the reservation, for the maintenance of law and order, and for health and education among its people. However, the Bureau has been gradually withdrawing from direct contact and delegating several of its responsibilities to

State and local bodies. It delegates law and order in part to the Indians themselves. For education it has a contract with the State, which in turn deals with the school district, and for health it has a contract with the county. The Lummi have, therefore, a broad range of relationships with government; they have to deal with the Government of the United States, the Government of the State of Washington, Whatcom County, and the local school district of Ferndale.

At one time a sub-agent resided at Lummi, responsible to the agent at Tulalip. At present the various agencies of the western part of the State have been combined to form a Western Washington Agency, with offices at Everett. The Agency still has a small lot between the school and the church, but the house where the sub-agent lived is rented to the road supervisor. A small office also stands on the lot and is used by a representative of the Bureau who comes to deal with land questions. The inheritance, lease, or sale of restricted land must be approved by the Bureau. Inheritance follows the laws of the State of Washington, which specify which kinsman inherits the property of a deceased person, but there is still a great backlog of cases where the kin are too numerous for easy settlement. In such cases the land may be leased and the rent divided among the heirs, but sometimes there are scores of heirs, so that each receives only a few cents a year. The clerical work required of the Bureau for this is, of course, enormous, while the benefit to the Indians is slight. A few allotments have had a number of heirs who could agree to a sale, so that these have been sold and are no longer owned by Indians. However, two pieces of property that have become valuable as resort areas have been separated in this manner; their sale was perhaps the best solution to the heirship problem at the time, but some regret is felt to-day over the loss.

About 1907 the Indian Bureau acquired the site of the present school and built on it. The present plant was built between 1929 and 1936. It includes a five-room school building and a gymnasium and cafeteria. For a time the reservation was a school district by itself with its own school board, but in 1941 it was consolidated with the Ferndale School District. At present most children go through grade school at the Lummi school and those who go on to high school go to Ferndale. Two school buses run through the reservation. In the fall of 1952 there were 110 pupils and five teachers in the Lummi grade school; ninety-three pupils finished the year. About thirty were attending junior high or high school at Ferndale. A few go to the Assumption School (Catho-

lic) in Bellingham, and a few, mainly those without parental care, go to the Indian boarding-school at Chemawa.

Like all public schools, the Ferndale schools are supported by taxes. To compensate for the absence of tax money from Indian property, the Federal Government allocates funds to the State Governments, which in turn apportion them out to the school districts, depending on the number of children of Indians on tax-free land attending. The Ferndale School District therefore receives money from Olympia for the Lummi children. In addition, the Indian Bureau hires a full-time caretaker, Aloysius Charles, for the school plant on the reservation. One Lummi, Earl Thomas, is a member of the Ferndale District School Board.

According to 1950 figures, sixty-five Lummi were high-school graduates. The figure is no doubt higher now. At least one Lummi has a university degree, in mechanical engineering, and several have graduated from business colleges.

Whatcom County maintains the main roads on the reservation, and the tribe, helped by the Indian Bureau, maintains the others. The road supervisor hired by the Bureau grades the tribal roads with the Bureau's road-grader; the same man also grades on the Tulalip Reservation. The county is also responsible for health and sanitation on the reservation, as elsewhere in the county. The county health nurse makes regular calls, but in addition the Bureau pays a doctor from Bellingham to make weekly calls. Lummi patients can be admitted to the county hospital as well as to the Bureau's Cushman Hospital at Tacoma. The county administers social security, so old-age pensioners deal with the office in Bellingham. All citizens of the State over 65 are eligible for an old-age pension; Indians are not excepted.

A series of lawsuits during the first quarter of the century helped to define the rights of Indians in the matter of fishing and hunting. After the trap-men took the reef-net locations off the reservation, the Fish and Game Department attempted to enforce its regulations on the reservation in the interest of conservation. However, the Indians won the right to regulate hunting and fishing on the reservation and in the adjacent waters. The present situation seems to be that Indians have no rights beyond those of other citizens in the matter of fishing and hunting off the reservations, with the exception that they do not have to buy licences; instead, they are provided by the Indian Bureau with cards identifying them as Indians. On the reservation they are not subject to State game regulations, but the Lummi tribal council attempts

to enforce its own regulations, keeping them in accord with those of the State. But it is my impression that neither party is wholly satisfied with this arrangement.

The present policeman on the reservation is Joseph Washington. He is on duty at dances, at the annual carnival, and such occasions. He is paid by the hour by the tribal council out of tribal funds. According to the present judge, Aloysius Charles, the great majority of offences are "drunk and disorderly." His records were not available, but it is his impression that offenders are more often middle aged than young persons. Liquor, and more often beer, is easily obtained from legitimate dealers; "the bootleggers that used to be in Marietta must have all gone to the old folks' home." When a case comes up before Mr. Charles, he gives the accused his choice of trial on the reservation, in the County Court in Bellingham, or in the Federal Court in Seattle. Actually the County Court probably has no legal jurisdiction. Most minor offenders are evidently satisfied with local justice; any more serious offence would be sent on anyway. There are only two recent thefts on record; one is being investigated by the F.B.I. The only case of the use of narcotics known was the occurrence of a couple of marihuana parties, which were blamed on a Mexican migrant labourer. In the only recent murder on the reservation, both parties were Indians but not Lummi; the reservation policeman made the arrest and called the County Sheriff to take the prisoner to the county jail, from which he was taken to Seattle for trial.

According to figures made available by the Western Washington Agency, the Lummi number at present 834, some fifty of whom live off the reservation. The population on the reservation is scattered over the whole area but with a concentration at the River Village. Probably most of those listed as off the reservation are living in the adjacent town of Marietta.

Farming is no longer an important activity of the Lummi. Almost the only land now cultivated on the reservation is that under the Lummi dyke, and of this perhaps three-fourths is leased to white farmers. On the higher land of the peninsula, allotments that were good farms fifty years ago are now covered with second growth. Beef cattle and sheep run free on the peninsula, but stock that requires more constant attention is rare.

Undoubtedly the major activity of the Lummi to-day is fishing. Most important are purse-seining and gill-netting. There are from

twenty-five to thirty purse-seine boats owned by Lummi fishermen, each manned by a crew of about seven, hired from the reservation. These boats operate during the fishing season out in the near-by channels and into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the southern end of Georgia Strait; their owners moor them at the Bellingham boat havens. There are many more gill-net boats, each operated by one or two men in Bellingham Bay or the Nooksack River. One man, who is perhaps the most prosperous on the reservation, owns three purse-seiners, a fleet of gill-netters, and also acts as fish-buyer in the River Village. Three or four men have traps in the tide-flats, now illegal off the reservation, but each of these is probably no more productive than a gill-net. A few men troll in the winter with outboard motors, but not commercially.

Reef-netting, once the principal fishing method of the Lummi, is now almost entirely in the hands of whites. Reef-netting declined after the traps were built by whites on the reef-net locations in the 1890's and then made a come-back after the traps were outlawed in the 1930's. Now the waters of Legoe Bay off Lummi Island are covered with reef-nets during the sockeye season. Both gear-owners and hired fishermen are organized, and the use of locations is regulated by the gear-owners' association. There are no Lummi gear-owners, but a few Lummi work on the gears of others.

Industrial work off the reservation probably ranks second to fishing. During the fishing season many women work at the canneries in Bellingham while their menfolk are out on the purse-seiners. Besides this a few men work in lumbering and a few as carpenters for contractors. A weaving establishment on the reservation operated by a white couple hires several young Lummi women. Several young women have also been employed at secretarial work. There has been no noticeable seasonal migration to the berry and hop fields from the Lummi Reservation since the 1930's.

Native crafts have hardly survived. Only two or three women are now able to make baskets, and even they do not regularly do so. One man has attempted to carve for sale, but his style, while in better taste than that of many commercial carvings seen elsewhere, is still more original than aboriginal.

The Catholic church still stands where it was moved after the disintegration of the Old Lummi Village. Father Conger, of Ferndale, celebrates mass here, at Ferndale, and at Blaine every Sunday, alternating the hours. The majority of Lummi probably regard themselves as

Catholic, although many do not attend church regularly. There is also a small Shaker church, which is not used regularly, and a Church of the Nazarene, which was built about 1951 and is rather active. A few people belong to a Pentecostal church in Bellingham. Although the old smoke-house fell down about 1951, spirit dancing is carried on in private homes, and there has been some talk of building a new smoke-house.

Perhaps half a dozen Lummi served in the United States armed forces during the First World War. During the Second World War there were between twenty and thirty. Six were killed in the Second World War and one in the Korean conflict. After the Second World War an American Legion post was organized on the reservation and named for John Kittles, one of the casualties. Its first commander was a veteran of the First World War. The combined membership of the post and its auxiliary is eighty-two. The post is attempting to raise money for a hall by sponsoring an annual carnival. In the meantime it meets in the school gymnasium, where it also gives dances (of the customary white ballroom type). In addition to the American Legion, there are several other associations—the Altar Society, a Catholic women's organization of fifty-five members that attends to the needs of the church; the Helping Hand, a mothers' club of twenty-six that does welfare work; a Boy Scout troop of thirty; and a Parent-Teacher Association. During the winter of 1952-53 an unemployed group was organized with about seventy-five members; this may only reflect seasonal unemployment.

Strictly speaking, there are no longer any tribally sponsored events. In the first decade of the century the Lummi still had an annual clean-up of the cemetery, to which everyone came with picnic lunches; to-day a committee hires men to do the work at an hourly wage. The annual spirit-dance gatherings at the smoke-house, which began officially in the teens and lasted until the smoke-house fell down, were tribally sponsored events in that nearly everyone came, most families brought food for a meal for the guests, and guests from other tribes were formally invited and sometimes their transportation was provided. At one time several families pooled their food for each of the tables for the guests; more recently all the families that brought food put it together in the kitchen for equal distribution to all tables. To-day extra-tribal guests are invited, but to smaller gatherings at private homes.

The annual picnic in June at Gooseberry Point is the old carnival held in the teens revived in 1946 by the American Legion post. It is

a three-day affair called the "Stommish Water Carnival"; the name is the native word for "warrior," the choice probably being based on the fact that it is held on what is believed to be the anniversary of a battle with the Yukulta. The greater part of the grounds is occupied by carnival concessions run by whites. The Indian contribution is threefold: Lummi women have a salmon-bake; there are canoe races between local canoes and outsiders invited from both sides of the International Boundary; and there are performances by an Indian dance troupe, "The Children of the Setting Sun," organized by Joseph Hillaire. While the songs and dances of this group are of local origin and are often well performed, their costumes are almost entirely in Plains style, and behind the dance platform stands a canvas tepee painted with figures of equally exotic totem-poles. These touches are presumably concessions to the picture most whites and even many young Indians have of what "real Indians" look like. Two features of the Stommish Water Carnival suggest that it has some of the functions of a community or tribal endeavour; first, all of the Lummi labour is donated freely regardless of membership in the Legion; second, the guest canoe crews are fed during their stay and given money for gasoline to bring them to the grounds, even though this expense has cut down the profits to the extent that the Legion still has only a foundation for its projected hall. Perhaps we have here two of the functions of the old potlatch in maintaining the group's unity and maintaining its status *vis-à-vis* other groups. These were undoubtedly functions of the tribally sponsored spirit-dance gatherings in the smoke-house, and if a new smoke-house is built, it will be to carry on these functions as much as religious ones.

In material surroundings the Lummi are nearly identical with their white neighbours. Their dress is the same. Their houses are similar, though probably a greater number are unpainted and without modern conveniences. Most houses are near enough to the highway to have electricity, but far fewer have running water in the house, and inside plumbing is rare. Most families have automobiles and radios, a few have refrigerators, and in the summer of 1953 at least two had television sets. A few have telephones. Many, perhaps most, subscribe to the Bellingham newspaper.

As among their white neighbours, the houses that the more prosperous are building to-day are smaller than those built by their more prosperous grandparents, but, unlike their white neighbours, they show little corresponding tendency toward smaller families. Families tend to

be large and the houses crowded by white standards. Like their white neighbours, they live in conjugal family units, and consequently mothers have less help with the children from grandparents, uncles, and aunts than their grandparents had. But among the Lummi, relatives are usually close at hand, older children are taught to look after younger children, and all are taught self-reliance.

Lummi mothers to-day have their babies at the hospital. There are no survivals of native observances surrounding birth. Lummi parents care for their children about as their white neighbours care for theirs, except perhaps that Lummi parents appear, to the whites at least, to treat their children more casually. English is the language of most homes, especially those without old people. Most children probably learn something of the native language through association with persons of their grandparents' generation and by being present at gatherings where speeches in the native language are made. Nothing appears to correspond to the old training and questing for spirit power. Nothing appears to correspond to the old puberty rite.

Marriages to-day are entirely based on the choice of the couple themselves. Dating, dancing, and driving about in old jalopies are probably as much a part of courtship here as among local whites. Weddings have neither the exchange of bride-price and dowry of the aboriginal culture nor the feast with fiddling and square dancing of sixty years ago. However, as one informant pointed out, the shower for the bride has become an important occasion for gift-giving; it may be held in the gym, and several cars may be required to take home the presents. Also, Lummi parents are perhaps more inclined to give property to the young couple to start them off with than are white parents in this area. It is my impression that the white attitude toward little children is "nothing is too good for them," but toward the marriage of a grown child, "Well, if you think you're old enough to get married, go ahead, but don't expect any help from us; you're on your own." But the Lummi attitude may rather be, toward little children, "Let big sister take care of little brother, and don't worry about big sister; she can take care of herself," and toward the marriage of a grown child, "We'd better give them part of the place or a new car; what will people think of us if our children are poor?" The difference, if this impression is correct, is probably one of identification of parents and children; white parents may feel that they are judged by their small children, but after these have reached maturity they can no longer be held responsible for them, while

Lummi parents may feel that small children are not yet important enough to add anything to the family prestige but that grown children are.

One gets the impression that marriages among the Lummi are less stable than among their white neighbours. While there are a number of couples who have spent their entire adult lives together, there are also many persons, both old and young, who have been married several times. One informant attributed the frequency of divorce among the younger people to the unwillingness of both young men and women to make concessions in trying to adjust to one another. Marriages seem to have been not very stable in pre-white times as well, but probably more were broken because of conflicts in family loyalties than because of individual stubbornness. While the Catholic Church may well take credit for many of the stable marriages, its intolerance of divorce has meant that those who marry for the first time marry in the church but must, if they cannot make it last, marry outside the church, so that second and third marriages are often simply common-law marriages.

Native personal names are still used on formal occasions, though not everyone has one. Recently a young man was given his great-grandfather's inherited name by his grandmother. The grandmother invited about thirty persons to dinner and after the dinner asked the chief to explain the young man's right to the name; that is, to give his genealogy back to the earliest known bearer of the name. This the chief did, going back six generations to the great-grandfather of the young man's great-grandfather, who had first borne the name. After this demonstration of the inherited right, the grandmother gave out 50 cents each to the guests, for their having witnessed the taking of the name, and a little more to the chief.

While children have not been sent on spirit quests for many years, there are one or two new dancers at Lummi each year. Some are persons in middle age and some are young persons; the two young men who were new dancers in the winter of 1952-53 are said to know very little of the native language. The songs that possess the modern dancers are believed to have come unsought as a result of grief or perhaps just chance contact; some are the songs of deceased relatives. New dancers—that is, those dancing their first year—wear a mountain-goat wool head-dress over ordinary clothes and carry a decorated staff. After the first year, costumes differ; those with warrior songs may have hair head-dresses and shirts resembling those of the aboriginal warrior, while those with

other songs may simply add a little red or black face paint to their ordinary dress.

In their reaction to death the Lummi preserve a good deal of native culture. Since the 1930's they have been required by law to hire licensed undertakers. This has meant that native "undertakers," really a class of ritualists, no longer care for the body, and that native-made coffins are no longer used. It also means that more money is spent but less remains within the community. Wakes are, of course, still held before the funeral, and the majority of funerals are Catholic; even if the deceased has not attended church in years, the Altar Society tries to see that he gets a Catholic burial. Immediately after the funeral, relatives and friends come to the house of the family of the deceased, many bringing food or money. The family then makes a meal for the guests with the food and then or later pays those who helped with the funeral. The family may also repay those who brought contributions to the feast. The clothes and personal effects of the deceased are burned, perhaps before the funeral, except for a few things saved to give to relatives as keepsakes. Some families also burn food for the ghost of the deceased either before or after the funeral and again at later intervals. The name of the deceased should not be uttered in the presence of near kin. I believe the feeling for this avoidance is strong; I once observed a Lummi woman whose father had died the week before deliberately and with obvious emotion pick up an envelope with his name written on it and replace it on the table upside down. This woman also put away all pictures of her father and said that she would not take them out until she could afford to display one publicly at a winter spirit-dance gathering and pay the guests to look at it. This last custom is more frequently followed on Vancouver Island and on the Fraser River and may have been suggested by her Fraser River husband. The custom is probably an old one, with the modern photograph as substitute for a wooden effigy, used in the last century on Vancouver Island; the effigy may have been a post-Christian substitute for the body itself, which was in pre-white times taken out of the grave-box for rewrapping. I have, however, seen the spirit-dance costume of a man dead a number of years displayed in the Lummi smoke-house at a spirit-dance gathering; at the same time his spirit song was sung by members of his family.

Missing, I believe, from the modern Lummi practice is any kind of purification of the mourners; it may be that the Catholic funeral service has made this unnecessary, but the offering of food to the dead is certainly

not entirely in keeping with Christian notions regarding the destiny of the human soul.

Another expense required by a modern funeral is for the headstone. Though some stones in the Lummi cemetery are rather large, they are simple in design and in as good taste as those seen in white cemeteries. There seems to be some tendency to use tombstones as a means of exhibiting one's family's status. Recently several stones have been erected for important ancestors dead seventy-five years or more, in one or two instances with purely hypothetical dates on them. Also, several stones for relatives of the last chief bear statements of the relationships though they are not those that ordinarily appear on the tombstones of whites.

In their attitudes toward sickness and death, some of the older Lummi, if not most of them, differ from their white neighbours. Some informants, at least, have been very quick to attribute both illnesses and deaths to supernatural causes, or to natural causes resulting from someone's hostility. Supernatural causes include deliberate attack with shaman's power or ritualist's spells, accidental loss or displacement of the soul, accidental loss or displacement of the guardian spirit. I do not know of any active shamans or ritualists at Lummi at the present moment, but shamans were active until very recently and are believed to be active still in other communities. There are a number of spirit dancers, all of whom have some power. Chronic illness, especially in the winter, may be attributed to possession by a spirit that desires the sick person to become a new dancer and sing its song. Soul loss may result from accidental contact with a spirit dancer or from theft by ghosts. According to one informant, the Shakers have inflicted injuries especially on shamans by capturing their powers and damaging them. One recent death, which according to hospital records was caused by pneumonia, was believed by the relatives of the deceased to have been caused by his having been poisoned by his common-law wife. These attitudes may not be found among the younger Lummi, but their existence among the older people suggests as much as anything that a good deal of the native world-view has survived.

To-day Lummi are in direct contact with whites on many jobs, in schools above grade school, and in some churches. This contact is without hostility. It is true that many whites in the area regard Indians as socially inferior, but overt discrimination seems to be rare. There are no strong barriers to casual social contact. White girls have occa-

sionally come with Lummi girl friends to the American Legion dances. There have been a few mixed marriages in every generation, both of Lummi women to white men and of Lummi men to white women. Two or three of the leading Lummi men have white wives, and two or three Lummi women have white husbands living on the reservation.

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to present some of the main trends in the culture changes that have taken place among the Coast Salish and particularly among the Lummi since the arrival of the whites. This is in a sense both an acculturation and a community study, though not a full or detailed one. It attempts an historical survey of a sort perhaps basic to any investigation of the processes involved in cultural change. A total approach ought to include a considerable body of quantitative data both on economics and family structure and on opinions and attitudes. It ought also to include the kinds of generalizations of character that can be made on the basis of numerous life-histories. Yet I feel that such a study must have the kind of material that I have presented here as a basis; to understand where a people is to-day, one must know something of whence they came and by what route. Moreover, I feel that the material presented here ought itself to be set alongside comparable material from other Coast Salish tribes.

In the preceding pages I have dealt with a number of aspects of Lummi culture, subsistence, government, religion, marriage, etc. In several of these aspects of culture rather clear sequences of forms are distinguishable. Let me briefly summarize some of them.

In subsistence activities we have seen farming adopted shortly after the beginning of intensive contact and make, to judge from both the agents' reports and the informants' accounts, a spectacular rise and almost as spectacular a fall. The reasons for the fall have been discussed, but in retrospect I must also add that there has probably been a shift away from farming, at least subsistence farming, among local whites as well; farming is becoming a business in which many persons, including Indians, no longer wish to compete. Fishing, on the other hand, has persisted in one form or another, the sequence of reef-netting to gill-netting to gill-netting plus purse-seining being determined mainly by changes in white laws and the development of new techniques. Throughout, the Lummi have shown a tendency to divide the year among seasonal pursuits; perhaps fishing, or rather the habits of the salmon,

is still the principal determining factor. Seasonal berry and hop picking became popular for a time, but declined probably because of the greater attraction of fishing. The sequence might be summarized as (1) hunting, fishing, and gathering; (2) farming and fishing; (3) fishing, farming, and migratory labour; (4) fishing and semi-skilled labour.

In political institutions the sequence has been (1) social control by other than separate political organs; (2) the appointed chief as an instrument of the agent, possibly plus the priest as a political power; (3) an elected council dealing with various levels of outside government. Non-political instruments of social control—that is, “public opinion,” kinship bonds, etc.—have continued to exist, of course, modified by cultural change themselves. One might point out, along with changes in government, the sequence in public buildings—(1) smoke-house, (2) church and smoke-house, (3) gymnasium.

In religion the sequence has been (1) native-belief system centring about the guardian-spirit concept; (2) the native system plus a Prophet Dance with a Supreme Being and greater group participation; (3) Catholicism with the native system underground; (4) diversification, with Catholicism as the orthodoxy, in competition with a revived spirit dancing, Shakerism as a compromise, and several revivalist Protestant sects. Individualism, implicit in the native system, may be the persistent feature here, yet diversity, like individualism, is typical of modern white society.

In marriage the sequence has been (1) family-arranged alliance with exchange of bride-price and dowry and display of inherited privilege equivalent to wedding, later exchanges of food and wealth; (2) family-arranged alliances with bride-price and dowry, Catholic wedding, feast with square dancing, later exchanges of food and wealth; (3) free choice of mates, free choice of kind of wedding. Instability of marriages may be a persistent feature of native culture or may be simply a feature of rapid culture change.

In death the sequence has been (1) handling of corpse by ritualists, disposal in canoe or raised box, purification of mourners by ritualists, later display and rewrapping of remains, all services requiring public repayment; (2) handling by ritualists, Catholic service and burial, post-funeral feast, offerings for dead, later display of memento and payment of funeral debts; (3) handling of corpse by white undertaker, otherwise as in (2).

A comparative study including several tribes would undoubtedly reveal similar sequences of forms in the various aspects of culture. It

might also show something of their interrelationships. Are any of the sequences inherent in the elements of culture involved, or have they been largely the result of chance factors on the local scene or historic events on a broader scale?

Certainly each of the Coast Salish tribes has had its own post-white history. Let me indicate briefly what some of the differences have been.

The nearest neighbours of the Lummi to the south were the Samish, who, like the Lummi, spoke the Straits language. According to the treaty the Samish were to have come on to the Lummi Reservation, but very few chose to do so. Instead they maintained themselves in an independent village on Samish Island until about 1875, when they were forced to move to Guemes Island. On Guemes they built a great native-style house divided into three segments, which held as permanent residents more than fifty people. Here the Samish held several potlatches and carried on spirit dancing and other native practices with little interference from whites. They were probably much more dependent on native subsistence techniques during this period than were the Lummi and upon seasonal employment with whites; I do not believe that they did any farming at all. About 1905 the Guemes village was abandoned, partly because the big house was falling down and the younger people preferred to live in small white-style houses, and probably partly because it was becoming more difficult to make a living there. Many of the Samish had ties with the Swinomish, so most of them moved on to the Swinomish Reservation. While they were not numerous, the Samish were probably influential in maintaining native culture in this area; two of the recent leaders in spirit-dancing on the Swinomish Reservation, Charley Edwards and Tommy Bobb, have been Samish. The post-white history of the Samish obviously presents a rather sharp contrast to that of the Lummi.

South of the Samish are the Puget Sound-speaking Swinomish. Their territory became the reservation designated not only for themselves, but also for the Skagit and several up-river groups. In time many Indians from these other groups as well as from the Samish have come on to the Swinomish Reservation, where they have often continued to think of themselves as Skagit, Samish, or whatever. The Swinomish did not take to farming as readily as did the Lummi, and evidently did not experience any period of prosperity as the Lummi seem to have experienced in the latter part of the last century. In 1867, when the farmer Finkbonner wrote in praise of the Lummi as farmers and mentioned "friendly rela-

tions " with the whites, the agent McKenny, discouraged with the Swinomish, wrote of them:—

The Indians of this island are without an employe [of the Indian Service], few in number, lazy and shiftless, and much degraded. Many whites have located near them, and all their vices are imitated without any of their virtues, if indeed they have any.⁶³

Recent Swinomish history has also been different from that of the Lummi. In the 1930's the Swinomish Tribal Community was organized, establishing a tribally owned fish-trap, sawmill, and other enterprises.⁶⁴ The people of the Swinomish Reservation have to-day considerably more communal property than do the Lummi; possibly because of this, possibly because of their diverse tribal origins, there also seems to be much more factionalism at Swinomish than at Lummi.

East of the Lummi in the Nooksack Valley are the Nooksack. They were expected to move on to the Lummi Reservation, but, like the Samish, they refused to do so and instead homesteaded land on the river in their aboriginal territory. Much of this land originally homesteaded has become public land allotments, tax-free but restricted. The Nooksack had a brief contact with Father Chirouse, but rejected him and later became Protestants. For a time they maintained their own Protestant school. While living off a reservation on Guemes Island meant relative isolation and retention of native culture for the Samish, it is my impression that living off the reservation has meant greater contact with whites and more rapid acculturation for the Nooksack. Whites have lived around them and among them, and early relations were evidently fairly good. Being an up-river people, they have been less able to continue with fishing as a major activity. But they have also had many contacts with Fraser River Indians, and what of the native speech that is still spoken among them is Fraser River Halkomelem rather than the original Nooksack language.

On Vancouver Island the Sooke, Songish, and Saanich speak the same language as the Lummi and Samish, had the most similar native culture, and had roughly the same early relations with the whites. Since white settlement, however, they have been under a different administration. One of the most striking differences has been in the establishment of Indian reserves. In British Columbia the reserves are considerably smaller than the reservations in Washington, but far more numerous.

(63) *CIA-AR*, 1867, p. 33.

(64) Upchurch (1936) describes their reorganization.

Nearly every village-site, fishing location, and even camas-bed of any importance was made a reserve. Most native communities in British Columbia therefore escaped the forced removals that many Washington communities experienced. They were also undoubtedly able to maintain native subsistence methods for a longer period and perhaps to shift more gradually to white methods. But this policy in establishing reserves has also meant that no groups were left on the outside, in a more independent situation, like the Samish in Washington.

The Songish, living within the City of Victoria, evidently became rather badly demoralized during the latter part of the last century. However, despite predictions of speedy extinction, they have survived, and both spirit dancing and the secret society are still important native complexes in their culture. The Saanich, being a larger group and living farther from the city, were probably subjected to fewer factors, other than those resulting from different administrations, as compared with the Lummi. A comparison of the post-white history of the Saanich and Lummi might be most rewarding in examining the results of these different policies.

North of the Saanich were the Cowichan of the Cowichan Valley and several closely related communities on Kuper Island, at Westholme, and on Kulleet Bay. These communities are relatively populous, and among them spirit dancing and other elements of the native religion are undoubtedly more active than among any other Coast Salish group. These activities of the Cowichan may well have exerted a powerful influence on tribes as far south as the Swinomish in keeping spirit dancing alive. Like the Lummi, the Cowichan are said to have gone through a period of successful farming. Whether they have largely given up farming for similar reasons and whether or not they can make as successful a readaptation to fishing are questions that require further investigation.

These few examples should indicate something of the variety of experiences that the Straits tribes and their immediate neighbours have undergone. Obviously valid generalizations cannot be made on the basis of the post-contact history of one tribe alone. It is in the hope that this description of the post-contact history of the Lummi can be used in comparative studies that this paper is offered.

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APPENDIX

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ARTHUR KENNEDY'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA EXAMINED AS A BACKGROUND TO THE INITIATION OF THE VANCOUVER ISLAND EXPLORATION EXPEDITION OF 1864.*

The Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition of 1864 was a vigorous measure to bring a colony on the brink of depression back to economic health. When Captain Arthur Kennedy arrived in Victoria in March, 1864, to assume the government of the Colony of Vancouver Island, he found it in a political strife that was rooted in a condition of economic insecurity not then fully apparent to anyone.

After the first overconfidence of the gold-rush six years earlier, Vancouver Island had remained in a dormant financial position until the Cariboo discoveries of 1861. These discoveries were followed by an optimistic overextension of credit to Cariboo miners by Victoria merchants and bankers. Thus the island colony was happily existing on the precarious financial base of complete dependence on one economic resource, and that not its own—the gold of another colony. As we shall quickly see, the seeming security of that inverted economic cone was fictitious.

Yet the optimism engendered in Victoria by the riches of the Cariboo in the early 1860's had been communicated to London. The home authorities had likewise realized that the equally optimistic people of British Columbia were determined to have a government separate from that of the Island. These factors had moved the British Colonial Office, against its own better judgment, to provide for an entirely separate machinery of government for each of the two adjacent colonies, which up to that time had in reality been sharing one. As a result of this ill-founded optimism, it was decreed that the government of each colony was to be supported by a large civil list. In return for the guarantee of that civil list, the Island legislature was to have control of its Crown lands. Two new Governors were also appointed and sent out. Unwarned of any basic change in the economic situation, the home government was

* The presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C., January 15, 1954.

British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2.

satisfied that a completely new system of government was safely in effect in these colonies.

However, by the beginning of 1864 there was premonition of coming depression in Victoria. It had now become evident that the Cariboo was not suitable for miners without capital. Some Victoria merchants were beginning to become uneasy concerning the large credits they had so eagerly extended to Cariboo miners. Moreover, there had never been any very robust faith in the natural resources of the Island itself, or of its agricultural capacity, or of its ability to maintain a large population by its own resources. In short, the Island did not want to be forced to stand alone, even though it was beginning to sense the danger of its complete dependence on the gold of British Columbia. In February, 1864, the Island legislature therefore refused to accept the responsibility of guaranteeing to pay the salaries proposed for its officials. By this rejection of the civil list, the legislature let go the proffered opportunity to control the resources of the Crown lands. In essence it had repudiated the new system of government.

Therefore, when Captain Kennedy arrived in Victoria in the next month, March, 1864, he was like a chess player who takes over a game partly played by others—a game in which many of his most important pieces have already been taken. The probability of checkmate was already on the board. For he had arrived to take over a colony whose legislature he now found to be firmly committed to a dispute with the home government (and with him as its representative), a colony bereft of faith in its own resources, a colony living on a faulty economic basis, a colony actually and inescapably on the verge of a severe financial depression.

However, Arthur Kennedy was familiar with the problem of bringing a colony out of economic insolvency into prosperity. He had just completed a similar task in Western Australia. That unhappy colony—Cinderella of the Empire—had been in a state of continual depression from its founding in 1829, through six successive governorships, until Kennedy took over in 1855. Since his experience in Western Australia was a vital factor in the initiation and conduct of the Vancouver Island Exploration Expeditions of 1864 and 1865 and since a proper judgment of Kennedy's government of Vancouver Island can only be made in the light of his experience in the colony "down under," it is desirable that attention now be given to his régime in Western Australia. It will be interesting to take note of the remarkable parallel between the situation

of Western Australia when Kennedy took over its management in 1855 and that of Vancouver Island when he arrived here in the spring of 1864.¹

The causes of Western Australia's failure were many. An original prodigality of land grants to early proprietors and officials had forced dispersion of settlement and had made road-building prohibitively expensive.² This initial handicap constituted the main continuing hindrance to progress. The home government made affairs worse by introducing the Wakefield principle of the sale of Crown lands at a relatively high price³—an unimaginative application of the wrong remedy too late. During the next decade, the 1840's, the colony's only hopeful export, wool, was met with rock-bottom world prices.⁴ To add to the despair of the colonists, the home government showed a plain determination to cut down financial aid to the colony. By mid-century Western Australia was faced with complete failure.

Confronted with steadfast depression and mounting deficits, the colonists in despair turned to a desperate remedy. They asked the home government to send them convicts. At a time when other Australian colonies were vigorously fighting to be freed of the transportation system, Western Australia asked for its initiation mainly because heavy expenditures would be made in the colony by the imperial government for the upkeep of the convicts.⁵

In 1850 the home government started shipment of convicts.⁶ To mitigate the evil, it also sent a good many free settlers.⁷ But the people of the colony accepted the flow of imperial expenditures in easy-going contentment. They refrained from expanding agricultural production lest the high prices they were receiving for produce should fall. Production dragged, prices spiralled upward, and imports rose out of all proportion to exports. The flow of imperial moneys was diverted outside the

(1) A fuller study of the career of Governor Kennedy is to be found in the writer's thesis, entitled *The Early Life and Early Governorships of Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy*, submitted at the University of British Columbia in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree.

(2) T. A. Coghlan and T. T. Ewing, *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1902, pp. 254-256.

(3) W. P. Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1902, Vol. I, p. 206.

(4) T. A. Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, London, 1918, Vol. I, p. 504.

(5) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 556.

(6) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 557.

(7) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 640-641.

colony to pay for these imports. In the absence of increased production, assisted free immigration could not be absorbed. Local funds were used unproductively in doles to maintain them in idleness.⁸ Stationary local revenues could not stand the strain. The treasury was emptied. Western Australia had placed its entire reliance for its economic welfare on one resource, namely, imperial expenditures. They had forgotten that pump-priming is of little value to the economy of a country if no one works on the pump-handle. The great outpouring of imperial expenditures on convicts had not brought strength to the colony, but weakness. By 1855, when Kennedy arrived, the colony had fallen into the deepest depression of its unhappy existence.

Moreover, the colonists were locked in a struggle with the home authorities over their arbitrary system of government and the question of a civil list. The imperial government was willing to institute a partial system of responsible government and to give the colonial legislature control over the Crown resources only if the colony would take over the cost of its own government.⁹ But to guarantee a civil list was the last thing the colonists wanted to do. Thus a surly antagonism against an authoritarian system of government was accompanied by a frustrated unwillingness to pay the cost of a freer one. In these circumstances the home government announced that it was going to cut down the amount of its grants-in-aid.¹⁰ The financial situation was made worse by the fact that the retiring Governor, Captain Charles Fitzgerald, R.N., in keeping with all his predecessors, had little clear idea of how much the actual debt of the colony was. Moreover, the treasury was operating on a deficit. When Captain Kennedy arrived in July, 1855, there was no money to pay the July salaries.¹¹

Now Kennedy in Western Australia was the head and master of an arbitrary system of government. His legislature was appointive—its members holding office during pleasure. The energetic Governor was therefore able to have his way in everything. Having made temporary provision for payment of July salaries, he set the whole administration to face realities by ferreting out a clear accounting of the colony's actual financial standing. Western Australia now received its first efficient accounting system—the basis of all its future records. A large debt

(8) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 760–761.

(9) R. M. Martin, *The British Colonies*, London, n.d., Vol. III, p. 556.

(10) J. S. Battye, *Western Australia*, Oxford, 1924, p. 225.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 228.

having been disclosed, Kennedy ruthlessly applied the pruning-knife to public expenditures with such force as to mark him at once as a fit object for public disfavour.¹²

He next turned his attention to stop the drain on public revenue caused by the unemployment dole. Reaching back into his experience as a Poor Law Inspector in Ireland, he instituted the policy of requiring hard work on useful public projects in return for relief. There followed a speedy reduction in the number of claimants for the dole.¹³

Regardless of the surly public temper, Kennedy now forced his Legislative Council to introduce new taxes. The first measure he instituted was a great increase in the cost of liquor licences. The bill to institute these charges and to reform the sale of liquor contained one thoroughly arbitrary and heartily disliked clause which forbade conditionally pardoned convicts to hold liquor licences. The ruthless Governor then introduced severe increases in import duties. This was a rude blow to a people that was fulfilling so large a percentage of its needs by importation; and they quickly recognized the new duties as a tax that they disliked. Now, indeed, was Governor Kennedy at the very outset of his régime marked for an unpopularity that was to follow him throughout his career in Western Australia. Within a year of his arrival the citizens joined in a monster mass meeting, the largest ever held in the colony, to express their strong condemnation of the administration. This evidence of public discontent was accompanied by resignation of one of the leading members of the Legislative Council and was followed soon by another.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Kennedy's rigorous fiscal reforms were already bringing about a marked improvement in the financial health of his colony.

Having stopped the drain on the colony's revenue, he now set about energetically to seek out positive means of establishing prosperity. Optimistically he secured the resumption of free immigration into Western Australia, successfully urging upon the home government that this supply of labour should be spaced and controlled by his statement of need.¹⁵

The vigour of the Governor next made itself felt in the initiation of extensive exploration. Its object was to discover good pastoral land in

(12) *Loc. cit.*

(13) T. A. Coghlan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 761.

(14) J. S. Battye, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-299.

(15) T. A. Coghlan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 643.

large blocks. With the experienced and efficient assistance of Surveyor-General J. S. Roe, Kennedy inaugurated a systematic exploration programme. The man placed in charge was Assistant Surveyor Frank T. Gregory—a splendid choice. In 1857 Gregory was sent to complete the exploration of the Murchison Valley.¹⁶ In 1858 he moved 100 miles north to explore the Gascoyne Valley. Here Gregory named the first large mountain range “Kennedy Range.”¹⁷ This expedition was rewarded with the discovery of some good pastoral lands which gave an immediate impetus to settlement.¹⁸

Meanwhile, Kennedy was pushing to successful completion a new land policy—the first good land policy this colony had ever known. The spirit of confidence consequent upon the success of the Governor’s policies now exploded into a great search for new lands. Not only did his government continue its steady northward search, but privately supported exploration began to push into the interior to seek new lands. This type of enterprise was one that Kennedy liked greatly because he was always an earnest advocate of self-help. One such private expedition, which set out with his hearty approval, was that of B. Clarkson, C. E. and A. Dempster, and C. Harper. From the main area of settlement they went eastward into supposedly barren interior. After penetrating the discouraging belt of dense scrub, they came into a country of good soil and rich grass—a region dominated by a mountain which they called “Mount Kennedy.” The farthest limit of their exploration was a line of hills which they named “Georgina’s Range” in honour of Mrs. Kennedy.¹⁹ In later years the Governor was proudly to report in person to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London. At that time, not failing to mention Mount Kennedy, he said concerning this expedition: “That [exploration] was carried out by a very enterprising band of young settlers, and they found a very fair country in that direction.”²⁰

In the meantime, with the whole country at last in the midst of its first wave of justifiable optimism, the government was preparing for its most ambitious exploring expedition, that into the region back of the

(16) Coghlan and Ewing, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

(17) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. III (1858–59), pp. 34–54.

(18) Coghlan and Ewing, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 296. See also *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. VI (1861–62), pp. 11, 12.

(20) *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1862–63), p. 16.

north-west coast. This great effort was to unite the forces of the colonial government, the imperial government, the Royal Geographical Society of London, and the public in the Colony of Western Australia. In 1859 Surveyor-General Roe and Assistant Surveyor Frank Gregory were sent to Great Britain to enlist support. In 1860 they were both in London seeking the backing of the Royal Geographical Society.²¹ That powerful body secured the consent of the home government to a grant of £2,000 on the promise that the remainder of the money needed would be raised locally.²² On receipt of this news the Legislative Council voted £1,350, and the remainder was quickly subscribed by the general public in the colony.²³ The expedition was now assured.

However, when Frank Gregory returned from England, his plans for the expedition completed with the assistance of the Royal Geographical Society and approved by the imperial government, he was faced with a discouraging set-back. These proposed plans were not satisfactory to the local government. Such is the cautious wording of the accounts given before the Royal Geographical Society.²⁴ But we can readily interpret. The local government was Kennedy. And, in fact, the expedition did not leave until its plans were reshaped to meet his approval. While this delay was frustrating to the expedition's able leader and made impossible the fulfilment of his desire to go farther afield to link up his explorations with those of his famous brother away over in Northern Australia, the new plans were more fitted to the Governor's purposes, namely, the search for pastoral lands in regions readily accessible to the settled parts of Western Australia.

When the expedition finally got away, its organization was rigorously checked in every aspect and tightly competent. Working from a secure base at Nickol Bay, Frank Gregory led his men with great skill. Difficulties, hardships, and dangers were overcome with steadfast courage. Finally the coastal desert was defeated and the fertile upper valleys of three great rivers disclosed. These rivers Gregory named the "Ashburton," the "Fortescue," and the "De Grey." Here in these pleasant upper valleys lay the valuable pastoral acres that were to complement Kennedy's splendid new land regulations.²⁵ Within four years some

(21) *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1860-61), pp. 2-4.

(22) *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1860-61), p. 121.

(23) J. S. Battye, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

(24) *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. V (1860-61), p. 121.

(25) Coghlan and Ewing, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

3,000,000 acres were under lease in the north-western area, and another three years saw double that number of acres carrying 40,000 head of stock.²⁶ Nor was the accomplishment of its original object the sole reward of this well-organized expedition. Valuable pearl-shells were discovered in the vicinity of Nickol Bay. Here was the beginning of a pearling industry which brought substantial yearly accessions of wealth to the colony from that time onward.²⁷

While Kennedy's encouragement of exploration was primarily directed to the discovery of pastoral lands to round out and make effective his truly great revision of the land laws, he did not neglect the possibility that Western Australia might prove to be as rich in gold as its eastern sisters. His government, therefore, employed E. H. Hargraves, discoverer of gold in the Colony of New South Wales, to come to Western Australia to look for gold.²⁸ Since Hargraves could not come at once, the vigorous Governor sent out Inspector Panter to search the district around Northam. At the end of 1861 Panter brought back good specimens of gold.²⁹ On the strength of this find, Kennedy offered a reward of £5,000 to the discoverer of a paying gold-field within 150 miles of Perth—this gold-field to have produced 5,000 ounces of gold before the first of July in 1863. That offer appeared in the *Western Australia Government Gazette* on February 11, 1862,³⁰ six days before Kennedy's government closed. Thus, from the outset of his régime to its very close, Kennedy encouraged and directed an active, well-organized search for natural resources. That policy was an outstanding credit to his governorship. Moreover, it was crowned with brilliant success in the disclosure and opening-up of those rich resources of good land which, in conjunction with his truly great land policy, were to form the basis of an agricultural and pastoral industry that brought prosperity to Western Australia.

While Kennedy's exploration policies were important and truly successful, it was his land policy that was the brightest aspect of his administration. Bad land policy had been the main cause of the previous failure

(26) A. G. Price, "Experiments in Colonization," in J. H. Rose, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Cambridge, 1933, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 230.

(27) T. A. Coghlan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1080-1082.

(28) M. A. C. Fraser, *Western Australian Year-book for 1902-04*, Perth, 1906, p. 827.

(29) J. S. Battye, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

(30) *Loc. cit.*

of Western Australia. More in protest against their own lack of power than in realization of the Governor's abilities in organization, the Legislative Council had referred the whole land problem to the executive early in Kennedy's régime. Under the Governor's careful guidance the Executive Council set about to solve the problem. The work was typical of Kennedy's ability at its best. It was based on comprehensive information secured by research and by public questionnaires. The work was divided among sub-committees of officials directly under the Governor's control. The plan was buttressed on all sides against any miscarriage of its intention.³¹

Governor Kennedy first proclaimed that part of his plan which related to pastoral lands. It was coldly efficient rather than indulgent. There was no reduction in the cost of leasing. In order to force a proper stocking of the land, the amount available for pastoral leasing was cut sharply in half. Areas close to settlement could be leased for pasture for only one year at a time. But the lessee of more distant areas was guaranteed that his possession would not be disturbed for eight years. After that time, pastoral leases might be reclassified as agricultural lands and sold to small settlers. Thus, while an adequate guarantee was given to the pastoralist, the real intention of the new scheme was safeguarded, namely, the gradual settlement of incoming population in productive agriculture. These rigorous provisions relating to pastoral leases nevertheless met with immediate success. There was a new wind of confidence blowing in Western Australia—confidence in the hard integrity and driving force of a competent, if unloved, Governor—confidence that the colony was at last under full sail to prosperity. Within two months some 2,000,000 acres were taken. Moreover, three-quarters of this amount was in areas close to settlement, and it was taken in the main by persons of small means.³²

In no modest jubilation at the success of his lands policy, which had now doubled the amount of land under lease from the Crown, Kennedy proclaimed the agricultural part of his scheme. It drove right at the heart of the colony's problem with intention to place the settler of moderate means on a medium-sized farm and to prevent the further locking-up of land in large estates. Provision was made whereby the small settler was guided to the purchase of a farm within his means, yet large enough to encourage healthy diversity of production. The price of land was cut in

(31) J. S. Battye, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–232, 243.

(32) T. A. Coghlan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 667–668.

half. Several years were permitted in which to pay. A bonus of added acres was given at the end of the first year of settlement. Title was withheld until the end of the third year of occupation. Thus the small settler was forced to persevere through initial discouragements. By this prevention of early sale the unproductive tying-up of lands by speculators was forestalled. It speaks wondrously well of Kennedy's powers of persuasion that he was able to secure approval for such a scheme from a home government still under the influence of Wakefield theories.

This agricultural phase of the scheme met with a success even more pleasing than the first part had earned. Within two months 10,000 acres were sold, most of it in minimum-sized blocks of 40 acres to men of the working class.³³ The total of lands purchased from the Crown in the first year of the plan was an eightfold increase over the year preceding the new regulations. In succeeding years this healthy process continued unabated. With justifiable pride, Kennedy was to say on his return to England:—

If you look to the number of acres of land which have been purchased in fee simple within the last three years, it is something very remarkable that the greater number of those acres have been purchased in small blocks by *bona fide* labouring men.³⁴

The success of Kennedy's policies in bringing about greatly increased and productive occupation of the land was directly responsible for the colony's first period of prosperity. In a letter to the *London Times*, the Venerable James Brown, Archdeacon of Western Australia, had this to say about Kennedy's administration: "The progress of the colony . . . has been more rapid . . . than at any former period in its history."³⁵

Kennedy must, indeed, be given credit for a great prosperity that came to Western Australia under his guidance. He found the country in poverty with an empty treasury and a debt of unknown amount, its finances in an inefficient snarl. He brought order out of this chaos, laid foundations for sound financing in an accurate system of accounting, made provision for retirement of debt, and reduced expenditures to the colony's capacity to pay. Then, during the first five years of his administration, he adopted wise measures that increased general revenue by 40 per cent, customs revenue by 58 per cent, and land revenues by 100 per

(33) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 668.

(34) *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the acts relating to transportation and penal servitude (British Parliamentary Papers, 1863, Vol. XXI)*, London, 1863, Vol. II, item 2545.

(35) *London Times*, October 24, 1861, p. 7.

cent.³⁶ Once he had placed finances on a sound basis, he was as bold in his use of money as he had formerly been cautious. Yet the income was now on such a flourishing basis that the country could take in its stride the heavy public works expenditures in the later part of his government and pay with ease for its bold continuance.³⁷

He took over a colony with a paltry few miles of roads³⁸—a colony held back by an unimaginative works policy. He left it with a grand new Government House under construction,³⁹ with great areas of swamp drained and made useful, with over 1,000 miles of cleared roads in good repair and well supplied with culverts and bridges, and with a further bold programme of road-building, swamp-draining, and land-clearing well under way.⁴⁰

He found hundreds of people on the dole and all immigration weakly brought to a halt. He speedily got people into productive employment and brought about an orderly resumption of free immigration. During his administration between 1855 and 1862 the population of Western Australia was increased by 42 per cent.⁴¹

He discovered that exploration had languished in dull discouragement for half a dozen years prior to his arrival. He pushed forward a systematic, unremitting, and successful search for new resources—a search that was one of the great achievements of his régime—a great successful scheme that for him was really only in mid-stride when his term of office was completed.

He inherited an unworkable land policy that had been a source of discouragement and embitterment since the inception of this colony. His was the brilliant genius for organization that guided the formation of a well-integrated scheme of productive close settlement. Inner areas were soon dotted with small farms and sheep stations. Sheep-raising, which was to be the basis of an increasing prosperity, was steadily pushed northward and eastward into new blocks of land disclosed by his vigorous and systematic exploration. Within his period the amount of land held under pastoral lease was doubled. The annual sale of land was increased

(36) *Statistical Register of the Colony of Western Australia for 1897 and previous years*, Perth, 1899, Part 12, p. 5.

(37) *Loc. cit.*

(38) *Report of the Commissioners . . . relating to transportation and penal servitude*, Vol. I, para. 73, pp. 59–60.

(39) M. A. C. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(40) *Statistical Register . . .*, Part 12, p. 5.

(41) *Loc. cit.*

tenfold! By far the larger part of this land was taken in small holdings by persons of moderate means. During his administration both the amount of stock and the land under cultivation were doubled, and within three more years they were tripled.⁴²

He found a country where imports far outweighed exports because the settlers had not addressed themselves to meet the market provided by convict establishments and assisted free immigration. His administration caused trade to take on a healthier colour through a rapidly diminishing preponderance of imports. In 1855 the value of exports was only 43 per cent of the value of imports. By 1862 it had climbed to 63 per cent, and within three years the exports had passed the imports in value.⁴³

In every material aspect Governor Kennedy's administration had been good for this people and for this colony. His financial policy was sound—cautious at the outset when conditions were bad, bold when a foundation for boldness had been laid. His programme of public works was effective. His policy of immigration was controlled but optimistic. His direction of exploration was vigorous, systematic, and highly successful. His guidance of land settlement was the only successful one this colony had ever known. At the opening of his régime, everything was black. At his departure, Western Australia was well on the road to prosperity.

This was the man who came in March, 1864, to take over the government of Vancouver Island—a colony locked in dispute with the imperial government—a colony displaying surly antagonism because it had not control of its own resources, yet unwilling to pay the price for them—a colony that had neglected any large development of agriculture and mainly depended for its needs on importation—a colony that, lacking faith in its own resources, had never made any systematic and well-organized exploration to test them—a colony that had placed all its economic reliance on one resource not under its own control—a colony whose merchants and bankers had allowed a faulty optimism to lead them into a wild overextension of credit—a colony, in fact, that was tottering on the brink of its severest financial depression.

This was the man who was still in the grip of an exultant successful management of just such a problem. This was the man who was still in mid-stride of a successful campaign of exploration—a man who had

(42) *Loc. cit.*

(43) *Loc. cit.*

made the discovery of good pastoral and agricultural lands the basis for a new prosperity—a man who had just started a search for gold and had not been able to stay to push it forward to a triumphant conclusion.

This was the man who, within a month after his arrival in Victoria, made the offer that if the public would subscribe funds for an expedition to explore the Island in search for gold and agricultural resources, he would provide two dollars from government funds for every one put up by the public. In this fashion Governor Arthur Kennedy initiated the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition of 1864.

H. C. GILLILAND.

VICTORIA, B.C.

THE NAMING OF HOLLAND POINT

Holland Point lies off the Dallas Road in Victoria, about midway between Ogden and Finlayson Points, but, unlike these, being some distance from the roadway, it is quite apt to be overlooked by the general public. Except to the residents of the immediate neighbourhood, who enjoy the open spaces of the large common which terminates in the point of land so named, it is probably unknown to the average citizen of Victoria. Moreover, even if they could locate the spot, few would be able to explain the significance of the name. Does this place-name derive from the country or from some person or other now lost in the dim recesses of British Columbia history? From time to time this question has been asked, and until recently no satisfactory answer was forthcoming.

Presumably Captain J. T. Walbran, although he must often have looked upon Holland Point from his house on Dallas Road, was not aware of the origin of the name, for he made no reference to it in his well-known *British Columbia Coast Names*. The majority of the geographical features of the southern portion of Vancouver Island are named in association with early residents of the area, of which Macaulay, Finlayson, and McNeill are outstanding examples. Farther back on the landscape, as seen from a vessel approaching Victoria Harbour, are the mountains named after Douglas and Tolmie, neither of which require much explanation.

In the year 1837 Captain W. H. McNeill, in the steamer *Beaver*, made a reconnaissance of the southern area of Vancouver Island for the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to establishing a trading-post thereon. Captain McNeill was acting under instructions from Chief Factor John McLoughlin, at that time Superintendent of the Western or Columbia Department of the Company. McLoughlin himself looked over the site late in 1839.¹

Holland Point made its first appearance on Captain Henry Kellett's chart of Victoria Harbour, published as chart number 1897 by the Admiralty Office in London in 1848. This chart was the result of surveys conducted by Captain Kellett in H.M.S. *Herald* during the season

(1) E. E. Rich (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee*, Second Series, 1839-44, London, 1941, p. 231.

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of 1846. Previous to this, however, in order that the harbour might be used by vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company, a minimum of surveying was done by the officers of the Company's ships, one of whom was Captain James Scarborough of the brigantine *Cadboro*. Scarborough prepared a chart from his survey of July, 1843, which was sent to the Hudson's Bay Company's London headquarters. This chart bears a note: "The names are all of Mr. Scarborough's own selection except Clover Point—James Douglas." Holland Point, however, does not appear named as such on this chart.² Since a copy of the chart was made available to the Admiralty in 1844 by the Hudson's Bay Company, it would appear probable that when Captain Kellett undertook his official survey in 1846, the Scarborough chart was known to him and that he incorporated many of the names which Scarborough had applied. A study of Kellett's charts of Victoria and Esquimalt Harbours reveals that a definite plan of naming had been followed, in that the names in and about Victoria distinctly pertain to the Hudson's Bay Company and that those of Esquimalt derive from Navy personnel. It would seem reasonable to assume, therefore, that Kellett, in applying the name "Holland" to the point, was referring to an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

It is now for the first time possible definitely to identify this mysterious Holland who through the years so successfully eluded historical searchers.

When the famous steamer *Beaver* made her maiden voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1835–36, there was on board an able-bodied seaman by the name of George Holland.³ Little is known of his early life except that he came from the parish of St. Pancras, London, and had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835 as a seaman at a wage of £24 per annum.⁴ It would appear that he had received rather more education than the average seaman of his day, for, after

(2) Letter from the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty to Mr. W. H. Warren, Park Administrator, Victoria, B.C., February 27, 1953. Copy in Archives of B.C.

(3) W. K. Lamb, "The Advent of the *Beaver*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, II (1938), p. 169.

(4) *Hudson's Bay Company Archives*, A. 32/33. (Hereafter cited as *H.B.C. Archives*.) The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company in searching their Archives in London for information on Holland and for the kind permission of the Governor and Committee to make quotations from the material supplied.

serving in the *Beaver* and in the *Cadboro*, in 1839 he became a schoolmaster at Fort Vancouver, after the departure of Rev. Herbert Beaver. From his record of service with the Company it is noted that he received "£6 Gratuity for Services as Schoolmaster" in addition to his wage as a seaman and later as a "middleman." This position Holland held until he was appointed to Fort Langley as postmaster in 1843. There he remained until 1846, when he was transferred to Fort Victoria.⁵ As a postmaster his salary was £40 per annum, and the position was looked upon as involving a fair degree of responsibility.

Postmasters were men, who, though barred by lack of education from further promotion, had the confidence of their superiors, and were entrusted with such duties as the keeping of accounts at minor posts or even temporary management of posts in the absence of their principals. Their salaries went as high as £40 a year, and they were nearly in the ranks of gentlemen.⁶

The Fort Victoria *journal* contains scattered references to George Holland, beginning on May 9, 1846, and ending with the entry for November 10, 1847: ". . . the Bqe. *Columbia*, towed by the Steamer, left the harbour, homeward bound. Captain Cooper, Messrs. Holland & Lambert passengers. . . ." ⁷ In a letter dated at Fort Victoria, November 6, 1847, the Board of Management of the Western Department informed the Company in London that Holland had "obtained

(5) The following record of service has been compiled from his listings in the Northern Department District Statements, *H.B.C. Archives*, B. 239/1/7-18:—

Outfit	Location	Duties
1836-1837	—Steam Vessel <i>Beaver</i>	Seaman.
1837-1838	—Fort Vancouver General Charges.....	Seaman.
1838-1839	—Schooner <i>Cadboro</i>	Seaman.
1839-1840	—Fort Vancouver General Charges.....	Schoolmaster.
1840-1841	— <i>Columbia</i> Charges.....	Middleman and Schoolmaster.
1841-1842	— <i>Columbia</i> Charges.....	Middleman and Schoolmaster.
1842-1843	— <i>Columbia</i> Charges.....	Schoolmaster.
1843-1844	—Fort Langley.....	Postmaster.
1844-1845	—Fort Langley.....	Postmaster.
1845-1846	—Fort Langley.....	Postmaster.
1846-1847	—Fort Victoria.....	Postmaster.
1847-1848	—Fort Victoria.....	Postmaster.

The last entry had the notation of £17 15s. 7d. for salary for the period June 1 to November 10, 1847, when Holland returned to England on the barque *Columbia*.

(6) Frederick Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. xvi.

(7) *H.B.C. Archives*, B. 226/a/1.

permission to retire from the service as the climate does not agree with him," and added further that he had served the Company for twelve years "with an unblemished character and now leaves the service at his own express desire."⁸

The *Columbia* arrived in London in May, 1848,⁹ and Holland evidently set about to improve his status by securing his master mariner's certificate, for in September he applied to the Company for reappointment in their marine service.

Being desirous of obtaining an appointment as Master in your Naval Service, I have been examined by the Board of the Honble. Corporation of the Trinity House and have obtained their certificate of competency and therefore being duly qualified as Master Mariner I beg to offer my services in that capacity. . . . I entered your service in the year 1835 and went out in the *Beaver* Steam Vessel under Captn. Home where I filled a variety of offices of Trust both in the land and sea service, at Fort Vancouver, Fort Langley, Victoria, and elsewhere. . . .¹⁰

At that time he was informed that "there is not at present, nor is there likely to be soon any vacancy in the marine department of the Company,"¹¹ but the following year, at a meeting of the Governor and Committee on May 2, 1849, it was ordered: "that D D Wishart be appointed Commander of the *Norman Morison*—that Geo Holland be appointed Chief and Wm. Inglis second mates on the usual terms of the Co's Officers."¹² Thus it came about that Holland returned to the Pacific Northwest on the maiden voyage of still another Company vessel.

The *Norman Morison* left Gravesend on October 20, 1849, carrying in her the first considerable party of immigrants to come to Vancouver Island. She reached Fort Victoria on March 24, 1850, and before returning to England made a coasting trip to Fort Simpson and Sitka in Russian America. The return voyage was commenced on September 23, 1850, and Gravesend was reached on February 20, 1851.¹³ One of the passengers on the outward bound voyage was Dr. J. S. Helmcken,

(8) Board of Management, Western Department, to Governor and Committee, November 6, 1847, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 11/72.

(9) *H.B.C. Archives*, C. 1/252.

(10) George Holland to the Governor and Committee, September, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/25. This letter was addressed from 11 John Street, Adelphi, London.

(11) Archibald Barclay to George Holland, 1848, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 5/16.

(12) *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/66, p. 48.

(13) For related information concerning the voyages of the *Norman Morison*, see A. N. Mouat, "Notes on the *Norman Morison*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1939), pp. 203-214.

and many years later, when writing his *Reminiscences*, he remembered George Holland and had this to say of him: "Holland was not much of a sailor or anything else,—he and the Captain being so different did not get on well together."¹⁴ The disagreement between Captain Wishart and Holland was such that on April 2, 1851, the latter wrote to the Governor and Committee:—

On the 2nd of May, 1849, you honored me with an appointment as chief officer of your Ship *Norman Morison* under the command of Captn. Wishart a period of nearly two years, having elapsed since that time and finding myself unable to agree with Captn. Wishart, I therefore most humbly beg leave to resign my situation in the *Norman Morison* and pray you will be pleased to appoint me to a birth [sic] in some other of your ships or employment. . . .¹⁵

Holland's resignation was accepted by the Company at a meeting of the Governor and Committee held on April 2, 1851,¹⁶ but no orders were given that he should be readmitted to the service.

Holland, however, must have liked Victoria, for even before the *Norman Morison* sailed on her second voyage to Vancouver Island he again wrote to the Company applying for "an appointment in your land service at Fort Victoria or elsewhere."¹⁷ At that time he referred to his previous service with the Company, particularly under the immediate orders of James Douglas, "to whose letters I can with confidence refer you for propriety of conduct and unremitting [sic] zeal in the discharge of my duties." The Company, however, did not re-employ him, and he was informed that his services were not required.¹⁸

Nothing further is known about the later career of Holland. Perhaps it is slightly ironical that the memory of another Hudson's Bay Company servant who spent part of his youthful days on the high seas and at the post of the Company in and about Victoria should be perpetuated even though he was not "much of a sailor or anything else."

MADGE WOLFENDEN.

VICTORIA, B.C.

(14) J. S. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, written in 1892, MS., Archives of B.C., Vol. II, pp. 71-72.

(15) George Holland to the Governor and Committee, April 2, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/30. This letter was addressed from Forster's Railway Tavern, Fenchurch Street, London,

(16) *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/67, p. 77.

(17) George Holland to the Governor and Committee, May 14, 1851, *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 10/30.

(18) *H.B.C. Archives*, A. 1/67, p. 99.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association was held in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C., on Friday evening, January 15, with the President, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, in the chair. After welcoming the members the President called on representatives of the various sections to present reports. The activities of the Victoria Section were outlined by its Chairman, Miss Madge Wolfenden, and Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby reported for the Vancouver Section, and a written report was read from Mr. J. H. Armstrong, Chairman of the West Kootenay Section, by the Secretary and also one from Mr. Burt R. Campbell, President of the Kamloops Museum Association.

The outstanding feature of the President's report was the extension of the work of the Association throughout the Province by the organization of three new sections—West Kootenay, Nanaimo, and Fort St. James and Central British Columbia—and a fourth in the Boundary country, which was in the final stages of organization and would commence in 1954. The President also had had occasion to visit affiliated societies in Kamloops and the Okanagan Valley.

The Treasurer's report indicated that the finances were in a flourishing condition. While the bank balance reported was \$1,243.74, it was pointed out that the major expense for the year—namely, *Quarterly* assessments—had yet to be deducted. Membership during the year had risen appreciably not only as a result of the formation of new sections, but also in the strengthening of the older sections. At the closing of the books, membership stood at 435, of which 137 were affiliated through the Victoria Section, 144 through the Vancouver Section, 16 through West Kootenay Section, 18 through Nanaimo Section, and 120 members at large. The Editor of the *Quarterly* admitted the delay in publication of the official organ had affected membership but indicated that within the year publication would be back on schedule. Major F. V. Longstaff presented the thirty-first report of the Marine Committee.

Life memberships in the Association were presented to Miss Madge Wolfenden, recently retired as Assistant Provincial Archivist, and to Dr. W. N. Sage, recently retired from the headship of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia. The President paid a warm tribute to their work in the preservation of historical source materials and in the writing of the history of the Province.

Numerous items of business were discussed, including the condition of the Leechtown Monument, the formation of a British Columbia Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and the advisability of beginning preliminary plans for the suitable commemoration of the centennial of the Fraser River gold-rush of 1858.

In his presidential address entitled *The Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition of 1864-65*, published in this *Quarterly*, Mr. Gilliland outlined the events which led up to the inception of this expedition by tracing Governor Arthur E. Kennedy's experience in Western Australia, where he was Governor prior to coming to Van-

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couver Island. There Kennedy had directed a vigorous search for natural resources, the success of which had encouraged him to try a similar policy in Vancouver Island.

The report of the scrutineers was then presented. A total of 156 valid ballots had been cast. The new Council met immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting, when it transacted a heavy agenda of business, during which the following officers were elected:—

Honorary President	-	-	-	-	Hon. Robert Bonner, Q.C.
President	-	-	-	-	Captain Charles W. Cates.
First Vice-President	-	-	-	-	Mrs. A. D. Turnbull.
Second Vice-President	-	-	-	-	Mr. James K. Nesbitt.
Honorary Secretary	-	-	-	-	Mrs. Kenneth Drury.
Honorary Treasurer	-	-	-	-	Miss Patricia Johnson.

Members of the Council—

Miss Helen R. Boutilier.	Dr. F. H. Johnson.
Dr. J. C. Goodfellow.	Dr. W. N. Sage.
	Mrs. R. B. White.

Councillors *ex officio*—

- Mr. H. C. Gilliland, Past President.
- Miss Madge Wolfenden, Chairman, Victoria Section.
- Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
- Mr. James Armstrong, Chairman, West Kootenay Section.
- Mr. J. McGregor, Chairman, Nanaimo Section.
- Mrs. David Hoy, Chairman, Fort St. James Section.
- Mrs. Jessie Woodward, Chairman, Boundary Section.
- Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, *Quarterly*.

VICTORIA SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Monday evening, November 30, with Mrs. J. E. Godman presiding. On that occasion Mrs. Gwen Downes read a paper prepared by Mrs. Lloyd Morgan on *The Story of Julie Apnaut*. Mrs. Apnaut died in Victoria on November 6, 1952, at the age of 91. Her story began with the arrival at Fort Langley of Ovid Allard and his marriage to an Indian woman, Justine. One of the children of this marriage was Mary, more popularly known as Sennie, who was Julia's mother. Mrs. Morgan had gathered together many interesting stories of Julia's life, out on the West Coast with Captain McKay, at school at St. Ann's Convent, Victoria, and her subsequent marriage, and had woven them into an interesting narrative. At the conclusion of the paper three recordings made by Mrs. Apnaut some years before her death were played, mainly of Indian folk-songs.

The meeting held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, December 17, constituted the annual meeting and was presided over by Mrs. J. E. Godman. The annual report of the Honorary Treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden, indicated that the finances of the Section were in a satisfactory position, the membership having risen during the year. The Chairman's address, *Jade: the Stone of Immortality*, discussed the existence of jade in its various forms in British Columbia and the

uses to which it had been put by the native Indians. In addition, interesting parallels were drawn with jade and its uses by peoples elsewhere in China, the Pacific Islands, and the Antipodes. Interesting examples of jade implements and costume jewellery were used to illustrate the lecture. The report of the scrutineers was received, and at the conclusion of the meeting elections for the following year were held. Mr. Russel E. Potter took the opportunity of proposing a warm vote of appreciation to the retiring Assistant Provincial Archivist, Miss Madge Wolfenden, which was heartily endorsed by all the members present. Officers for 1954 are as follows:—

Chairman	- - - - -	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Vice-Chairman	- - - - -	Mr. Russel E. Potter
Honorary Secretary	- - - - -	Mrs. Kenneth Drury.
Honorary Treasurer	- - - - -	Mr. A. F. Flucke.

Members of the Council—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Mr. E. S. Hart.
Mr. Wilson Duff.	Dr. F. H. Johnson.
Mr. H. C. Gilliland.	Mr. G. H. Stevens.

The first regular meeting of the new year was held on Thursday evening, February 18, no meeting having been held in January in view of the annual meeting of the Provincial body having convened in Victoria. Tribute was paid by the Chairman, Miss Madge Wolfenden, to the late Senator G. H. Barnard and the late Captain R. P. Bishop, who had died since the last meeting of the Section. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. I. D. Bonney, a member of the staff of the Provincial Archives, who had chosen as his subject *The Central Coast*. The area under review included such interesting communities as Rivers Inlet, Ocean Falls, Bella Bella, and Bella Coola. It is a rugged country, dotted with islands and generally alpine in its aspect, rich in scenery but relatively poor in arable land. Its face is vast and formidable, and in much the same condition as when Captain George Vancouver saw it first 160 years ago. In the course of his paper Mr. Bonney dealt with the beginnings of the fish-canning industry in the 1880's and later timber and pulp and paper industries. Attention was also paid to the Norwegian settlement at Bella Coola. A fine series of pictures illustrative of the region was displayed.

A meeting of the Section was held on Thursday evening, March 25, at the Tango Club, when the speaker was Mrs. Rupert W. Haggan and her subject *The Boundary Country*. Mrs. Haggan, the wife of the sitting member in the Legislature for Grand Forks, has been a moving spirit in the organization of the Boundary Section of the British Columbia Historical Association and is its Honorary Secretary. The Boundary country occupies that narrow strip from Osoyoos to Rossland, within a maximum of 70 miles of the American border. It is a country rich in historical lore dating back to the gold discoveries at Rock Creek in 1858 and reaching its hey-day in the base-metal boom at the turn of the century. Mrs. Haggan recounted much of the early history of many of its thriving communities of to-day and its ghost towns of yesterday.

The regular meeting held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, April 29, was addressed by Professor Sydney G. Pettit, Associate Professor of History at

Victoria College, on the subject *Law and Order in British Columbia*. Mr. Pettit is well known for his study of the career of Sir Matthew Baillie Begg, which provided an ample background for his subject. His thesis was that personalities in history should be placed on the continental stage with a wide historical background, and he developed it expertly. He began by considering the westward movement in history in the seventeenth century and the establishment of colonies from east to west in a huge political and economic arc. He pointed out that the French had attempted to hold too much with too few, and that the British followed in the same error, and as a result the Americans, because of autonomous tendencies, became a real threat and by 1850 had outstripped the others. The fact that only a few fur-traders held the territory west of the Great Lakes looked bad to officials in London, hence the decision to establish colonies first on Vancouver Island in 1849 and subsequently in 1858 on the Mainland. Until then the authority of the Crown had never been established, and thereafter Americans would be obliged to recognize the authority of a Crown colony jurisdiction. A policy of containment was embarked upon and put to the test in 1858, when large numbers of Americans flooded British Columbia as a consequence of the Fraser River gold-rush. Among them were the bad element who brought the prejudice and anarchy which had prevailed in California. There were three principal dangers—an Indian uprising, anarchy in the gold mines, the autonomous tendencies of the Americans. Each could have culminated in American intervention, and the danger was real. Douglas went up the Fraser to quell an Indian uprising, and he intervened again when he found the Americans establishing a government at Yale. The urgency of the situation can be sensed in Douglas's dispatches to the Colonial Office, and it was fortunate that at the time it was presided over by someone of the calibre of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who appreciated the local circumstances. With imagination he set to work to find men to send to the colony—men whom he felt could stand up to the American pressure group. One such man was Matthew Baillie Begg, sent out as Judge. From the beginning he sought to demonstrate that British law did not rest on force, but upon the dignity and respect for law and order. Suffering great hardship, he carried the Queen's law throughout the colony and earned for himself a reputation for incorruptibility and well-doing.

VANCOUVER SECTION

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, November 10, with Mr. D. A. McGregor in the chair. The speaker on this occasion was Colonel J. W. Nichols, who had chosen as his subject *The Story of Prince Rupert*. Colonel Nichols was an early resident of the city and well qualified to recount its history. The development of Prince Rupert is closely connected with railway-building in Northern British Columbia, in particular the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway to the Pacific. In 1903 the Canadian Government entered into a contract which provided for the construction of a line from Winnipeg to the Pacific Coast to be known as the Grand Trunk Pacific. Location engineers examined the coastal area for a seaport terminus, and eventually narrowed the choice to three possible sites—Kitimat, Port Simpson, and Kaien Island—and the latter was finally selected. In 1907 the townsite was cleared and

a few buildings erected. The first train arrived in 1914, but the official first did not arrive until September 6, 1915, the railway having by that time been approved by the Railway Commission. After the First World War, when several railways encountered financial difficulties, the Government took them over and created the Canadian National Railways. During its early years the main source of revenue of the city residents was the fisheries, the halibut fishery being the most important until overfishing began to deplete the resources. In 1910 steamboat service with the northern city was instituted.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, December 8. Reports of the various officers were received and gave evidence of a successful year. The speaker at this meeting was Mrs. Emilie B. Campbell, who discussed the reasons for the selection of the site for New Westminster and then added some personal reminiscences of earlier days in the Province. The elections for Council for 1954 were conducted and resulted as follows:—

Chairman - - - - -	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Vice-Chairman - - - - -	Mr. W. E. Blackburn
Honorary Secretary - - - - -	Mr. Bruce Ramsay.
Honorary Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. T. H. S. Goodlake.

Members of the Council—

Mrs. W. E. Blackburn.	Mr. Norman Hacking.
Miss H. R. Boutillier.	Mr. R. A. Hood.
Mr. Donald Buchanan.	Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Mr. J. A. Byron.	Dr. D. L. McLaurin.
Captain C. W. Cates.	Miss E. Mercer.
Miss Margaret Cowie.	Mr. Noel Robinson.
Mr. J. E. Gibbard.	Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

Dr. Gilbert Tucker.

The first meeting in the new year was held on Friday evening, January 22, in the Grosvenor Hotel, when the speaker was the immediate Past President of the Provincial body, Mr. H. C. Gilliland, who chose as his subject *The Wreck of the Fore-runner*. Mr. Gilliland has made a careful study of the career of Governor Arthur Edward Kennedy, and this incident, which was recounted in vivid fashion, throws much light on the character of Governor Kennedy.

Arctic Exploration was the subject of the address by Dr. J. Lewis Robinson, Chairman of the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia, at the meeting of the Section held in the Grosvenor Hotel, Friday evening, February 9. A veteran of four expeditions to the Arctic, Dr. Robinson ranged from the earliest exploration to the present time. Early explorers were concerned with finding the Northwest Passage and usually arrived in northern waters in June. Unfortunately this brought them right into the face of the outgoing ice-floes, making navigation practically impossible. Had they waited until mid-August conditions would have been much easier. Great praise should be paid to the hardy whaling captains for their daring, for the speaker was constantly amazed when reading in the early journals of Arctic expeditions to find whaling-boats suddenly putting in an appearance in what was believed to be unknown territory. Another topic discussed was the shifting position of the North Magnetic Pole. In 1829 the

expedition headed by Sir James Clark Ross located it on the southern portion of Boothia Peninsula; many years later Amundsen found it farther north on the same peninsula; and in 1947 it had shifted to the northern extremity of Prince of Wales Island.

At the meeting held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday, March 9, the speaker was Dr. Charles E. Borden, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia. Speaking on the subject *Aluminum and Archaeology*, Dr. Borden dealt with the archaeological researches undertaken in the Tweedsmuir Park area prior to the flooding caused by the building of Kenney Dam on the Nechako River in connection with the development project undertaken by the Aluminum Company of Canada. The lecture was illustrated with beautiful coloured slides.

Through the co-operation of Superintendent G. J. Archer, officer commanding, Vancouver Subdivision of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the films descriptive of the epic voyage of the patrol vessel *St. Roche* through the Northwest Passage in 1946 were made available to the Section for its regular meeting held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, April 13. Also shown was "The Loon's Necklace," a dramatization of a Nicola Valley Indian legend, which involved the use of Indian masks. Special appreciation was tendered to Constable W. Steen, who acted as projectionist.

NANAIMO SECTION

The December meeting of the Section took the form of a series of short reports on early Nanaimo history by several of the members of the Section. Mr. W. E. Bray reported on the geographical location of the city, and this was followed by an excellent report by Mrs. A. Yates on early transportation by water, which included a list of the names of many of the early vessels entering Nanaimo Harbour.

At a meeting held on January 12, Mr. James Borserio gave an account of the first thirty-eight inhabitants of Nanaimo as recorded in a letter by James Douglas. The names had been investigated and occupations found, providing, in effect, Nanaimo's first unofficial census. The second paper, *Electrification in Nanaimo*, was presented by Mr. W. Barraclough. Drawing from the early files of the *Nanaimo Free Press*, the records of the British Columbia Power Commission, and the personal recollections of several early employees of electrical companies, such as James Cowie and William Lewis, a very detailed history of this utility was worked out.

The meeting of the Section held on March 9 received an interim report on *The History of Nanaimo Schools* by Mr. J. B. Parker. Much of the early history was obtained from the diary of Mr. Cornelius Bryant, a pioneer teacher, whose granddaughter made it available. Members contributed many details about later teachers, in recalling their own earlier school days. Plans were laid to prepare records of contemporary events which might be of interest years hence. The election of officers for the year resulted as follows:—

Chairman	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. C. McGregor.
Honorary Secretary	-	-	-	-	Miss Patricia Johnson.
Honorary Treasurer	-	-	-	-	Ven. Archdeacon A. E. Hendy.

A meeting of the Section was held on April 13, when the Chairman, J. C. McGregor, read a paper on *Nanaimo's Early Jails*. Plans were also discussed for the suitable commemoration on November 27 of the centenary of the arrival of the pioneers who came out in the *Princess Royal*.

WEST KOOTENAY SECTION

The annual meeting of the Section was held on December 7, 1953, when the following officers were elected:—

Chairman - - - - -	Mr. J. H. Armstrong.
Honorary Secretary-Treasurer - - -	Mrs. A. D. Turnbull.
Councillors—	
Mrs. J. H. Armstrong.	Mr. G. T. German.
Mr. F. M. Etheridge.	Mr. A. C. Jenkins.

The first general meeting of the new year was held in the City Hall Chambers on March 3, when Alderman F. Sindell showed the films taken during the celebration of the golden jubilee of the incorporation of Trail held in June, 1951. Of particular interest was the displaying of the minutes of the first Council meeting.

BOUNDARY SECTION

On January 29, 1953, a meeting was held in the Sunday School room of the United Church in Grand Forks to discuss the advisability of forming an historical society in the Boundary District. Because of the inclement weather only a few persons were in attendance, but a resolution was adopted authorizing the formation of "an Historical Society to be known as the Boundary Historical Society" and that it affiliate with the British Columbia Historical Association. Mr. John Hutton was chosen as Chairman and Mrs. R. W. Haggan as Secretary, *pro tem*. Work at recruiting members proceeded, and on October 25 a meeting was held in the Province Hotel, Grand Forks, and the decision to organize as a section of the British Columbia Historical Association was reached. A petition to this effect was submitted and approved by the Provincial Association. Officers elected in October, 1953, were to act until the end of the 1954 season, and were as follows:—

Honorary Chairman - - -	Mr. John Hutton, Grand Forks.
Chairman - - - - -	Mrs. Jessie Woodward, Grand Forks.
Vice-Chairman - - - -	Mr. Leo Mader.
Honorary Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. R. W. Haggan, Grand Forks.
Phoenix Representative - -	Mr. Frank McDonald.
Rock Creek Representative -	Mrs. James Lindsay.
Greenwood Representative -	Mrs. J. C. Roylande.
Christina Lake Representative	Mr. R. Sandner.
Midway Representative - -	Mr. Howard Pannell.
Beaverdell Representative -	Mr. Bayard Bubar.
Westbridge Representative -	Mr. Arthur Mellor.

In attendance at this inaugural meeting was Mrs. R. B. White, of Penticton, an active member of the British Columbia Historical Association and also of the Okanagan Historical Society. Plans were laid to hold four meetings a year in different parts of the district.

EAST KOOTENAY SECTION

A meeting was held on Saturday, January 2, in the Mount Baker High School, Cranbrook, for the purpose of establishing an historical society. Mr. W. A. Burton was elected Chairman, *pro tem.*, and Mr. J. F. Huchcroft, Secretary, *pro tem.* The society had for its objective the preservation of historic objects and sites in the Kootenay District and the collection of material for the writing of the history of the region.

A second meeting was held in the Mount Baker High School on February 17, and the decision reached to seek affiliation as a section of the British Columbia Historical Association. Mr. J. W. Awmack was elected Honorary Treasurer, and the following honorary officers were elected:—

Honorary Chairmen -	-	-	-	Senator J. H. King.
				Mr. James A. Byrne, M.P.
Honorary Vice-Chairmen -	-	-	-	Mrs. F. W. Green.
				Mr. W. D. Black, M.L.A.
				Mr. Leo Nimsick, M.L.A.
				Mr. Thomas Uphill, M.L.A.

At a meeting held on March 24 the petition to the British Columbia Historical Association was signed and in due course presented and approval given for the establishment of the East Kootenay Section.

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of this Association was held in the City Hall Committee Room on Friday evening, January 29, with Mr. Burt R. Campbell presiding. The various reports presented showed that while membership was small—only twenty-four members—much valuable work had been accomplished. The diamond Jubilee of the incorporation of the city had had the full support of the Association, which had assumed responsibility for a portion of the festivities. In conjunction with this function a plaque to the memory of Chief Factor Samuel Black had been dedicated. The Museum had been kept open for regular hours, and over 2,550 persons registered during the year. A number of improvements had been made to the building—a new stove, a four-drawer filing-cabinet for the safe-keeping of valuable papers, a show-case, and a typewriter were added to the equipment—and improved signs directing people to the Museum had been erected. The photographic collection continued to grow, with many new accessions reported during the year. High tribute was paid to the President, Burt R. Campbell, for his unwavering enthusiasm and the many hours he had devoted to the work of the Association. During the past few years failing eyesight has been a serious handicap, and in consequence he was led to announce his retirement from the presidency. The members immediately elected him to the newly created position of Honorary President. Other officers of the Association for the ensuing year are as follows:—

Honorary President -	-	-	-	-	Mr. Burt R. Campbell.
President -	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. J. Morse.
Vice-President -	-	-	-	-	Mrs. A. J. Millward.
Secretary-Treasurer -	-	-	-	-	Mrs. D. A. Arnott.

House Convener	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. R. B. A. Cragg.
Natural History Convener	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. D. A. Arnott.
Historical Convener	-	-	-	-	-	Alderman T. J. O'Neill.

NEW WESTMINSTER HISTORIC CENTRE

The members of the board of directors responsible for the administration of the Irving House, New Westminster's beautiful historic centre, for the year 1954 were Alderman J. A. Courtney and Mr. H. Norman Lidster, representing the City of New Westminster; Miss Janet Gilley and Mrs. Stephen Young, representing Post No. 4, Native Daughters of British Columbia; and Mr. L. Pumphrey and Mr. L. Higham, representing Post No. 4, Native Sons of British Columbia. The officers for the year were as follows:—

President	-	-	-	-	-	Miss Janet Gilley.
Vice-President	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. H. Norman Lidster.
Secretary-Treasurer	-	-	-	-	-	Mrs. Stephen Young.
Curator	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. Stephen Young.

The Buildings and Grounds Committee was composed of Miss Janet Gilley and Messrs. L. Pumphrey, H. Norman Lidster, and S. Young.

BOAT ENCAMPMENT CAIRN

On Sunday, September 6, 1953, a field-stone cairn with attached bronze plaque erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was unveiled by Mr. Thomas King, Golden, for many years the representative of the district in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Boat Encampment was an important point of transshipment in the fur-trade days. For almost half a century after first being used by David Thompson in 1811 it served as a meeting-place for the fur brigades of the North West Company and after 1821 of the Hudson's Bay Company. By-passed by the railroad, it was not again made accessible to visitors until the completion of the Big Bend Highway in June, 1940. The cairn has been placed some 2 miles from the original site to make it more readily accessible to the general public and is located where the highway crosses the Columbia River about 2 miles from the junction of the Canoe with the Columbia River.

The ceremony was arranged by the Board of Trade of Golden and was presided over by Mr. Albert Abrahamson, secretary of the Revelstoke Board of Trade. The invocation was given by Rev. Father Harrison, who recalled that not all who dared the dangers of the mountains were motivated by the desire for material gain, since many priests and missionaries passed over the route. The first sacrifice of the Holy Mass in the Interior of British Columbia was celebrated at Boat Encampment. Included among the platform guests were Mr. James Byrne, M.P.; Mr. Louis Berger, owner and manager of Boat Encampment Lodge, who donated the site for the cairn; and Mr. R. J. J. Steve, Superintendent of Yoho, Glacier, and Mount Revelstoke National Parks, who had supervised the erection of the cairn. Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, was present to give an address entitled *David Thompson and Boat Encampment*, in which he traced the origin and early develop-

ment of this particular fur-trade centre. The inscription on the plaque is as follows:—

BOAT ENCAMPMENT

A point of transshipment in fur-trading days. Here boats from Fort Vancouver (now Vancouver, Washington), on the lower Columbia, waited for pack trains coming over the mountains from Jasper House.

David Thompson after his discovery of Athabaska Pass arrived here in January, 1811. For almost half a century this route was used by the fur brigades of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies.

By-passed by the railways, this historic spot was made available to tourists by the completion of the Big Bend Highway in June, 1940.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Reginald H. Roy, M.A., is a member of the staff of the Provincial Archives, having formerly been on the staff of the Public Archives of Canada. For some years he served with the Historical Section, Canadian Army Headquarters, Ottawa.

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Madge Wolfenden, recently retired as Assistant Provincial Archivist, is a Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association and a well-known student of British Columbia history.

VICTORIA, B.C.

Printed by DON McDIARMID, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty
1955