

A HISTORY OF WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN  
BRITISH COLUMBIA TO 1918

by

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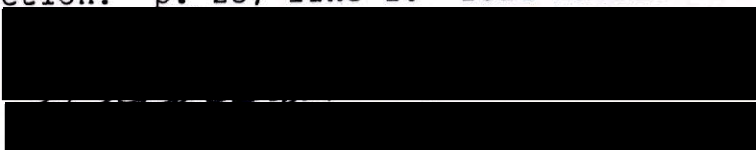
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INSERT: Correction: p. 78, fn 88.

My source re the introduction of fallow deer is inaccurate on this point. Wheatcroft imported fallow deer from England and planted them on his James Island property in 1908. (See Colonist, June 3, 1908, p. 9.) As far as I know, this is the first and only introduction of fallow deer to British Columbia.

Correction: p. 28, line 2. 1812 should be 1822.



*Supervisor: Dr. James E. Hendrickson*

*ABSTRACT*

This thesis traces the evolution of wildlife management practices in British Columbia from pre-contact times to 1918. The aboriginal people employed certain measures to restrict the killing of their most valuable species, particularly salmon and beaver. They also practised environmental control to enhance deer and elk habitat. Indians were able to do this with success because most tribes recognized strict territorial rights to fishing and hunting areas by clans or families. Fierce protection of these monopoly rights prevented such practices as poaching, which would have made conservation measures futile. Because these rights were inherited, hunters and fishermen were obliged to preserve species in their care.

This system of monopoly control continued after the Hudson's Bay Company acquired exclusive trading rights in the land west of the Rockies. The company recognized Indian territorial rights and used them to continue the sustained-yield harvesting of beaver in New Caledonia, and to promote the recovery of beaver stocks in the Peace River district where beaver had been depleted during the fur trade

rivalry. The period of monopoly control came to an end in 1858-59 when the Hudson's Bay Company lost its exclusive trading rights.


During the colonial and early provincial period, the responsibility for management controls fell to the public authorities. The initial efforts by government to restrict the hunting and sale of game was generally ineffectual because law enforcement was difficult in the sparsely-settled province and because the entrepreneurial climate of the late nineteenth century was conducive to resource exploitation. Although public regulations in the nineteenth century failed to protect adequately popular species of game, sportsmen, who subscribed to the lifestyle of the British landed gentry, began introducing exotic game and private shooting preserves to the province, following the practice in Europe. They also organized game protective associations, which led the public demand for the cessation of market-hunting excesses and the appointment of government game wardens.


During his tenure from 1905 to 1918, the first provincial game warden, A. Bryan Williams, made public control of game conservation a reality in much of the province. He built a department of capable deputies whose efforts annually multiplied convictions of game law infractions. At the same time, Williams constantly stressed the economic

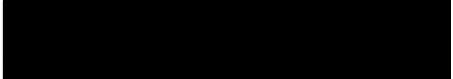
importance of game and widely advertised the province's sporting attractions. Under his direction, the government established three public game reserves. It also commenced the control of game predators and the patrol of border areas. Most importantly, Williams inaugurated the principle of game users paying for game protection through a system of licences. By 1918 most of the public recognized governmental responsibility for the management of wildlife.

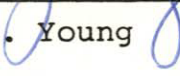
This thesis suggests that wildlife received the most consistent and effective management when their habitat and harvest were subject to the monopolistic control of the users. It also reveals that the history of wildlife management in British Columbia did not adhere closely to the universal sequence of measures observed by Aldo Leopold, the recognized founder of the discipline of wildlife management. The paper concludes that a mixture of private and public wildlife management areas may be the most appropriate means of satisfying the various attitudes and interests of British Columbia citizens who are concerned with wildlife.

Examiners:

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- Dr. James E. Hendrickson  


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I wish to express appreciation for the valuable counsel given to me by Dr. James Hendrickson and Dr. Patricia Roy during the writing of this thesis. I thank the staff of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia for their patience and help during my long research period. And I extend my very special gratitude to Dr. James Hatter for his encouragement and advice.

## INTRODUCTION

The terms used during the last one hundred years to indicate active care for wildlife--game protection, game preservation, game conservation, game and wildlife management--are often confused. Because these terms are used interchangeably and are coloured by the various attitudes of the users towards the care of wildlife, they are becoming incomprehensible.

In the last century the terms protection and preservation were most commonly used in North America, generally in reference to saving species or races of animals and birds from serious depletion or extinction. The first societies organized by North American hunters to put pressure on governments to limit hunting seasons and bags of trophies were usually known as game protective associations. The statutes resulting from this pressure were known as acts for the preservation or protection of game. Until fairly recently such acts dealt only with the game species of mammals, birds, and fish--obviously the species requiring preservation or protection. The two terms preservation and protection were and are used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, they both imply the non-killing of protected species. Yet, except in the case of

bison and a few other species, the complete ban on hunting game was not the motive for the formation of the protective societies nor for the framing and passing of most of the North American legislation in the past century. The motive was regulated use to prevent excessive slaughter.

This ambiguous situation of meaning and actual fact was resolved by a United States forester, Gifford Pinchot, who realized there was no word in the English language to describe the sustained-use of forests. In 1907 Pinchot, who headed the Division of Forestry in Theodore Roosevelt's administration and who founded the Society of American Foresters in 1900, adopted the word conservation to fill this language gap. It was as easily applied to wildlife as to forests. President Roosevelt liked the term which became the hallmark of his administration. Pinchot's new philosophy of sustained yield forestry represented "the middle ground between total protection of renewable natural resources and their destruction by exploitation."<sup>1</sup>

The conservation movement of the early twentieth century resulted in game refuges and international treaties limiting the take of migratory birds and some sea mammals in North America, but much more was needed to preserve and conserve wildlife and to create the environment which could provide for maximum populations of wildlife species.

This required the study of the habits of animals, their diseases, and the improvement of habitat. The conservator or management approach, as applied by trained biologists making these studies, resulted in a new discipline known as game management. Theoretically this term is more restrictive than the modern, all-encompassing term, wildlife management, since game refers to the hunted species only. In fact, modern wildlife biologists devote the major part of their time to the care of game. Regardless of which name is used, game or wildlife management, these modern managers consider an American, Aldo Leopold, to be the father of this new discipline.

Like Pinchot, Leopold was a graduate forester, but his interest in game and other wildlife and his active participation in the New Mexico Game and Fish Protective Association led him into the full-time study of wildlife.<sup>2</sup> As a result he developed new theories about the interdependency of all wildlife with each other and their habitats. In his pioneer text, *Game Management*, Leopold briefly defined the new discipline as "the art of making land produce sustained annual crops of wild game for recreational use."<sup>3</sup> While Leopold confined his definition of game management to recreational use only, Dr. James Hatter, former Director of British Columbia's Fish and Wildlife Branch has broadened the definition to include

the commercial uses of game and other species. "Wildlife management is the art of making the land produce a sustained crop of wildlife for public use and enjoyment."<sup>4</sup>

Leopold's study of worldwide conservation practices, from the time of the Khans in China to twentieth century America, led him to postulate an apparent sequence to the historic inauguration of conservation measures. His chronology is as follows:

1. Restriction of hunting.
2. Predator control.
3. Reservation of game lands (as parks, forests, refuges, etc.).
4. Artificial replenishment (restocking and game farming).
5. Environmental controls (control of food, cover, special factors, and disease).<sup>5</sup>

This study of the evolution of wildlife management practices in British Columbia from pre-contact times to 1918 reveals that the chronology of the introduction of measures did not adhere strictly to that of Leopold, partly because Leopold did not consider aboriginal management practices, and partly because of unique historical developments in British Columbia. This paper will examine the cultures and attitudes, and certain people and events

that shaped the evolution of wildlife management practices in this province.

Technically the term wildlife includes fish. However the discussion of conservation measures during the provincial period will exclude those undertaken by the federal government to protect certain fish species because the scope of this thesis is confined primarily to wildlife under provincial jurisdiction. Certainly the history of fish management in British Columbia is a subject worthy of special treatment in its own right.

*CHAPTER I**MONOPOLY MANAGEMENT PRACTICES BY THE  
INDIANS AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY*

The history of wildlife management in British Columbia properly begins with the Indians. Long before the coming of the white man, native peoples lived in communities based on a hunting-fishing-gathering lifestyle. Over the centuries they developed a system of land tenure that provided effective management controls over the major animal, fish, and berry resources needed for sustenance. Because this system lasted well into the European fur-trade era, many Indian management practices in what has become the province of British Columbia can be described with considerable accuracy.<sup>1</sup>

The estimated 80 000 to 125 000 Indians who inhabited British Columbia during the pre-contact era were divided into ten linguistic groups that were, in turn, subdivided into bands or tribes.<sup>2</sup> Each band or tribe held well-defined territory, the sovereignty of which was recognized by neighbouring tribes. This territory, in turn, was often divided into hunting territories and fishing sites, the possessory rights to which were held by a clan,

a smaller family group, or even by an individual. Usually these rights were handed down from one generation to another. This monopoly control provided the essential conditions upon which the efficient management of important resources could be implemented. The recorded evidence of Indian ownership of hunting and fishing grounds in British Columbia covers the entire province.<sup>3</sup>

The North West Company trader, Daniel Harmon, described the land tenure system of two tribes, the Beaver and Sekanni, who lived east of the Cordillera:

Every tribe has its own particular tract of country; and this is divided again, among the several families, which compose the tribe. Rivers, lakes and mountains, serve them as boundaries; and the limits of the territory which belongs to each family are as well known to the tribe, as the lines which separate farms are, by the farmers, in the civilized world.<sup>4</sup>

Harmon then gives perhaps the earliest description of the conservation measures that could result from ownership:

These people have nothing with which to purchase their necessaries, excepting the skins of animals, which are valuable for their fur; and should they destroy all these animals in one season, they would cut off their means of subsistence. A prudent Indian, whose lands are not well stocked with animals, kills only what are absolutely necessary to procure such articles as he cannot well dispense with.<sup>5</sup>

In the competitive environment in the area east of the Rockies, where liquor was often a trade item, an Indian was not always prudent. Numerous accounts indicate that the

Sekanni did not always defend their territory against the encroachments of the Beaver people who were pressed by the Cree.<sup>6</sup> However, territoriality was probably much more stable in the pre-contact times because hunting for fur bearers was much less intense.

Like the Déné' (Athapaskan) linguistic group of north-eastern British Columbia, two tribes of which were described by Harmon, the Déné' tribes west of the Rockies, the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Tahltan, recognized territoriality and family ownership. For example, the Tahltans of the upper Stikine and Taku watersheds divided their country among clans and subdivided them among households and individuals. Ownership rights were so well respected that one who killed an animal for food while travelling through another's territory gave the pelt to the landowner.<sup>7</sup>

According to anthropologist A.P. Niblack, the other Indian tribes of the northwest coast also recognized family ownership of territory:

The whole of the territory on the northwest coast adjacent to the Indian villages is proportioned out amongst the different families or households as hunting, fishing, and berrying grounds, and handed down from generation to generation and recognized as personal property. Privilege for an Indian other than the owner, to hunt, fish, or gather berries can only be secured by payment. Each stream has its owners, whose summercamp, often of a permanent nature, can be seen where the salmon run in greatest abundance. Often such streams are

held in severalty by two or more families with equal privilege of fishing.<sup>8</sup>

A similar type of land tenure applied to the Thlinget, and to the Tsimshian, the Nootka, and the Kwakiutl further south.<sup>9</sup> Apparently the Kwakiutl were quite hostile about trespass. Franz Boas, the noted anthropologist, reported that if a Kwakiutl goat hunter found another hunting on his land there was a fight and generally one or both were killed.<sup>10</sup>

Even the Haida, who depended as much on the sea for food as they did on the streams, had developed a system of territorial rights, although it was somewhat different from those of the mainland tribes. John Swanton found that:

Each Haida family had its own creek, creeks, or portion of a creek, where its smoke-houses stood. Some of the smaller creeks are said to have had no owners; and, on the other hand, some families are said to have had no land. In the latter case they were obliged to wait until another family was through before picking berries, and had to pay for the privilege.<sup>11</sup>

Sometimes territories were individually owned, as in the case of one Tsimshian man who owned four hunting territories.<sup>12</sup> This practice appears reasonable in an area where only a few men of the coastal tribes would be skilled at hunting such animals as mountain goats. But generally ownership of land and streams passed matrilineally to

heads of clans and families.<sup>13</sup>

Some bands also established rights to fishing sites outside their home territories. For example, the Cowichan band of the Coast Salish on Vancouver Island and other Coast Salish bands who did not have adequate or any sockeye streams on their home territories moved up the Fraser River during the spawning season to catch sockeye salmon. Some of these groups owned fishing sites on the Fraser while others leased them.<sup>14</sup>

Through their ownership of fishing and hunting territories, Indian clans were able to establish certain conservation measures to ensure satisfactory annual harvests of the most necessary species. Available records indicate that only certain fish and animals were accorded such protection. Of these, one of the most important groups was the Pacific salmon upon which all of the tribes on the Pacific watershed placed high dependency. While doing field work with the Coast Salish, anthropologist Homer G. Barnett had a conversation with an old chief of the Sliammon, a Coast Salish Band that lives in the vicinity of the modern town of Powell River, and one of the many tribes that migrated to the Fraser for the sockeye runs. The chief told Barnett that to conserve or "make more" fish, the Indians did not eat female salmon nor their eggs during the first half of the fishing season but returned them live

to the river. Furthermore, since it was necessary for a number of fish, including the male, to return to the spawning streams, dams were deliberately constructed to allow salmon to leap over them during high water. Barnett concluded that the Salish frowned upon the wanton destruction of both fish and game.<sup>15</sup>

Cooperative fishing and hunting, with hereditary ownerships of particular sites, were also integral parts of the social structure of the Kootenay Indians. The Lower Kootenay bands depended more upon fish than game, and the Upper Kootenays depended more upon game. The cooperation between the bands was in the sharing of the expertise. The Upper Kootenays invited the Lower Kootenays to hunt bison with them on the plains, and the Lower Kootenays returned this hospitality by inviting the Upper Kootenays to share their weir fishing with them.<sup>16</sup>

The Kootenay Indians fished salmon, but the trout species of the Salmonidae, and suckers, sturgeon, and whitefish were just as important. Because so much of the Kootenay fishing was done in sloughs of the river and at the mouths of the smaller streams, the most important fishing was done by traps or weirs. Such fishing required organization and controls.<sup>17</sup>

The trout fishing organizations of the Upper and Lower Kootenay tribes differed. The Upper bands allowed

chiefs to grant franchises to individuals, who were each permitted to construct traps and weirs at a particular site on a specific stream. No more than one site was allowed each fisherman. In return for the franchise, the fisherman had to share his fishing produce with eight or nine families. The few men who were awarded franchises did not own the streams--only the weirs, traps, and the catch. They were allowed to keep the lion's share of the trout and to enjoy the prestige of being the chief community providers. But the stream and the fish stocks were the property of the people under the supervision of their principal socio-economic functionary, the "Guide Chief;" they could not be abused by the fishermen without punishment. In this manner the Upper Kootenay assured, as far as possible, an adequate annual supply of trout.<sup>18</sup>

By contrast, the Lower Kootenay organized their trout fishing as a group effort under the direction of a fishing chief, who inspected the traps and instructed the workers.<sup>19</sup> Both of these methods ensured a well-managed harvest with minimum waste. Furthermore, they both benefited all the people.

After white fishermen began to compete with Indian fishermen on the Fraser River system, the federal Inspector of Fisheries, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, investigated complaints that the Indians on Adams Lake had

destroyed salmon fry and spawn. He interrogated interpreter Antoine Gregoire of Kamloops who refuted the allegation in a sworn deposition, dated September 24, 1877. Gregoire's testimony reveals the Indians' attitude towards their usage of salmon, their most valuable resource:

That early in the year, from the end of April to the middle of May, the waters (in the shallows) are usually alive with the young fish. That the Indians - who in any case could have no object in catching them for food, having copious resources in their trout and other fisheries - abstain from molesting them on higher grounds. They know, and say, that if the young fish are destroyed, the shoals returning from the sea will be proportionately diminished. That the Indians with this fact in view, are careful not to destroy, wantonly or wastefully, the mature fish, or to impede their passage to the spawning beds. That the barriers they construct in rivers are only to retard the passage of the fish, to enable the Indians to obtain their necessary winter supply, and that these temporary obstructions are thrown open, as necessary, to give passage to the ascending fish.

2. As to the assertion made some years ago that the Indians destroy the spawn in the beds, by gathering it for food?

That the allegation is altogether unfounded. That even if it were practicable (which to any extent is very questionable) the Chief would not permit it, for reasons before stated. The roes of the fish caught and cured for consumption, are, of course, preserved, and form an item of the usual diet of the Indians.<sup>20</sup>

Gregoire emphasized that to his knowledge the alleged practices were never carried on elsewhere, and that his experience extended to the upper Fraser. In conclusion the

interpreter testified that the chiefs were so careful of the salmon, they would not even:

. . . permit the Indians to use the pole to propel canoes in passing over the spawning shoals, after the spawn is deposited, but the paddle only. Also, that in the spring, when the children sometimes seek to amuse themselves by making mimic weirs to entrap the young fish, they are at once made to desist by their parents. In brief, he says that he believes firmly that the Indians act most prudently with regard to the salmon, and do all in their power to protect them.<sup>21</sup>

These conservation measures were effective only when the Indians adhered to monopolistic land and stream ownership.

Other species of fish were also important to the coastal Indians, although there appears to be little recorded evidence of conservation measures for them. One of these was the eulachon, an anadromous fish which frequents most of the rivers of the mainland coast of British Columbia. Because the eulachon oil was highly regarded as a condiment for many foods, it was a valuable export item for island and interior trade. Families or clans owned the valued eulachon fishing sites. Coastal villages without hereditary rights to eulachon fisheries occasionally acquired temporary rights by purchase. The Indians would camp on the purchased site until the fishing and processing were completed, and then return home with the oil.<sup>22</sup> It is likely that the spawn and the harvest of such

a highly prized fish were managed as well as that of salmon.

There is evidence that herring spawn enhancement was practised by Indians to whom this food source was just as popular in the pre-contact era as it is with the Japanese today. To produce more spawn, the Indians who owned herring spawning beds set out evergreen branches on the kelp beds upon which the herring naturally lay their eggs. These branches, laden with spawn, were collected along with some of the spawn-covered kelp.<sup>23</sup> By collecting herring spawn on evergreen branches, the Indians conserved the spawn and prevented it from being washed ashore with the tide and killed. Most of the spawn-laden seaweed was then left undisturbed, leaving the spawning habitat intact. This is an early example of habitat protection. Only strict ownership of these areas prevented poaching or free-for-all fishing which, had it occurred, would have made the effort to increase spawn productivity futile.

The unique status of the most necessary mammal species, comparable to that of salmon among the fish species, can be given to the beaver over all the mammals in the pre-contact era. Perhaps the most ubiquitous of British Columbia's larger mammals, the beaver was a reliable source of food and blankets for many tribes. Fortunately, it was one important animal whose harvest could be managed carefully because it practised a sedentary, familial lifestyle.

For the same reason, the beaver could be extirpated easily on any one stream. Realizing this, Indian tribes who placed high dependency upon beaver regulated their harvest through monopoly control.

The best documentary evidence of the ownership and conservation practices regarding the beaver relates to the Carrier Indians of the wide-ranging Dene linguistic group. The beaver streams among the Carriers were family owned. During his journey through the area in 1828, George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company observed that parts of the Carrier country were not well-stocked with beaver and that if the hunting grounds had been common to all the natives, the beaver would have been destroyed because the Carrier population was considerable.<sup>24</sup> Fortunately the Carrier owners took only such quantity as they required "and any encroachment, even by their next door neighbours, is tantamount to a declaration of hostilities, and frequently punished by Death . . . ." <sup>25</sup> Simpson did not exaggerate the ferocity of the Carrier in protecting their necessary resources. Ten years earlier, Daniel Harmon described the Carriers' reaction to Iroquois intrusions onto their territory:

As they [Iroquois] are mere rovers, they do not feel the same interest as those who permanently reside here, in keeping the stock of animals good, and therefore they make great

havock among the game, destroying alike the animals which are young and old. A number of Iroquois have passed several summers on this side of the mountain, which circumstance they knew to be displeasing to the Indians here, who have often threatened to kill them, if they persisted in destroying the animals on their lands. These menaces were disregarded. A month since, an Iroquois, with his wife and two children, were all killed, while asleep, by two Carriers of this village, which melancholy event, I hope, will prevent any of the Iroquois from coming into this region again.<sup>26</sup>

The almost universal use of trained dogs to hunt beaver in the pre-trader era facilitated the select harvesting of beaver. Hunting methods using dogs were more discriminating than those using traps because kits could be released and preserved to restock the dam. John McLean, a Hudson's Bay trader, described how the dogs were used:

The sagacity of their dogs is truly surprising. The beaver house being first destroyed by the hunter, the dogs are urged by a peculiar call to scent out their retreats, which they never fail to do, whatever may be the thickness of the ice. They keep running about the borders of the lake, their noses close to the ground, and the moment they discover a retreat, begin to bark and jump on the ice; the hunter then cuts a hole with his trench, and with a stick which he carries along with him feels for the beaver; should he find one, he introduces his bare arm into the hole, and seizing his prey by the tail, drags it out on the ice, where it is dispatched with a spear.<sup>27</sup>

Trained dogs were used also for hunting bear, deer, caribou and elk. The trained hunting dogs were cared for by the hunters who frequently washed or sweat-bathed them and purged them with medicine before a hunt.<sup>28</sup> The dogs were used to pursue the deer or elk after the hunter spotted the tracks of a big buck or bull. The dogs ran the prey to water where other hunters stood watch. But the dog who could hold the animal at bay until the hunter arrived was considered the most valuable.<sup>29</sup> Dogs are still used in many European countries for the same reason, to facilitate the hunting and killing of a mature animal. Without the use of trained dogs, Indians would have been much more indiscriminate in their killing of game.

Territorial rights to family hunting grounds enabled Indians to develop other hunting methods to conserve the game population. For example, the Thompson Indians, of the Interior Salish linguistic group, hunted deer, when these animals were making their fall migration from the high country to the low, by constructing fences and setting snares. Like the fishing stations and eagles' eyries, the Thompson Indians' snares, traps, and fences were inherited by the male members of a family.<sup>30</sup> The mountain passes, where the deer were trapped, and the equipment used were family owned. Recognized ownership

prevented competition and, consequently, encouraged discriminate use of the snare.

Certain Indians also effected a measure of environmental control--Leopold's final step in the evolution of management practices--by periodically burning forested land.<sup>31</sup> They knew that certain berry species (particularly huckleberries) inundate a burned-over area, and that new growths of deciduous trees and browse in these burns attract members of the deer family. Walter Colquhoun Grant, the first independent settler on Vancouver Island, complained of the Indians' "abominable custom" of setting fires to the forest, and James Teit noted the Thompson Indians regularly set fire to the hillsides so they might secure a greater number of roots.<sup>32</sup> As late as 1906, L.H. Estell, in his report of a game inspection trip in the East Kootenay, remarked on the Indians' habit of deliberately setting forest fires "for the purpose of burning off the timber and brush in order to make it easier for them to hunt and slaughter game."<sup>33</sup> But Estell also noted that the large numbers of moose and elk made the area a great game preserve notwithstanding the many years of indiscriminate slaughter by many Indians and whites who hunted there. It would take the white man many more years to appreciate that the setting of periodic fires by the Indians was a form of management designed to

alter the environment to increase the yield of certain plants and game.

Indian wildlife management practices continued in British Columbia long after the arrival of white traders. Yet, it was during the three decades immediately following the arrival of the first trader that one of the saddest chapters in the history of animal destruction was written, the near extermination of the sea otter.

The fur trade in British Columbia began in 1785 with the arrival of a British trader, James Hanna, on the coast of Vancouver Island.<sup>34</sup> Other British, European, and American sea captains quickly entered the lucrative sea otter trade on the northwest coast as there was a ready market for the otter pelts in Canton. By the end of the eighteenth century, almost all British traders and the few European traders had to withdraw from the Pacific coast because of the Napoleonic Wars. The coast was left to the unfettered and aggressive American traders and, in Alaska, to the Russian American Company which, from 1799, held the exclusive Russian trading rights in North America.<sup>35</sup> The competition did not slacken but intensified among the few remaining British vessels and the many more American traders.<sup>36</sup> The peak year of competition was 1801.<sup>37</sup> There are no figures available for the total number of sea otter pelts bartered by either the British or American traders during the busy thirty-year

period of 1785-1814. But it has been estimated that American traders alone collected 48 000 sea otter pelts during the peak years from 1799 to 1802.<sup>38</sup> By 1802 the sea otter were on the decline; it was becoming rare for a vessel to obtain a cargo of skins in less than two seasons. As a consequence, trade was extended to the pelts of other fur bearers, and rum became an item of barter.<sup>39</sup> Rum and disease began their erosion of the coastal tribes' cultures. Yet, this erosion cannot account for the indiscriminate slaughter by Indians of the sea otter because the excessive killing began before rum and disease were major problems.

The reason why the Indians participated in the extermination of the sea otter on the northwest coast was that this animal was not requisite to the survival of the coastal tribes. Its pelt was a luxury not a necessity. Perhaps the Indians could have restricted the harvest of sea otter once they obtained a sufficient supply of metallic trade goods, but newly-acquired tastes, acquisitiveness, and potlatch gift requirements created a demand for nonmetallic goods like cloth, rice, bread, molasses, rum, ermine skins, and other ornaments.<sup>40</sup> To pay for these items the Indians killed thousands upon thousands of sea otters because their pelts brought the highest prices. The War of 1812 brought a respite to the slaughter because

it restricted movements of trading ships from the east coast. But the absence of any authoritative power to control its harvest eventually led to the extermination of the sea otter on the British Columbia coast. Fortunately for the future of this species, the Russian American Company, because of its monopoly position in Alaska, was able to control the sea otter harvest in the Aleutians and in the Kodiak district after the company restricted American trading and whaling operations in Alaska.<sup>41</sup>

And fortunately for the future of the staple fish and game of British Columbia, the Indians kept their territorial rights intact throughout the assault on the sea otter. When the land traders arrived, they found a land rich in wildlife. However, for a few years, the competitive traders themselves threatened the stocks of beaver and game in the Peace River district of the province.

The story of the bitter and sometimes bloody rivalry between the fur traders from Montreal and those of the Hudson's Bay Company has been recounted many times.<sup>42</sup> One of the consequences was the devastation of the beaver population, already decimated by disease (probably tularemia), on the northwestern prairies.<sup>43</sup> Before the North West Company and the XY Company amalgamated in 1804, they carried their competitive struggle to the territory of the Beaver Indians, part of which is in the Peace

River district of British Columbia. Both companies had been in the habit of importing Indian (usually Iroquois and Ojibway) hunters from Canada to trap because the plains Indians were not primarily interested in trapping as long as bison were available.<sup>44</sup> The traders moved the alien Indians, along with steel traps, into the best beaver country of the West, the upper Peace River basin held by the Sekanni and Beaver Indians. The Iroquois took a heavy toll of the beaver, thereby incurring the wrath of the local Indians and the consequent tragedy described earlier in this chapter. During one season, 1802-03, the foreign hunters supplied one-third of the North West Company's beaver packs for the Athabasca department and forty-six of the eighty-four packs of beaver collected by the XY Company.<sup>45</sup> The Iroquois and the other eastern Indians had no vested interest in the resources of the Beaver and Sekanni Indians and therefore made no effort to conserve them.

The depletion of furs brought about the move across the mountains by the North West Company, immediately after its amalgamation with the XY Company in 1804. By 1807 Simon Fraser and John Stuart, with their voyageurs, had established five posts in New Caledonia; and in 1808 they succeeded in tracing the Fraser River to its mouth. In 1807 David Thompson began his surveys of the Kootenay/

Columbia river systems for the North West Company. By 1812 he had established four posts in the Columbia district, and completed his explorations to the mouth of the Columbia River.

In 1812 the North West Company bought John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company's posts and property on the Columbia. Within eight years this Canadian company had gained trading control of a territory extending from the Spanish possessions in the south to the Russian territory on the far northern coast. In the meantime the Hudson's Bay Company moved aggressively into the Peace and Athabasca regions offering fierce competition to the North West Company. The Montreal company incurred great expenses in the West building and maintaining posts and transportation routes and in opposing the Hudson's Bay Company east of the Rockies. Consequently, in its attempt to meet expenses and make a profit, the North West Company scoured the country, both east and west of the Rockies, for as many furs as possible. There could be and there was no consideration for conservation. Both companies and the Indians east of the Rockies faced a rapid exhaustion of game and fur bearers, particularly beaver.<sup>46</sup> This ruinous competition was one of the factors that led to the amalgamation of Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821. Because the reorganized company held

monopoly trading rights with the native peoples west of the mountains for a twenty-one-year period, it was able to institute conservation measures in the devastated areas.

To ensure the economic feasibility of its conservation measures, the company had to maintain exclusive control of Indian trade. This maintenance required the company to develop policies to secure the company's territory from interlopers, and to conduct its affairs in a manner to gain approval of the British government for renewal of its licence. Assured long-term monopoly rights were absolutely essential for the implementation of any conservation measures. In British Columbia, monopoly control was precarious because the southern and coastal perimeters were threatened by American land and sea traders, and, in the north, by the Russian traders.

The 1818 Anglo/American agreement to a ten-year joint occupancy of the land west of the Rockies made it imperative for the Hudson's Bay Company to protect its valuable trade in New Caledonia by preventing the northwestern migration of American trappers. The company achieved this by retaining the posts on the lower Columbia and sending large hunting expeditions to trap the land south and east of the Columbia until it was exhausted of fur bearers.<sup>48</sup>

The fur desert created by the company acted as a buffer zone until Oregon passed into American hands in 1846.

In the meantime, furs from New Caledonia and British territory further north were reaching American and Russian maritime traders. The Hudson's Bay Company decided to compete directly with the Americans by putting five trading vessels on the coast between the years, 1827 and 1836. By the mid-1830's, the company was winning the sea trade battle with the Americans.<sup>49</sup> The American fur traders were driven finally from the coast by 1840. In 1839 George Simpson, for the Hudson's Bay Company, and Baron Wrangell, for the Russian American Company, signed the Hamburg Agreement by which the Russians rented the commercial rights on the panhandle of Alaska in return for a rental which included foodstuffs previously supplied by the Americans.<sup>50</sup> Since the American traders needed an outward saleable cargo to make their trading expeditions economically feasible, the Hudson's Bay Company, by this agreement, had eliminated all the competition for the land furs originating in its territory.

It had taken about two decades for the Hudson's Bay Company to secure complete trading control of the furs west of the Rockies. It is not known what conservation measures, if any, the company implemented in New Caledonia during these decades or after 1840, but it did take certain measures to conserve the beaver-depleted area east of the Rockies. The first act, though not a conservation measure

per se, was the closure of four posts, Fort George, Fort St. John, Dunvegan, and Rocky Mountain Portage in the mid-1820's to punish the Indians for killing company men at Fort George and Fort St. John.<sup>51</sup> When George Simpson reported on his 1828 journey to the Columbia, he was able to recommend the reopening of at least two of the posts since the Indians had suffered enough for the crimes of a few and the beaver population had recruited great numbers.<sup>52</sup> The Sekanni and Beaver Indians had not ceased harvesting beaver for their own use, but the itinerant Iroquois and other free men had been forced out of the area, and excessive killing of beaver had ceased.

Moving posts was not always a satisfactory conservation measure;<sup>53</sup> therefore, it was imperative for Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department to introduce many other beaver conservation measures in their assured monopoly areas.<sup>54</sup> They ranged from offering higher prices for smaller furs like marten, and for the pelts of those animals which were approaching their peak in the population cycle, thereby allowing the beaver to recruit,<sup>55</sup> to discouraging summer beaver trapping for food by providing summer employment for Indians and by selling fishing tackle cheaply.<sup>56</sup> It is quite likely that some of these measures were applied to the Peace River district of British Columbia; it is less likely that they were necessary

west of the divide. It is certain, however, that the Company's 1812 general ban on the purchase of pelts of summer-killed beaver included New Caledonia. In the same year Simpson banned the sale of steel traps in all areas except the frontier posts where vigorous competition and the possible extirpation of fur bearers were the economic realities.<sup>57</sup> Simpson considered steel traps a scourge because they, unlike the pre-1790 Indian methods, promoted the indiscriminate trapping of beaver.

A major conservation measure instituted by Simpson and the Council was the 1826 imposition of beaver pelt quotas in fourteen districts.<sup>58</sup> The only post included in the limitation drawing furs from British Columbia was Dunvegan. Although quotas continued throughout the following years in the monopoly areas, the commitment of some traders to this policy was questionable. Therefore, in 1841 a Council regulation stipulated early retirement for those traders who did not adhere to the strict annual quotas.<sup>59</sup>

The fact that only one post receiving British Columbia furs was assigned a beaver quota is a good indication that, for the most part, the beaver populations in New Caledonia were at a tolerable level. The marked decline in the number of beaver pelts shipped from New Caledonia in the 1840's may have been the result of diverse or one major cause like animal or human disease.<sup>60</sup> Since the pelt

numbers rebounded in the 1850's, it appears that the Indian hunters nursed their beaver stocks back to carrying capacity.<sup>61</sup>

There is no reason to suspect that where and when monopoly control was assured the company did not manage its far-flung animal resources in a responsible manner. Innis, concluded that "the existing evidence points to the effectiveness of monopoly control."<sup>62</sup> It was effective in that it assured a steady supply of a wide range of furs and other wildlife products in the face of natural fluctuation of fur bearers and the market, but at the same time, it controlled production to conserve certain animals and to prevent a flood on the market. A monopoly over a large area enabled the company to diversify the product marketed overseas, from lumber and salmon to the introduction of smaller, cheaper furs such as skunk, racoon, and badger.<sup>63</sup> Quick riches were foresaken for a long-term continuous supply of wildlife resources.

Edward Ellice Sr., a noteworthy British parliamentarian who had fifty years of experience with the fur trade, made perhaps the most succinct description of the Hudson's Bay Company's conservation measures.<sup>64</sup> Called as a witness before the 1857 Select Committee of the British parliament investigating the Hudson's Bay Company's licence-renewal application, Ellice defended the company's conservation

program by explaining that "'The valuable trade of the Hudson's Bay Company is in the remote districts, where, nobody having the power to interfere with them, they preserve the animals just as you do your hares and pheasants in this country.'"<sup>65</sup> It is true that Ellice was pleading the case of the monopoly company and was, therefore, biased. However, others, with no reason to love the company nor monopoly, agreed with him. William Ogilvie, who made a federal government inspection trip of the Peace River area in 1891, deplored the senseless destruction of fur bearers caused by competition in the fur trade. He concluded that, although it was "contrary to the spirit of the time" a monopoly of the fur trade was justifiable.<sup>66</sup>

Ogilvie's comment was made with the wisdom of hindsight. Few outside the company would have agreed with him in 1858 when the company lost its exclusive Indian trade licence and the new colony of British Columbia was founded. In British Columbia the end of the company's fur trade monopoly and the beginning of the erosion of Indian wildlife monopoly coincided with the arrival of free-enterprise entrepreneurs eager to exploit the resources. Included among the resources to be exploited was wildlife.

## CHAPTER 2

*THE FIRST EFFECTS OF PUBLIC CONTROL, 1858-1905*

Centuries of monopoly control of important hunting and fishing grounds by Indian families, a control encouraged by a foreign monopoly trading company, gave way in the last half of the nineteenth century to ineffectual control by uncertain public authority. Yet, given the diverse peoples who migrated to the province during this period, the sizable native population holding aboriginal rights and the immense, sparsely-settled land it had to govern, it is remarkable that any government of British Columbia even attempted conservation measures. But, to their credit, they did, however ineffective such measures may have been.

The first game protective law was designed to prevent the exploitation of wildlife by white market hunters who came with the gold seekers in 1853. Thousands of prospectors came to Victoria for supplies and boats with which to ascend the Fraser River to the gold bars. This sudden inundation of people created a demand for all the food-stuffs produced by Vancouver Island settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company farms. Hunters and fishermen con-

tributed with the produce of forest and water. Several of the two hundred stores which opened in Victoria in 1858 sold fresh fish and game supplied by market hunters, both white and Indians. On September 17, 1859 the *Victoria Gazette* published a vivid description of the game market:

GAME IN SEASON.- Venison is now becoming quite plentiful in our market. Bear meat, too, is retailing cheaply at the same stands where they sell deer, and every now and then we notice the carcass of a grim looking panther hanging about the depots of the game dealers. By the way, is that beast of prey invariably considered "game," or is it only because it generally dies so? Grouse are getting in fine order and now sell at 50 cents each. A German hunter, engaged in supplying game for this market, killed 48 of these fine birds in two days of last week, for which he received \$29. At that rate, grouse hunting should prove a good business. On many of the Islands in this vicinity, particularly on Salt Spring Island, we learn that grouse are- to be had for the shooting. Don't all start at once. Beware of a "rush" followed by a "reaction"? [Sic]<sup>1</sup>

The headline referred to the legal season because the Vancouver Island House of Assembly had passed, on April 20, 1859, the first game protective bill which outlawed the sale or purchase of any member of the deer family and of duck, teal, goose, snipe, woodcock, willow grouse, quail, dusky grouse, and the eggs thereof during the breeding season.<sup>2</sup> The closed season of at least six months varied according to species.

Governor James Douglas informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Assembly had passed the act "to prevent the wholesale destruction by a class of persons who make a trade of hunting and a livelihood by selling the game at this place." There is little doubt that Douglas was referring to recent immigrants, like the German hunter of the newspaper account, who were cashing in on the windfall provided by the availability of abundant game and the heavy demand for it. Douglas and seven Assembly members, all of whom were or had been employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, recognized that it would be impossible to "prevent altogether" the killing of game during the closed season, but they hoped the act would "have a highly conservative effect, by entirely putting a stop to its being sold publicly in the market and by imposing a fine upon all persons buying or selling the same."<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Skinner, the gentleman who drafted and introduced the bill, was not representative of the old fur-traders. Skinner arrived with his family in 1853 to work as bailiff of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's farm at Constance Cove. Dr. J.S. Helmcken, the Speaker of the House, described Skinner as "a genial gentleman, a sort of liberal conservative" who "liked the smell of the fox and to follow the hounds."<sup>4</sup> The preamble to the act, written by Skinner, reflects a change in attitude

towards the use of game:

Whereas, Birds and Beasts of Game constitute an important source of food, and the pursuit thereof affords occupation and the means of subsistence to many persons in this Colony, *as well as a healthy and manly recreation*; And whereas, the pursuit and destruction of Game in the breeding season tends to the extinction of the whole race  
 . . . .<sup>5</sup>

The preamble is the first written intimation that any public official considered wildlife in the context of sport hunting. It embraced a triad of reasons for hunting, one of which, the recreational aspect, was newly introduced to the colony by Skinner and a few "country gentlemen" like himself. They were soon to be joined by immigrants of similar class who also indulged in hunting for sport. Because so many of these men attained political influence, their views made themselves evident in game protective legislation.

However in the exploitative society of nineteenth century Vancouver Island, such laws were not immediately heeded. For example, four years after it was passed, game vendors and Victoria hotelkeepers still openly violated the first game act.<sup>6</sup> It probably was not just laxness on the part of law enforcers which caused the violations, but also the act's blanket coverage of the whole island. Strict adherence to the law would bar those restaurants that had no access to domestic meat from serving

game. So, of course, they ignored the law and Victoria hotels followed suit. This island coverage was rectified by an 1862 amendment which limited the application of the act to the districts of Victoria, Lake, Saanich, Esquimalt and Metchosin.<sup>7</sup> This correction is the first example of the poorly considered legislation of this era. Although there were to be several more ill-considered acts, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the lawmakers. The 1862 amendment banned, not just the sale, but the killing of all the protected birds and animals during the closed season. And most significantly, birds which feed on noxious insects were included in the protected bird list. The gentleman farmer of southern Vancouver Island was protecting his economic investment as well as his sporting pleasure by legislation.

The colony of British Columbia passed its first game ordinance in 1865.<sup>8</sup> It was similar to Vancouver Island's 1859 act, in that it forbade the sale not the killing of certain animals. In 1867 the united colony of British Columbia repealed all prior colonial acts and passed one which was also similar to Vancouver Island's first act.<sup>9</sup> A second game ordinance of the united colony was passed in 1869; it exempted bona fide settlers in country districts from being penalized for killing game for their own consumption.<sup>10</sup> This seems an odd exemption for

the only ban at that time was the possession of game in the closed season for the purpose of sale or barter. The last game ordinance of the united colony, passed in 1870, was much more restrictive and enforceable. It provided for a closed season *on the possession only* of venison and other game in the towns, and within one mile of the towns, of Victoria, New Westminster, Esquimalt, and Nanaimo, or on board any steam vessel.<sup>11</sup> The closed season embraced the fawning season of the deer family and the nesting months of the birds.

The game protective acts of the colonial era reflected a concern for the conservation of the game birds and animals near the heavily populated areas. They also revealed the continuing influence of the country gentlemen on the game laws by the protection of three nonindigenous species of birds--quail, pheasant, and partridge.

Although the first recorded importation of quail was in the early 1860's,<sup>12</sup> this game bird was protected by the 1859 act. It is conceivable that Thomas Skinner and other farmers imported quail from California or the Columbia Valley on Hudson's Bay Company ships in the 1850's. Most certainly this was done by several owners of large farms near Victoria throughout the 1860's.<sup>13</sup> These pre-confederation transplantations of quail were so successful that Alexander Caulfield Anderson, a former Hudson's Bay

factor and surveyor, could write in 1871 that "The Crested Quail, though not indigenous, is becoming very numerous in the settled districts of Vancouver Island. This bird, introduced originally from California, has thriven well, and promises soon to yield attractive game to the sportsman."<sup>14</sup>

Pheasants were first imported in 1869. Throughout the following three decades several sportsmen and groups of sportsmen imported pheasants (usually the ring-neck from China and England) and planted them on farms near Victoria, on Saltspring Island, and in the lower Fraser Valley.<sup>15</sup> Partridges must have been imported even earlier because they were protected in the colony of British Columbia in 1865.<sup>16</sup> It is known that in 1889 a game protective society purchased partridges and put them down on a two-thousand-acre shooting preserve which the society had bought from two gentlemen named Pemberton and Baker.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to game birds it appears most likely that hares also were imported for sporting purposes as they were protected in 1878 by an act that applied only to certain districts of Vancouver Island.<sup>18</sup> Neither hares nor rabbits are indigenous to Vancouver Island.

In the early provincial era sportsmen took financial responsibility for the purchase, transport, and acclimatization of exotic game bird species. The only government

help was the implementation of closed seasons on the birds, the infraction of which carried, in 1883, fines of ten to twenty-five dollars or imprisonment not exceeding twenty days.<sup>19</sup> However the statutes on closed seasons, some of which were for two-year periods, were inadequate in that they did not take into account future importations. This omission was rectified in an 1895 amendment to the game act that gave blanket protection to all exotic game birds and animals until their seasons were opened by Orders-in-Council.<sup>20</sup> This amendment finally secured a satisfactory acclimatization and propagation period for exotic species.

Beginning in 1869, the government of British Columbia instituted bounty payments for cougars and wolves killed in settled areas.<sup>21</sup> This measure was inaugurated not to protect game but to protect domestic stock from predation. An illustration of the country gentlemen's strong political influence is not only the institution of the bounty, but also the large bounty payments of the late nineteenth century. For example, for the year ending June 30, 1891, the total expenditure on bounties was \$35 000,<sup>22</sup> a large sum for that period. Predator control as a game protective device was not instituted until the twentieth century, decades after the establishment of private game preserves and the first importations of exotic species. This contradiction to Leopold's classic

sequence of game management measures illustrates the cultural influence of the same group of landed gentry on British Columbia's sporting life. To them country life was not complete without "pheasant shoots" and similar outings.

To further the ambience of country life, these gentlemen imported song birds to Vancouver Island. The first intimation of such importation is contained in the 1892 game act, which gave year-round protection to the English blackbird, the chaffinch, linnet, and skylark--none of which is indigenous.<sup>23</sup> However the first recorded importation is that carried out by the Natural History Society in Victoria in 1903. In this instance the government contributed \$200 toward the cost.<sup>24</sup> In June of that year goldfinches, skylarks, and robins were ordered from New York and released in areas in and around Victoria, and a few were also sent to Vancouver.<sup>25</sup> The society worked with the local fish and game club in drafting an ordinance that gave full protection to these song birds.<sup>26</sup> This cooperation between private societies and government officials in drafting legislation is typical of how many of the early game protective laws came about.

The positive contributions made by societies of sportsmen to the inception of wildlife conservation by British Columbia governments should not be underestimated. These

groups not only provided shooting preserves and exotic game birds for their own recreation, but also recognized the disastrous consequences of the excessive commercial use of wildlife. And they had the political influence to attempt to do something about it.

The earliest record of a game protective association is a short report in the *Colonist* of a meeting of such an organization on March 20, 1883; it had organized to take action regarding a game protective bill which was to come before the legislature.<sup>27</sup> Robert Beaven, who had recently retired as premier, presided. Apparently its aim achieved, the society disbanded. The next society to organize for the protection of game was the one which purchased the acreage from Pemberton and Baker in 1889 for a shooting preserve. This society hired a guardian for the preserve, although it seems that private wardens did not have the power of arrest.<sup>28</sup> This was surely an oversight on the protective association and the legislators.

The game preservation society of 1889 appeared to be primarily interested in operating its own private preserve, so in 1890 yet another Victoria association was formed by "lovers of true sport" who wished to protect game. The first meeting of this new association, held in the parlor of the King's Head Saloon on February 25, was presided over

by James Tolmie, MLA.<sup>29</sup> The guest speaker, W.H. Ladner, MLA, spoke of the importation of game birds on the mainland and of the recent amendments to the game law that he had introduced during the current session to protect game birds on the mainland. One of his amendments was to provide for the incorporation of gun clubs or game protective associations.<sup>30</sup> Later in his speech, Ladner claimed credit for suggesting to the government that it follow the lead of eastern provinces and charge non-resident hunters a \$50 license fee, a recommendation which the government included in its 1890 amendment to the game act.<sup>31</sup> This action is another illustration of the close liaison between sportsmen and legislators in the nineteenth century.

By the mid 1880's sportsmen-legislators could no longer confine their interest in game protection to southern Vancouver Island. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the spur lines to mining developments brought an influx of newcomers to the interior as the gold rush had. This influx coincided with the advent of the breech-loading rifle, which was soon followed by ice-refrigerated railway cars. Together, they made the hunting of game and the export of meat and green hides and horns a very lucrative field. The 1880's and 1890's were the bonanza years for hide-and-horn hunters and exporters.<sup>32</sup>

The legislature had passed the first major provincial game act in 1878.<sup>33</sup> Although this act applied only to the electoral districts on southern Vancouver Island, it made provision for the extension of its terms to any electoral district when a majority of voters petitioned the Lieutenant Governor in Council to be included.<sup>34</sup> This act made illegal the hunting and killing, as well as the possession, of certain game birds and of venison during a spring-summer closed season. Two of the protected animals were reindeer and caribou, neither of which inhabits Vancouver Island.<sup>35</sup> Legislators were either covering all possible species of the deer family on Vancouver Island or covering interior electoral districts in the event that any should petition for inclusion. The 1878 act also placed a closed spring season on the taking of mallard ducks between March 1 and July 15.<sup>36</sup> This season was extended in various amendments throughout the succeeding decades and by 1897 covered all species of ducks.<sup>37</sup> This concern for migrating fowl, which would need an international treaty to protect it adequately, is illustrative of a true sport hunter's concern about the shooting of nesting birds.

In 1885 the game act was extended to cover all of Vancouver Island, the adjacent islands, and the electoral district of New Westminster.<sup>38</sup> Completion of the railway and the growing population resulted in the extension of the

act to the whole province in 1887.<sup>39</sup> The full coverage enabled the government to put a closed season on hunting sheep and goats since the habitat of these animals was now included.<sup>40</sup> The act also forbade the killing of deer for their hides alone,<sup>41</sup> a measure that was impossible to enforce, like so much of the nineteenth century legislation. Another section of the 1887 act allowed a farmer to kill deer he found depasturing his field at any time but ignored the needs of a great number of people who had to kill game year-round to subsist.<sup>42</sup> The government did not correct this oversight until 1895 when it exempted Indians, settlers in unorganized districts, free miners, and cattle ranchers from the provisions of the act as long as they killed animals only for their own immediate use.<sup>43</sup> But even this specification of exemptions was not sufficient for it lacked a description of unorganized districts. In 1897 legislation finally defined unorganized districts as being those areas of the province proclaimed as such by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.<sup>44</sup> Because of poorly drafted legislation, the game act was largely unenforceable for ten years. By creating sections that invited violations, the government made a mockery of the whole act.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the government lacked the money, men, and even the will to enforce many of the laws that could be enforced, particularly those aimed

at market hunters who hunted for exportation. There were public protests about the excessive hunting done for the market. One of the stronger ones was made by Arthur W. Pearse of Yale who reported the claim of a storekeeper at Nicola that, in the fall of 1889, 20 000 pounds of hides were shipped from the Nicola Valley alone. Pearse had met a teamster on the Bonaparte road who had a load of 1400 pounds of deer skins which was comparable to the weight of skins he brought to Ashcroft every two weeks during the winter. Pearse believed that similar quantities were taken throughout the Chilcotin and Okanagan districts.<sup>45</sup>

Although the 1887 act had made it illegal to kill deer for their hides alone, motivation was obviously difficult to prove. Consequently, the government sought to curtail market hunting in 1890 by amending the game act to make it illegal to export, in its raw state, any portion of an animal or bird mentioned in the act.<sup>46</sup> Transport companies carrying the contraband also were liable under the act. This coverage of all protected animals was a step in the right direction for the export market was not confined to deer hides.

The hides of wapiti (elk) were becoming popular sources of leather,<sup>47</sup> and the growth in membership of the Order of Elks placed a heavy demand on the wapiti teeth and antlers. Moose, the major source of leather for the fur traders, had

been migrating west of the Rockies for two decades and they continued to move toward the Pacific as heavily timbered areas were cleared by forest fires. Often set deliberately by miners, settlers, and railway builders; the fires cleared more than two-thirds of the interior of its forests, including great areas of climax forest, thereby making way for the growth of deciduous browse so necessary for moose feed.<sup>48</sup> By 1892 moose required seasonal and quota restrictions on their take as they had, not only increased, but spread to areas accessible to hunters other than Indians. The 1892 game act, the first one to include moose,<sup>49</sup> placed a year-round ban on the killing of cow moose as the 1890 ban had done on the cow wapiti.<sup>50</sup> It also imposed a yearly bag limit for both resident and nonresident hunters of two bull elk and two bull moose.<sup>51</sup> There was no bag limit placed on bucks at this time, but a 5-year moratorium had been placed on the sale of does and fawns in 1889.<sup>52</sup>

Besides forbidding the export of hides, antlers, and other parts of protected animals, the 1890 act imposed a fifty-dollar license fee on each nonresident and set a bag limit of trophies for this hunter.<sup>53</sup> This is the first time a bag limit was imposed in British Columbia. But it was a very liberal limit; and properly so for the numbers of nonresident sportsmen at that time would not have seriously affected game population.<sup>54</sup> In 1895 the non-

resident bag limit was extended to cover residents,<sup>55</sup> limiting the seasonal kill per hunter to no more than ten deer, five caribou, five mountain sheep, five mountain goats, two bull wapiti, and two bull moose. This limitation would have been almost impossible to enforce upon resident hunters without the aid of informers since residents did not have to buy licenses nor tags. Informers received one-half of the fines of successful convictions.<sup>56</sup>

All of these restrictions may have curtailed market hunting for export, but they did not stop it. W.A. Baillie-Grohman, an English sportsman-entrepreneur and an erstwhile Kootenay canal and land developer, claimed that in 1899 a case against a Victoria firm, which allegedly had stored 21 000 pickled and raw skins of black-tail deer for export, was dismissed by the court.<sup>57</sup> He went on to remark that, although the laws were sufficiently good on paper, they were almost impossible to enforce because of the sparse population.<sup>58</sup>

However ineffectual the provincial game laws of the nineteenth century may have been, there is no reason to suspect that the sportsmen-legislators were other than sincere in their efforts to introduce to the province some game conservation measures. That they neglected to regulate the trapping of fur bearers until the end of the century

may be attributed to the fact that fur bearers were not considered game by sportsmen. Apparently the legislators did not foresee the possible ill-effects of competition from free traders on the fur-bearing populations. And perhaps they did not see the connection between gold discoveries and the arrival of free traders in the fur business.

Gold prospecting and mining were essentially summer occupations. To ensure a more stable income, enterprising gold-seekers and the people who served them--traders, expressmen, and owners of transport systems--often began trading in furs and other animal products during the winter. This activity began on the coast from vessels during the colonial period as a carryover from the maritime fur trade era.<sup>59</sup> But very soon free traders commenced operations in the interior. By the mid-1870's they had followed the gold rushes from the Cariboo to those in the Peace, Omineca, Skeena, Stikine, and Dease River districts.<sup>60</sup>

The value of furs and hides exported in 1868 has been estimated at \$210 000, and in 1869 at \$250 584.<sup>61</sup> In 1871 the value of fur and hide exports declared at the customs was \$246 387.<sup>62</sup> From this time the export value of land furs remained fairly constant throughout the following three decades,<sup>63</sup> although the market value of fur decreased in London and other European markets beginning with the economic depression of the 1870's until

it "reached catastrophic depths and remained there for a decade after 1884."<sup>64</sup> Because of the poor European market, the constancy in the export value of furs could have been maintained only by a significant increase in the number of pelts sold. Since Victoria dealers exported their furs to the United States, the export statistics reveal that the free traders, who sold their furs in Victoria, rivalled and often exceeded the Hudson's Bay Company in the total value of land furs exported annually throughout this era.<sup>65</sup>

The higher prices paid to the free traders were, of course, to their competitive advantage. The Hudson's Bay Company's competitiveness was inhibited by a strict London tariff. Consequently an economic environment, ready for exploitation by entrepreneurial traders, was created in north-western Canada. Some traders built posts and invested heavily in the desired trade goods, and because of the higher market price in Victoria, they could afford to offer prices for certain furs at a loss to enable them to receive most or all of an Indian trapper's furs, including the coveted pelts.<sup>66</sup> The result of this highly competitive trading among the free traders and between the free traders and the established company was a substantial reduction in fur bearer populations, particularly that of beaver. The decrease was most acute in the more heavily populated areas due to competition from white trappers; Indians in the northern

districts generally retained control of their hunting territories.<sup>67</sup>

Finally, in 1896, the government moved to protect beaver, marten, and land otter by forbidding any person from hunting or trapping them between April 1 and November 1.<sup>68</sup> The prime season for the pelts was left open. Nevertheless, it appears that beaver continued to be depleted. In 1905, the Conservative government of Richard McBride placed a six-year closed season on beaver. This amendment forbade anyone from, not only taking, killing and trapping beaver, but also from possessing untanned pelts for six years from August 1, 1905.<sup>69</sup> This drastic measure did not have to be so severe. However this concern for the conservation of species other than game species does indicate a slight shift in emphasis. Not only game species, but all of British Columbia's mammals, birds, and fish were becoming the subject of scientific study by naturalists, both amateur and professional.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century there was growing interest throughout the western world in what was known as natural history. The extirpation and extinction of some well-known animal species, and the advent of continental railway systems and steamships, which expedited the shipping of animals, gave rise to a proliferation of naturalists, zoological gardens, natural history museums, and finally, the conservation movement as

typified by the founding of the Sierra Club in 1892.

All of these factors had an influence on the conservation of wildlife in British Columbia, since it was only with investigation and scientific study of all the species and their habitat that adequate conservation measures could be implemented.

The first recorded specimen collection of animals from provincial territory, other than that done by eighteenth century Spanish and British naval scientific expeditions, was carried out by the Hudson's Bay Company. During his 1824-25 trip to the Columbia, George Simpson directed that mountain goat and sheep specimens be sent to a Mr. Sabine in England.<sup>70</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company's cooperation with zoologists continued throughout the nineteenth century. In 1893 the factor at Fort St. James, Alexander C. Murray, wrote that he had packed the skulls for shipping to Professor C.H. Merriam, an eminent American biologist.<sup>71</sup>

In 1886 the government appointed John Fannin as the first collector and curator of the new provincial museum.<sup>72</sup> Fannin had come to British Columbia from Canada in 1862 with the McMicking party of Overlanders. He spent some years in the Cariboo and then settled in New Westminster in 1870 as a custom shoe-maker. At the same time, he devoted energy to his other interests: hunting, taxidermy, studying natural history, guiding hunters to Howe Sound

and Knight Inlet, playing the cornet, and composing music. In 1873 he did survey work on the lower Fraser for the government, and the following year he explored the upper Stikine--a horrendous trip according to accounts. Fannin's valuable collection of mounted birds and animals formed the basis of the museum collection when it was first displayed in the main building of the "Birdcages" in 1887. Fannin continued to add to this collection, through his own efforts and that of other hunters, and of the members of the British Columbia Natural History Society which he helped to organize in 1890.<sup>73</sup> John Fannin wrote and published many papers on natural history. He had named for him a sub-species of thin-horned sheep, *Ovis dalli fannini*, which is a colour variant between the Dall and Stone sheep. By the time Fannin died in 1904, after a lengthy illness, he was a naturalist known and respected throughout the continent by his colleagues in the field of natural history.

Like John Fannin, many of the American naturalists interested in British Columbia fauna were primarily hunters. One of these was Andrew J. Stone who hunted to collect specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. He made three trips to the Cassiar region of British Columbia between 1896 and 1902 and collected hundreds of specimens.<sup>74</sup> As a result of these trips two sub-species of sheep were

described: the Stone sheep, *Ovis dalli stonei* and the Dall sheep, *Ovis dalli dalli*. Stone also discovered a new species of caribou, *Rangifer osborni*. Because of Stone's expeditions much of British Columbia's fauna became well-known to the eastern American zoological fraternity and the subject of scientific study.

Subsequent to Stone's hunting and collecting trips in the north was a trip made in 1905 by biologist William T. Hornaday of the New York Zoological Society and his partner, John M. Phillips, Pennsylvania State Game Commissioner, who came to the East Kootenay to hunt and collect specimens, both live and dead. They returned to the United States with trophies for the Carnegie Museum and five live mountain goats, captured near Fort Steele and destined for the New York Zoo.<sup>75</sup> (Live goats had been caught from the same area in 1898 and sold in 1901 to the Zoological Society of London.) While he was in the Kootenays, Hornaday spoke to a meeting of the Fernie Game Protective Association. He told the assembly that the hunter's bag limit in British Columbia should be smaller and that more money had to be put into provincial game protection.<sup>76</sup> He fully supported the association in its bid to the government to set aside land between the Bull and Elk Rivers as a game preserve. This was prestigious support indeed for an earnest group of amateur naturalists.

However, the greatest influence these hunter-naturalists had at this time on the general conservation of wildlife in British Columbia was in publicizing the province's attractive hunting opportunities.<sup>77</sup> European residents in British Columbia--entrepreneurs like Warburton Pike, the famous English explorer-prospecter-railway promoter and writer, and his partner, Lord Osborne Beauclerk (later the Duke of St. Albans)--also promoted the hunting attractions among the European sporting fraternity. Hunting and conserving may seem contradictory terms but without the revenue brought in by hunters directly to the government through licenses, and indirectly through payments to guides and for outfitting there would have been little enforcement of conservation measures in the twentieth century, no matter how many laws were passed.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the concern for wildlife protection ceased to be confined to an elite group of sportsmen and their political colleagues. Even this group knew that the general population would have to be involved; towns and railways were mushrooming all over the southern regions and the indiscriminate slaughter of wildlife had not stopped. Yet sportsmen still provided the leadership for general involvement. One example of this leadership was the formation of a new association, the British Columbia Game Protective Association, in Victoria,

which began with fifty members.<sup>78</sup> The members' desire to establish a more broadly-based organization is revealed in their name choice of the British Columbia Game Protective Association, and in setting a membership fee of only one dollar. With a large membership this association hoped to provide game wardens for "different parts of the province, with powers of provincial constables, so as to co-operate in having the game laws carried out as effectively as possible."<sup>79</sup> It appears that this association and a similar one formed in Vancouver by 1897 were partially successful in achieving this objective, for by 1905 there were salaried wardens provided by these game protective associations.<sup>80</sup>

A 1900 petition, signed by 235 residents of the province and addressed to the Legislative Assembly, urged better enforcement of the game laws, increased penalties for infractions, and the requirement of a gun licence of not more than three dollars per annum to enable the government to provide adequate "police protection" of the game.<sup>81</sup> This petition was followed by another one from Victoria in 1901 requesting the appointment of a salaried game warden and the allotment of money for deputies.<sup>82</sup> The pressure on the government for effective law enforcement was mounting and spreading.

By this time strong game protective associations and rod-and-gun clubs were organized in Fernie, Chilliwack, Ladner, Ashcroft, Kamloops, and Nelson.<sup>83</sup> But support for better protection of game was now forthcoming from the general public as well. In 1905, five communities in the Kootenays sent in long petitions to the legislature requesting better game protection.<sup>84</sup> The petitioners deplored the possible extermination of game because of continual forest fires, indiscriminate slaughter, and inadequate protection. They felt that the fish and game of the Kootenays offered great inducements to tourists and, unless this resource was protected, the province would lose the benefits derived from these tourists. The petitioners capped their argument with the proposal that many citizens would willingly serve as game wardens without remuneration.

This last concession points to the severity of game depletion in that district, particularly by market hunters who ignored the laws. Whether or not these last petitions, most of which were signed at the beginning of the 1905 legislative session, greatly influenced the government's game legislation of that year is impossible to ascertain. Nevertheless, after years of increasing public pressure, well-articulated by sportsmen, the government finally decided to take steps to bring some order and direction to wildlife protection. In 1905 it established the office

of Provincial Game and Forest Warden whose incumbent was to be responsible for the development and enforcement of adequate and consistent game protective measures.

## CHAPTER 3

*WILDLIFE CONSERVATION UNDER BRITISH COLUMBIA'S  
FIRST GAME DEPARTMENT: 1905-1918*

It is doubtful that Richard McBride's Conservative government could have chosen a better man for the newly-created position of Provincial Game and Forest Warden, effective July 1, 1905, than A. Bryan Williams. Born in Ireland in 1866, Williams received a B.A. degree from Cambridge and began studying for a medical degree at Middlesex Hospital, London.<sup>1</sup> An outdoorsman, sport fishing enthusiast, and horseman, Williams could not envision himself confined to an indoor existence. Therefore, after two years at Middlesex, he abandoned the idea of a medical career and, he migrated to North America in 1888. British Columbia was to be a stop enroute to Wyoming, where Williams hoped to indulge his passion for horses. But the economic and sporting opportunities of the province, as well as its beauty, enticed Williams to make his home in British Columbia. He tried homesteading on Nicomen Island but gave it up to travel the province and to work in the mine fields. At the time of his appointment, Williams was managing the Atlin Lake Mining Company at Atlin, a position that paid him twice his future salary as

Provincial Game Warden.<sup>2</sup> That, in itself, is an indication of the importance Williams ascribed to his new position.

Williams had been chosen to fill the position of Provincial Game Warden before the amendment creating it had passed. His interest in hunting, fishing, and wildlife conservation was well-known to the members of the game protective associations; it was they who recommended Williams for the position.<sup>3</sup> The government agreed with the choice, and for the first time in British Columbia, one man was in the position to shape and give direction to government wildlife conservation measures.

Williams' comprehensive and carefully written annual reports reveal that he regarded wildlife as one of the major economic assets of the province. To enhance its economic importance and for ethical reasons, Williams believed that wildlife should be increased and improved. He argued that those who profited from the use of wildlife should underwrite expenses incurred by the government in the conservation and improvement of the stock of valuable species. Besides appealing to the budget-cutters of the legislature, a self-sustaining game department would stress the economic value of wildlife. Williams perceived a monetary value from big game hunting far beyond the income generated by hunters, trappers, and fishermen.

He maintained that good hunting encouraged wealthy European sportsmen to hunt and invest in British Columbia, and that other prospective immigrants, attracted by the province's sporting privileges, would choose it as a permanent home.<sup>4</sup> To promote these attractions, Williams initiated correspondence with European and North American sporting magazines, with zoological societies, with known sportsmen, with game commissions--sometimes ostensibly for other reasons, but always including a few words about the allurements of big game hunting in British Columbia. His most ambitious promotional effort was the exhibition of British Columbia trophies in Vienna and Glasgow in 1910.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, Williams warned the government that these tourists would not return if they observed blatant violations of the game act. To reduce the violations more money had to be expended on law enforcement.<sup>6</sup>

From the time he made his first report, Williams used such credible arguments and others to persuade legislators to allot more money for game protection. In 1905 the monetary assistance from the government was almost nil, an indication that McBride's government regarded Williams' position as politically expedient rather than necessary. Although the 1905 amendment charged Williams to give his attention to game, forestry, and fish, to conduct prosecutions and to enforce laws related to these resources, he was not

voted funds to carry out his duties until 1908.<sup>7</sup> Apparently, monies for necessary expenses came from general funds. Williams' voluminous correspondence, frequent absences on trips of inspection, on visits to his minister in Victoria and game associations in many places greatly increased his workload,<sup>8</sup> but the government did not provide him with secretarial help until 1907.<sup>9</sup> There is no doubt the government was depending on help from various game associations in appointing temporary game wardens. In 1905, the associations hired sixteen wardens for the more settled areas; those appointed by the Vancouver and Victoria associations certainly received salaries, and perhaps some others also did.<sup>10</sup>

Williams welcomed all the assistance he could get from the game associations, not only in hiring deputy wardens, but in instituting conservation measures. He encouraged them to petition the government to establish more organized districts and to request the licencing of resident hunters to carry firearms. For his part, Williams seriously considered the suggestions put forth from the associations and individuals as to open and closed seasons--although he did not hesitate to arbitrarily set seasons when there was disagreement among hunters in one area over the dates. Still he often heeded the advice of association members about the selection of

government deputy game wardens, which the government began to appoint in 1907.<sup>11</sup> In this year the government appointed only three deputy game wardens. Based at Athelmar, Fernie, and Lillooet, they performed patrol duty with good results.<sup>12</sup> In other areas, fire wardens, already under salary, acted as game wardens too, an unsatisfactory arrangement because a fire warden would have to give his full attention to forest fires when they occurred.<sup>13</sup> However, the good performance of the three game wardens beyond the heavily populated areas, demonstrated that game protection in British Columbia in 1907 was, to paraphrase Bryan Williams, past the fad or experimental stage.<sup>14</sup>

Williams reasoned correctly that government policies (that is, his) would only be effective if, along with more money and more deputies, all the settled areas of the province were organized into districts. In 1906 only the electoral districts of Greenwood, Grand Forks, Similkameen, Kamloops, Okanagan, and Fernie (in addition to cities and municipalities) were organized.<sup>15</sup> It seems there was much abuse of the exemption privileges the unorganized districts offered to certain groups of people. For example, nonresidents took out free-miners' licenses to evade the \$50 game licence, and residents did likewise when they wished to kill game out of season. As well, Indians in many areas continued to market hunt out of season;

particularly on Vancouver Island, when Indians killed elk for the tooth market in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

To persuade legislators that the government should shoulder much more responsibility for game conservation, Williams realized he would have to demonstrate that the game department could support itself through direct revenue. From the beginning he advocated an increase in the \$50 big game fees for nonresident hunters.<sup>17</sup> In 1908, the nonresident fee was raised to \$100,<sup>18</sup> and in 1909 a spring bear hunt nonresident fee of \$25 was introduced.<sup>19</sup> The following year, the first nonresident angler's fee of \$5 was brought into effect.<sup>20</sup> However the 269 nonresident tourists who fished or hunted in the province in 1910 could not provide the revenue needed for adequate game protection.<sup>21</sup> Williams felt that resident hunters also should help to finance the conservation measures he wanted to put into effect.

The most obvious means by which residents could contribute, and the one Williams sought from the beginning, was to require all who carried firearms for hunting to buy a licence. To overcome resistance to the proposal, he appealed directly to individuals and associations whom he thought might be sympathetic to the need to raise revenue for game conservation.<sup>22</sup> For example, to persuade bird hunters, Williams argued that the government could not

be expected to spend money on the protection of game birds if it did not receive revenue from the resident hunters.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time Williams was gathering support for a resident firearms licence for hunting, he also was considering a guide's licence. In this, he worked more cautiously; he knew he needed the support of the guides. He had to approach a few of them delicately. These were the ones who were probably good guides in all other respects, but who treated the game laws cavalierly because they considered the game act to be drawn up chiefly for townspeople. In viewing the game laws in such a manner, they ignored the fact that they usually guided nonresidents who had no excuse for not adhering to the game laws.<sup>24</sup>

Williams used persuasive arguments to win their support. In a typical letter he explained to W.G. Manson, a Lillooet guide and son of a Hudson's Bay Company trader, his reasons for a guide's licence.

My idea is to have a license (not to exceed five dollars) make it necessary for hunting parties to employ none but guides with a license and for the guides to make an affidavit as to the number and sex of the game killed.

. . . This is an advantage to all genuine guides for the following reasons.

It gives guides a hold over the hunters so that they can prevent them killing game illegally without any ground of complaint.

It places on record the skill of the guides in obtaining game.

It will place me in touch with all guides and will show me who are the genuine men and who are the fakes . . . .

It will act as a sort of guides association as all names will be published in my report at the end of the season.<sup>25</sup>

By knowing who the "genuine" guides were in all parts of the province, Williams would be able to fill the role of tourist agent and recommend guides to prospective hunters with confidence.<sup>26</sup>

After eight years of such appeals by Williams to guides, hunters, and legislators, the government finally amended the game act to implement Williams' recommendations, which were fully supported by Attorney General Bowser.<sup>27</sup> The 1913 amendment required resident hunters and guides to take out annual licences.<sup>28</sup> Thereafter the resident hunter's licence to carry firearms became the major source of revenue to fund conservation measures. The guide's licence also contributed to conservation because of certain requirements attached to it. First a guide made certain that the party he guided held the required hunting licence. And secondly, he submitted to the game department a statement showing the numbers of hunters he guided, the number of hunting days, and the number and species of animals killed.<sup>29</sup> Before 1913 Williams had

asked government agents for such information. Now he had reliable and accurate figures on nonresident hunting and guiding in the province. This was very valuable information for Williams as the province's chief conservationist and tourist agent.

Another of the 1913 amendments, and one long overdue, was the \$10 trapper's licence which allowed the holder to hunt and trap. The licences sold did not give a true picture of the number of trappers because Indians were not required to buy licences, and there were ten times as many Indian trappers as there were white trappers.<sup>30</sup> However another section required every person who bought, sold, or traded in furs or skins of wild animals to make an annual return to the Provincial Game Warden stating the number and species of pelts purchased.<sup>31</sup> This requirement was a good attempt to enumerate the annual take of fur bearers in order to regulate it. And it was passed in time to enumerate and control the take of beaver on which there was now an open winter season.

Although Williams concurred with the government's action in placing the six-year ban on the taking and bartering of beaver, the Hudson's Bay Company did not. The company's solicitors wrote to the provincial secretary explaining that the ban was unwarranted in the north where beaver were not exploited.<sup>32</sup> They argued that:

. . . the beaver itself is amply protected by the Indians themselves, who regard this animal as their principal resource for a livelihood. Different parts of the country from time immemorial have by mutual consent, or understanding, been allotted to the various Chiefs and head men of tribes who only, either kill a limited number for themselves, or permit others on their preserves to kill a limited number. This practice has scrupulously observed, with the result that for many years past in the outlying portions of the Province which still are only inhabited by Indians there has been no apparent diminution of Beaver, the Beaver being one of the chief items of his livelihood. There is no other animal which can take its place as an article of food or in respect of its commercial value as fur.<sup>33</sup>

In another letter written a week later, the lawyers suggested that, if the north were left open for trapping beaver, the white trappers were unlikely to move in because:

. . . The Indians jealously guard what they conceive to be their undoubted hunting rights in their part of the country, and which they have exercised from time immemorial and interference from white trappers will surely lead to trouble, and has done so in the past in the few instances where white trappers have attempted to take beaver.

. . . The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company since its inception has been in the direction of proper preservation of fur bearing animals, and the Government can safely rely on their continued active co-operation to this end in any reasonable measure of protection.<sup>34</sup>

The final argument was perhaps the most convincing. The solicitors wrote that if an Order-in-Council superseded tribal laws and customs, the lack of enforcement officers would lead to indiscriminate slaughter of beaver and the

sale of pelts in other provinces. (It was comparatively easy to evade British Columbia game laws by using Alberta, the Yukon, and even Alaska as markets.)

Williams agreed that the northern Indians did protect beaver "to a certain extent," but he contended that, if the ban did not cover the whole province, white men would want the same privileges as the Indians.<sup>35</sup> This would lead to trouble. It is apparent that the company's argument carried more weight; an Order-in-Council exempted the Indians, and those who traded with them, living north of an east-west line drawn through a point at the junction of the Blackwater and Fraser Rivers--between the 53<sup>o</sup> and the 54<sup>o</sup> parallels of latitude.<sup>36</sup> But the exemption lasted only two years, probably because the boundary line was impossible to enforce, and it would have been difficult to prevent the Indians living south of this line from selling furs north of it.

The full provincial closure on beaver trapping, which began in 1907, presented the strong probability that pelts would be sold outside the province. Williams sought the cooperation of the North West Mounted Police in Whitehorse and the Chief Game Guardian of Alberta.<sup>37</sup> Alberta, in 1907, put a closed season on beaver south of the 55th parallel, to be in effect until 1912. This closely corresponded with British Columbia's closed season. But

enforcement in the Peace River district of British Columbia would have been difficult.

The six-year ban was indeed an over-reaction to the depletion of beaver in certain areas only, as is evident by the fast repopulation rate. As early as 1908 Williams wrote about the astounding growth of beaver colonies in southern areas.<sup>38</sup>

The closed season on beaver came to an end on November 1, 1911. Williams, even in 1910, did not recommend an extension. In his opinion more annual closed seasons would cause the valleys of the province "to become a mass of beaver-dams."<sup>39</sup> But, because of the extensive trapping done when the season opened on beaver, an Order-in-Council in 1912 declared another closed season, to be in effect until November 15, 1913. The Indians of the Stikine, Liard, and Peace districts were exempted from this closure.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to beaver, the protection of hare, land otter and marten continued under Williams. The 1914 game act, the first act to open seasons on protected animals rather than close them, added fox, marten, fisher, mink, muskrat, racoon and weasel (ermine) to the list of fur bearers seasonally protected.<sup>41</sup>

Bear had the dubious distinction of being considered both a fur bearer and a trophy animal--and sometimes, near settlements, a pest. Although Williams regarded the black

bear and grizzly as trophy animals, bears were trapped as fur bearers and their pelts sold as fur throughout his tenure. Williams could not see the sense of allowing a grizzly to be killed in a trap for its pelt which would bring only \$50 for the trapper when a big game hunter would pay from \$500 to \$1000 for a bear hunt.<sup>42</sup> Unlike other trophy animals, a bag limit was never placed on either species of bear during Williams' tenure. Its only protection was a short closed season introduced in 1911.<sup>43</sup>

The larger predatory fur bearers--lynx, cougar, wolves, and coyotes--were not protected. In fact the government continued to pay bounties on cougar and wolves in settled areas. In his second report Williams pointed out that game was as economically valuable to the province as domestic stock; he suggested that the wolf bounty be extended to unsettled districts and that both wolf and cougar bounties be raised.<sup>44</sup> From this time predator control was considered a standard provincial game protective measure. Williams also advocated the poisoning of golden eagles in the sheep and goat ranges. The following year, reports of an alarming number of wolves in certain areas of British Columbia, particularly on Vancouver Island and in the Cassiar, resulted in the bounty being raised to \$5 in 1907 and extended to cover the province.<sup>45</sup> The wolves were so thick around Quatsino that parents hesitated

to send their children to school.<sup>46</sup> In 1910 the wolf bounty was increased to \$15,<sup>47</sup> and a bounty was placed on coyotes, probably for the first time in the province.<sup>48</sup> But the increased bounty on wolves did not lessen the wolf predations of deer and wapiti on the northwest coast of Vancouver Island. Not until 1914, after wolf poisoning was introduced to that area, were wolf populations reduced to a manageable level.<sup>49</sup>

The first deliberate destruction of noxious birds was reported in 1908 when deputy game wardens and some guides were given poison to assist them in the destruction of eagles (and coyotes) in the Lillooet sheep ranges.<sup>50</sup> By 1910 bounties were being paid for the killing of the golden eagle and the great-horned owl; bounties on the latter, Williams believed, had some effect on the increase of grouse in the interior.<sup>51</sup> There is no doubt that Williams believed in the benefit of a bounty program to game. In his 1911 report, Williams credited the government's broadening of the bounty system with saving the lives of thousands of birds and animals.<sup>52</sup> The government acknowledged Williams's game expertise by turning over to him, in 1912, the supervision of bounty payments.<sup>53</sup>

Williams believed that the control of predators was an adequate measure to prevent the depletion of a game population in any one area. He also was of the opinion that

game preserves were the best means to repopulate an area which was already badly depleted in game. He noted that animals in preserves (reserves) often became tame, and in this condition, they were tourist attractions for non-hunters.<sup>54</sup> Williams' obsession with wildlife as a tourist attraction is again evident.

In 1907 the government, at Williams' urging, set up the first provincial game reserve. It was the Yalakom Reserve in the Lillooet district, created to protect all the animals in that area, but chiefly the sheep. Williams assigned a full-time warden to the reserve.<sup>55</sup> In 1908 the Fernie District Game Protective Association finally realized its prime goal with the formation of the Elk River Reserve. It was ostensibly for the protection of an assortment of species: goats, sheep, wapiti, mule deer, grizzly and black bear.<sup>56</sup> However the underlying motive for the reserve was to prevent the Stoney Indians of Alberta from conducting hunting forays in the area.<sup>57</sup> The third reserve resulted when the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the consequent boom in Fort George was followed closely by reports of moose slaughter. Williams requested that a deputy game warden be sent to Fort George.<sup>58</sup> The government moved further than this; in 1910 it set up a game reserve in the area. It included the Clearwater and Little Smoky River valleys and

mainly protected moose, caribou and goats.<sup>59</sup>

Most contemporary biologists do not agree with the naturalists of Williams' era regarding the value of game reserves as conservation devices. There are many reasons why a reserve may not fulfill its purpose. To begin with, the animals outside the boundaries may eventually arrive at carrying capacity so the exodus from the reserve will just add to the surplus. Depending upon the topography, the surplus outside the reserve may move inside it. It does not always happen that surplus animals in a reserve migrate outside it. Often they stay in and die. Dr. James Hatter contends that "Big game reserves seldom have proven successful as a game management practice and rarely are used as a substitute for good sustained-yield management of a total area."<sup>60</sup> Biologists' reservations regarding the conservation value of game reserves notwithstanding, the well-patrolled Elk River Game Reserve was most likely the chief reason Stoney Indians eventually ceased their poaching. Likewise it is highly likely the three reserves served notice to all citizens that the government was now serious in its efforts to conserve game throughout the province.

The act of the Stoney Indians poaching in British Columbia illustrates the serious border enforcement problems which confronted Williams. The Stoney Indians

were not the only hunters who border-hopped, but they received the most publicity. Although it had been unlawful for nonresident Indians to hunt in the province since 1898,<sup>61</sup> no concerted effort was made to stop them until Williams' appointment. With the help of the Royal North West Mounted Police and patrols by deputy game wardens, resulting in a few apprehensions,<sup>62</sup> Williams was able to report in 1908 that no Stoney Indians had hunted in the province that year.<sup>63</sup>

In areas bordering the states of Washington and Montana, it was very difficult to prevent American bird hunters from poaching. However, placing a deputy game warden near Sumas to collect the \$5 licence fees from the Americans reduced illegal raids on ducks and other birds.<sup>64</sup> And the patrols in the East Kootenay kept a watch on the entry of market hunters from Alberta. These were the first attempts to patrol the borders and, like all new measures, they took time to become effective.

In the north, poaching by Alaskans was a problem. Trappers and hunters, both Indian and white, crossed the boundary on the Taku and Stikine Rivers to poach on Canadian territory. The Indians, of course, were trapping on their ancestral lands. The situation of the Taku was never resolved in this period. In 1916 Williams reported that alien trappers and hunters still were taking a heavy

toll of the fur bearers and game in the Atlin area.<sup>66</sup> Illegal trapping was almost as difficult to prevent on the Stikine, chiefly because no government official of any kind lived closer than 130 miles from the border. Arrangements were made for the customs collector, C.A. Tervo, who was then stationed at Glenora, to be moved to the boundary and take on the positions of deputy game warden and of provincial constable.<sup>67</sup> He was hampered in his duties by having to use a rowboat instead of a motor boat for patrols.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, an official Canadian presence at the border may have prevented some poaching.

Another area where poaching caused much distress, to the game wardens and provincial constables trying to prevent it, was the coast of British Columbia. It was impossible to catch the Americans hunting and fishing on the coast; they used fast boats and the few wardens and constables had only row-boats. In 1907 Williams requested a fast launch for the game department. A gasoline launch was built for the 1909 season, and by 1910 there was a marked improvement in the observation of game laws on the coast.<sup>69</sup>

Although not a border problem in the usual sense, Williams also had to deal with the slaughter of deer, allegedly for market purposes, by Chilcotin Indians on Shuswap land. The Shuswaps complained to the government agent who wrote of these complaints to F.S. Hussey, the

Superintendent of the Provincial Police; he added that if the tribal laws were still in effect there would have been a war between the two tribes long before.<sup>70</sup> Williams appointed a game warden to Lillooet and sent patrols throughout that area and into Chilcotin country.<sup>71</sup> The situation appeared to be under control by 1910.<sup>72</sup>

The great effort and money put into the conservation of indigenous species by the game department and the game protective associations did not divert sportsmen from improving the stock of exotic animals in the province. During the early game department years the initiative for importation continued to come from the sportsmen, but as time went on the government became more actively involved.

The first major importation after Williams' appointment was that of black game and capercaillie. Both of these large members of the grouse family were imported from Denmark by real estate and insurance agent, J. Musgrave and solicitor F.M. Chaldecott, and put down on Nicomen Island, on some gulf islands, near the north arm of Burrard Inlet, and at Lake Cowichan.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, these birds did not take hold in British Columbia. The upland game birds that had been imported in the pre-1905 era generally were doing well, but in 1907, Williams recommended the addition of new stock to the 1000 grey

partridges (Hungarian) because they were becoming inbred.<sup>74</sup> He also advised that new blood be introduced to the pheasant stock as the hens were producing barren eggs and all the birds lacked stamina and were underweight. This could not be attributed to an unreasonably severe winter since farmers fed many pheasants. Consequently, some sportsmen responded. Mr. A.E. Todd had hatched, at his own expense, and released in 1908, a total of 167 partridges on Vancouver and Sidney Islands.<sup>75</sup> In 1909, H.L. Todd and J.L. Todd imported partridges as did the Chilliwack Game Association.<sup>76</sup> And, in the same year, other sportsmen, accepting Williams' theory regarding the inherent weakness in the pheasant stock, imported some mongolian ring-necked pheasants.<sup>77</sup> The birds were put under the care of a deputy game warden on a few leased acres for acclimatization, with the costs borne by the government. Eventually they were turned out at various locations on Vancouver Island and the mainland.

Cost-sharing arrangements were not exactly to Williams' liking. In his 1909 report, Williams put it bluntly to the government that a few men year after year had borne most of the cost of the introduction and improvement of exotic bird species, and that it was time for the government to take entire control of the breeding and liberation of these birds.<sup>78</sup> In 1916 Williams was more

specific about government participation. He advised the government to invest in several pheasant farms to acclimatize several thousand pheasants from China and to provide a hatchery to enable 2000 to 3000 birds to be released annually.<sup>79</sup> Williams believed that regular restocking would alleviate the problem of pheasant population fluctuations. This time the government did heed his advice by opening a game bird farm at Saanich in 1918, the year it terminated Williams' services.<sup>80</sup> The farm operated until 1933.<sup>81</sup>

It was probably in 1910 that the first wild turkeys (two pairs) were imported in exchange for the export of two mountain goats. One pair was sent to Cranbrook and the other to Stanley Park.<sup>82</sup> There were several importations of wild turkey after this date. One of them was carried out by a syndicate of sportsmen who bought James Island in 1910.<sup>83</sup> This group included Lieutenant-Governor T.W. Patterson,<sup>84</sup> Premier Richard McBride, H.E. Young, the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education, and A.E. Todd of the fish-packing family.<sup>85</sup> The James Island shooting preserve, and others like it, indicate a continuation of the British country life-style begun in colonial times.

The Victoria-based Natural History Society of British Columbia also tried to perpetuate the ambience of the

English countryside with another major importation of English skylarks in 1913.<sup>86</sup> The society again received monetary help from the government. But Williams discouraged future governmental aid. He maintained that song bird importations were futile because the birds live in the immediate vicinity of cultivated lands which were "alive with vermin," particularly crows and domestic cats.<sup>87</sup>

Following the lead of a member of the James Island group, Irving Wheatcroft, who released imported fallow deer on that island about 1895,<sup>88</sup> Bryan Williams turned his attention to filling ecological gaps with members of the deer family, both indigenous and exotic.

Williams' first effort in this area was the transplantation in 1911 of several deer from near Prince Rupert to the Queen Charlotte Islands which lacked deer.<sup>89</sup> The 1911 stock, which bred during their first year on the islands, and thirteen more deer, which were transplanted the following year, make up the ancestral stock of deer on the Queen Charlotte Islands.<sup>90</sup>

Williams also looked into the possibility of importing red deer to the province. His attempt to purchase stock from Great Britain was thwarted by an embargo placed on them because of foot-and-mouth disease among sheep in parts of Great Britain.<sup>91</sup> But, with the help of a big game hunter from New Zealand who had had a very satisfactory

hunt in British Columbia, the province received a red deer family of four fawns, one stag, and three hinds.<sup>92</sup> The hunter not only arranged for the capturing and shipping of the deer, but he paid for all of this too. The animals were acclimatized at Burnaby Prison Park, and in 1916 Williams reported they were doing well and that one fawn had been born.<sup>93</sup> In 1918 they were released near Masset on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and by the 1940's became a "fair-sized herd" which subsequently declined.<sup>94</sup> There are no recent reports of any red deer on the islands.<sup>95</sup>

During 1914, the year of the red deer importation, the government also imported wapiti from Wyoming and from Tacoma to replenish indigenous stock. They were acclimatized on the government farm at Coquitlam and at the Burnaby Prison Park,<sup>96</sup> and they were released in 1918 near Bridge River in the Lillooet district.<sup>97</sup> These successful efforts may have compensated Bryan Williams for the frustrating arguments with the federal government over another international matter--the proposed terms of the Migratory Bird Treaty, which was being discussed at the same time.

Sportsmen and naturalists had long recognized that provincial and state regulations of the killing of migratory birds had little effect if other habitats of the same birds

did not have similar enforced regulations. The hunting of birds for food and for the lucrative millinery industry took a heavy toll of many species.<sup>98</sup> Consequently, in 1913, the United States passed the Weeks Maclean Bill, an agricultural appropriations bill which had, attached to it, a clause placing migratory birds under the care of the federal government, despite the fact that natural resources are a part of the states' jurisdiction as they are of the provinces. American conservationists realized that the only way the federal custody of migratory birds could be uncontested would be to effect an international treaty with Great Britain (for Canada) to regulate the harvest of migratory birds. The need for such a treaty became more urgent when the U.S. Department of Agriculture discovered that all the birds to be protected by the Weeks Maclean Act bred and nested in Canada.<sup>99</sup>

The United States government submitted a draft treaty to the Canadian government. The Parks Branch and the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior approved of it and sent copies to the provincial governments for their consideration.<sup>100</sup> In brief, the draft provided for a set open hunting season of three and one-half months' duration to be chosen by each state and province within a longer period beginning September 1 and ending February 1.

During the next two years, as the terms of the proposed treaty became known by the province's sportsmen, opposition to it grew. By 1916 British Columbia's obstinacy was the only obstacle preventing the signing of this treaty.<sup>101</sup> In a letter to the Premier and Attorney General W.J. Bowser, Williams laid out the sportsmen's objections to the treaty.<sup>102</sup> The first was that game birds in the province were on the increase and a shorter season for fifteen years (the duration of the treaty) could result in an extraordinary increase and yet the province would still be bound by the treaty. Williams then expressed the concern of most residents; that the treaty benefited the American hunter to the detriment of the British Columbia hunter. He gave as an example the loss of spring goose hunting because the closed season would be in effect before many of the geese had migrated to the province. But Williams' strongest objection to the treaty was its unenforceability in much of North America, particularly in Alaska and the Yukon. As he wrote, "an army of game wardens" could not do it. Williams believed that in British Columbia, the game department, in attempting to enforce the provisions of the treaty, would not have the sympathy of the public. Consequently, public support for other game conservation measures would be weak.

In order to get the treaty signed, British Columbia was granted more exemptions than any other state or province. Among the exemptions was the discretionary right to set the dates of a number of open seasons, while still adhering to the total time allotment. The province was also exempted from the ten-year closed season on swans, cranes, and curlews.<sup>103</sup> Williams had argued that the province, having enforced its own closed season on swans, now had them in abundance. However, the right to a later opening date on brants and geese was not granted the province. The Treaty for International Protection of Migratory Birds was signed on August 16, 1916. The Canadian parliament ratified the treaty by passing the Migratory Birds Convention Act (assented to on August 29, 1917) which executed the provisions and articles of the treaty.<sup>105</sup>

The enforcement of a short open season on migratory birds was still a problem in the north, yet British Columbia's success in realizing most of its terms, and thus making the act more enforceable, should not be regarded lightly in view of the steam-roller tactics of the eastern conservationists and the usual eastern indifference to the special western conditions. According to Williams the impossibility of enforcing the articles of the treaty in the unsettled areas was not considered by Dr. Hornaday and the other conservationists because they had no practical

experience in making laws, much less in enforcing them.<sup>106</sup> As conservationist Janet Foster has written: "No doubt the Americans were displeased, and for bird lovers and preservationists in both countries, the concessions made for British Columbia must have been bitter pills to swallow."<sup>107</sup> However all conservationists, including Bryan Williams, could rejoice in the limitations on the sale of migratory game birds, and the year-long closed season on migratory insectivorous birds and their eggs, brought into effect in both countries. These prohibitions alone were worth the effort and years put into the treaty.

The other area of contention between the provincial and federal governments in this era was the fisheries. This time the initial action was taken by British Columbia. In 1901 the provincial government passed "An Act respecting the Fisheries of British Columbia" which empowered a Commission of Fisheries to regulate the licencing and taxing of commercial fisheries.<sup>108</sup> This act, also disallowed any means of fishing, other than angling to persons not holding a licence or lease.<sup>109</sup> An amendment in 1902 gave the powers of enforcement to provincial constables as ex-officio overseers.<sup>110</sup> Two years later, an amendment to the game act put a winter closed season on the taking of trout.<sup>111</sup> Clearly, the provincial government, in passing and implementing these acts, was in contravention of

the British North America Act, which placed fisheries under federal jurisdiction.

The province nevertheless did have some legitimate grievances regarding the federal government's protection of the fisheries. A general grievance was the lack of knowledge of local conditions exhibited by the federal government in drafting provincial regulations. The government had fishery overseers in the province, but they were more interested in coastal commercial fishing than in inland and sport fishing.<sup>112</sup> Most importantly, the federal government continually neglected to enforce its own laws, particularly in the interior where market fishing provided a livelihood for some residents.<sup>113</sup>

For nine years British Columbia refused to recognize the federal authority over fishing. In this stand, Williams concurred, particularly with respect to sport fishing. However, the province finally capitulated to constitutional pressure in 1910 by repealing all of its fishing regulations except the \$5 nonresident angler's licence.<sup>114</sup> At the same time the government decided not to enforce any federal fishing regulations.<sup>115</sup> It appears that this stalemate lasted for two years. In 1912 the deputy game wardens, enforcing the federal fisheries act, obtained eleven convictions--three of which were for polluting creeks.<sup>116</sup>

Throughout his tenure Williams remained convinced that the management of sport fisheries should be a provincial responsibility.<sup>117</sup> In 1916, he lamented the "almost complete extermination of tye salmon at Campbell River."<sup>118</sup> Except to enforce federal fishery laws, there was nothing the province or Williams could do for the fish.

For game and fur bearers, the provincial game department achieved, during Williams' thirteen years, a protective environment which prevented flagrant and damaging violations to the animal populations like those of the past. Even in 1913, Williams reported that there was "a notable increase of nearly all species of birds and animals."<sup>119</sup> This situation was a credit to Williams' initiative and hard work. His success in making the game department a revenue-producing branch of the government through licencing resulted in more full-time salaried deputy game wardens. Convictions for infractions of the game laws grew at an impressive rate.<sup>120</sup> This fact alone made it clear to the people that game protection was to be taken seriously.

In 1914 the government passed an entirely new bird and animal protective act.<sup>121</sup> Drafted by Williams, it was better organized than previous acts and apparently easier to enforce.<sup>122</sup> It incorporated the major 1913 changes regarding licences and reflected the province's entrance

into the modern age. The most notable new section was the prohibition of the sale or purchase of any parts of big game animals or game birds to or by any commercial establishment except in those areas exempted by Orders-in-Council.<sup>123</sup> In another section Williams intended to put a stop to pit-lamp hunting by closing the loop-holes of previous legislation.<sup>124</sup> Unfortunately, this severe law had no immediate effect on pit-lamp hunting. In 1915 one hundred head of farm stock were killed by pit-lamp hunters and several men had narrow escapes from their bullets.<sup>125</sup> Williams regretfully noted that, until magistrates imposed heavy fines, pit-lamp hunting would go on.<sup>126</sup> However, at this time Williams had a larger problem, the disruption to local game law enforcement brought about by the war.

By 1916, every unmarried deputy, and a great many married ones, had enlisted or offered themselves for service.<sup>127</sup> Four had been killed and several wounded.<sup>128</sup> Williams tried to fill the vacancies with returned soldiers, but many were not physically fit to do the job properly.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, some positions were left vacant for a time. Furthermore, deputies were needed for the north where before there had been none, essentially in the vicinities of Atlin and Fort St. James, and in the Peace River district.<sup>130</sup> In requesting the government for additional staff in his 1916 report, Williams was perhaps less than prudent, for

he no longer had the support of Premier Bowser and his Conservative government.

In 1916, Bowser's Conservative government had gone down to defeat by the Liberals, headed by Harlan C. Brewster, who campaigned to restore an economy ruined by the profligate Conservatives. Regardless of the political implications, Williams probably felt justified in his request for additional personnel because his department, in the three preceding years, had made a profit of approximately \$100 000 for the government.<sup>131</sup> However the greatest portion of the game department's expenditures was salaries, and it was here that the new government decided to cut expenses. To give the Liberal government credit, it appears it asked Bryan Williams for his opinion regarding the provincial police taking over deputy game warden duties and dispensing with the latter. In a memorandum of four and one-half long pages, Williams laid out his reasons against such a move.<sup>132</sup>

Referring to the possible economies of such a move, Williams first conceded that police officers did help the deputy game wardens, but since many more wardens were needed, more police would have to be appointed. But the chief reason Williams opposed the move was that such essential woods skills as horseback riding, snow-shoeing and an intimate knowledge of game and fur bearers were not neces-

sarily a part of a policeman's background or training. Even a policeman with such skills and knowledge was unlikely to leave his town posting unattended to patrol the wilderness. Quite possibly Williams spelled the end to his career with the Liberals by concluding that "An entire re-organization of the Department would therefore be necessary before any change in the present system of Game Protection could be made without disaster."<sup>133</sup>

The Brewster government paid no attention to Williams' argument and extended its retrenchment policy to the game department. In the fall of 1917, the government announced its intention to put the department in the hands of the police.<sup>134</sup> Consequently, a game amendment was passed by the Legislative Assembly during the 1918 session setting up a Game Conservation Board consisting of the Provincial Museum Curator, a Chief Game Inspector, and three other appointed members. None of these were to receive remuneration from these positions other than expenses. One of the staff of the British Columbia Provincial Police was to be the Chief Game Inspector and the Superintendent of the Provincial Police was to be, ex officio, the Provincial Game Warden.<sup>135</sup>

In one sweeping amendment the positions of the Provincial Game Warden and deputies were assumed by the provincial police. Each deputy was granted a gratuity in

accordance with his length of service, and a few were retained in government service as a part of the Provincial Police organization.<sup>136</sup> But there was no position for Williams as his views differed from those of the government.<sup>137</sup> During the interim between this position and a similar one with Tolmie's Conservative government, Bryan Williams earned his living by guiding big game hunters, writing articles for journals, and by writing a very popular sportsmen's book, *Game Trails of British Columbia*, which also was published in Germany.

In assessing the impact of the Williams' years on wildlife conservation, it must be reiterated that, in the early years, the government did not take Williams' position seriously. Until 1913, the game department operated under severe financial constraints; and until 1914, it operated in a province where the removal of exemptions to the game act was the option of the voters in any one electoral district. Even the statutory description of the position of Provincial Game and Forest Warden itself was a limited one. Besides giving his "entire time and attention" to the game, forestry and fishing interest, the provincial warden was to "conduct prosecutions and see that all laws having reference to game, forestry and fish" were enforced.<sup>138</sup> To put it briefly, he was to be merely the province's chief enforcer of forest and

wildlife protective laws.

Most likely Bryan Williams took one look at the description, forgot it and got on with the job as he saw it, which was not only to enforce laws but to make better ones and to recruit good men to enforce the laws. It was to learn about the condition of wildlife, to care for that which needed special attention and to enhance existing stocks. His job was to advertise the importance of this valuable and renewable resource to the people and government of the province and to outsiders. His job also was to inculcate respect for game among the potential exploiters through talking with people, setting up game reserves and prosecuting the worst offenders. He backed up those who laid charges. At least two titled persons were prosecuted; one of whom was Lord Lascelles. Titles did not impress Williams, ethical sportsmen did. In brief his job was to be a conservationist, a law writer and enforcer, a sportsman, an administrator, an accountant, and a public relations officer. Williams made that simple job description all of these things. He, more than any other man in British Columbia, put the province on the road to modern wildlife management.

*CONCLUSION*

The history of wildlife management in British Columbia begins with the Indian tribes of the pre-contact era. Conservation of popular species was only possible because the Indians recognized clan and family hunting and fishing monopoly rights. The first white traders arrived by sea to engage in the fiercely competitive sea otter trade. The result was the drastic decline of the sea otter within three decades, which happened because there was no monopoly control of the hunting or the trade of this marine animal. At the same time, the rivalry between the fur trade companies was threatening the beaver population in northeastern British Columbia. Fortunately for the beaver, the Hudson's Bay Company assumed monopoly control of the province's trade in 1821. The company set out to protect its borders from competition while encouraging the Indians to nurse the reduced beaver colonies back to the land's carrying capacity.

Throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly trading years, the Indians held their monopoly rights to hunting and fishing territories. It was only because the company could depend on the Indians themselves to regulate the beaver catch that the company did not have to impose as many

conservation measures in the Peace River as they did on the rest of the prairies.<sup>1</sup> And the Indians continued to enhance the environment for some plants and deer family members by setting forest fires--although environmental control is Aldo Leopold's chronologically last conservation measure.

The gold rush and the loss of the company's monopoly in 1858 set the stage for the uncontrolled killing of marketable species, particularly in the more populated southern areas. Legislative measures probably reduced market hunting for hides and horns, and for meat out of season, but they most certainly did not stop it. Neither were the major fur bearers given even a semblance of protection until the end of the nineteenth century. There was not enough money for adequate enforcement of the laws that were made. Furthermore, much of the province was still wilderness, and lawful hindrance of free-enterprise was almost a heresy in the frontier climate of the last century.

This frontier climate was at odds with the British-countryside environment some men strived to create on Vancouver Island, on some adjacent islands, and on the lower mainland. These men imported game birds, fallow deer, and song birds; they set up private hunting preserves and hired game guardians. They did all this before the institution of predator control to protect game and

the reservation of public game preserves--both of which, according to Leopold, usually precede artificial replenishment. In fact, predator control and public game preserves were inaugurated simultaneously in British Columbia. These variances can be attributed to the desire of the squire-sportsmen to impose the British sporting ambience on a part of the province and to the fact that they had the political clout to carry out this desire. The same men led the public to clamor for a provincial game warden who could give some validity to the game conservation laws. And it was the sportsmen's game protective associations which chose Bryan Williams, a British sportsman like many of themselves, to be the first incumbent of this position.

During his thirteen-year incumbency Williams continued the implementation of Leopold's first four steps. At the same time he extended the government's authority in the province and made that authority felt. Effective public regulation of wildlife management had begun. And for the first time since the monopoly fur trade days, wildlife conservation was in the care of a recognizable authority--the Provincial Game Warden as opposed to an amorphous government.

In order to obtain the full-time staff he needed to enforce laws and implement programs, Williams continually

emphasized the economic value of wildlife. But it was not until the government, upon William's urging, derived revenue from licence fees levied on resident users of wildlife that game protection became a firmly-entrenched government responsibility.

It is with irony that one considers the evolution of wildlife management in the early history of this province. The prevailing view that wildlife, as a publicly-owned resource, belongs to all citizens, and therefore everyone should have a say in its use and management, is contrary to the best management practices of the past. From the evidence presented in this paper it is apparent that game conservation measures were employed most assiduously by those who had a long-term vested interest in the harvest of the species protected. And conservation was most assured when the vested interest was protected by monopoly rights.

The best example of private monopoly rights to resources in early provincial history is the Indian monopoly system. Another example, albeit comparatively infinitesimal in size, are the private preserves of the immigrant sportsmen. The impact of these preserves should not be underestimated, however; it was on them and farms owned by the sportsmen that the earliest exotic species were acclimatized and propagated. Yet while this European system--a very sophisticated system--was in operation on

tiny acreages, government measures to conserve wildlife in the province was largely ineffectual. Effective management did not return to the province until wildlife became the sole responsibility of one government branch.

Management by government monopoly appears to be the ideal means of managing wildlife. Certainly it is the principal one in effect in North America. Using public funds, governmental control of wildlife habitat and harvest should reap maximum benefits to both animals and humans. The problem is that there are various attitudes towards, and divergent views about, the uses of wildlife and the habitat of wildlife. Because the government often is persuaded to respond to the most vociferous of the articulate public, wildlife management becomes a political football. Unwise management can be the result.

To this day the harvesters of wildlife--the hunters, the fishermen, and the trappers--contribute the larger share of the money spent on conservation. It is understandable that they feel their views should be given careful consideration by the government and its wildlife administration. And, because they are taxpayers, those who express interest in the nonconsumptive use of wildlife rightly believe that their views should carry considerable weight. Yet in this world of dwindling nonrenewable resources and growing human population, it

should be possible to manage wildlife with its harvest also for consumptive use in mind. It may be impossible for a government to satisfy two such divergent views--consumptive versus nonconsumptive--and all shades of opinion in between.

Perhaps a solution to the problem is a mixture of private and public monopoly. In an experimental effort the government could allow companies to lease hunting and/or fishing territories to which they would have monopoly or controlling rights. Each company, composed of people knowledgeable about wildlife management, would guarantee, in return for a long-term lease, properly managed wildlife resources. It would derive its revenue from both consumptive and nonconsumptive users, as it sees fit. Of course, the government department responsible for wildlife, and the legislature, would periodically investigate the state of affairs in a company's territory. Gross mismanagement would result in loss of licence. This system would be much like that under which the Hudson's Bay Company and the Upper Kootenay Indian fishermen operated. The closest modern parallels are the registered trap-line and the European game management system. Although there would be provision for government reserves, the libertarians and free-enterprisers may not approve of this mixture

of public and private control. But it has intriguing possibilities and may be worthy of experimentation.

## FOOTNOTES

*Introduction*

<sup>1</sup>James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup>Aldo Leopold, *Game Management* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), p. 3. The first edition was published in 1933.

<sup>4</sup>Private communication.

<sup>5</sup>Leopold, *Game Management*, pp. 4-5.

*Chapter I*

<sup>1</sup>Hereafter, the territory of the present province will be referred to as British Columbia, whether or not the territory had attained provincial status at the time.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson Duff, *The Impact of the White Man, The Indian History of British Columbia, Anthropology in British Columbia*, No. 5 (Victoria: Provincial Museum of Natural History Memoir and Anthropology, 1964), pp. 38-39.

<sup>3</sup>For an overview of hunting and fishing territory ownership by British Columbia Indians see D.S. Davidson, *Family Hunting Territories in Northwestern North America*, (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1928), pp. 5-34.

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Andover: Printed by Flagg and Gould, 1820), p. 379.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>6</sup>For the first recording of the encroachment see Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971), p. 140.

<sup>7</sup>G.T. Emmons, *The Tahltan Indians*, The Museum Anthropological Publications, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1911), p. 28.

<sup>8</sup>Albert P. Niblack, *The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia*, Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), p. 298.

<sup>9</sup>Davidson, *Family Hunting Territories*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>10</sup>Franz Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913-1914*, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), p. 1345.

<sup>11</sup>John R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, Vol. V, Part 1, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History (Leiden, Holland: E.J. Brill, 1905), p. 71.

<sup>12</sup>Davidson, *Family Hunting Territories*, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>14</sup>Hilary Stewart, *Indian Fishing Early Methods on the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), p. 20.

<sup>15</sup>Homer G. Barnett, *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1955), p. 68, 88-89.

<sup>16</sup>Harry Holbert Turney-High, *Ethnography of the Kutenai*, Memoir No. 56 (Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, 1941), p. 44.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 45-46 and p. 50.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 47 and 52.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>20</sup>Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries, Reports of the Fisheries Officers, 1877, Ottawa, *Sessional Papers*, Appendix No. 1, 1878, 41 Vict., p. 297.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>22</sup>Stewart, *Indian Fishing Methods*, p. 150.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>24</sup>E.E. Rich, ed. *Simpson's 1828 Journey to the Columbia* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), p. 18.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>26</sup>Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages*, p. 268.

<sup>27</sup>W.S. Wallace ed., *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1932), p. 113.

<sup>28</sup>James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IV, Part 5 (Leiden, Holland: E.J. Brill, 1906), pp. 226-227. See also Teit, *The Shuswap*, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. II, Part 7 (Leiden, Holland: E.J. Brill Ltd., 1909), p. 520.

<sup>29</sup>James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. II, Part 4 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), p. 245.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 294-295. See also Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 226.

<sup>31</sup>For an account of how the eastern woodland Indians of North America made effective use of fire to improve bird and mammal habitat see Trefethen, *American Crusade*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>32</sup>James E. Hendrickson, ed., "Two Letters from Walter Colquhoun Grant," *BC Studies*, No. 26 (Summer 1975), p. 11; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 230.

<sup>33</sup>L.H. Estell to A. Bryan Williams, undated report Jan. 1906-July 1907 correspondence, Provincial Game Warden, Official Correspondence, uncatalogued material, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, hereafter cited as Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>34</sup>For an early account of exploration of the northern Pacific coast and the early marine fur trade see: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, 2 Vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890).

<sup>35</sup>For a complete account of the Russian company's activities in North America see P. Tikhmenev, *The Historical Review of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and Its Activity up to the Present Time*, Parts I and II, trans. Dimitri Krenov (St. Petersburg: Edward Veimir, 1861; English edition, Seattle: Works Progress Administration, 1939).

<sup>36</sup>The number of competing ships and the shift to American dominance can be illustrated by the following table.

	<u>British</u>	<u>American</u>
1785-1794	35	15
1795-1804	9	50
1805-1814	3	40

F.W. Howay, "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade," Canadian Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1932, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup>Howay, *ibid.*, p. 12. See James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1966), pp. 423-424. See also S.W. Jackman, ed., *The Journal of William Sturgis* (Victoria, B.C., Canada: Sono Nis Press, 1978), p. 117. The three sources agree that the peak year was 1801, but they do not agree as to the number of ships on the northwest coast that year.

<sup>38</sup>Swan, *Northwest Coast*, p. 424. The average price received at Canton per sea otter skin ranged from \$25 in 1799 to \$20 in 1802. Jackman, ed., *Journal of William Sturgis*, pp. 113-120.

<sup>39</sup>Howay, "An Outline Sketch," pp. 6 and 8.

<sup>40</sup>For an account of trade items, see Jackman, ed., *Journal of William Sturgis*, pp. 56, 57 and 65.

<sup>41</sup>Tikhemenev, *Historical Review of Formation of the Russian-American Company*, II, 247-49 and 254. The Russia/United States 1824 Convention allowed the Americans to fish and trade along the Alaska coast for ten years. However, after 1834, Americans continued whaling the waters of the northern archipelago, often within the three-mile limit. The Russian company maintained that the whalers scared the sea otters with their fires on the beaches. After 1850, Russian naval cruisers prevented abuses of the otter thereby allowing conservation measures to be effected. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-158.

<sup>42</sup>The basic history of the fur trade in Canada is: Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

<sup>43</sup>Two outbreaks of tularemia have been recorded, one in 1781-82 and another twenty years later. Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game, Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 134-35.

<sup>44</sup>Calvin Martin in *Keepers of the Game*, convincingly explains why Indians, particularly those of eastern Canada, joined in the destruction of fur bearers and game.

<sup>45</sup>W.A. Sloan, "The Native Response to the Extension of the European Traders into the Athabasca and Mackenzie Basin, 1770-1814," *Canadian Historical Review*, LX (September 1979), 295.

<sup>46</sup>Innis, *Fur Trade*, p. 269. See also: Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire George Simpson's Journal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. xi.

<sup>47</sup>R. Harvey Fleming, ed., *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31*, with an Introduction by H.A. Innis (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940), p. 302.

<sup>48</sup>Rich, ed., *Simpson's 1828 Journey*, p. 156.

<sup>49</sup>E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1820*, Vol. III, 1821-1870 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 634.

<sup>50</sup>R.H. Oliver, ed., *The Canadian North-West Its Early Development and Legislative Records Minutes of the Councils of the Red River Colony and the Northern Department of Rupert's Land*, II (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 791-796.

<sup>51</sup>Rich, ed., *Simpson's 1828 Journey*, pp. 9-10. Fleming, ed., *Minutes of Council*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. For four years Vermillion was the only post serving the Peace River.

<sup>52</sup>Rich, ed., *Simpson's 1828 Journey*, p. 10.

<sup>53</sup>Because many prairie Indians, unlike the Beaver Indians, often followed a post from site to site when it was moved, the country became common property rather than the property of a band or family. Therefore the beaver were not as well-managed. Innis, Introduction to *Minutes of Council Northern Department*, p. lx.

<sup>54</sup>Arthur J. Ray, "Some Conservation Schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-50: an Examination of the Problems of Resource Management in the Fur Trade," *Journal of Historical Geography*, I (January 1975) 49-68.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52. See also Innis, Introduction to *Minutes of Council Northern Department*, p. lx.

<sup>56</sup>Fleming, ed., *Minutes of Council Northern Department*, p. 229. See also Innis, Introduction, *ibid.*, p. lx.

<sup>57</sup>Ray, "Some Conservation Schemes," p. 55.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>Oliver, ed., *The Canadian Northwest*, II, 831-32.

<sup>60</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>61</sup>Innis attributes the decline of the sale of beaver in Canada during the 1840's to the policy of nursing the beaver territories and to the increasing use of silk hats; *Fur Trade*, p. 334.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup>Edward Ellice Sr. had been Montreal agent for the XY Company, London agent for the North West Company, and after 1821 a shareholder and Committee member of the Hudson's Bay Company. He also became secretary of the treasury in Britain.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted by James Dodds in *The Hudson's Bay Company, Its Position and Prospects, The Substance of an Address, Delivered at a Meeting of the Shareholders, in the London Tavern, on the 24th January, 1866* (London: Edward Stanford, 6 Charing Cross S.W., 1866), p. 45.

<sup>66</sup>Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report on the Peace River and Tributaries in 1891*, by Wm. Ogilvie (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1872), p. 38.

## Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup>*Victoria Gazette*, September 17, 1859.

<sup>2</sup>This first game preservation statute is printed in full in *ibid.*, April 23, 1859.

<sup>3</sup>Vancouver Island, Governor, Dispatches to London, Douglas to Lytton, No. 5, May 3, 1859, CO 305/10, pp. 139-141, PABC.

<sup>4</sup>Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., *The Reminiscences of Doctor John Helmcken* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975), p. 334.

<sup>5</sup>*Victoria Gazette*, April 23, 1859. Italics mine.

<sup>6</sup>*Victoria British Colonist*, March 10, 1863. See also *Colonist*, April 1, 1863.

<sup>7</sup>*A Collection of the Public General Statutes of the Colony of Vancouver Island, Passed in the Years 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1863* (Victoria, V.I.: Printed at the "Evening Express" Office, 1864), pp. 200-201. A section in this act outlawing the netting of fish applied to all of the colony's lakes and to Victoria Arm.

<sup>8</sup>Ordinance No. 17, *Ordinances Passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia During the Session from January to April, 1865*. (New Westminster: Government Printing Office, n.d.).

<sup>9</sup>Ordinance No. 3, *Ordinances Passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia During the Session from January to April, 1867* (New Westminster: Government Printing Office, n.d.).

<sup>10</sup>Ordinance No. 19, *Ordinances Passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia During the Session from 17th December to 15th March, 1868-9* (Victoria: Government Printing Office, n.d.).

<sup>11</sup>Ordinance No. 6, *Ordinances Passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia During the Session from 15th February to 23rd April, 1870.* (Victoria: Government Printing Office, n.d.).

The word game was held to mean dead grouse, quail, prairie-fowl, pheasant, partridge, robin, lark, thrush or wild-pigeon. The word venison meant the carcass or any part of a dead deer or elk.

<sup>12</sup>G. Clifford Carl and C.J. Guiguet. *Alien Animals in British Columbia*, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Handbook No. 14 (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1957, as revised by Guiget in 1972), p. 30.

<sup>13</sup>Margaret Williams. "Game Bird Imports," *Colonist*, Sept. 12, 1965, p. 7. See also William Fraser Tolmie, *Physician and Fur Trader* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press Limited, 1963), p. 392.

<sup>14</sup>Alexander Caulfield Anderson. *The Dominion of the West: A Brief Description of the Province of British Columbia Its Climate and Resources* (Victoria, B.C.: Queen's Printer, 1872), p. 41.

<sup>15</sup>Williams, "Game Bird Imports," *Colonist*, pp. 6-7. Carl & Guiguet, *Alien Animals*, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup>B.C. *Ordinances*, Legislative Council, 1865, No. 17.

<sup>17</sup>"An Innovation," *Colonist*, August 14, 1889. The location of the preserve and the first names of the original land owners were not given but they possibly were Joseph Despard Pemberton and Edgar Crow Baker.

<sup>18</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1878, 41 Vict., 2d Parl., 3d Sess., c. 9, s. 2. Vancouver Island.

<sup>19</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1883, 46 Vict., 4th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 13, s. 1 & s. 2.

<sup>20</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1895, 58 Vict., 7th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 23, s. 9.

<sup>21</sup>B.C. *Journals*, 1872, 35 Vict., 1st Parl., 1st Sess., p. 33. B.C. *Journals*, 1878, 41 Vict., 2d Parl., 3d Sess., p. 55.

<sup>22</sup>B.C., *Sessional Papers*, 1892, 55 Vict., p. 146.

<sup>23</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1892, 55 Vict., 6th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 20, s. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Minutes for Nov. 17, 1902, Minutes of Meetings, 1901-1909, Natural History Society of British Columbia, Vol. 2, PABC.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, June 1, 1903: Jan. 11, 1904 and Mar. 21, 1904.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, Nov. 16, and Nov. 30, 1903.

<sup>27</sup>"Game Protection Society," *Colonist*, March 21, 1883.

<sup>28</sup>Wm. Healy to Supt. Hussy, February 15, 1892. This letter, written by a gamekeeper, is in the possession of Bill Ward, the former editor of *Wildlife Review*.

<sup>29</sup>"Game Preservation," *Colonist*, February 26, 1890. The name of the society was not given.

<sup>30</sup>A thorough search of the Registry of Societies for the last century has revealed that no game protective association was registered.

<sup>31</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1890, 53 Vict., 5th Parl., 4th Sess., c. 19, s. 10.

<sup>32</sup>See W.A. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* (London: Horace Cox, 1900), Chapter II.

<sup>33</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1878, 41 Vict., 2d Parl., 3d Sess., c. 9. During the period, 1871-1903, twenty-two acts, amendments, repeals, revisions, and consolidations were passed in the following years: 1872, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1902, 1903-04. However, much of it was trial-and-error legislation.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 10.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 2. Both caribou and reindeer are of the genus, *Rangifer*. Caribou is really the North American name for reindeer.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 2.

<sup>37</sup>B.C., *Revised and Consolidated Statutes*, Vol. I, 1897, c. 88, s. 15(a).

<sup>38</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1885, 48 Vict., 4th Parl., 3d Sess., c. 12, s. 1.

<sup>39</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1887, 50 Vict., 5th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 15.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 2(1).

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 10.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 11.

<sup>43</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1895, 58 Vict. 7th Parl., 1st Sess. c. 23, s. 17.

<sup>44</sup>B.C., *Statutes, Revised and Consolidated*, Vol. I, 1897, c. 88, s. 17(a).

<sup>45</sup>"Deer and Their Hides," *Colonist*, Feb. 23, 1890.

<sup>46</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1890, 53 Vict., 5th Parl., 4th Sess., c. 19, s. 7. The penalty for conviction was no more than \$100 and not less than \$25 and costs.

<sup>47</sup>Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport*, p. 33.

<sup>48</sup>For an account of the devastation of the forests see Canada, Government of Conservation, Committee of Forests: *Forests of British Columbia*, by H.N. Whitford and R.D. Craig (Ottawa, 1918), pp. 240-313. For an account of the migration of moose west of the Rockies following the forest fires see James Hatter, "The Moose of Central British Columbia" (Ph.D. dissertation, State College of Washington, 1950), pp. 27-71.

<sup>49</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1892, 55 Vict., 6th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 20, s. 3.

<sup>50</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1890, 53 Vict., 5th Parl., 4th Sess., c. 19, s. 1.

<sup>51</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1892, 55 Vict., 6th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 20, s. 3(a).

<sup>52</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1889, 52 Vict., 5th Parl., 3d Sess., c. 7, s. 2.

<sup>53</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1890, 53 Vict., 5th Parl., 4th Sess., c. 19, s. 10.

<sup>54</sup>The ban on exportation of raw hides and antlers etc. inadvertently included those to be exported by non-resident hunters. This oversight was corrected the following year. B.C. *Statutes*, 1891, 54 Vict., 6th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 11, s. 1(a).

<sup>55</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1895, 58 Vict., 7th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 23, s. 21.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 22.

<sup>57</sup>Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport*, p. 35.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>59</sup>Canada, Department of Public Works, *Report of the Hon. H.L. Langevin, C.B., Minister of Public Works* (Ottawa, 1918), p. 19.

<sup>60</sup>Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 59. See also Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.C., G.C.V.O.*, Vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 11 and 14.

<sup>61</sup>*Langevin Report*, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup>Anderson, *Dominion of the West*, p. iii.

<sup>63</sup>See Appendix B.

<sup>64</sup>Zaslow, *Opening of the Canadian North*, p. 59.

<sup>65</sup>Appendix B. There was a record increase in the value of marine furs exported, after 1881, because of the intensive pelagic sealing carried on by sealers based in Victoria.

<sup>66</sup>One of the free traders who did maintain a string of posts was Rufus Sylvester, a former Barnard's Express messenger, who built the first posts at McDames and Lower Post on the Dease and Liard Rivers. (Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona*, pp. 26-27). Another colourful trader was Twelve-foot Davis, who had a store at Dunvegan and employed men to trade along the Peace, Finlay, and Parsnip Rivers. (Alexander Campbell Murray, typed reminiscences, PABC, p. 15.)

<sup>67</sup>See Chapter 3, p. 66.

<sup>68</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1896, 59 Vict., 7th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 22, s. 11. It was not until the following year that these species, now protected by law, were exempted from the ban on exportation of raw skins. This is another example of the trial-and-error legislation of the nineteenth century. B.C. *Revised Statutes*, Vol. I, 1897, c. 88, s. 7.

<sup>69</sup>B.C. *Statutes*, 1905, 5 Ed., VII, 10th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 25, s. 15(2).

<sup>70</sup>Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire*. Merk states that Sabine probably referred to Joseph Sabine, "the eminent British zoologist and horticulturnist" or to his younger brother, Sir Edward Sabine, astronomer and naturalist to the polar expeditions of John Ross and Edward Parry, fn. 75, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup>A.C. Murray to W.E. Traill, Sept., 14, 1893, Correspondence, Fort St. James, PABC.

<sup>72</sup>John Fannin, vertical file, PABC.

<sup>73</sup>It was not until 1895 that the curator of the museum, and his assistants and agents, were excluded from the provisions of the game act. (B.C. *Statutes*, 1895, 58 Vict., 7th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 23, s. 17.). It is curious that this exclusion was not incorporated earlier as a proper study and display of animals must include both sexes and the young of a species.

<sup>74</sup>*The Andrew J. Stone Explorations in Arctic and Subarctic America*. (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1905). All information regarding Stone is taken from this source.

<sup>75</sup>William T. Hornaday, *Camp-fires in the Canadian Rockies* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1907), p. 343.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 7-9. At this time Hornaday was an avid hunter; he later became bitterly opposed to hunting on the "simplistic theory that hunting, and only hunting, was responsible for the decline in wildlife that he had witnessed." Trefethen, *American Crusade*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>77</sup>For an example of how the endorsement of both Stone and Hornaday could influence a hunter's choice of hunting grounds see J.R. Bradley, *Hunting Big Game in Far Northwest British Columbia* (New York: Mail and Express Job Print, 1904), p. 4.

<sup>78</sup>"Game Protection," *Colonist*, Mar. 7, 1895.

<sup>79</sup>"News of the Province," *Colonist*, Sept. 22, 1897.

<sup>80</sup>"Report of the Provincial Game and Forest Warden," B.C., *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, p. D5. Hereafter cited as Game Warden Report.

<sup>81</sup>"Amendment to the Game Act Petition," B.C., *Journals*, 1900, 64 Vict., 9th Parl., 1st Sess., p. CXXXIX.

<sup>82</sup>B.C., Legislative Library, Clerk of the House Papers, 1901 Petitions.

<sup>83</sup>Game Warden Report, B.C., *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, p. D5.

<sup>84</sup>B.C., Legislative Library, Clerk of the House Papers, 1905 Petitions.

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup>All biographical information about Williams is derived from an interview with his daughter, Mary Gooch of Vancouver, B.C., and from a file of Williams' clippings and letters in her possession.

<sup>2</sup>Williams to Attorney General G. Sloan, August 23, 1904. Copy in the Mary Gooch papers.

<sup>3</sup>"Provincial Legislature," *Colonist*, March 9, 1905, p. 1. It is more than likely that Dr. H.E. Young, the legislative member for Atlin, had known Williams fairly well.

<sup>4</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, pp. D7-D8.

<sup>5</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J3.

<sup>6</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, pp. D6-D7.

<sup>7</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, p. F5. \$10 000 was voted in 1908.

<sup>8</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, p. F6.

<sup>9</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1908, 8 Ed. VII, p. J6.

<sup>10</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, p. D5. A list of the 16 game wardens appointed is to be found in the 1905 Game Warden Correspondence file, PABC. Their districts were as far east as the East Kootenays and as far north as Quesnel and the Chilcotin.

<sup>11</sup>For an over-view of the important role of game associations, see the section under the sub-heading "Game Associations" in the Game Warden Reports. From the letters on file in the Game Warden Correspondence files, PABC, it is evident that the political suasion of a candidate did not influence the final decision made by Williams.

<sup>12</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1908, 8 Ed. VII, p. J6. The deputies' reports, extracts to be found in the 1907 Game Warden Reports, particularly that of J. Russell of Lillooet (the original is in the Game Warden Correspondence file for 1907), is complete with number of calves, fawns, lambs born--the adequacy of the winter and summer ranges etc.--a very modern biologist-type report.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. J5.

<sup>15</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, p. F10.

<sup>16</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, p. D10.

<sup>17</sup>A 1905 amendment to the game act imposed upon non-residents a \$5 fee for one-week's shooting of protected game birds. B.C., *Statutes*, 1905, 5 Ed. VII, 10th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 25, s. 8. This fee was increased to \$50 in 1910, B.C., *Statutes*, 1910, 10 Ed. VII, 12th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 22, s. 4.

<sup>18</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1908, 8 Ed., VII, 11th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 18, s. 3.

<sup>19</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, 11th Parl., 3d Sess., c. 20, s. 8. The non-resident bag limit in 1909 was two moose, one wapiti, two sheep rams of any one species and no more than three in all, three goats, three caribou and three deer of any one species and no more than five in all, and 250 ducks. *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1910, 10 Ed. VII, 12th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 22, s. 4.

<sup>21</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1910, 1 Geo. V, p. G10.

<sup>22</sup>See: Williams to P.G. Hindebowker, North Bend, Sept. 5, 1905 and Williams to Secretary of the Chilliwack Rod and Gun Club, Dec. 8, 1905. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.* Williams was so serious about the necessity of a resident gun licence for hunters that he wrote to many state game departments requesting a copy of their licence forms. See Game Warden Correspondence file for 1906, PABC.

<sup>24</sup>See copy of a letter in the Game Warden Correspondence files, PABC, addressed to "Doctor" and signed by F. Matheson of Telegraph Creek, March 9, 1905. The cavalier frontier attitude is well expressed in this letter.

<sup>25</sup>Williams to Manson, January 18, 1906, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>26</sup>Williams to H.J. Blurton, Mara, Jan. 2, 1906, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>27</sup>Williams to Bowser, Nov. 25, 1916. M. Gooch papers.

<sup>28</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1913, 3 Geo. VII, 13th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 27, s. 9. Hunters bought a \$2.50 ordinary licence to hunt birds and deer other than moose or a \$5.00 general licence to hunt game birds and animals. Guides bought a \$5.00 licence for each hunting season.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1915, 5 Geo. VII, p. J7.

<sup>31</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1913, 3 Geo. VII, 13th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 27, s. 17.

<sup>32</sup>Drake, Jackson & Helmcken to the Provincial Secretary, Feb. 8, 1905. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>Williams to Fulton, Sept. 18, 1905, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>36</sup>Copy of this Nov. 2, 1905 Order-in-Council is in the Game Warden Correspondence files, PABC.

<sup>37</sup>Williams to R.N.W.M.P., Sept. 13, 1907 and B. Lawton to Williams, Sept. 4, 1907. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>38</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, p. F16. In several parts of the Kootenay, Okanagan, Similkameen and Kamloops districts beaver had done considerable damage to hay and grain lands. In 1909 permits were issued to farmers to kill beaver in these instances.\* \**Ibid.*, B.C., *Statutes*, 1909, 9 Ed., VII, 11th Parl., 3d Sess., c. 20, s. 15(e).

<sup>39</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J10.

<sup>40</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, p. O16.

<sup>41</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1914, 4 Geo. V, c. 33, s. 9(b).

<sup>42</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, p. F16. Even some residents thought along the same lines as Williams. In 1912 the residents of Alberni asked that the black bear receive better protection and the Tahltan Indians of the Cassiar asked that an annual bag limit of three be placed on the grizzly. Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, p. O16.

<sup>43</sup>B.C., *Revised Statutes*, 1911, Vol. II, c. 95, Schedule B.

<sup>44</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, p. F12.

<sup>45</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1908, 8 Ed. VII, p. J16.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J7.

<sup>48</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1912, 2 Geo. V, p. 110.

<sup>49</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1915, 5 Geo. V, p. J14.

<sup>50</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, p. F13.

<sup>51</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J7.

<sup>52</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1912, 2 Geo. V, p. 110.

<sup>53</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, p. O10.

<sup>54</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, p. F11.

<sup>55</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1908, 8 Ed. VII, pp. J15-16.

<sup>56</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, p. F11.

<sup>57</sup>J.S.T. Alexander, Vice-president of the Fernie District Game Protective Association to Williams, February 27, 1907, Game Warden Correspondence. PABC.

<sup>58</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1910, 10 Ed. VII, p. G6.

<sup>59</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J9.

<sup>60</sup>Private communication.

<sup>61</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1898, 61 Vict., 7th Parl., 4th Sess., c. 24, s. 12(b). The fact that this area was Stoney hunting grounds, through an arrangement with the Kootenays, carried no weight.

<sup>62</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1906, 6 Ed. VII, p. O16. Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, p. F7.

<sup>63</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, pp. F10-11.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, p. F7.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, p. 07.

<sup>67</sup>Bowser to Williams, Feb. 8, 1910. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>68</sup>Bowser refused his request for a motor on the grounds that engines continually break down. Bowser to Williams, Oct. 12, 1910. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>69</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J4.

<sup>70</sup>Government agent (name indecipherable), Clinton, to Hussey, July 24, 1905. The accusation of the Shuswaps was corroborated by a constable. A.C. Minty, Lillooet, to Hussey, July 18, 1905. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>71</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1904, 9 Ed. VII, p. F8.

<sup>72</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, p. J9. Williams even appointed an Indian game warden in the Kootenays. Apparently he gave good service. *Ibid.*, p. J6.

<sup>73</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1907, 7 Ed. VII, pp. F15-F16.

<sup>74</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1908, 8 Ed. VII, p. J18.

<sup>75</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1909, 9 Ed. VII, pp. F17-F18.

<sup>76</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1910, 10 Ed. VII, p. G17.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. G15-G16.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, G16.

<sup>79</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, p. O20.

<sup>80</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1919, 9 Geo. V, p. S6.

<sup>81</sup>Carl & Guiget, *Alien Animals*, p. 38.

<sup>82</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, pp. O18-O19.

<sup>83</sup>Carl & Guiget, *Alien Animals*, p. 38.

<sup>84</sup>Spelled Paterson in the letter cited below.

<sup>85</sup>A.E. Todd to Williams, July 30, 1910, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC. Some other members were George A. Fraser, J.E. Smart, M. Carlin, H.G. Ross, J.A. Turner, Irving H. Weatcroft, Chas. L. Betterton, Parker Clark, C.M. Shannon, Elmer Jones, W.J. Taylor, Thomas Taylor, A.W. Bridgman, A.R. Baker, and J.A. Sayward.

At the present time there exists in the province only a few wild turkeys. They are to be found on Sidney Island, most of which is a private preserve owned by Jack Todd. The original stock did not take hold. Williams to Gadden, Jan. 30, 1916, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>86</sup>See letters to and from the Society and Williams dated Jan. 15, Jan. 17, Jan. 18, Jan. 20, Jan. 21, Mar. 11, Mar. 13, Mar. 15, Mar. 17, Mar. 18, Mar. 27; all of the year, 1913. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

In 1908 or 1910, G.H. Wallace imported skylarks and other song birds. He released them on the Saanich Peninsula--only the skylarks survived. Carl & Guiget, *Alien Animals*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>87</sup>Williams to McBride, Jan. 31, 1914, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>88</sup>Carl & Guiget, *Alien Animals*, pp. 22-23. Fallow deer are now found on Saltspring, James, and Sidney Islands.

<sup>89</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1912, 2 Geo. V, p. 115. The number of deer was not given.

<sup>90</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, p. 015.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 07. Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1914, 4 Geo. V, p. N8.

<sup>92</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1915, 5 Geo. V, p. J16.

<sup>93</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, p. 017.

<sup>94</sup>Carl & Guiget, *Alien Animals*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1915, 5 Geo. V, p. J17.

<sup>97</sup>Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1919, 9 Geo. V, p. 515. Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, p. 017.

<sup>98</sup>For a good account of events leading up to the Migratory Birds Treaty, see Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife The Beginning of Preservation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), Chapter 6. The plumage of terns, egrets, ibises, bobolinks, rails and herons were popular as hat decorations. In Virginia, at this time, ribbons, meadow-larks, blackbirds, thrushes, warblers and other small birds were sold as food. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 134. A copy of the draft is in the Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>102</sup>Williams to Bowser, August 14, 1916. Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>103</sup>Foster, *Working for Wildlife*, p. 140.

<sup>104</sup>Williams to James White, Assistant Chairman, Ottawa Commission of Conservation, Mar. 2, 1916, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>105</sup>A copy of the Canadian Migratory Birds Convention Act, including the treaty is to be found in the appendix of Foster's *Working for Wildlife*.

<sup>106</sup>Williams to Bowser, Aug. 14, 1916, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

<sup>107</sup>Foster, *Working for Wildlife*, p. 140.

<sup>108</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1901, 1 Ed. VII, 9th Parl., 2d Sess., c. 25.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, s. 12.

<sup>110</sup>B.C., *Statutes*, 1902, 2 Ed. VII, 9th Parl., 3d Sess., c. 28, s. 4.

111 B.C., *Statutes*, 1903-4, 4 Ed. VII, 10th Parl., 1st Sess., c. 21, s. 5.

112 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1912, 2 Geo. V, p. 119.

113 *Ibid.* See also: Williams to Bowser, Apr. 26, 1910, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

114 Williams to Bowser, Apr. 26, 1910, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

115 Williams to L. Norris, Gov't Agent, Vernon, Apr. 1, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

116 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1913, 3 Geo. V, p. 010. The two governments split the government half of the fine obtained from a conviction; the other half went to the informer.\* Bowser to Williams, July 31, 1912, Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

117 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1912, 2 Geo. V, p. 118.

118 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, p. 07.

119 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1914, 4 Geo. V, p. N5.

120 In 1914, the department employed 36 full-time deputy game wardens. (Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1915, 5 Geo. V, p. J8. In 1914 there were 256 convictions. (*Ibid.*, p. J12.) Compare this with the 54 informations laid in 1910. (Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, 1 Geo. V, pp. J6 & J7. When the game wardens were disbanded in 1918, there were approximately 60 on staff. (*Vancouver Daily Province*, Mar. 2, 1918, p. 18).

121 B.C., *Statutes*, 1914, 4 Geo. V, 13 Parl., 2d Sess., c. 33.

122 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1914,  
4 Geo. V, p. N7.

123 B.C. Statutes, 1914, 4 Geo. V, 13th Parl., 2d  
Sess., c. 33, s. 34.

124 *Ibid.*, s. 11.

125 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1916, 6 Geo.  
V, p. 09.

126 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo.  
V, p. 010. The age of technology was fast adding to the  
problems of game protection. In this report, Williams  
warned that the bad practice of shooting deer from motor-  
cars would have to be prohibited.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 06.

128 Williams to Lieut-Col. M. Mcneill, Feb. 9, 1916,  
Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

129 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo.  
V, p. 06.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 07.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 06. See Appendix C.

132 The memorandum copy is undated. It is filed in a  
1917 folder of the Game Warden Correspondence files, PABC.

133 *Ibid.*

134 Williams to H.L. King, Ireland, Oct. 22, 1917.  
M. Gooch papers.

135 B.C., *Statutes*, 1918, 8 Geo. V, 14th Parl., 2d  
Sess., c. 30, ss. 17, 18, 19, 20.

122 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1914,  
4 Geo. V, p. N7.

123 B.C. Statutes, 1914, 4 Geo. V, 13th Parl., 2d  
Sess., c. 33, s. 34.

124 *Ibid.*, s. 11.

125 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1916, 6 Geo.  
V, p. 09.

126 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo.  
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problems of game protection. In this report, Williams  
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128 Williams to Lieut-Col. M. Mcneill, Feb. 9, 1916,  
Game Warden Correspondence, PABC.

129 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo.  
V, p. 06.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 07.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 06. See Appendix C.

132 The memorandum copy is undated. It is filed in a  
1917 folder of the Game Warden Correspondence files, PABC.

133 *Ibid.*

134 Williams to H.L. King, Ireland, Oct. 22, 1917.  
M. Gooch papers.

135 B.C., *Statutes*, 1918, 8 Geo. V, 14th Parl., 2d  
Sess., c. 30, ss. 17, 18, 19, 20.

136 Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1919, 9 Geo. V, p. S6.

137 Williams to Hon. G. Sloan, Aug. 3, 1934. M. Gooch papers. Williams' 1917 report was never presented to the legislature by the Attorney General on the grounds that it was no more than a brief against the government's policy. (W.C. Motley, "A. Bryan Williams Heads New B.C. Game Department," *Rod and Gun in Canada*, 1929, n.d., n.p. Clipping in M. Gooch Papers.) Consequently, the report was not published in the *Sessional Papers* for 1917.

138 B.C., *Statutes*, 1905, 5 Ed. VII, 10th Parl., 2d, Sess., c. 25, s. 17.

#### *Conclusion*

<sup>1</sup>In 1826-27 the company went so far as to register beaver houses in Rupert's Land; the Indians were warned not to damage them. (Fleming, *Minutes of Council Northern Department*, p. lx).

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## APPENDIX A

*New Caledonia Beaver Returns: 1825-1856*

APPENDIX A

New Caledonia Beaver Returns: 1825-1856

Year	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840
Large	4238	3390	4540	5583	4607	6264	4873	5364	5375	4860	3854	4096	3808	3323	3474	3452
Small	2078	1809	2089	2181	1968	2106	2395	2011	3170	2262	1466	1655	1714	1314	1259	1008
Coating	870	132	61	278	621	396	299	235	263	111	83	53	70.5	13.5	80.5	20
Total	7186	5331	6690	8042	7196	8766	7567	7610	8808	7233	5406	5804	5092.5	4650.5	4813.5	4480

APPENDIX A: NEW CALEDONIA: BEAVER RETURNS: 1825-1856 (CONTINUED)

Year	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856
Large	2889	2357	2828	1723	2252	1727	2778	1764	2340	2210	4264	4142	4203	4138	4460	4683
Small	1178	976	1448	943	1086	1320	1405	818	1240	1027	1475	1618	1573	1284	1590	1794
Coating	15.5	30.25	42.5	30	22	10.5	18.25	5.5	14.5	.5	7	1	3.75	2	25	-
Total	4082.5	3363.25	4318.5	2696	3360	3057.5	4201.25	2587.5	3594.5	3237.5	5746	5761	5779.75	5424	6075	6477

Source: James Douglas, "Fur Trade Returns--Columbia District and New Caledonia 1825-1857," PABC.

## APPENDIX B

*Export of British Columbia Furs to June 30  
of the Years, 1872 to 1900*

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## APPENDIX B: EXPORT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA FURS TO JUNE 30 OF THE YEARS, 1872 TO 1900 (CONTINUED)

Years	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
<i>Land Furs</i>										
To United Kingdom	165 524	113 002	106 498	229 659	120 366	144 498	110 595	145 860	31 064	
To United States	57 303	78 446	102 665	102 950	125 564	154 721	121 315	147 204	215 178	
To Other				220		149	325	2 000		
<b>Total Land Furs</b>	<b>222 827</b>	<b>191 448</b>	<b>209 163</b>	<b>332 829</b>	<b>246 780</b>	<b>299 368</b>	<b>232 235</b>	<b>295 064</b>	<b>246 242</b>	<b>204 081</b>
<i>Marine Furs</i>										
To United Kingdom			61 645	74 863		132 864	105 005	118 919	118 922	
To United States			250	89 729		154 513	97 360	90 665	171 474	
To Other		(China)	8 283				414			
<b>Total Marine Furs</b>	<b>65 134</b>	<b>123 804</b>	<b>70 178</b>	<b>164 592</b>	<b>211 096</b>	<b>287 377</b>	<b>202 779</b>	<b>209 584</b>	<b>290 396</b>	<b>513 471</b>

## APPENDIX B: EXPORT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA FURS TO JUNE 30 OF THE YEARS, 1872 TO 1900 (CONTINUED)

Years	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
<i>Land Furs</i>									
To United Kingdom									
To United States									
To Other									
Total Land Furs	289 920	217 684	253 127	327 967	304 219	180 181	168 539	188 011	250 351
<i>Marine Furs</i>									
To United Kingdom									
To United States									
To Other									
Total Marine Furs	1 060 277	583 397	1 060 192	1 160 173	753 569	460 327	370 060	295 053	537 242

## APPENDIX C

*Game Department Financial Statement*  
*From 1913 to 1917*

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## APPENDIX C

## Game Department Financial Statement from 1913 to 1917

*Receipts*

## Game licences (both resident and non-resident)

1913-14 .....	\$107 154.50
1914-15 .....	90 948.25
1915-16 .....	71 582.00
1916-17 (to date) .....	65 567.50
Estimated for February and March, 1917 .....	500.00
	<hr/>
	\$335 752.25

## Fines

1913-14 .....	\$ 4 287.50
1914-15 .....	4 625.50
1915-16 .....	3 317.50
1916-17 .....	1 885.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 14 115.50

## Special licences to trap foxes (for fur farms)\*

1914-15 .....	\$ 1 400.00
1915-16 .....	500.00
1916-17 .....	300.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 2 200.00

## Permits and miscellaneous

1913-14 .....	170.80
1914-15 .....	204.20
1915-16 .....	224.25
1916-17 (to date) .....	319.47
Estimated for February and March, 1917 .....	10.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 928.72

Total Income \$352 996.47

\* Fox farming began in British Columbia in 1914.

*Expenditures*

## Salaries

1913-14 .....	\$ 29 017.50
1914-15 .....	40 376.75
1915-16 .....	40 382.51
1916-17 (to date) .....	32 315.61
Estimated for February and March, 1917 .....	6 133.32
	<hr/>
	\$148 225.69

## Game Protection

1913-14 .....	\$ 32 872.61
1914-15 .....	25 022.72
1915-16 .....	22 185.32
1916-17 (to date) .....	19 111.55
Estimated for February and March, 1917 .....	5 999.00
	<hr/>

Total Expenditures \$105 092.20

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Total profit for four years--\$99 678.58      \$253 317.89

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Source: Game Warden Report, *Sessional Papers*, 1917, 7 Geo. V, pp. 05-06.

VITA

Surname: BALL Given Names: GEORGIANA GENEVIEVE

Place of Birth: VANCOUVER, B.C.

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA Completed 1967

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1974 to 1981

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.Ed. (Secondary) 1967 University of British Columbia,  
Vancouver

Honors and Awards:

University of Victoria Scholarship, 1976/77

Publications:

"The Peter Martin Case and the Provisional Settlement of the  
Stikine Boundary," BC Studies, No. 10 (Summer 1971),  
pp. 35-55.

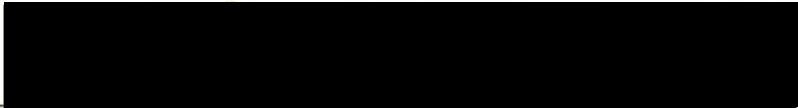
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