

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER
ON THE BRITISH COLUMBIA COAST.

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Chapter	I.	Apprenticeship.	Page	1
Chapter	II.	The Nootka Sound Controversy.	Page	7
Chapter	III.	Passage to the Northwest Coast.	Page	15
Chapter	IV.	Survey--Cape Mendocino to Admiralty Inlet.	Page	21
Chapter	V.	Gulf of Georgia--Johnstone Straits--Nootka.	Page	30
Chapter	VI.	Quadra and Vancouver at Nootka.	Page	47
Chapter	VII.	Columbia River, Monterey, Second Northward Survey, Sandwich Islands.	Page	57
Chapter	VIII.	Third Northern Survey.	Page	70
Chapter	IX.	Return to England.	Page	84
Chapter	X.	Summary of Vancouver's Achievements.	Page	88
Appendix	I.	Letter of Vancouver to Evan Nepean.	Page	105
Appendix	II.	Controversy between Vancouver and Menzies.	Page	110
Appendix	III.	Comments on Hewett's Notes.	Page	113
Appendix	IV.	Hydrographic Surveys of the Northwest Coast.	Page	115
Bibliography			Page	I.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I wish to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Dr. W. N. Sage, Head of the Department of History of the University of British Columbia for his helpful suggestions and aid in the preparation of this thesis.

CHAPTER I.

APPRENTICESHIP

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER
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CHAPTER I. APPRENTICESHIP

What were the achievements of Captain Vancouver on the British Columbia coast? How do his achievements compare with those of Captain Cook and the Spanish explorers? Why was an expedition sent to the northwest coast at this time? What qualifications did Vancouver have for the position of commander of the expedition? These and other pertinent questions will receive consideration in this thesis.

George Vancouver was born on 22 June, 1757, of Anglo-¹Dutch descent, at King's Lynn, Norfolk. His training commenced at an early stage, for, at the age of thirteen, he joined the British Navy. His apprenticeship under Captain Cook, a master tutor, was very thorough. In 1772 Captain Cook began his second circumnavigation. On this voyage of exploration to the South Seas there appeared on the muster roll of the Resolution, among the A. B.'s, the name of George Vancouver. On this voyage, Cook attempted to find the mysterious continent of the geographers and he made an unparalleled voyage in the Southern Hemisphere. What effect did this voyage have on Vancouver?

Vancouver in this second voyage of Captain Cook's had circumnavigated the globe, seen many strange lands and learned much of the art of seamanship from Captain Cook and

1. On the coast of Alaska Vancouver named a high promontory Point Couverden, in honor of his paternal ancestors.

the men of the Resolution. "Throughout his life thereafter, as will be seen, Cook was Vancouver's model as man and seaman; he venerated his memory until the last, lost no chance of paying tribute to his work as explorer and navigator, and reveals in his own great Voyage of Discovery a whole hearted loyalty and jealousy for Cook's good name as man and as navigator that touch the heart of the reader, over and over again."² Vancouver also learned that scurvy could be conquered by a scientific diet including such foods as sauerkraut and portable broth. In addition Vancouver must have been taught much scientific knowledge by the astronomer, William Wales, who accompanied the expedition.

In 1776, Vancouver, now a midshipman, sailed on Cook's third and last voyage. The British government had offered twenty thousand pounds for the first ship to navigate the Northwest Passage and Cook's third expedition attempted to solve the mystery. Theories about the Northwest Passage existed due to the fact that Columbus and Cabot thought that they had reached Asia. Later on, of course, it was realized that great land masses blocked the route to the east. Gradually the idea developed that there might be gaps in the barrier, a northwest or a southwest passage. Magellan discovered the southwest passage during his circumnavigation. The attempt to discover the Northwest Passage lasted for centuries.³

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2. Godwin, George, Vancouver: A Life, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1930, p. 10.
 3. The Northwest Passage was finally discovered by the Roald Amundsen expedition--1903--07.

In the sixteenth century Martin Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and John Davis made unsuccessful attempts to discover such a passage by way of the north Atlantic Ocean. Later a theory developed that on the northwest coast of America there were straits called the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Strait of Admiral de Fonte and the Strait of Anian, which might communicate with Hudson Bay. The Spaniards tried, in vain, to locate these straits. The British government offered a prize for the first ship to discover these mythical straits.

Cook's expedition left England in 1776. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope the ships reached New Zealand, the Society Islands, and discovered Christmas Island and the Sandwich Islands. From the latter the ships sailed for the northwest coast, sighted the shores of New Albion and arrived at Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Later on Cook sailed as far north as $69^{\circ} 36'$ but abandoned his search for the Northwest Passage. Then he sailed for the Sandwich Islands where he met his death at the hands of natives. This voyage undoubtedly added greatly to Vancouver's knowledge of seamanship and navigation and prepared the way for his voyage to the northwest coast.

In 1780 Vancouver was appointed as a lieutenant in the sloop Martin. Later on he joined the same and had his one experience of active service with a fleet under Rodney in the West Indies. Vancouver then returned to England and was

transferred to the Europa. He served in the West Indies for two years during which time he surveyed Port Royal and Kingston Harbour in Jamaica. In 1789 he sailed to England in the Europa. From that time on Vancouver's life was devoted to exploration.

In 1789 the British government decided to send a scientific expedition to the South Seas. Captain Henry Roberts was appointed the commander; Vancouver was second in command. The admiralty bought a new ship, the Discovery, but the expedition was cancelled due to trouble with Spain. Vancouver describes the series of events as follows:

Toward the end of April the Discovery was, in most respects, in a condition to sail down the river, when intelligence was received that the Spaniards had committed depredations on the coast of northwest

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4. Howay, F. W., "Some notes on Cook's and Vancouver's ships", The Washington Historical Quarterly, Seattle, University of Washington Press, October, 1930. F. W. Howay furnishes a note on the ships of Cook and Vancouver which were both named "Discovery".
 5. Godwin, op. cit., p. 27. "Vancouver, writing in the introduction to his Voyage of Discovery, surprisingly says that towards the end of April 1790, the Discovery was nearly ready for sea and in most respects in a condition to proceed down the river. This suggests that within a week of the presentation of the Cabinet address to the King, that led four days later to an ultimatum to Spain, the peaceable expedition to the South Seas was still actively going forward. We know, however, that it was not, for in March, Lord Grenville had sent a despatch to Governor Phillip of Port Jackson, New Holland, outlining an entirely new expedition in which the Discovery, the Gorgon and the Sirius were to take part in the establishment of an English settlement on the North-West coast; and it was to be a settlement prepared to meet with force any interference from natives or Spaniards. Hitherto this projected military expedition, which like the initial pacific enterprise, came to nothing, has been overlooked."

America, and that they had seized on the English vessels and factories in Nootka Sound. This intelligence gave rise to disputes between the courts of London and Madrid which wore the threatening appearance of being terminated by no other means than those of reprisal. In consequence of this an armament took place, and the further pacific equipment of the Discovery was suspended; her stores and provisions were returned to the respective offices and her officers and men engaged in more active service. On this occasion I resumed my profession under my highly esteemed friend Sir Alan Gardner, then Captain of the Courageous, where I remained until the 17th of November following, when I was ordered to repair to town⁶ for the purpose of attending to the commands of the board of Admiralty. The uncommon celerity and unparalleled dispatch which attended the equipment of one of the noblest fleets that Great Britain ever saw, had probably its due influence upon the court of Madrid, for in the Spanish Convention, which was consequent upon that armament, restitution was offered to this country for the capture and aggressions made by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; together with an acknowledgment of an equal right with Spain to the exercise and prosecution of all commercial undertakings in those seas, reputed before to belong only to the Spanish Crown. The extensive branches of the fisheries, and the fur trade to China being considered as objects of very material importance to this country, it was deemed expedient, that an officer⁷ should be sent to Nootka to receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized and also to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the 30th degree of north latitude north-westward toward Cook's River; and further, to obtain every possible information that could be collected respecting the natural and political state of that country. The outline of this intended expedition was communicated to me, and I had the honour of

6. London.

7. Captain Henry Roberts was on duty in the Mediterranean so Captain Vancouver was the logical choice to lead the expedition.

being appointed to the command of it."⁸

What were the causes and events of the rivalry between Spain and Great Britain on the northwest coast of America?

8. Vancouver, Captain George, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, London, 1798, volume I., p. 11.

CHAPTER II.

THE NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY

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The Nootka Sound controversy was based on the rival claims for the sovereignty of Britain and Spain on the northwest coast of America. Spain's claims were based partly on early exploration, on her sovereignty in the South Seas which had been bestowed by Pope Alexander VI. in his famous Bull of 1493 dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal,¹ and to the "blanket claim" established to the whole Pacific coast line of the two American continents by Balboa in 1513. In 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovered San Diego Bay and later his pilot, Bartolome Ferrelo seems to have reached as far north as 43°. In 1603 Sebastian Vizcaino sighted Cape Mendocino. However Spain did not follow up the northern discoveries with settlement and after Vizcaino no further Spanish attempt was made at northern exploration for more than a century and a half. Meanwhile Vitus Bering and Alexei Chirikoff discovered the Alaskan coast and established the Russian claim to northwest America. News of Russian activity spurred Spain on to a resumption of exploration.

The Santiago, under Juan Perez, left San Blas, Mexico, in January, 1774, on a northern voyage. "On July 18, land was sighted. It was the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands and Perez may be acclaimed as the discoverer of British

1. In 1494 by the treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal, the "Pope's line" was changed and Portugal was given title to her later discoveries on the Brazilian coast.

Columbia."² However Perez was unable to land. On August 8, Perez named San Lorenzo, a roadstead on the coast of Vancouver Island (usually admitted to have been near Cape Estevan at the entrance to Nootka Sound) but once again was unable to land.

The Santiago reached San Blas on November 2, 1774. Two Franciscan friars who were on this expedition wrote diaries which the Spanish government neglected to publish at once, hence Perez was robbed of his fame as discoverer of the British Columbian coast.

In 1775 another expedition, this time with Bruno Heceta on the Santiago (Perez was second in command) and Bodega y Quadra on the Sonora, was sent out. They anchored at Point Grenville and took formal possession for Spain. Heceta after reaching the vicinity of Nootka returned to Monterey sighting the mouth of the Columbia en route. The Sonora reached the Alaskan coast, was unable to land, and due to bad weather and trouble with scurvy, the expedition returned to Monterey. In 1779 Arteaga and Quadra sailed north, sighted Mount Saint Elias, and on August 1 Lieutenant Quiros landed on Regla Island and took possession. Thus the Spaniards had done considerable exploratory work but they did not follow up their claims in the northern area by settlement.

Sir Francis Drake in 1579, on his famous circumnavigation

2. Sage, Walter N., "Spanish Explorers of the British Columbian Coast", The Canadian Historical Review, December, 1931, p. 391.

sailed up the Oregon coast and refitted in California, named by him New Albion. He took possession of California in the name of Queen Elizabeth.³ Captain Cook was the next British explorer to visit this coast. "The arrival of Captain Cook at Nootka on March 29, 1788, was fated to change the whole history of the north west coast."⁴ The sea otter skins which Cook and his men obtained from the natives at Nootka, were, after Cook's death, traded in China. The maritime fur trade was born. Many fur trading expeditions sought to share in the lucrative profits of the fur trade.

In 1785 Captain James Hanna made a successful round trip between China and Nootka. In 1786 at least eight vessels were in quest of the sea otter. There were the Captain Cook and Experiment, the King George and Queen Charlotte, under Captains Portlock and Dixon, the Sea Otter, the Lark and the Nootka under John Meares. All of these voyages were not successful but hardships and privation failed to curtail the fur trading enterprises.

In 1788 Martinez and Haro visited the Russian settlements in Alaska and learned that the Russians were planning a trading-post on Nootka Sound. Spain decided to forestall the Russian advance and on February 17, 1789, Martinez left

3. Drake may have reached the coast of Vancouver Island but this is doubtful. cf. Capt. R. P. Bishop, "Drake's Course in the Northern Pacific". The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, July, 1939, pp. 151--182.

4. Sage, loc. cit., p. 393.

San Blas to take formal possession of Nootka and to start a settlement there. The resulting clash between Martinez and British traders was inevitable.

In 1788 Meares in command of the Felice and Douglas in charge of the Iphigenia sailed for Nootka where they intended to erect a post and build a small vessel for the coasting trade. At Nootka, the Indian chief, Maquinna consented to grant them ground on which to build a house. In September, 1788, Meares launched the Northwest America, the first ship ever built and launched on the northwest coast. Then Meares sailed for China leaving Captain Douglas in charge of the establishment at Nootka. In May, 1789, Martinez and Haro arrived at Nootka and although they were instructed not to give offence they seized the Iphigenia but released her later. When the Northwest America returned to Nootka she was seized by Martinez and her crew held as prisoners. On June 24, 1789, the Spaniards formally took possession of Nootka. In July, 1789, Martinez seized the Argonaut under Captain Colnett, who was at Nootka in the interests of a joint stock company owned partly by Meares. Later on he seized the Princess Royal which belonged to the same company. These seizures were serious blunders which nearly precipitated war between Spain and England.

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5. Manning, W. R., "The Nootka Sound Controversy", Report of the American Historical Association, 1904, pp. 279--471. A detailed account on the Nootka Sound controversy.

The first inkling of these events reached England in January, 1790 by means of a letter from Anthony Merry, British Charge d'affaires at Madrid. In February 1790, an official letter was sent from Marquis del Campo which recounted inaccurately the Spanish occupation of Nootka and which hoped that in the future the English would not intrude in those regions. The Duke of Leeds forwarded a reply, stating that the seized vessels must be restored and that the whole subject must be examined thoroughly. ⁶ Meanwhile, Meares who had learned of the events went post haste to England where his Memorial was considered by the cabinet. Although Meares' account of the events is untrustworthy it brought ⁷ matters to a head.

The British government, with the advantage of a strong navy, which had been strengthened through the efforts of William Pitt the younger, and with the promised aid of Holland and Prussia, held the whip hand. Spain demanded aid from France under the terms of the Family Compact of 1761 and also tried to obtain an alliance with Austria and Russia. However the autocratic powers of Louis XVI. of France had been diminished by the National Assembly, and this assistance

6. Rose, J. Holland, William Pitt and National Revival, London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1911, p. 566.
The claim is made that the original draft of this letter was written by Pitt.

7. Howay, F. W., ed., Dixon Meares Controversy, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1929, pp. 4--8.
The editor exposes the untrustworthy statements of Meares.

was doubtful. The British cabinet continued to press for restitution and indemnification. On July 24 a Declaration signed by Count Florida Blanca and a Counter Declaration signed by Alleyne Fitzherbert provided for restitution of the vessels and indemnification of the parties interested.

The next and most important point to be considered was that of the right of sovereignty to the northwest coast. Fitzherbert presented to Count Florida Blanca a draft of five articles which dealt with this problem. The latter pleaded for delay but Pitt forced the issue by an ultimatum which demanded an answer within ten days. Britain had the upper hand, Spain was forced to give way reluctantly and on October 28, 1790, King Charles of Spain signed the Nootka Sound Convention.

The articles of the Nootka Sound Convention provided that the land and buildings should be restored to the British subjects who had suffered loss, that reparation should be made to the said British subjects, that trade could be carried on at any points on the coast where no occupation by the opposing nation had been made, that equal rights of trade should be enjoyed by both nations at Nootka and at any other points occupied by either power subsequent to April, 1789. What was the significance of these terms?

British ships had secured the right to sail the Seven Seas without the fear of Spanish intervention. Any thought of exclusive Spanish title to the navigation of the Pacific

and South Oceans was frustrated by the Convention. The freedom of the Pacific, except in Spanish territorial waters, had been established. Spain had definitely abandoned the doctrine of Mare Clausum.

The Spanish conception of sovereignty in the Pacific had been dealt a smashing blow. "In its essence the Nootka incident was the inevitable conflict between the irreconcil-⁸ able British and Spanish principles of colonial sovereignty." The Spanish claim to sovereignty had been based on the Papal Bull of 1493, the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, and by prior discovery. However proper publicity was not given to the discoveries and formal acts of possession were not followed by settlement. Opposed to this was the British principle that discovery must be followed by use and settlement. It was the recognition of this principle which marked the important British gain at the Convention. "It was the first express renunciation of Spain's ancient claim to exclusive sovereignty over the American shores of the Pacific Ocean⁹ and the South Seas."

One indirect result of the Nootka Sound Convention was to secure the present British Columbia for the British Empire. If the British had not put forth a challenge, Spain

8. Mills, ~~Dr.~~ Lennox, The Real Significance of the Nootka Sound Incident, The Canadian Historical Review, University of Toronto Press, 1925, volume VI., p. 113.

9. Manning, W. R., The Nootka Sound Controversy, Report of the American Historical Association, 1904, p. 462.

and Russia might have divided the northwest coast in their own interests. However Pitt did not have a vision of an outlet on the Pacific. The object of the British government at the time was to make the coast a No Man's Land, open to all; its future destiny and ownership to remain undecided. There was no real thought of territorial acquisition but in the light of later events the gains won at the Nootka Sound Convention helped to fashion the keystone of the arch of Empire on the northwest coast. As a matter of fact there is evidence in British Admiralty correspondence that Britain's main purpose was not to develop the northwest coast but to defend her honour.

Paper unsigned. Probably Lord Grenville--
My idea of Nootka is as follows--

I think Captain Vancouver was very naturally induced from the nature of his instructions and a recollection of the original Ground of Quarrel to hesitate and ultimately to decline closing the transaction on the terms suggested by the Spanish Commandant. I regret however that it was not closed on those terms, for we would have been in possession and under those circumstances would have been on a better footing for negotiating at home than when the Spaniards are in possession and when they may feel a Point of Honour not to depart from the Ground assumed by their commandant. All that we really are anxious about in this particular part of the Business is the Safety of our national honour which renders a Restitution necessary. The extent of that Restitution is not of much moment, and in truth the only evidence which either party can resort, will justify the claim of either side.

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Home Office. C. O. 5--87.

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10. Correspondence between the Court of Spain and Great Britain relative to the settlement of the Nootka Controversy and Claims Arising Therefrom, 1789--1798, Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., volume 2, pp. 632--633.

CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE TO THE NORTHWEST COAST

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The lands at Nootka which had been seized must be formally returned to their original owners according to the terms of the Nootka Convention. Don Bodega y Quadra and Captain George Vancouver were selected by their respective governments to act as commissioners to see that the terms of the restoration would be carried out properly.

Vancouver had been appointed second in command of the projected voyage of 1789 to the South Seas. However due to the Nootka controversy this voyage had been cancelled. Vancouver was now put in command of the expedition to the northwest coast of America. This expedition had two purposes. "The extensive branches of the fisheries and the fur trade to China, being considered as objects of very material importance to this country, it was deemed expedient, that an officer should be sent to Nootka to receive back in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized and also to make an accurate survey of the coast from 30th degree of north latitude north-westward toward Cook's river; and further, to obtain every possible information that could be collected respecting the natural and political state of that country." ¹ This was a tremendous task as Vancouver was called on to be in two places at once--to do survey work and also to be at Nootka. "This command of the Nootka expedition was the turning-point of

1. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 11.

Vancouver's career, because it was his great opportunity and he took it."²

The Discovery and the Chatham, which had been destined for the South Sea expedition, were now made ready for service. The Discovery, copper fastened, sheathed with plank and coppered over, was of 340 tons burthen, and carried a complement of 100 men.³ The armed tender, the Chatham, sheathed only with copper, was of 135 tons burthen and carried a complement of 45 men. Vancouver had with him in the Discovery three lieutenants, Zachariah Mudge, Peter Puget and Joseph Baker. Lieutenant Broughton was in command of the Chatham. The stores selected were of the best quality. These included such stores as sauerkraut, portable soup, malt and spruce, wheat, and dried yeast, which were to prove invaluable as an aid to the health of the men. Also they carried articles for trade and fireworks to amuse

2. Godwin, op. cit., p. 29.

3. *ibid.*, p. 187. "The Discovery was completed in 1789 at the yards of Randall and Brent, on the Thames. She was a sloop, 99 feet 2 inches in length and her designer gives her burden as 330 tons. (The Admiralty records have it as 337, and Vancouver as 340.) She was copper fastened, sheathed with plank, and coppered over, mounted ten four-pounders, and ten swivels. After her return from the great voyage she was converted into a bomb, or monitor. In 1801 she was commanded by John Conn, Nelson's cousin, who later commanded the Dreadnought at Trafalgar. In 1808 she was made into a convict ship and transferred to the Secretary of State's Department. In 1834 she was broken up at Deptford."

the natives. On board was a Sandwich Islander, Toweroo or Towraro, whom Vancouver was instructed to repatriate. This native had been brought to England by a fur trader. The Navy Board provided mathematical instruments while the Board of Longitude provided two chronometers used by Captain Cook on his last voyage. This use of instruments is indicative of the progress, in the eighteenth century, of scientific nautical methods. An important advance was the invention, by an Englishman, John Harrison, of the first chronometer with compensatory apparatus for correcting errors arising from climatic variations. Cook and Vancouver were among the first of the great scientific navigators whose interest in the use of ~~use-of~~ scientific methods in nautical astronomy produced the great charts which superseded the incomplete ones of the earlier men.

By January 7, 1791, Vancouver had received his instructions and on that day the Discovery went down the Thames from Deptford. They experienced rough weather in the English Channel, so Vancouver had repairs made at Spithead while he returned to London. He rejoined his command at Portsmouth and sailed for Falmouth where he discovered from Broughton that the Chatham was unsatisfactory. "He informed me that they had experienced a very boisterous passage from Spithead, and that the Chatham had proved to be very crank, as, in some instances to occasion considerable⁴ alarm." On Friday, April 1, 1791, the expedition left

4. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 4.

England.

The voyage was to be a long one, round the Cape of Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean to Australia and the South Sea Islands, then to the Sandwich Islands and from there to the western coast of North America which they were to examine from latitude 30° to 60° north. Surveys and maps were to be made of this region in order, if possible, to solve the myth of the Northwest Passage.

Early during the voyage Vancouver started his rigid regime for looking after the health of the ship's company. The storerooms were washed in vinegar, the ship was smoked, and fires were lighted between decks to keep up the circulation of air. With these measures and also the use of sauerkraut and portable soup Vancouver kept his men in reasonably good health. A stop was made at Teneriffe, on the Canary Islands, where fresh stores were taken on board.⁵ Before the ships had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, Vancouver, being free to choose his own course, had decided to visit the south west coast of New Holland.

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5. Godwin, op. cit., p. 40. Here occurred a rather amusing incident which Vancouver neglected to recount in his Journal. In a letter from J. Johnstone to T. Berteret dated August 22, 1791, there is this excerpt: "On the Sunday after our arrival we dined with an Englishman, and both ships had liberty, in consequence of which all hands got drunk, and insulted everyone, even the Spanish sentinels. The Spanish guard was called out, and some of our men were forced down to their boats rather roughly, when the Captain who heard of the attack just as he had finished his coffee, came down, and was instantly thrust by the butt end of a musket into the sea."

The ships left the Cape on August 17, 1791. In case the Chatham, which sailed poorly, should become separated, Vancouver gave Broughton a copy of his instructions and further directions under his own hand. On September 26, the Chatham sighted the southwest coast of New Holland. The conspicuous promontory first seen was named Cape Chatham. Vancouver spent little more than a month on his survey of the southwest coast of Australia. He surveyed about three hundred miles of coast east of King George the Third's Sound, of which he took possession in the king's name. Some of the names which he gave to various points in this region are Cape Chatham, Cape Howe, Termination Island, Mount Gardner, Oyster Bay. In Chapter III. Volume I. of his Journal he gives a description of the animals, birds, wild life and deserted habitations which he saw in this area. However the time passed quickly and Vancouver was forced to discontinue this, the first survey of the southwest coast. "I was therefore compelled to relinquish with great reluctance, the favorite project of further examining the coast of this unknown though interesting country; and, directing our route over an hitherto untraversed part of these seas, we proceeded without further delay towards the pacific ocean."⁶

The ships, then, passed to the southward of Tasmania and on November 2, entered Dusky Bay, New Zealand. November 13, 14, and 15 were spent examining the upper reaches of

6. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 44.

Dusky Bay. This part had not been examined by Captain Cook who called it 'Nobody Knows What'. The heads of these arms Vancouver jokingly called, 'Some Body Knows What'. On November 22 the vessels once again stood out to sea. In a bad storm the two vessels were separated, but Matavai Bay in Otaihiti had been fixed upon as the next rendezvous. En route Vancouver discovered and named the islands, the Snares. They also visited an island which Vancouver named Oparo. On December 25, they were in sight of Matavai where they found the Chatham had arrived.

January was spent refitting and overhauling the ships, receiving visits from chieftains and replenishing the food supply. While here, Toweroo, the native of the Sandwich Islands, became enamoured of the daughter of Poeno, the chief of Matavai and bestowed most of his worldly possessions on her. However Vancouver had been instructed to put Toweroo off at the Sandwich Islands and broke off the wooing by forcing the native to return to the ships. On January 24, the vessels set sail and on March 1 Owhyhee came into sight.

Since fur traders had used the Sandwich Islands as a convenient stopping place or half-way house between the northwest coast and China, the islands had deteriorated. The natives had been furnished with firearms and civil wars were frequent. While here, Tianna, a chief, offered Toweroo a house and land so Vancouver decided to leave his charge there. On March 16, 1792, the expedition sailed for the northwest coast of America.

CHAPTER IV.

SURVEY--CAPE MENDOCINO TO ADMIRALTY INLET

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On April 17, 1792, the Discovery made a landfall south of Cape Mendocino. From there northward Vancouver began his survey of the coast.

Vancouver's method of surveying was characteristic. He pushed his ships as far into uncharted coastal waters as he deemed it safe, where they served as temporary bases, and then carried out his surveys by boat parties, under Whidbey, master of the Discovery, Lieutenants Baker, Puget, Mudge, Broughton, Hanson, and Johnstone, the Chatham's master. He took nothing for granted, and everywhere checked the claims of other navigators....Even so, in making of the Great Chart, an achievement that gives him a place of permanent importance in the history of discovery, he failed to detect two of the greatest rivers on the Pacific coast, and of recent years these failures have brought his reputation for sagacity into question.¹

On April 27, 1792, the ships were off Cape Disappointment with Deception Bay to the south of it. "On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south."²

Later Vancouver notes "The sea had now changed from its natural to river coloured water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean

1. Godwin, op. cit., p. 63.

2. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 209.

to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the North-West, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to our examination of the coast.³ Thus Vancouver passed the estuary of the Columbia without suspecting the existence of a great river.

Vancouver knew his river signs but he failed to read them correctly.⁴ The breakers and the current in the estuary were considerable and Vancouver possibly wished to avoid the danger of having his ships damaged, as he had the mission to perform at Nootka and also an extensive examination of the coast. He also wished to pass on to explore the mythical inland sea of the theoretical geographers. "The serenity of the weather, although very pleasant was rendered excessively irksome by the want of wind; our progress was slow and our curiosity was much excited to explore the promised expansive mediterranean ocean, which, by various accounts, is said to have existence in these regions."⁵ There is no doubt that Vancouver

3. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 210.

4. *ibid.*, p. 46. Vancouver notes that driftwood and discolored water are river signs. Also on page 201, "When abreast of Rocky point the colour of the sea suddenly changed from the oceanic hue to a very light river coloured water, extending as far ahead as could be discerned."

5. *ibid.*, p. 212.

can be censured for missing the Columbia River but along with censure, praise must be added for his accurate work.

On April 29, the expedition met the ship Columbia, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, an American, who later discovered and named the Columbia River. Gray was the man whom Meares claimed had sailed round the land upon which the Nootka settlement was situated. Vancouver discovered that Gray had been only fifty miles into the straits. "He likewise informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$, where the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and was apparently inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it."⁶ On May 11, 1792, Gray discovered and⁷ named the Columbia River.

Why did Captain Vancouver pass by this river without closer examination? The most satisfactory reason is that shoal waters and breakers impeded the movements of the ships. Vancouver makes reference to the breakers and⁸ Archibald Menzies refers to the danger of shoal water.

6. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 215.

7. Gray named it the Columbia River after the name of his ship.

8. Archibald Menzies--a Scottish botanist and explorer who accompanied the expedition as a botanist. He and Puget were sent on board the Columbia to obtain information.

About noon seeing some whitish water ahead induced us to haul the wind to the North West off the land to avoid the apparent danger of getting into shoal water. The exterior edge of this water like the former we met with made a defined line with the other and appeared muddy like the overflowings of a considerable river.....I could see at this time from the Mast head the appearance of a river or inlet going in on the south side of this rocky point which I took to be what Mr. Meares named Cape Disappointment, it is by us in latitude $46^{\circ} 19' N$ and longitude $236^{\circ} 4' East$. In the afternoon our distance from the land was too great to have a distinct or satisfactory view of the shore opposite to us which appeared to be defended by a long reef of breakers and some shallow water. 9

Captain Gray had been previously, for nine days off the river mouth but had been unable to enter. In other words Vancouver did not consider the river large enough to merit attention and desiring to continue his examination of the coast and especially to reach the mediterranean ocean, sailed up the coast.

Vancouver knew the common river signs but he should have realized that the "river coloured water" was not due to "streams" but to a mighty river. Of course at no stage in his nautical career had he been able to see an estuary of a large river such as the Columbia. He made his mistake when he underestimated the size of the river. If the Chatham had tried to cross the line of breakers the honor of the discovery of this river would have belonged to England.

9. Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792. British Columbia Provincial Archives. Memoir No. V., Victoria, 1923. p. 12.

Vancouver deserves blame for underestimating the river signs and hence failing to explore the river mouth satisfactorily.

Vancouver's expedition continued northward to Cape Flattery. This name had been given by Captain Cook but he had been blown from his course by a gale and thus missed the entrance to the strait whose existence he denied. Captain Barkley, in 1787, was the first to see the opening and suggest that it was the strait supposed to have been discovered by Juan de Fuca.¹⁰ Meares and Gray had entered the strait but, as these men were pre-occupied with the fur trade, they had not penetrated far. Vancouver's examination of the strait and inland waterways was very thorough.

Vancouver named Mount Baker in compliment to the third lieutenant, New Dungeness, Protection Island and Port Discovery. At Port Discovery the ships underwent a general overhaul and refitting. The sails were repaired, the powder aired, water casks filled, spruce beer brewed, rigging and caulking checked. On May 7 Vancouver decided to take the

10. It is difficult to separate fact from fiction in the story of Juan de Fuca. He was a Greek who entered the Spanish marine. He claimed to have been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to find the Straits of Anian. He said that he had sailed into an inland Sea between 47° and 48° of latitude. He told his story to Captain John Douglas and Michael Lok in Venice. The latter wrote about the exploits of Juan de Fuca and of how he went to the Spanish court to be rewarded but without success. The Spanish Archives, apparently fail to make any reference either to the expedition or to Juan de Fuca.

yawl, launch and cutter on a trip of exploration to the east where he named Port Townsend and Mount Rainier. Following the example of Cook, Vancouver took personal charge of many boat parties. This procedure was hard on his health for the boat parties were exposed to the force of the elements but it shows his personal and painstaking interest in the surveying work. Vancouver named the inlet which had been explored by Johnstone, Hood's Channel. On May 15 the boat parties returned to the ships. On May 20 the Discovery anchored in a cove near the point where Hood Canal branches off from the main continuation of what we know to-day as Puget Sound. Lieutenant Puget and Whidbey left with the launch and cutter to complete the exploration. Vancouver named the part where they explored Puget Sound in honour of the lieutenant in charge of the work. Later on this name was used to denote the whole inland waterway although, at first, it was only a local name. Vancouver took possession of New Albion from latitude of $39^{\circ} 20'$ north and longitude $236^{\circ} 26'$ east, to the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca. He named the "Gulph of Georgia" and the continent binding the said "gulph" and extending southward to the 45° of north latitude, New Georgia.¹¹

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11. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 289. "On sunday all hands were employed in fishing with tolerably good success, or in taking a little recreation on shore; and on monday they were served as good a dinner as we were able to provide them, with double allowance of grog to drink the King's health, it being the anniversary of His Majesty's birth; on which auspicious day, I had long since designed to take formal possession of all the countries we had

Vancouver's survey in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and in the present Puget Sound was very thorough. However, his expedition was not the first to explore these regions. The Spaniards were actively engaged in delineating these shores prior to Vancouver's arrival. Quadra, while waiting for Vancouver, had sent out reconnaissance voyages up and down the coast.

On May 31, 1790, the Quimper expedition set sail from Nootka for the Strait of Juan de Fuca. After reaching Sooke Inlet, on the north shore of the strait the expedition crossed to the south shore. On July 8 Quimper took possession of a bay, called later by Vancouver, New Dungeness. Carrasco was sent on a reconnoitering expedition which took him to the

lately been employed in exploring, in the name of, and for His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors.

"To execute this purpose, accompanied by Mr. Broughton, and some of the officers, I went on shore about one o'clock, pursuing the usual formalities which are generally observed on such occasions, and under the discharge of a royal salute from the vessels, took possession accordingly of the coast, from that part of New Albion, in the latitude of $39^{\circ} 20'$ north, and longitude $236^{\circ} 26'$ east, to the entrance of this inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed straits of Inan de Fuca; as likewise all the coast islands, etc., within the said straits, as well on the northern as on the southern shores; together with those situated in the interior sea we had discovered, extending from the said straits, in various directions, between the north west, north, east and southern quarters; which interior sea I have honored with the name of the Gulph of Georgia, and the continent binding the said gulph, and extending southward to the 45th degree of north latitude, with that of New Georgia, in honor of His present Majesty."

present Rosario Strait which he named 'Boca de Fidalgo'. He took notice of the present Admiralty Inlet and named it 'Ensenada de Caamano' but did not explore it. He also discovered Port Discovery which he named 'Bodega y Quadra'. Later on Quimper discovered Esquimault harbor which he called Cordova. In other words the Spaniards preceded Vancouver in this region. However the Quimper expedition was hurried and the Spanish work here does not compare in thoroughness with that of Vancouver.

On May 4, 1791, the Eliza expedition left Nootka. Eliza had been ordered to strike land near Mount St. Elias and then follow the coast southwards but as the season was well advanced he sailed for Clayoquot Sound on the west coast of the present Vancouver Island. After entering the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Pantoja, one of his men, sailed the schooner and longboat up the present Haro Strait, then crossed to the northeast end of the San Juan group and possibly attempted to sail through Rosario Channel. He had divined that the San Juan group was an archipelago. Later the schooner and longboat, under the command of Narvaez, left Port Discovery, passed up Rosario Strait, examined the various bays on the continental side and then advanced to a point short of the north end of Texada Island. Narvaez then crossed over to the other side of the Gulf of Georgia and followed the Vancouver Island side south exploring various passages. The Spanish expedition left Port Discovery without taking the

time and trouble to explore and discover Puget Sound.

The result of the explorations of this year was to obtain fairly reliable information about the east end of the strait, the Rosario and Haro Straits, the Gulf of Georgia as far north as Texada Island and the coast of Vancouver Island from a point about south of Hornby and Denman Islands. Numerous channels were discovered on the British Columbia mainland coast but none of them was examined, so far as is now known.¹²

In other words Vancouver was not the first white explorer in the waters of the Gulf of Georgia. The Eliza expedition preceded Vancouver's expedition by a year. However the Spanish examination of the continental shore was not as detailed as that of the British. Vancouver, in the following year, gave new names to most of the places visited by Eliza or his men although he had a copy of Eliza's map. Two of Eliza's place names which have survived are Port Angeles and Texada Island.

12. Wagner, Henry R., The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, volume I., p. 224.

CHAPTER V.

GULF OF GEORGIA--JOHNSTONE STRAITS--NOOTKA

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The expedition left Admiralty Inlet and proceeded northward naming Possession Sound, Point Partridge, Point Wilson, and Strawberry Bay. On June 10 the boats returned from a three day survey during which Whidbey's Island was named after the master of the Discovery.

A new station for the vessels was found just below the present Point Roberts. Vancouver in the yawl accompanied by Puget in the launch directed their researches up the main inlet of the gulf. They left on June 12, with a week's provisions in each boat. Vancouver described and named Point Roberts after his esteemed friend and predecessor in the Discovery. They continued up the gulf but found that a shoal kept them in the middle of the channel that separates the mainland from Vancouver Island. "Along the edge of this bank we had soundings from ten to one fathom, as we increased or decreased our distance from the eastern shore; to approach which all our endeavours were exerted to no purpose, until nine in the evening, when the shoal having forced us nearly into the middle of the gulf, we stood over to its western side, in order to land for the night, and to cook our provisions for the ensuing day, which being always performed by those on watch during the night, prevented any delay on that account, in the day time." On June 13 they landed on the low bluff point which Vancouver called Point Grey, in

1. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 299.

compliment to Captain George Grey of the navy. Between Point Grey and Point Roberts,

the intermediate space is occupied by very low land, apparently a swampy flat, that retires several miles, before the country rises to meet the rugged snowy mountains, which we found still continuing in a direction nearly along the coast. This low flat being very much inundated, and extending behind point Roberts, to join the low land in the bay to the eastward of that point, gives its highland, when seen at a distance, the appearance of an island; this, however, is not the case, notwithstanding there are two openings between this point and point Grey. These can only be navigable for canoes, as the shoal continues along the coast to the distance of seven or eight miles from the shore, on which were lodged, and especially before these openings, logs of wood and stumps of trees innumerable.²

Once again Vancouver had failed to read the river signs correctly. The shoal apparently had forced the boats into the middle of the gulf and hence the estuary of the Fraser River was missed. It remained for Simon Fraser, superintendent of the district of New Caledonia, to lead an expedition which reached the mouth of this river, on July 2, 1808. The officers of the North West Company named the river after Simon Fraser.

2. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 300.

3. Walbran, Captain John T., British Columbia Coast Names, 1592--1906, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1909, p. 190.

"This river, though not recorded as ever actually discovered by the Spaniards; was named by Eliza, in 1791, through report of its existence from the Indians, Rio Blanca, after the then prime minister of Spain, Don Josef Monino, Count of Florida Blanca, principal secretary of state."

Menzies, who had access to Puget's journal, states that, "After going round Cape Roberts they soon had a clear and uninterrupted view of the great North West Arm, the Northern Shore of which took a Westerly direction for about 4 miles and then they met with an extensive shoal laying along shore the outer edge of which they pursued for about fifteen miles in a North West direction and found it much indented with small spits; its greatest extent from the shore was about three leagues and the land behind was low and woody; in two places they saw the appearance of large Rivers or Inlets but could not approach them even in the Boats."⁴ In all fairness it must be admitted that to approach closely the mouths to the Fraser river, in a yawl and launch, would be a difficult task. Even from Point Grey it would be impossible to detect accurately the existence of a great river. Captain Vancouver thought that the two openings were navigable only for canoes because of the shoal. He did not interpret the river signs such as 'stumps of trees' and he did not taste the water to see if it was fresh.

The expedition then went through what is known now as the First Narrows, where they met about fifty Indians in their canoes. The boats landed for the night about half a league from the head of the inlet.⁵ The north arm of this

4. Menzies, op. cit., p. 60.

5. Near Ioco or more probably near Port Moody, Burrard Inlet.

inlet was not explored. Most of the men slept in the boats but "some of the young gentlemen, however, preferring the stony beach for their couch, without duly considering the line of high water mark, found themselves incommoded by the flood tide, of which they were not apprized until they were nearly afloat; and one of them slept so sound, that I believe he might have been conveyed to some distance, had he not been awakened by his companions."

Vancouver named this inlet Burrard's Channel. After leaving Burrard's Channel Vancouver explored and named

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6. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 302.
 7. Walbran, op. cit., p. 507. "Vancouver the growing and prosperous city on Burrard inlet, owes its existence to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, of which it is the western terminus. Before the railway was constructed a small collection of houses was named Granville but when it was decided that the Canadian Pacific Railway would make this point the terminus the village sprang into prominence and in 1886 the city was incorporated under the name of 'Vancouver' in honor of the man who ninety-four years before had explored and named Burrard inlet."
 8. *ibid.*, p. 72. "The Spanish officers Galiano and Valdes examined this inlet about the same time as Vancouver, and named it Canal de Sasamat, which was understood to be the Indian name, and it is thus given on their chart of 1792. Eliza, another Spanish officer on his exploring voyage in 1791 had named the inlet Boca de Florida Blanco, and this name Galiano adopted on the large copy of his chart dated 1795."
 9. Godwin, op. cit., p. 212. "Sir Harry Burrard, in whose honour Vancouver named Burrard's Channel, was born 1765, entered the Navy, 1778. He was present at the reduction of Charleston in April, 1780; thereafter serving in the Chatham and Perseverance as acting lieutenant. As lieutenant he served in the Expedition, the Southampton and the Victory, Lord Hood's flagship. He came into prominence during the great mutiny at the Nore, when his crew refused to mutiny and was attacked by the mutineers. Later Neale commanded the royal yacht; in 1804 he was at the Admiralty; the next year he commanded a squadron and captured the French ships Maringo and Bellepoule."

Howe's Sound. In the vicinity of this sound such names as Point Atkinson, Passage Island, Anvil Island and Point Gower were given. The boat parties continued there exploration and Vancouver named Jervis's Channel in honour of Admiral Sir John Jervis. The boats then were directed to the station where the ships had been left.

As they were rowing on the morning of Friday, June 22,¹⁰ for Point Grey they saw two vessels at anchor under the land. Vancouver went on board and learned that these Spanish vessels, the Sutil under Senor Don Dionisio Galiano and the Mexicana, under Senor Don Cayetano Valdes, had arrived at Nootka on April 11, and had sailed to these regions to complete the examination of this inlet, which had, in the preceding year been partly surveyed by the Eliza expedition. Vancouver was disturbed when he learned of previous Spanish exploration.

I cannot avoid acknowledging that, on this occasion, I experienced no small degree of mortification in finding the external shores of the gulf had been visited, and already examined a few miles beyond where my researches during the excursion, had extended, making land I had been in doubt about, an island; continuing nearly in the same direction, about four leagues further than had been seen by us; and, by the Spaniards, named Favida.¹¹ The channel, between it and the main,

10. Sage, op. cit., p. 403. Dr. W. N. Sage shows that Captain Vancouver had come around the Cape of Good Hope and had crossed the international date line without taking off a day. Thus the date should be ~~July~~ ^{JUNE} 21.

11. *ibid.*, p. 404. "Favida or Feveda was another name for Texada Island. It appears on Elisa's and Galiano's charts as Texada."

they had called Canal del Neustro Signora del Rosario,¹² whose western point had terminated their examination, which seemed to have been entirely confined to the exterior shores as the extensive arms, and inlets, which had occupied so much of our time, had not claimed the least of their attention.¹³

Vancouver learned from the Spaniards that Senor Quadra awaited his arrival at Nootka. The Spaniards seemed surprised that Vancouver had not found a river said to exist in this region and named by one of their officers Rio Blanco.¹⁴ "From these new and unexpected friends we directed our course along the shoal already noticed, which I now called Sturgeon Bank, in consequence of our having purchased of the natives some excellent fish of that kind, weighing from fourteen to two hundred pounds each."¹⁵ This should have been another clue to the existence of the Fraser River. In returning, the boats made a circle to avoid the bank and thus once again lost the opportunity of seeing the Fraser. On

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12. Vancouver's statement is incorrect. The Spaniards called the present Gulf of Georgia 'Gran Canal de Neustra Sra del Rosario'. cf. Wagner, H. R., Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Santa Ana, Fine Arts Press, 1933, map facing page 141.
 13. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 312.
 14. Denton, V. L., The Far West Coast, Toronto, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1924, p. 247. "It must in fairness be remarked, that the Eliza expedition of 1791 had read aright the signs at the mouth of the Fraser, and had bestowed upon it the name of Rio Blanca. However neither Galiano nor Valdes had been able to locate the Rio Blanca. Evidently they were with Vancouver equally at a loss to solve the riddle of the huge sand-bank which lay between Point Grey and Point Roberts."
 15. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 314.

June 23, the boats reached the ships, after having traversed about 330 miles. Before leaving this region Vancouver named Bellingham's Bay and Birch Bay.

On June 24, 1792, the British ships, accompanied by the Spanish, left Birch Bay and directed their course through the Gulf of Georgia. Thus the Spanish and British parties were joined in the continuation of the survey. Was it a joint exploration whereby they cooperated whole-heartedly in the task ahead?

The Galiano Valdes expedition was part of the Spanish campaign of 1792.¹⁶ They had left Nootka on June 5, 1792, had proceeded up Rosario Strait to Bellingham Bay and a few days later to Boundary Bay. Vancouver met them on July 21, 1792, near Point Grey. Galiano claimed that Vancouver asked the Spaniards to join them but Vancouver and Menzies suggest the

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16. There are at least three translations of the voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana.

(a) Wagner, Henry R., Spanish Explorers of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, pp. 228--299. Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana.

(b) Account of the voyage made by the schooners Sutil and Mexicana in the year 1792 to survey the Strait of Fuca with an introduction containing a notice of the expeditions previously carried out by the Spaniards in search of the North West passage of America. By order of the King, Madrid, Royal Printing Office, 1802. Translated by G. F. Barwick, October 1911. Copy in Library of the University of British Columbia.

(c) A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North West Coast of America, (narrative of the Sutil and Mexicana translated from the Spanish with an introduction by Cecil Jane), London, Argonaut Press, 1930.

opposite. However the British and Spanish sailed these waters together till July 13. It was not a joint exploration: although the parties were on friendly terms, neither would accept the results of the other.

As the British expedition continued the work Vancouver named Harwood's Island and Savary's Island, to the north of Texada Island. From then on there was to be some unpleasant navigation because of the great number of islands. "The infinitely divided appearance of the region into which we had now entered, promised to furnish ample employment
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for our boats."

Lieutenant Puget and Whidbey, in the Discovery's launch and cutter, were sent to examine the continental shore while Johnstone, in the Chatham's cutter, accompanied by Swaine in the launch, were sent to investigate a branch of the sound where they were anchored. Their stay in this region was not pleasant, the situation being gloomy and dismal. Vancouver did not go on these surveying expeditions as he had to arrange the charts of the different surveys, take further angles and to acquire some knowledge of the main channel of the gulf. On June 30 the launch and cutter returned from a boat expedition during which the party had visited an abandoned Indian encampment, with dire results.

Whilst examining these abandoned dwellings, and admiring the rude citadel projected for their

17. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 320.

defence, our gentlemen were suddenly assailed by an unexpected numerous enemy, whose legions made so furious an attack upon each of their persons, that unable to vanquish their foes, or to sustain the conflict, they rushed up to their necks in water. This expedient, however, proved ineffectual; nor was it till after all their clothes were boiled, that they were disengaged from an immense horde of fleas, which they had disturbed by examining too minutely the filthy garments and apparel of the late inhabitants.¹⁸

This is a rather ponderous account of the episode but one which shows evidence of a sense of humor.

On July 1 Puget and Whidbey were again dispatched, this time to gain some information about the southern side of the gulf. On July 2, Johnstone returned and Vancouver named the channel which Johnstone had explored, Bute's Channel. The work of the boat parties continued.

The weather being tolerably fair, Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Swaine were the next day, Wednesday the 5th, again dispatched with a week's provisions, to examine the continental shore through the narrow passage from whence they had returned; by the means of which, and the survey then prosecuting under Lieutenant Puget and Mr. Whidbey, who were to commence their inquiries in an opposite point, the whole extent of the gulf would be finally determined; or, in the event of the Indians' information being correct its further navigable communication to the northward would be discovered.¹⁹

On July 5, when the launch and cutter returned, the officers reported that they had entered an inlet whose eastern side was formed by a long narrow peninsula. The southern

18. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 325.

19. ibid., p. 327.

extremity of this peninsula Vancouver named Point Mudge, "after my first lieutenant, who had also discovered the inlet from the top of a mountain he had ascended in this neighborhood."²⁰ They had pursued up this channel about three or four leagues and then returned. On Point Mudge they saw a large village of Indians who conducted themselves with great civility. Vancouver, at the station in Desolation Sound, anxiously awaited the return of Johnstone, the master of the Chatham. "The week, for which Mr. Johnstone and his party were furnished with supplies, having been expired some time, I began to be anxiously solicitous for their welfare; when, about two in the morning of Thursday the 12th, I had the satisfaction of having their arrival announced, all well, and that a passage leading into the Pacific Ocean to the northward had been discovered."²¹

The careful and tedious work of the boat parties had been worthwhile. This expedition was very important as the Pacific Ocean had been seen and the problem of the tortuous inland navigation had been solved. This must have been a happy and exciting moment for Vancouver and his men. Vancouver was now able to connect the explorations northward from Point Mudge with the southernmost point reached by Johnstone and therefore decided to try the southern passage into Johnstone Straits.

20. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 327.

21. *ibid.*, p. 329.

The ships left on July 13, without the company of the Spaniards who said that their vessels could not keep up with the British expedition. Vancouver named Johnstone's Straits and Hardwicke's Island. Lieutenant Puget and Whidbey were sent ahead from Cape Mudge to examine the channel as to its communication with Johnstone's Straits. On July 14 the boats returned and reported that the passage ahead to Johnstone's Straits seemed to have no visible obstruction. En route Vancouver named Point Chatham,²² Thurlow's Island and Point ~~N~~^Eville. In this vicinity they²³ visited the village of an Indian chief called Cheslakees.

The Indians of the village brought sea otter skins in exchange for sheet-copper, and blue cloth. Their houses, thirty-four in number, were arranged in regular streets. Vancouver and his party must have enjoyed the visit to the village after the arduous work on the ships. His inquiring nature enabled him to note much about the life of the Indians. "As inquiries into the laudable ingenuity of others are not to be satisfied in the civilized world without some expence, so investigations of the

22. After the consort of the Discovery.

23. Walbran, op. cit., p. 90. "Cheslakee, Nimpkish river, Broughton Strait, Vancouver Island. A populous Indian village when visited by Vancouver in June, 1792; mentioned in his Journal as Cheslakee's village, and the name adopted on his chart. The terraces where the houses stood are still to be seen on the west bank of the river, but the site has been abandoned for years."

like nature amongst the uncultivated regions were not to be had in this society without due acknowledgements, which were solicited by these female artizans in every house we entered; and so abundant were their demands, that although I considered myself amply provided for the occasion with beads, hawk's bells, and other trinkets, my box, as well as my pockets, and those of the gentlemen who were of the party, were soon nearly emptied.²⁴ The Indians were much amused with the effect of the sun's rays through the reading glass and the extraordinary quality of the quicksilver. Vancouver noticed that in most of the houses there were two or three muskets, which appeared to be Spanish. He also found that the sea otter skins were purchased much dearer than formerly. "Iron was become a mere drug; and when we refused them fire arms and ammunition, which humanity, prudence, and policy directed to be with-held, nothing but large sheets of copper and blue woollen cloth engaged their attention in a commercial way; beads and other trinkets they accepted as presents, but they returned nothing in exchange."²⁵

From July 21 till July 27, Vancouver awaited the return of the Chatham which had been exploring the continental shore. On his return Lieutenant Broughton reported that he had explored and named, Call's Channel, Knight's Canal,

24. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., pp. 346--348. A description of Cheslakees's village.

25. ibid., p. 349.

and Deep Sea Bluff. Vancouver gave the name of Broughton's Archipelago to the many islands and rocks which the latter had explored. On July 31 Vancouver and Broughton in the yawl, Lieutenant Puget in the launch, and Whidbey in the cutter, continued the work of exploration. On August 3 the yawl returned to the ships while the launch and cutter were left to carry on the survey.

On August 6, due to the prevalence of foggy weather, the Discovery grounded on a bed of sunken rocks but on the flood tide the ship righted. On August 7 the Chatham grounded but was heaved off. By August 9 Vancouver writes, "We now appeared to have reached the part of the coast that had been visited and named by several of the traders from Europe and India." ²⁶ He states that the Experiment under Wedgborough, in August, 1786, honoured the inlet through which they had passed "Queen Charlotte's Sound". Also he added that Hanna had named Smith's Inlet, Fitzhugh's Sound, Virgin and Pearl Rocks. In the above cases Vancouver adopted these names.

On August 11, the yawl, launch and two cutters set out on another boat expedition. The following quotation shows the hardships which the Captain, officers and men underwent in these boat parties. "Having dined, and dedicated a short interval of sunshine to the drying of our wet clothes, we made the best of our way towards the ship; where, about

26. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 369.

midnight, we arrived most excessively fatigued; the inclemency of the weather having, on this occasion, been more severely felt than in any of our former expeditions.²⁷

On August 17, while awaiting the return of the detached survey parties they met the brig Venus, of Bengal under Captain Shepherd. "By him we received the pleasant tidings of the arrival of the Daedalus store-ship, laden with a supply of provisions and stores for our use, and he acquainted Mr. Baker that Senor Quadra was waiting with the greatest impatience to deliver up the settlement and territories at Nootka."²⁸ The impatience of Quadra is not to be wondered at. On June 22, Galiano and Valdes had informed Vancouver of Quadra's arrival at Nootka in May. It was now August 17. Possibly Vancouver found the work of exploration more to his taste than that of a commissioner and delayed the latter as much as possible. On August 18 the launch and cutter returned. Vancouver named River's Canal, Sabetis Cove and Point Menzies. From Captain Shepherd, Vancouver learned that Lieutenant Hergest, the commander of the Daedalus, had been murdered at Woahoo. Thus Vancouver had many reasons for abandoning the survey for the season.

Having the greatest reason to be satisfied with the result of our summer's employment, as it had

27. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 369.

28. *ibid.*, p. 375.

by the concurrence of the most fortunate circumstances enabled us finally to trace and determine the western continental shore of North America, with all its various turnings, windings, numerous arms, inlets, creeks, bays, etc., etc., from the latitude of $39^{\circ}05'$ longitude $236^{\circ}36'$ to point Menzies in latitude $52^{\circ}18'$, longitude $232^{\circ}55'$; we took our leave of these northern solitary regions, whose broken appearance presented a prospect of abundant employment for the ensuing season, and directed our route through the passage above-mentioned, in order to make the best of our way towards Nootka.²⁹

From April till August, 1792, a tremendous amount of surveying work had been carried on. The use of boat parties, although difficult and tedious, had made the work accurate. Admiralty Inlet, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, the Gulf of Georgia and the numerous canals on the continental shore had been traced and the insularity of Vancouver Island had been proved. The two glaring errors are, of course, the failure to discover the Columbia and the Fraser Rivers. Apart from this the work had been well done. Menzies summed up the achievement as follows:

In this situation of affairs Captain Vancouver resolved on closing the first seasons examination of the Coast, and go to Nootka with both vessels to join the Store Ship; for the weather was now become so cold, wet and uncomfortable that the men were no longer able to endure the fatiguing hardships of distant excursions in open Boats, exposed to the cold rigorous blasts of a high northern situation with high dreary snowy mountains on every side, performing toilsome labor on their oars in the day and alternately watching for their own safety at night, with no other couch to repose upon than the cold stony beach or the wet mossy turf in damp woody situations,

29. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 387.

without having shelter sufficient to screen them from the inclemency of boisterous weather, and enduring at times the tormenting pangs of both hunger and thirst, yet on every occasion struggling who should be the most forward in executing the orders of their superiors to accomplish the general interest of the Voyage. In short it is but justice to say that on this arduous service both Officers and Men were hourly exposed to various hardships and dangers, yet went cheerfully through the fatiguing operations of the summer without murmur. And if we look back on the different winding Channels and armlets which the Vessels and Boats traversed in following the Continental Shore ever since they entered De Fuca's Streights, it will be readily allowed that such an intricate and laborious examination could not have been accomplished in so short a time without the cooperating exertions of both Men and Officers whose greatest pleasure seemed to be in performing their duty with alacrity and encountering the dangers and difficulties incidental to such service with a persevering intrepidity and manly steadiness that afforded a most pleasing omen to the happy issue of our future endeavours in this arduous undertaking. ³⁰

How does the work of the Vancouver expedition in this region compare with that of Galiano and Valdes? [?] The British and Spanish parties had separated on July 13, 1792. Vancouver's ships sailed through Discovery Passage into Johnstone Straits. Galiano, although he must have realized that this offered a quicker exit, refused to join Vancouver and insisted on continuing his examination of the British Columbian mainland coast. ³¹ As a result the Spaniards did not arrive at Nootka till September 1 whereas Vancouver's

30. Menzies, op. cit., p. 103.

31. Wagner, op. cit., volume I., p. 232.
An account of the Spaniard's survey work after parting company with Vancouver's expedition.

expedition arrived on August 27. Thus Vancouver deserves credit for first establishing as a fact, the insularity of Vancouver Island. It can be fairly stated that he was not the first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island. Galiano and Valdes had left from Nootka, circumnavigated the island and returned to Nootka. On the other hand Vancouver had started at the Strait of Juan de Fuca and arrived at Nootka and hence had not examined from Nootka to the Strait. Hence the Spanish expedition, in the ^{STRICT} ~~narrow~~ sense of the term, was the first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island.

Both the Spanish and British expeditions had carried on useful survey work among the labyrinthine channels in this region. The British had better resources at their command; for example they had four boats and the Spaniards had only two. The Spanish ships were also much smaller than the British and they carried a meagre complement.³² Each party endowed its work, after leaving Point Sarah with its own set of names. However the Spanish authorities were not anxious to broadcast news of their explorations and Vancouver's names are dominant on present day maps.

32. A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North West Coast of America (narrative of the Sutil and Mexicana translated from the Spanish with an introduction by Cecil Jane), London, Argonaut Press, 1930, p. 9. Sutil and Mexicana--Length 50' 3"; Beam 13' 10"; Crew 17.

CHAPTER VI.

QUADRA AND VANCOUVER AT NOOTKA

CHAPTER VI. QUADRA AND VANCOUVER AT NOOTKA

On August 28, 1792, the expedition arrived at Nootka and Vancouver was received with the greatest cordiality by Quadra. On August 29 Quadra visited the Discovery and thus began a series of visits and discussions which lasted for some time. Vancouver, on the same day, dined with Quadra and¹ met Maquinna who was indignant about the way he was treated.

Maquinna, who was present on this occasion, had early in the morning, from being unknown to us, been prevented coming on board the Discovery by the centinels and the officer on deck, as there was not in his appearance the smallest indication of his superior rank. Of this indignity he had complained in a most angry manner to Senor Quadra, who very obligingly found means to sooth him, and after receiving some presents of blue cloth, copper, etc., at breakfast time he appeared satisfied of our friendly intentions; but no sooner had he drunk a few glasses of wine, than he renewed the subject, regretted the Spaniards were about to quit the place, and asserted that we should presently give it up to some other nation; by which means himself and his people would be constantly disturbed and harassed by new masters.²

On August 30 Vancouver received an official letter from Quadra regarding the restitution of the territory. Luckily Vancouver found a young gentleman, Dobson by name, of the Daedalus, who spoke and translated Spanish. Quadra's letter³

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1. This was the same Maquinna, chief of the Nootka Indians, who, in 1788, had sold a tract of land to Meares. Later Maquinna developed a high handed attitude to fur traders at Nootka and in 1803 massacred all except two of the men on the American ship Boston.
 2. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 384.
 3. It was fortunate that Dobson was available otherwise the carrying on of the negotiations would have been very difficult.

showed that he had not been idle while at Nootka. He had arranged for ships to make voyages of inspection along the coast and he had obtained as much information as possible about the Spanish side of the argument. In the letter he stated that Martinez had found no establishment, that Meare's injuries were chimerical and that Martinez did not violate the laws of hospitality.

These circumstances duly considered, adds Senor Quadra, it is evident that Spain has nothing to deliver up, nor damage to make good; but that as he was desirous of removing every obstacle to the establishment of a solid and permanent peace, he was ready, without prejudice to the legitimate right of Spain, to cede to England the houses, offices and gardens, that had with so much labor been erected and cultivated, and that himself would retire to Fuca; observing at the same time, that Nootka ought to be the last or most northwardly Spanish settlement, that there the dividing point should be fixed, and that from thence to the northward should be free for entrance, use and commerce to both parties, conformably with the fifth article of the convention; that establishments should not be formed without permission of the respective courts, and that the English should not pass to the south of Fuca. 4,4a

In other words Quadra held out the bait of temporary possession of the houses and offices with the proviso that the English should not pass to the south of Fuca. The documents

4. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 388.

4a. Wagner, Henry R., Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, p. 60. Wagner shows evidence that Quadra had been advised to let England have Nootka while the Spaniards could propose that the English should not pass south of a proposed Spanish settlement on the Strait of Juan de Fuca at Neah Bay. Some attempt was made to establish this settlement but it proved abortive.

2- Accompanying this letter were copies of correspondence between Quadra and the commander of the Iphigenia, and Gray and Ingraham, commanders of the Columbia and Washington.

Vancouver, in reply to Quadra's letter, quoted Articles one and five of the convention and stated that Port St. Francisco was the northernmost settlement occupied by Spain in April, 1789, and that therefore from that point north there should be free access to both nations.

Quadra inquired who Vancouver intended to leave in possession of the territories and on being informed that it would be Broughton, took Vancouver on a tour of the store houses and buildings. Vancouver had been ordered to receive the territories but he had not been instructed how to retain them. Concluding that Great Britain wished to develop trade there he determined to leave the territory in possession of Broughton while awaiting further instructions.

On September 4 Quadra accompanied Vancouver in the yawl and with a small boat party of officers visited Maquinna at his royal residence seven leagues up the sound. Maquinna received them with pleasure and entertained them with a sample of Indian warlike achievements. Vancouver adds, "We were not backward in contributing to the amusements of the day, some songs were sung, which the natives seemed much to admire, and being provided with drums and fifes, our sailors concluded the afternoon's diversion with reels and

country dances." ⁵ Such expeditions helped to knit the bond of personal friendship existing between Quadra and Vancouver.

In our conversation whilst on this little excursion, Senor Quadra had very earnestly requested that I would name some port or island after us both, to commemorate our meeting and the very friendly intercourse that had taken place and subsisted between us. Conceiving no spot so proper for this denomination as the place where we had first met, which was nearly in the center of a tract of land that had first been circumnavigated by us, forming the South-western sides of the gulf of Georgia, and the southern sides of Johnstone's straits and Queen Charlotte's sound. I named that country the island of Quadra and Vancouver; with which compliment he seemed highly pleased. 6, 6a

On September 6, Maquinna with his party, returned the visit. "They had not been long on board when I had great reason to consider my royal party as the most consummate beggars I had ever seen; a disposition which seemed generally to prevail with the whole of this tribe of Indians, and which probably may have been fostered by the indulgences shewn them by the Spaniards." ⁷ Fortunately Vancouver had everything necessary to satisfy the demands of the Indians. In addition he entertained them with a display of

5. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 396.

6. *ibid.*, p. 397.

6a. The joint name continued till about the middle of the nineteenth century. cf. Wagner, Henry R., *Spanish Explorers of the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, p. 54. "Perhaps the greatest injustice ever done to the Spaniards on the northwest coast was in omitting Quadra's name, which had been joined with that of Vancouver by Vancouver himself, as the name of Vancouver Island. Whether the name was too long or whether the patriotic feelings of the British got the best of them, the fact is that the Quadra part of the name soon disappeared from the charts."

7. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 397.

fireworks which they greeted with wonder and admiration, mixed with apprehension. Captain Cook had discovered previously that the Nootkans were greedy. During his stay at Nootka Sound he naturally thought that there would be no difficulty in obtaining grass to feed the animals on board and also to replenish the wood and water supply. He discovered that the natives demanded payment for these necessities. "However I was mistaken, for the moment that our men began to cut, some of the inhabitants interposed, and would not permit them to proceed, saying they must "makook";⁸ that is, must first buy it." Captain Cook finally managed to bargain with the natives for this grass. Both Cook and Vancouver discovered that the natives were shrewd bargainers.

On September 2 a letter was received from Quadra but, due to indisposition, Dobson did not translate it till September 10. Vancouver was surprised at its contents for now Quadra claimed that Meares' hut was not in existence on the arrival of Martinez. Quadra suggested that if no agreement could be reached they should refer the dispute back to their respective courts and await instructions. In the meantime he offered to leave Vancouver in possession of what Meares had occupied and also the property of the Spaniards. Vancouver replied stating that he agreed to the proposal of awaiting further instructions. "This letter I concluded by

8. Cook, Captain, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Volumes I. and II., by Captain James Cook, London, printed by Wand A. Strahan, 1784, volume II., p. 284.

again repeating that I was still ready to receive from Senor Quadra the territories in question, agreeably to the first article of the convention, and the letter of Count Florida Blanca." ⁹ This was Vancouver's duty and he could not be dislodged from his stand. Quadra requested a personal conversation on the subject so with the assistance of some of the gentlemen who spoke French this was carried on. Quadra reviewed the Spanish case and once again said Vancouver was at liberty to take possession of the small parcel of land on which Meares' house had been built. Vancouver said that under these circumstances he could not enter into further discussion. It was then mutually agreed that each should present his case before his respective court and await their decision. Meanwhile Quadra proposed to leave Vancouver in possession of these territories.

On September 13 Vancouver was surprised to receive a letter from Quadra still offering to deliver up only the territory occupied by Meares. Vancouver replied that the territory to be restored meant Nootka, in toto and Port Cox. ¹⁰

Senor Quadra gave an immediate answer to my letter of the 13th, but as he therein did not depart from the terms of his late offer of leaving me in possession only, not formally restoring the territory of Nootka to the King of Great Britain; it became necessary on my part to demand a categorical and definite answer from Senor Quadra, whether he would

9. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 400.

10. Port Cox is about sixteen leagues south of the port of Nootka.

or would not restore to me for His Britannic Majesty the territories in question, of which the subjects of that realm had been dispossessed in April, 1789." 11

In all these letters and discussions the two men, although they could not see eye to eye on the terms of the convention, did not allow their differences to become personal. As Vancouver says, "It was a matter of no small satisfaction, that although on this subject such manifest difference arose in our opinions, it had not the least effect on our personal intercourse with each other, or on the advantages we derived from our mutual good offices...." 12 Quadra would not alter his stand so the negotiations were ended.

Before Vancouver left Nootka he obtained from Robert Duffin, who had been there with Meares in 1788, the information that Meares had bought the whole of the land that forms Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound, from Maquinna and Calicum, for eight or ten sheets of copper and some trifling articles.

What was the net result of the negotiations between Quadra and Vancouver? Over a month had been spent trying to settle the problem but no settlement had been reached. Quadra was anxious to keep as much territory and prestige as possible for Spain. He reviewed the Spanish case; said that when Martinez had arrived Meares' hut was not in existence, and therefore claimed that Spain had nothing to deliver up. He offered to leave Vancouver in possession of the houses and gardens of

11. Vancouver, op. cit., volume I., p. 402.

12. ibid., p. 403.

the Spaniards at Nootka if the English would refrain from coming south of Nootka. Vancouver wisely quoted Articles one and five of the Convention. He could not be dislodged from his rightful stand.

Quadra then offered to leave Vancouver in possession of what Meares had once occupied but asked that each should refer the case back to his respective government and wait for instructions. In other words, Quadra, a master strategist, did not intend to deliver the Nootka Sound region to Britain. Vancouver refused to trade temporary possession of Nootka Sound in exchange for his acknowledgement of Spanish rights from San Francisco to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. However he did agree to submit the negotiation back to his government.

Then Quadra said he would restore the exact spot on which Meares' hut had been located but leave the ownership of the whole region to be decided by the courts. Vancouver had been sent out with definite instructions to carry out the terms of the Convention. He could not be diverted by anything short of the terms of the Convention. He asked Quadra outright whether or not he would restore the territory of Nootka Sound. Quadra refused so Vancouver indicated that further negotiations were futile.

Despite their differences in opinion the two commissioners acted like gentlemen and had great mutual respect for each other. Quadra really had gained his point. He had

succeeded in delaying the restoration of the territory, possibly in the hope that England might change her stand. Vancouver had carried out his duty. He had been commissioned to receive back the buildings and tracts of land "of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789". Quadra would not abide by the strict articles of the Convention so Vancouver had no alternative but to refer the case to his government. He was not instructed to take back the lands, he was instructed to receive them so he took the honourable course and agreed to await instructions. He realized that he was not an expert strategist but he did attempt to carry out the terms of the convention to the letter. It is fortunate that he did not weaken. If he had weakened Great Britain's case for the ownership of these and surrounding regions would have been difficult to uphold.

Vancouver's position was a difficult one. He had not been sent out to arbitrate the case; he had been commissioned to receive back lands, buildings, etc. Quadra refused to make a formal restitution of the territory in question and hence Vancouver had no alternative but to refer the dispute
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back to his government. The interviews between the two

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13. The controversy was not settled until 1795 when two new commissioners were sent to Nootka. Manning, W. R., The Nootka Sound Controversy, Report of the American Historical Association, 1904, p. 471. "The Englishman was Sir Thomas Pierce; the Spaniard Manuel de Alava. They met at Nootka and on the appointed day, March 23, 1795, carried out the above

commissioners had failed but it was not Vancouver's fault.

The British government had not taken sufficient interest in the case. Vancouver had received only very brief orders from the British government. Instructions were sent aboard the Daedalus transport but they did not clarify the situation.¹⁴ In addition as Vancouver points out even if he had obtained possession of the territories he had not been given instructions as to how to keep possession. He had been instructed to make a survey of the coast and to act as a commissioner. In other words he had been told to accomplish the impossible, to be in two places at once. It was fortunate that he did not agree with Quadra's interpretation and that the whole issue was sent back for further consideration. Vancouver now was free to relinquish the role of commissioner and to return to his first love, the continuation of the survey work.

agreement. After the prescribed ceremonies had been performed both the Spanish and the English deserted the place."

- 13a. cf. Forsyth, J., "Documents connected with the final settlement of the Nootka dispute", British Columbia Historical Association, Second Report, 1924, pp. 33--35. Copies of Admiralty documents on the final settlement.
14. Appendix I., p.105. Letter of Vancouver to Evan Nepean.

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBIA RIVER

MONTEREY

SECOND NORTHWARD SURVEY

SANDWICH ISLANDS

CHAPTER VII. COLUMBIA RIVER, MONTEREY,
SECOND NORTHWARD SURVEY, SPANISH SETTLEMENTS, SANDWICH ISLANDS

On September 22 Quadra sailed from Friendly Cove for Monterey which had been appointed as a rendezvous for Vancouver and himself. Vancouver secured a passage for Mudge on board the Fenis and St. Joseph, bound for China, from whence he was to proceed to England. Mudge was entrusted with parts of the journal and a copy of the survey of the coast which they had explored. Vancouver hoped that he would return with further instructions from the British government. On October 12, 1792, Vancouver, with his fleet of three vessels, Discovery, Daedalus and Chatham sailed out of Nootka Sound bound for the rendezvous at Monterey. The Daedalus was sent to examine Gray's Harbor; the Chatham to examine the mouth of the Columbia River.

As the Chatham drew less water than the Discovery she was sent to attempt to get through the line of breakers at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Discovery after some futile attempts left for San Francisco Bay. Under Lieutenant Broughton the Chatham entered the mouth of the Columbia River. By means of boat parties eighty-four miles were charted in the usual thorough manner. Such names as Young's River, Gray's Bay, Puget's Island, Swaine's River, Walker's Island, Mt. Coffin, Pt. Vancouver, Mt. Hood were bestowed on parts of this region. Lieutenant Broughton formally took possession of the river and the adjacent country. He claimed that Gray was never within five leagues of the

river's entrance. Gray had barely reached the true mouth of the Columbia River but he was the first explorer to discover that a river existed there. Broughton, however, must be given credit for being the first to chart the lower reaches of the river as far as Point Vancouver. The rival claims of Gray and Broughton, which were revived later on in the Oregon boundary dispute, will be discussed in the final chapter.

On November 14, 1792, the Discovery entered San Francisco Bay. Vancouver was not impressed by the progress of Spanish settlements there. "This sketch will be sufficient without further comment to convey some idea of the inactive spirit of the people and the unprotected state of the establishment at this port which I should conceive ought to be a principal object of the Spanish crown, as a key and barrier to their more southern and valuable settlements on the borders of the north pacific."¹ On November 23 the Chatham arrived and on November 26 the expedition arrived at Monterey where the Daedalus had already reached.

Quadra welcomed them and treated them magnificently.²

Vancouver sent Lieutenant Broughton to London via San Blas

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1. Vancouver, Captain George, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, London, 1798, volume II., p. 9.
 2. Vancouver did not see Quadra again. The latter died the next year. The new commander Arrillaga was very inhospitable to Vancouver on his next visit to the Spanish settlements.

and Vera Cruz, with copies of charts and the negotiations at Nootka. On December 29 the Daedalus left for Port Jackson in New South Wales.³ On January 14, 1793, the Discovery left, followed the next day by the Chatham now under the command of Lieutenant Puget. The ships, on February 22,⁴ anchored in Karakakooa Bay and on March 30 the Discovery left the Sandwich Islands bound for Nootka.

On May 20 the Discovery reached Friendly Cove. Vancouver discovered that the Chatham had arrived there on April 15 and had left on May 18 in order to lose no time in prosecuting the survey. Before he left Vancouver sent a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty containing an abstract of transactions since the beginning of 1793. On May 26 the Discovery joined the Chatham in Fitzhugh's Sound.

Once again the laborious work of charting the serrated coastline commenced. On May 29 Johnstone was sent in the Chatham's cutter to carry on the exploratory work. On May 30 Vancouver in the cutter accompanied by Lieutenant Swaine in the yawl examined the main arm of what he called, after

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3. After the loss of the American colonies the American plantations were closed to British criminals. Great Britain then decided to form a penal settlement in Australia. On January 18 Captain Phillip who led the expedition for this purpose arrived at Botany Bay and then decided to establish a colony at Port Jackson.
 4. Godwin, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 289--296. Thomas Edgar's story shows that Vancouver, as a midshipman, was present at Karakakooa Bay where Captain Cook met his death.

the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, Burke's Canal. Incessant rain hampered progress and added to the discomfort of the boat parties. Despite this obstacle the work progressed in a persistent manner and Dean's Canal and Cascade Canal were explored and named. If Johnstone's boat party had been six weeks later in these regions they would have met the members of Alexander Mackenzie's overland expedition. Alexander Mackenzie's account of obtaining information about Vancouver's ships from the Indians is of interest.

Under the land we met with three canoes, with fifteen men in them, and laden with moveables, as if proceeding to a new situation or returning to a former one. They manifested no kind of mistrust or fear of us but entered into conversation with our young man, as supposed, to obtain some information concerning us. It did not appear that they were the same people as those we had lately seen, as they spoke the language of our young chief with a different accent. They then examined everything we had in the canoe, with an air of indifference and disdain. One of them in particular made me understand, with an air of insolence, that a large canoe had lately been in this bay, with people in her like me and that one of them whom he called "Macubah" had fired on his friends and that "Bensins" had struck him on the back with the flat part of his sword. He also mentioned another name, the articulation of which I could not determine. At the same time he illustrated these circumstances by the assistance of my gun and sword and I do no doubt but he well deserved the treatment which he described. He also produced several European articles which could not have been long in his possession. From his conduct and appearance I wished very much to be rid of him, and flattered myself that he would prosecute his voyage, which appeared to be in an opposite direction to our course. 8

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5. Mackenzie, Alexander, Voyages from Montreal on the river St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, London, 1801, p. 344.

What a strange coincidence this might have been; the chance meeting of boat party and Mackenzie with his hardy voyageurs. Mackenzie had left Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska on July 10, 1792. On July 22, 1793 the expedition had made the first overland journey to the Pacific coast. Mackenzie left a record of this fine achievement in the following manner. "I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed in large characters, on the south east face of the rock on which we had slept this brief memorial, 'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ^{6, 6a} ninety-three!'"

On Johnstone's next boat trip a seaman died as a result of eating mussels. Johnstone explored and Vancouver named Carter's Bay in memory of the man who had died. Next the ships passed through Millbank Sound, which had been named previously by Duncan, a fur trader. Cape Swaine was named after the third lieutenant of the Discovery. Whidbey explored and Vancouver named Gardner's Canal. The tedious inland navigation continued by means of boat parties under Whidbey and Johnstone. Whidbey went from Nepean's Sound to Point Hunt and thence to Cape Ibbetson. Vancouver named

6. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 349.

6a. Bishop, Captain R. P., Mackenzie's Rock, Department of the Interior, p. 18. "There need then be no hesitation in discarding the footnote penned some years after his visit to the coast, in which Mackenzie, in referring to the location of the rock, says, 'This I found to be on the cheek of Vancouver's Cascade Canal'. This article identifies 'Mackenzie's Rock'."

Pitt's Archipelago, after the Right Honorable William Pitt, then the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Whidbey returned past Point Hunt through the same channel by which they had advanced.⁷ This channel was named Grenville's Canal after the Right Honorable Lord Grenville.⁸ Vancouver decided to reach

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7. On this boat expedition Whidbey missed the mouth of the Skeena River. Godwin, op. cit., p. 104, claims that Captain Vancouver "Failed to recognize the presence of a great river even though he stood within its mouth and named there Port Essington, he failed to realize the dimensions of the Skeena". This is incorrect for Captain Vancouver was not with Whidbey's boat expedition. Walbran, op. cit., p. 459, furnishes the following correct summary, "Mr. Whidbey, master of the Discovery, with two boats, examined the estuary and neighborhood of the Skeena in July, 1793 and came to the mistaken conclusion the opening was of no importance. He refrained from examining farther than the Raspberry islands which were given that name by him, and, on his return to the vessels then lying off Gil island, reported to Vancouver that this river was a small stream and the inlet to which it entered not worth examination above the islands, being entirely filled from thence with sandbars and boulders. Thus the Skeena was overlooked much in the same way as the Fraser, from ignorance as to what the entrance of a large river would be like when deploying into the sea....It seems strange that Vancouver, an officer of such observing nature should miss noting the three large rivers, Fraser, Skeena and Nass yet such is the case; but it must be remembered that in the examination of these shores Vancouver personally examined but a small portion; his officers did the work of examination in the boats of the Discovery and the Chatham and he accepted their reports. Captain Vancouver himself was never within thirty miles of the Skeena, passing the neighborhood of the river with his vessels in what is now known as Hecate Strait."
 8. Lord Grenville was transferred to the Upper House in Great Britain in 1789. In 1806 he organized a government after the death of Pitt. Thomas Pitt, who was on the Vancouver expedition was his nephew.

the ocean by means of Principe Canal, which he claimed had been named by the Spaniard ^aCamano. On July 20 the expedition met three fur trading ships, the Butterworth, the Prince Lee Boo and the Jackall. Vancouver named Brown's passage, after the commander of the Butterworth, Dundas's Island, and Pt. Maskelyne, after the astronomer royal. On July 24 Vancouver in the launch and Puget in the yawl set off on an extensive and exciting boat excursion.

The Indians in this region were savages as shown by the following quotation from Vancouver's Journal

...we had however put off from the rocks, and had partly got the use of our oars, without being obliged to resort to any hostile measures, when the largest of the canoes, under the steerage of an old woman, with a remarkably large lip ornament, laid us on board across the bow; this vixen instantly snatched up the lead line that was lying there, and lashed her canoe with it to the boat; whilst a young man, appearing to be the chief of the party, seated himself in the bow of the yawl, and put on a mask, resembling a wolf's face, compounded with the human countenance." Vancouver attempted to calm the Indians and would have been successful except for vociferous efforts of their female conductress. "Her language appeared to have the most effect upon those who were towards the stern of our boat, and who were likewise greatly encouraged by a very ferocious looking old man in a middling sized canoe. This old fellow, assisted by his companions seized hold of our oars on the starboard side, and prevented their being used. The Indians continued their warlike efforts but, "by this time, however, which was about ten minutes from my return to the boat, the launch had arrived within pistol shot; and being now thoroughly satisfied that our forbearance had given them confidence, and that our desire for peace had rather stimulated them to acts of temerity than dissuaded them from their hostile intentions; and seeing no alternative left for our preservation against numbers so superior, but by making use of the coercive means we had in our power, I gave directions to fire; this instantly taking effect from both boats, was to my

great astonishment, attended with the desired effect, and we had the happiness of finding ourselves relieved from a situation of the most imminent danger." 9

In this region Vancouver named Escape Point, Traitor's Cove, Pt. Higgins, Pt. Vallenar, the Island of Revilla Gigedo (after the viceroy of New Spain), Behm's Canal, Pt. Davison, Pt. Percy, Cape Northumberland and Portland's Canal (in honour of the noble family of Bentinck). On August 16 they returned to the vessels.

Much to the satisfaction of all parties, as we had now been almost intirely confined to the boats for twenty-three days; in which time we had traversed upwards of seven hundred geographical miles, without having advanced our primary object, of tracing the continental shore, more than 20 leagues from the station of the vessels. Such were the perplexing, tedious, and laborious means, by which alone we were enabled by degrees to trace the north-western limits of the American continent. 10

The survey work continued painstakingly.

Vancouver named Observatory Inlet and Salmon Cove at which place the vessels were stationed. He named Pt. Wales "after my much esteemed friend Mr. Wales of Christ's Hospital; to whose kind instruction in the early part of my life, I am indebted for that information which has enabled me to
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traverse and delineate these lonely regions." Moira's
Sound (after the earl of that title), Wedge Island, Cholmondeley's Sound and Cape Caamano were also named.
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9. Vancouver, op. cit., volume II., pp. 359--360.

10. ibid., p. 371.

11. ibid., p. 379

12. Jacinto Caamano had been sent to this region as part of the Spanish campaign of 1792. Wagner, H. R., The

On August 23 Whidbey in the Discovery's large cutter and Lieutenant Baker in the launch left to explore the continental shore. Johnstone was ordered to return to Cape Caamano and examine the starboard shore of the northwest branch until it communicated with the ocean. On September 4 Johnstone returned and although he had not actually discovered a passage to the ocean he had brought back evidence that such a passage existed.

On September 5 the boats left Port Stewart and on September 10 and 11 Johnstone continued his exploration of the supposed continental shore. Captain Duncan had named Princess Royal's Islands and Vancouver adopted this name.¹³ Vancouver named the continental shore from Point Staniforth to Desolation Sound, New Hanover. He named Duke of Clarence's Strait, Prince of Wales's Archipelago, Cape Decision, and northward from Gardner's Canal to Point Rothsay, New Cornwall. On September 21 the expedition left for the south although Vancouver was not satisfied with the summer's work. On October 5 the expedition reached Nootka where Saavadra, the commander of the port told them that no news had arrived from Europe or New Spain and that the Daedalus had not arrived. On October 8 the expedition left Nootka and sailed

Cartography of the Northwest Coast, volume I., p. 235. "Vancouver obtained a copy of Caamano's chart and thus a few of Caamano's names were perpetuated in their Spanish forms."

13. Walbran, op. cit., p. 157. Account of Captain Charles Duncan.

to the south.

As a result of the second northern survey the coastline was surveyed to 56° north latitude. Burke Channel, Dean Channel and Bentinck Arm were explored during early June. Then the intricate waterways of Gardner^{JNER} Canal and Douglas Channel were delineated. Whidbey's boat excursion had failed to explore the estuary of the Skeena but Captain Vancouver should not be blamed for this error. Then Portland Canal and Observatory Inlet were charted. As Vancouver and his men penetrated these fiords surely they must have conjectured that at last they had found a strait leading to the Arctic or Hudson's Bay. However the impenetrable mountain barrier proved that no such passage existed. One by one the non existence of the fabled straits became evident. Captain Vancouver had shown that the existence of the fabled Straits of Juan de Fuca and Admiral de Fonte was a myth. Vancouver was not satisfied with the extent of this second survey but the intricacies of the coast had delayed progress. The work had been well done.

The Discovery reached San Francisco on October 16. Meanwhile the Chatham had been directed to examine Port Bodega. Vancouver had anticipated the usual cordial welcome and assistance that had hitherto been given by the Spaniards. However the Spaniards made the rule that no one was to go on shore, except to obtain wood and water, except Vancouver and a midshipman. Captain Arrillaga, the Governor

General of the province, stationed at Monterey, was responsible for putting the rules against foreigners into effect. Quadra had not enforced the obnoxious rules regarding foreigners. However Quadra who had left for San Blas died in 1793. The new commandant Arrillaga adopted the restrictions against foreigners putting into effect the Spanish determination to keep them away from California and all other Spanish territory. Vancouver attempted an appeal for better treatment but to no avail. Apparently the idea was to keep the outside world ignorant of the resources and state of defence of the Spanish settlements. Vancouver decided to make a personal appeal to Captain Arrillaga so the ships left San Francisco Bay on October 24 and arrived at Monterey on November 1. Arrillaga proved to be objectionable. He would not converse with Vancouver so the expedition after visiting Santa Barbara and San Diego set sail for the Sandwich Islands.

Vancouver wrote a brief account of the Spanish settlements in New Albion, indicating both their possibilities and their weaknesses.

The Spaniards, in doing thus much, have only cleared the way for the ambitious enterprizers of those maritime powers, who, in the avidity of commercial pursuits, may seek to be benefited by the advantages which the fertile soil of New Albion seems calculated to afford. By the formation of such establishments, so wide from each other, and so unprotected in themselves, the original design of settling the country seems to have been completely set aside, and, instead of strengthening the barrier to their valuable possessions in New Spain, they have thrown

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irresistible temptations in the way of strangers to trespass over their boundary. 14

The Sandwich Islands were reached in January and on the fourteenth the three vessels anchored once more in Karakakooa Bay where Vancouver continued to act as a law giver among the natives. He used Tamaahmaah the ruling king of Hawaii as an instrument to curb civil war on the islands. Vancouver made an alliance with the king and with due ceremony the chiefs gave voluntary allegiance to the British Crown. The following quotation shows Vancouver's insight in the matter of the importance of the islands.

Under a conviction of the importance of these islands to Great Britain, in the event of an extension of her commerce over the pacific ocean, and in return for the essential services we had derived from the excellent productions of the country, and the ready assistance of its inhabitants, I lost no opportunity for encouraging their friendly dispositions towards us; notwithstanding the disappointments they had met from the traders, for whose conduct I could invent no apology; endeavouring to impress them with the idea, that, on submitting to the authority and protection of a superior power, they might reasonably expect they would in future be less liable to such abuses.

The long continued practice of all civilized nations, of claiming the sovereignty and territorial right of newly discovered countries, had heretofore been assumed in consequence only of priority of seeing, or of visiting such parts of the earth as were unknown before; but in the case of Nootka a material alteration had taken place, and great stress had been laid on the cession that Maquinna was stated to have made of the village and friendly cove to Sen^r Martinez. Notwithstanding that on the principles of the usage above stated, no dispute could have arisen as to the priority of the claim

14. Vancouver, op. cit., volume II., p. 503.

that England had to the Sandwich islands; yet I considered, that the voluntary resignation of these territories, by the formal surrender of the king and the people to the power and authority of Great Britain, might probably be the means of establishing an incontrovertible right, and of preventing any altercation with other states hereafter.

Under these impressions, and on a due consideration of all circumstances, I felt it to be an incumbent duty to accept for the crown of Great Britain the proffered cession, and I had therefore stipulated that it should be made in the most unequivocal and public manner. ¹⁵

However the importance of Hawaii as a half way house in the fur trade declined and the cession was never confirmed by the British government. During the sojourns at Hawaii Vancouver was not idle; he helped to prevent civil wars, he encouraged the inhabitants to raise cattle, and he completed a survey of the archipelago. On February 8, 1794, Lieutenant Hanson in the Daedalus sailed for Port Jackson. On March 15 the Discovery and Chatham set out on their last northern cruise.

15. Vancouver, Captain George, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, London, 1798, volume III., p. 31.

CHAPTER VIII.

THIRD NORTHERN SURVEY

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The plan was to strike the American coast in the latitude of Cook's River (Cook Inlet of today) and to explore along the mainland from there south to Prince of Wales Island. The theoretical geographers of the eighteenth century claimed that the Straits of de Fonte existed in these northern regions. Vancouver was determined to blast the theories of the "closet philosophers". He knew that no such straits existed from Mexico to Prince of Wales Island. Neither Captain Cook nor Russian explorers had found such straits on the Alaskan coast between Kodiak Island and Icy Cape. However Captain Cook had not followed Cook's River or Prince William Sound to their respective heads. Thus the expedition had much work ahead.

Soon after leaving the Sandwich Islands the Discovery lost touch with the Chatham but a rendezvous on the coast of America had been arranged. As the expedition sailed north the climate became colder; on March 31 the mercury was at freezing point. Early in April Tscherikow's Island was sighted and named. On April 12 the Discovery entered Cook's River. The idea was to spend the summer at the high latitudes and then work down the coast. "The weather now, extremely cold, (the mercury standing at 25) was very cheerful, and afforded us an excellent view of the surrounding region, composed, at a little distance from the river, of stupendous mountains, whose rugged and romantic

forms clothed in a perpetual sheet of ice and snow, presented a prospect, though magnificently grand, yet dreary, cold and inhospitable." ¹ Drift ice proved very dangerous in this region. On April 28 Whidbey was dispatched with two boats for ten days to examine the river Turnagain, named by Captain Cook. Vancouver named Point Woronzou, Point Campbell and Point Mackenzie. On May 6 Vancouver, Baker, Menzies and some other officers set off to explore the western shore. They found no mythical strait.

To the northward round by the east, and towards the southeast the nearer mountains, though of a height inferior to those in the opposite region, were capped with snow, and appeared to form an interrupted barrier; the descending plains from which seemed by their apparent uniformity, to indicate no probability of their being any where intersected by water. That which flowed between the banks of the river still retained a very considerable degree of saltiness, and clearly proved that neither by falls, flats, marshes, or fens, any large body of fresh water found its way to the ocean by this communication, and that consequently, according to the general acceptance of geographical terms, this can be no longer considered as a river; I shall therefore distinguish it henceforth as an inlet. ²

Vancouver thus proved that Cook's River was an inlet. He castigated the "closet geographers" for assuming that a Northwest Passage existed there. "Thus terminated this very extensive opening on the coast of North West America, to which had the great and first discoverer of it, whose

1. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 100.

2. ibid., p. 124.

name it bears, dedicated one day more to its further examination, he would have spared the theoretical navigators, who have followed him in their closets, the task of ingeniously ascribing to this arm of the ocean a channel, through which a north west passage existing according to their doctrines, might ultimately be discovered." On May 7 the Chatham joined the Discovery and Vancouver learned that Puget had commenced and continued an examination of the western side on the inlet from Cape Douglas to the present station and had found it to be a compact shore. Both ships then sailed for Prince Williams Sound.

Once again boat parties proved their worth in delineating the region. On May 26 Whidbey with the yawl and large cutter, and Johnstone with the Chatham's and Discovery's smaller cutter left to carry out their respective duties. On June 2 Whidbey returned due to a seaman's injury and continued boisterous weather and on June 8 Johnstone returned. Point Fidalgo, Point Witshed, Point Bentinck and Hawkins's Island were named. On June 11 the Chatham

3. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 125.

4. Wagner, Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800, volume I., p. 221.
 "In 1794 Vancouver explored Prince William Sound very thoroughly and, having either Fidalgo's map or a general map on which his explorations had been laid down, retained some of his names; Valdes, Gravina and Cordova. A Puerto Fidalgo, the present Port Fidalgo, will also be found on Vancouver's map, a clear proof that he had taken this name also from a Spanish map." The Spaniard, Fidalgo, had been on an expedition to Alaska in 1790."

departed to survey the continental shore to Point Mulgrave. On June 15 Whidbey returned and Vancouver named Cape Puget, Port Bainbride and various points such as Point Erlington, Point Pyke, and Point Waters. The boat excursions of Whidbey and Johnstone made further work in this region unnecessary.

The south point of this, which is Bligh's island, being the station from whence Mr. Johnstone had commenced his survey, completed the examination of the whole of Prince William's sound, as it respected the boundary of the continent, but the numerous islands, inlets, rocks, and shoals, which are contained within this space, being considered as secondary objects, did not fall within the limits of our service for accurately ascertaining or delineating, yet these have been noticed with every degree of circumspection, as the nature of our researches would allow, without swerving from our principal object, viz the survey of the shore of the continent.⁵

The Chatham was sent to explore from Prince William's Sound to Port Mulgrave. "Mr. Puget having received instructions to examine the coast minutely from hence to port Mulgrave, my attention was only directed to fixing the line of the intermediate external headlands, until any navigable branches of the sea should be found between those limits."⁶ Captain Vancouver makes certain references to Prince William's Sound which show his respect for Captain Cook and also his interest in survey work. "I cannot avoid making some observations on the difference in the delineation

5. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 187.

6. ibid., p. 192.

of Prince William's Sound, as represented in Captain Cook's last voyage, and the result of our late examination, particularly with respect to Montagu island, which is therein described to be seven miles longer, and to be placed ten miles more to the southward, than we found to be its situation and extent." ⁷ And also,

Besides these, I have in other instances detected some errors which are evidently of the press, but it is a circumstance not easily to be reconciled with such high geographical authority, that the above mentioned errors should have taken place in the construction of the chart; and notwithstanding that I entertain the highest respect and veneration for the Right Reverend and learned editor⁸ of those volumes, yet I am of opinion that had Captain Cook survived to have superintended the publication of his own labours, these errors would have been rectified; and I am led to believe, that they must have arisen from some writing, or authentic document, relative to this particular part of his researches, having been lost or mislaid.⁹

Vancouver named Cape Hammond, after Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Point Riou and Point Manby. On July 2 the expedition saw Manby, master of the Chatham, in an Indian canoe. Vancouver learned from a letter from Puget that the Chatham had reached Port Mulgrave on June 29, the coast having been examined from Cape Hinchinbrook to Port Mulgrave. On July 3 a strange sail was seen which proved to be the Jackall under the command of Brown, a fur trader.

7. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 193.

8. The editor was the Reverend Dr. Douglas, later Bishop of Carlisle.

9. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 193.

From him we received the latest accounts of the state of Europe that had appeared in China before his sailing. These contained not only the melancholy intelligence of the death of Louis XVI. and of the anarchy which existed in France but of the attempts which the discontented were making in Great Britain, by the promulgation of French doctrines, to subvert our inestimable constitution. 10

On July 7 the Discovery entered Cross Sound where the Chatham rejoined her on July 8 after having surveyed from Prince William's Sound to Cross Sound. The examination of Cross Sound and its environs was a hard task.

Since our arrival on the coast this season, the state of my health had been too indifferent to allow of my taking any share in the several distant boat excursions; but as it seemed to be highly probable, from the appearance of this extensive opening in the coast, that Mr. Whidbey might be led to a great distance, inland, by pursuing the continental shore, and by that means be precluded from examining the various islands that appear to lie before it, and to form the external boundaries of this sound; and considering myself now sufficiently recruited to be equal to that task, early in the morning of the fourteenth I set out for that purpose, but by noon I was obliged to return, in consequence of being seized with a most violent indisposition which terminated in a bilious cholic, that confined me for several days to my apartments. 11

The arduous life at sea had played havoc with Vancouver's health.

Whidbey had, on July 10, been sent on survey work.

"To guard as much as possible against accidents, I directed that instead of two boats as heretofore, three should be

10. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 207.

11. *ibid.*, p. 238.

equipped for this service, with a fortnight's supply of provisions, under the directions of Mr. Whidbey, who had my orders to go back to cape Spencer, as we had to that place now traced the continental boundary eastward from Cook's Inlet, and there to commence and prosecute its examination, so long as their provisions would hold out."¹²

The boats returned on July 26. In the region examined by Whidbey, Vancouver named Point Wimbledon, Point Dundas, Point Couverden, "after the seat of my ancestors",¹³ Point Seduction¹⁴ and Lynn Canal.¹⁵

On this occasion it may not be improper to remark that the upper part of this arm, which after the place of my nativity, the town of Lynn in Norfolk, obtained the name of Lynn Canal, approaches nearest to those interior waters of the continent, which are said to be known to the traders and travellers from the opposite side of

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12. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 214.
 13. Godwin, op. cit., p. 2. "John Jasper Vancouver certainly knew of his Dutch origin, for the children were told that their paternal ancestors came from Couverden in the Province of Drenkte, Holland, and they were proud of it. As a boy, George Vancouver heard the story many times, no doubt, and that he stored it away in his orderly mind we know, for on the coast of Alaska, pointing a finger southwards into Chatham Strait, is the high promontory upon which he conferred the name Point Couverden in honour of his paternal ancestors, as he himself set down."
 14. This name was given because of the artful character of the Indians.
 15. Walbran, op. cit., p. 503. "Lynn Canal he named after his birthplace and Couverden point, the west point of entrance to the canal after the seat of his ancestors, which place is in North Holland."

America, than we found the waters of the north pacific penetrate in any former instance. This approximation is towards the southwest side of the Arathapescow lake,¹⁶ as laid down in Captain Cook's chart, from which distance is about three hundred and twenty geographical miles, but from the close connection and continuation of the lofty snowy barrier, so frequently before adverted to, southeastward, little probability can remain of there being any navigable communication, even for canoes between such waters and the north pacific ocean without the interruption of waterfalls, cataracts and various other impediments.¹⁷

The expedition under Whidbey had accomplished much, before returning to Cross Sound.

In the morning of the 23rd the weather was again dark and gloomy; it however permitted them to see, that the surrounding regions were too much divided by water to admit of the most distant probability of their being able to complete their survey up to Cape Decision, during this expedition, the party having already been absent the length of time for which they had been provided, and being now distant upwards of one hundred and twenty miles from the vessels Mr. Whidbey was therefore obliged to decline any further prosecution of his researches, and to make the best of his way back to Cross Sound.¹⁸

In about fifteen days, more than five hundred miles had been covered.

On July 29 the main expedition then proceeded southward along the exterior coast of King George III's archipelago. The remaining survey work was to be carried on by boat parties

16. Lake Athabaska. Captain Cook's estimate of the distance from Lake Athabaska to the Pacific was very inadequate.

17. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 294.

18. ibid., p. 258.

at two given points, Cape Decision and Cape Gardner.

The one was cape Decision, where our examination of the continent had finished the former season, and the other was Point Gardner, from whence Mr. Whidbey had returned on his last excursion from Cross Sound. Mr. Whidbey was directed to recommence his researches from that point, whilst Mr. Johnstone proceeded to Cape Decision, there to begin his examination along the eastern shore of the sound northward, until the two parties should meet, or be otherways informed by notes which each party was to leave in conspicuous places for the government of the other, describing the extent of their respective surveys. ¹⁹

On August 2, 1794, the Discovery's yawl and large cutter, under Whidbey and Swaine, and the Chatham's cutter and the Discovery's small cutter, under Johnstone and Barrie, left on their respective missions. Their failure to return by August 15 caused anxiety on the ships as the Indians in this region proved to be treacherous.

Whilst we endured this irksome anxiety, it is a tribute that is justly due to the meritorious exertions of those under my command, that I should again acknowledge the great consolation I derived on all painful occasions like this, by having the most implicit confidence in the discretion and abilities of my officers, and the exertions and ready obedience of my people. These happy reflections left me no grounds for entertaining the most distant idea that any precaution would be wanting to guard against, or effort unexerted to avert, so far as human prudence could dictate, the threatening dangers to which I was conscious they must necessarily be exposed. ²⁰

However the boat parties performed their services well and returned to the ships on August 19 where their achievements

19. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 267.

20. ibid., p. 271.

were rewarded.

In order that the valuable crews of both vessels, on whom great hardships and manual labour had fallen, and who had uniformly encountered their difficulties with unremitting exertion, cheerfulness, and obedience, might celebrate the day, that had thus terminated their labours in these regions; they were served such an additional allowance of grog as was fully sufficient to answer every purpose of festivity on the occasion. This soon prompted a desire for mutual congratulations between the two vessels, expressed by three exulting cheers from each; and it may be easily conceived by more heart felt satisfaction was scarcely ever more reciprocally experienced, or more cordially exchanged.²¹

The boat parties had met before returning to the ships.

On this occasion Mr. Whidbey remarks, that it is not possible for language to describe the joy that was manifested in every countenance, on thus meeting their comrades and fellow adventurers, by which happy circumstance, a principal object of the voyage was brought to a conclusion and the hearty congratulations that were mutually exchanged by three cheers, proclaimed not only the pleasure that was left in the accomplishment of this laborious service but the zeal with which it had been carried into execution, and the laudable pride that had been entertained by both parties, in having been instrumental to the attainment of so grand an object.²²

"In the course of the evening no small portion of facetious mirth passed among the seamen, in consequence of our having sailed from old England on the first of April, for the purpose of discovering a northwest passage, by following up the discoveries of De Fuca, De Fonte, and
²³
numerous train of hypothetical navigators." Following

21. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 272.

22. *ibid.*, p. 284.

23. *ibid.*, p. 285.

Vancouver's orders possession was taken of the adjacent lands.

In the event of the two parties meeting and consequently a finishing stroke being put to the examination of the shores of North West America, within the limits of my commission, Mr. Whidbey had my directions to take possession of the said continent, from New Georgia northwestward to Cape Spencer, as also, of all the adjacent islands we had discovered within those limits, in the name of, and for, His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors. This, on the parties stopping to dine, was carried into execution; the colours were displayed, the boats's crews drawn up under arms, and possession taken under the discharge of three vollies of musketry, withall the other formalities usual on such occasions, and a double allowance of grog was served to the respective crews, for the purpose of drinking His Majesty's health. The happy meeting of the two parties, having taken place on the birthday of His Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York, the Sound in which they met I honored with the name of Prince Frederick's Sound, and the adjacent continent, north west from New Cornwall to Cross Sound, with that of New Norfolk. ²⁴

As a result of Johnstone's survey, Port Malmesbury, Point Harris, Point Sullivan, Point Kingsmill, Point Cornwallis, Point Camden, Point Macartney were named. Vancouver named the strait between King George the Third's Sound and Admiralty Island, Chatham's Strait, after Lord Chatham. The coast of North America as far north as Cook's Inlet had been explored but no Northwest Passage had been discovered.

The principal object which His Majesty appears to have had in view, in directing the undertaking of this voyage having at length been completed,

24. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 285.

I trust the precision with which the survey of the coast of North West America has been carried into effect, will remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of a north west passage, or any water communication navigable for shipping existing between the north pacific and the interior of the American continent, within the limits of our researches. 25

Vancouver gave credit for the excellent exploratory work to his subordinates.

For this reason I have considered it essential to the illustration of our survey, to state very exactly not only the track of the vessels when navigating these regions, but likewise those of the boats when so employed, as well when I was present myself, as when they were conducted by Mr. Whidbey or Mr. Johnstone, on whom the execution of that laborious and dangerous service principally fell, and to whom I feel myself indebted for the zeal with which they engaged in it on all occasions. The perusal of these parts of our voyage to persons not particularly interested, I am conscious will afford but little entertainment, yet I have been induced to give a detailed account, instead of an abstract of our proceedings, for the purpose of illustrating the charts accompanying this journal, of shewing the manner in which our time, day by day had been employed; and for the additional purpose, of making the history of our transactions of the north west coast of America, as conclusive as possible, against the speculative opinions respecting the existence of a hyperborean or meditteranean ocean within the limits of our survey. 26

The third northern survey started at Cook's River and worked south to Prince of Wales Island and Cape Decision, in order to connect up with the work of the second survey. Cook's River was explored and the name changed to the more

25. Vancouver, op. cit., volume III., p. 294.

26. ibid., p. 295.

appropriate title of Cook's Inlet. Prince of Wales Sound and Cross Sound were then explored. On the area from New Cornwall to Cross Sound Vancouver bestowed the name of New Norfolk. In this region the barriers of ice and mountains were impenetrable and within the limits of his surveys, no mythical straits or Northwest Passage had been found. The work of charting the coastline had been laborious but it had been well done.

On September 2 the expedition arrived at Nootka where Vancouver learned of the death in March of Don Quadra. The new governor, Don Alava, said that instructions regarding the cession were expected from San Blas but as no word came
27
Vancouver left on October 16. Don Alava arranged to meet

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27. Report of the Public Archives Department of the Province of British Columbia for the Year ended December 31, 1913, p. 258.

Vancouver: Discovery, Nootka Sound
Oct. 2, 1794.

To Mr. Sykes:

"We arrived here this day month all in high health and spirits having truly determined the non existence of any water communication between this and the opposite side of America within the limits of our investigation beyond all doubt or disputation hence I expected no further detention in this hemisphere not doubting but the business respecting these territories must have been settled a sufficient length of time for a vessel to have arrived by whome we might be relieved and proceed on our route towards Old England in hope to partake of some shair in the glorious and honorable cause her fleets and armies are at present engaged, but in these expectations we were disappointed no vessell having arrive from England to that effect nor have I received any information in answer to my dispatches

them at Monterey. Governor Arrillaga had resigned, so the members of the expedition received much better treatment during their stay in California. Don Alava arrived later but still there was no word from the Admiralty. Since Vancouver had left in 1791 no specific instructions concerning the negotiations, had been sent from the Admiralty. He had sent home important dispatches but no acknowledgement came back.

sent home by Mudge and Broughton as I expected by way of New Spain but are still in expectation of some news from that quarter, as a packet was waiting in readiness at St Bless to forward the dispatches respecting the Restitution of this country etc but has not yet arrived."

CHAPTER IX.

RETURN TO ENGLAND

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On December 2 the Discovery and Chatham sailed south, bound for Cape Horn. It was now three years, eight months since the expedition had left Falmouth. In that time they had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the south of Australia, then to New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands. Then three seasons had been spent exploring and charting the coast of North America from California to Cook's Inlet. This survey work marks the main achievement of the expedition.

From January 23 to 27 the ships were at anchor off the island of Cocos. On March 25 a stop was made at Valparaiso Harbor in order to repair the ships and also to cope with the problem of scurvy. At the end of about six weeks the ships left for the rendezvous at Saint Helena where they arrived fifty-eight days later after a boisterous passage. The Chatham was sent to the coast of Brazil with naval despatches. On July 16 the Discovery sailed for home. On September 12 the homeland was seen at last.

Vancouver, on September 13, after leaving Lieutenant Baker in command of the Discovery, set out for London. Soon after he applied to the Admiralty for a court-martial of Archibald Menzies¹ for breach of certain Articles of War at sea on July 28, 1795. When the Discovery arrived at London Menzies apologized to Vancouver and the latter

1. Appendix II., p. 111.

withdrew his application for a court-martial. Vancouver had still much official business to carry out. He had to send to the Admiralty all logs, journals, sketches and charts.² Then Vancouver left for Bristol Hot Baths to

2. Godwin, op. cit., p. 271.

Vancouver: Discovery, Deptford. 23rd Oct.
1795.

To Evan Nepean Esq.

Sir,--Agreeable to the directions of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty I transmit to you the several Log-Books and Journals kept by the Officers and other persons on board His Majesty's Sloop under my command, during her late voyage, which will be delivered by Mr. Robert Barrie, and of which the enclosed is a list.

And I am to request you will be pleased to move their Lordships to grant an order to dispense with the production of such as might be otherwise necessary, at the Navy Office, for the purpose of passing my accounts and those of the Officers: as well as for those of the midshipmen which are usually required previous to passing their examination.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your very humble Serv^t
Geo. Vancouver

Enclosure

Discovery's Log-Books and Journals

Lieutenant Joseph Baker

" Spelman Swaine

" Thomas Manby

Mr. Joseph Whidbey, Master

Mr. Robert Barrie

" Jn. Sykes

" Jn. Stewart

Honble Charles Stuart

Mr. Robert Pigot

" George Charles McKenzie

" Edwin Charlton Harris

" Volant Vashon Ballard

" Thomas James Dobson

" Jn. Aisley Brown

" Edward Roberts

" Henry Masterman Orchard

recuperate at this spa. Two months later he was called upon to defend himself against charges made against him through the Spanish Embassy. The viceroy of Mexico charged that Vancouver had acted unscrupulously in the matter of money due for the maintenance of deserters. Vancouver, however, was able to satisfy the Admiralty that he had acted honorably.

The Admiralty requested Vancouver to prepare for publication a full account of the voyage. He chose Richmond as a retreat to write his journal and worked hard despite failing health.

The original manuscript of Vancouver's journal has been lost. Unlike some discoverers Vancouver wrote his own account; he did not employ anyone to embellish it.³ The first edition appeared in 1799; the second edition, in six volumes, in 1801; a French translation a year later. Except for the final part the record was put on paper corrected by Vancouver. "When it is borne in mind that the writing of this book was undertaken by Vancouver when far advanced in disease, that it embraces every aspect of his five years' voyage and runs to something like half a million words; and, last, when it is remembered that after more than a century very few inaccuracies have been detected

3. When Cook returned from his second voyage there were many unauthorized publications of logs and journals by the ships company. Due possibly to fear of their commander the men who kept logs in the Vancouver expedition prevented illicit publication.

in its pages, the ability, no less than the courage and fortitude of its author, become truly impressive." ⁴ Vancouver left five volumes completed by the time of his death in May, 1798. The sixth volume was completed by his brother John Vancouver, and dedicated by him to the King. The first volumes, except the introduction and as far as page 288 of the last volume, were printed before his death. Vancouver had also prepared the introduction and a further part of the Journal as far as page 408 of the last volume. Although the writing is somewhat prosy it reveals a keen scientific interest, an inquiring mind and indomitable courage.

Captain Vancouver died at Petersham, in May, 1798. ⁵ Mr. V. L. Denton suggests that he died of tuberculosis, a disease which would be aggravated by the arduous life at sea. Vancouver was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Petersham, Richmond. The parish burial register contains the entry: 'Captain George Vancouver of the Royal Navy, aged 40 of this parish. Bd. May 18th, 1798.' At first the grave was neglected but now it is cared for by the people of British Columbia. Two cities and an island bear his name, Vancouver, Washington, Vancouver, British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

4. Godwin, op. cit., p. 160.

5. Denton, op. cit., p. 289.

CHAPTER X.

SUMMARY OF VANCOUVER'S ACHIEVEMENTS

CHAPTER X. SUMMARY OF VANCOUVER'S ACHIEVEMENTS

In summarizing Vancouver's achievements on the British Columbia coast several points must be considered. Vancouver was sent to carry out two specific undertakings. He was commissioned to act as the British agent in the restoration of land and property at Nootka Sound, and to survey the coast of America from the thirtieth degree of north latitude northwestward toward Cook's Inlet. How well did he carry out this twofold mission?

The attempts of the British and Spanish commissioners to reach an agreement on the restoration of territory at Nootka Sound ended in failure. Quadra and Vancouver interpreted the terms of the Nootka Convention in different ways. Each commissioner strove to protect the interests of his own country. Vancouver had been sent not to debate Britain's case but to accept a formal Spanish restitution of the land in question. Quadra refused to make a formal restoration and succeeded in delaying the transfer of territory. Vancouver would not retreat from his interpretation of the articles of the Nootka Convention and chose the sensible course of referring the case to the British government. Despite the fact that Mudge and Broughton had been sent to England with copies of the negotiations at Nootka Sound no further instructions were received. Faced with this apparent lack of interest on the part of the British government Vancouver did what he considered was his duty in thus postponing the final settlement.

Although Quadra and Vancouver failed to settle their differences as commissioners they were firm friends. One reason for this was their common interest in discovery and exploration. Most of Vancouver's life was spent afloat. After his apprenticeship under Captain Cook and his brief active service he had tackled the project of the examination of the northwest coast of America. Quadra also had much service at sea to his credit. Although not a Castilian, he had risen to the top by virtue of his ability. In 1775 he was second in command of the Heceta expedition. In 1792 he was appointed to go to Nootka Sound as the Spanish commissioner. The interest in exploratory work and a recognition of each others ability helped to cement the friendship of these two men. Vancouver's main interest was not in negotiation but in survey work.

Captain Vancouver's survey work must be compared with the surveys of Captain Cook, Alexander Mackenzie, the Spanish explorers and the Maritime fur traders.¹ Captain Vancouver's work lacks the extent of Captain Cook's. In 1759 Cook surveyed the channel of the St. Lawrence River; in 1761-62 he charted Halifax harbor. From 1763 to 1767 he did accurate work as marine surveyor of the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1768 Cook was appointed to

1. Appendix IV. Parizeau, H. D., Hydrographic Survey of the North West Coast of British North America from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time.

command an expedition to observe the transit of Venus in the Pacific Ocean. This expedition reached Tahiti, circumnavigated New Zealand and examined the east coast of Australia. From 1772 to 1775 Cook commanded an expedition which proved the non existence of a great southern continent within the temperate zone. It was during this expedition that Cook used a scientific diet to prevent scurvy. In 1776 Cook was dispatched on a voyage to attempt to discover a Northwest Passage. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands the expedition sighted the northwest coast of America at 44° N. latitude. In a running survey of the coast as far as $70^{\circ} 44'$ north Nootka Sound was visited but storms probably prevented the discovery and examination of the mouth of the Columbia River and the Straits of Juan de Fuca. In February, 1778, Captain Cook was killed in a fracas between his men and natives at Karakakooa Bay on the Hawaiian Islands. Under the command of Captain Clarke the expedition sailed north to Bering Strait. Later the vessels reached Macao, a Portuguese trading post near Canton, China, and here discovered the high value of the sea otter skins which had been obtained at Nootka. This heralded the beginning of the maritime fur trade on the northwest coast of America.

Thus Captain Cook deserves acclaim as a great explorer of the Pacific. However his work on the British

Columbia coast, was rather inadequate. For example Cook's expedition did not follow Cook's Inlet to its head. He concluded that the fresh water proved the existence of a river.

Until we got thus far, the water had retained the same degree of saltness at low, as at high water; and, at both periods, was as salt as that in the ocean. But now the marks of a river displayed themselves. The water taken up this ebb, when at the lowest, was found to be considerably fresher, than any we had hitherto tasted; in-somuch that I was convinced that we were in a large river, and not in a strait communicating with the Northern Seas. ²

He should have realized that the glaciers in this region would account for the fresh water. If, as Captain Vancouver points out, he had spent one more day in this region, he would have proved that it was an inlet. Cook thought that there was no large strait in this area and as the season was advancing, proceeded without following ³ Cook's Inlet to its head. In contrast Vancouver proved, without the shadow of a doubt, that Cook's River was an inlet. Cook then was a great Pacific explorer but his work on the northwest coast, partly due to bad weather, was sketchy. Vancouver's work was not as extensive as Cook's but he surveyed the northwest coast in detail. How does Vancouver's work compare with that of Alexander Mackenzie?

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2. Cook, Captain, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, London, Printed by W. And A. Strahan, 1784, volume II., p. 391.
 3. Lord Sandwich, not Captain Cook, bestowed the name, Cook's River.

One of the main objectives of Vancouver's expedition was to attempt to discover a Northwest Passage between the North Pacific and the interior of the American continent. Vancouver claimed that, within the limits of his researches no such passage existed. However, prior to the work of Vancouver, the non existence of such a passage had been proved by the expedition of Alexander Mackenzie to the Arctic Ocean.

On June 3, 1789, Alexander Mackenzie, a young Scot employed by the North West Company, left Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska, followed the Slave River northward to Great Slave Lake and thence to the river which bears his name. The party reached the Arctic Ocean in latitude 69° N. on July 15, 1789. On July 10, 1792, Mackenzie left Fort Chipewyan and on July 22, 1793, completed the first successful overland expedition to reach the Pacific Ocean. By the first expedition Mackenzie had proved, for the first time, that between 52° and 69° north latitude, there was no Northwest Passage. However, Mackenzie's achievements were not made known till the publication of the account of his voyages in 1801. Vancouver died in May, 1798, and there is no evidence of any communication with Mackenzie. Hence Vancouver claimed priority in proving the non existence of the Northwest Passage as far as 69° north latitude. In the light of present knowledge credit for this discovery must go to Alexander Mackenzie.

What was the relation of Vancouver's work on the

northwest coast to that of the Spaniards? The work of the early Spanish explorers such as Cabrillo and Vizcaino was not very extensive and Spain neglected to establish settlements. After the time of Vizcaino there was a hiatus of exploration for more than a century and a half. Spain desired to keep the rest of the world in ignorance of the coast. However the explorations of the Russians caused Spain to launch a programme of exploration. In 1774 Perez discovered the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands but did not land on the British Columbia coast. Following in his footsteps came Heceta, Quadra, and Arteaga. The work of the Spaniards up to this time was not thorough survey work but exploration, and their discoveries were not followed by settlement. The renewed Spanish efforts around the year 1790 were, in contrast, extensive hydrographic surveys.

In 1790 Fidalgo explored and surveyed parts of the Alaskan coast. While Quadra was at Nootka several reconnaissance surveys were directed to the environs of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The first of these, the Quimper expedition, although prior to Vancouver's does not compare with his in thoroughness. The Eliza expedition preceded Vancouver's work in the Gulf of Georgia by a year but once again the Spanish work was not as detailed as his. The Galiano and Valdes expedition of 1792 did reliable survey work especially on the mainland coast. Although Vancouver first proved the insularity of Vancouver Island this

Spanish expedition completed the first circumnavigation.

If the British had not sent the Vancouver expedition on the important survey work the Spaniards might have been the first to survey the entire northwest coast and to bestow their place names on the charts. Due partly to Vancouver's work British place names are dominant on the British Columbian coast. He did perpetuate many Spanish names on his charts especially in those areas explored by Jacinto Caamano in 1792 and by Salivador Fidalgo in 1790.

Why were the achievements of the Spaniards not acknowledged immediately? The Spanish government must be held responsible for the lack of publicity for these voyages. This was in accordance with the Spanish policy of keeping the world in ignorance of Spain's work in the New World. In contrast the journals of Cook, Mackenzie and Vancouver enjoyed a wide circulation. Vancouver's maps were used and copied by the famous English cartographer Arrowsmith and later by the British Admiralty. In addition the dominant position of Britain's sea power ensured publicity for the exploits of men such as Cook and Vancouver. Thus the Spaniards had accomplished a considerable amount of survey work prior to the time of Vancouver. However their work was piecemeal. Map comparison indicates the fact that
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Vancouver's work was thorough and complete. The discovery

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4. Wagner, H. R., The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800, volumes I. and II. These volumes contain many maps which are valuable for a comparison of the achievements of various explorers.

surveys of the maritime fur traders were also not detailed.

Discovery surveys by maritime fur traders helped to extend the knowledge of the coast but these men were interested in fur trading, not in survey work. In 1785 Captain James Hanna in the Sea Otter crossed Queen Charlotte's Sound and named Smith and Fitzhugh's Sound. In 1787 Portlock and Dixon were in the environs of King William's Sound. In 1787 Captain Barkley discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca. In 1787-88 Duncan named Milbanke Sound and Princess Royal Islands. Between the years 1787--92 Gray visited the Queen Charlotte Islands and also discovered the Columbia River. Thus previous to the work of Vancouver the work of trading captains had furnished a sketchy knowledge of the northwest coast. Vancouver's survey gave a detailed knowledge of the coast and after his time only the gaps remained to be filled in.

Since Vancouver's time the work of completing these gaps has been carried by many surveyors. From 1795 to 1845 the survey work on the coast was neglected. The Oregon and San Juan boundary disputes revived British interest in the surveying field. From 1857 to 1863 Captain Richards on the Plumper surveyed part of the San Juan Islands, Vancouver Island and the mainland. These surveys were completed in 1870 by Commander Pender on the Beaver. From 1871-98 there were some unattached surveys by H. M. Naval Officers at Esquimault and in 1910 the Canadian government

took over the survey work. Modern surveyors have advantages which Vancouver lacked. As one authority shows Vancouver sometimes made errors but this was partly due to faulty instruments.⁵ In contrast another authority comments on the accuracy of Vancouver's work.

Perhaps the main purpose of this survey in the minds of the Admiralty officers was to settle once and for all the question of the fabulous North-west Passage, for the discovery of which the reward of £20,000 still stood. That Vancouver was the man to carry out the second part of the instructions was obvious from his training with Captain Cook, and from his extraordinary preoccupation with his chronometers, astronomical instruments, and his observations during the long years he was to spend in exploration. It is interesting to note that Vancouver had with him the Kendall chronometer which Cook had used on his second and third voyages and praised highly. He also had two chronometers made by John Arnold, one of the best-known instrument-makers of the time. Owing to his well known capacity in surveying and navigation, it was not considered necessary to carry observers on this voyage. He took the greatest pains to get positions as accurately as possible. As many as 199 sets of observations at one place and time were noted, the mean being accepted as the final result. Notwithstanding this great care, the limitations of the method of lunar distances, depending finally on the accuracy of the moon's tables, which were uncertain in the eighteenth century, made occasional errors of as much as 20 minutes of arc, 12 to 15 miles, possible. Vancouver became a great scientific navigator, advancing the science by demonstrating the value of new methods such as chronometer longitudes, then in infancy.⁶

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5. Wagner, H. R., *The Cartography of the North West Coast*, volume I., p. 250. Wagner shows that Captain Belcher in the Sulphur and Starling, which left England in 1835, discovered errors in Vancouver's work at Port Etches and Cape Suckling.
 6. Plaskett, J. S., *The Astronomy of the Explorers*, *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, April, 1940, p. 68.

Thus Vancouver's survey work was reasonably accurate although he failed to discover the Columbia and ~~Fraser~~ Rivers. This survey was his main achievement. His work was more thorough and extensive than that of Captain Cook, the Spaniards and the maritime fur traders. In the charts previous to his there were many gaps. Vancouver's chart was a masterful ^{by} survey of the coast from 30° north latitude to Cook's Inlet. His work was used to support Britain's case in the Oregon Boundary dispute.

This boundary dispute had its roots in past history. As a result of the Nootka Sound Convention Spain had abandoned her claim of sovereignty, leaving the coast between the Spanish and Russian settlements, a No Man's Land. In 1803 France sold Louisiana to the United States and thus the United States inherited the vague Spanish claims of sovereignty. In 1818 a convention between Great Britain and the United States fixed the northern limit of Louisiana at the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies. In 1819 a treaty between the United States and Spain set the northern limits of Spanish territory at 42° and the former acquired Spain's rights beyond that line. Hence the territory from the coast to the Rocky Mountains between the 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ became a bone of contention. Both British and American fur companies were interested in

7. In 1762 in the preliminary agreements of the Treaty of Paris, France had ceded Spain the territory west of the Mississippi. In 1800 Spain had returned this area.

parts of this area but with the advent of settlers matters reached a crucial stage. Both sides attempted to prove the justice of their claims by reference to past history.

The United States' claim was based on the discovery of the Columbia River by Gray in 1792; by the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-06; and on the work of the Pacific Fur Company at Astoria. Also they claimed the right of inheritance to Spain's vague claims of sovereignty.

On the other hand Britain's claims were based on the work of Captain Cook and the maritime fur traders; the explorations of Mackenzie and Thompson; Broughton's work on the Columbia; and the existence of trading posts on the upper reaches of the Columbia. Britain claimed the Columbia River as the boundary while the United States insisted on the forty-ninth parallel. The British also used as evidence Broughton's and Vancouver's thesis that Gray had⁸ not discovered the Columbia River proper. They also claimed

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8. Elliott, T. C., The Northern Boundary of Oregon, The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, March, 1919, December, 1919, p. 32.

T. C. Elliott shows that there is evidence in a document sent to the Honorable George Canning by Governor Pelly of the Hudson Bay Company that Great Britain wished to make the most of Vancouver's work. cf. "In compliance with a wish expressed by you at our last interview Governor Simpson when at Columbia abandoned Fort George on the South side of the River and formed a new Establishment on the North side about 75 miles from the mouth of the River at a place called by Lt. Broughton Bellevue Point. Governor Simpson named the new establishment 'Fort Vancouver' in order to identify our claim to the soil and trade with Lt. Broughton's discovery and survey."

that Gray, a fur trader, did not take possession of the region for the United States. However, in my opinion, there is no doubt that Gray deserves credit for the discovery of the Columbia River, a factor which aided the United States in the boundary dispute. Captain Vancouver, in fact, perpetuated the discovery by the name Columbia River on his great chart. On June 15, 1846, the Treaty of Washington, usually termed the Oregon Treaty, set the boundary as the forty-ninth parallel.

In addition to discussing Vancouver's achievements in negotiation and survey work several points must be brought to light. In the journal, in the treatment of his men, in his preoccupation in survey work, there is much evidence of the personality of Captain Vancouver.

Unlike many explorers Vancouver wrote his own account of the voyage. Except for the final part he wrote and corrected his own journals. These journals reveal a keen interest in the regions visited by the expedition. Although the work is prosy it furnishes a detailed account of the voyage. As Vancouver had been at sea since his youth he must have been a self educated man. His descriptions of the various coasts, the natives and the flora and fauna reveal much literary ability. Although he was a stern leader he possessed a rather heavy sense of humor. For example Vancouver changed one of Cook's names in New Zealand from 'Nobody Knows What' to 'Somebody Knows What'. Also the description of the young gentlemen being

incommoded by the tide in Burrard Inlet furnishes evidence of this sense of humor.

Vancouver was an efficient leader for the expedition. The success of the voyage is a tribute to the work of Vancouver, who was appointed commander at the age of thirty-three. By using anti-scorbutic measures he kept his men in reasonably good health considering the exposure to the elements, hard work and sea victualling. As a result there was but one outbreak of scurvy. He praised the work of his subordinates who took part in the survey work. He was not

9. cf. Godwin, op. cit., pp. 170-173. The following are brief notes on Vancouver's officers:

1. Barrie who had often acted as Vancouver's clerk was made a lieutenant in 1795. He then pursued an exciting career in active service.

2. Broughton, after returning to England with despatches, returned to the Pacific as commander of the Province and explored the Asiatic coast. Later he served in active service in the West Indies.

3. Puget saw active service before he served as a lieutenant with Vancouver. He then returned to active service and in 1821 was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

4. Zachary Mudge, after his return to England, sailed with Broughton to the Asiatic coast. After this voyage he saw service on the coast of America and the West Indies.

5. Baker, one of Vancouver's ablest officers, reached the rank of captain.

6. Johnstone, after his service with Vancouver, was made a captain in 1806. He, like Baker, played an important part in survey work on the Vancouver expedition.

7. Manby, later served in the West Indies.

8. Swaine continued at sea until an advanced age. In 1846 he was promoted Rear-Admiral (retired).

content to direct operations from the ship while his men did all the spade work. Despite indifferent health he took part in many boat expeditions. He drove himself as hard as he drove his men.

The following description of Captain Vancouver in the catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery in London sheds some light on his appearance: "Eyes dark yellow grey, fair complexion, smooth cheeks, red lips, double chin. Eyebrows broad, very dark, arched and remarkably short. Countenance rather youthful." ¹⁰ This painting indicates that Vancouver was stern and autocratic. Van- ¹¹ couver must have realized the danger of mutiny and his ¹² discipline was harsh, but fair. He was responsible for the conduct of men some of whom were tough characters who responded only to harsh treatment. To command an expedition for such long distances and for such a long duration called for stern, unrelenting discipline. The Logs of both the Discovery and the Chatham give evidence of the treatment meted out for offences such as insubordination, drunkenness, theft and fighting.

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10. Meany, Edmond S., Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907, p. 19.
 11. ibid., (frontispiece), copy from the painting of Lemuel F. Abbott, Engraving made in England.
 12. Vancouver knew the story of the "Bounty" which had sailed from England in 1787 and had reached Matavia in 1788. Part of the crew, desiring to live the lotos life, mutineed.

Monday--May 5--1794

Punished John Rose Marine with 3 dozen Lashes for Theft and Contempt. 13

May 26--1791

Punish'd Jn^o Glasspole (Marine) with 24 lashes for Theft. 14

August 17--1792

Punished James Englehart with 4 dozen lashes for embezzling of King's Stores, Henry Hawkins with 1 dozen for the same. 14

The crew must have known the penalties and it was their own fault if they had to submit to discipline. At any rate Vancouver's discipline, harsh though it was, produced few major disputes with his men.

The main dispute was between Vancouver and Archibald Menzies, the botanist and surgeon.¹⁵ It would not be fair to cast the entire blame for the dispute on either party. The simple fact of the case seems to be that their personalities clashed and hence the series of undignified episodes. In his treatment of the Hon. Thomas Pitt I think Captain Vancouver can be justified.

Hon. Thomas Pitt, later Lord Camelford, who had served as a midshipman in the Discovery was discharged by Vancouver, in 1794, while the expedition was at the

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13. Log of the Chatham, Thomas Manby (Master), Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.
 14. Log of the Discovery, Z. Mudge, Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.
 15. Appendix II., Controversy between Captain Vancouver and Archibald Menzies.

Sandwich Islands. Vancouver cannot be blamed for this incident because Pitt's whole career labels him as unbalanced and eccentric. After the return of the expedition Lord Camelford challenged Vancouver. The latter offered to settle the dispute honorably but Lord Camelford refused. Lord Camelford's conduct finally became so unbearable that Vancouver applied to the Lord Chancellor for protection.

There is also some evidence of possible strained relations between Vancouver and George Goodman Hewett, a
¹⁶surgeon. The interesting notes of Hewett, in a copy of Vancouver's "Voyages", have been transcribed by the Library Staff of the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C. Although there may be some truth to Hewett's assertions I think that a comparison with other authorities shows
¹⁷that he exaggerates.

Thus in my opinion Vancouver was an efficient leader for the expedition. His discipline was harsh but there were some members of his crew who deserved rigorous punishment. There is evidence, toward the end of the voyage, that Vancouver was in failing health and became subject to fits of passion and temper. Possibly this fact accounts for certain traces of severity in the treatment of his men.

16. Notes in Vancouver's Voyages by George Goodman Hewett. (Transcribed from Hewett's original notes by Library Staff, Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.)

17. Appendix III.

In his attitude to the survey work Vancouver's character stands out in bold relief. He adopted a stubborn methodical approach to his main task. He was critical of the work of the Spaniards and he castigated the theories of the 'closet geographers' unmercifully. He had a fine contempt for those philosophers who conjured up mythical straits and passages. If Cook and Vancouver had discovered a Northwest Passage they would have been eligible for the twenty thousand pound reward offered by the British government for such a discovery. However both men seemed more anxious to blast the theories about the existence of such a strait than to collect the reward. This speaks highly of their interest in the field of surveying.

Vancouver's achievements must be weighed in comparison with those of other explorers. He was a stern commander but he kept the expedition functioning smoothly. Vancouver had been sent to perform two tasks. His duties as a commissioner were performed satisfactorily considering the negligent attitude of the British government in the matter of the restitution of territory at Nootka Sound. However his survey work was his monument. Despite the previous work of the Spaniards, of Captain Cook and the maritime fur traders Captain Vancouver obeyed his instructions by conducting the first extensive survey of the northwest coast of America from 30° north latitude to Cook's Inlet. This survey was his main achievement on the British Columbia coast.

APPENDIX I.

LETTER OF VANCOUVER TO EVAN NEPEAN

APPENDIX I.

Report of the Public Archives Department of the Province
of British Columbia For the Year ended December 31, 1913.

Captain George Vancouver to Evan Nepean, Esq., His
Majesty's Ship Discovery. Monterey, 7th January, 1793.

Discoverey Monterrey.

Janry. ye 7th. 1793.

Dear Sir:

In addition to the Mortification I experienced at
Nootka in the unhappy and unaccountable accident which
occasioned the loss of my much esteemed and very worthy
friend Hergest who I believe you knew and were acquainted
with I felt no small degree of disapointment in not re-
ceiving a single line either officially or privately from
your office or from yourself....

You(r) own letter to me dated Whitehall 17 March 1791
likewise informs me thus--

"His Lordship (Ld. Grenville) has directed me to
acquaint you that it is conceived to be material that the
vessel intended to follow you with stores and provisions
should leave England in the course of the present season
in order to carry out to you directions which it may be
Necessary to give on the subject of the restitution of
Nootka and any other buildings of Land on the N. W. Coast
of America which may be to be restored to His Majesty's

Subjects in consequence of the late Convention."

I shall now refer to the only orders I received on that Subject by the said Vessel being the Daedalus Transport and are as follow

"and where as you will receive here a duplicate of a letter of the Count Florida Blanco to the Spanish Officer commanding at Nootka (together with a translation thereof) signafying His Catholic Majesty's orders to cause such officer as may be appointed on the part of His Britannic Majesty to be put into possession of the Buildings and Districts or Parcels of Land therein described which were occupied by His Majestys Subjects in the month of April 1789 agreeable to the first article of the late Convention etc etc.

Which description states thus.

"you will give directions that His Britannick Majestys Officer who will deliver this letter shall immediately be put into possession of the Buildings and Districts or parcels of Land which were occupied by the subjects of that Sovereign in April 1789 as well in the Port of Nootka or of St Lawrence as in the other said to be called Port Cox and to be situated about sixteen Leagues distant from the former to the Southward and that all such parcels or Districts of Land of which the English subjects were dispossessed be restored to the said officer etc etc."

Now from the above quotations there cannot possibly appear

any distinct or clear specifications of the Parts to be restored and what I have considered and understand as the Buildings districts or parcels of Land which were occupied etc etc as well in the Port of Nootka or of St. Lawrence as in the other said to be called Port Cox etc etc. is the whole and intoto the Lands and territories appertaining to the above Ports and not a small chasm in the rocky shores of the spacious Port of Nootka; which chasm not a hundred yards in extent in any one direction being the exact space which the house and brestwork of Mr. Mears occupied can this chasm possibly be considered as the districts or parcels of Land etc intended to be ceded to me on the part of His Britannic Majesty. No--there can be little doubt I should either proved myself a most consummate fool or a traitor to have acceded to any such cession without possitive directions to that effect.

The different opinion however prevaild with Senr. Quadra who from the words of the letter, of the Count of Florida blanca's has considered himself only authorized and directed to cede that small pittence of rocks and sandy beach such being the only space in the Port of Nootka the English occupied in April 1789, the arguments by each side on this subject are justly represented in my Journal and its appendix therefore as I have already observed requires no repetition here.

It therefore now becomes necessary to point out the motives of this discussion which I intend should convey such information as will point out to you the embarrassment I have laboured under in the whole of my transactions at Nootka not only in respect to the cession of that territory but likewise had such cession been made agreeable to what I had conceived honorable and just; I was still left totally in the dark what measures to pursue, you may answer I was directed to be put in possession on the part of His Britannic Majesty the afforesaid territories--I grant that to be the case but what were to become of those territories hereafter. I was likewise by the same instructions directed to prosecute a voyage of investigation in this Ocean, without receiving any instructions to pursue the one and abandon the other; had Nootka been put into my possession or evacuated in order to pursue such as might be considered the most important object of His Majestys service intrusted to my charge and execution, if therefore it were necessary to retain Nootka both or at least one of the vessels were absolutely necessary to have remained there for that particular purpose which as it will appear in my journal I had in the first instance deemed expedient and directed matters to be so arranged...

The measures in consequence thereof which I have judged most prudent to pursue have been such as my own common understanding dictated as most compatible with honor and

the Duty and allegiance I owe to my Sovereign and my Country whos approbation should such conduct meet; will make me one of the happiest of men and this explanatory letter by such event be rendered entirely unnecessary. But should I be that unfortunate man to be deemed deserving of censure in executing those transaction under the above circumstances, You will I hope excuse the liberty I have taken in thus intruding on your goodness this letter as a kind of superficial vindication of my conduct, though I cannot but be thoroughly convinced that I have no authority to intrude such business either on your friendship or your leasure; Nevertheless I have been induced to write you this letter under the consideration of my instructions originateing in the office under your inspection and in consequence of your kind offer before I left England to render me such services particularly in point of representation that I might require and in the power of your official capacity to execute.

Dear Sir

Your most obedient
and devoted humble
servant.

Geo. Vancouver.

APPENDIX II.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN VANCOUVER AND MENZIES

APPENDIX II.

Menzies was a Scottish botanist, explorer and surgeon. He had been on one of Captain Colnett's expeditions to the north Pacific. The British government appointed him as naturalist to accompany Captain Vancouver in the Discovery. Sir Joseph Banks, who had been with Cook in ¹ the Endeavour furnished Menzies with his instructions, at the request of Lord Grenville.

A dispute between Captain Vancouver and Mr. Menzies occurred, at the start of the voyage, at Falmouth. The dispute was about mess dues and Menzies took umbrage at Vancouver's refusal to refer the case to "an impartial judge acquainted with the rules of the Navy". Menzies wrote bitterly to his patron Sir Joseph Banks, who had ² no liking for Vancouver. However Vancouver settled this

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1. Menzies' Journal, op. cit., p. X.
"He was to keep a regular journal of all occurrences, which journal, together with a complete collection of specimens of the animals, vegetables, and minerals obtained, as well as articles of the cloths, arms, implements and manufactures of the Indians, were to be delivered to H. M. Secretary of State or to such person as he shall appoint to receive them."

"Lord Grenville, in transmitting a copy of these instructions to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty under date of Febru 23rd, 1791, emphasizes the necessity for impressing upon the commander of the ship that he was to afford every degree of assistance to Mr. Menzies as the service he has been directed to perform "is materially connected with some of the most impt. objects of the expedition".

2. Godwin, op. cit., p. 201. Correspondence on this dispute.

problem but disputes broke out on two later occasions.

Shortly before the Discovery sighted St. Helena trouble broke out again between Vancouver and Menzies. The two men did not see eye to eye on the importance of the botanical work. Due to negligence on the part of the man detailed to take care of Menzies' botanical frame, some plants were lost and both Vancouver and Menzies lost their tempers. Menzies, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, claimed that when he complained of the matter to Captain Vancouver³ the latter abused him.

The next point at issue between Vancouver and Menzies was about the matter of the latter's journal. Before the ships reached St. Helena Vancouver asked for all logs, journals, charts and drawings, to be delivered up, according to the regulations. However Menzies refused to deliver up his journal. The correspondence furnishes the⁴ details of the dispute.

After Captain Vancouver arrived in London he applied to the Admiralty for a court-martial of Menzies for breach of the 19th and 22nd Articles of War at sea on the 28th of July of that year. Menzies learned of this when the Discovery arrived in the Thames and immediately apologised

3. Godwin, op. cit., p. 141.

4. ibid., pp. 268-269.

to Vancouver. The episode was brought to a close when
Vancouver withdrew his application for court-martial.⁵

5. Godwin, op. cit., p. 269.

Vancouver: Discovery Deptford

To Evan Nepean

24 Oct--1795.

Sir,--Mr. Menzies, Surgeon of His Majesty's Sloop under my command, having made an ample apology of his conduct to me on the 28th of July last; I am to request their Lordships will be pleased to permit me to withdraw the application I had made for a Court-Martial, on that account,

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your very humble Servant

Geo. Vancouver.

APPENDIX III.

COMMENTS ON HEWETT'S NOTES

APPENDIX III.

Commentary on Notes in Vancouver's Voyages by George Goodman Hewett Surgeon.

(Transcribed from Hewett's original notes by Library Staff, Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.)

(The pages referred to are those of the transcription.)

While the ships were at the Cape of Good Hope some of the crew fell sick with dysentery which Vancouver said had been spread by a Dutch ship in port. In contrast Hewett says, "He was told at the time it arose from want of Vegetables which were excessively dear and not purchased by the Purser except on one or two days, three small Cabbages weighing about half a pound each were put into the Soup for the Ships Company, who therefore lived chiefly upon animal food. The Biscuit bought here was so coarse, black¹ and hard it was a long time before the Men would eat it."

However Bell writing in the Log of the Chatham states that "Fresh Beef and Mutton with Vegetables and soft Bread were served out to the Ship's Company's every day during our Stay."²

Another point of variance between Hewett's account and those of other observers occurs in the treatment of the

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1. Commentary on Notes in Vancouver's Voyages by George Goodman Hewett Surgeon, p. 10.
 2. Copy of the M. S. Journal kept on board the armed tender Chatham during Vancouver's Voyage in the Discovery, 1791--94, p. 21.

fracas at Teneriffe. Hewett claimed that

Captn Vancouver just then coming down saw his men surrounded not only by the Guard but a large mob of the Townspeople and forgetting they were not within the Pale of his Mighty authority began to Exercise his Horsewhip they not being pleased with his Salutation seized his Honour and made an Offering of him to Neptune Otherwise threw him off the Pier into the Sea from whence he was rescued by the Boat in which the People also got as well as they could most of them wounded. ³

This account is not substantiated in the Log of the Cha-
⁴ tham, ⁵ or in Menzies' Journal.

3. Commentary on notes in Vancouver's Voyages by George Goodman Hewett, Surgeon, p. 8.
4. Journal of the Chatham, p. 15.
5. Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, volume I., 17--1790--92, (Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., p. 17.

APPENDIX IV.

HYDROGRAPHIC SURVEYS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST

APPENDIX IV.

Parizeau, H. D., The Hydrographic Survey of the North West Coast of British North America, from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time, British Columbia Historical Association, Fourth Report and Proceedings for the Four Years ended October 11, 1929, pp. 20--21.

Discovery Surveys	16th Century	{ Sir Francis Drake--Golden Hind--1579 Apostolos Valerianos, known as Juan de Fuca, 1592.	
		Spanish	<u>1774--Juan Perez--Corvette "Santiago".</u> <u>1775--Don Juan de Ayala--Schooner "Sonora".</u> <u>Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra--A packet.</u> <u>Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle--1st Pilot and Historian.</u> <u>1779--Don Ignacio Arteaga--Frigate "Princessa".</u> <u>Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra--Frigate "Querida".</u> <u>Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle--1st Pilot and Historian.</u>
18th Century	By Commissioned Officers	British	<u>1778--Captain James Cook--"Resolution".</u> <u>Commander Charles Clerke--"Discovery".</u>
		French	<u>1786--Captain Jean Francois de la Perousse, "La Boussole"</u> <u>Captain De Langle--"L'Astrolabe".</u>
	By Trading Officers		<u>1785-86--Captain James Hanna--small brig "Sea Otter"--Sea Otter Cove; Virgin and Pearl Rocks; Smith and Fitzhugh Sounds.</u> <u>1787--Captain Nathaniel Portlock--"King George"--Southern Alaska.</u> <u>1787--Captain George Dixon--"Queen Charlotte"--Queen Charlotte Islands.</u> <u>1787--Captain William Barkley--"Imperial Eagle"--Barkley Sound and Juan de Fuca Strait.</u> <u>1787-88--Captain Charles Duncan--"Princess Royal"--Juan de Fuca; Milbanke; Port Stephens.</u> <u>1787-92--Captain Gray--"Lady Washington" and "Columbia"--Columbia River.</u>

Exploration Surveys	Spanish	1788	{	Don Estevan Jose Martinez--
			{	"La Princessa".
			{	Don Gonzales Lopez de Haro--
			{	"San Carlos".
		1790	{	Don Salivador Fidalgo--"San
			{	Carlos".
		1791	{	Don Manuel Quimper--"Princessa
			{	Real".
	1791	{	{	Don Francisco Eliza--"San Carlos".
				Don Jose Maria Narvaez--
				"Saturnina".
	1792	{	{	Don Jacinto Caamano--"Aranzazu".
				Don Dionisio Alcala Galiano--
				"Sutil".
				Don Gayetano Valdes--"Mexicana".
	French	{	{	Captain Etienne Marchand--"Solide"
				Captain Chanal--second in command
				and hydrographer.
	British	{	{	Captain George Vancouver--"Dis-
				covery".
		--94	{	Lieutenant William Robert Brough-
			{	ton--"Chatham".

Period from 1795 to 1845 second period of Dark Ages, so far as Hydrographic Survey is concerned.

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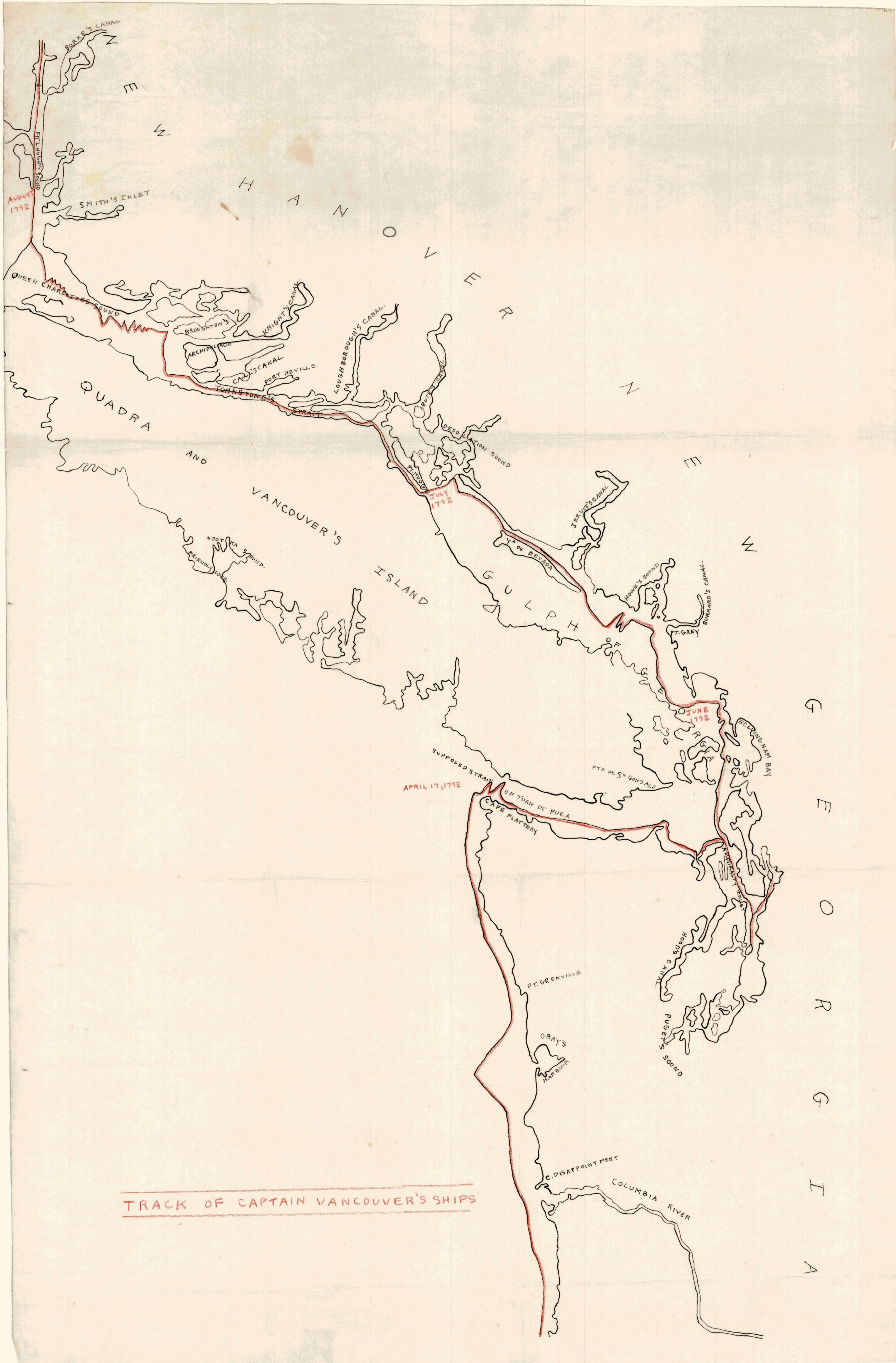
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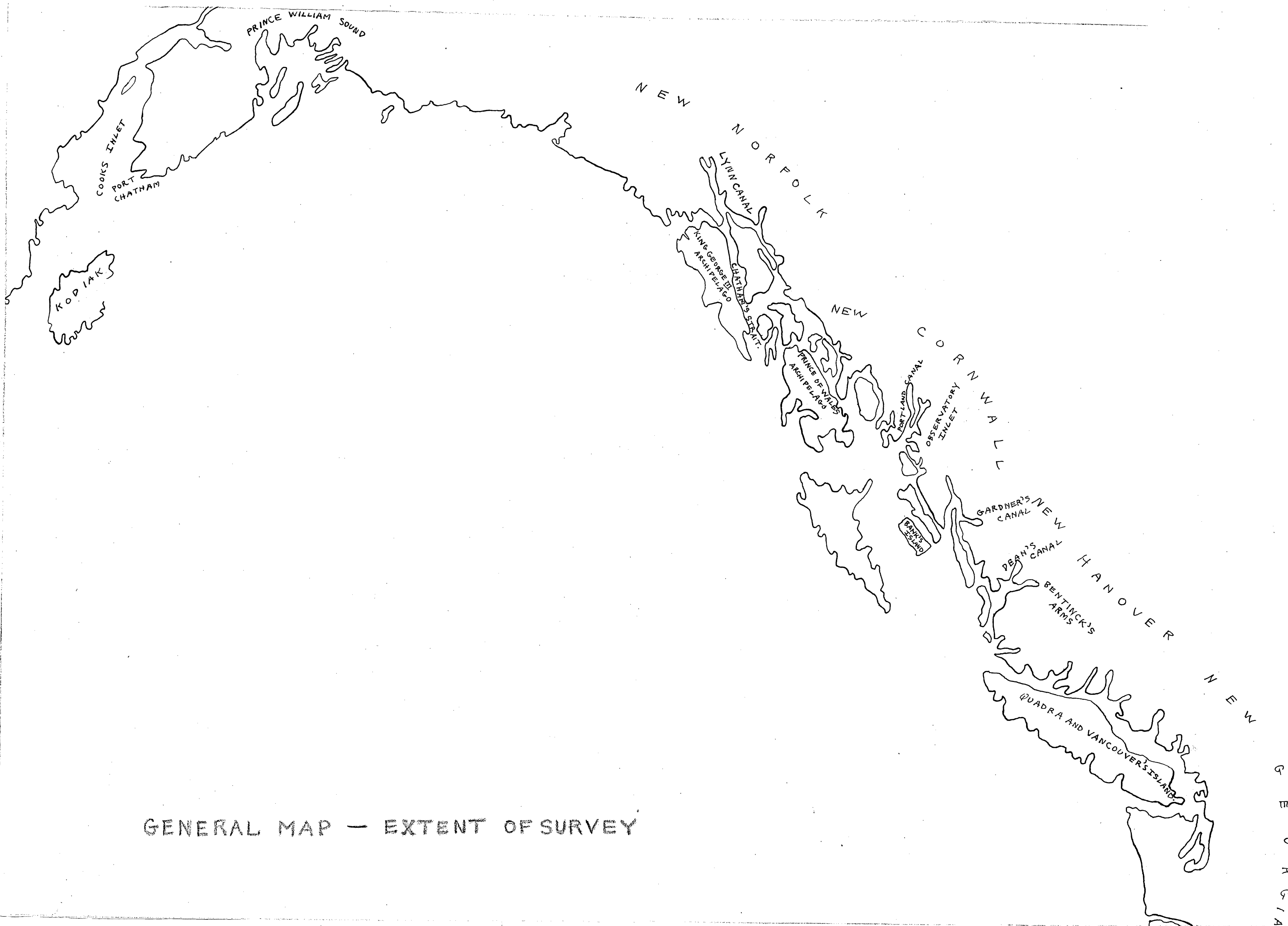
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TRACK OF CAPTAIN VANCOUVER'S SHIPS



GENERAL MAP — EXTENT OF SURVEY