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OCTOBER, 1939

The
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The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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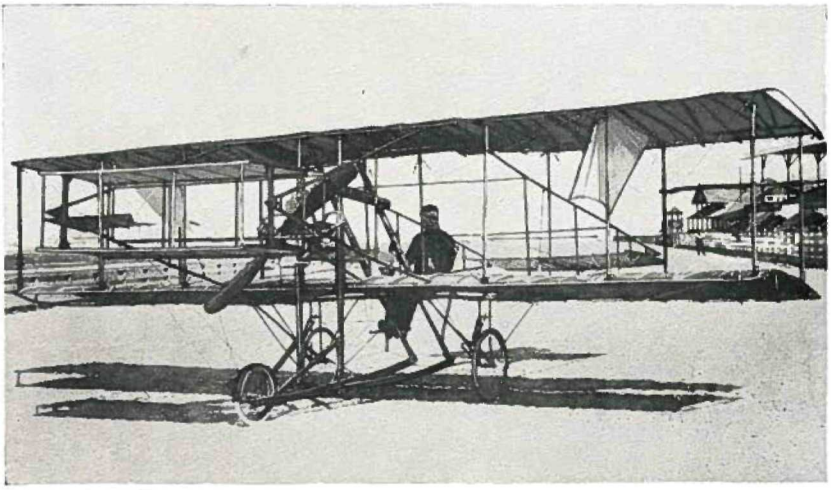
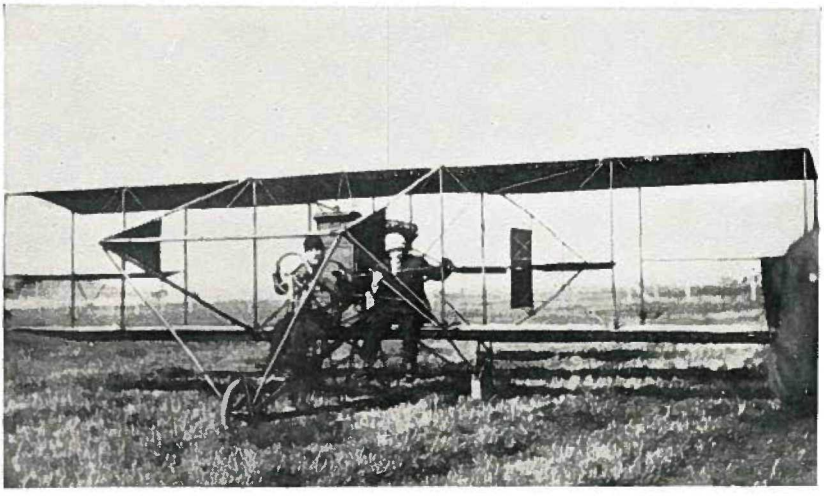


The McMullen-Templeton machine, which was completed in April, 1911. The photograph was taken during its initial trials at Minoru Park race-track, Lulu Island.



The first aeroplane passenger flight in British Columbia. The pilot was William M. Stark, and the passenger James T. Hewitt, then Sporting Editor of the Vancouver *Province*. The picture was taken at Lulu Island on April 24, 1912, just before the flight began.

PIONEER FLYING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. 1910–1914.

It is generally understood in flying circles that when reference is made to the " pioneer period " of aviation the phrase refers to the years prior to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. To most people the events of those years still seem relatively recent; but it is becoming more and more difficult to secure first-hand accounts of the happenings of the time, and efforts are being made in several countries to compile a history of early flying before it is too late.

In England a splendid exhibit has been assembled in the Science Museum, at South Kensington. In the United States National Museum, better known as the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, a very comprehensive collection of the nation's pioneer flying relics is on display, and another collection of rare photographs and data relating to early aviation is in process of formation at the Edison Institute, at Dearborn, Michigan.

Canada, too, has an exhibit pertaining to early Canadian aviation, which may be seen in the National Museum, Ottawa; but the data are woefully incomplete. The notes which follow have been compiled in an effort to add to such records and, incidentally, to write as complete an account as possible of early flying in British Columbia. For it is only fitting that the names and exploits of the staunch band of men and women who flew the fragile, unstable " flying machines " of early days should receive due recognition before time completely obliterates the little information which yet remains of many of them and their endeavours.

Although the first flight of a powered heavier-than-air machine was made in 1903, when the Wright brothers made their first successful flights at Kitty Hawk, in December, the conquest of the air progressed very slowly for several years. The first flight by an aeroplane within the Dominion of Canada did not take place until February 23, 1909. On that day the pioneer Canadian airman, John Douglas McCurdy, lifted his power-driven *Silver Dart* off the ice of Baddeck Bay, Nova Scotia,

making a flight of about half a mile at a height of some 30 feet. It was only a year later that the first " flying machine " spread its wings and soared aloft in British Columbia. That historic event took place on Friday, March 25, 1910, the flight being made from the old Minoru Race-track, now known as Brighouse, on Lulu Island, at the mouth of the Fraser River.[1]

The pilot was Charles K. Hamilton, then a well-known flier. His Curtiss pusher-type biplane was shipped to Vancouver from Seattle, where, only a week before, he had crashed into a small lake, damaging his machine, but not his nerve, although he had been rendered unconscious by the impact.

Some 3,500 people were on hand to see that first flight in British Columbia. After taking off and being in the air about ten minutes, Hamilton landed safely, but had the misfortune to rip off a tire in the process. The report of the flight in the Vancouver *Province* stated that " There was no engine trouble, but a sudden landing was made."[2] No doubt the landing was only sudden in the opinion of the reporter, as it is probable that he had not witnessed an aeroplane flight before.

Hamilton made a second flight the same day. Upon this occasion he climbed steadily away from the grounds, and then, when a considerable distance separated him from the track, circled gracefully back towards the grandstand and flew directly over the judges' box. He then rose once more and again circled

(1) It must be understood, of course, that this article deals only with flights by heavier-than-air machines. There had been many balloon ascents in British Columbia before 1910, and at least one lighter-than-air machine equipped with an engine had flown in the Province. The airship in question made three short flights in Victoria, during the annual exhibition, on September 22, 23, and 24, 1909. It was described as follows: " The big bag [of Japanese silk] is 56 feet long by 14 feet, and holds 6,000 cubic feet of gas. The weight of the airship is 85 pounds. The motor, set in the light frame, on which the aeronaut sits astride, has fifteen horse power, and swirls the propellor of fans of taut silk on frames about two feet in diameter, which pull the airship through the air at a speed of about twenty miles an hour." The pilot was an experienced balloonist, J. C. Mars, who, according to an account printed at the time, " controlled his flimsy craft with an ease and ability which indicated to doubting Thomases that aerial navigation has come to stay." (Victoria *Colonist*, September 21, 22, 1909.) Mr. Mars in still living and now resides in New York City.

(2) Vancouver *Province*, March 26, 1910.

the track. In an attempt at speed comparisons an automobile was started to race the aviator; but, as Hamilton was unaware of the fact, he followed a wide circle far beyond the track, and no comparison was possible. At the completion of the flight he made a fine landing; and, according to the newspapers, every one who witnessed his flights was completely satisfied.

The *Province* published a very good photograph showing Hamilton flying past the grandstand at 55 miles per hour, and the caption—" Hamilton's Aerial Clipper "—shows that his plane antedated the present-day Clippers in name, if not in airworthiness, by almost thirty years!

Hamilton's visit took place during Easter week-end, and further flights were made on the Saturday. His first flight this day (March 26, 1910) was announced as a test flight, and after taking off, he circled the track twice at a low altitude and then landed. He was in the air but five minutes. During his second flight, which was described as a speed race against a motor-car, Hamilton once again made much wider circles than the size of the track, and in consequence of this the biplane was beaten by the automobile. He then flew away to the west, rising to a height of 400 feet. Returning at a much greater height, he passed the grandstand at a " terrific " speed, and then came down and made a perfect landing.

His third flight was the outstanding one, not only of the day, but of all the flights made during his visit. After taking off from the racecourse, he followed the North Arm of the Fraser River for about 20 miles, going as far as New Westminster, and making the first cross-country flight in British Columbia—a risky piece of flying for that early date. He was completely out of sight of the watchers on Lulu Island for over ten minutes, and upon his return to the racecourse spectators crowded about, asking questions. The report in the *Province* continues as follows:—

> Everyone crowded about him, asking where he had been. " New Westminster," came the reply. Mr. Hamilton was shaking with cold, and was immediately supplied with a stimulant. Between the chattering of his teeth he told a curious knot of spectators how he had followed the winding course of the north arm of the river, amounting to 2500 feet; and then finding the temperature too chilly, he descended to a lower altitude, which he maintained until reaching New Westminster where he sank to within nearly 100

feet of the ground. His arrival there caused considerable interest, the street cars stopping, while the occupants watched his evolutions. Turning just west of the bridge he began his homeward flight . . . His speed averaged about forty miles per hour, but during the course of his flight, he must at times have attained a rate of 50 miles an hour.[3]

Easter Monday dawned with a strong westerly wind blowing, and it was very cold. In spite of these conditions Hamilton was not grounded, as many a less able airman would certainly have been, and he stayed aloft fifteen minutes during his first flight of the day, making several circuits of the track at different heights before landing.

The highlight of his next flight was a mile contest against a racehorse, probably a unique event in the annals of aviation. The name of the horse was Prince Brutus, but unfortunately the name of the jockey appears to have passed into oblivion. The biplane conceded three-eighths of a mile to the horse, and the handicap proved too much for the aeroplane, for Prince Brutus and his rider made the five-eighths in the fine time of 1.7 against the 1.17 of the biplane for the mile. The latter was speedily overtaking the horse as he passed the post. *Horse beats aircraft in mile race!* Surely that is worthy of the attention of Mr. Ripley, of *Believe It or Not* fame.

At the conclusion of one of his flights that day, the airman went up to a considerable height, and then from several hundred feet dove very steeply, with his engine throttled down, making a very fine landing in the centre of the grounds without again resorting to the use of power—ample evidence that he was a master airman.[4] This was all the more remarkable when one realizes that he had taught himself to fly. This he did at Venice, California, in a Curtiss plane purchased directly from the makers. His Aero Club of America pilot's certificate carried the low number of 12, showing him to be a true pioneer airman.

During his stay in Vancouver Hamilton expressed the opinion that Lulu Island and surroundings were ideal areas for flying,

(3) *Ibid.*, March 28, 1910. Hamilton made it clear that this was not in any way a record flight. Cross-country flying was a craze of the day, and in June, 1910, three months after his visit to British Columbia, Hamilton himself flew from New York to Philadelphia and return, a total distance of 172 miles, in one day. *See* A. F. Zahm, *Aerial Navigation*, New York, 1911, p. 313.

(4) *Ibid.*, March 30, 1910.

and stated that he hoped to return some day to fly again for Vancouver people. This wish was never fulfilled. After his visit to British Columbia he travelled to the Eastern United States, and before his early death gained great renown as one of America's leading airmen. Unlike many of the "Early Birds" he did not lose his life in an aeroplane crash. He was of slight build, and his physique gave way under the rigours of flying in all weathers in an open-type machine. He died of pneumonia some time during the winter of 1911–12.

An item which appeared in a Vancouver newspaper about three months after Hamilton's visit is worthy of mention, for it shows that the important part that air communication might play in the development of British Columbia was recognized even as early as 1910. It reads as follows:—

> If airships can be employed to connect Fort George with points on the C.P.R. a very obvious difficulty in Cariboo's colonization will be solved. A group of capitalists particularly interested have therefore sent an agent to Berlin to patronize the new German agency of communication and also to investigate all incidental costs in connection with possible establishment of a similar airship service in Central British Columbia. If satisfactory arrangements can be made, the inauguration of aerial communications between Fort George and Ashcroft may be brought about before the advent of winter, or by next spring at latest.[5]

With such unbounded optimism it was unfortunate that the air-minded capitalists were so far ahead of the times. However, other air-minded residents of British Columbia were developing ideas upon more practical lines, and in September, 1910, several items relating to their activities appeared in the press.

The first of these was a long article in the Victoria *Colonist* describing an ascent made by a Mr. William Wallace Gibson[6] in

(5) *Ibid.*, June 30, 1910. The "German agency" referred to was the passenger service by Zeppelin airships which had commenced operations a few days before. The appearance of this item on June 30 is interesting in view of the fact that the Zeppelin *Deutschland* had been wrecked only two days before. *See* Zahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–9; also Vancouver *Province*, June 29, 1910.

(6) Gibson was born in Ayrshire, Scotland. He came to Canada as a child and lived nearly 25 years in Saskatchewan. "He made his first stake out of a machine shop, and then blossomed into a railway contractor. He built 40 miles of the Grand Trunk Pacific." He came to British Columbia in 1907 and interested himself in mining. (Victoria *Colonist*, July 7, 1909.)

a " twinplane " of his own invention. The flight was said to have taken place on Thursday, September 8, at the Dean Farm, the present site of the Lansdowne Airport, in Victoria. According to this report, Gibson reached a height of about 20 feet and flew a distance of over 200 feet before coming to earth. Unfortunately, when he alighted " the severe concussion fractured the riding wheels " of the machine and further tests had to be postponed.

Though never a success, Gibson's " twinplane " is of considerable interest because, so far as is known, it was the first aeroplane built in British Columbia which ever succeeded in leaving the ground. The experiments upon which its design was based had been carried on for several years. As early as July, 1909, Mr. Gibson publicly discussed his plans in an interview printed in the *Colonist;* and the intended features of his machine are worth noting. In the first place, it was to present the end, rather than the sides of its planes to the wind:—

> The machine is [intended to be] 65 feet long and 14 feet wide at its widest part. There it differs radically from all the machines hitherto made. They all present their widest part to the wind, proceeding, so to speak, sideways. I go straight ahead, like a steamboat or a fish.[7]

In the second place, Gibson was convinced that his craft would be both safe and simple to operate. He claimed that it would possess " absolute stability," since his experiments with models proved that it would right itself automatically if upset, and that since " no special skill or dexterity " was required to control it the machine could be handled more easily than an automobile. In view of the accident which marred his first flight, it is ironical to note that the plans for the plane included " an ingenious device by which it can alight without perceptible jar."

Finally, Gibson had great faith in a special 4-cylinder engine of his own design, which he claimed would develop 65 horsepower, although it weighed only 222 lb. complete. The plane was to have a gasoline capacity sufficient to fly 400 miles, and the inventor " offered to bet a sceptic $1,000 . . . that he would fly to Seattle or Vancouver inside of a year, but the bet was not

(7) This and the following quotations and particulars are from the Victoria *Colonist*, July 7, 1909.

taken." The wager is interesting, because it was offered just 18 days before Blériot made the first flight across the English Channel, on July 25, 1909.

When actual construction of his aeroplane commenced, Gibson evidently deemed it wise to resort to secrecy. The general public was skeptical about flying matters in those days, and to avoid criticism inventors frequently endeavoured to build and test their aircraft in private. With this end in view, Gibson and his helpers moved the completed "twinplane" to the aviation field late at night, but the reports in the *Colonist* indicate that the manœuvre did not escape notice.

> . . . Several residents of the neighbourhood of Mount Tolmie witnessed Mr. Gibson in his initial trials. [These were evidently ground trials.] The final trial was the most successful, when the breaking of the wheels occurred. This flight was not witnessed by anyone as far as can be learned.[8]

This latter statement throws some doubt upon what actually took place, and from the historical point of view the lack of witnesses is regrettable. It is also most unfortunate that neither a photograph nor a drawing of Gibson's machine has come to light, as it was evidently a craft of extraordinary design. Its actual length was 54 feet, instead of the intended 65, but in most respects it seems to have followed the plans outlined in 1909. The long description printed in the *Colonist* reads in part as follows:—

> It is composed of two planes, one behind the other, both triangular. [Another account states that each of these planes was 20 feet long and 8 feet wide.[9]] These planes are fixed, the machine rising or falling according to the elevation or depression of a triangular plane of cedar which is worked by a lever and forms the nose of the craft. There are also a couple of other cedar planes beneath the triangular canvas ones which aid materially in lifting. Altogether he has 330 square feet of lifting service [surface] as against 160 of the Blériot monoplane.
>
> The remarkable feature of the Gibson twin-plane is that owing to its design it is automatically stable and its stability is increased by the fact that the engine is suspended in the centre of the airship beneath the planes. The propellers are fixed, one in front and one behind the engine. . . . The operator sits in front and above the front propellor and thus is not incommoded by the wind made by the revolving blades. This removes much of the discomfort experienced by other airmen owing to the coldness developed by the wind from the propellors.

(8) Victoria *Colonist*, September 10, 1910.

(9) *Ibid.*

The craft is steered by a rudder somewhat of the same shape as the rudder of a racing shell and is made of varnished cedar.[10]

Complete with engine the craft weighed 500 lb. The statement that the propellors were " fixed " means, perhaps, that they were connected directly to the engine by shaft or gear and were not chain-driven, as in the Wright machine of the same date; but unfortunately these and many other details are far from clear.

The special motor Gibson intended to use proved unsatisfactory in bench tests, and the engine actually used in the plane was ordered in the spring of 1910 from Hutchinson Brothers & Company, of Victoria. It was a 6-cylinder, air-cooled motor which developed 40 horse-power at a speed of 800 revolutions per minute. Complete with fittings it weighed 200 lb.

A fortnight was needed to repair the damage suffered by Gibson's machine at the conclusion of its first flight, and it was not until September 22 that the Plimley Bicycle Company completed the required " set of wheels," or " supporting trucks," as the new landing gear was termed in the press.[11] Two days later the *Colonist* printed an item which shows that there were two other aeroplanes under construction in British Columbia at this time, one in Victoria and the other in Vancouver. The former was being built by a Mr. F. Watts, in the shops of the Western Motor & Supply Company, on Broad Street. It was stated to be of the Blériot monoplane type, and the account continued:—

The wooden frame is practically complete and Mr. Watts is at work on the engine, a three-cylinder machine with a vertical and two side cylinders. The planes of calico on a wooden frame will be 28 feet across.[12]

Nothing further seems to be known about the Watts aeroplane, and it may never even have been completed, as reports of flights, or attempts to fly it, are lacking.

The Western Motor & Supply Company had also been asked to supply an engine for the machine under construction in Vancouver, and a 3-cylinder English Humber engine was ordered from the firm by the builders of the plane, Messrs. McMullen and Templeton. Other details recorded are as follows:—

The machine built by the Vancouver men is of the Glen Curtis [*sic*] type, with some additional features added by the builders. It is a biplane with planes 28 feet [long] and five feet wide, and each plane will be covered with

(10) *Ibid.*, September 25, 1910.
(11) *Ibid.*, September 23, 1910.
(12) *Ibid.*, September 24, 1910.

a special rubberized silk. The operator's seat will be below the level of the lower plane which is different from that of the Curtis machine. With the motor installed the aeroplane will weigh 400 pounds.[13]

More will be heard of this machine later. Meanwhile we must return to W. W. Gibson and the second flight he made in his twinplane, on September 24, 1910. The best account of the event available reads in part as follows:—

Mr. Gibson left the shed with his plane about 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon and starting his engine on a slight incline rose to the air about fifty feet from the shed. Passing the shelter of a clump of trees a strong cross wind was encountered with the result that the aeroplane was drifted dangerously near some trees, Mr. Gibson not using his rudder. He shut off his engine to avoid collision and came down, but unfortunately his wheels were not equipped with brakes and the momentum drove the aeroplane into an oak tree at the rate of about 25 miles an hour. The slight damage which occurred as a result of the contact with the tree indicated strongly the substantial structure of the machine. The damage, apart from the splitting of a couple of wooden planes and the buckling of a wooden lateral truss, was confined to injury of two of the wheels. Repairs will be effected within the course of a few days and another flight will then be made.

In discussing the flight, Mr. Gibson said he was under the disadvantage of having to learn the art of aviation by experience, there being no "flying schools" in British Columbia. His flights have demonstrated to his satisfaction that the machine is all that is required and all that is necessary to demonstrate it is practice in "airmanship."[14]

Apparently, damage to the twinplane was greater than was thought at the time, as further experiments appear to have been abandoned, and a considerable time passes before Gibson reappears on the aviation scene.

Thus it was that flying came to British Columbia, in the year 1910.

The first indication that the flying season for 1911 had opened in British Columbia was the appearance, in the Vancouver newspapers, of half-page advertisements announcing that there would be three days of flying during the Easter week-end. In large type Vancouver was informed that Jack De Pries and the Manning brothers would be on hand to perform the "spiral glide," the "zig-zag whirl," and other thrilling stunts known to airmen. The meet was to be at the Minoru Race-track, and the price of admission 50 cents.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*, September 25, 1910.

The aviators arrived with their machines on April 10 and the work of assembly began at the race-track the following day.

The meet on Good Friday, April 14, was a great disappointment to all who went out to see it. The account in the Vancouver *Province* reads, in part, as follows:—

An immense crowd that was howling enthusiastically at 3 o'clock was conspicuously apathetic when at 4.45 De Pries and his Curtiss type biplane appeared, one hour and forty-five minutes late. The announcer megaphoned: "This is Jack De Pries, who will make a cross country flight." . . .

De Pries ran the biplane along the ground 300 yards when it raised off the ground a foot and, turning sharply, rammed its nose into the fence on the left side of the track. Spectators scattered and some fell off the fence. There was no damage done except to the biplane. The impact broke the front plane and the machine was incapacitated for the remainder of the afternoon. It was the 80-horsepower biplane.

De Pries then had trundled out the 40-horsepower Curtiss type biplane, the machine that Jack Manning had been advertised to fly.

De Pries had better luck with this one. After gliding [running] for 300 yards he arose to an altitude estimated at 250 feet, sailing in a westerly direction over the race track high-board fence. He alighted in a meadow back of the fence, after a flight of about 500 yards.[15]

This concluded the first day of the three-day meet.

A representative of the *Province* asked De Pries why he had returned to earth so quickly.

"I found a 40-mile current up there," he answered.

"Can't you fly in a 40-mile wind?"

"Yes, if the wind is in the rear of the machine."

De Pries was in the air not more than five minutes. Several yachting men in the judges' stand calculated the maximum velocity of the breeze that swept past the stand yesterday afternoon at ten miles an hour.[16]

This was not a very encouraging beginning, and the meet went from bad to worse.

The following day (Saturday, April 16) De Pries had another go at it. Beginning his run at the far end of the track, he took off before reaching the grandstand. Rising to a height of about 200 feet, and still following the course of the track, he made about three-quarters of the circuit before sailing away in the direction of Steveston, at the mouth of the Fraser River. When about 2 miles away from the racecourse the machine landed, apparently safely; but it was learned shortly afterwards that the machine had been badly smashed and De Pries injured. This

(15) Vancouver *Province*, April 15, 1911.

(16) *Ibid.*

flight was the only attempt made that day. Early reports stated that De Pries had probably been fatally hurt, but fortunately this was not the case, though he suffered from concussion and required a number of stitches to close a scalp wound. He remained in a semi-conscious state during the night, but eventually recovered. He received no niche in the hall of flying fame, other than the modest corner reserved for the first flying casualty in British Columbia.

The Monday flying efforts were equally disappointing. Without De Pries, the Manning brothers were " on the spot," for it is apparent that the advance advertising had greatly overrated their flying abilities. The account in the *Province* speaks for itself:—

Cold feet was a common complaint with the aviators at Minoru Park yesterday. Aerial navigation, the dream of the prime romancer of our boyhood days, was nearly brought into vivid realization, when Brownie Manning, of Manning Bros., in an attempt to break the height record for aeroplanes, rose about four feet from the ground, and then afraid that he really was going up, he altered his planes and made a quick return to terra firma, ran into a fence and damaged one of his wings, ending by nearly making a record of another kind—a mad rush from his machine as though it were haunted.

After about an hour's weary wait the machine was repaired, and a second attempt was made. The result was as before.

Through chattering teeth and knocking knees, he put up a good many stalls, chief of which was that the wind accentuated by the improper balance of the machine caused a tilt that made steering impossible.

Asked by a few " Want to Know Whys," some of whom had been disappointed three times and who were not in a very genial mood, if he or his brother would make another attempt, they made a slighting and positive refusal, adding that the spectators had seen enough for their money.

Altogether it was the poorest of three very disappointing would-be, hair-raising, mid-air manœuvres.[17]

The report certainly did not mince matters, and that is one reason why flying fatalities in those early days were more frequent than they should have been. The public demanded action, and many an airman took the air against his better judgment, and went to his death in consequence. Had the Mannings been built of sterner stuff they would probably have met that fate, for they were very amateur aviators.

We now hear from W. W. Gibson again. This time he has moved his activities to the Paterson Ranch, near Ladner, taking

(17) *Ibid.*, April 18, 1911.

with him from Victoria a new aeroplane, which he believed to be an improvement upon the machine he had flown with such little success the previous September. J. B. Woods, of the Western Motor & Supply Company, Victoria, arrived with him as his "demonstrator."[18] And there we shall leave them for the moment, as other events of importance took place before their experiments began.

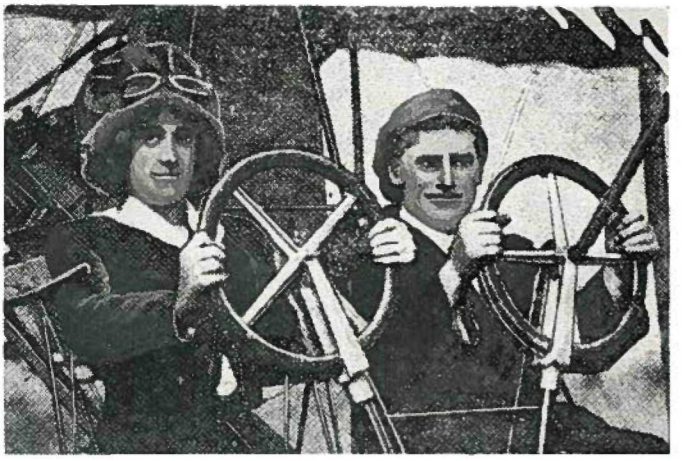
On April 28, 1911, the first successful aeroplane constructed on the Mainland went into action at Minoru Park. This machine was built by William McMullen and William Templeton, of Vancouver, and Winston Templeton, brother of William, was also associated with the machine. Construction had begun in the winter of 1909–10, and was carried on in the basement of the McMullen home, at 1263 Eighth Avenue West. As the basement was not sufficiently large to allow the wings to be attached, the machine was transported to Minoru and assembled there in April, 1911. On the 28th it was given its first tests, in the course of which it proved its ability to rise from the ground, and flew some distance along the race-track. It was hoped that it would become more efficient, but in time it became clear that the 35 horse-power engine fitted was not sufficient for prolonged flights. Tests were continued for some time, however, and many short hops were made by McMullen and both the Templeton brothers, the longest being about 260 feet.

The plane was of the biplane type, with a 7-foot tractor airscrew, and was both well made and of sound design. It was fitted with "curtains," which hung down rigidly between the wings and were thought to increase stability. The idea was borrowed from the Voisin biplane, famous at the time.

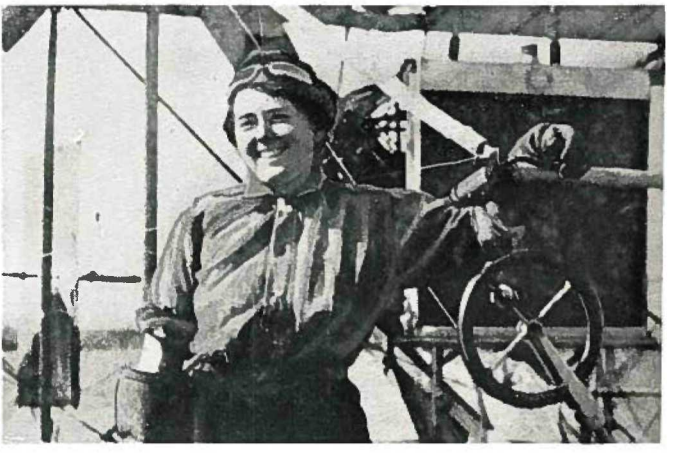
The wing-span of the craft was 28 feet, and it was approximately the same length. As previously noted, its 3-cylinder Humber engine was procured through the Western Motor & Supply Company, of Victoria, and it is of interest to note that the engine alone cost $1,200, delivered in Vancouver.

The machine eventually came to grief by crashing into the railing of the race-track. After a time it was dismantled and taken to a boat-works on Georgia Street, where it was intended to rebuild it and fit it with pontoons. Unfortunately, a fire later

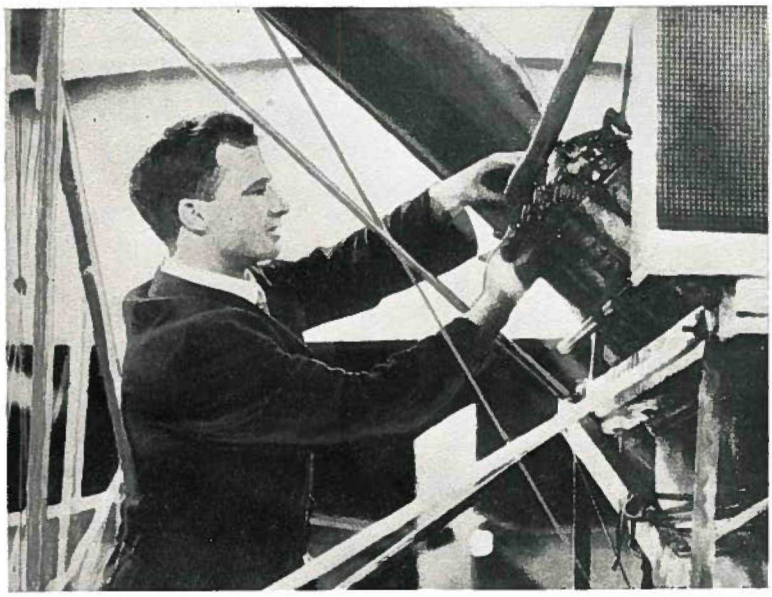
(18) Victoria *Colonist*, May 2, 1911.



Mr. and Mrs. William Stark, in a dual-control Curtiss machine, at San Diego. Mrs. Stark was the second person to fly as a passenger in British Columbia, going up with her husband a few minutes after James T. Hewitt had been a passenger in the same machine, on April 24, 1912. It is believed that Mrs. Stark was the first woman to go up in an aeroplane in Canada.



Miss Alys McKey, the first woman pilot to fly an aeroplane in the Dominion of Canada. The flight took place at Minoru Park, Lulu Island, on July 31, 1913.



John M. Bryant, one of the most outstanding pre-war fliers to give flying exhibitions in British Columbia. His death in a flying accident at Victoria on August 6, 1913, was the only fatality of the kind suffered in Canada prior to the last Great War.

Photo courtesy of U.S. National Museum.

destroyed the plant and with it the machine. The engine and propellor were stored elsewhere and escaped, and the last heard of the motor was that it was reposing in the window of a junk-shop on Granville Street. The propellor was presented to the Air Service Association, from whose club rooms it was eventually stolen.

According to William Templeton, who is now manager of the Vancouver Airport, the whole experiment cost in the neighbourhood of $5,000. Both William McMullen and Winston Templeton are still living, and still residing in British Columbia.[19]

May 30, 1911, was a red-letter day in the flying history of Vancouver Island, for on that date C. F. Walsh lifted his Curtiss-Farman type biplane into the air from the grounds of the Agricultural Association, at Victoria. Advance notices of the event had stated that the airman would be Fred J. Wiseman; but he and his manager, Charles F. Young, came to a parting of the ways just prior to the time he was to appear in Victoria, and Young was fortunate in obtaining the services of Walsh, who had just completed a series of very successful flights at Portland, Oregon.

Shortly after the hour fixed for the first ascent, on the afternoon of the 30th, the roar of the 60 horse-power engine of Walsh's machine interrupted the music being played by the band of the Fifth Regiment, and a few moments later the plane sped down the track and "reared off the ground with delightful grace."[20] Taking a course over the centre field, the airman headed towards the sea. Swinging around some trees on the Uplands, he circled back to the grounds and, carrying on, made a second circuit in the same direction. Returning, he passed low over the spectators, and acknowledged their applause with a wave of the hand. Once again he went over the same route, but this time left the grounds at the northern end, made a short excursion over the countryside, reaching a height of some 700

(19) *See* Vancouver *World*, May 3, 1911 (Vancouver Public Library file); Vancouver *Province*, May 6, 1911 (*Province* office file). (Specific files are mentioned as the items indicated do not appear in all editions of the papers.) William McMullen is now Captain McMullen, of B.C. Packers, while Winston Templeton is townsite agent for the Powell River Company at Stillwater, B.C.

(20) Victoria *Colonist*, May 31, 1911.

feet, and travelled a mile or more away before returning to the grounds.

The alighting was one of the features of the display. Here Aviator Walsh gave a striking demonstration of his control of the machine. He came down where all could see and note every movement. When he began to descend the velocity of the fall appeared alarming. Little shrieks of consternation were heard from several of the ladies in attendance. But their consternation was uncalled for. When within a few feet of terra firma, the engine was stopped, the planes were tilted upward and the biplane came to a stop on its bicycle wheels with the lightness and ease of a bird. This brought forth more applause and the aviator was given a hearty reception on being introduced.[21]

Fifteen minutes later he took off again, flying over practically the same course as before; but on this occasion he did not go much higher than 200 feet. In view of later developments, a few lines from the published account of this flight are worth noting:—

In dodging through the trees to the southwest of the Willow's track one of his planes struck the branch of a tree and cut if off with the cleanness of a razor. He brought the twig back with him and will keep it as a souvenir. In travelling past the grand stand he took an apple from his pocket and threw it at the judge's box, striking the corner, which illustrates that the aeroplane might be destructively useful when employed for military purposes.[22]

It is interesting to learn that Walsh attempted to take up a passenger on his third effort of the day, but slight engine trouble developed, and as he was unable to get off the ground with the additional weight flying was concluded for the day.

On the Wednesday (May 31) it was anticipated that another attempt to take up a passenger would be made, but this did not materialize. A race with a motor-cycle had also been announced, but this did not take place either, though the airman delighted the crowd with two fine flights, made under ideal weather conditions. The first of these, in the course of which three aerial circuits were made, lasted some ten minutes. The speculations of the *Colonist* reporter regarding the speed at which the craft travelled are amusing:—

Although it isn't possible to make an exact and authoritative calculation it is conservatively figured that he was travelling at a rate of speed which, in the case of an automobile, would warrant any stalwart guardian of the

(21) *Ibid.*
(22) *Ibid.*

peace effecting an arrest for an infraction of the provincial regulations. But Mr. Walsh had no competition. It could not be said that he was driving to the common danger. The course was free of any of his own kind and nothing was said except that it was all very wonderful, and " wouldn't it be dreadful if the engine should stop " or " wouldn't such a machine be invaluable if attached to an army on active service for reconnoitering purposes."[23]

The second jaunt aloft kept Walsh in the air for almost fifteen minutes. This time he set his course for the dome of the Parliament Buildings, but after he had made considerable progress towards his objective, slight engine trouble developed, and he immediately turned back to the fair-grounds, where a good landing was made. Examination proved that the engine was short of lubricating-oil, but the reason for this does not appear.

A large number of Victoria children were disappointed on June 1, which was advertised as children's day. Walsh intended giving a special display for their enjoyment, but the day broke with a strong wind blowing which increased to a gale by the afternoon, making flying impossible. He expressed his regret that the flights had had to be called off, remarking, " Life isn't worth much, but a fellow would hate to lose the machine."[24]

The name of C. F. Walsh was not on the Aero Club of America's list of pilots at the time he visited Victoria, but he obtained the Club's licence, No. 118, on April 25, 1912, only to die in a crash at Trenton, New Jersey, the following October.

While Walsh was in Victoria, W. W. Gibson completed and prepared to test his new aeroplane at the Paterson Ranch, near Ladner. It will be recalled that his first machine had been called a " twinplane "; his new effort was designated the " Gibson multiplane." It is reported to have had no less than forty planes, made of wood; and although its width seems to have been greater in proportion to its length than had been the case in the earlier machine, Gibson still clung to his conviction that a long, relatively narrow craft could be so designed as to eliminate " the danger of aerial capsize." The plane had two propellors, driven by a 60 horse-power engine of Gibson's own design. The inventor was confident that he would be making flights to New Westminster and Vancouver very shortly, and

(23) *Ibid.*, June 1, 1911.
(24) *Ibid.*, June 2, 1911.

expected to fly across the Gulf of Georgia to Victoria before the end of the summer.

The first and last trial flight of which we have any knowledge took place on the afternoon of May 31. No public announcement had been made, but Thomas Paterson, then Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, Frank J. McKenzie, M.L.A. for Delta, and several residents of the district, were present. The attempt was a failure, and the reason given to the press was the fact that there was "a lack of wind"—a fact which most airmen of the time would have appreciated.

Gibson, who is now deceased, later took his invention to Calgary, evidently having concluded his experiments in British Columbia, as no further information is available concerning him or his machine.[25]

From June, 1911, until April, 1912, flyers apparently were busy elsewhere, for no airman seems to have visited or flown in British Columbia between those dates.

It was known to many Vancouverites, however, that one of their number was receiving instructions in flying in California. The young man in question was William ("Billy") M. Stark, son of the late James Stark, of the old firm of James Stark & Sons. "Billy" is reputed to have driven the first gasoline-propelled vehicle on the streets of Vancouver, in 1901, and had been busy with automobiles and engines ever since. He became interested in flying, which at the time was regarded primarily as a sport, and presently left for San Diego, where he joined the Curtiss Aviation School, at North Island. After expert tuition under the watchful eye of the famous Glenn H. Curtiss, he quickly became a banner performer, and passed the qualifying tests for an aviator's licence on March 22, 1912.[26] Owing to the fact that no meeting of the governors was held immediately, Stark did not receive his licence—No. 110—from the Aero Club of America until April 10. It may be noted in passing that

(25) On the Gibson machine *see* Victoria *Colonist*, May 2, 1911; Vancouver *Province*, June 1, 1911; Victoria *Colonist*, June 2, 1911; also a letter from A. D. Paterson, of Ladner, who witnessed the trial, to Frank H. Ellis, dated June 1, 1939, which states that the machine "never got off the ground while here . . ."

(26) San Diego *Sun*, March 22, 1912.

only one other Canadian airman possesses one of these early permits, the previously mentioned J. A. D. McCurdy, who is still very much alive, and resides in Montreal. His licence is No. 18.

Meanwhile Stark had purchased one of the latest-type Curtiss biplanes; had shipped it to Vancouver, and was preparing to give exhibition flights in British Columbia. The machine was equipped with an 8-cylinder 75 horse-power motor, and cost $5,500. Minoru was once again the chosen flying-field, and after a brief trial cruise on Friday, April 12, Stark made his first exhibition flight on the Saturday, before a party of his friends and the press. Conditions were very favourable and he took the machine up to about 500 feet. He flew westward over the Richmond rifle-range to the mouth of the Fraser River, returned to the track, and made a perfect landing. The flight lasted about 20 minutes. Full accounts of it appeared in the newspapers on Monday, but they were overshadowed by the first reports of the *Titanic* disaster, which filled the front pages of the same issues.[27]

These accounts stated that Stark would give a flying exhibition at Minoru on Saturday, April 20, and large advertisements, featuring a photograph of the aviator at the controls of his machine, appeared during the week. A large crowd was expected, and the British Columbia Electric Railway put on nine special cars to augment the regular service to Lulu Island points.

The exhibition was an unqualified success, but the crowd was small. Undoubtedly the De Pries-Manning fiasco of the previous year influenced many to stay at home.

Stark preferred to use the track as a runway rather than the infield, which was very rough. His first flight lasted but five minutes and was in the nature of a test. His second flight was also of short duration, lasting six and a half minutes, but he flew in continuous circles above the field, at a height of some 400 feet, giving the people a good view of the machine in flight, and on one circuit, keeping within the track limits, he made the mile in one minute and twenty-eight seconds.

The third and final flight of the day took thirteen minutes, and featured climbing, and gliding spirals. It was the first time

(27) The best report is probably that in the Vancouver *World*, April 15, 1912.

stunting of the kind had been accomplished in British Columbia. At the finish of this flight, Stark shut off his engine at a height of 800 feet and made a steep dive for 600 feet, causing considerable excitement among the spectators, who were not used to this sort of thing. Upon landing, the " birdman," as the newspapers repeatedly called him, was warmly congratulated for his fine exhibition.[28]

Wednesday, April 24, 1912, was a notable day in the history of aviation in British Columbia, for the first successful passenger flight in the Province—and, for that matter, in Western Canada —took place on that date. The pilot was W. M. Stark, and the passenger James T. Hewitt, then Sporting Editor of the Vancouver *Province*. The flight was one of the features of Stark's second flying exhibition at Minoru. He flew his machine to a nearby field, of larger proportions than the race-track, and a piece of board was lashed to the lower wing, just to the left of the only seat the plane possessed. Upon this " Jimmy " Hewitt perched, grasping whatever was available to hold on to.

A fresh breeze was blowing at the time, and this undoubtedly assisted in lifting the single-seater machine into the air with its double load. The flight lasted eight minutes and an altitude of about 600 feet was attained. Hewitt published a full account of his experience in his paper, and one or two excerpts will be of interest:—

> Once in the air the strong rush of wind kept me so busy hanging on to the rigging to prevent being swept out of the machine backwards that I had no occasion to worry about falling. My only fear was that I might be blown out into space. We dashed through the air at a pace which approximated, so the aviator informed me afterwards, about forty miles an hour.

(28) Based chiefly upon the account in the Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, April 21, 1912. It is interesting to note that in the intervals between Stark's flights two 5-mile motor-cycle races were run, the first being won by Earl Godfrey in 6 minutes 30 seconds, while the second went to Allan Ross in 6 minutes flat. Young Godfrey later became air-minded himself, served overseas with the Royal Air Force, and was awarded the Military Cross and the Air Force Cross. Remaining with the force after the war, he has become an outstanding figure in flying circles. In September, 1926, with the late Dalzell McKee, he made the first flight across the Dominion of Canada. He now holds the rank of Group Captain, and at the moment of writing is in command of the Western Air Command of the Royal Canadian Air Force, with headquarters at Jericho Beach, Vancouver.

Another remark of Hewitt's is amusing, and shows that traffic was regarded as dangerous, even in 1912:—

> The turning of the machine gave me the feeling of sweeping round a sharp corner on an automobile but I felt satisfied because I knew there could be no collision around the turn. In fact I felt much safer than in a Vancouver street.[29]

As soon as Hewitt had been returned safely to earth, Stark carried another passenger aloft—Mrs. Stark, his wife, who had made a number of ascents as a passenger in the United States. This flight was shorter than the previous one, but was equally successful, and Mrs. Stark became the first woman to venture into the air in an aeroplane in British Columbia. Indeed, it is probable that she was the first woman passenger in the Dominion.

Both Mrs. Stark and James T. Hewitt are now deceased. Mrs. Stark died in 1927, and Hewitt was killed overseas, during the last Great War.

Further flights were advertised to take place at Minoru on April 27, but were abandoned owing to heavy rain; and the following Wednesday, when it was hoped that further flying could be done, another downpour took place.

Owing to the distance of Minoru Park from the city, Stark decided that it would be wiser to give his exhibitions closer in, and Hastings Park was chosen as the scene of the flights advertised for the afternoons of May 3 and 4. Unfortunately the 3rd was once again a pouring wet day, but at last on the 4th the weather smiled, and crowds were on hand early at Hastings Park to see him fly.

No one had flown from the Park before, and at that time it was far from suitable for the purpose. Few airmen would care to use it, even to-day. The infield was well sprinkled with stumps and the grounds were nearly surrounded by huge fir and cedar trees. It can hardly have been an attractive spot to a young aviator who had every desire to live.

At eleven minutes to four, Stark took off and skilfully piloted his machine out of the grounds against a westerly breeze. The flight was short, but in the five minutes he was up he went almost to Moodyville before turning back. He landed without incident, and the crowd gave him hearty applause.

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(29) Vancouver *Province*, April 25, 1912.

After a short rest, Stark again left the grounds, getting into the air without difficulty. He again flew to Moodyville and circled back along the north shore of the Inlet. He rose to an altitude of about 1,000 feet during this trip, and performed a number of figure eights before coming down to land. His return to the grounds almost ended in disaster. A herd of cattle was in the enclosure; apparently no one bothered about such animals wandering at large on the landing area; and one of them ran directly in the path of the aeroplane as it settled down to earth. Seeing it, Stark pulled the machine up and hopped over the animal, but by doing so he used up most of the available landing area. The plane was still travelling fast, but it was too late to take off again owing to the nearness of the high trees. There was no choice but to head for the fence. When about 20 feet from it Stark threw himself out of the machine, and an instant later it crashed with considerable force into the railings. Two assistants, J. Perry and T. Watson, endeavoured to slow the plane up by attempting to grasp it as it rushed for the fence, but Perry received a badly cut hand for his trouble, and Watson was knocked down, and had the somewhat unusual experience of being run over by an aeroplane.[30]

The machine was not greatly damaged, but the incident brought the flying meet at Hastings Park to a conclusion.

In an interview last June, Mr. Stark mentioned the Hastings Park affair, and stated that he was forced to land *down-wind* on both occasions, owing to the huge trees at the easterly end and the smallness of the landing area. The risks he took that far-away day were greater than the public or the press realized, for landing down-wind is one of the most dangerous tasks in flying, even at the present time.

Hastings Park again became the centre of flying interest when a news item appeared in the Vancouver *Province* on May 7, 1912, announcing that two very well-known aviators, Phil O. Parmalee and Clifford Turpin, would give exhibitions there on the 24th and 25th of the month. On the 23rd a further item stated that the flyers had arrived and that they expected to set to work immediately to assemble their two Wright biplanes. A

(30) The accounts in the various Vancouver papers vary slightly in detail; the text follows the *News-Advertiser*, May 5, 1912.

parachute descent from one of the planes was also promised. Customs difficulties developed, however, and in the end only one machine reached Vancouver. This was the first Wright aeroplane to come to British Columbia.

Aviation history was made again at the meet held on May 24. After a ten-minute flight by Parmalee and a flight of nine minutes by Turpin, in which he rose to the greatest height a plane had ever reached in British Columbia—well over 2,000 feet[31]—the flight from which the parachute descent was to be made was announced. As the jump which followed was only the fourth successful parachute drop ever made from an aeroplane it deserves special comment.

Professor J. Morton had been advertised as the parachutist, but owing to sickness a substitute was procured in the person of Professor Charles Saunders, who had made many jumps from balloons but who had never been up in an aeroplane before. So far, no trace of where Saunders came from at such short notice has been unearthed, but as balloon ascensions and a parachute drop had taken place at the annual exhibition at Chilliwack just twelve days before, he may have come from there.

A makeshift container for the folded parachute was made from a large empty can, which was firmly bound to one of the skids of the machine. Attired in red tights, with a large leather helmet upon his head, Professor Saunders then took his place in the machine, just behind Parmalee. In taking off, disaster was narrowly averted, as a much longer run was required to get away with the passenger's additional weight, and the tree-tops were barely cleared in consequence.

The airman circled around over Burrard Inlet until a height of 1,000 feet had been gained. The entire crowd watched in hushed silence as Saunders was seen to be climbing down, and at last could be discerned hanging from the machine. No harness attached the parachute to the jumper's body in those days; the method then in vogue was to trust to a strong pair of hands and arms, by which the courageous jumper grasped the bar attached to the parachute. His own strong muscles were all he relied upon to forestall a sudden trip to eternity.

(31) The *World*, May 25, says "fully 2500 feet"; the *Sun*, 3,000 feet.

Then, in the reporter's words:—

Straight as a plummet the streak of red below the long streak of white dropped for fully one hundred feet. Then with a couple of preliminary flutters, the rushing air entered the distending ring of the parachute and it opened like a huge umbrella. A great sigh of relief went up from the six thousand and some odd pairs of eyes who were watching the daring feat.

Thousands of others outside the grounds witnessed the drop, either from the shore or from boats on the water.

Saunders landed on the North Shore, about 100 yards from the water's edge, on the mud flats, which, being soft, made an excellent landing-place. Hundreds of picnickers, evidently there to watch the flights, soon surrounded him, and he was the centre of an admiring crowd who plied him with innumerable questions as he rolled up his parachute and awaited the coming of a power-boat which he had chartered to carry him back across the Inlet to Hastings Park, on the south shore. Half an hour later he appeared back on the grounds, followed by a big crowd of boys carrying his rolled-up parachute, and was accorded a great ovation by the crowd.

The day's flying concluded with a second flight by Turpin, which lasted seven minutes.[32]

On Saturday, May 25, the programme was repeated. Following exhibition flights by Parmalee and Turpin, Professor Saunders made another parachute jump from the biplane. Parmalee was again the pilot, and upon this occasion Saunders made a graceful landing right in the infield, to the delight of the spectators. It was intended to conclude the meet with a cross-country flight to Bellingham, and a letter from the Mayor of Vancouver had been handed to one of the aviators in the expectation that he would deliver it by air; but threatening rain made it necessary to cancel the attempt.[33]

(32) Vancouver *World*, May 25, 1912.

(33) Vancouver *Sun*, May 27, 1912. It seems that the Great Northern Railway declined to accept Parmalee's aeroplane as baggage; and, as he was under contract to fly at Bellingham on Sunday the 26th, and could find no motor-truck large enough to carry the machine, he arranged with Harry Hooper, pioneer Vancouver taxicab-driver to transport it thither in his big Winton touring car. Mr. Hooper recently related the story to Major J. S. Matthews, Vancouver City Archivist, who has very kindly furnished the following quotation from Mr. Hooper's narrative:—

These meets at Hastings Park were hazardous affairs, as the following quotation indicates:—

Both Turpin and Parmalee stated that owing to the small size of the ground and the heavy forest and rough nature of the surrounding country as well as the high power wires they considered their flights . . . as the most dangerous they had ever made.

"There is absolutely no chance for us if her engine should stop while in the air," said Turpin to the *World*, "for outside of the grounds, it would be impossible for an aviator to make a landing anywhere except possibly in the water. That was why we staid over the water for the largest portion of our flights."[34]

Brave young men, those two, fully aware of the odds against them, yet flying and taking the risk so that the crowd would not be disappointed. Both possessed very early Aero Club of America licences, Turpin's being No. 22 and Parmalee's No. 25. Both were issued in October, 1910.

Only six day after flying in Vancouver, Turpin had the misfortune to crash into the grandstand at the Aviation Fair in Seattle. He was not badly injured himself, but a man and a small girl were killed and fifteen others badly injured.

The following day, June 1, Phil Parmalee crashed in an apple orchard in Moxee Valley, North Yakima, Washington. His machine dropped 400 feet, out of control, and in the resultant smash he lost his life.

The Vancouver *World* printed an interesting editorial following the flying at Hastings Park, one or two sentences from which are worth quoting:—

The first parachute descent from an aeroplane which Vancouver has just witnessed, the fact that Mr. Stark, a Vancouver man, is making a great reputation as a "bird man" and that Messrs. Parmalee and Turpin gave us such a fine show of aviation last week, has set Vancouver thinking more

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"What I did was this. I went to my home on Hornby street. . . . I took all the pillows and blankets I could; loaded the engine into the tonneau of [the] Winton car. Then I spread my blankets and pillows over the seats, laid the wings of the plane from the windshield towards the rear and let the ends hang over the back of the car; then I put more pillows and blankets on the wings, and laid the fusilage on top of the wings."

Parmalee offered to pay $150 for the trip, but Mr. Hooper asked for $300 on a "no cure no pay" basis, and Parmalee accepted. The plane reached Bellingham on time, and flew there on the Sunday afternoon.

(34) Vancouver *World*, May 25, 1912.

about aviation than all we have heard about Germany's plans for a sky army, or the advance made in aviation by Great Britain. . . .

The flying machine has not come to stay but to go—and to arrive—at the place desired for its arrival. This Province will see its development, for where could there be a finer area for its operations? In this land of "magnificent distances," as it has been called, the flying machine will develop as the outcome of environment.[35]

In the meantime "Billy" Stark had signed a contract to fly at Victoria on May 24, while Parmalee and Turpin were at Vancouver. He arrived in the Capital on the 22nd, having shipped his machine by boat to the Island for the event, and immediately began its assembly in readiness for Victoria Day.

He made one flight from the Oak Bay grounds on the 24th, going up several hundred feet and remaining in the air for twenty minutes. In landing the drag (brake) on the front wheel refused to work and the machine ran into the fence with considerable force, damaging it sufficiently to prevent a further flight that day. The crowd took this in excellent part, however, and both the Victoria newspapers printed accounts of the flight which praised Stark highly.[36]

The damage was repaired by the afternoon of the 25th, and Stark once again delighted the crowd with a fine flight, which lasted fifteen minutes. On this occasion he circled the track twice and then set his course for Cordova Bay, quickly disappearing from view. After an absence of four minutes he came into sight again, and shortly afterwards came gliding down into the grounds and made a perfect landing.[37]

This concluded Stark's flights on Vancouver Island. He had hoped to fly at Nanaimo as well, but the plan fell through.

Prior to this, Stark had contracted to fly at Armstrong on July 1, Dominion Day. He arrived there on June 27 to complete advance arrangements, and was followed next day by his biplane, which was immediately assembled in the skating-rink and placed on exhibition. The machine was a big drawing card, as it was the first time an aeroplane had visited the interior of British

(35) *Ibid.*, May 27, 1912.

(36) *See* Victoria *Times* and *Colonist*, May 25, 1912.

(37) Victoria *Colonist*, May 26, 1912. The *Colonist* printed a good photograph of the plane flying near Victoria.

Columbia, and about 4,000 persons gathered for the Dominion Day celebrations.

Taking off from the fair grounds the airman climbed steadily, steering down Otter Lake Valley, and reaching a height of about 1,500 feet. When about 2 miles away he began to circle back towards the town. With a very strong wind to help him along he was quickly back over the sports field. Coming down low by way of salute, he continued towards Enderby, returning along the west side of the valley, against the wind.

Owing to the blustery character of the wind and the small size of the grounds, Stark decided to land elsewhere, and chose a large field about 3 miles out of town, close to the old Lansdowne cemetery—but not, presumably, because he expected to need the latter. Dr. Crawford, of Armstrong, happened to be passing close by in his automobile, and he carried the airman back to the grounds, where some anxiety had been felt at his delay in returning.

The following morning Stark went out to fly the machine back to the grounds, but a heavy rain during the night had affected the engine's temperament, and he was no sooner off the ground than the motor began to miss badly and he was forced to land in a hurry. In doing so a tire blew out and a strut was splintered. The machine was therefore taken apart where it was, brought to town on a dray, and later shipped to Vancouver. Stark was much disappointed at this mishap, as he had intended to fly the plane back to Armstrong and perform the spiral glide and other popular aerial manœuvres of the day.[38]

Later in July Stark went to Portland, Oregon, to fulfil a contract, and during a flight there in a strange machine the engine went dead and he was forced to land in an open space, in the midst of a number of parked automobiles. The plane was badly damaged, and the meet was called off in consequence. As this has no direct bearing on flying in British Columbia we may pass over the details, except to state that the Portland press praised Stark very highly for the presence of mind he displayed in preventing serious injuries to the spectators. He himself received a severe shaking up, but no serious injuries except a badly cut eye.[39]

(38) For a complete account *see* Armstrong *Advertiser*, July 4, 1912.

(39) *See* Portland *News*, *Oregonian*, and *Telegram*, July 11, 1912.

On August 8, 1912, a half-page advertisement appeared in the Vancouver *Province*, stating that "Jimmy Martin, the great English birdman, assisted by Millie Irving, America's most daring aviatress" would give an exhibition the following Saturday, in conjunction with the horse-races at Minoru Park.

Their efforts were brought to a sudden ending when Captain Martin essayed a flight. A very strong wind was blowing, and the airman had only just left the ground when trouble of some kind developed. He was forced to land and the machine was damaged. There was no more flying that day, and although it was announced that flights would be made the following Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, by both Captain Martin and Miss Irving, "the bantamweight aviatrix," no other flights took place. A short description of their first and only attempt appeared in the Vancouver *Province*.[40]

W. M. Stark had contracted to fly at the tenth annual Nelson Fruit Fair, to be held on September 23 to 28, 1912, but his crash at Portland upset his plans, and he made arrangements with a Mr. F. A. Bennett, manager for an airman by the name of Walter Edwards, to cover the fair in his stead.

These two men arrived in Nelson with their plane on the 22nd, and immediately commenced assembly of the machine at the fair grounds. It was the first aeroplane to visit the Kootenay area, and was a Curtiss biplane, with an 8-cylinder Curtiss engine, almost identical to the one owned by Stark.

Edwards was worried by the treacherous air-currents which he expected to encounter near the mountains, and declared that he would not have permitted his manager to sign a contract requiring him to fly at Nelson if he had been familiar with the country. But he was both a brave man and a good sport, and made his first flight as scheduled on September 24. It was a complete success, as will be seen by the following description, which appeared in the Nelson *News*:—

> Two minutes before 2 o'clock the big 60 horse power 8-cylinder motor in Walter Edwards' Curtiss biplane commenced to throb and at one minute before the scheduled time the machine shot across the grounds and rising gracefully over the fence and telephone wires at the east end, the nervy aviator began the flight which is likely to prove historic in the annals of Kootenay.

(40) August 12, 1912.

The airship shot at a 60-mile clip over Fairview, past the Hume school and shipyards to a point about three miles up the lake. Still rising, Edwards steered across the water and then, making a beautiful turn, commenced his journey back to the city, keeping close to the mountains on the north side of the lake.

He passed the grounds, drove a short distance west and then shot back in front of the grandstand, dropping within a few score feet of the spectators on the grounds as he again shot eastwards. He made another trip up the lake and flying back close to Nelson mountain, made a pretty turn over the C.P.R. flats and swooped like a great hawk to the grounds. The landing was one of the prettiest in the history of aviation and was made rapidly but without the slightest error in the manipulation of the planes which direct the course of the machine. He was in the air nine minutes.[41]

The crowd gave the flyer a tremendous ovation. Interviewed shortly after the flight, Edwards complained that the air was "frightfully cold," though the air-currents were not as bad as he had expected. He did not relish the fact that he had further flights to make, and remarked pessimistically that if his "eight months' record of no accidents" were broken before he left Nelson he would "not be particularly surprised."

However, on the 25th he showed his nerve by making another flight of twelve minutes, following almost the same course as the previous day, but narrowly averting a smash in alighting, owing to the very small area of the landing-ground.[42] Manager Bennett was reported as being "eloquent with gloomy forebodings of probable disaster" in connection with the flights yet to be made.[43]

A strong wind, with resultant bad air-currents, prevailed on the 26th, but, nothing daunted, Edwards again braved the air, and the machine was tossed about in the most alarming manner. He rose to a height of 700 feet and travelled as far as Five-Mile before he was able to turn the plane around and head back for the grounds. He had great difficulty in getting into a position for landing, and was forced to make several circuits of the town

(41) Nelson *News*, September 25, 1912.

(42) The small size of the field made the take-off as well as landing difficult. W. G. C. Lanskail, Secretary of the Nelson Board of Trade, states that when taking off Edwards was "aided by eight husky men who held the plane fixed till the motor attained full speed, then at a signal all let go and the plane made a good getaway." (W. G. C. Lanskail to Frank H. Ellis, September 6, 1939.)

(43) Nelson *News*, September 26, 1912.

before at last he was enabled to do so. This time he had the misfortune to run heavily into the fence, and the machine was slightly damaged. Edwards jumped from the machine at the last moment, but hung on, acting as a drag, thus preventing a much more serious impact. No wonder the Nelson *News* congratulated him upon his courage.[44]

The damage had been repaired by 2 o'clock the following afternoon, and true to his promise the daring young man once again braved the elements. The weather was more considerate, with but a slight wind and bright sunshine, and the spectators were treated to a fine flight. During this trip Edwards made a landing on the flats some distance out of town, and as this was not scheduled, some anxiety was felt for his safety. After about five minutes, however, the sound of his engine was heard, and he was seen to be in the air again, returning to the grounds. Here he made a safe landing, no doubt with a sense of relief, as it brought his exhibition to a conclusion. Rumour had it that the airman had made a wager that he would alight on the flats and return to the grounds with a passenger, but that the person concerned backed out of the wager at the last moment.[45] Had he made the flight, his name would have gone down in history as the first passenger-by-air in the Interior.

The approach of winter again put a stop to flying in British Columbia, and no further data have been unearthed on the subject earlier than the accounts of the flights which began at Minoru Park on July 31, 1913.

It was announced in the Vancouver papers that the well-known airman John M. ("Johnny") Bryant, and the clever aviatrix Miss Alys McKey, were to give the exhibitions, and expert flying was promised. Few people knew at the time that Bryant and Miss McKey were husband and wife, as they had been married for only ten weeks, and Miss McKey preferred to continue flying under her own name, which she had already made famous by her daring flights in California, Oregon, and Washington.

(44) *Ibid.*, September 27, 1912.

(45) *Ibid.*, September 28, 1912. Edwards, who was said to be the son of a millionaire, continued to fly, and was eventually killed at or near Spokane, according to the only information available.

The meet held on July 31 was notable, as two flying records went by the board that afternoon.

Bryant went up first in the Curtiss biplane and put on as fine a performance as the most critical observer could wish to see, making turns and glides with expert judgment. His landing was also perfectly timed.

Next followed an event of great interest in the history of Canadian flying—the first flight made in the Dominion of Canada by a woman pilot. Miss McKey proved herself both daring and resourceful during a flight which lasted sixteen minutes, in the course of which, at a height of some 700 feet, many clever aerial evolutions were made. Her landing was faultless and a fitting climax to the occasion.

On the third flight of the day, Bryant went up for an altitude record, and reached a height of 5,100 feet. This was the highest mark attained in the Northwest to that date, but it did not top the existing Canadian record, as Glen H. Martin had previously reached a height of some 7,000 feet at Montreal.

A brilliant finish to this flight was made when the airman shut off his motor at a height of 2,500 feet, dove steeply until he was within 100 feet of the ground, and then landed without again resorting to the use of his engine. It was clever flying for that early period.[46]

The next day, August 1, Bryant and Miss McKey, who were members of the Bennett Aero Company, and performed under the management of the same F. A. Bennett who had visited Nelson in 1912 with Walter Edwards, again gave the crowds at Minoru full value for their money.

At that time, of course, no altitude record had been established by a woman flyer in Canada. Miss McKey was holder of the American record for women—3,100 feet—which she had set up a short time previously at Seattle, and on that August afternoon she established the first record for women ever made officially in the Dominion. The height attained was 2,200 feet.[47]

Additional flights made on August 2, under unfavourable weather conditions, concluded the flying at Vancouver.

(46) Vancouver *Province*, August 1, 1913.
(47) Vancouver *World*, August 2, 1913.

Plans had already been made for the Bennett Aero Company to fly at Victoria during the water carnival the following week, and the machine was taken apart and shipped to the Island over the week-end.

Miss McKey was the first to fly the biplane at Victoria. She went up from the Willows on the morning of Tuesday, August 5, and flew off in the direction of Uplands. It was gusty up aloft, and she had difficulty keeping the machine on an even keel. After flying towards Victoria, she swung round and headed back to the track in the teeth of the wind, the craft pitching constantly in the gusts. With expert handling she brought the machine down and landed, after a rough trip made under conditions which she described in an interview as being the worst she had ever been up in.[48]

The next day (August 6), Bryant make flying history, for he not only flew the first seaplane ever flown on the waters of British Columbia, but also made the first flight over a large British Columbia city, winging his way for ten minutes 1,000 feet above the City of Victoria.

On the morning of the 6th he flew his wheel-equipped Curtiss from the Willows to Cadboro Bay, landing there on the beach. The wheels were removed, and a seaplane float waiting there in readiness was fitted to the machine, thus converting it from a land-plane to a water craft.

Shortly after 10.30 a.m. the work of conversion was completed and Bryant took off into a blustery wind. He made a landing at the mouth of the bay, near one of the small islands, evidently to test the machine's landing ability. Once again in the air, he climbed steadily, heading directly for the Capital City, where 20,000 pairs of eyes had been anxiously scanning the sky for his arrival.

> Soon the throng burst into cheering that swelled greater and greater, and from street to street, and, as if the aviator heard it he waved his hand. For nearly ten minutes Bryant flew at a height of nearly 1,000 feet. The aeroplane rocked like a cradle, and great gasps of relief would go up from the throng every time the frail aerial vessel righted itself.[49]

After rocking and pitching in this fashion over Victoria, Bryant volplaned at a steep angle down to a landing just outside

(48) Victoria *Times*, August 5, 1913.
(49) *Ibid.*, August 6, 1913.

the inner harbour, and, " taxi-ing " in, he swung the craft into the wharf behind the Grand Trunk Pacific (now the Canadian National) slips, bringing it to a stop with the wing-tips almost touching the dock. Every point of vantage around the wharf was crowded with sightseers, and Bryant was given a great welcome.[50]

An unfortunate and sad story in our flying history now remains to be told, for on the afternoon of August 6 " Johnny " Bryant was killed. He was the only pre-war flying victim in Canada.

He took off from the water near the Department of Marine and Fisheries wharf about 5.50 p.m., and circled out over the harbour, coming back over the business section of Victoria. His machine had only been in the air five minutes and was some 800 feet above the city, in the vicinity of the City Hall, when the watchers below saw the plane dive steeply. This dive continued, becoming faster and steeper, until the craft was but 200 feet from the ground. The right wing was then seen to collapse. Momentum carried the biplane over the Fire Department headquarters and the market buildings, and it crashed upon the roof of the Lee Dye building, at the corner of Cormorant Street and Theatre Alley. There was a wild rush of spectators from all sides towards Chinatown, and Cormorant Street and Fisgard Street were quickly packed with a mass of people. Detective Heather, Motor Constable Foster, and Constable McLellan had started on the run as soon as it was obvious that the machine was going to crash, and they arrived on the scene before the streets became impassable, and but a few seconds after a Mr. Ferrin, who had been standing in Cormorant Street, watching the flight. A ladder secured from the Fire Department headquarters was run up the side of the building, and Dr. George Hall, who had responded to the call for medical assistance, climbed to the roof.

There was little he could do, however, as " Johnny " had died almost instantly.

Mrs. Bryant (Miss Alys McKey) had been watching the flight from the Department of Marine building, and the accident

(50) *Ibid.*

plunged her into grief which was shared by the whole of Victoria.[51]

"Johnny" Bryant was one of the cleverest airman of the time, and had done a great deal of flying prior to coming to British Columbia. His Aero Club of America licence was No. 208, and he had made his qualifying flights early in 1913.

Mrs. Alys McKey Bryant did not continue flying after her husband's death. She now resides in Washington, D.C., and very kindly secured for the writer, from the Smithsonian Institution, copies of the records relating to flights in British Columbia which are preserved there.

A dearth of flying now set in, and it is not until we read again of W. M. Stark that aviation in British Columbia once more appears in the news.

After his accident at Portland, Stark had been persuaded to take a rest from the "flying game," as it was then usually termed, but he still had his machine, and early in 1914 decided to convert it into a seaplane. Pontoons were accordingly built for it by Messrs. Van Dyke & Sons, Vancouver boat-builders, the intention being to make flights later on at the numerous regattas to be held on the Pacific Coast.

On Saturday, June 14, 1914, the machine was taken out for a test run on the waters of Burrard Inlet. Starting from the boat-shed near Deadman's Island, Coal Harbour, shortly after noon, he taxied over the water for some time, to get the feel of things. Then in the vicinity of Brockton Point he gave the engine full power, and the craft lifted into the air without effort, passing low over the West Vancouver ferry *Sonrisa* and the power-yacht *Kilcair*. After a practice landing near Prospect Point, Stark continued his flight, going around Stanley Park and alighting on the waters of English Bay. His was the first aircraft to fly through the First Narrows, the entrance to Vancouver Harbour. After several more runs on the water and in the air, the return trip was made around the Park at a height of several hundred feet.[52] The *Komagata Maru*, of unhappy memory, was

(51) *Ibid.*, August 7, 1913.

(52) *See* Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, June 15, 1914; also Vancouver *Province*, June 16, 1914.

in port at the time, anchored in mid-stream, and Stark mentioned later that as he looked down at the steamer he could see the hundreds of brown faces of the Hindus aboard her, looking up as he flew overhead.

Stark's ambition to fly was evidently sufficiently strong to overcome his family's opposition to the risks he was taking, for he again contracted to make an exhibition flight, this time at Chilliwack, on Dominion Day, in connection with the annual fair. The whole of the Fraser Valley turned out for the event, and not the least of the attractions was the promised aeroplane flight, which was the first to be made in that area.

When Stark made his first flight an extremely boisterous wind was blowing, which made matters very unpleasant for him, although the crowd on the ground enjoyed it thoroughly. In an interview the airman stated that it was just about the roughest trip he had ever made; and the Vancouver *News-Advertiser* stated that

> The wind was tricky, and but for the fact that the proposed flight had aroused great interest in the Fraser Valley, particularly among the old timers, Stark would have declined to ascend. After the performance he described it as the riskiest trip he had ever made, although [as the reporter added naively] it appeared quite safe from the ground.[53]

A second flight was made in the evening, by which time the weather was somewhat calmer.[54]

Just one month after "Billy" Stark had flown from the waters of Burrard Inlet another seaplane arrived in British Columbia. This was a Curtiss-type machine owned and piloted by Weldon B. Cooke, of Oakland, California. Holder of Aero Club licence No. 95, he was one of the well-known airmen of the day. Cooke undertook to make a series of flights at Nelson during a carnival, and made two very successful ascents, in perfect weather, on July 14. The next day he was hampered by a high wind, and it was only at the third attempt that he was able to make a short flight. On the third and fourth days "atmospheric conditions" prevented him from rising from the water, though we are told that "he delighted the spectators with an exhibition of speeding along the surface with his machine."[55]

(53) July 2, 1914.
(54) *See* Chilliwack *Progress*, July 9, 1914.
(55) Nelson *News*, July 17, 1914.

Fortunately the weather improved on the last day of the carnival, Saturday, July 18, and Cooke was able to make two flights, one of which was described as being "the most graceful and successful" of the series.[56]

A month later Cooke and his machine appeared at the regatta held at Kelowna, on Okanagan Lake, and an ascent was made on the afternoon of August 13.

> The first hydroplane flight was given at 2.25, when the aviator, Mr. Weldon B. Cooke, started from shore at the west end of the grand stand. Quickly gathering speed as his biplane skimmed over the surface of the water, the bold bird-man gracefully rose into the air and wheeled his droning flight directly towards the west side of the lake for some distance, when he described a fine sweep and circled in front of the grand stand along shore until about Jones' boat-house, where he turned and made another circle, flying this time directly over the grand stand amid hearty applause from the spectators. The aviator had perfect control of his craft, and rose or came down as he wished in his flight, which averaged from 50 to 200 feet above the water. He made a good landing on completing his second circuit, exactly at the starting point.[57]

A second flight was scheduled for 4 p.m., but slight engine trouble prevented him from rising, and by the time the trouble was corrected a rising wind caused him to abandon the attempt.[58]

With the outbreak of the first Great War, private and exhibition flying in British Columbia came to a standstill, as it did in almost all parts of Canada.

This story would not be complete, however, if mention were not made of the fact that the first Aero Club of British Columbia came into being during the fall of 1915. It was organized by a number of public-spirited business-men of Vancouver, specially to train a number of young men for air service overseas.

W. M. Stark's machine, which had already played so interesting a part in British Columbia's flying history, was purchased by the Club for training purposes, and Stark himself was engaged as instructor. Training was given at Minoru Park, and the first pupils to become proficient airmen were Murton A. Seymour and Phil Scott. Both served overseas with distinction, as did a

(56) For complete accounts *see* Nelson *News*, July 15–18, 1914.
(57) Kelowna *Courier*, August 13, 1914.
(58) *Ibid.*

number of other pupils who qualified at a later date.[59] Seymour rose to the rank of Major in the Royal Flying Corps, and at the time of writing is President of the Canadian Flying Clubs Association. He resides in St. Catharines, Ontario.

Thus the pioneer period of flying came to an end, a period during which many flyers rose to fame and fortune, and a great many other brave men and women lost their lives, leaving only fading memories and scattered records to mark their passing.[60]

FRANK H. ELLIS.

WEST VANCOUVER, B.C.

(59) Scattered references to the Aero Club and its activities will be found in the Vancouver newspapers throughout the fall of 1915. For example *see* Vancouver *News-Advertiser*, September 14, 1915, and the *Sun*, November 2, 1915.

(60) Readers may be interested to know that six models of pioneer Canadian aeroplanes, constructed on a scale of one half inch to the foot, have just been presented to the Vancouver Airport Committee. They will be placed on display in the Administration Building of the Vancouver Civic Airport, Sea Island. Models of McCurdy's *Silver Dart*, and of the McMullen-Templeton and Stark machines are included in the group.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

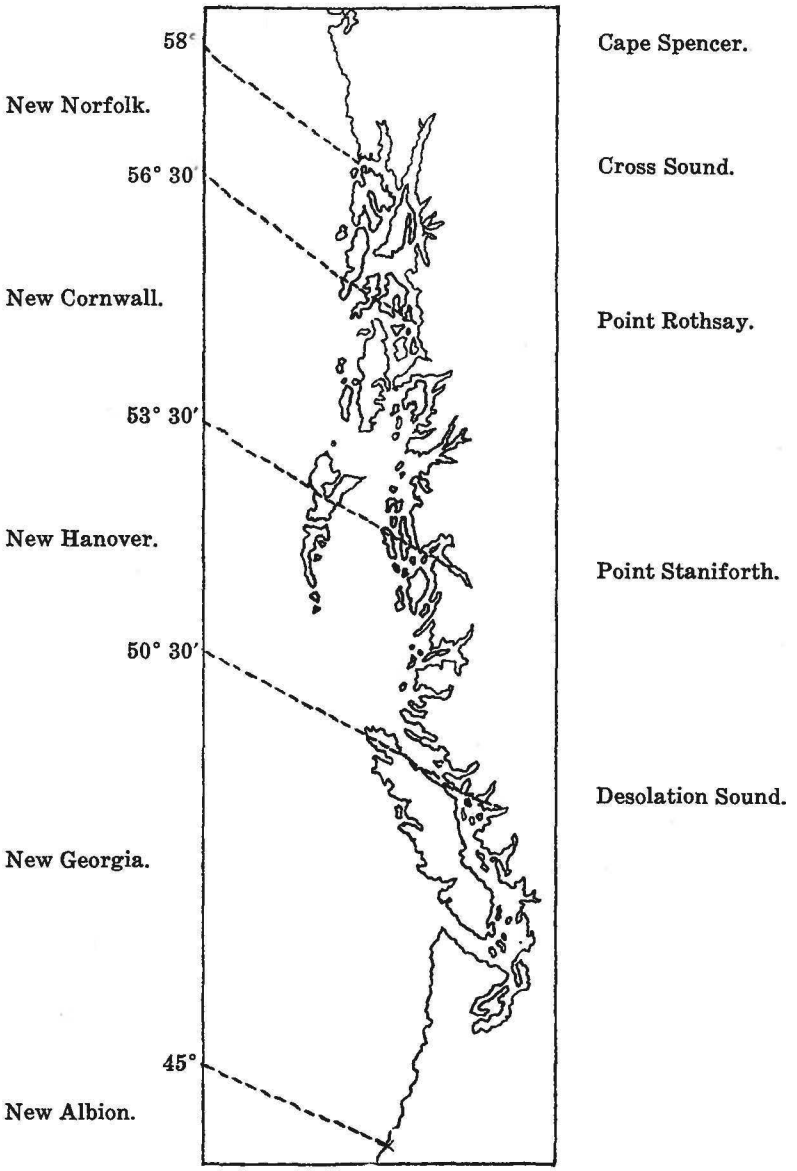
In view of the possible extension of the territorial limits of the Province of British Columbia to include the Yukon Territory, a study of the evolution of the boundaries of the Province is, perhaps, timely. Though complicated by the intricacies of boundary definitions, such a study is interesting, in that it reflects a steady expansion towards the north-east; and this naturally gives rise to the query—are the forces which operated in the past about to occasion a further advance in that direction?

British activity in the North Pacific begins with the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, in 1579; and it was Drake who first bestowed a name upon the north-western portion of this continent. Landing in what is now California, he took formal possession of the country and named it New Albion; but whether or not New Albion was intended to extend as far north as the area now comprising British Columbia is a matter of controversy.

Drake's voyage was an isolated episode; and continuous British interest in the North Pacific dates from the arrival of Captain James Cook at Nootka Sound, in the spring of 1778. Cook was but the precursor of many British navigators and traders, and the outcome of their activities was the clash with Spain and the Nootka Convention of 1790, which, for all practical purposes, opened the Northwest Coast to occupation by any country.

Cook named many of the geographical features of the Northwest Coast, but neither set limits to the extent of New Albion nor bestowed any name of his own choosing upon the area as a whole. It remained for Captain George Vancouver, who commenced his celebrated surveys in 1792, to rob New Albion of its almost mythical extent and to set its northern limit at the 45th parallel. North of this limit Vancouver marked out four new territories along the coast—New Georgia, New Hanover, New Cornwall, and New Norfolk. The most southerly of these, New Georgia, was named on June 4, 1792 and comprised " the continent binding the said gulf [i.e., the Gulf of Georgia] and extending south-

SKETCH-MAP SHOWING VANCOUVER'S DIVISION OF THE NORTH-WEST COAST.



ward to the 45th degree of north latitude."[1] The northern limit was more precisely set at Desolation Sound in September, 1793, when New Hanover and New Cornwall were named. The former extended along the coast "from point Staniforth at the entrance of Gardner's channel, to Desolation sound, the northern extent of New Georgia,"[2] and the latter comprised "the adjacent continent, to the northward from Gardner's channel, to point Rothsay, the extent of our survey to the north this season."[3] The name New Norfolk was assigned to "the adjacent continent, north-westward from New Cornwall to Cross sound" on August 12, 1794,[4] and formal possession was taken of all the coast from New Georgia to Cape Spencer.

The boundaries thus outlined, which are indicated on the accompanying map, are of passing interest only. No attempt was made to set an eastern limit to the territories, and they exerted no influence whatever on later boundary discussions.

For some years after the Nootka Convention British interests on the Pacific Coast were promoted only by the maritime fur-traders at sea and by the North West Company on land. Shortly after the turn of the 19th century direct intervention by the British Government became necessary, however, with the emergence of no less than four contenders for sovereign rights over the Northwest Coast: Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and Spain. In 1819 this number was reduced to three, by virtue of the Florida Treaty, which eliminated Spain from the competition by vesting all Spanish claims in the United States. Shortly before this, by a convention between Great Britain and the United States, dated October 20, 1818, the 49th parallel had been agreed upon as the boundary between British and American territory east of the Rocky Mountains; but no delineation was made on the west side, and the Pacific slope was left open to joint occupation for ten years.[5]

(1) Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the world,* London, 1801, II., p. 170.

(2) *Ibid.*, IV., p. 272. (Approximately 50° 30′ to 53° 30′.)

(3) *Ibid.*, IV., p. 273. (Approximately 53° 30′ to 56° 30′.)

(4) *Ibid.*, VI., p. 39. (Approximately 56° 30′ to 58°.)

(5) *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1818–1819, VI., pp. 3–5. (This series is cited hereafter as *B. & F.S.P.*)

The first actual definition of a boundary west of the Rockies developed out of the assertion, in an Imperial ukase of the Russian Czar, dated September 16, 1821, of exclusive rights of trade on the Pacific Coast as far south as the 51st parallel.[6] Opposition to this pretension developed immediately both in Great Britain and the United States. The latter power proposed a tri-partite treaty, under the terms of which no settlements should be made by Russia south of 55°, by the United States north of 51°, or by Great Britain north of 55° or south of 51°. If necessary, the United States was prepared to accept the 49th parallel as a northern limit for its settlements.[7] This proposition was rejected by the British Government, which preferred to negotiate separately with Russia and the United States.

The discussions with Russia culminated in the convention of February 28/16, 1825. The line of demarcation laid down therein was as follows:—

Commencing from the Southernmost Point of the Island called *Prince of Wales* Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes North latitude, and between the 131st and 133rd degree of West longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the North along the Channel called *Portland Channel*, as far as the Point of the Continent where it strikes the 56th degree of North latitude; from this last-mentioned Point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summits of the mountains situated parallel to the Coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of West longitude (of the same Meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said Meridian Line of the 141st degree in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British Possessions on the Continent of America to the North-West.

It was understood that the whole of Prince of Wales Island was to be within Russian territory, and that the boundary between the British possessions and the Russian strip of coast would be a line parallel to the windings of the coast, never more than 10 marine leagues distant therefrom.[8]

Although the exact interpretation of these terms became a matter of serious dispute after Russian America was purchased

(6) *Ibid.*, 1821–1822, IX., pp. 472–483.

(7) J. Q. Adams to Richard Rush, July 22, 1823, Archives, Department of State, Washington, D.C., Instructions to United States Minister in London from the Secretary of State, vol. 10.

(8) *B. & F.S.P.*, 1824–1825, XII., pp. 40–41. By a treaty dated April 17/5, 1824, the United States had recognized the line of 54° 40′ as the northern limit of their claims. *Ibid.*, p. 598.

by the United States, this convention, broadly speaking, established the boundary as it exists to-day between Canada and Alaska. In other words, it determined the northern limit of British territory on the Pacific coast.

The determination of the southern limit was a much more complicated problem, and Great Britain and the United States were brought to the verge of war before a final settlement was reached. It is not necessary here to detail the history of the Oregon boundary dispute.[9] Joint occupancy was recognized to be only a temporary expedient, but great difficulty was experienced in replacing it by a more satisfactory permanent arrangement. The Rush-Huskisson negotiation of 1824–25 ended in failure, and the Gallatin-Addington negotiation of 1826–27 only produced an indefinite extension of the period of joint occupation, subject to abrogation on twelve months' notice.[10] A diplomatic lull of nearly fifteen years was broken by the abortive efforts of Ashburton and Webster in 1842, and the equally unsuccessful attempt by Pakenham and Calhoun in 1844. The situation in the Pacific Northwest alone did not produce the Oregon Treaty of June 15, 1846. Larger national issues, particularly tariff and commercial policy, were involved and contributed to the successful conclusion of the Pakenham-Buchanan negotiation. The first Article of the Treaty is pertinent to the boundary question.

> From the point on the 49th parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing Treaties and Conventions between Great Britain and The United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and those of The United States shall be continued westward along the said 49th parallel of north latitude, to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly, through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: . . .[11]

By these two conventions the international aspect of the boundary question was settled, although controversies did arise over the interpretation of the rather vague phraseology used, and

(9) *See* J. M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations*, New York, 1937, pp. 127–136, 215–236.

(10) Convention dated August 6, 1827. *B. & F.S.P.*, 1826–1827, XIV., pp. 975–6.

(11) *Ibid.*, 1845–1846, XXXIV., p. 14. For summary of negotiations, 1842 to 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 49–145.

eventually recourse was had to arbitration before a definite boundary-line was laid down.

In turning now to the purely national aspect of the boundary question, the position of the Hudson's Bay Company requires passing notice. The Royal Charter of May 2, 1670, conveyed none of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains to the Hudson's Bay Company.[12] Consequently Imperial legislative action on the Pacific slope has been characterized by greater flexibility than was possible within the chartered territory. By 1821 doubts had arisen whether the Act passed in 1803, which empowered the Governor of Lower Canada to appoint Justices of the Peace for all the Indian Territory without the limits of Upper and Lower Canada,[13] extended to the Company's territory of Rupert's Land. To remedy this situation a new Act was passed, empowering the Crown to make grants for the exclusive right of trade with the Indians in territory not hitherto granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, nor part of the British American Provinces, nor of the United States. Such grants were to be limited to 21 years' duration, and were not to interfere with the citizens of the United States beyond the Rocky Mountains. The judicial provisions of the earlier Act were specifically made applicable to Rupert's Land, and the Courts of Upper Canada authorized to take cognizance of causes in the Indian Territory.[14] Under the provisions of this Act, the first Royal Licence "for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and to the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America or to any European government, state or power," was issued to the Hudson's Bay Company on December 5, 1821.[15] At a later date certain officers of the Company were issued patents as Justices of the Peace in the Indian Territory. On May 30, 1838, a renewal of this Licence was obtained. An important proviso was added, however, to the effect that nothing

(12) Printed in *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*, 547 of 1842, pp. 3–9. (This series is cited hereafter as *P.P., H.C.*)

(13) 43 Geo. III., c. 138. Imperial Statute, August 11, 1803.

(14) 1 & 2 Geo. IV., c. 66. Imperial Statute, July 2, 1821.

(15) Printed in *P.P., H.C.*, 547 of 1842, pp. 21–23.

in the instrument should be construed to prevent the creation of colonies within the licensed territory, and the power was reserved to revoke the Licence as it might apply to any such newly-created colony.[16] It is to be noted that neither of the Licences attempted to define boundaries in any way nor to establish civil administrations.

The nomenclature of the administrative districts of the Hudson's Bay Company is of indirect importance, for the name "New Caledonia" appeared in the original Bill for organizing a government on the mainland in 1858. There is, however, no documentary evidence to support the legend which has grown up around H. H. Bancroft's reference to Fort St. James as "the capital of western Caledonia."[17]. New Caledonia was the name given by Simon Fraser to a fur-trade district comprising according to the best approximation, "that immense tract of land lying between the Coast Range and the Rocky Mountains, from 51° 30′ to 57° of latitude north."[18] It was not the general practice to set exact geographic limits for fur-trade districts, and New Caledonia was no exception. Even the fur-traders themselves varied greatly, not only in the limits they suggested for that district but also as to the number of districts on the Pacific slope. For example, an early map by Archibald McDonald included within the Thompson River district all the territory from the Columbia River to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and the Russian boundary.[19] Archibald McKinlay, on the other hand, omitted all reference to the Thompson River district and called the whole region from the Thompson River to the Russian possessions, New Caledonia. John Stuart, a pioneer fur-trader in the district, wrote of Western Caledonia as comprising "the whole tract of that westward of the Rocky Mts to the Pacific, extending from the Columbia River until it inter-

(16) *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

(17) H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, p. 57. "Capital" was here used in the sense of "fur emporium" or "chief depot" (*vide, ibid.*, p. 59). This reference can be traced back to Archibald McDonald's journal of the canoe trip to Fort Vancouver with Sir George Simpson in 1828. Archibald McDonald, *Peace River*, Ottawa, 1872, p. 25.

(18) A. G. Morice, *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, Toronto, 1904, p. 1.

(19) McDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

sects that ideal line that is supposed to divide the Pacific from the Frozen Ocean."[20] A. C. Anderson considered this a ridiculous extension, and limited the district to " the Tract watered by the Fraser and its Tributaries from the Rocky Mountains and Coast Range down to the Point about 20 miles below Alexandria now known as Soda Creek.[21] Because of such contradictions and their indefiniteness, the limits of the fur-trade districts of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies exercised little direct influence on official boundary delineations.

The boundary west of the Rocky Mountains had been fixed as far north as the 49th parallel, in 1846, in great part as a result of the inrush of American settlers into the valley of the Columbia, which had taken place during the previous few years. The British Government profited by this experience and determined to buttress its sovereign rights by the establishment of a Crown Colony in its territory on the Pacific Coast. After considerable negotiation a Crown Grant of the " island called Vancouver's Island " was made to the Hudson's Bay Company on January 13, 1849, upon condition that the Company establish a colony thereon.[22] Though specifically limited to Vancouver Island, actually a slightly larger territorial jurisdiction was organized, for Richard Blanshard received a commission, on July 16, 1849, as " Governor, and Commander in Chief in and over our Island of Vancouver *and the Islands adjacent between the 49th and 52nd degrees of North latitude.*"[23] Under this definition certain of the Gulf Islands which lay in British waters, but south of the 49th parallel, were left in an anomalous position. This was remedied to a degree by the Act " to provide for the Administration of Justice in Vancouver's Island," which stated:—

That all such islands adjacent to Vancouver's Island or to the Western Coast of North America, and forming part of the dominions of Her Majesty,

(20) Autograph notes by John Stuart written in 1842, included in A. C. Anderson, *History of the Northwest Coast,* (MS.), p. 104.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 35. However, according to Roderick Finlayson " The line of demarcation between Thompson District & New Caledonia was near to Lillooet on the Fraser." Roderick Finlayson, *History of Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast,* (MS.), p. 57.

(22) Printed in *P.P., H.C.*, 103 of 1849, pp. 13–16.

(23) Original preserved in B.C. Archives. The italics are mine. The commission issued to James Douglas, May 16, 1851, contained provisions to the same effect.

as are southward of the fifty-second degree of North latitude, shall be deemed part of Vancouver's Island for the purposes of this Act.[24]

Events soon transpired which forced the British Government to expand beyond these narrow limits. As early as August, 1850, Governor Blanshard had reported to the Colonial Office the existence of gold on Queen Charlotte Island. The reports of two Hudson's Bay Company investigations were not encouraging, but rumours of the existence of a rich new gold field spread to Oregon and California, and plans were soon afoot there for an advance on the new strike. Governor Douglas heard of this projected influx, and wrote in great haste to the Home Authorities in October, 1851, urging the exclusion of foreign vessels from the island. The British Government at that time was not prepared to dispatch a force sufficient to give effect to such a prohibition, but Douglas was not disposed to let the matter drop. He returned to the subject in a dispatch written in December, and in January, 1852, reported the departure of vessels chartered by American adventurers who planned, if successful in their gold operations, to colonize the island and " establish an independent government until by force or fraud they become annexed to the United States."[25] Actually, the American expedition was frightened away by the Indians and the rush soon subsided; but it left permanent results, for on July 29, 1852, a commission was issued to James Douglas as Lieutenant-Governor of Queen Charlotte Island.[26]

The instructions which accompanied the commission leave no doubt as to the intentions of the Colonial Office.

Her Majesty's Government have no intention to sanction by this Instrument the impression that they have any design of colonizing the Country, or placing any establishment in it. The Commission is issued solely to meet the circumstances of the time. It conveys to you no power to make Laws, or constitute a regular Government, but it gives the party bearing it a position

(24) 12 & 13 Vict., c. 48. Imperial Statute, July 28, 1849, reprinted in *Appendix to the Revised Statutes of British Columbia, 1871*, pp. 100–101. (Cited hereafter as *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871.)

(25) Douglas to Grey, January 29, 1852, *P.P., H.C.*, 788 of 1853, p. 2.

(26) Original preserved in B.C. Archives. The archipelago now referred to as the Queen Charlotte Islands throughout the period under discussion was called Queen Charlotte *Island*.

of authority as representing Her Majesty's Government in the district, which is both important and valuable.[27]

The commission, moreover, did not permit the appointment of Justices of the Peace by Douglas. Only the issuance of mining licences and regulations was sanctioned. When he issued his Proclamation of March 26, 1853, and the mining regulations which followed on April 7, Douglas was using his new powers to the full.[28] Nevertheless the incident is important, since by this act Queen Charlotte Island was brought within the defined area of colonial jurisdiction.

In 1857 a parliamentary inquiry into the state of the British possessions in North America under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company took place in Great Britain. The *Report* of this Select Committee is one of the most important Imperial blue-books bearing upon the colonial history of the British Pacific possessions. Of particular interest is the recommendation that the connection of the Hudson's Bay Company with Vancouver Island should terminate, and that means should be provided for "the ultimate extension of the colony over any portion of the adjoining continent, west of the Rocky Mountains, on which permanent settlement may be found practicable."[29] Official notice of the intention to repurchase Vancouver Island was given to the Company on January 20, 1858, to take effect on the expiry of the Exclusive Licence of Trade on May 30, 1859.[30] At that time (1858) the British Government had no intention of proceeding with the "ultimate extension" of the island colony over the mainland,[31] but once again the course of events on the Pacific Coast forced its hand.

The story of the Fraser River gold-rush of 1858, and of Douglas's efforts to control it, needs no repetition here, save to

(27) Pakington to Douglas, September 27, 1852, *P.P., H.C.*, 788 of 1853, p. 13.

(28) *P.P., H.C.*, 788 and 788-I of 1853, *passim.* (Queen Charlotte Island Gold Papers.)

(29) *P.P., H.C.*, 197 of 1857, p. iv. (Report on Hudson's Bay Company, 1857.)

(30) Merivale to Shepherd, January 20, 1858, *P.P., H.C.*, 99 of 1858, pp. 4–5. The actual surrender was not completed until April 3, 1867. *See* Indenture for the Reconveyance of Vancouver Island, April 3, 1867, reprinted in *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, pp. 222–227.

(31) Labouchere to Douglas, February 1, 1858, C.O. 410/1.

mention that the Proclamation of December 28, 1857, and the regulations for mining which followed, were totally without the jurisdiction of Douglas's Commission as Governor of Vancouver Island and its dependencies.[32] The Queen Charlotte Island episode had convinced Douglas that any new gold discovery was certain to result in an influx of American miners, but the multitudes who flocked to the Fraser River mines must have exceeded his wildest fears.[33] Fortunately his numerous and voluminous dispatches to the Colonial Office found immediate attention at the hands of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. On July 1, 1858, a Bill "to provide for the Government of New Caledonia" was introduced in the House of Commons. The boundaries then laid down were: on the south, the frontier of the United States; on the west, the Pacific Ocean; on the north, the 55th parallel; and on the east, the watershed between the streams which flowed into the Pacific and those which flowed into the Atlantic and Arctic oceans.[34] The region drained by the Peace River and its tributaries thus lay beyond the limits of the new colony, for the 55th parallel cuts the height of land at approximately the 124th meridian of west longitude. Mr. Samuel Christy, member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, moved an amendment making the eastern boundary "the main chain of the Rocky Mountains" and the northern boundary "Simpson's River and the Finlay branch of the Peace River."[35] His reasons for making this sugges-

(32) Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, Vancouver, 1914, pp. 25–54; W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1930, pp. 203–34; *P.P.*, c2398, 1858 (Gold Discovery Papers), and *P.P.*, c2476, 1859 (B.C. Papers, part I.).

(33) Some idea of the extent of the rush is suggested by the following extract from an editorial in the San Francisco *Alta California*, June 5, 1858: "At the present time, the boats from the interior come down every night, loaded down with miners and others, all bound for Frazer's river. The hotels in this city are fairly crammed with people, waiting for an opportunity to leave; while reports reach us from various points of the interior that parties are setting out overland for the same locality. Throughout the entire length and breadth of the State the "Frazer river fever" seems to have seized hold of the people, and threatens to break up, or at least, seriously disarrange for the time being the entire mining business of the State."

(34) Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1858, 3rd series, CLI., p. 1347.

(35) *Ibid.* Mr. J. A. Roebuck, member for Sheffield, suggested an even more northerly boundary.

tion, as expressed in the course of the debate on the Bill, are interesting:—

He gathered from those men who had been in the territory that the gold which was found in the Frazer River was merely the *debris* of the gold that existed in the Rocky Mountains; and he therefore thought it desirable that the boundaries of the new colony should be extended further north—up to Finlays River, and to the main chain of the Rocky Mountains that ran east and west.[36]

To this Lytton made no objection, and the revised boundaries appeared in the final Act "to provide for the Government of British Columbia":—

British Columbia shall, for the purposes of this Act, be held to comprise all such territories within the dominions of Her Majesty as are bounded to the South by the frontier of the United States of America, to the East by the main chain of the Rocky Mountains, to the North by Simpson's River and the Finlay branch of the Peace River, and to the West by the Pacific Ocean, and shall include Queen Charlotte's Island and all other Islands adjacent to the said territories except as hereafter excepted. . . . No part of the Colony of Vancouver's Island, as at present established, shall be comprised within British Columbia for the purposes of this Act; . . .[37]

Under the provisions of this Act the Courts of Upper Canada ceased to have jurisdiction in the colony; provision was made for

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(36) *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

(37) 21 & 22 Vict., c. 99. Imperial Statute, August 2, 1858. *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, pp. 101, 103. It is difficult to transfer the boundaries of this newly created colony as set down by J. Arrowsmith in 1859 into terms of modern geography, for at the time cartographers had but a very imperfect knowledge of the northern and eastern regions. According to Arrowsmith the boundary commenced at a point on the seaboard marked "Nasse" and then followed "Simpson or Babine river," "Bear river," and a tributary of the latter, then across to the southwestern tip of Lake Thutade. Two interpretations of this portion of the boundary can be suggested. The first, following more closely the line as it appears on the Arrowsmith map, commences with the Nass River (Simpson's River) but almost immediately crosses to the Skeena River at about the 55th parallel, following that river and the Sustut (Bear River) and a tributary of the latter which rises within a short distance of the southwestern tip of Lake Thutade. The alternative is a more literal application of the boundary clause of the Act of 1858 and follows the Nass River and its tributary Dumdochax Creek to Dumdochax Lake, thence across by Kilkonis River to the Skeena and thence to Lake Thutade by the route previously suggested. From Lake Thutade the Finlay and Peace rivers form the boundary to approximately 122° 30′ west longitude, whence it follows a general southeasterly direction to connect with the main chain of the Rocky Mountains in the neighbourhood of Mount Hooker.

Russian Treaty, 1825 [Alaska, 1903]
Oregon Treaty, 1846 [San Juan, 1872]
B.C 1858
Stickeen Territory, 1862
B.C 1863.
Yukon Territory, 1898.
Height of Land.
QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS
LIARD
PACIFIC

the ultimate union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia; and the Exclusive Licence of Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company was revoked in so far as the territory comprising the new colony was concerned.[38] After taking the oaths of office as Governor at Fort Langley on November 19, 1858, Douglas read his Commission and proclaimed the Act for the Government of British Columbia to be in force.[39] Thus was the colonial relationship established on the mainland of the Pacific slope.

The expiration of the Hudson's Bay Company's Licence on May 30, 1859, necessitated the setting up of new administrative machinery in the territory not included in Rupert's Land nor in the British Pacific colonies. This was accomplished by an Act " to make further Provision for the Regulation of the Trade with the Indians, and for the Administration of Justice in the North-western Territories of America," which empowered the Crown to appoint Justices of the Peace authorized to try offences summarily, and to punish by fine and imprisonment, in the British American Indian Territories. Causes involving the death sentence, or in which the punishment which could be imposed by a Justice was inadequate, were to be sent to trial in the Courts of either Upper Canada or British Columbia. The power to make regulations for the conduct of the trade with the Indians was also conferred on the Crown,[40] but it was not the immediate intention of the Government to avail itself of any of the powers under this Act.[41]

The hectic days of 1858 were never again repeated in the annals of British Columbia mining. Depression followed hard on the heels of the first rush to the Fraser River mines. Thereafter British Columbia's development was characterized by a gradual extension of the mining frontier. In the fall of 1861 rumours reached Victoria of gold strikes on the Stikine River. These were confirmed early in 1862, and Governor Douglas

(38) Proclamation, dated November 3, 1858, *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, pp. 228–9.

(39) The name New Caledonia was dropped lest confusion might arise with the French colony of the same name. British Columbia was substituted at the suggestion of Queen Victoria.

(40) 22 & 23 Vict., c. 26. Imperial Statute, August 13, 1859. *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, pp. 105–7.

(41) Newcastle to Douglas, September 5, 1859, C.O. 398/1.

hastened to communicate the news to the Colonial Office, at the same time raising the question of the form of government to be established in this district, which lay to the north of British Columbia. A minor rush to the new gold fields ensued.[42] To preserve law and order Douglas suggested that he be empowered to extend the laws of British Columbia "to all parts of Her Majesty's Dominions, West of the Rocky Mountains not included in the limits of any other Colony."[43] The Colonial Office was reluctant to form a new government in so remote a region, yet the Indian Territory Act of 1859 was inconvenient, for the Justices of the Peace would have to be appointed in England and no provision had been made for paying them. Consequently the decision was reached to declare the Governor of British Columbia administrator of the territory for the time being. An Order in Council to this effect was issued on July 19, 1862, which defined the limits of the territory as follows:—

. . . the said Stickeen territories shall comprise so much of the dominions of Her Majesty as are bounded to the west and south-west by the frontier of Russian America, to the south and south-east by the boundary of British Columbia, to the east by the 125th meridian of west longitude, and to the north by the 62nd parallel of north latitude.[44]

(42) An index of its extent is suggested by the following table, compiled from the monthly Statement of Vessels Cleared at the Port of Victoria as they appeared in the Victoria *Colonist*:—

1862.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
Steamers	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
Schooners	1	4	1	3	7	4	1	1	—
Sloops	1	1	—	3	4	4	—	1	1
Boats	—	—	—	10	6	1	—	—	—

It is impossible to ascertain the number of persons involved; 750 would be a liberal estimate.

(43) Douglas to Newcastle, July 9, 1862, Separate, C.O. 60/13.

(44) *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, p. 190. No explanation can be found for the eastern and northern limits set down. The only suggestion is that they were to be extensive enough to include the whole of the Stikine River basin and any future gold discoveries to the north. The boundaries thus described appear on a map constructed by Hermann Berghaus and Fr. v. Stulpnagel, in Gotha, 1863. *See Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Atlas Accompanying the case of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1903, p. 21. The spelling of Stickeen varies greatly; other forms used were: Stekin, Stikin, and Stiken.

The Territory of Stickeen was a creation of convenience and had only a short existence as a separate entity. The Order in Council first appeared in the *Government Gazette*, then published in the New Westminster *British Columbian*, on November 26, 1862.[45] Wide powers were given Governor Douglas as Administrator in the organization of a judiciary and the regulation of mining operations and land sales, but there is no evidence that they were ever put to use, as the mining excitement was short-lived. Long winters and recurrent freshets made the Stikine a poor placer-mining river. Moreover, the law in force in the Territory was the law of England as it existed on the first day of January, 1862, and not that of British Columbia. The latter, in so far as mining regulations were concerned, had been created to meet the particular needs of the local placer-mining regions, and consequently would have been much more practicable in the northern territory than existing English law. Douglas did, however, write one official dispatch in his capacity as Administrator. It was dated November 17, 1862, and marked " Stickeen Territory, No. 1," and raised the question of the extension of the laws of British Columbia to the northern territory. A typical Douglas touch was the inquiry as to whether any additional salary was to be expected.[46]

Upon receipt of this dispatch the Colonial Office decided upon a new line of action. To understand the change it must be borne in mind that this was the era in British American colonial history when regional unions looking to ultimate confederation were being encouraged. An illustration of this is to be found in the Maritime Provinces, where the Colonial Office actively encouraged the efforts of Sir Arthur Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, to form a union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The Charlottetown Conference of September, 1864, met to consider such a union, but was swept into the larger confederation by the attendance of the Canadian

(45) The Victoria *Colonist* had earlier made reference to the Order; *see* item " The Colony of Stekin " in the issue of November 18, 1862.

(46) This dispatch was found in the Public Record Office, London, in C.O. 60/13.

delegation.[47] Local conditions in British Columbia and Vancouver Island made impracticable the application of this principle to the Pacific Coast, as Newcastle ably pointed out in a Minute dated March 27, 1863; but the Stickeen Territory was quite a different matter.[48] The Government of British Columbia Act of 1858 was a temporary provision, expiring on December 31, 1862, or at the end of the session of parliament then sitting. When the question came under review, in 1863, the decision was reached to amalgamate the mainland possessions, and the boundary clause of the Act "to define the Boundaries of the Colony of British Columbia, and to continue an Act to provide for the Government of the said Colony" read as follows:—

British Columbia shall, for the purposes of the said Act, and for all other purposes, be held to comprise all such territories within the Dominions of Her Majesty as are bounded to the South by the territories of the United States of America, to the West by the Pacific Ocean and the frontier of the Russian Territories in North America, to the North by the sixtieth parallel of north latitude, and to the East from the boundary of the United States northwards, by the Rocky Mountains and the one hundred and twentieth meridian of west longitude, and shall include Queen Charlotte Island and all other Islands adjacent to the said Territories, except Vancouver Island and the Islands adjacent thereto.[49]

No explanation was offered for the withdrawal from the 62nd to the 60th parallel as the northern boundary. The fact that the latter parallel is the nearest to the commencement of the boundary along the 141st meridian, as laid down in the 1825 treaty with Russia, may have influenced this decision. The extension of the eastern boundary from the 125th to the 120th meridian is

(47) W. M. Whitelaw, *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation*, Toronto, 1934, pp. 173–206. Chester Martin, "British Policy in Canadian Confederation," *Canadian Historical Review*, XIII. (1932), pp. 3–19.

(48) In this Minute, March 27, 1863, Newcastle wrote: "I think the present opportunity should be taken to annex Stikeen to the Colony of British Columbia. I see no other way of adequately providing for its government without making it a separate Govt. at the expense of the Mother Country—which must be avoided." C.O. 60/17. This Minute formed the basis of Newcastle to Douglas, June 15, 1863, Separate, announcing the separation of the administrations of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. *P.P.*, c3667, 1866, pp. 1–3. (Union Papers.)

(49) 26 & 27 Vict., c. 83. Imperial Statute, July 28, 1863. *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, p. 116.

explained by the mild rush to the diggings in the Peace River area which took place in October, 1862.[50]

The complete separation of British Columbia and Vancouver Island under separate governors, in 1864, on the surface appears to be a contradiction of the general policy of the Colonial Office to encourage the union of small adjoining colonies, whereas actually it was a concession to purely local conditions and contrary to the wishes of the Colonial Secretary. Consequently, once Vancouver Island expressed a willingness to unite with the mainland, the consummation of the union was not long delayed. An Act "for the Union of the Colony of Vancouver Island with the Colony of British Columbia" was rushed through the British parliament without debate at the end of the session of 1866. Until the Union was proclaimed the boundaries of British Columbia were to continue as cited in the Act of 1863. The Union Act then continues:—

After the union British Columbia shall comprise all the territories and islands aforesaid and Vancouver Island and the islands adjacent thereto.[51]

With the proclamation of this Act by Governor Seymour on November 19, 1866, the boundaries of British Columbia as we now know them came into being. No alteration was made at the time of Confederation. The Order in Council of May 16, 1871, simply provided "that from and after the twentieth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, the said Colony of British Columbia shall be admitted into and become part of the Dominion of Canada."[52]

The history of "British Columbia irridenta" can be briefly sketched. After the passage of the Act of 1863, which set the

(50) New Westminster *British Columbian*, October 1, 1862; Victoria *Colonist*, October 11, 1862; Douglas to Newcastle, October 27, 1862, Separate, C.O. 60/13. Newcastle's speech introducing the 1863 Act reveals the influence of this news: "With regard to the present Bill, the Act of 1858 had prescribed certain limits to the colony of British Columbia which were amply sufficient at the time. But since then very large gold districts had been discovered north of that boundary, and it was necessary to have some laws there, and a magistrate to enforce them. It was now proposed, therefore, to add that district to the colony of British Columbia." Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1863, CLXXII., p. 54. Similar ideas were expressed by Chichester Fortescue in the House of Commons. *Ibid.*, p. 1322.

(51) 29 & 30 Vict., c. 67. Imperial Statute, August 6, 1866. *Appendix, B.C. Statutes*, 1871, p. 130.

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

northern limit at the 60th parallel, the district formerly within Stickeen Territory stretching to the 62nd parallel reverted to the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government, under the provisions of the Indian Territories Act of 1859.[53] The Canadian Government had long been negotiating for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the transfer of the Northwest Territories to its jurisdiction by the Home Government, and, in anticipation of these transfers, had passed an Act "for the temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada."[54] Under the provisions of this Act, William McDougall was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories, and his jurisdiction extended to the fragment of the Stikeen Territory not included in British Columbia. The Red River Rebellion intervened, and the transfer was not actually accomplished until June 23, 1870, when by Order in Council Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory were admitted to the Dominion of Canada.[55] Temporary provision for its government was made in the Manitoba Act, 1870,[56] and a permanent organization was set up by the Northwest Territories Act of 1875.[57] The greater part of the Stickeen remnant passed into the Yukon Territory under the provisions of the Yukon Territory Act of 1898.[58]

Reference has already been made to the vague phraseology of the two international treaties affecting the boundaries of British Columbia. The interpretation of the wording of the Oregon Treaty fixing the boundary through the Gulf of Georgia and the Straits of Juan de Fuca was the subject of prolonged controversy. In the end an arbitration by the Emperor of Germany was agreed upon, and the award handed down on October 21, 1872, gave the United States the larger part of the disputed San Juan Archipelago by fixing upon Haro Channel as the

(53) 22 & 23 Vict., c. 26. Imperial Statute, August 13, 1859.

(54) 32 & 33 Vict., c. 3. Dominion Statute, June 22, 1869. *See* E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North West*, Ottawa, 1915, II., pp. 972–3.

(55) *Ibid.*, pp. 939–944.

(56) 33 Vict., c. 3. Dominion Statute, May 12, 1870. *Ibid.*, pp. 964–972.

(57) 38 Vict., c. 49. Dominion Statute, April 8, 1875. *Ibid.*, pp. 1075–1100.

(58) 61 Vict., c. 6. Dominion Statute, June 13, 1898.

boundary.[59] Even more serious was the controversy over the boundary of the Alaskan "pan-handle." By virtue of the purchase of Alaska in 1867 the United States succeeded to Russian claims in that region, and after the failure of numerous negotiations the question was submitted to a tribunal of "six impartial jurists of repute," three to be appointed by each disputant. By their award of October 20, 1903, Cape Muzon became the point of commencement of the boundary, and the islands lying off Portland Channel were divided between the two nations. By a majority decision a continuous fringe of coast, not exceeding ten marine leagues in width, was to separate the British possessions from the sea-coast between the 65th parallel and Cross Sound.[60]

The story of the evolution of the boundaries of British Columbia is inextricably interwoven with the mining development of the Province. Successive gold-rushes to the Queen Charlotte Islands, to the Fraser, the Stikine and the Peace rivers have left their imprint on the physical boundaries of the Province. The Klondike and the "trail of '98," which called into being the Yukon Territory, was the last of this series of advances. It remains to be seen whether the penetration of the mining frontier into the Mackenzie River valley will produce yet another extension of the boundaries of British Columbia.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

(59) *B. & F.S.P.*, 1871–1872, LXII., p. 188.
(60) *Ibid.*, 1904–1905, XCVIII., pp. 152–5.

SIR JAMES GOES ABROAD.

Just a month after his retirement as Governor of British Columbia, in the spring of 1864, Sir James Douglas left Victoria, bound for Europe on a tour which was to last for more than a year. Hitherto little has been known about this journey except the bare itinerary; but the diary kept by Sir James in the course of his travels has now found its way to the Provincial Archives and enables us to add details.

Much of the diary is either purely personal or merely interesting, but it contains a few passages of considerable historical importance, and it may be well to deal with these first. Of particular moment are two lengthy entries which together constitute the clearest and most uncompromising statement of Douglas's political philosophy which has yet come to light. Written as they were, shortly after his retirement, it would seem legitimate to assume that they express his mature convictions, after a personal experience in government over a period of more than twelve years.

The first entry, under the date January 19, 1865, was prompted by conditions in Spain, and was written as Douglas travelled to Marseilles, after a ten-day visit to Burgos, Madrid, and Barcelona. It commences as follows:—

Spain is a sadly misgoverned Country; the state of the public revenue, the Police, the public roads, the currency, the system of Taxation, all show unmistakable evidences of ignorance and neglect. Instead of spending valuable time in discussing the principles of Representative Government, the "Cortes" or States of the Realm, should at once address itself to the more practical duty of reforming the local institutions, and the regulation of the finances, [which are] suffering from years of gross bureaucratic corruption and oppression. No questions are likely to arise calculated to test the wisdom of those minute provisions which the constitution embraces, but there is no want of subjects on which the powers of the wisest statesmen, and of the most Patriotic Legislature, might very profitably be employed. Spain has never enjoyed a tolerable Government. The crying evils of Spain are corruption in all the branches of Government, brigandage, [and] the oppression practised on the inhabitants of the rural District. . . .

Having stated the problem as he saw it, Douglas next outlined the reforms which he considered were essential for its solution.

1st. Reduce the overgrown establishment, upon which the public revenue is lavished, absorbing not only the central, but the local funds in useless and

superfluous offices, and this in a country more than any other in the world requiring an enlightened and liberal expenditure on public works.

2nd. Protection. The first end and object of Government is to obtain for its subjects, protection for life and property. Where this has been thoroughly done, when these things cease to be matter of anxiety and speculation, when men feel a thorough confidence that they will be permitted to reap what they have sown and that they sleep secure from mid-night violence, then let them turn their attention to more abstruse political questions, and grant to the people a voice in the expenditure of their own revenue, and in the nomination of their own Ministers. That which is necessary must come first.

The second declaration of political principles in the diary forms an interesting complement to the passages just quoted. For it shows that in these passages Douglas was expressing a fundamental conviction, and that he was not merely generalizing in an idle way from conditions as he had found them in Spain. There is no escaping the conclusion that Sir James was not a democrat. Democracy appealed to him as little in Great Britain as it did in Spain; and the day before he left England to return to Vancouver Island (May 1, 1865) he confided as much to his journal:—

Representative Government cannot be carried on without recourse directly or indirectly to bribery and corrupting influences. As long as a Government is poor, and offers no temptations to cupidity, it may retain its integrity. On the contrary, when such a Government with a low state of franchise has an extensive patronage, there immediately arises a class who live on the garbage of Government, or in other words on this patronage, and who use all their influence and eloquence among the people to secure their votes, and to get this Government patronage into their own hands and controul.

People do not naturally take much interest in affairs of Government, as long as affairs go on well and prosperously, and are content to leave questions of state to the ruling classes. Instance Joint Stock Coy.—though private interests are concerned it is difficult to get a quorum of shareholders together. Men give their proxies to others to vote according to their own judgment. So it is with men in affairs of State, they take little interest in them. Demagogues rouse their passions, guide their opinions, and lead the mob. Thousands of people are, from neglect, from ignorance, from following avocations which allows [sic] them little time for thought, disqualified, and cannot judge rightly of profound questions of state. Parties give the tone to public opinion and receive these opinions from the leaders of those parties, who really govern states. The best form of government, if attainable, [is] that of a wise and good despotism.

A word should be said about Douglas and the Colonial Office. He called soon after he arrived in London, but his journal gives no details. The next day, it is interesting to note, he left a card

at Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's, but there is no indication that Douglas and Lytton ever met. It might well have been an interesting interview.

Some weeks later (July 20, 1864), Sir James dined with Lord Cardwell, who in April had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State for the Colonies. The entry in Douglas's diary shows that although he had retired he was still actively interested in the two colonies he had governed:—

> Dined at Mr. Cardwell's. 18 covers. . . . Honble. Arthur Gordon, Governor of New Brunswick, and others present. Advised Mr. Cardwell to veto every attempt should any be made by the local Governments of British Columbia or Vancouver Island to change or modify the system of Government now established or to deviate from the Indian policy. The late murders [the Bute Inlet massacres] to be treated as crimes and not as partaking in any way of a national [i.e., racial] character. They have indeed nothing of a national character, nor of an insurrectionary spirit, and are the act merely of a small body of Indians, probably incited to these atrocious deeds by feeling of revenge for some real or fancied injury.
>
> I expressed my wish to be of service, in any way desirable, and that I should be in readiness at any moment to wait upon the Minister [Cardwell], who thanked me, and observed he was glad to hear that such were my opinions with regard to the Indians.

Just before he left England Douglas called again at the Colonial Office and had an interview with Mr. Blackwood, head of the North American department. He noted in his diary that he was "To address a Minute to the Right H[on]. E. Cardwell," but the subject of the minute is not indicated, nor is it known whether or not the document was ever submitted.

So much for the political aspect of the diary.

The travel journal commences May 14, 1864—the day Sir James left Victoria—and terminates on May 16, 1865, with his arrival at St. Thomas, homeward bound. It is contained in a single foolscap-size diary, which accounts for the fact that it covers almost exactly a year. It may have been continued in a second book, but, if so, the whereabouts of the continuation is unknown.

For most of the year Sir James kept the diary with meticulous care and with a characteristic attention to detail. As it is written in his own incredibly small, clear, and closely written hand, many of the notes are of considerable length. The nature

of the personal entries can be shown by quoting from the opening page, which describes Douglas's departure from Victoria:—

Left home at 6 P.M. Drove to Esquimalt . . . A crowd at the Steamer *Sierra Nevada* (1200 tons), [Captain] Connor, by which we travel. First view of saloon not comfortable. Berths [staterooms] opening into it on both sides. Plain cushioned forms with straight plank backs, running lengthwise, for seats; no other furniture whatever, neither chair nor table in the place. How lucky I brought my [deck?] chair. The saloon rather crowded. . . . My berth, no. 26, full of luggage; had it cleared out, and Captain Connor made it comfortable by taking down and removing the upper sleeping berths. My cabin is 6½ feet long, 5⅝ feet wide, 6⅝ feet high—and has three sleeping bunks, piled one above the other, and a wash stand. There is exactly 25 inches in height between the beds, scant breathing room this for three human beings under a tropical sun. A warm greeting and sad parting from many sincere friends who came to say farewell. Got under weigh at nine, a breeze but water smooth. Tea and toast and champagne banished grief and restored hilarity. Milk execrable. About 70 passengers. Cabin [fare] $45. Steerage $25. I have a cabin all to myself. Connor kindly offered me his cabin, which I declined. Retired at 10. Lamp dim, could not read. Bed clothes scanty in size and light. Awoke several times during the night, lost the coverings, and after long groping in the dark for the sheets, discovered them gathered napkin fashion about my neck. Bed soft and comfortable, and contrived to get through the night without my own pillow.

The *Sierra Nevada* arrived in San Francisco on May 18, after a good passage, and Douglas at once set out to see the sights of the city. On the 20th, in the words of his diary, he "Made an excursion by the rail road to San Jose. Left Town at 8 A.M. Reached San Joseph at 10." The brevity of this account is amazing, as this must have been the first railway journey Sir James ever made. It is all the more surprising in view of the fact that later entries make it clear that Douglas was keenly interested in transportation, both on sea and land, and delighted to jot down elaborate details regarding the steamers and railroads—but especially the steamships—by which he travelled. For example, when he sailed from San Francisco for Panama in the Pacific Mail liner *Golden City*, on May 23, he wrote as follows:—

The *Golden City* is a beautiful side wheel steamer, 4500 tons burthen—350 feet long, 45 feet beam, 31 feet depth. She has one cylinder 105 inches in diameter, with 12 feet stroke of piston. Her motive power is of the most economical character. She or any vessel of her stamp will make the same distance on half the coal consumed by [other] vessels of their tonnage.

Where some of the big ships burn from ninety to one hundred tons per day these new steamers like the *Golden City* burn on[ly] 35 tons.

Early in June, when he crossed the Isthmus, Douglas penned an elaborate account of the Panama Railway, which gives exact details of such varied items as its construction contracts, maximum grades, culverts, bridges, and track-maintenance staff.

On the Atlantic, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's steamer *Thamor*, which carried him from Aspinwall to St. Thomas, failed to arouse his interest, possibly because the passage was rough and thoroughly disagreeable; but it was otherwise with the *Shannon*, in which he sailed from St. Thomas on June 13, bound for Southampton. Nothing about her pleased him, and he wrote down his opinions in no uncertain tone, bolstering them well with details, and frequently contrasting her with the "magnificent" *Golden City*. One entry reads:—

Speed averages about 9½ knots. Consumption of coal 78½ tons. The ship has no spring; she is driven like a log through the water by the sheer force of coal. I am certainly greatly disappointed in the *Shannon*. How different is the *Golden City*, of nearly 6000 tons burden, running 11½ and 12 knots with a consumption of 34 tons of coal.

It will be noted that Sir James's displeasure was based in part upon economics. He abhorred waste, even in the coal bill of a steamer in which he had not the remotest financial interest; and day after day he expressed his disgust in his diary. Her engines were old fashioned; they occupied too much space; they had cost no less than £48,000—"800 horsepower £63 ea[ch]"—and her paddle-wheels had cost £3,000 more. When her average speed at last rose to 10 knots it gave him no pleasure, for her boilers devoured first 84 and finally 92 tons of coal in 24 hours.

At last on Monday, June 27, 1864, the despised *Shannon* docked in Southampton, and Sir James set foot in England after an absence of 45 years. It was a dramatic moment, and there is a certain poignancy about the entry in his diary:—

Left by the 5 o'clock express train. London at 7 P.M. Put up at the Clarendon. The country charming, every inch cultivated like a garden. Bright green fields, sunny slopes, graceful undulations, shady groves, beautiful trees, towns and villages, farm houses, noble seats, embowered in trees laid out with an astonishing degree of good taste form an assemblage of objects that fill the mind with delight; to me it was enchanting and as we flew over the ground in a comfortable first-class car I could not take my eyes off it for a moment. I gazed in fact till both eye and head ached.

Let who will boast of the tropics; to me there is no country half so beautiful as old England in summer.

It may be interpolated here that Sir James was evidently treated with some deference on his travels. It will be recalled that Captain Connor offered him his own cabin aboard the *Sierra Nevada*. In San Francisco he received calls from several officers of the United States Navy, "and on his departure," the Victoria *Colonist* records, "he was escorted to the steamer by a large number both of Englishmen and Americans, and by a fine brass band, playing English national airs." In the *Golden City* he sat next the captain at table, and, finally, the London *Times* duly chronicled his arrival in the *Shannon*.

Douglas spent ten days in London and, although he made a few official calls, most of his time was devoted to a methodical programme of sightseeing. He saw all the usual sights, including Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London, and the National Gallery, where, of all the paintings, it is interesting to note that he considered a "Portrait of Rembrandt by himself the best." His reaction to more popular attractions was not always a happy one, as the following note in his diary suggests:—

Madame Tussaud's waxwork and the Zoological Gardens, Regents Park. Melancholy impression left by the former. Vain and fleeting is human greatness.

Sir James next spent twelve days in the South of England, going first to Bournemouth and later to Devon and Cornwall. Then, after a few more days in London, he set out on a month's visit to the North and Scotland. From Edinburgh he travelled through the Trossachs to Glasgow, and thence proceeded to Inverness to spend a fortnight with his daughter Jane, wife of Alexander Grant Dallas. Returning to Glasgow, he next proceeded to Lanark. This visit is of much interest to the historian, because very little is known about Sir James's early life, and it was at Lanark that he went to school; but the account of the visit in his diary is more tantalizing than enlightening:—

Took the 4 o'clock Train for Lanark, changed trains at Carstairs, arrived at the Clyesdale at 5.40. Hotel most comfortable; dinner and appetite both excellent; potatoes particularly good; sherry fair. Lanark has grown in size, but the Houses of half a century ago are still standing and not improved by age. The old people are all gone, and even their names are no more known in their once familiar haunts, and their very memory has perished—as it is with them so will it be with us. Lanark very cheerful.

Mr. Gillespie's comfortable little heather covered cottage and the Manse are scarce at all changed. I had forgot much about the place, its outlines like the features of a faded picture are gradually freshening and becoming more vivid and distinct.

Though Douglas remained three days in Lanark and its vicinity, he makes no further comment of interest. Somehow one gains the impression that the visit was not a happy one. Months later, when travelling in the South of France, Sir James entered into conversation with a fellow traveller, who turned out to be Lord de Rous, Governor of the Tower of London. To Lord de Rous he told the story of his life; and he may well have had Lanark in mind when he wrote the following notes on the conversation in his diary (January 27, 1865) :—

My history is a rather curious one. I left England on leaving school and have never returned to it till now—after an absence of 40 years. Described the Colonies—all [i.e., Lord de Rous, his wife and daughter] much interested. Reflections on a return home after so long an absence—more painful than agreeable—the face of nature remains the same, but every thing else is changed. I was advised of these changes, deaths and departures were duly reported, but it was only upon my return that I felt the stern reality. Before then I saw only the image of home as I left it, peopled with those who were dear to me, indelibly photographed as it were upon the mind. The vision is now dispelled and the past with its delusive hopes has for ever vanished.

From Lanark, Douglas went to Carlisle, paused a day in the Lake Country, and next paid a brief visit to Hereford—brief because a musical festival was in progress, and the hotels full:—

. . . For if there is any one thing, that is to me more intensely disagreeable, than all other things, it is a crowded town, where one is charged extreme prices for everything, and every one is uncomfortable.

Oxford was his next stopping-place, and Sir James "spent the day in running over and inspecting the different Colleges in this wonderful place." But even his pen quailed before the effort a description of the sights seen that day would involve, and the diary for once takes refuge in the entry: "To describe them would require a volume. See Guide Book."

After three days in London, and a fortnight spent with relatives in the country, Douglas prepared to leave for the continent. He proceeded first to Walmer, in Kent, to visit W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary of British Columbia, and Mrs. Young, who had travelled with him to England, and then on September 26 crossed the Channel and arrived in Paris.

Three days later he set out on a circular tour which took him to Geneva and other points in Switzerland, and then down the Rhine to Cologne and Dusseldorf. His mind never seems to have been very far from home, even in the midst of Europe's finest scenery. One morning he saw Mont Blanc magnificently at sunrise, yet later in the day he noted in his diary: "The views are very imposing but as seen from Chamonix the mountains do not appear so grand or massive as the Rocky Mountains." Ten days later he was travelling down the Rhine, but he was thinking of the Fraser:—

> The River occupies a wide channel from Mannheim to Mayence forming numberless low bushy Islands, flooded in the freshet, and unoccupied for any useful purpose, and with all the wildness of the Fraser between Langley and Harrison River, the resemblance being very striking save that no high land is seen on either side of the Rhine as far as Oppenheim. . . . The scenery therefore is tame and uninteresting.

After a brief stay in Holland, Douglas returned to Paris by way of Antwerp, where he noted that the women were "not so pretty as the Dutch girls of Rotterdam"; Bruges, where he divided his admiration between the Memling paintings and the dexterity of the lace-makers; and Reims, where he visited the wine caves, and entered in his diary a long description of how champagne is made.

Though he had been travelling without a pause for almost two months, Douglas remained in Paris only a fortnight before setting out on a much more extended tour of the continent. He first visited Versailles, then passed on to LeMans and Tours, and spent Christmas in Bordeaux. A sentence from his description of the festivities is amusing:—

> Many games want a money stake, the stimulus of gaming, to make them endurable, but not so the fine old Game of Whist. It has combinations, it occupies the mind, it is interesting of itself.

New Year's Day, 1865, was spent in Pau, and after a visit to Biarritz, Sir James entered Spain. He remained ten days and visited Burgos, Madrid, and Barcelona; but his impression of the country was not favourable, largely because of the misgovernment which was everywhere apparent. The fortnight spent in the South of France was a much happier experience. From Nice Sir James travelled to Naples by steamer, and the lengthy and vivid description in his diary makes it clear that he was fascinated by the ruins of nearby Pompeii. At this

point Douglas's usual good health deserted him, and he spent a miserable fortnight in Rome, where for a few days he was seriously ill. He was sufficiently well to enjoy his visits to Pisa, Florence, and Milan, but a gale was blowing and snow was falling when he arrived in Venice on March 20. The entry in his diary that day is characteristic:—

> Walked a little about the Town. My Hotel a former palace, magnificently furnished large lofty rooms, but cold and comfortless. Shivering all day. There is no satisfaction in cheerless Pomp, a comfortable log hut is preferable.

From this point wintry weather marred the tour, and though he visited many cities, including Vienna, Munich, Baden Baden, and Strasbourg, Sir James was back in Paris on April 3. There he found awaiting him letters from home informing him of the death in February of his daughter Cecilia, wife of Dr. J. S. Helmcken. He did his utmost to take the blow bravely, and continued his methodical sightseeing as usual; but it is perhaps significant that he returned almost at once to London, and that his diary dwindles suddenly, for the most part, to a series of brief notes upon the weather. Except for the elaborate passage on Representative Government, already quoted, it contains little of interest.

Sir James spent three busy weeks in London, shopping and preparing for the homeward journey. He sailed from Southampton in the Royal Mail steamer *Atrato* on May 2, 1865, and, as already noted, his diary ends with the arrival of the vessel at St. Thomas on May 16. He travelled on by way of Kingston, Panama, and San Francisco, and arrived at Victoria in the *Brother Jonathan* on June 26, 1865. James Douglas, jr., returned from England with his father.

Some eight weeks after his return, on August 21, 1865, Sir James summed up his impressions of his tour in a letter to Mr. H. P. P. (later Sir Henry) Crease. As this letter has also found its way to the Provincial Archives, it is possible to quote the following paragraphs:—

> Save for the voyage out and home, I greatly enjoyed my late trip. I ran over almost every city of note, in south and central Europe. I saw Palaces, Museums, Pictures, Antiquities, Sculptures, works of Art, Parks and every attractive object from the famed ruins of Poestum and Pompeii, to the latest innovations of modern genius. This was severe work, necessitating

constant activity, and leaving hardly a day's leisure, from the hour of landing in England until I left Southampton again on my return home.

Such was my experimental tour.

If spared a few years longer I hope to repeat it with renewed zest, confining my rambles however, on the next occasion, to a narrower field.

Though this plan was not carried out quite in the way intended, it will be recalled that Douglas did pay a second visit to Europe in 1874, in order to accompany his daughter Martha (later Mrs. Dennis R. Harris) home from England. He was absent from Victoria only from June 25 to September 26, but spent about a month visiting friends and relatives in England and Scotland. In conclusion it may be added that Sir James's travel diary of 1864–65 contains certain references to places and relatives which, when the return of peace makes it possible to consult records on file in London and Scotland, promise to solve the mystery of Douglas's family and ancestry.

W. KAYE LAMB.

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VICTORIA, B.C.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

Frank H. Ellis is one of seven living Canadian aviators who flew before the Great War, and is thus qualified by experience as well as by knowledge to write the history of pioneer flying in British Columbia. During the war he served for two years with the Royal Air Force, and a parachute descent which he made in 1919 was the first made by a British subject from an aeroplane in Canada. In October, 1920, he was a member of the crew of the first aeroplane to fly into Northern Canada. The flight was made from Winnipeg to The Pas, and an account of it will be found in the article entitled "Flying Machine arrived Sunday," which Mr. Ellis contributed to the September number of the *Beaver*. He is the author of *Duration Flying Models*, a manual for the model-aircraft builder, which was published in London in 1936.

Willard E. Ireland is a graduate of the University of British Columbia, and received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Toronto in 1935. His thesis was entitled *British Columbia, the United States, and British American Union*, and Mr. Ireland is at present preparing a much more comprehensive study in the same field. His research has taken him to the Public Archives in Ottawa, to the National Archives and the Archives of the Department of State in Washington, D.C., and to the Public Record Office and the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS.

Gratifying progress has been made recently in the work of preserving and marking historic sites and monuments in British Columbia.

PURCHASE OF THE HELMCKEN HOME, VICTORIA.

Late in July it was announced that the Government had purchased the old home of the late Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, and that the building would be turned over to the Provincial Archives for use as an historical museum. For many years the house has been the residence of Dr. Helmcken's daughter, Mrs. Edith L. Higgins, who died in April, and it was the generosity of the heirs to her estate which made the preservation of the building possible.

The house is situated on Elliott Street, almost within the shadow of the Parliament Buildings, and stands on ground which originally formed part of the James Bay estate of Sir James Douglas. The site was given to Dr. Helmcken when he married Douglas's daughter Cecilia, in 1852, and the oldest portion of the residence was built the same year. Additions were twice made in later years but, fortunately, this first unit has survived practically unaltered. So far as is known, there is only one older house now standing in British Columbia—the home built in Oak Bay by the Hon. John Tod, in 1851—but this has been reconstructed, and the Helmcken house is the oldest residence which survives in anything approaching its original

condition. Incidentally it is one of only five buildings earlier in date than 1858 which are still standing on Vancouver Island, the others being the Hudson's Bay Bastion at Nanaimo, the Craigflower farm-house, the old Craigflower school, and the Tod home already mentioned. It is gratifying to note that three of the five are now publicly owned.

Dr. Helmcken was one of Vancouver Island's most distinguished pioneers, and the Province has acquired a property rich in associations with its early history. He arrived in Victoria in 1850, and was the first magistrate appointed in the old Crown Colony of Vancouver Island. When a House of Assembly was constituted in 1856 he became its Speaker, a position which he retained until British Columbia joined the Dominion in 1871. He was one of the three delegates sent to Ottawa at that time to negotiate the terms of Confederation, and refused a Senatorship soon after. Retiring from politics, he lived quietly in Victoria for almost half a century, and died as recently as 1920 at the ripe old age of 95.

As the old home will be preserved as a museum, Mrs. Higgins's heirs have removed only a few family heirlooms and have left in the building all the contents of historical interest. They have also presented to the Archives a large number of Dr. Helmcken's personal papers, many of which relate to the early days of the old Crown Colony, and which together form an exceedingly valuable and interesting addition to the manuscript collection.

The work of restoring the house and adapting it for museum purposes has already commenced, but it may not be possible to open it to the public as soon as anticipated, owing to the outbreak of war.

CARIBOO ROAD MEMORIAL AT LILLOOET.

About 200 persons gathered at Lillooet on Labour Day when Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Provincial Archivist, unveiled and presented to the people of Cariboo a cairn which marks " Mile Zero " of the Cariboo Road. The handsome monument is constructed of stones obtained from old placer-streams, and was built by the Lillooet Historical Society. A bronze tablet embedded in the stone bears the following inscription:—

Erected by the Historical Society of Lillooet
September 4th, 1939
To commemorate the building of the Cariboo Road
Construction commenced from Lillooet in 1859
Mile 0

Though the first long section of the famous old Cariboo Road, extending from Lillooet to Cut-off Valley (now Clinton), was not completed until 1861, it is nevertheless true that the first stretch of road traversed by the traveller as he set out for Cariboo—that from the town of Lillooet to the Fraser River—was built in 1859; and the mile-posts which determined the names of such famous stopping-places as the 150-Mile House were measured from Lillooet.

In addition to the brief dedicatory remarks by Dr. Lamb, addresses were delivered by Bishop Wells, of Cariboo; Mrs. Muriel R. Cree, Secretary of

the British Columbia Historical Association; Mr. R. D. Cummings, of Ashcroft; and Mr. E. G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry. But the feature of the programme which will be remembered longest was a reminiscent speech by James Buie Leighton, grand old man of the Cariboo, who had come specially from Savona for the occasion, and regaled the audience with both serious and humorous recollections of early days. The chairman was Mr. Joseph Russell, who read many letters of greeting from persons unable to attend, including Mr. Louis LeBourdais, M.L.A., and Mr. George Murray, M.L.A., who, with Mrs. Murray, deserves a large share of the credit due to those who built the monument.

The cairn stands directly opposite St. Mary's Church, and is fitted with both an electric beacon and a drinking-fountain.

KOOTENAE HOUSE.

Labour Day witnessed a second unveiling ceremony at Lake Windermere, where His Honour Judge Howay dedicated a cairn marking the location of Kootenae House. The site for the monument was donated by the late Mrs. Basil Hamilton, of Windermere, whose sister, Dr. Mary E. Crawford, of Winnipeg, attended the ceremony. The money to build the cairn itself, and to engrave and install the tablet, was given by residents of the Windermere Valley. Its purpose can best be indicated by quoting the inscription:—

Kootenae House

David Thompson of the North West Company
built here in August, 1807, Kootenae House,
the first trading post of the White Man on
the Columbia River or its tributaries.

During the next four years he explored
the Columbia River from source to mouth, and
established trade with the Indians in Southern
British Columbia and in much of the country now
known as the States of Montana, Idaho and
Washington.

Judge Howay characterized Thompson as undoubtedly Canada's leading geographer, and added that although the Thompson River was named after him, it was in connection with the bigger Columbia River that he made one of his most noteworthy contributions to Canadian exploration. He was the first white man to trace the Columbia from its source to its mouth, and his camp at Kootenae House was the first habitation of the white man in that whole area. In the course of his indefatigable explorations David Thompson placed on the map the main routes of travel in no less than 1,200,000 square miles of Canada and 500,000 square miles of the United States; surveyed the headwaters of the Mississippi; discovered a new route to Lake Athabasca; and fixed the locations of outstanding geographical points over this vast area with the sureness of an expert astronomer, despite the fact that he had had little formal instruction, and had learned to figure the stars when a boy wintering at Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan River.

It is interesting to recall that Thompson crossed the Rockies for the first time in 1807, and was never west of the Lake of the Woods after 1812. His great work in the farthest west was thus accomplished in only six seasons.

THE GRAVE OF HARRY JONES.

Some time this autumn friends of the late Harry Jones will gather in the old cemetery at Stanley, in the Cariboo, to unveil a brass plaque dedicated to his memory. It is planned to fix the plaque to a boulder secured from a placer-stream. The inscription reads as follows:—

Harry Jones
Born Carnarvonshire, Wales, September 29, 1840
With " Welsh Adventurers " arrived in B.C. June 1863
Last survivor of famous " Evans Party "
and one of Cariboo's best-known and best-loved pioneers
Represented Cariboo in B.C. Legislature 1903–9
Died Feb. 25, 1936, buried at Stanley, B.C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association was held in the Provincial Library on Friday, October 13. Dr. J. S. Plaskett, the retiring president, presided. The Secretary's report of the society's activities during the past year recorded steady progress, as evidenced by the formation of two new Sections. The first of these was organized in New Westminster in February, and at a meeting held just prior to the annual meeting the Council authorized the formation of a Section at Lillooet, which is intended to succeed the existing Lillooet Historical Society. The total paid-up membership of the Association was 462, which compares with a total of 414 in October, 1937, and 444 in October, 1938. In addition a number of subscriptions to the *Quarterly* were received through newsagents, and the total paid circulation of the magazine was 485.

The Treasurer reported a balance of $129.17, after payment had been made to the Provincial Archives for copies of the *Quarterly* supplied to members. This compares with a balance of $116.44 a year ago.

The Council reported that plans for a revision of the constitution had been made, and that a number of suggestions for closer co-operation between the Sections had been considered and would be passed on to the incoming Council for action.

Dr. Plaskett chose as the subject of his presidential address the *History of Astronomy in British Columbia.* The first part of the paper was devoted to an account of the travels and observations of some of the great pioneer explorers by sea and land, and in particular of Captain Cook, Captain Vancouver, Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson. The work of the Boundary Commission of 1858–1862 was also outlined. The circumstances which made the obtaining of accurate observations difficult, the character of the instruments used, and the accuracy of early determinations compared with those made in later days were considered in a most informative and exceptionally interesting way by the speaker. Dr. Plaskett devoted

the second part of his paper to the story of how the great Dominion Astrophysical Observatory came to be built on Little Saanich Mountain, and had much of interest to say about the prolonged negotiations which led up to the determination, first, to build such an observatory, and, secondly, to erect it in British Columbia. He paid a glowing tribute to his friend and teacher the late Dr. W. F. King, former Dominion Astronomer, to whom he said most of the credit was due, and also stressed the importance of the information which had been obtained through the efforts of the staff of the Observatory since its completion over twenty years ago.

Mr. Kenneth Waites brought greetings from the Vancouver Section, and moved a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Plaskett, which was seconded by Mr. John Goldie, President of the Victoria Section. His Honour Judge Howay brought greetings from the New Westminster Section, and commented upon the " self obliteration " that Dr. Plaskett, whose scholarship in the field of astronomy was internationally recognized, had shown in his recital of the history of the Astrophysical Observatory.

The result of the election of officers and council for the season 1939–40 was announced as follows:—

President	Dr. T. A. Rickard.
1st Vice-President	Mr. Kenneth A. Waites.
2nd Vice-President	Mr. B. A. McKelvie.
Honorary Secretary	Mrs. Muriel R. Cree.
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. G. H. Harman.
Archivist	Dr. Robie L. Reid.
Members of the Council	Miss Helen R. Boutilier.
	Mr. J. M. Coady.
	Rev. J. C. Goodfellow.
	Judge F. W. Howay.
	Major H. T. Nation.

The meeting concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

VICTORIA SECTION.

The annual Field Day was held on July 22, when the Section visited the beautiful grounds of the Dominion Experimental Station at Sidney. About ninety members attended the picnic.

During tea Mr. John Goldie, the President, introduced a number of members and guests, who spoke entertainingly. These included Dr. T. A. Rickard, immediate past President of the Section; the Chief Justice of British Columbia, a charter member and past President of the Association; Dr. Kaye Lamb, who announced the purchase of the residence of the late Dr. J. S. Helmcken by the Government; and Dr. W. N. Sage, who spoke briefly on the work of the Association and brought greetings from the Vancouver Section. Mr. J. F. Bledsoe exhibited a beautiful collection of polished pebbles, most of which were found on the southern end of Vancouver Island. Though 85 years of age, Mr. Bledsoe is still hale and hearty, and gave a most interesting account both of his own colorful adventures in the West

many years ago, and of his hobby of collecting, cutting, and polishing pebbles.

Mrs. Cree was thanked for her work in organizing the outing, and the Chief Justice spoke with appreciation of the work being done by the Experimental Farm, "entrusted to such able hands, with such gratifying results."

The annual meeting of the Section will be held on November 13.

NEW WESTMINSTER AND FRASER VALLEY SECTION.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Y.M.C.A. in New Westminster on Monday, September 18. About twenty-five members and friends attended. The Secretary reported that the membership of the Section was now thirty-two.

The speaker of the evening was Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, who spoke on *Some Pioneer B.C. Journals and Journalists*. The address, which was delivered in lighter mood, traced the story of printing and the press in British Columbia from the first appearance of the Victoria *Gazette*, in June of 1858, until 1866. The latter year was chosen as a stopping-point because a combination of circumstances arising from hard times, the union of the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, and the arrival of the telegraph, altered conditions so completely that a whole era in the history of journalism in the Province may be said to have come to an end. The speaker paid particular attention to such famous newspapers as the Victoria *Colonist*, the old New Westminster *Times* (the first paper printed on the Mainland), the *British Columbian*, and the *Cariboo Sentinel*, and such well-known journalist-politicians as Amor De Cosmos, D. W. Higgins, and John Robson.

OKANAGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The *Eighth Report* of the Society is now being distributed, and readers will find that, like the other reports in the series, it contains much material of value and interest. It is an octavo-size pamphlet of 57 pages, printed by the Ryerson Press, Toronto. It is evident that the Society continues to hold the interest of the people of the Okanagan, for the membership list printed in this *Report* includes no less than 278 names. The officers are as follows: President, Captain J. B. Weeks, Penticton; 1st Vice-President, Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton; 2nd Vice-President, Max H. Ruhman, Vernon; 3rd Vice-President, A. E. Sage, Armstrong; Secretary-Treasurer, Leonard Norris, Vernon.

The *Report* includes twelve articles, long and short, two of which are devoted to the very useful and interesting topic of place-names. The longest contribution, entitled *San Juan Island*, is by Leonard Norris, and deals with the influence of the boundary dispute and arbitration award upon the construction of the railway westward to British Columbia. Mr. Norris contends that possession of San Juan Island made it so easy for the United States to blockade the approaches to Burrard Inlet that the original plan to place the terminus of the transcontinental railway there was abandoned, and that years were lost in a futile effort to find a practicable route by which the line could be routed to Esquimalt. A second article by Mr. Norris,

entitled *Trutch's Speech*, is also concerned indirectly with the railway question, as it deals with the address delivered by J. W. Trutch in Ottawa on April 10, 1871, in which he stated that British Columbia would not insist upon the completion of the line within the ten-year period specified in the Terms of Union, and that it was understood that a definite term of years had been mentioned only as evidence of good faith. Mr. Norris considers that this statement enabled the Dominion Government of the moment to slip out of a tight corner, and that it won for Trutch the office of Lieutenant-Governor, which it had been taken for granted would go to the Hon. S. L. Tilley.

Burt R. Campbell, of Kamloops, contributes a long article on *The City of Vernon: the first year of incorporation*, which consists of a complete and detailed account of the entire life and growth of the community in 1892–93. It will prove invaluable for reference purposes, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Campbell will continue his chronicle in later reports.

Enough has been said to make it evident that the *Eighth Report* is well worth the dollar it costs. Copies may be obtained from Mr. Leonard Norris, of Vernon, who, as usual, is chiefly responsible for the appearance of the Society's publication.

SIMILKAMEEN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

At the quarterly meeting held in Princeton on July 28 fitting reference was made to the passing of Mrs. E. M. Daly, Vice-President of the Association. Mrs. Daly came to Similkameen in August, 1885, and an interesting account of her journey over the Hope Trail appeared in the Penticton *Herald* of December 10, 1936. Mrs. H. Tweedle, of Keremeos, was elected to succeed Mrs. Daly as 2nd Vice-President.

Mrs. H. Cornish read an interesting paper on the history of coal-mining in the Similkameen Valley, making reference to many of the mines which had been operated in the past as well as to those now in operation.

The eighth annual supper gathering of the Association was held in the Orange Hall, Princeton, on Thursday, September 28. Though the attendance was somewhat smaller than in former years, over 100 persons were present. Rev. J. C. Goodfellow reported on the year's work, and spoke of *Our Two Archies*—Archibald McDonald, the fur-trader, who came to " The Forks " in 1827, and Archibald Aberdeen, who died in Princeton in 1930, in his 101st year. Addresses were given by J. Ovington and W. H. Holmes, of Coalmont. Mr. Ovington reviewed the history of coal-mining at Blakeburn, and Mr. Holmes spoke of " his eighty-nine years." The main address was given by E. Waterman, who told the story of *The Man with the Red Mackinaw*. The musical items were of a high order, and the meeting closed with the Lord's Prayer in Chinook, *God Save the King*, and *Auld Lang Syne*. [J. C. GOODFELLOW, Secretary.]

THOMPSON VALLEY MUSEUM AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Some months ago the pioneer home of Mrs. R. E. Smith was presented to the City of Kamloops by Mrs. J. S. Burris, to be held in trust for museum

and library purposes. The Kamloops Public Library Association has taken possession of the ground floor, and the Historical Association's collections have now been transferred to the upper floor, where they are displayed to much better advantage than has been possible hitherto. Over 860 pioneer photographs have been gathered and catalogued, and a guide to the photographs, documents, and relics on display has been prepared and is available for the use of visitors.

It is hoped that it may be possible to move the re-erected Hudson's Bay trading-post building, which now stands in Riverside Park, to a site beside the new museum premises, as this would simplify the problem of caring for the building and of arranging to have it open for the inspection of visitors.

EARLY MAPS OF JUNEAU, ALASKA.

Mr. Edward Bailey, whose address is Longview Road, Port Washington, N.Y., is most anxious to learn the whereabouts of any sketches or maps of Juneau, Alaska, during the period 1880 to 1910, which indicate the position of buildings and streets. Readers who may have any information on the subject are asked to communicate with Mr. Bailey direct.

THE DISCOVERY OF HILL'S BAR IN 1858.

Attention has been called to the fact that parts of the narrative by James Moore which was printed in the July number of this *Quarterly* either quote from or paraphrase closely certain passages in the article entitled "First Gold Excitement," which appeared in the *Year Book of British Columbia,* edited by R. E. Gosnell, in 1897. The author of this article, H. B. Hobson, states that James Moore, "being now in the employ of Mr. J. B. Hobson, manager of the Cariboo Hydraulic Mine [and presumably the writer's brother], has kindly furnished me with the facts" about the first days of the rush of 1858. When writing to Mr. Harding in 1919, Moore must have refreshed his memory by referring to the *Year Book,* a fact which escaped notice when the narrative was being checked.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71. By Arthur S. Morton. London, Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons. N.d. [1939]. Pp. xiv., 987. $6.

This stout volume of one thousand pages is the result of nearly twenty years' research. Professor Morton, who is head of the Department of History in the University of Saskatchewan, has gathered materials in the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives, the British Museum, the Public Record Office in London, the Public Archives in Ottawa, and the Archives of British Columbia. He has carefully pondered over his sources and has written an important book.

The Canadian West as described by Professor Morton is that portion of Western Canada lying west of Hudson Bay, north and west of the Great Lakes, and east of the Rocky Mountains. The story of the Pacific Slope is also included, but it is secondary to the leading theme. According to the author the vast territory may be divided into four portions, " three North-Wests " and the Farthest West—" a tangle of inner seas and water-ways beside the broad Pacific." The " three North-Wests " are respectively the prairie, the northern forest, and the Barren Lands. The prairie North-West is " a triangle with the Rocky Mountains and the International Boundary westward from the Lake of the Woods for its two sides, and for its base the wooded belt running north-westward from near the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains." The forest belt runs north-west of the prairie and extends from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods along the upper edge of the Assiniboine to Mackenzie River and the Rockies. The third North-West is the Barren Grounds, " a weary land of rocks and moss." The sub-Arctic summer is too short for the soil to thaw to any depth and trees cannot thrive, but flowers, grasses, and herbs manage to blossom. In the winter it is a desolate region of snow and ice. The prairie was the home of the buffalo, in the forest belt were found the fur-bearing animals and in the Barren Grounds roamed herds of caribou and musk-oxen. The plains Indians had secured horses before the white men came and lived off the buffalo. The Indians of the forest belt were hunters, but the nomadic tribes of the Barren Grounds eked out a precarious existence.

The story of the Canadian West before 1871 is essentially that of the fur trade. The lure of the beaver-skin brought the French west from the Great Lakes to the prairies and the northern forest belt, and the English and French to Hudson Bay. It was only in the second decade of the 19th century that Lord Selkirk attempted to form a settlement in Red River. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 led to the formation of the colony of Vancouver Island, and the gold-rush of 1858 was responsible for the birth of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. Until 1871 the Canadian North-West was essentially a fur-trade preserve.

Professor Morton tells in detail—at times in very great detail—the story of the approach of the white men to the three North-Wests. French and English struggled for Hudson Bay until 1713 and then for the great fur

forest in the hinterland of the Bay until 1763. After the British conquest of Canada the mantle of the French fur-trader fell upon the English-speaking merchants of Montreal. The North West Company was formed and then came the titanic struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and its Canadian rivals which ended in the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821.

Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the period before 1821. As might be expected, most of these six-hundred-odd pages deal with exploration and fur trade east of the Rocky Mountains. This is Professor Morton's own particular field. He has not only searched through archives and libraries, but he has personally visited and identified the sites of many obscure trading-posts and he has rescued from oblivion many equally obscure fur-traders. He has made clear much that was confused in the early history of the Hudson's Bay Company. He has also shed new light on the story of the "Pedlars," the name given to the early English-speaking traders from Montreal. The strife between the North West Company and the XY Company and the later struggle between the Canadian and English companies are told in detail. There is a valuable account of the Red River Settlement.

On the vexed question of the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter, Professor Morton has decisive opinions. He claims that by the terms of the charter granted on May 2, 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company was entitled to more than merely the lands draining into Hudson Bay. After quoting the well-known clauses of the charter the author argues as follows:—

"This means that the Company could penetrate by land and water as far as it pleased, always provided that its trade was through Hudson Strait. Had they found a way by water to Alaska, or by land to the British Columbia of today, and thence to China, they would have enjoyed the monopoly of that trade, and by inference, if they had planted colonies on the Pacific coast for the prosecution of the trade, these would probably have been counted within the limits of Rupert's Land. As it proved, the Company's dream of an easy route by land or water to the Pacific was insubstantial. There was no passage to a mild climate where a prosperous colony could be established."

In the portion of the volume devoted to the history of the Pacific Slope, Professor Morton has, as usual, carefully worked over the available materials; but he has, in the main, followed the well-beaten track of the historians of the Northwest Coast. There are, however, a few noteworthy exceptions. In his account of the Nootka Sound Controversy he rather tends to make a hero of Colnett. "Americans and Britons alike owe much to Captain Colnett, whose perspicacity and obstinacy raised the issue as to whether the Pacific coast should be open to traders as in the past, and who thus contributed to a final settlement momentous to both the American Republic and the British Empire." Here, as elsewhere, the author tends to pick out a minor figure and to exalt him to a major position in the annals of Western Canada.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie fares rather better in this volume than he did in the author's previous book *Under Western Skies*. Mackenzie's one per-

sistent motive, we are told, " was to free the trade of the Athabaska from the cost of the long journey from Montreal." His scheme for a post at Cook's Inlet and for " another at the Southerly limit of the British Claims, . . . would have changed the whole history of the Pacific coast." But the monopolies of the Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company were too strong. None the less to Professor Morton, Sir Alexander Mackenzie was the " first great Westerner."

The " Columbian enterprise " of the North West Company, 1800–1814, is placed in its continental setting and shown to be a deliberate Canadian attempt to secure the overland fur trade as far as the Pacific coast. Simon Fraser receives full credit for his explorations, but once again Duncan McGillivrary tends to outshine David Thompson. Professor Morton puts forward his pet theory, which has been vigorously disputed by Dr. J. B. Tyrrell and His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, that Duncan McGillivrary, in 1801, was the first white man to cross from the upper waters of the Saskatchewan to the upper waters of the Columbia. To the author the " Columbian enterprise " was not the result of Lewis and Clark's expedition, but " it arose out of Alexander Mackenzie's spectacular voyage to the Western Sea and his scheme to go in and take possession of the coastal fur trade." It became the " fixed policy of Duncan McGillivrary," who died in 1808, the year after David Thompson had found his way over Howse Pass. According to Professor Morton, David Thompson lost his great opportunity in the autumn of 1810 when he allowed himself to be turned north from the upper Saskatchewan to the upper waters of the Athabaska by the hostility of the Piegan Indians. " No Alexander Mackenzie or Simon Fraser this, but a scholarly surveyor, not without an element of timidity in him. In this the critical hour of his life David Thompson was weighed and found wanting." Apparently the professor still believes in the " race to the sea " theory, because he claims that Thompson's entry in his Journal for July 10, 1811, " Heard news of the American ship's arrival," should not be interpreted that " Thompson was not attempting to reach the coast before the Americans for it shows that he was aware of Astor's expedition."

In his account of the Hudson's Bay Company in Old Oregon after 1821, the author stresses the fact that it was Governor Simpson rather than Dr. John McLoughlin who shaped the Company's policy. He calls attention to the importance of the Snake River expedition as a " screen behind which the English Company's trade and Britain's *de facto* possession of the land could continue." The Oregon boundary settlement, he thinks, profoundly affected Canadian history. It led to the first proposals for a transcontinental railway through British territory, called Canadian attention to the desirability of taking over Rupert's Land, and helped to bring about Confederation.

Professor Morton has produced a valuable work. It must be confessed that it would be more useful to research students if more foot-notes had been appended indicating the source of quotations. As it is, the volume is too long and detailed for the average reader and just misses being an excellent " tool " for the graduate student. The maps and index are both good and the appendix entitled " Brief bibliographical notes " is most valuable. Taken

all in all, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71* is the most complete one-volume history of Western Canada before Confederation which has yet appeared. Let us hope that the author will give us a second volume which will deal with the period since 1871.

WALTER N. SAGE.

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