

THE SPANISH ESTABLISHMENT AT NOOTKA SOUND

(1789-1792)

by

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## SYNOPSIS

Before the eighteenth century, several mariners--especially mariners from Spain--visited what is called the North West Coast of America, but brought back little knowledge of it. Some legendary Spanish voyages resulted in claims of the existence of a navigable passage connecting the northern ends of the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. After 1719 the Russians and, later, the British and the French carried out voyages of exploration along those coasts, intent, primarily, on finding the inter-oceanic passage. Spain, which had traditionally claimed sovereignty over all of that coast, also carried out voyages of exploration organized from the Viceroyalty of Mexico. Around 1760 the port of San Blas was founded, in Mexico, to serve as the centre of Spanish shipping to the Californias and the rest of the North West Coast. Gradually the myth of the inter-oceanic passage began to fade, but a new incentive (the fur trade) brought Russian, British and, later, American shipping to the coast. Some British trading ships voyaged under foreign flags in order to circumvent the onerous monopoly duties.

In Chapter I a number of these early exploratory and trading voyages are described, especially insofar as they refer to Nootka Sound which became a favourite halting-place

for shipping along that coast.

For all practical purposes, the discovery of Nootka Sound has to be credited to Captain James Cook, whose expedition stayed there in 1778 and gave the place its name. However, the Spanish claimed afterwards that it was this same port which their ship, Santiago, had approached four years previously, when a storm had frustrated the attempt to land and take formal possession of that area. This Spanish claim is discussed in the light of all the evidence available, but the question is left unsolved. (Chapter II.)

In 1788 Captain Meares led a British trading expedition to the North West Coast, with ships flying the Portuguese flag. He established his headquarters at Nootka and built a house on ground which he claimed to have purchased from the natives. Subsequently he accused the Spanish of appropriating that land and structure when they occupied the place in 1789. This became one of the main points of contention in the subsequent controversy between Spain and Great Britain over Nootka Sound. The point is fully discussed (Chapters III and IV) using, in part, statements from the records of the American trading ships Columbia and Washington which arrived at Nootka Sound in 1788 and made a long stay. Their officers witnessed several events in the story of Nootka, and their reports are of considerable value as evidence.

Following Meares' voyage, his firm was reorganised by amalgamation with another one which had obtained permission

from the two companies which held the British monopoly, to trade on the North West Coast of America. The new concern prepared another expedition to the North West Coast, under Captain Colnett. He was to voyage to Nootka with the Argonaut and the Princess Royal--both under the British flag. They would be joined by the Iphigenia and the North West America, which had participated in Meares' expedition under Portuguese colours, and had subsequently wintered in the Sandwich Islands and were expected to return to Nootka. Colnett would set up a trading-factory and erect some sort of a fortification there, for which purpose he carried a number of Chinese artisans. (Chapter V.)

The Spanish were disturbed by "foreign" movements on the coast, which they considered as their own. An expedition was dispatched in 1788 to ascertain what the Russians were doing there. It was reported that prosperous Russian establishments had been set up on the coasts of what is now Alaska, and rumoured that the Russians were planning to occupy Nootka. This information, together with the news that two American ships were on their way to the North West Coast, prompted the Viceroy of Mexico to effect at least a token occupation of Nootka. In 1789, an expedition was dispatched for the purpose, under the command of E.J. Martínez. Details about its equipment and its voyage are given. (Chapters VI and VII.)

In the meantime, the American ships had wintered at

Nootka and the Iphigenia and the North West America, still under Portuguese colours, had returned there. Martinez arrived in May and had friendly meetings with the captains of all those ships, as well as with the native chieftains of that area. (Chapter VIII.)

As commander of a Spanish port, Martínez requested the credentials of all non-Spanish ships there. Finding objectionable points in those of the Iphigenia, he seized her, but after re-consideration he released her on a dubious bond. (Chapter IX.)

As for the American ships, Martínez had been alerted about them and instructed to beware of their moves. He duly checked their credentials but, finding nothing objectionable in them, he did not interfere with the vessels and actually made friends with their captains and officers. (Chapter X.) At that time, the North West America was on a cruise. When she reported to Nootka, Martinez appropriated her, claiming that her crew had abandoned her as unseaworthy. After having her repaired and re-christening her, he dispatched her to explore the entrance to the Juan de Fuca Strait. (Chapter XI.)

When the Princess Royal, of the Colnett expedition, arrived at Nootka, Martínez examined her trading documents and allowed her to proceed, undisturbed, but warned her captain not to trade along that coast. (Chapter XII.)

Some days later, the Argonaut, commanded by Colnett,

arrived at Nootka and, on the insistent suggestion of Martínez, was moored in Friendly Cove where the Spanish ships were at anchor, and where a fort and establishment were being started. When Martínez asked Colnett for his credentials, the two men engaged in a heated argument which resulted in Martínez' seizing the Argonaut and placing her crew under arrest. A detailed account is given of the various versions of this incident. (Chapters XIII and XIV.)

The treatment of these prisoners and their subsequent transportation to Mexico are discussed in Chapter XV.

Unmindful of Martínez' warning, the captain of the Princess Royal brought her back to Nootka, where Martínez promptly seized her and imprisoned her crew. Again, various versions of the incident are given. (Chapter XVI.)

The Argonaut and the Princess Royal, manned by Spaniards and carrying most of their original crews as prisoners, sailed for San Blas. Martínez arranged for the crew of the North West America to be carried to China in the American ship Columbia. (Chapter XVII.)

Chapter XVIII gives a detailed account of life in the budding Spanish establishment at Nootka: building activities, everyday events, the acts of taking official possession of the area for the Spanish crown, the arrival of ships with supplies, Martinez' reports, requests and suggestions to the Viceroy, and other matters.

Soon after the Spanish expedition sailed from San Blas to accomplish the occupation of Nootka, Viceroy Flores issued an order to Martínez to abandon Nootka and return to Mexico before winter set in. This order was carried by a ship bringing supplies to Nootka, several months later. By then, Martínez had already established his forces there and sent for extra supplies in the conviction that he was to remain there indefinitely. Events had convinced him that the British were intent on occupying the place. So he appealed to the Viceroy to cancel the evacuation order. While waiting in vain for word from the Viceroy on the matter, Martínez curtailed or cancelled some of his building schemes, and soon afterwards he began to prepare for evacuation by careening and re-equipping his ships. His relations with the natives had been very friendly, at first, but deteriorated considerably as a result of his rash shooting of one of their chieftains. But after some time apparently friendly contacts were renewed. (Chapters XIX and XX.)

Miscellaneous matters are brought together in Chapter XXI: Impressions as to the possibilities of developing Nootka as a Spanish outpost, details about the Indians and their ways, and a few comments of some interest which could not conveniently be included in other chapters.

References in some papers suggest that Martinez started building a schooner, and perhaps a second fort, at Nootka. These unimportant points are discussed for the sake of exhaustiveness. (Chapter XXII.)

Reluctantly, Martínez completed the dismantling of the fort, pulled down buildings, hid materials for possible future use, and made arrangements with the Indian chief about property which would be left there on his departure. His men carried out some explorations around Nootka, and he seized an American trading schooner which had called at Nooka in distress. This ship was taken to San Blas under escort when the Spanish force sailed wouth from Nootka, on November 13, 1789. (Chapter XXIII.)

Viceroy Flores was about to relinquish office when he received news about the Nootka incident. He hastened to send a full report to the Spanish Government, and to consult his successor-to-be (who was already in Mexico) as to what should be done about the captured ships. Count Revilla-Gigedo took office as Viceroy. The Spanish Government protested to Great Britain about Colnett's attempt to occupy Nootka, and this started a diplomatic dispute. (Chapter XXIV.)

Viceroy Flores had given orders to send supplies to Nootka, apparently forgetting that he had already issued an evacuation order. When Martínez and his force returned to San Blas (December 1789), there was much surprise and alarm, and orders were issued to speed up the dispatch of ships to re-occupy Nootka and start a fairly "solid" outpost there. Extra personnel were posted to the Naval Department of San Blas, and a distinguished officer, Bodega-Quadra, took over command and proceeded to reorganize it and to complete preparations for the new expedition to Nootka. (Chapter XXV.)

This expedition arrived at Nootka in April, 1790, and began the erection of a fort which was garrisoned by troops. Several huts were built, and a schooner-in-frame (removed from the Argonaut) was assembled. Vessels were sent from the new establishment, on exploratory cruises and two ships arrived with extra supplies. (Chapters XXVI and XXVII.)

Several reports and notes about relations between the Spanish and the Indians, during the first months of the new establishment, and the scant information available about life there during the second part of 1790 are brought together in chapters XVIII and XXIX.

Chapter XXX describes what happened to the seized ships and their crews; the early release of the American schooner; negotiations between Captain Colnett and the Spanish authorities, and the subsequent release of the Argonaut and its crew.

The Argonaut set out for Nootka, where Colnett expected to recover the Princess Royal. Upon reaching the vicinity of Nootka, Colnett sent a few men in a boat to request supplies from the Spanish establishment, but they met a tragic and mysterious death. Another party which was sent to enquire about them was handicapped by bad weather and some time elapsed before it was able to make contact with the Spanish. The Argonaut reached Nootka Sound on January 1, 1791, and stayed there for three months, during which time she was repaired with the help of the Spanish. (Chapters XXI and XXII.)



The Spanish had used the Princess Royal for the re-occupation of Nootka. From there she went on an exploratory cruise and was expected to return to Nootka, but a stormy sea prevented her from re-entering the port and she was obliged to return to San Blas. In due course, she was sent to the Philippine Islands and from there to Macao--where she was due to be returned to her owners. They refused to accept her, however, and were eventually paid compensation for her. (Chapter XXXIII.)

A number of sick men were taken from Nootka to Monterey in the Princesa. This voyage saw the climax of a series of quarrels between a chaplain, the commander at Nootka and another officer. The story is recounted, for all its pettiness, because it sheds light on aspects of life at Nootka. (Chapters XXIV and XXV.)

Some reference is made to the various levels of authority over the Spanish establishment at Nootka (the King's Government, the Viceroy, and Naval Headquarters at San Blas), and the procedure for reporting events (with particular emphasis on the Anglo-Spanish incident and how the news was communicated to the Spanish and British governments). A brief account of the controversy is given, with a reference to the effect that it had on the remote Spanish outpost. (Chapter XXXVI.)

The winter of 1790-91, like successive ones at Nootka, was uneventful and dull. Things came to life again in the following spring, when supplies arrived. As a result of a false

alarm, the establishment was placed on a war footing for a few days. More buildings went up, contacts with the natives (who always removed their dwellings to a more appropriate place for the winter) were renewed, and an exploratory cruise was made to the Juan de Fuca Strait. (Chapter XXXVII.) This chapter also includes an assessment of one year's record in the life of the establishment.

The Aranzazú brought supplies and was dispatched to Monterey to bring further supplies--but her captain finally decided not to return to Nootka. The Viceroy was annoyed about what he considered unreasonable requests for supplies, and insufficient care in keeping stocks in good condition. (Chapter XXXVIII.)

Between April and September, 1791, there were more frequent and friendly dealings between Indians and Spaniards at Nootka, the Washington (Captain Kendrick) passed through, and building and gardening activities continued. (Chapter XXXIX.)

A highlight in the history of Nootka was the visit of two Spanish ships, under Captain Malaspina, engaged in a scientific and exploratory voyage around the world. These ships made a two-week stay at Nootka in August, 1790, and visited the various Indian villages along the Sound. Officers made notes of scientific data, and wrote several very interesting accounts of the populations of Nootka, and also a report about the possibilities of Spanish development of that area.

(Chapter XL.) All references to life at the Spanish outpost at Nootka which are to be found in these papers have been quoted in full, and relevant drawings and graphs reproduced and commented upon. Together they provide a sketchy but fairly complete picture of the appearance of that place, and what was achieved there during the one and a half years of re-occupation. (Chapter XLI.)

This work is not concerned with the anthropology and sociology of the natives, but a few points are made about them, insofar as they relate to the Spanish establishment. Some notes are added about the fate of some of the natives who were purchased by the Spanish and taken to Monterey or Mexico. (Chapter XLII.)

The few details which are available about life in the Spanish establishment during the autumn and winter of 1791-92 are given in Chapter XLIII, and this study stops on the eve of a very important event; the arrival of Bodega-Quadra, and his subsequent negotiations with Captain Vancouver regarding the outcome of the Anglo-Spanish Convention.

## PREFACE

The Nootka Sound controversy has been the subject of a fairly detailed monograph and of several articles, but only two brief articles appear to have been published about the life of the Spanish establishment which existed at Nootka between 1789 and 1795. I decided to write a concise but comprehensive account of its history.

After having worked steadily for a year, I discovered that somebody had already written "my" story as the subject of an M.A. thesis. I considered that this bound me either to cancel my plan or to change it radically. I read this thesis, met its author, Mr. John Baird, and consulted my advisor on the matter. With their encouragement I decided to proceed with my work, but to widen and modify its scope: instead of a condensed account, I would write a compilation of all the essential information about the establishment that I could find--adhering closely to the sources, in content as well as in language. This, I hoped, might be of some value to students and scholars interested in the establishment but unable to draw from the documentary sources. The details of this story are generally unexciting--ships coming and going, supplies, explorations, building activities, contacts with the native population and

with foreign crews, and only a few lively incidents. The content is heavily interspersed with quotations, which though often in poor or repetitive language, do not, I hope, interrupt the flow of the narrative. Where there are different versions of an event, these are all mentioned, and quoted or digested. A number of rather insignificant moot points are fully discussed, for the sake of interest.

To facilitate reference, a summary of the contents is given, and each chapter has several sub-headings. On two or three points, for several reasons, I have been unable to obtain information which I have found mentioned elsewhere, but I hope to fill this gap, at least in my own revised copy of this work.

Of the many observations that I would like to make about the data, I feel that I must at least mention one. Most of the materials concerning the side of the story which is exclusively Spanish come from Mexican or Spanish archives. They include copies of orders issued to the personnel engaged in the running of the establishment and reports from these men, but the original orders--as well as other papers which, in all probability, were gathered by successive commanders at Nootka--have disappeared. It may be assumed that, after the Spanish abandoned Nootka, these papers were carried to the naval base of San Blas, which was then the headquarters for all Spanish activities on the north-west coast of America. The records of this

establishment must have contained, also, much information about Nootka beyond the considerable data which was digested and communicated to the Viceroy in Mexico, and preserved there. But all the papers of the naval establishment appear to have been lost or destroyed, probably during the time of its decline, and the subsequent destruction of its official buildings, early in the nineteenth century. Should any of these materials appear, they might add many details to the data so far available.

When it became apparent that my monograph would cover many more pages than is usually the case with a thesis of its kind, I decided, with the approval of my advisor, to halt at a conventional but convenient point--namely, the Spring of 1792. Thus this work does not cover the subject in its entirety and, therefore, cannot be considered as definitive. However, I propose to complete the history at a later date.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, Mr. Harold Livermore, for the keen interest he has shown in my effort; to Dr. W.N. Sage for his guidance and to Mr. John Baird for his help--the encouragement of both these scholars has been invaluable; to the personnel of the U.B.C. Library, the B.C. Provincial Archives, the Bancroft Library, the Huntington Library, and various Mexican archives, for much help and exquisite courtesy given me over three years of consultation; to the University of Washington and other institutions which have provided me with materials; to

Dr. Donald Carter and Mr. Angel Sagaz for supplying me with accounts and graphic material from Spanish archives; and above all to Mrs. Christiana Hampson for her endless, painstaking and altogether invaluable help in transcribing my rough work, correcting my linguistic mistakes and calling my attention to many slips.

T.B.

Vancouver, 1960.

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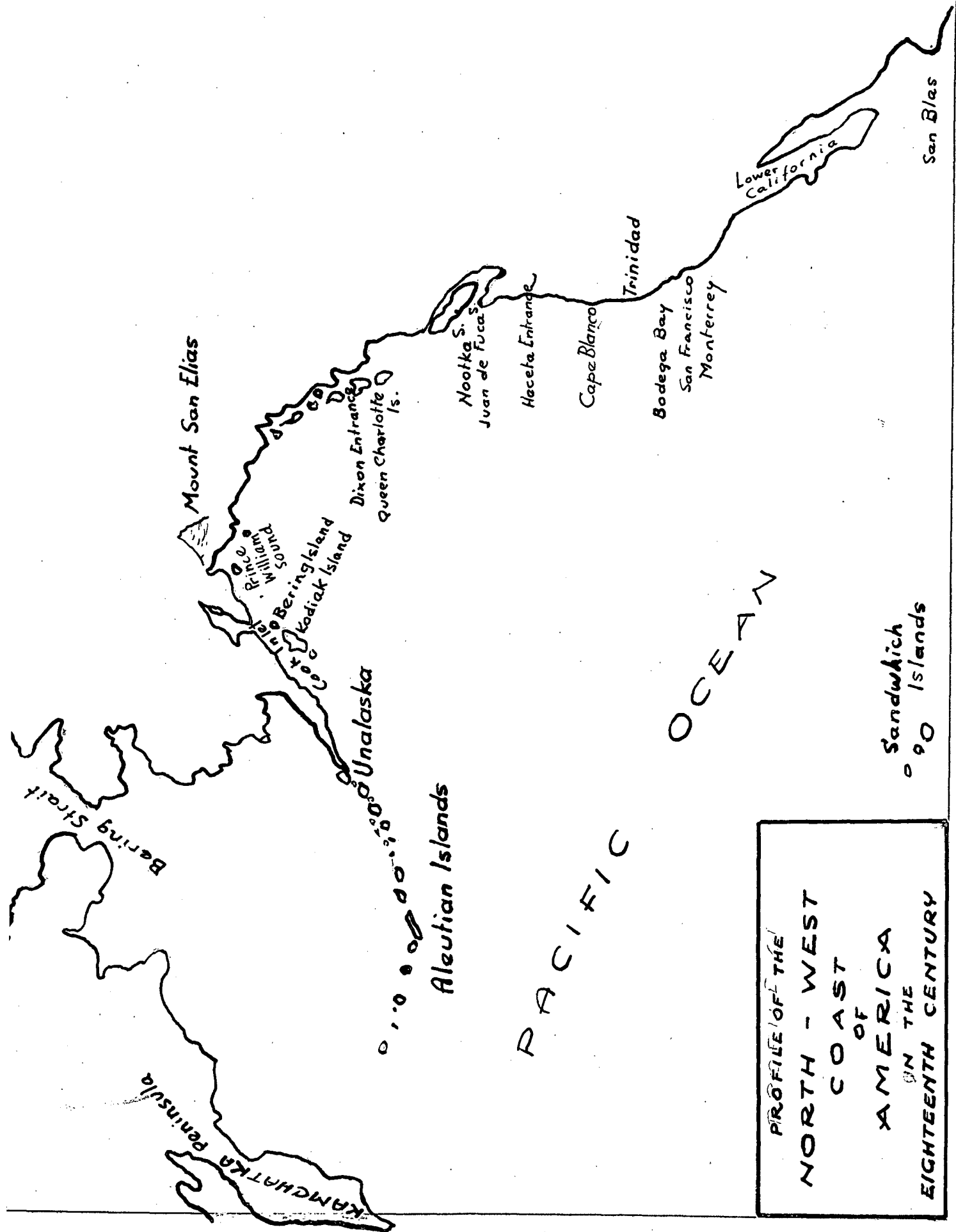


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PROFILE OF THE  
NORTH - WEST  
COAST  
OF  
AMERICA  
IN THE  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY VOYAGES TO THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA

#### Explorations

Until the middle of the Eighteenth Century the world knew little about the north west coast of the American continent.<sup>1</sup> A number of ships, mostly Spanish and British, had visited the area, but they had brought back only a vague knowledge of the outline of the coast. Imaginative minds had mixed facts and fancy, false claims were made about voyages and discoveries, and, in place of evidence legends and myths about that coast were circulating. The most important of them was the assumption that there was a navigable passage connecting the northern waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. There is no evidence that anybody had seen it and it has been speculated that this idea grew out of a very inaccurate reading of a passage of Marco Polo's narrative.<sup>2</sup> Some maps showed such a passage under the name of Strait of Annian. At the time when the only communication between the two oceans was around the "toe" of

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<sup>1</sup> American scholars usually refer to these shores as "the N.W. coast". In this sense the term is used throughout this work.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Wagner, Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America, Vol. I, p. 53.

the American continent, the possibility of such a northern passage was of obvious and enormous interest to many maritime powers especially Russia, Britain and the Scandinavian nations. To Spain, however, it held no particular advantage because her having command over much of Central and South America permitted easy access to the north Pacific coasts.

The desire to ascertain the facts about these legends, especially that of the transoceanic passage, was a primary incentive for several voyages of exploration organised by Russia, Spain, Great Britain and France during the period from about 1740 to the end of the Eighteenth Century.

#### Fur trade:

An unexpected result of the first three or four of these voyages was the realisation that the natives of that corner of the continent were eager to barter, for trifles, fine, warm furs of the kind which were plentiful there, and commanded high prices in other parts of the world where such furs were difficult to obtain. Thus a more practical incentive contributed to an influx of shipping to those areas: the fur trade.

This trade was started by the Russians. The Spaniards indulged in it only as a side line, incidental to their official voyages of exploration and imperial expansion. British traders, quick to appreciate the potentialities revealed by an official voyage in 1778, stepped in briskly. Merchants from New England (which had just emancipated itself

from the Old Country) followed upon their heels with such impetus that they came to dominate the business until it began to dwindle in about 1805. The French government was hoping to prepare the ground for similar ventures when it dispatched an expedition to those shores in 1785, but this ended tragically and nothing came of French hopes.

The fur trade, especially as practised by British and American private enterprises, consisted of plundering raids during which the natives were relieved of the furs they had stocked throughout the hunting season in exchange for copper, iron, clothing, cloth, weapons, shells, munitions, and other things which they valued as useful or decorative--or simply as curios. The traders then carried the furs across the Pacific, and sold them at fantastic profits--mainly in the ports of China, where they were highly appreciated, particularly as clothing material.

At first, the merchants valued only sea otter furs, which produced the highest profits; but they soon became interested in the skins of the seal, the beaver, and the marten--partly because sea otter flocks were dwindling as a result of indiscriminate killing. Eventually they began to trade, also, in sandalwood from the Pacific islands. In its later phase the fur trade was often combined with whale fishing.

Masters engaged in fur trade in the N.W. coast rarely made more than three voyages, and the ships did not

usually survive even that number. Therefore there was a tendency to make the most of every occasion, no matter how unscrupulous the means employed in trading with the Indians and regardless of the possible harm that it would bring to future traders. It is no wonder that the Indians sometimes fell upon the speculators in wrath, occasionally avenging themselves upon the wrong party for crimes committed by one of a previous voyage.

### Importance

These exploratory or commercial voyages are historically significant in that they affected, in several ways, the lives of the native peoples, and contributed to man's knowledge of these areas by providing many interesting descriptions of topography, flora, fauna, population and languages. If there were shameful episodes of brutality and greed, the hardships of navigation were enormous, and often required tremendous courage and endurance.

Sailors made charts, and enjoyed the diversion of producing names for the physical features of the coast. A few such names were adopted by all navigators, but pride and prejudice resulted in each national group--and almost each company--having a different set of charts and names. It is to the credit of Canada and the United States of America that the present, (and probably final) topography of this intricate coast contains many of the old names, preserved haphazardly from these several sources and that some names of participants



in that epic who were not honoured in their time, have also been perpetuated in the naming of some features of the coast. Some names may have been misplaced, but it is not always possible to identify the exact location of places named in the records of these voyages, mainly because the methods for assessing the bearings were still too inaccurate. Something of this nature happened in the case of Nootka Sound, and there is a problem as to who visited it first.

From about 1778, Nootka was a favourite halting-point for shipping along the coast, and soon became by far the most frequented spot between California and Alaska. This popularity lasted only until about 1810. Afterwards the place gradually reverted to its old ways, but in the meantime it caught historical fame, on account of an Anglo-Spanish incident which had considerable repercussions and affected the future status of that part of the world.

### RUSSIAN VOYAGES

As from 1639, Russia undertook the conquest of Siberia--mainly for the purpose of exploiting its fur resources--and she later established trading-posts in the Kamchatka Peninsula. The extension of this trade in North America resulted, unexpectedly, from the efforts of Czar Peter the Great to ascertain the truth about the legend that there was a land-bridge uniting the northernmost extremities of the Pacific coasts of Asia and America. To that effect he sent an expedition in 1719, but this failed to achieve its

aims. So in 1728 he sent another, commanded by the Danish Captain Titus Behring, with this same purpose and the additional one of ascertaining whether or not there was a<sup>1</sup> passage through the Arctic Sea into the Atlantic.

Behring discovered that there was no such link uniting the two continents, and failed to find an inter-oceanic passage; but he was able to ascertain that, in the north, the eastern extremity of Asia and the western extremity of America were separated only by a narrow strait. On another expedition, undertaken in 1740-41, Behring, in addition to exploring the coast, carried out the more practical task of gathering data about the trade potentialities of the lands on the North West Coast of America. This expedition reached that coast in the summer of 1741. During the following winter most of its members, including Behring himself, perished from cold and disease; but there were a few survivors who returned to Russia carrying a cargo of otter skins, and reporting an abundance of animals with warm furs, whose habitats were the shores of what later came to be called Alaska. Thus, through these voyages the Russians learned about the potentialities of the fur trade in that region. They did not, however, start exploiting them until after they heard of Cook's voyage. Then, in 1781, a Russian trading-company was organised, and soon afterwards Russian trading establishments were opened in Alaska.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1729 the Russian surveyor Michael Grozdef approached the Yukon River mouth in Alaska.

## SPANISH VOYAGES

Following the discovery of the American continent, Spain and Portugal came to an understanding, dividing between themselves the whole of the New World. This division was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI (1493) and by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Henceforth Spain claimed sovereignty over all of its lands situated West of the Meridian--which included the entire Pacific Coast of the Americas. Upon discovering the Pacific Ocean, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, taking too much for granted, announced Spain's formal possession of this coast "from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic".

The actual Spanish exploration and occupation of the southern coasts of the Pacific was fairly rapid, but not so that of the northern ones. The northern explorations were started by the conqueror of Mexico, Hernán Cortés, whose expedition sent to explore the "Southern Sea" discovered Lower California (which was believed to be an island). Subsequently Cortés dispatched several expeditions to explore that part of the coast. In 1542-43, the members of one of these expeditions discovered San Diego Bay and most of the coast of Upper California, reaching, perhaps, as far as latitude 44° North. Several voyages, during the 17th Century, continued the exploration of those coasts as far north as Cape Blanco (on the Oregon coast) but the northernmost parts were not reached.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief account of Spanish voyages to the N.W. coast, see Prof. W. Sage: "Spanish explorers of the British Columbian coast", Canadian Historical Review, December 1951; pp 390-406.

Perhaps more far-reaching in their effects than these authentic voyages were some legendary ones. Stories of one or two Spanish voyages supposed to have been undertaken by Maldonado in 1588, Juan de Fuca in 1592, and by Admiral la Fonte in 1640<sup>1</sup>, circulated widely and stimulated later explorations.

As would be expected, the exploration and occupation of the hinterland was considerably slower than that of the coastal regions, but the Spanish Crown and Church gradually pushed their outposts northwards. In 1698 a Catholic mission was founded in Loreto, in Lower California, and this was the forerunner of a chain of missions and "presidios" over the Californias. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits (1767), who had pioneered Upper California, the occupation of this region became imperative and was carried out with some impetus. The first settlements were established in San Diego. By 1769--the year in which Spain, startled by the news of Russia's occupation of Alaska and her obvious intention of pushing the Russian flag southwards, formally occupied Upper California--the expeditionary companies had extended the chain of settlements as far south as Monterey, and as far north as San Francisco. By 1773 Upper California was sufficiently developed to require much administrative work, and was divided into "presidios". The men who initiated this move were Viceroy

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1 The Spanish historian Martin Fernández de Navarrete, an authority on this matter, considered that the reports which had circulated about these three voyages were apocryphal.

Vide: Examen histórico - crítico de los Viajes y descubrimientos apócrifos ... Madrid, 1849.

Croix of New Spain and José de Gálvez. The latter was then in Mexico on a special royal mission and invested with almost absolute powers.

In 1768, while visiting the northern parts of the Viceroyalty, Gálvez realised the need for a naval base at a more convenient and more northerly spot than Acapulco, which was then the main Mexican port on the Pacific. He therefore conceived and ordered the erection of the naval base and port of San Blas, which was envisioned as the point of departure and return for expeditions to the high seas, and for all shipping to the Spanish outposts in California. In due course it would become a link between Mexico and the "presidios" which Gálvez was hoping to establish in the region of Sonora.

The site chosen for it, as seeming most convenient, was at the mouth of a river known alternately as the San Blas or the Santiago (and now known by the latter name) in the State of Nayarit. The port would command the entrance to the Gulf of California. Abundant sources of timber of a quality excellent for shipbuilding existed in nearby forests. Work was begun, making use of manpower and materials from the nearby port of Matanchel, which was strategically unsafe and thereafter neglected. The new port gradually grew in size and importance, and from about 1770 practically all the Spanish shipping to both Upper and Lower California, as well as that to the North Coast, sailed from there. However, its disadvantages soon began to appear. It was too far distant from the points of supply and from Mexico City, which was the seat

of power and policy, and periodical flooding of the lowlands resulted in swarms of mosquitoes which plagued the humans and caused fevers. Everybody hated the place, so it was difficult to get personnel to work there.<sup>1</sup> It was not long before requests were made for the transfer of the establishment to Acapulco, but no action was taken. Early in the Nineteenth Century, political and other factors sealed the fate of this Naval Base,<sup>2</sup> and its buildings fell into ruin.

Policy was made in Spain and in Mexico City; but, because San Blas was the point of departure for Spanish shipping to the Californias and the North West Coast (including, of course, Nootka), the actual preparations and execution of most of the voyages which will be studied here were made at the Naval Base.

After a long lull in Spanish exploration of the North West Coast, the Viceroy of Mexico, Bucareli, organised a voyage to that coast in 1774, by the ship Santiago, under captain Juan Pérez. Because of its importance to the story of

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1 During the later period in the history of the naval base, officers tended, as much as possible, to reside in and to operate from Tepic which, on account of its higher altitude above sea level, had a milder climate than that of San Blas. As a result of some changes in the coastline and other factors the San Blas of today is a very pleasant, warm but healthful, holiday spot.

2 The ruins inspired Longfellow to write his poem, "The Bells of San Blas", reminding him

Of a power austere and grand  
When the flag of Spain unfurled  
Its folds o'er this western world  
And the priest was lord of the land.

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The Ruins of San Blas.

Nootka, this voyage will be studied in detail in the next chapter. In 1777 Bucareli dispatched another expedition: the Santiago, commanded by Bruno Heceta with Juan Pérez as his second-in-command, was this time accompanied by the small vessel Sonora, under the command of Juan Francisco de la Bodega-Quadra, a man who is to play a major part in our story. The Santiago reached the vicinity of Nootka, and sighted land at 49° 30', but did not go further north. However, Bodega-Quadra and the small crew of the Sonora made a brave effort, against tremendous hardships and handicaps, to reach latitude 60°, but running against contrary winds they only reached 58° 30'.

A further Spanish voyage was carried out in 1779: Bodega-Quadra and Ignacio Arteaga sailed in the Princesa and the Favorita and reached latitude 61°, entering Prince William Sound and visiting Kyak Island, where Behring had landed in 1741. They took possession of a number of places in the name of the Spanish sovereign, spent a month exploring and mapping the coast around Bucareli Bay, in South Western Alaska, and took copious notes concerning the peoples, landscape, flora and fauna that they encountered. On their return trip, Bodega-Quadra and Arteaga touched San Francisco where they were told that Spain was at war with Britain--in connection with the rebellion of the thirteen British colonies in America--and were ordered to hurry back to San Blas. Soon afterwards most of the officers in that port were dispatched to Cuba and the Phillipines, leaving only a skeleton staff to man the regular



shipping<sup>1</sup> to the Californias. The exploration of the North West was formally discontinued by a Royal Decree of May 10th, 1780; but eight years later a new effort was made which led directly to the Spanish occupation of Nootka, as will be seen in another chapter.

Spain had traditionally been secretive about her movements on the high seas, and only brief references to her discoveries were published. In many cases, this policy served only to handicap Spanish aims, because she was often denied both the credit for her discoveries and the rights of sovereignty over certain of the regions discovered.<sup>2</sup>

Incidental to those early Spanish voyages to the North West Coast was a small amount of trade between Spaniards and natives. During the voyage of 1774, the crew of the Santiago casually picked up on the beaches of California some of the beautiful shells which the Spanish called abalone or alueta<sup>3</sup>, and which abounded there. On reaching the northern

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1 Apparently only one ship, the Aranzazú, was left for this service.

2 More detailed accounts may be found in Henry R. Wagner's Spanish Voyages to the Juan de Fuca Strait; and in the same author's Spanish Voyages to the North West Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century, San Francisco, 1929. Professor Walter N. Sage gives a succinct summary of early Spanish voyages to the North West in an article in The Canadian Historical Review, December 1931.

3 Their scientific name, by the Lineo classification, is Haliotis Myde, (according to Malaspina's Examen Político, mentioned in chapter XLII).

coasts, the crews found that the natives there liked those shells so much that they cheerfully bartered their furs--mostly otter--for them. Next to these they valued copper. Similar experiences befell later Spanish voyagers. Therefore abalone shells and copper sheets became the main articles offered by the Spanish in exchange for furs. Although these were generally obtained further north, some were also purchased from the natives in California.

Once in a while, a cargo of otter furs was shipped to Asia on one of the Spanish galleons which made the Manila route. For instance, the ship Princesa sailed from Acapulco to Manila in 1783 with some seven or eight hundred pelts.<sup>1</sup> Through the years the Spanish continued to acquire furs during their voyages along the North West Coast, but never in numbers of any significance.

Yet Spain was in a much better position to carry on fur-trading than was any other shipping nation except, perhaps, Russia. She ~~could~~ despatch and supply her ships from Mexico and Upper California--not too distant from the North West Coast. She had ample resources of shells and copper. The shells, plentiful on the beaches of Monterey and Carmel in California, could be found nowhere else but in New Zealand; as for copper, Spain possessed enormous reserves in Perú.

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<sup>1</sup> Adele Agdon, The California Sea Otter Trade, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1941, pp 1 & 2.

Besides these facilities for the supply of furs Spain had excellent possibilities for reaching the main places of demand. She held sovereignty over the Phillipine Islands, located but a step from the great markets for furs on the Chinese coast.

Yet Spain did not enter into the fur trade on any considerable scale, perhaps because private enterprise was not sufficiently alert. One Mexican businessman made a beginning, on behalf of the Royal Exchequer, but failed "because of miscalculations and lack of foresight".<sup>1</sup> Spanish officers, throughout the years of the fur trade boom, advised the Spanish government to enter that field of commerce, but no positive effort was made. The Nootka conflict, which spelled uncertainty about the future of Spanish influence over the North West Coast, undoubtedly contributed to the stifling of initiative; but the fact still remains that Spain, despite her advantageous position over other nations, did not seize the excellent opportunities she had for engaging in this commerce.

### BRITISH VOYAGES

Britain, as a first rate naval power whose economy had long been based on trade, had, not unnaturally, a great deal of interest in the North West Pacific Coast. Captain Drake had already approached it in 1579 when he apparently sailed as far North as Cape Blanco.

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<sup>1</sup> Prologue to the edition of Viaje Sutil y Mexicana. I have been unable to find details about this but I discovered some information about a Mexican businessman who requested permission for carrying out fur trade.

As early as 1745 the British Parliament had passed an Act offering a reward of £20,000 to any privately-owned ship which could discover a passage from the east to the Atlantic by way of Hudson's Bay.<sup>1</sup> Some thirty years later this Act was amended to make the prize extendible to the discovery of a passage from the west, and to make it available, also, to ships of the Royal Navy and to any ship which might<sup>2</sup> approach within one degree of the North Pole.

Soon afterwards some news of Spanish activity on the North Pacific Coast reached England. The Annual Register for 1775, quoting the official Gazette of Madrid, reported that several Spanish frigates had sailed from Acapulco (sic) in July of 1774, had navigated as far north as latitude 58° 20', discovered good ports and navigable rivers, and had found the natives, who had never seen any European, "docile and mild". This slightly inaccurate reference to the voyage of the Santiago contributed to stimulate further British interest in the North West Pacific and the possibility of a passage to the Atlantic.

#### James Cook's voyage

In 1776 the British Admiralty, considering that it was time to take action, planned a voyage of exploration under an eminent navigator, Captain James Cook, who had successfully

1 Wagner, Cart., p 183.

2 Greenhow, Oregon and California, p 124.

completed two voyages from England to Australia.

Cook was instructed to search for a passage to Europe either by way of Hudson Bay or the Northern sea (which had recently been discovered by Hearne), or by way of the sea north of Asia. At the same time he was to explore all the North West coast of the Pacific--most of which was unknown to the British because Spain had not revealed the discoveries made in her explorations there. Cook was also ordered to take possession, on behalf of the British crown, of "convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any European power", but he was to take every precaution to avoid any encroachment on the dominions of Spain.

The expedition, equipped with the assistance and full support of the government, consisted of the two ships Discovery, commanded by Captain <sup>Clerke</sup> Clarke, and Resolution, under Cook's own command. They sailed from England in February of 1776 and proceeded by way of Cape Horn, New Zealand, the Society Islands and the Sandwich Islands. In March, 1778, they reached the North West Coast, by-passing the Juan de Fuca Strait, made a stay at Nootka (to be studied in the next chapter), and continued the exploration of the coast. Casually the crews purchased a number of furs from the natives. Then Cook navigated further north to investigate the possible existence of an inter-oceanic channel. Passing the Strait of Behring he realised that any such passage, if it existed, was in any case impracticable because of a frozen sea which no ship could cross.

So the hope of shortening trans-oceanic routes was shattered. Cook then turned southwards and made his way to the Sandwich Islands--where he met a violent death at the hands of the natives in February, 1779.

However, only a few of his men died with him, and the remainder proceeded to the coast of China. The furs which the crews had bought on the North West Coast had been badly packaged, or used as bedding, with the result that two-thirds of them were spoiled. Somebody thought of offering some for sale to the Chinese, and that brought the greatest surprise of the whole voyage: the Chinese were eager to pay high prices for them! The British sailors could hardly believe their eyes when the remaining third of their stock of furs was snatched from their hands at fabulous prices. Cook, himself, would have marvelled to see twenty of his own skins sold for \$800! One of the seamen received the same amount for his own bundle. A few fine specimens sold for \$120 each. Altogether, the men collected payment in the region of \$10,000. Small wonder that they were impatient to make their fortunes by trading in furs. They had not discovered the mythical Strait of Annian, but they had unwittingly discovered a source of wealth.

The two ships returned to England in October, 1780. At first, even the British people heard very little about the Cook expedition. By order of the Admiralty, its members were enjoined to secrecy with regard to their discoveries on the North West Coast, and obliged to surrender their diaries of

the voyage. However, enough information emerged to whet the appetites of merchants who heard of the abundance of furs and the peaceful nature of the natives. Mercantile appetites were further stimulated when, in 1784, the official secrecy was dropped and a full account of the Cook expedition was published. This contributed much to the planning of fur-trading expeditions. It was some time before this trade was established on a firm footing, but at least sixteen British vessels traded on the North West Coast in the six years between 1783 and 1789.<sup>1</sup>

#### Handicaps--the "flag trick"

The first merchants to contemplate such trading had to face some handicaps. The main one was the enormous distance between their country and the North West Coast of America. The second one--at least for many of them--arose as a result of the existence of the chartered monopolies of two powerful trusts: the South Sea Company and the East India Company. The former had exclusive rights to British trade on the western shores of the Pacific and within three hundred leagues thereof. The East India Company had similar privileges east of Cape Hope, and it controlled British business in the important market of Canton. Only merchants licensed through this company and under a bond (which might cost from five thousand to twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) could trade with the Hong merchants. Others wishing to trade were faced

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<sup>1</sup> Johansen-Oates, Empire of the Columbia, Harper, New York, 1957. pp 40-41.

with the alternatives either of dealing with the Company on its own rather prohibitive<sup>1</sup> terms or of trading without a licence--which carried the risk of seizure of ships and cargoes.<sup>2</sup> As F.W. Howey put it: "the sea otter, the animal most sought for its furs, was obtainable only within the chartered limits of the SSC and saleable to advantage within those of the EIC".<sup>3</sup>

A third handicap affected British fur traders for part of the year. In Canton, the main trading centre for furs, every trading nation was allotted a definite period of time every year during which her merchants could market their furs free of duty; at any other time of the year they had to pay duties. Portugal, however, enjoyed the preferential treatment of unconditional free trade.

Some of the shipowners found ways and means of overcoming the handicaps or flouting the regulations. To shorten distances, some companies established headquarters in Asia--preferably at Canton or Macao. Their ships then shuttled across the Pacific without having to voyage all the way back to the British Isles.

Some merchants were able to operate under licences from the two great companies. Others, who were not so licensed,

1 In 1792 the terms offered by the East India Company to other traders were eased considerably, so that this trick was no longer a paying proposition. See Margaret Ormsby, A History of British Columbia, p 19.

2 Johansen-Oates, Empire of the Columbia, Harper, New York, 1957. pp 40-41.

3 Howey, Preface to Colnett's Journal.



tried the trick of sailing their ships under the flag of some other nation. This ruse succeeded because the monopoly of the South Sea and the East India companies concerned British trade only. In order to avoid heavy duties in Canton during the "off" season, this trick was employed by one or two firms which flew the Portuguese flag on their vessels. The idea was that such ships should appear to be British when in places where they may need the protection of the British Government, but that they should appear to be foreign when entering Chinese waters and also when they were approached by ships chartered by the two big monopolies. Thus such ships had, in practice, the advantages of double nationality.

The double-flag ruse was treated as illegal by all maritime powers, except when used in wartime as a deception to protect the user from the hostilities of a belligerent nation. Britain would assume no responsibility towards those of her subjects who used such deceptions--unless, of course, it might prove to her advantage to do so. We shall see that the use of an alien flag by a British shipping firm partly contributed to the Anglo-Spanish incident in Nootka Sound.

#### British fur trading voyages

The first British fur-trading ship to reach the fortunate shores of the North West Coast was the Harmon, or Sea Otter, under Captain James Hanna. Sailing from Macao, in April, 1785, she moored at Nootka Sound on August 9th. There Hanna successfully repulsed an attack by the Indians,

and later made friends with them by curing their wounded. He left for Macao at the end of September, with a handsome cargo of furs, and came back to the Coast in the following year.

James Strange, stationed at Bombay and representing his own interests and those of one David Scott (a member of the East India Company), fitted out two ships: the Experiment, commanded by Captain Guise, and the Captain Cook, commanded by Captain Henry Laurie. They were instructed to trade on the North West Coast and to study the possibility of setting up an establishment there. It seems that David Scott was the first man to suggest the flag trick: the captains of the Experiment and the Captain Cook were ordered to hoist the Portuguese flag because it was expected that, on their return from the North West Coast, they would reach Canton during the season when the British colours were not honoured. They were also ordered to avoid infringements of Spanish sovereignty: should they reach places occupied by Spain, they were to proceed northwards and to confine their trade to the coast beyond the northernmost Spanish outposts.

These two ships left Bombay in December, 1785, and reached Nootka Sound towards the end of June, 1786. They spent a month trading in that vicinity, while the inevitable sufferers from scurvy among the crew were recuperating ashore. John Mackay, surgeon-mate of the Experiment, offered to stay at Nootka after the departure of the ships, and wait for their return. He would try "to learn the language, and to ingratiate himself with the natives so that if any other vessels should

touch there he might prevent them from purchasing any furs", while he, himself, would buy as many as he could. Amply supplied with food, paper, and ink, he was left behind when his ship left Nootka. The natives forced him to adopt "their mode of dress and filthiness of manners", but in other respects they treated him so well that, lest he should feel bored, they thoughtfully provided him with a dark specimen of the fair sex.

Captain Hanna made a second voyage to the North West Coast in a ship with the same name as his first one--Sea Otter (120 tons)--and owned by the East India Company. He sailed from Macao in May, 1786, and reached Nootka in August. There he found John Mackay and offered him a passage on the Sea Otter; but Mackay refused, saying that he was beginning to enjoy menus of dried fish and whale oil: so he remained. Hanna did not get many skins at Nootka on this voyage because the Experiment and the Captain Cook had been there earlier. On October 1st, he sailed for China.

Another British ship to use the flag trick was the Imperial Eagle, under Captain Barclay (or Berkeley), who sailed from the Thames Estuary to Ostend--now in Belgium, but then under Austrian sovereignty. There, by arrangement with the Austrian East India Company the Austrian colours were hoisted on this ship. Her young captain had, meanwhile, married a bright, seventeen-year-old lady who joined him on board, and who became, in all probability, the first white woman to visit the North West Coast and to write about it. The ship reached Nootka in June of 1787. There, in filth, Barclay found that

original "character" Mackay, who was able to provide him with a large number of otter skins and furnish information about the area. Taking Mackay on board, Barclay left Nootka in July and visited other parts of the North West Coast--one of which now bears his name. Then the Imperial Eagle sailed for China.

Captain and Mrs. Barclay returned to the North West Coast in 1792, in the brig Halcyon.

The King George Sound Company was a shipping firm whose head men were John and Richard Cadman Etches, and which continually changed partnerships. Around 1785 the Company obtained trading licences from both the South Sea Company and the East India Company and, thus protected, it planned a rather ambitious expedition to the North West Coast with its ships King George and Queen Charlotte, under Captains Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, respectively--both men who had participated in Captain Cook's long voyages. These ships were fully equipped with articles for trade, instruments of husbandry, and whatever else might be needed should their captains find it possible to set up a trading factory on the "Otter" coast.<sup>1</sup> They sailed from England in August, 1785, and, after touching at the Sandwich Islands as most of those British ships used to do, arrived at Cook's River in Alaska in July of 1786. From there they sailed southwards along the coast, intent on reaching Nootka and wintering there. However,

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<sup>1</sup> I shall venture to use this term once in a while to avoid repeated use of the term "N.W. coast of the American continent".

bad weather frustrated this plan and the two ships were obliged to winter in the Sandwich Islands.

In the following spring they returned to the "Otter" coast. At Prince William they found John Meares, a man who is to play a major part in our story. He had spent the winter there, with his ship, the Nootka, frozen in. Portlock and Dixon admonished him for having obviously transgressed the privileges of the East India Company.

In May, the King George and the Queen Charlotte separated: the former remaining in Alaska, while the latter proceeded southwards, passing Woody Point and Nootka Sound but without entering either.<sup>1</sup> Eventually, both ships made their separate ways to China by different routes, and, after meeting there, both returned to England in September, 1788. Portlock and Dixon explained to their employers that they had not found it advisable to set up any establishment on the "Otter" coast; but they reported handsome profits on the furs they had acquired there and sold at Macao. They also mentioned rumours that the Spaniards were starting settlements not far south from Nootka.

This same company chartered the Prince of Wales,<sup>2</sup> Captain James Colnett, and the Princess Royal, Captain Charles

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<sup>1</sup> Off Nootka, Dixon met the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales, two ships belonging to his own company, which are mentioned in the following paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> This man is to play a major part in this story.

Duncan. Both ships left England in September, 1786, and arrived at Nootka on July 7th, 1787. There they met Barclay's Imperial Eagle. They spent a month at Nootka, making repairs and trading, while the men were recovering from scurvy. Shortly after leaving that port they met Dixon, in the Queen Charlotte, and they proceeded to survey the coasts of the Queen Charlotte Islands until September 4th, when they turned southwards--running into difficulties with the Indians, and later with some rocks off the coast. Eventually they made their way to the Sandwich Islands, where they wintered. Subsequent British voyages to the North West Coast, which had considerable bearing on the Spanish occupation of Nootka, will be considered in some detail in other chapters of this study.

#### A FRENCH VOYAGE

The report of Cook's voyage opened the eyes of the French government to the possibilities of French commerce on the North West Coast.

In 1785 the French Government sent Captains Jean-François Galoup <sup>de</sup> ~~and~~ La Pérouse, commanding the ships Astrolabe and La Boussole, on a voyage of exploration around the world and, following the example of Britain with Cook, instructed La Pérouse to search for a possible navigable passage connecting the Pacific with Hudson's Bay. He was also to study "the possibility of establishing a colony, or at least a factory, in a region not yet 'occupied' by other powers".

In particular he was to report on the fur trade of the North West Coast, and to find out whether the Hudson's Bay Company had opened up business there. La Pérouse was also instructed to investigate the condition, strength, and purpose of the Spanish settlements on the Pacific; at what latitude furs could be obtained, the quantities that the Indians could provide, and what commodities could best be offered to them for bartering purposes.

L'Astrolabe and La Boussole left France in June, 1785, and between February and September they sailed northwards along the Pacific Coast of America from Concepcion (in Chile) to the Russian settlements in Alaska. On the Chilian coast La Pérouse was entertained and supplied generously by the Spanish Captain-General of that province who, however, was not without suspicion as to his motives. Duly informed, the Spanish government instructed the Viceroy of Mexico to permit La Pérouse to enter the Californian ports only in case of dire need. However, La Pérouse did not seek entrance to any of them, and reached the North West Coast in June, 1786. In July he took possession of a place that he called Port des Français (now Lituya Bay--latitude  $58^{\circ} 37'$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 50'$ , by twentieth century reckonings). Somewhere on that coast La Pérouse lost twenty-one sailors in a launch. Soon afterwards he turned southwards, and called at Monterey on September 14th. At that time a brevet ensign, E.J. Martínez, who had been in the Pérez voyage of 1774, deemed it his patriotic duty to convey his concern over that French voyage in

a letter to the Viceroy of Mexico, Gálvez, who by then (December 18th, 1786) had already voyaged to the world beyond this one. Many expressions of alarm on this subject reached the Spanish government and were one of the reasons for the Spanish decision to occupy Nootka.

La Pérouse's ships then sailed westwards, reaching Botany Bay (in that part of Australia now known as New South Wales) in January, 1788. A few weeks later they sailed from there, and disappeared: obviously wrecked in a storm. Fortunately for posterity, a member of the expedition, named de Lesseps, had been sent back to France with papers, so that not all the records of the expedition were lost and a fair amount is known about it.

La Pérouse obtained about one thousand sea otter skins and sold them in China for ten thousand dollars, which amount was divided between the crews of his two ships.<sup>1</sup> Had it not been for his unfortunate disappearance, he might have induced French merchants to enter the trade. A few years later, the French government sent a ship, La Flavie, to search (in vain) for traces of L'Astrolabe and La Boussole.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this avowed and worthy purpose, the appearance of La Flavie on the North West Coast was regarded with suspicion by the Spanish. So, for all the ties of dynastic blood, Spain considered France as another rival on the American coasts.

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1 Johansen and Oates, Empire of the Columbia. p 378.

2 Wreckage from them was found to the North of the New Hebrides in 1826.



## AMERICAN VOYAGES

The enterprising new nation of the United States of America also had its merchants and sailors who were interested in the booming fur trade on the other side of their continent. Shipping expeditions were planned from New England, despite the fact that the ships would have to sail all the way round South America, if not around the world, to reach the fortunate shores of the North West Coast.

Perhaps the honour of being the first of these fell to the brig Eleonora of New York, under the command of Captain Simon Metcalfe, which reached Bengal in August, 1788. After acquiring another vessel at Macao, Metcalfe sailed towards the North West Coast, but it is not certain that the vessel ever reached its destination.

Two other American ships, however, managed to get there during that same year. These ships were the Columbia Rediviva (220 tons)--more frequently called the Columbia--and her tender, the 90-ton sloop Lady Washington--usually called the Washington<sup>1</sup>. They were registered at Boston, and were chartered in 1787 by Joseph Barrell and five other merchants, all stimulated to action by accounts of Cook's expedition, and by the fur-trading possibilities of the North West Coast. The Columbia, commanded by Captain John Kendrick and her tender,

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<sup>1</sup> The Spanish often referred to them as "the Boston ships", and to their men as "people from the Boston nation".

the Washington (Captain Robert Gray), sailed from Boston on September 30th, 1787, for Nootka Sound, via Cape Horn. While they were about a hundred leagues from Juan Fernández Island, off the coast of Chile, a gale separated them. The Columbia managed to reach the island on May 22nd, 1788, and remained there for a few days. The Governor, Blas González, met the Americans and the parties communicated in faulty French. Don Blas copied the contents of Kendrick's passport and provided him with supplies and a certificate stating that neither he nor his crew had given any grounds for complaint. However, when the benevolent Governor dutifully informed his superiors about the treatment that he had given the Americans, he was surprised to find himself reprimanded and dismissed.<sup>1</sup> Actually the authorities in Chile believed the Columbia to be a pirate ship; there was much alarm on the coast and several vessels were sent in pursuit of it--while Kendrick was peacefully sailing on, completely unaware that he was the subject of a hunt.

There was much correspondence among Spanish officials about these two ships; the Viceroy of Mexico was ordered to be on the watch for them, and instructions about them were also given to the commander of the expedition which went to occupy Nootka in 1779. Even the meek friars of the Spanish missions in California were ordered to be unfriendly to the suspects, and were told that "if by chance there arrived in

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<sup>1</sup> It is to Kendrick's credit that he later appealed in 1793 to Thomas Jefferson, of the United States Government, to help the unfortunate Governor. (Voyages of the Columbia. pp 154-7.)

one of our ports an American Englishman sailing along the coast of California they should use all diligence in seizing him and then notifying the authorities".<sup>1</sup>

The Columbia and the Washington were scheduled to meet at Nootka, in Resolution Cove where Cook's ships had anchored. On September 17th, 1788, the Washington arrived at Nootka. Naturally but mistakenly Gray assumed that the Columbia had been sailing faster than his own ship, and was already anchored at Resolution Cove. As he was trying to find his way to it a launch was seen at a distance. Drawing near, its occupants said that they belonged to the party of Captain John Meares, whose ships, the Felice Adventurer and the Iphigenia Nubiana, were "laying in a cove on the west side of the Sound at the village where Captain Cook visited and met with so friendly a reception". They meant Friendly Cove, a cosy anchorage on the western side of the Sound, where Captain Meares was then building a house. Gray decided to forget Resolution Cove and anchored the Washington in Friendly Cove. A week later she was joined there by Kendrick's Columbia.

Apart from a trading cruise made by the sloop, both ships stayed at the Cove for most of the autumn and winter, and their officers were witnesses to the doings and, finally, to the departure of the Meares party.

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<sup>1</sup> So says Father Sánchez in his Noticias de California. He, himself, received a copy of the order, and read it to the Indians.

In the following March (1789), Gray, in the Washington, left for a trading cruise along the neighbouring coastline. When he returned to Nootka, on June 6th, he found two changes. Kendrick had moved the Columbia to another anchorage a few miles up the Sound: at a place called severally Maowenna, Marwinas, Malvina, and by other variations of its Indian name. (Kendrick soon grew so fond of idling in the place that it was often called after him.) In the meantime, Friendly Cove had been occupied by the Spaniards, who were busily erecting a small fort on one of the rocky islands which guarded its entrance.

In July, 1789, after witnessing some of the episodes in the conflicts between the ships of the Spaniards and those of visiting captains, the Columbia and the Washington left Nootka and made a stop at Clayuclat Sound, another favourite fur-trading centre, situated south of Nootka. It was understood that the two ships would then sail for China, and thence for Boston; but Kendrick decided otherwise. He passed command of the Columbia to Gray, and transferred himself to the schooner. Gray took the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands for supplies, and thence to China, where he arrived on January 26th, 1790. In Canton he left a cargo of furs, and the crew of the schooner North West America--belonging to Meares and his associates--which had been seized by the Spaniards. Then the Columbia continued her westbound voyage, and arrived back home, at Boston, in August--with the distinction of being the first ship of the new American nation to complete a voyage around the globe.

Kendrick, completely ignoring his employers, calmly appropriated the Washington and made long stays along the North West Coast, idling and running into debt--and eventually estranged from his son, who had passed into the service of Spain. Neither Kendrick nor the Washington ever went back to Boston. He crossed the Pacific twice--in 1791 and in 1793-4--and met an accidental death at Honolulu, on the island of Owhahoo (now Oahu), Sandwich Islands, on December 19th, 1794.

Six weeks after her return home, the Columbia sailed again for the North West Coast, with Gray as her captain and Robert Haswel (or Haswell) as first mate. She reached Nootka in June, 1791, and spent the rest of that year trading along the coast--wintering in Clayuclat, where Gray had a sloop built. The new vessel was called Adventure and, under the command of Haswell, it served as a tender to the Columbia. In the spring of 1792, Gray navigated an opening on the coast which many sailors had seen but none had explored before. He found it to be the mouth of a mighty river, which he named after his ship.

The Columbia was back at Nootka from July 24th to August 23rd, 1792; and again, for about twenty-four hours, on September 21st. From Nootka she went to Nunez Gaona (now Noah Bay) where the Spanish maintained a short-lived establish-  
<sup>1</sup>ment. There, on September 28th, Gray sold the sloop,

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<sup>1</sup> Some information about this establishment is given in Wagner's Spanish Explorations to the Juan de Fuca Strait.

Adventure, to the Spanish commander, Bodega-Quadra. Soon afterwards, the Columbia left the North West Coast for ever.

After the Columbia first returned to Boston, her first mate, Joseph Ingraham, took command of another ship, the Boston, which sailed from that port, and arrived at the North West Coast late in June, 1791. The following autumn she sailed for China, but returned to the North West early in July, 1792. The Boston made several stays in Nootka, and also visited the Spanish outpost at Nuñez Gaona. The captains and officers of these American voyages played an important part, as witnesses and sometimes as participants, in this story. Several of their journals, letters and affidavits<sup>1</sup> provide invaluable testimony for it.

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<sup>1</sup> A great deal of this material has been edited by F.W. Howey under the title of The Voyages of the Columbia, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DISCOVERY OF NOOTKA SOUND: PÉREZ OR COOK?

On August 9th, 1774, the Spanish ship Santiago, in the course of an official voyage of exploration, anchored off a roadstead which Juan Pérez, her captain, named San Lorenzo.

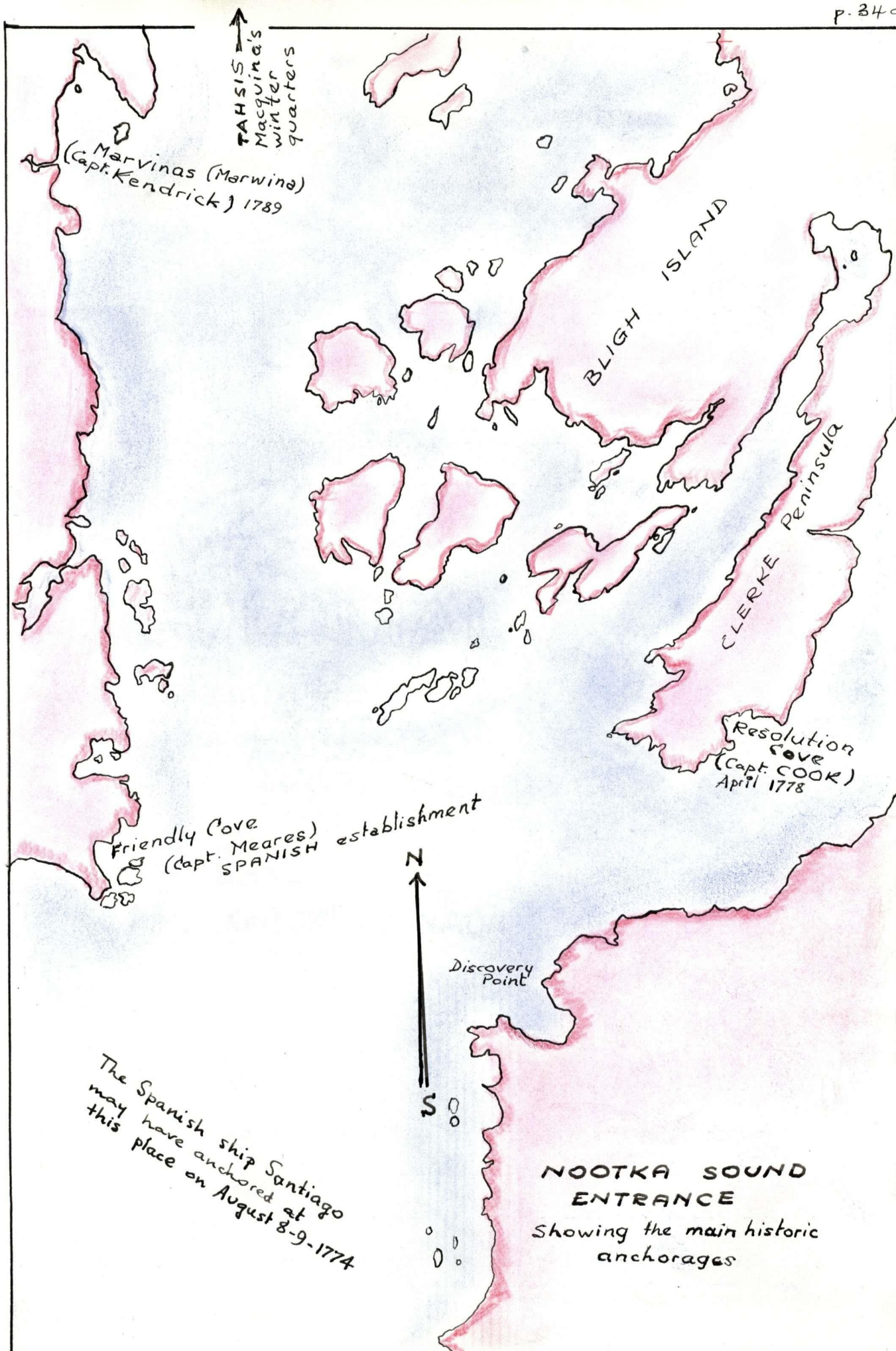
On March 30th, 1778, two British ships in the course of an official voyage of exploration entered an inlet which their commander, James Cook, named Nootka Sound.

Some time later, after the records of Cook's voyage had been published, the Spaniards concluded that what Cook had called Nootka was precisely the same spot which Pérez had named San Lorenzo. Thereupon, both Spain and Britain claimed the "discovery" of the place which they later made famous because of a controversy over the right to occupy it.

#### THE PÉREZ VOYAGE

The voyage of the Santiago was organised from Mexico by the Viceroy of New Spain, Bucareli. He named Captain Juan Pérez to command it, and instructed him to sail as far north as latitude 60° and thence turn southwards, following the coastline as closely as possible but avoiding excessive risks. He was to note the places best suited for possible Spanish



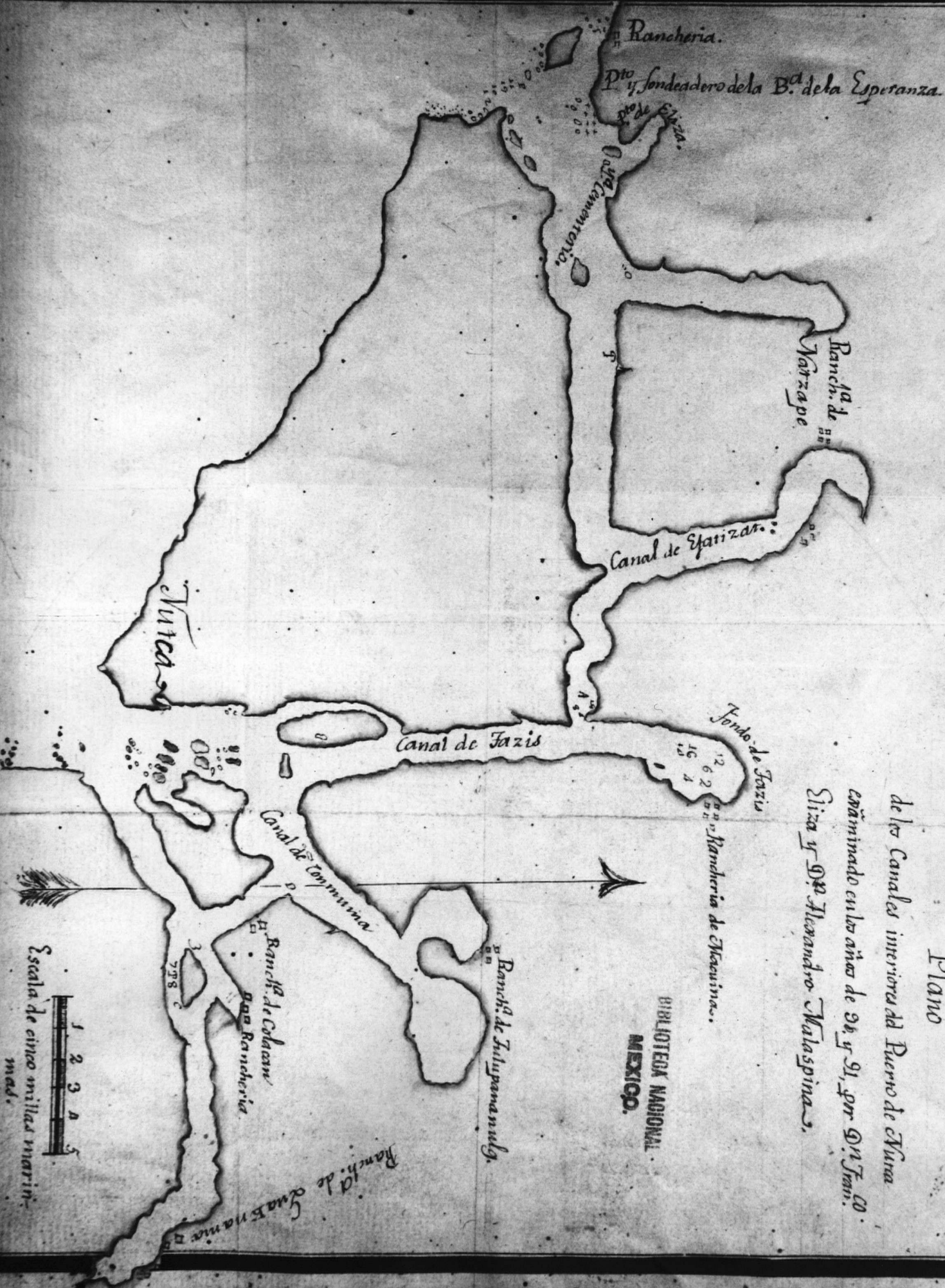




# Plano

de los Canales interiores del Puerto de Tlaxcala  
 conminado en los años de 98 y 99, por D. N. Juan  
 Siza y D. N. Alejandro Malaspina.

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL  
 MEXICO.



settlements, and take possession of them with due ceremony, including the erection of a cross (a Catholic rite), and the writing and signing of a solemn document, one copy of which was to be put and sealed in a bottle and buried in the ground near the cross. Should Pérez discover any settlements belonging to other powers, he was to examine them in a discreet way, and then take possession of the area just above or below them.

This expedition was not very successful, since no landings were effected. However, it was well recorded and brought some knowledge of the North West coast of America. Four reports of the voyage were produced: one by Pérez himself; another by his second-in-command, the second pilot Esteban José Martínez,<sup>1</sup> and two by the Franciscan friars Juan Crespi<sup>2</sup> and Tomás de la Peña. These journals contain important nautical and topographical data, and the two last-mentioned offer the first authentic descriptions of lands and peoples on that coast.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately it seems that no map was made of the parts visited; these diaries do not contain any, and Bodega-Quadra (whom we shall meet later) found none when he was

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1 At the time, the Spanish usually spelled this name with a y: Estevan. Later this man was to play a major role in the history of Nootka.

2 Unfortunately, the journals of Pérez and Martínez are of little help in this issue because they give only nautical bearings and no topographic description.

3 The original diaries of Pérez and Martínez of the Santiago expedition of 1774 are in Mexican National Archives History Vol. 61 (in future, referred to as Mex.N.A.). The diaries of Crespi and Pena were published, with an English translation, by the Historical Association of California, Los Angeles, 1891.

preparing a map of the coast in 1791. A British officer affirmed, in 1789, that he had a chart of that voyage,<sup>1</sup> but this could hardly be so; if he had a chart, it must have been one of another voyage.

The Santiago sailed from San Blas on January 25th, 1774, and called at Monterey, where she picked up the above-mentioned friars. The sailors picked up shells from the beach, which proved to be very useful later. The ship then proceeded northwards to about latitude 54° or 55°. After trying in vain to get into what is now called Dixon Entrance, she turned southwards. Several points of the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands were sighted and given Spanish names. By July 22nd, the Santiago was off the passage between Vancouver Island and Moresby Island. On August 6th, the coast was seen at about fifteen miles to the north, on a latitude which was estimated at 48° 50'. On the afternoon of the 8th, land was only three or four miles away; Pérez decided to approach it in order to make a landing. As the ship was making for the coast, three canoes manned by Indians were seen coming towards her, and soon the Indians started yelling and gesticulating, obviously urging the intruders to go away. The Spaniards tried to

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1 This officer was Capt. Douglas of the Iphigenia, and his statement, supposed to be part of his diary, reads: "...that in the year 1775 he (Martínez) was Second Officer on board the King's frigate that was on Discovery, that saw the Port (of Nootka) and named it the Bay of Saint Lawrence. I told him, having a chart of that voyage by me, I begged to leave to differ in opinion from him." (Appendix to Meares' Memorial, first Edit., p 22.)

explain by signs and shouts that they did not mean harm and only wanted water. Eventually the Indians paddled back to shore. Then, as Father Crespí explained:

### San Lorenzo roadstead

With the light wind that was blowing we drew near to the land, and, at six o'clock, being about a league from it, the lead was cast again; and good holding ground being found, we came to anchor at twenty-five fathoms at that hour. The wind died away to a dead calm, and thus we remained, putting off till the morrow our landing for the purpose of setting up in the land the standard of the Holy Cross and taking possession of it in the name of Our Catholic Monarch, whom God guard.

The spot was a C-shaped roadstead. Its latitude was given as 49° 30'<sup>1</sup>. Pérez named it San Lorenzo, and also gave names to some of its topographic features, as we shall see.

Then, again according to Father Crespí:

Being at anchor in this roadstead, at eight o'clock at night three canoes of larger size, with fifteen men in them, came out and remained at some distance from the ship, their occupants crying out in a mournful tone. We called out to them and they came nearer: whereupon we asked them by signs whether water was to be had. They did not understand or pay attention and went back toward the land. But on the way thither, meeting with two other canoes, all five came on together to about a musket shot's distance from the ship. Although from on board we made many signs to them and cried out to them, they would come no

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<sup>1</sup> See Father Peña's Journal, Documents from the Sutro Collection, Los Angeles, 1891, p 102.

nearer, but remained where they were until about eleven o'clock, talking one with another, and from time to time crying out.<sup>1</sup>

At dawn the next day, July 9th, the long-boat was lowered to the water, and preparations to effect a landing were under way, when fifteen canoes, with about one hundred men and a few women, approached from the shore. The Spaniards encouraged these natives, by signs, to draw closer to the ship, and soon both parties were busy bartering goods. The Indians traded skins of the otter and other animals unknown to the Spaniards, some clothes and capes made from a kind of flax, as well as curious hats, made of reeds, in the shape of a cone topped with a pear-shaped little dome. The Spaniards traded knives, old clothing, and also the abalone shells ("conchas de lapa") which they had picked up on the beaches of Monterey and Carmel in California. The Indians showed a particular liking for these shells. Father Crespi observed that the Indians also had "some pieces of iron and copper and of knives."

#### Frustrated landing

At about six o'clock, a Spanish party was all ready in the long-boat to go on land and carry out the ceremony of taking possession. Then a strong wind began to blow, pushing the ship towards the coast and dragging her anchor. The captain ordered it to be weighed, and for the ship to be got under way, tacking off and on, while waiting for the party in

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<sup>1</sup> Father Peña's description of this is very much the same, but shorter.

the boat to carry out the assignment. However, the wind and the tide grew so threatening "that it became necessary to cut the cable and loose the anchor". Sailing in the south-westerly direction, with great difficulty, the Santiago managed to skirt "the point of rocks which stretches out into the sea for about one league"<sup>1</sup>. Having weathered this point and being about three leagues offshore, the crew were obliged to take in practically all the sail so that the ship could be hove to. Father Crespí recorded that it was by a miracle that the boat and sailors were saved. Finally, all being on board again, the Spaniards sailed southward, giving up the purpose of formally incorporating that remote spot into the dominions of their sovereign.

The Santiago returned to San Blas in November of the same year (1774). In keeping with Spain's policy of secrecy with regard to her explorations only a brief bulletin was issued, and no discoveries were claimed; but a few years later the Spanish had difficulty in trying to prove that they had discovered Nootka before Cook.

#### COOK AT NOOTKA

On March 29th, 1778, the Cook expedition reached a vast bight which Cook named "Hope" because he was hoping to find in it a harbour suitable for a halting of the expedition. Its south point he called "Breakers", and reckoned it as being located in latitude 49° 15' and longitude 233° 20'. He called

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<sup>1</sup> Peña, Journal, p 133.

the north point "Woody" and estimated it at latitude  $50^{\circ}$  and longitude  $232^{\circ}$ . Cook's hope was fulfilled on the following morning: close to Point Breakers he discovered what he described as "a convenient snug cove, well suited to our purpose". On the day following, March 31st, 1778, the two ships moved into what is now called <sup>Resolution</sup> Discovery Cove, on Bligh Island at the entrance to that inlet, and stayed there until April 26th. Naturally, Cook wanted a name for it, and he recorded how he found one:

### The name Nootka

"On my arrival in this inlet I had honoured it with the name of King George's Sound; but I afterward found that it is called Nootka by the natives. The entrance is situated in the East corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 33'$  North and in the longitude of  $233^{\circ} 12'$  East". Obviously Cook had heard the Indians use a word sounding more or less like "Nootka" and had concluded that it was their name for the inlet. However, it was found later that he had misunderstood them and that they did not call it Nootka. Nobody knows for sure what was the Indian word that Cook had picked up. When the Spaniard Esteban José Martínez was there, later, (in 1789) he thought he had found an explanation: "Captain Cook's men were asking the Indians by means of signs what was the name of this port. One of the English made a circle on the ground with his hand, and then rubbed it out. Upon this, the Indians answered "Nootak" which means to take away."

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez' Journal, p 204. (Trans.)

In recent times (1896), Dr. Robert Brown, a man who was well-acquainted with Nootka, wrote: "There is no word in the Aht language at all corresponding to "Nootka", unless indeed it is "Noot che", a mountain, which not unlikely Cook<sup>1</sup> mistook for that of the inlet generally."

Father A.J. Brabant, who lived at Nootka for many years at the beginning of this century, surmised that such a word would result from the frequentation of the local words "nook-sitl", meaning: "to go around", "to make a circuit"; "nooka-a" would be in the imperative mood, meaning: "go<sup>2</sup> around!"

Cook's vessels were no sooner moored in Resolution Cove than the natives started coming from all over the Sound to watch the strangers and to trade with them. Rapidly the place assumed an air of unwonted activity, and it soon had an observatory, a brewery, a blacksmith's forge, and a watering place. The ships were given a badly-needed overhaul; their masts were replaced by new ones made of local timber. Cook visited several Indian villages along the shores of the Inlet. Webber, the artist of the expedition, spent his time sketching the scenery, as well as the implements and ceremonial trappings of the Indians; while Anderson, the surgeon, prepared a detailed account of their way of life.

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<sup>1</sup> Prologue to The Adventures of John Jewitt, London, 1896, p 29.

<sup>2</sup> Scholefield, op. cit., p 93.



## Traces of the Spanish?

For the purpose of this study, this brief notice of Cook's stay at Nootka should suffice; but I should quote some statements in the various records of the expedition which may have a bearing on the argument as to whether or not the Santiago ever was there:

We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited, and at the place where we were first becalmed, three canoes came off to the ship . . . . Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue inviting us to land, as we guessed, by his gestures. At the same time he kept stretching handfuls of feathers towards us.

Later, as Cook's ships got closer to the shore, the canoes began to move off in greater numbers (as many as thirty-two) and some of the men in them were haranguing and gesticulating as the first man had done. In another chapter of the book (Chapter I) we find these comments:

They, [the Indians] indeed, expressed no marks of surprise at seeing our ships. But this, as I observed before, may be imputed to their natural indolence of temper and their curiosity.<sup>1</sup>

Some account of the Spanish voyage to this coast in 1774 had reached England before I sailed; but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove that their ships had not been at Nootka.<sup>2</sup>

. . . Upon our arrival in the Sound they immediately discovered a knowledge of traffic,

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1 Cook, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, London, W. and A. Straham, MDCCCLXXXIV, bk. IV, Ch. III & IV, p 331.

2 Ibid., p 332.

and an inclination for it; and we were convinced afterward that they had not received this knowledge from a cursory interview with any strangers but from their method it seemed to be an established practice of which they were fond . . . .<sup>1</sup>

But it should seem that not only the rude materials but some articles in their manufactured state find their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses, in particular, are so neatly made, that I am doubtful whether the Indians are capable of fabricating them. The materials certainly are European, as no American tribes have been found who knew the method of making brass . . . . If our traders to Hudson's Bay and Canada do not use such articles in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from the quarter of Mexico from whence, no doubt, the two silver table-spoons, met with here, were originally derived.<sup>2</sup>

A footnote on this text says: "Though the two table-spoons, found at Nootka Sound, most probably came from the Spaniards in the South, there seem to be sufficient grounds for believing that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter." The note adds that the Spaniards in 1775 (sic) found that the Indians in latitude 41° 7' had arrows pointed with copper or iron. Another reference to this point, and, more specifically, about these table-spoons, appears in another record of the Cook expedition:

These people were very fond of pieces of brass, copper, tin and pewter, particularly if bright and formed so as to make bracelets. Even buttons were good trade. These they tied with a piece of string and put around their wrists. Iron did not appear to be

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1 Cook, op. cit., p 330.

2 Ibid., p 333.

much valued though they very readily took it. They must have some way of procuring it, probably from the southward towards California, for they had a number of knives of different sizes, all made very badly and in a semicircular form. One day when trade was going alongside the Resolution the natives offered two silver spoons to sale which were immediately purchased and given to Captain Cook. They appeared to be of a very old make and were somewhat different from ours in form. We were not able to learn from whence they had come but this circumstance favours our belief of their having connections to the southward.<sup>1</sup>

### THE SPANISH CLAIM

It is clear that hardly anybody, including the Spaniards, took any note of the San Lorenzo roadstead visited and named by Juan Pérez in 1774. The world was not informed about it, and none of the Spanish explorers during the next fifteen years visited it. After the published records of the Cook expedition revealed that he had sojourned at the inlet called Nootka, the Spaniards began to assert that Nootka was precisely the San Lorenzo of Juan Pérez.

The man who most emphatically affirmed this was Esteban José Martínez, who had been second pilot (and second-in-command) of the Pérez voyage of 1774. Indeed, he may have been the first person to make such a claim--in a letter to the Viceroy of Mexico in 1788.

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<sup>1</sup> From: An authentic narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke in His Majesty's ships Resolution and Discovery during the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780, London, printed for G. Robinson Pater-noster Row; J. Sewell, Cornhill; and J. Debrett, Piccadilly, MDCCCLXXII, Vol. I, pp 223-224.

The Viceroy, himself, then began to make this point in his official writings, and the Spanish government did not fail to mention it in statements referring to the subsequent controversy about Nootka Sound.

The point was also made by naval officers Tovar<sup>1</sup> and Bodega-Quadra, as well as by two Franciscan fathers<sup>2</sup> and a naturalist<sup>3</sup> who wrote reports on Nootka between 1789 and 1792. Later, the Spanish historian Fernández Navarrete also defended this claim, with more enthusiasm than evidence.

None of the Spaniards concerned with Nootka at the time expressed any doubts on this matter, taking it for granted that Nootka had been discovered by Perez in 1774. Some non-Spanish historians who have considered the point have questioned the Spanish claim. Those who only make passing references to it take different views, probably relying on the authority of others.

Although the matter is purely academical, and of small impact, I have tried to gather all the possible threads of evidence (a few of which have only been discovered since those authorities wrote on the matter) and I scrutinize it in the following pages.

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1 Father Francisco Sánchez in a Journal called *Noticias de Nuca*, written in 1789; and an anonymous Franciscan father of the College of San Fernando, Mexico City, in an essay called "*Noticias de Nutka*".

2 Mariano José Moziño in *Noticias de Nutka*, written in 1792 and edited in Mexico City, 1913.

3 Introduction to *Viaje hecho por las goletas Sutíl y Mexicana*.

### Assessed Location

Most probably the first suggestion of the possible identity of Pérez' San Lorenzo and Cook's Nootka arose from the closeness of their respective estimated bearings. Pérez put San Lorenzo at  $49^{\circ} 30'$ ; Cook placed Nootka at  $49^{\circ} 33'$ . That is to say, a difference of  $3'$ : which means about three nautical miles. Cook came closer to the more precise estimates of our own time, which place it at  $49^{\circ} 35'$ ; but the Spanish assessment was still quite close and, at first sight, would seem to prove the Spanish claim. Thus an early historian of California and Oregon, Robert Greenhow, plainly<sup>1</sup> accepted it. So did the aforementioned Dr. Robert Brown,<sup>2</sup> who knew a good deal about Nootka. However, the very reason for Greenhow's being convinced (the closeness of Pérez' and Cook's bearings) was a source of doubt for Hubert Howe Bancroft, another historian writing about the North West Coast. He found Pérez' bearings for Nootka "somewhat too accurate" in comparison with other points as given by the same man: whose other estimates of points on that coast have proved rather inaccurate. Bancroft, however, did not reach a conclusion.<sup>3</sup> Another authority, Henry R. Wagner, was also unable to settle the point. He merely wrote: "In view of the errors in the observations farther north a strong presumption exists that in reality the Santiago was much farther south".

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1 History of Oregon and California, pp 116-117.

2 Op. cit., p 29.

3 Cartography, I, p 173.

However, he suggested that observation of  $49^{\circ} 30'$  for the bearing of San Lorenzo might have been made by Martínez, who always insisted on the identity between San Lorenzo and Nootka and who, in later years, "certainly demonstrated that he could make very accurate observations". On the other hand, Wagner himself says elsewhere: "According to Father Crespi the observation taken at noon on that day was  $49^{\circ} 05'$  and as at six o'clock in the afternoon the ship was within a league of land and the wind was very light. It is hardly likely that they had sailed as much as twenty minutes of latitude in six hours." In another place, however, Wagner practically accepted the Spanish claim when he wrote: "The Santiago certainly did not enter Nootka Sound, but I am convinced anchored off the entrance."<sup>1</sup>

### Descriptions

Let us now consider the descriptions of San Lorenzo made by Fathers Crespi and Peña. From them we hear that "the anchorage [of San Lorenzo] was a bay (rada) which has the shape of a C" of "low lands thickly covered with forests and poorly protected from the winds" (Crespi). The ends of the C-shaped bay were marked by two points. The one on the S.E. was "a rocky point extending about three-fourths of a league north-west into the sea and causing breakers" (Peña). This point was called San Estevan. "From there begins the low

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to the pamphlet "Fray Benito De La Sierra's Account of the Hezeta Expedition . . .", San Francisco, 1930, p 6. Wagner gives a few interesting details about Pérez' voyage.

land covered with vegetation and in the same way stretches from four to five miles towards the north, which is already high land," (Crespí) "made of some hills" (Peña). The point was named Santa Clara. "About a league from the very low land of the aforesaid roadstead of San Lorenzo we saw a very high range of mountains (sierra) and behind this range we saw another, higher range with different peaks covered with snow. It seems that this roadstead is protected from the N.W. to the S.E. and all the other winds are open."<sup>1</sup>

Bancroft thought that this description of the spot "agrees as well with this as with any other of the numerous inlets on this part of the coast--better, indeed, in respect of the distance between the two points than with the northern inlet." Further on, Bancroft says: "The San Lorenzo of Juan Pérez was either this same Nootka Sound (of Cook) or the inlet immediately above or below it."

E.O.S. Scholefield affirms categorically that the Santiago never reached Nootka Sound:

Father Crespí . . . however, mentions San Lorenzo as lying between two points, of which the southeast was called San Estevan . . . and the northwest Santa Clara. If the Santiago had anchored in Nootka Sound she would have found a harbour safe in all weathers and there would have been no necessity to cut the cable in order to make an offing no matter from what direction the wind might blow. There is little doubt then that the open roadstead where the vessel anchored a league from the shore is the

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1 Journals of Crespí and Peña, pp 100-101 and 166-167.

bight or bay, of which the southern extremity is marked by the Point Estevan of the Admiralty charts of today. Nothing in the journals mentioned can possibly be construed as evidence that Nootka Sound was ever seen, much less entered. It is certain that Perez did not enter the historic channel named Nootka by Cook, in spite of Navarrete's statement to the contrary and Greenhow's even more explicit asseveration.<sup>1</sup>

This dogmatic opinion is based only on two flimsy arguments: the first that it is inconceivable that a storm may be encountered at the entrance of Nootka Sound, which is "safe in all weathers"; and, secondly, that the brief topographical description in the journals of Father Crespi and Father Peña, of the place visited in 1774 would fit only the bay whose southern extremity is bounded by Point Estevan on today's maps.

There are many indications which contradict the first argument: several ships ran into difficulties at the entrance of Nootka Sound. Captain Meares was abreast that entrance on May 11th, 1788, but owing to tempestuous weather it was the 13th before he cast anchor in Friendly Cove. In 1790, the British ship Princess Royal--then in Spanish hands--was unable to enter the Sound on her return from a voyage of exploration. The schooner Santa Saturnina had similar trouble, some months later.

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<sup>1</sup> British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present,  
Vol. I, p 41.



Scholefield's second argument is not supported by other historians. All feel that, unfortunately, the brief descriptions of the Franciscan fathers could fit any of those coastal inlets--which probably appear to be very similar when viewed from the sea.

Another authority on the history of the North West Coast, F.W. Howey, seems to support the Spanish claim with his statement that what Cook called Breakers' Point has given way to the name Pérez gave it in 1774: that is, Estevan or San Estevan Point.<sup>1</sup> If the Juan Pérez expedition had drawn a careful chart of the coast visited, this chart might settle the point; but there is no such chart.

Esteban José Martínez, after his voyage to the North West coast in 1788, produced a chart in which he carefully included the "Puerto de Nootka o de San Lorenzo por los Espanoles en 1774", and he marked Point Santa Clara and Point San Estevan. In 1789, when Martínez was stationed at Nootka, he mentioned Point Santa Clara at least twice, although in one case the name seems to be applied to a point on the island of San Miguel, which closes Friendly Cove. Perhaps there were two places called Santa Clara.

Until recent times, the southern point of Nootka

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1 Voyages of the Columbia, p 66, footnote 3.

Sound was called "Breakers" in some maps and "Esteban" in others, but nowadays it is always called Estevan Point. If Pérez really was at Nootka, this is the place he called after his pilot, Esteban José Martínez. If he was not, Estevan Point would probably be what is now called Point Breakers.

### The Famous Spoons

The records of Cook's voyage mentioned two silver tablespoons which were found in the possession of the Indians at Nootka, and which Cook assumed to have come from Mexico. (See p.     ). Martínez later claimed that these were the same spoons which an Indian had stolen from him while the Santiago was moored off what Pérez called San Lorenzo, in 1774: and he stoutly held to this claim as a proof that the place was the same as that which Cook called Nootka. There does not seem to be any reference to these spoons in the contemporary accounts of the voyage of the Santiago. This does not prove Martínez false, although he may have made up the story after coming across the reference in Cook's Journal.

In 1789 the Viceroy of Mexico dispatched Martínez to occupy Nootka, and instructed him to mention this point, as proof of prior Spanish rights, should he become involved in an argument with any British who attempted to use that harbour. On the very day that he arrived at Nootka, Martínez claims to have obtained additional evidence during a visit which he, in company with some English officers, paid to

Macuina,<sup>1</sup> the Chief of the Nootka Indians. He reported it in his Journal:

While I was in Macuina's house he showed me the shells which I had given him in 1774 when I came to this port with the frigate Santiago . . . which corroborated all that I had said to the Englishmen at mess. Macuina then told me that the Indian who robbed me of the two silver spoons (which incident Captain Cook mentions in his work) had died some time before. Likewise I learned from the English that the Indian whom I hurt when I threw the shells off the ship was a brother of this Macuina. Both men recognised me and said that when I was here before in 1774 they were then mere boys.

#### Testimony of the natives

Cook, who knew very little about the Pérez voyage, surmised that no foreign ship had visited Nootka before him; although his own statement to the effect, quoted earlier, does leave a door open to that possibility. He attributed the fact that the Nootka Indians did not show great surprise at seeing his big ships, or the English muskets, to their native indolence and lack of curiosity. Other visitors, including Vancouver, found them indolent. Yet it is curious to note that when the Santiago approached San Lorenzo in 1774 the natives did show surprise, and were obviously displeased, and that (as we have seen in the report of Father Crespi) they circled in their canoes at a prudent

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1. His name was always spelt that way by the Spaniards. The British and Americans spelt it "Maquilla" or, more often, "Maquinna".

distance from the ship from about eight until eleven at night, yelling and refusing to approach. They approached it on the following morning, probably because they had overcome their fears and apprehensions. Could it not be that the Nootka Indians showed no surprise on seeing Cook's ships because they had seen a similar ship four years before?

Martínez tried to gather additional evidence from the Indians, in support of his claim, and reported to the Viceroy of Mexico:

. . . through the aforementioned Kendrick and his first pilot, D. José Ingraham, various Englishmen who are in this port have been informed that we were the first discoverers of this port, for since they [Kendrick and Ingraham] understand the language of the Indians very well, these people told them so, saying that of those who had come first, the Tayi, which is the name that they give to captains, wore cassocks and intertwined gold braid, and the rest of the men [wore] cloths on their heads,<sup>1</sup> [they said] that they [i.e. the Spaniards] had given them [i.e. the Indians] large shells which are still in the house of the village chief, whose name is Macuina, who is still living and is the same person to whom I presented them. This man has stated that the person who stole the two silver spoons from me is now dead. The way in which we learned which nation had come to this port first was by placing before them the flags of various sovereigns and among them our former one.<sup>2</sup> As soon as

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1 That is a kind of kerchief worn around the head. This can be seen in the English drawing representing the arrest of Colnett by the Spanish.

2 The flag of Spain was changed by a Royal Decree of May 28, 1785, to the one still used nowadays, because the old one was too much like those of other kingdoms then ruled by the Bourbon dynasty--France, Naples, Tuscany and Parma.

they saw the cord which hangs from the Golden Fleece which borders the Arms they said that that was the first one they had seen, pointing to the place where I was anchored.<sup>1</sup>

Another Spanish naval officer, José Tovar, also reported this experiment to the Viceroy--but with a chauvinistic slant:

In order to refute the English we called the Indians and particularly their captain, called Macuyna, and through the Interpreter we asked him which was the first flag they had seen, showing them as many as we could, and he pointed to the one which we were carrying under the old regulations, and he uttered the expression that the officers were dressed in copper; by this he meant the braid with which our King adorns the uniforms of the Naval Officers; and that the mariners were dressed with cloths on their heads and all [wearing] the same as what we were wearing on this voyage, so that the English were confused, confessing that James Cook had deceived them, stating in his book that he had discovered the said Port.<sup>2</sup>

The José Ingraham mentioned in Martínez' statement was an American navigator who was at Nootka on several occasions and learned the local language quite well. In a report that he prepared for Martínez, he further supported the Spanish contention:

. . . I suppos'd on our arrival here that Captn. Cook was the first of any Civilis'd Nation that ever visited this

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1 Martínez, Nootka, July 13, 1789. Manning papers, I, p 73.

2 Quoted in Noticias de la provincia de California, pp 75-76.

Sound. Indeed this is the general supposition of most Nations but our Stay here enabled us to converse so well with the Natives as to put it beyond a doubt there was one ship here before him and this they inadvertantly Inform'd us of their own accord their account was as Follows.

Ab out 40 months before Captn. Cook arrived a ship came into the sound and anchor'd within some rocks on the East side the entrance where she remain'd 4 days and Departed they said she was a larger ship than they had ever seen since that she was copper'd and had a Copper Head this I suppose to have been Gilt or painted Yellow, that she had great many guns and men that their Officers wore Blue lei'd coats and that most of the men wore Hankerchiefs [sic] about their heads they made them presents of Large pearl shells some of which they still have in possession besides that they gave them knives with crooked Blades and black handles they sold them Fish and their Garments but no furs. When they first saw this ship they said they were exceedingly Terrified and but a few of them ever ventur'd alongside all the different accounts of this ship agreed in every particular but one Inform'd me he saw from the Shore a Small Vessel in the Offing at a great distance from the Land which had but two masts from every circumstance I was led to believe at the time this must have been a Spanish ship, which immediately accounted to me for the two silver spoons Cap. Cook found among the Natives but your arrival is key to everything and clears the conjecture beyond a doubt as you was an Officer in the same ship . . .<sup>1</sup>

Robert Haswell, a companion of Ingraham with a similar knowledge of Nootka, wrote in his log-book:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From the report on Nootka by Ingraham. Mex. N.A., History, Vol. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Haswell's First Log--16 March 1789. Voyages of the Columbia, pp 58-59.

Nootka Sound was discovered by Capt. Cook March the 30, 1778 . . . but from the natives we learn there was a Ship anchored at the entrance of the Sound forty months before Captain Cooks arrival from the description they must have been Spaniards but the natives say their boats weir not out duering their tarey . . .<sup>1</sup>

How far do these two descriptions support the Spanish claim that the Santiago was at Nootka? The time of the mysterious ship's appearance would seem to support the claim. The Indians estimated that forty months elapsed between the visit of the unknown and that of Cook's ships. The actual time which elapsed between the presence of the Santiago in that area and the arrival of Cook was forty-three months--so there is little difference. It seems that both Ingraham and Haswell felt that the description of the external appearance of both ship and crew would suggest that she was a Spanish vessel. However, the Santiago stayed off Nootka only for about half a day, whereas the Indians referred to a ship which stayed for four days. Moreover, according to the Haswell version the ship's boats were not out at all during its "tarey", whereas the Santiago's boats were actually out off San Lorenzo for a short time. This detail of Haswell's is considered by Scholefield to be sufficient evidence that the Santiago did not anchor off Nootka Sound.

It is, of course, impossible to make all the facts known about the movements of the Santiago agree with both

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1 ". . . but the natives say their boats were not out during their tarry . . ."

versions of the Indian story. The Ingraham version may have been coloured by a desire to please Martínez; but Haswell's words were written in his log, and obviously not aimed at the Spanish. His version suggests that a ship, seemingly Spanish, anchored off Nootka at about the time that the Santiago was sailing in those latitudes. Enough is known to affirm with safety that no other large vessel of any nationality was on that coast at the time. Either we have to dismiss the Indian statement altogether, or to admit that if a ship did anchor near Nootka some forty months before Cook's arrival she was the Santiago.

### Conclusion

Several points have been put forward to support the affirmation that Nootka Sound was the place which Perez named San Lorenzo in 1774. None of these points furnishes conclusive proof. Could any final and unquestionable proof be found? There is one possibility that it might. The Santiago lost an anchor at the entrance to the inlet where she anchored: if an anchor should be found on the sea bottom at the entrance to Nootka Sound, and it could be proved that it was the anchor of the Santiago, the point could then be settled. In the meantime, it remains in doubt.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Scholefield quotes a legend about the arrival of Cook's ships at Nootka, which he heard in modern times "from Chief George, of Nootka Sound."<sup>1</sup> It resembles one gathered on the spot by a Spanish-Mexican in 1792 about the arrival of the first ship there, which was supposed to have been the Santiago.<sup>2</sup>  
 Vide: <sup>1</sup> Scholefield, op. cit., pp 82-83.  
<sup>2</sup> Mozino, op. cit., pp 54-55.



### CHAPTER III

#### MEARES AT NOOTKA

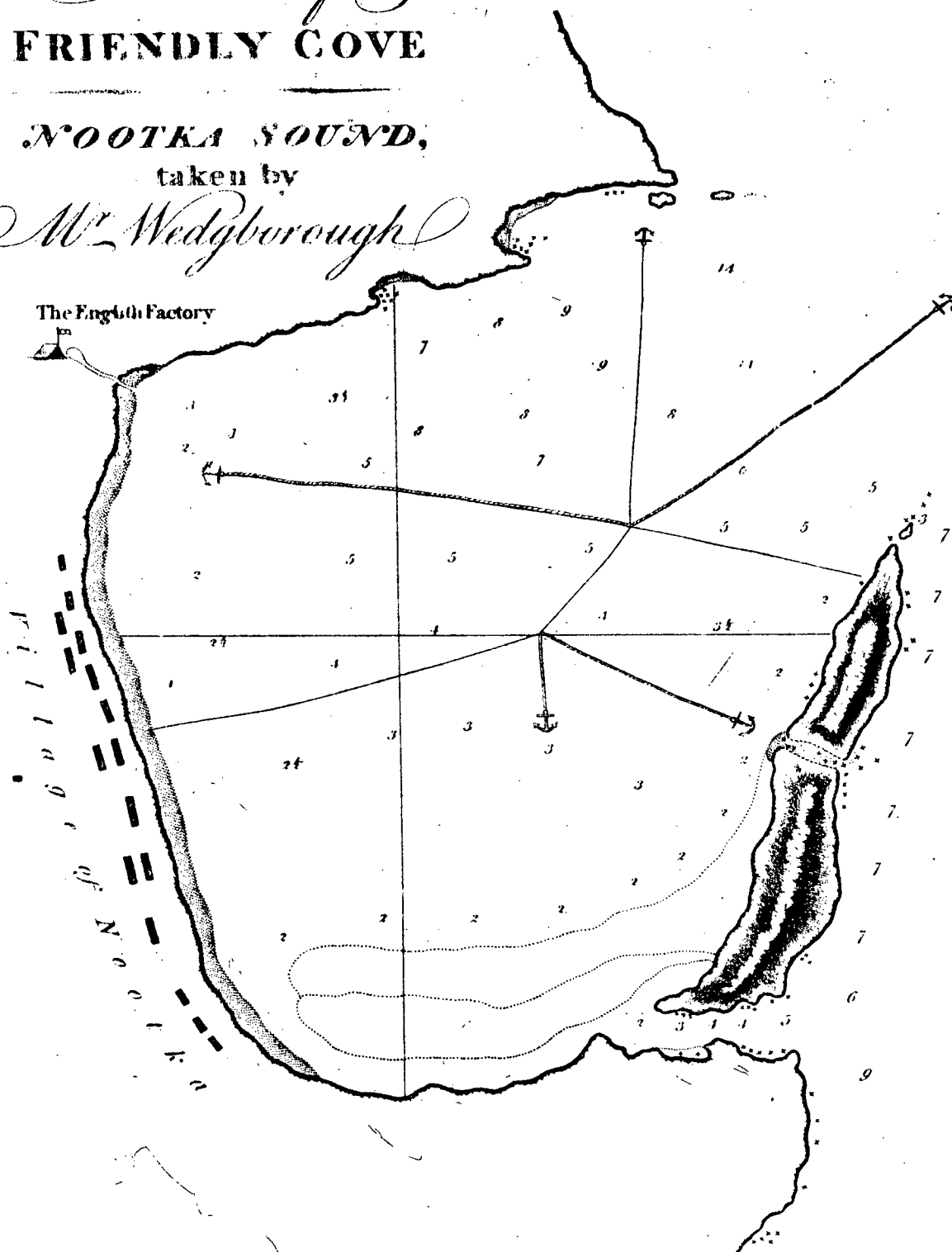
##### Meares' first voyage to the NW coast

We have seen the background of the British interest in the North-West Coast, and have mentioned some of the early British voyages to it. We now come to one of crucial importance, led by a leading figure in this story of Nootka.

John Meares had served in the British Navy, attaining the rank of lieutenant in 1778. After 1783, he retired from the service, and took command of a merchant ship sailing to India. There he decided to go into the fur-trade for the Bengal Fur Company, the leader of which was John Henry Fox. The company acquired two ships: the Nootka, Capt. John Meares, two hundred tons, and the Sea Otter, Capt. William Tipling, one hundred tons. Both sailed from Bombay under the British flag in March 1786. Meares, in the Nootka, made a stop at Malacca and then headed for the North-West Pacific; in August he arrived at a Russian settlement in Unalaska and thence went to Prince William Sound, where he expected to meet his companion. Tipling had actually arrived there before but had left, obviously intending to return. Meares waited in vain: the Sea Otter was never heard of again. As the

taken by

Mr. Wedgborough



Engraved by T. Foot

Edited with the Meares' Voyages - edit 1790  
ch ix betw p 108-109

winter had already set in, Meares felt that it was too late to make for the Sandwich Islands, as he had proposed; so he decided to spend the winter where he was, in Prince William. And what a winter it was! The ship was frozen in, and cold and scurvy made such ravages among the crew that Meares lost twenty-three of his men. The plight of the survivors was suddenly relieved when, one day in March, they saw the approach of two other British ships: the King George and the Queen Charlotte, sailing under licences of the South Sea Company and the East India Company. Their captains, Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, helped to relieve Meares' men and to navigate his vessel; but they also admonished him for having trespassed in areas covered by the trading monopoly of the South Sea Company. They made him post a bond and pledge<sup>1</sup> his word that he would leave for China immediately. In June, the Nootka sailed from Prince William Sound, but in spite of his pledge Meares managed to do some profitable trading on the coast before turning westwards. After a stop in the Sandwich Islands, he reached Macao in October, 1787.

#### Preparing for a voyage with the "flag trick"

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In Macao, Meares sold the Nootka, and was instrumental in forming a new fur-trading company, called

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1 As a result of the encounter, Meares and Dixon later indulged in a bitter controversy carried out by means of mutually incriminating pamphlets. (Vide: Howey, F.W., "The Dixon-Meares Controversy".)

2 It is not known what arrangements he made with his former associates.

the Merchant Proprietors, composed of British traders resident in India, Canton and China. They purchased two Portuguese vessels, the Felice Adventurer, two hundred tons, and the Iphigenia Nubiana, one hundred tons.<sup>1</sup> As Meares had already run into difficulties with one of the big British monopolies, the new company, intent on avoiding trouble, decided to try the "flag trick". A Portuguese, Joao Carvalho--a resident of Macao--was named a partner in the company and, through his influence, the Governor of that Portuguese port furnished both vessels with all the appearances of having Portuguese nationality: flags, passports, credentials and two fake captains, Francisco Joseph Viana and Joao de Mata Montero de Mendoca (or Mendonca). The real captains, however were to be John Meares and William Douglas. These Portuguese flags, papers and fake captains "were to be used as occasion might demand, either in the Chinese ports or in case of embarrassing meetings with British vessels, when the real commanders would appear in the Portuguese versions of the ships' papers as supercargoes".<sup>2</sup>

In the published record of Meares' voyages, there appears the English text of Instructions given by the Merchant Proprietors "to John Meares, Esquire, Commanding the Felice and the Iphigenia", issued in China (no place named) on December 24th, 1787. But in 1789 Martinez, the Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> These names were slightly different from their original Portuguese names. The new owners changed them thus.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, History of the North West Coast.

commander at Nootka, requested the documents of the Iphigenia and he was shown a set of instructions in Portuguese issued at Macao on December 23rd, 1787, and signed by Joao Carvalho, "to Captain Francisco José Viana, Captain of the Iphigenia Nubiana".

These two sets are practically identical in the dates, the contents and the wording of the instructions proper, but show interesting differences in other respects. Here are copies (in parallel format) of some of the paragraphs in<sup>1</sup> which differences appear.

As the prosecution of  
Voyages...and whereas it  
appears that a very  
beneficial trade may be  
carried on between China  
and the North West Coast  
of America, part of  
which was discovered by  
C. Francis Drake, in the  
year of our Lord, 1579.  
...we have fitted out  
and equipped two good  
and sufficient  
vessels...viz the

where an  
advantageous trade may be  
carried out, as is the case  
between the port of Macao and  
the Northwest coast of  
America, part of which was  
discovered by the Portuguese  
Admiral la Fonte in the  
year 1640.  
I, John Carvalho with a licence  
from and under the protection of  
His Excellency Bernardo Alejo  
de Lemos and Faría Governor and

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately I have only the Spanish translation of the Portuguese set so I give an indirect English version.

felice and the  
Iphigenia.

Captain General of our Noble  
Senate of Macao have  
prepared two excellent  
sloops for this purpose...  
One called Iphigenia Nubiana  
in which you voyage  
and the other Feliz Ventura  
commanded by Captain Juan de  
Mata Montero de Mendoza.

...And you are hereby  
required and directed to  
proceed with both vessels  
...to the North West  
Coast of America.

Should you in the course of  
your voyage, meet with any  
Russian, English, or Spanish  
vessel, you will treat them  
with civility and friendship;  
and allow them, if authorized,  
to examine your papers, which  
will show the object of your  
voyage. But you must at the  
same time, guard against  
surprise. Should they attempt  
to seize you, or even carry  
you out of your way, you will  
prevent it by every means in

Through the latter I have  
sent two sloops to the  
coast of North America.

In case of your meeting on your  
voyage with any Russian,  
Spanish or English vessels, you  
will treat them with the  
greatest possible friendship  
and permit them (if they demand  
it) to examine your papers that  
they may see the object of your  
voyage, taking care at the same  
time to avoid surprise, if they  
should attempt to divert you  
from your voyage. In such case  
you will resist force by force  
and protest against such violent  
and illegal proceedings before  
a tribunal at the first port in  
which you arrive, giving also  
an estimate of the value of the  
ships and cargoes. You will  
send to us at Macao a copy of  
the said protest, with a narra-  
tive of all that shall have  
occurred, and another such to  
Francisco Bandeiras and Geronimo  
Ribeiro Nores, our correspondents  
at Lisbon, and likewise to the  
Portuguese ambassador at the

your power and repel by force. You will, on your arrival in the first port, protest before a proper officer against such illegal procedure; and ascertain, as nearly as you can, the value of your vessel and cargo; sending such protest with a full account of the transaction, to us at China. Should you in such conflict, have the superiority you will then take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also her cargo; and bring both, with the officers and crew to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and their crews punished as pirates...

Signed, The Merchant Proprietors

Court of the Nation of the aggressor, in order that our Sovereign may demand satisfaction. If, perchance, in such conflict you should have the superiority you will take possession of the vessel and its cargo, conducting them, with the officers, to Macao, in order that they may be condemned as legal prize and the officers and crew punished as pirates.<sup>1</sup>

The differences between the two texts are significant. The Portuguese one does not even mention the name of Meares, who was the real and only leader of the expedition; it insinuates Portuguese rights on the North-West coast with the

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<sup>1</sup> This part is copied from Manning's translation, The Nootka Sound Controversy, p 317.

statement that part of it was discovered by La Fonte in 1640.<sup>1</sup> It instructs the nominal Portuguese captains, Viana and Montero de Mendoza to appeal to Portuguese authorities in case of conflict with British, Russian or Spanish ships.

The English text does not even mention the Portuguese captains, and suggests that Britain, not Portugal, had exclusive right of trade on the North-West coast, thanks to Drake. In case of difficulty with Spanish or Russian ships, Meares is not advised to seek the protection of his government or its representatives, and, except for the flattering reference to British rights and to Captain Drake, the British nation and government are carefully avoided.

It was partly because of this false Portuguese facade that the ships and officers of Meares' company were in trouble at Nootka in the following year, 1789. Then Meares appealed to his country for support, but when he reported the matter to the British Parliament in a "Memorial"

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1 Actually it is far from proved that this man made the voyage which has been attributed to him. In any case, true or false, the story is not of a Portuguese voyage, but a Spanish voyage in a Spanish ship commanded by a Portuguese, as had been the case with Magellan in an earlier age. And just as Portugal did not claim any rights from Magellan's expedition, whatever discoveries were made by La Fonte should not be considered Portuguese discoveries. Furthermore, the Spanish commander at Nootka was technically right when, discussing this point with Viana, he stated that in any case Portugal was at the time under the dominion of Spain. Actually in that very year the Portuguese proclaimed their independence from the Spanish crown (which had inherited Portugal sixty years before), but this independence was not fully effective and recognised for some time. In 1640 the Portuguese state was not yet organised, and therefore could not have carried out maritime discoveries.



he carefully withheld the details of the cover-up and merely stated that the Felice and the Iphigenia had permission to navigate under, or to claim any of the advantages granted to, the Portuguese flag, and that this was done in order "to evade the excessively high port charges demanded by the Chinese from all European nations except the Portuguese".

#### Meares arrives at Nootka

The Felice, Captain Douglas, and the Iphigenia, Captain Meares, were dispatched to the North-West Coast to acquire furs and to prepare the ground for the establishment of a British trading-post. Although the instructions for the voyage did not mention any definite building plans, the two ships were provided with materials and tools for the building of a small vessel, and carried a number of European artisans, as well as Chinese smiths and carpenters. Out of a total of ninety men in the two ships, fifty were Chinese. Meares stated that these were taken as an experiment, because of their reputed hardiness and industry, and because they were content with low wages.

The two ships were expected to follow different routes and to meet at Nootka later; then one would go to the Sandwich Islands to spend the winter, and the other would go to China. The following year, 1789, both would meet again at Nootka. This plan was followed but with a few changes. Both ships left Macao towards the end of 1787. Douglas, commanding the Iphigenia, traded with the natives of the coast

of Alaska, at Cook's River and Prince William Sound, and did not enter Nootka Sound until late August, 1788. Meares, commanding the Felice, visited the Sandwich Islands and arrived at Nootka Sound on May 13th. He did not moor his ship at Resolution Cove, where the Cook expedition had stayed, but at Friendly Cove, an excellent anchorage which Cook had also visited and had, perhaps, given that name.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Indians called it Uquot.<sup>2</sup>

### Friendly Cove and its chieftain

Since some of the early fur-traders had stopped there, Friendly Cove had become the favourite corner of Nootka Sound. Over a period of five months, between May and September, 1788, the Cove was the headquarters of the Meares expedition. Later, and for about five years, it was the site of a Spanish establishment. Throughout all that time the native inhabitants of the Cove--more or less displaced by the foreigners--had intermittent and, on the whole, friendly intercourse with them. Some trade or bartering was carried out; the natives provided furs, fish, whale fat, and ocre earth for painting, in exchange for shells, cloth, rifles and trifles. They would also transport visitors in canoes and carry out errands for them. The chieftain of the tribe,

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1 Friendly Cove is commonly stated to have been so named by James Strange in his expedition of 1786, but Strange himself speaks of it as "that bay mentioned by Captain Cook under the name of Friendly Harbour". James Strange, Journal, Madras, 1928, p 20.

2 Haswell, of the Columbia wrote "Uquot or Friendly Cove is situated..." Voyages of the Columbia, p 59.

Macquinna, played a very important if secondary role in the events of all these years. He was the ever-present, if often silent and bewildered, witness. He only intervened sporadically but his words and deeds add up to a major part in this story. He appears in it, sometimes making deals with visiting captains, at other times pleading for himself, or for his people, with an occasional lengthy and eloquent speech. Visitors cajoled him with receptions and presents and he gathered a sizeable and picturesque museum of such gifts. In his turn, he would provide entertainment for his visitors with meals, and especially with programmes of dancing and singing in which he took part as producer and artist.

He was aware, in some vague way, of the rivalries between the parties of different nationalities which appeared at Nootka, and tried to profit from them by complaining to one about the misdeeds of the other and trying to get something from each--always concerned with his own interests and those of his people. He was often carried away by such human weaknesses as pride, jealousy and resentment. The several comments made on him by these foreigners are often contradictory--some saw him as a crude savage, who ate children and had neither dignity nor decency; others considered him a man of some ability and distinction who quickly learned "civilised" manners.

According to Spanish sources, Macquinna himself claimed to have seen the Santiago off Nootka, in 1774, when he

was still a boy;<sup>1</sup> his father was killed in a fight against another tribe, and Macquina later avenged this death<sup>2</sup> presumably by some more killing. In 1791 his age was estimated to be around thirty.

There are two contemporary portraits of him--one, presumably done in 1788, appeared in the edition of Meares' Voyages<sup>3</sup>; another one was drawn by the Spanish artist Tomás de Suría in 1791. There are some differences between the two. I have not been able to ascertain who did the first one but, in any case, the style is not outstanding. Suría's drawings and sketches are obviously those of a true artist, and he was more than once complimented on the accuracy of his portraits. So, I consider Suría's portrait to be the more faithful of the two.

#### Land purchase

For the purpose of this study a full account of the activities of Meares and his men at Nootka is not necessary. The following is a brief digest of the main facts with specific and detailed consideration of those which have a bearing on the subsequent Anglo-Spanish discussions as to what rights Meares acquired on the land at Friendly Cove and what happened to a house his men built there.

According to Meares, he and his crew were cordially

1 Martínez, Journal.

2 Moziño: Notícias de Nutka.

3 Meares Voyages, edition 1790 Ch. IX, between pages 108 and 109.

welcomed by the natives at Friendly Cove; he gave presents to their chiefs, Callicum and Maquinna (whom he calls Maquilla), and made a deal with the latter:

Maquilla had not only readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory whereon a house might be built for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave there, but had promised us also his assistance in forwarding our works and his protection of the party which was destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for his kindness and to ensure a continuance of it, the Chief was presented with a pair of pistols which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival.<sup>1</sup>

About two years later, in his Memorial to the British Parliament, Meares states: "That your Memorialist, immediately on his arrival in Nootka Sound, purchased from Maquilla, the Chief of the district contiguous to and surrounding that place, a spot of ground, whereon he built a house for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade with the natives and hoisted the British colours thereon; that he also erected a breast-work, which surrounded the house and mounted one three-pounder in the front; that having so done your Memorialist proceeded to trade..."<sup>2</sup>

Later still, in 1792, Robert Duffin, an officer of this expedition of 1788, was requested to give testimony about Meares' assertion. He wrote and signed, under oath, a statement which reads, in part:

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<sup>1</sup> Meares, Voyages, Chapter IX, p 114.

<sup>2</sup> Memorial of John Meares, first ed., p 1.

On our first arrival at that port the chiefs Maquinna and Callicum were absent. On their return which was about the 17th or 18th of the same month [May] Mr. Mears and myself accompanied by Mr. Robert Funter our 2nd Officer went ashore and treated with the said chiefs for the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in His Britannic Majesty's name and accordingly bought it of them for 8 or 10 sheets of copper and several other trifling articles and the natives were fully satisfied with their agreement and their chiefs and likewise their subjects did homage to Mr. Mears as their Sovereign using those formalities that are peculiar to themselves and which Mr. Mears has made mention of in his publication. The British flag was display'd at the same time that these formalities were used as is customary on these occasions (and not the Portuguese flag as has been intimated by several people who were not present at the time and consequently advanced these assertions, without a foundation). On our taking possession of the Cove in his Maj's name as aforementioned Mr. Mears caused a house to be rector on the spot where the Chatham's tent now stands, it being the most convenient spot of the Cove for our intentions. The chiefs and their subjects offered to quit the Cove entirely and reside at a place call'd Tashes and leave the place to ourselves as entire Masters and owners of the whole Cove and lands adjacent, consequently we were not confined to that spot but had full liberty to erect a house in any other part of the Cove, but chose the spot that we did for the above-mention'd reason.<sup>1</sup>

### Meares builds a house

With the work of the Chinese artisans Meares had brought, and with good assistance from the natives, a house was built on the beach with such speed that it was completed

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in full in A New Vancouver Journal, edited by E.S. Meany, Seattle, 1915, pp 28-29.

only two weeks after the arrival of the expedition. Meares described the building in the following terms:

On the ground floor there was ample room for the coopers, sail-makers and other artisans to work in bad weather; a large room also set apart for the stores and provisions, and the armourers' shop was attached to one end of the building and communicated with it. The upper storey was divided into an eating-room and chambers for the party. On the whole our house, though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose to which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound. A strong breastwork thrown up round the house, enclosing a considerable area of ground which with one piece of cannon, placed in such a manner as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion.<sup>1</sup>

Duffin, in the affidavit mentioned before, said:

Mr. Meares therefore appointed Mr. Rob Funter, his 2nd officer, to reside in the house which consisted of 3 Bedchambers for the Officers and men, and a Mess room. The above apartments were about 5 feet from the ground and under them were apartments allotted for putting our stores in. Exclusive of this house were several sheds and out houses for the convenience of the Artificers to work in.

In the meantime, work was proceeding on the building of a schooner, which was to be the first non-native vessel built (or at least completed) on the North-West Coast of America. Materials for it had been brought over from China,

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<sup>1</sup> Meares, Voyages, pp 115-16.

(as stated above) and preparatory work had actually started en route.

Leaving a party in Friendly Cove to continue this work, Meares prepared to set out on a trading trip around the coast. He recorded that before sailing he paid a formal visit to Maquilla, and that "as a bribe to secure his attachment he was promised that when we finally left the coast he should enter into full possession of the house and all the goods and chattels thereto belonging. Maquilla was glowing with delight at the attention we had paid him, readily granted every request that we thought proper to make, and confirmed with the strongest assurances of good faith the treaty of friendship which had already been entered into between us".

#### British expansion

Meares, ~~in~~ the Felice, left Nootka on June 11th and returned on July 26th; he left again on August 8th and was back on August 24th. He claimed that, during these two trips, in addition to acquiring many furs he laid the foundations for more permanent trade. As he put it to the British Parliament: "...during the absence of your Memorialist from Nootka Sound, he obtained from Wickananish, the Chief of the district surrounding Port Cox [now Clayuclat] and Port Effingham, situated in the latitude 48° and 49°, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district and also his permission



to build any storehouses, or other edifices, which he might judge necessary." He also claimed to have bought a tract of land from Tatouche, an Indian Chief near Juan de Fuca Strait.<sup>1</sup> Meares also claimed credit for patriotic achievements; namely that from Port Cox, he despatched Robert Duffin in the longboat of the Felice to "visit the numerous villages seated along the shore leading to the Straits of Juan de Fuca" and to "take possession of the Strait in the name of the King and Crown of Britain ... We took possession of the straits of Juan de Fuca in the name of the King of Britain with the forms that had been adopted by preceding navigators on similar occasions."<sup>2</sup>

This commission was marred by a small incident. As Duffin and his party were trying to land at a harbour on the shore of what is now Vancouver Island, they were faced with a group of natives who provoked them to a skirmish.

Meanwhile, the party which had been left at Nootka continued the building of the schooner and made improvements on the house, which was "rendered perfectly secure from any attack of the natives, though they should have employed their force against it. A palissade of strong stakes, with a well-formed fence of thick bushes, had rendered the ground, in a great measure, impregnable."<sup>3</sup>

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1 Meares Memorial, pp 1-2.

2 Meares, Voyages, p 173. Most historians of the North-West Coast are skeptical about these claims, and, in any case, his legal status hardly qualified him to act in the name of His Britannic Majesty.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, pp 296-297.

An American who saw it at the time described it more laconically as "a tolerable strong garrison or place of Defence".<sup>1</sup>

There were some reasons for thinking of defence: the Indians in Friendly Cove had severed their relations with the British after they heard about the clash between Duffin's party and the natives.

Early in September, the Indians started getting ready to move their village to a place where they expected fish to be more plentiful. As we shall see they used to do this every year at about that time. Meares explained their procedure: "the manner in which the houses of Nootka are constructed, renders the embarkations as well as the debarcations a work of little time and ready execution, so that a large and populous village is entirely removed to a different station with as much ease as any other water carriage". Meares, however, was somewhat confused as to the distance of the new site. In one place he says it was to be about two miles from the sound, and elsewhere (entry for September 7th, p. 344) it is to be "near 30 miles from the ship, and as many from the sea".<sup>2</sup>

Meares also explained that, before leaving for their winter quarters, the Indian chiefs came to take leave of him and he let them understand "in how many moons we would return

1 Haswell's first log. Voyages of the Columbia, p 48.

2 Meares, Voyages, Ch. XX, p 214.

to them and that we should then be accompanied by others of our countrymen and build more houses and endeavour to introduce our manners and mode of living to the practice of our Nootka friends".<sup>1</sup> The Indians were delighted "beyond measure", and thereupon Maquinna decided to start doing obedience to the British, "as his lords and sovereigns". So, in the presence of his people, he performed a sort of coronation ceremony of the person of Meares, whom he dressed up in his tiara of feathers and robe of otter skins; whereupon the Indian chieftain and his subjects there present prostrated themselves on the ground, singing one of their "plaintive songs", which produced "a solemn and pleasing effect" on the minds of the British. Meares does not give the precise date of this event, but it is clearly inferred that it occurred in September.<sup>2</sup> Duffin, in the statement quoted above, inferred that it had happened around the 17th or 18th of May.

### Arrival of Americans

We should now record the first appearance at Nootka of the ships from Boston, which will pay periodic visits there throughout the six or seven years of our story, and provide valuable testimony. The sloop Washington arrived in Friendly Cove on September 7th. Her captain, Robert Gray, explained to the British party he met there that the winds had separated his ship from its consort the Columbia, which he

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1 Meares, Voyages, p 216.

2 Ibid., p 217.

expected to arrive presently. It did so on September 23rd,<sup>1</sup>  
(or 24th, according to the reckoning of the British).

Meares felt that Gray was surprised to find the English in those parts and that he was "very sanguine in the superior advantages which his countrymen from New England might reap from this track of trade; and was big with many mighty projects in which we understood he was protected by the American Congress".<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Meares wrote this tongue-in-cheek, but in fact the Americans eventually overtook the British.

The Columbia, Captain John Kendrick, arrived a few days later.<sup>3</sup>

On September 20th, the schooner, being completed, was duly launched. With very natural pride Meares recorded the event: "and to give all due honour to such an important scene, we adopted, as far as was in our power, the ceremony of other dockyards. As soon as the tide was at its proper height, the English ensign was displayed on shore at the house and on

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1 The British ships came from Europe or from China, but the Spanish and Boston ships came from Mexico (or via South America). There was a difference of one day between the British and the Spanish or American dates in records and logbooks. The device of dropping one day to the calendar in mid-Pacific had not been adopted yet at the time. Throughout this story the dates will be given by the Spanish and American reckoning, but the date as reckoned by the British will be given in brackets, thus: April 21 (22).

2 Meares, Voyages, Ch. XX, p 220.

3 Unfortunately, the log for this voyage of the Columbia, which would be of enormous interest for this study, has disappeared. That of the Washington is known (it covers up to the middle of June 1789) but it is not so valuable to us because this schooner was not often moored at Friendly Cove.

board the new vessel, which was named the 'North West America', as being the first bottom ever built and launched in this part of the globe". The Indians, who had been notified about the ceremony, came to behold it, and Meares was particularly pleased that the crew of the Washington witnessed it too.

The presence of the Americans ought also to be considered, when we are describing the attendant ceremonies of this important crisis; which from the labour that produced it, - the scene that surrounded it, - the spectators that beheld it, and the commercial advantages, as well as civilising ideas connected with it, will attach some little consequence to its proceedings in the mind of the philosopher, as well as in the view of the politician.<sup>1</sup>

The log-book of the Washington, written by Haswell, records the event in very few words and does not state anything about the display of the British or any other flag.

Just as the Columbia was arriving, on the 24th September, the Felice, with Meares, sailed from Nootka, but a large part of the expedition stayed for another month. Douglas was left in command, with the Iphigenia moored at Friendly Cove, while the new schooner, North West America, was being fitted for sea. On 27th October, both these ships set sail from Nootka Sound; with every remaining member of the Meares' expedition on board.

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<sup>1</sup> Meares, Voyages, p 220.

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION OF MEARES' ASSERTIONS

#### Meares' assertions

In the course of the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Nootka, which started in 1789, Meares and his associates made the following assertions:

1. That the fact that his ships had been placed under the Portuguese flag was only an innocent device for the exclusive purpose of deceiving the port authorities at Macao.
2. That he had duly purchased land at Nootka, and at Port Cox or Ephingham.
3. That he had taken possession of these places in the name of His Britannic Majesty and had been crowned by the Indians as their sovereign, all of which was done under the British flag.
4. That he had had a house built on the land which he had previously purchased from the natives.
5. That the house was still standing when the Spanish expedition came to occupy Nootka; and

6. That the Spanish commander, E.J. Martínez, besides seizing several ships of the re-organised Meares' company, appropriated the land and the house belonging to it.

This latter claim is not openly made in the published papers of Meares, but he obviously made it when, upon his return to London, he gave his version of the Nootka incident to officials of the Government. A digest of it appears in a "narrative" prepared by J.B. Burges, Undersecretary of State<sup>1</sup> for Foreign Affairs, which includes this paragraph:

As soon as the Iphigenia was thus seized Mr. Martínez took possession of the lands which had been purchased by Captain Meares, hoisting the standard of Spain on the House he had erected, and performing the other ceremonies usual on such occasions. At the same time he issued a Declaration That All Lands, comprised between Cape Horn and the 60th Degree of North Latitude, belonged to His Catholic Majesty. He then proceeded to build Batteries, storehouses, &c; in the execution of which he forcibly employed some of the Crew of the Iphigenia, and severely punished many of them who attempted to resist a Command, which they conceived to be injurious....such was the substance of the Information received from Capt. Meares.<sup>2</sup>

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1 This narrative is an extremely interesting document on the subject of the Nootka Sound controversy. Although it was not signed, there is unquestionable proof that Burges was the author. The name of the publisher is unknown, but there is reason to believe that the year of publication was 1791. (See footnote: Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, p 365.)

2 Burges, A Narrative of the Negotiations Occasioned by the Dispute Between England and Spain in the Year 1790, 1, p 13. (See footnote above.)

The British Government, accepting practically all the claims and assertions made by Meares (with supporting statements by his associates), succeeded in making the Spanish Government implicitly admit that all the ships seized by Martinez were legally British, and furthermore, that he had appropriated lands and buildings belonging to British subjects (i.e. Meares). This was reflected in the first article of the Convention of October 28th, 1791 settling the Nootka Sound controversy:

It is agreed that the buildings and tracts of land situated on the Northwest Coast of the continent of North America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

Consequently, the Spanish Government was obliged to give an order (May 12th, 1791) to its commander at Nootka, saying:

...that His Britannic Majesty's officer...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 Saint Lawrence, as in the other, said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about fifteen leagues distant from the former to the southward; and that such parcels or districts of land, of which the English subjects were dispossessed, be restored to the said officer, in case the Spaniards should not have given them up.



In compliance with the Convention a British and a Spanish commissioner, Captain George Vancouver and Captain J.F. Bodega-Quadra, met in Friendly Cove in 1792, to arrange for the transfer as established in the article quoted above. The two men argued a great deal as to what lands and buildings the British subjects (that is to say, Meares and his company) had acquired in Nootka and what was there when the Spaniards occupied the place. Both gathered as many testimonies as they could on the point; but, being unable to agree after a protracted, though very friendly, argument, they referred the matter back to their respective governments.

As the argument revolves on the activities of the Meares expedition, we should examine at this stage the various accounts of it.

Unfortunately the original logs of the voyage of the Felice and the Iphigenia cannot be traced. The only accounts of these controversial events available from British witnesses are those contained in Meares' publications (which include affidavits made by members of his expedition during the period of the controversy with Spain) and some other affidavits obtained by Vancouver. In the case of exploratory expeditions, such as those of Cook and Vancouver, other members in addition to the keeper of the log took notes of events and these are of enormous historical interest. However, for mere trading voyages such as Meares', this was not often the case.

British or Portuguese flag?

We have seen that the ships Felice and Iphigenia had been nominally placed under the Portuguese flag, and that Meares explained that this was done in order to avoid heavy port duties in Macao. The same reason is given by Duffin in a paragraph from his affidavit:

These vessels were equipped under Portuguese Colours with a view to mitigate those heavy port charges imposed on ships of every nation (the Portuguese only excepted) which circumstance is well known to all commercial gentlemen trading to that part of the world. Therefore the above vessels were fitted out in the name and under the firm of John Cavallo Esq. a Portuguese merchant then residing at Macao, but he had no property in them whatsoever, both their cargoes being entirely British property and entirely navigated by British Subjects.<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that both Meares and Duffin wanted to suggest that, while they were on the North-West Coast, their ships were always under the British flag, and that Meares took care to use it in ceremonies on land. It was probably to prove his point further that Meares published an extract of his instructions to Funter (who was to command the new schooner North West America), written from Nootka Sound on September 10th, 1788: "You are, on no account, to hoist any colours until such time as your employers give you orders for this purpose, except on taking possession of any new

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<sup>1</sup> Duffin forgets that they actually carried more Chinese than British subjects.

discovered land; you will then do it, with the usual formality, for the Crown of Great Britain." Actually these instructions do not prove very much. The new schooner was built by an expedition which was concealing its British identity, so that the new ship could not be fully and truly British. Besides there is no documentary evidence that these instructions were really issued. They bear the date of September 10th, 1788: that is, ten days before the schooner was launched, or two weeks before Meares sailed off from Nootka. Would he have written those instructions so much in advance? Perhaps, but one may be inclined to suspect that he later made up that particular paragraph to add as much British character as possible to his expedition--after the event.

Both Meares and Duffin stated that the British flag was displayed at the ceremony of launching the schooner. A print representing this ceremony appeared in the first edition of Meares' account of his voyages and it certainly displays the British flag, both on the schooner and atop the house ashore. However, as Manning observed, there is at least one inaccuracy in this drawing: it shows in the background the Indian village, though Meares himself stated a few pages before that the Indians had by then removed it some miles away. Therefore the drawing need not be taken as a faithful representation of the scene and as evidence that the British flag was hoisted. The flag is also shown on a drawing probably

representing a longboat (obviously of the Felice) at the entrance to Juan de Fuca Strait.

### Refuting Meares

It is only natural that Meares should insinuate that he seldom flew the Portuguese flag, but as F.W. Howey said, "all contemporary accounts agree that the flag actually flown was that of Portugal". Indeed there are at least three accounts from other sources affirming that Meares' ships were seen under Portuguese colours while in or around Nootka:

a) Recording the arrival of the Washington in Friendly Cove on September 16th, 1788, Haswell stated in her log-book: "we found riding here the Fillis Adventurer John Mears and the Efagenia Nubiana Wm Douglas Commanders fitted from Macao in China and under Portogees Coulers both belonging to the same merchants."

b) the ship's captain, Robert Gray, in a letter to his employers dated July 13th, 1789, reported: "I arrived on the 16th of September and found two English snows and one schooner under Portuguese colours."

c) Captain Duncan, of the Princess Royal, met Meares, in the Felice, off Nootka on the 8th or 9th of August, 1788, and reported that the Felice was "under Portuguese colours". "On my first hailing him whence he came, I was answered, from Lisbon, and that she was commanded by Don Antonio

Pedro Manella, or some such stuff, which I knew to be false."

Duncan asserted that Meares had: "at that time a small vessel on the stocks at Nootka; where he told me he had a fort, guns mounted and Portuguese colours flying". Furthermore, as we shall see, the Iphigenia and the North West America came back to Nootka some months later, unquestionably under Portuguese colours.

The American officers, Haswell and Gray, became very friendly with the Spaniards--for this reason their 'public' statements may have been biased in favour of the Spanish side. But the words quoted here were not 'public' statements but were written either in a ship's log or in private letters to their employers. Moreover, the first observation was made months before the Spanish appeared at Nootka. Nor is there any reason why Haswell or Gray should lie about a thing which did not in the least affect their interests. As for Duncan, it is known that he was unfriendly to Meares, but he himself was sailing a ship under the charter of the South Sea Company, and it is reasonable to assume that Meares would attempt to make his ship appear as being Portuguese, since he had had trouble with the South Sea Company in the previous year. The statements of these three witnesses, then, can be taken as sufficient proof that Meares' ships were flying the Portuguese flag while in or around Nootka, at least for part of the time.

Still more important evidence is that of Captain James Colnett, written in 1789; preparing to sail for a voyage

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan, who had come to the N.W. coast from Macao, probably knew of Dixon's encounter with Meares the year before.

to Nootka, precisely for Meares and his new associates, Colnett explained in his diary that the Iphigenia and the North<sup>1</sup> West America had been left "under Portuguese Couloours".

Meares' reasons for using the Portuguese flag

In so far as he admitted his use of the Portuguese flag, Meares justified it as a device to avoid heavy port duties in China; but it is clear that there was another and more powerful reason for his using it not only in the Chinese ports but also on the opposite shores of the Pacific. Dixon, the man who had caught Meares in Prince William flouting the South Sea Company's regulations, later affirmed that "the principal motive of this was to evade the South Sea Company's<sup>2</sup> Licence."

Furthermore, there may have been a third motive: the hope that, should they encounter the Spaniards, these British ships would get a better reception if they appeared to be Portuguese, for, at that time, Spain was on much better terms with Portugal than she was with Britain.

Meares was, therefore, a private British individual navigating British ships disguised as Portuguese in order to flout British laws. Yet he eventually obtained the support of the British Parliament and Government for the claim that

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p 17. See Chapter 5 for the context of this quotation.

<sup>2</sup> F.W. Howey, The Dixon-Meares Controversy, p 116.

he had acquired land in Nootka and that this was to be considered as British land.

### Argument on Meares' land purchase

What rights were really acquired by the Meares expedition over lands at Friendly Cove? Let us first compare what Meares and Duffin said about it, in the statements quoted above.

1. Meares explains the cession of land as a deal arranged between Macquinna and himself. Duffin includes another native chieftain, Calicum (or Keleken) in the deal.

2. Meares, both in his Journal and in his Memorial merely mentions that he bought from Macquinna, "a spot of ground in his territory whereon a house might be built". Duffin says that this included "the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound", and that furthermore the kind Indians even "offered to quit the Cove entirely..." leaving the British "as entire Masters and owners of the whole Cove and lands adjacent".

3. Meares says that he paid a pair of pistols for the land; Duffin that the price paid was "...8 or 10 sheets of copper and several other trifling articles and the Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement...."

4. Meares makes no mention of "formalities" in the act of purchase or of any flag being hoisted. Duffin

implies that the act was formalised by a ceremony during which the Indian chiefs and people "did homage to Mr. Mears as their Sovereign" with the British flag being displayed. Meares mentions such a ceremony, but places it many weeks later--once the house was built--and does not suggest that any such act consecrated the purchase of the land. In every respect Duffin tries to make the deal look almost like a treaty between the Indians and Great Britain. Duffin claims that he was a witness to the transaction. He made this statement on the spot, at Nootka, at Vancouver's request three years after the event--and while Macquinna himself was still there. Either he or Vancouver might have sought the testimony of the Indian chief. They did not; but the Spaniards did.

#### Macquinna's testimony

Only a few hours after the Spanish commander had heard about this statement by Duffin, he arranged a meeting attended by several captains and officers of other nations, at which Macquinna (through J. Moziño--a Mexican scientist, acting as interpreter) was asked to explain what truth there was in Meares' assertion. According to the affidavit which was thereupon signed by several of the witnesses--including the American, Ingraham--Macquinna declared that "he had not sold any land to Meares"; and when told that Captain Meares had testified that he had "he answered that nevertheless it was false, for he did not sell him anything except furs at the rate of ten for each sheet of copper."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bodega-Quadra's Journal, pp 115-120.



In recording this event Joseph Ingraham wrote that Macquinna "made a declaration that he had never sold any lands whatever to Mr. Mears or any other person except Captain Kendrick, whom he acknowledged to be the proprietor of lands around Mawinna. Captain Magee and Mr. Howell<sup>1</sup> witnessed this declaration".

For what it may be worth, let us mention the words of Macquinna to a later visitor, the Frenchman Camille Rocquefeuil, who visited him at Nootka in 1818 and questioned him about Meares' house and land rights. Rocquefeuil says: "I took this opportunity to obtain, at the fountain-head, information of the quarrel to which it gave rise. The result of my enquiry was that Meares' house had been built with the permission of Macquinna, but that there had not been any act of cession or treaty between them."<sup>2</sup>

### Comments

Whatever credit may be given to Macquinna's statements--and it is impossible to ascertain that he was aware of the implications of any such deal--the fact still remains that he did not confirm the assertions of Meares and Duffin. As for these assertions, they are not supported by any other evidence and the two men provided different and rather contradictory versions of the deal they claimed to have made with Macquinna.

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<sup>1</sup> Logbook of the Hope, September 1792, Voyages of the Columbia,

<sup>2</sup> Voyage Round the World between the years 1816-1819 by M. Camille de Rocquefeuil in the ship Bordelais (trans) London, 1823.

There is some sense in this observation by Ingraham, written in his logbook: "If Mr. Mears did purchase the lands he mentions no doubt a man of his penetration knowing the laws of his country had a deed drawn at the time.

Aside from the disagreement of Meares and Duffin as to what Macquinna was paid--whether a pair of pistols or some sheets of copper--it was, in any case, a ridiculous amount. Ever since the discovery of America, the Spanish and other peoples had mercilessly appropriated parts of it for themselves; but to pay a pittance does not make such an acquisition much better than if it was achieved by means of sheer, shameless appropriation.

Yet, when Meares presented to the British Government his bill of claims for compensations from the Spaniards, he magnified enormously the "payment", for he entered this item: "Amount of goods given to the Indians for the purchase of lands of which they [Meares and company] have been dispossessed...£1000." One thousand pounds at that time was a very considerable sum. Surely a businessman like Meares did not throw away his money in gifts to such primitive people as the Indians at Nootka!

It should be borne in mind that Meares' Memorial was prepared and published for the purpose of winning Government and public support for the claims of a company which actually deserved to be punished for flouting British laws. Undoubtedly this document was carefully prepared and was

supported with much additional, but very doubtful, "evidence". Some of its points contradict the statements made in Meares' published account of his voyage, which, again, was undoubtedly written with those considerations in mind. It is not the text of the original log of Meares' vessel and, as the historian, Manning, commented: "...there are internal evidences that the narrative was not written, at least not completed, until Meares knew of the operations of the Spaniards at Nootka in 1789. Hence there is no reason why it should not be influenced by the same partisanship and selfish interest [as the Memorial]<sup>1</sup>".

Furthermore, Meares has been proved to be inaccurate and mendacious in other points in his writings which have nothing to do with the Nootka incident.

Throughout the age of European colonisation, Britain and Spain held differing conceptions of what constituted the right to claim sovereignty over a given area of land. Spain claimed sovereignty over a large part of the American continent by virtue of divine right, as it were, because she had been fortunate enough to sponsor the voyages of Columbus. Britain, needless to say, refused to accept this interpretation, and maintained that only effective and continuous occupation of a given area by a colonising power gave that power the right to claim sovereignty over the area concerned.

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<sup>1</sup> Manning: The Nootka Sound Controversy, p 295.

In the light of most of the evidence available to them, the historians who have studied this point in the intervening years are agreed that whatever Meares did at Nootka did not entitle Great Britain to claim sovereignty over the port, even by her own standards, because, at the time when the Spanish occupation force arrived, there were no signs of an effective British occupation in the form of any establishment or garrison on land. The additional evidence collected within this chapter proves beyond doubt that this was the case. Meares' house had disappeared, and a British merchant vessel (the Iphigenia), masquerading as Portuguese, was Britain's only representative in the port at that time.

Manning, in his authoritative study of the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Nootka, commented:

There is nothing in his [Meares'] narrative which indicates that at that time Meares had thought of acquiring a permanent title, either for himself or for his government. Neither is there any unmistakeable indication to the contrary. Under these circumstances, any title to sovereignty thus acquired would have to depend on subsequent operations.<sup>1</sup>

...If there were nothing else to consider, and if the title to sovereignty rested wholly on actual occupation, whether that occupation be by persons of a public or private character, then Britain had a better claim than Spain to the sovereignty

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<sup>1</sup> Manning, op.cit., p 291.

of Nootka Sound at the beginning of the year 1789. But there are other things to consider.<sup>1</sup>

The clear implication of the remainder of Manning's essay is that these other things outweigh the English advantage.

Dr. John Norris, writing some fifty years later than Manning, and with more documentary evidence at his disposal, was even more emphatic. He commented that while Britain held, consistently, that only a factual occupation gave the right to sovereignty over lands on the American continent:

Meares and his associates did not themselves make a permanent settlement at Nootka, and had no intention of doing so until 1789, when they were assured of a virtual monopoly, but all the indications are that Meares and his associates in 1788 had not the slightest intention of laying claim to the area in the name of King George III. Indeed, the use of the Portuguese flag by Meares in 1788, and by two of his ships in 1789, indicated an anxiety to avoid being identified as British by the British, Spanish, and Chinese officials.<sup>2</sup>

#### What happened to Meares' house?

Let us now turn our attention to the house, and try to ascertain whether the British subjects were in fact "dispossessed" of it.

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1 Ibid., p 296.

2 In his article: "The British Cabinet and the Nootka Sound Crisis", The English Historical Review, Vol. LXX, No. 277, October, 1955; p 570.

Duffin, in the affidavit mentioned before, affirmed that "on Mr. Mear's departure the house &c. was left in good condition, and he enjoin'd Maquinna to take care of them until his (Mr. Mear's) return or else some of his associates on the coast again", but that he, Duffin, did not know exactly what happened afterwards. Duffin seems to imply not merely that the house was still standing when Meares personally, and he himself, left Nootka Sound on September 24th (in the Felice), but that it was left there in the care of Maquinna after the departure of the whole Meares expedition (including that of the Iphigenia and the North West America on October 27th). There is good reason to doubt that it was demolished by the crews of these two vessels during the thirty-four days they remained at Nootka after the departure of their leader. Unfortunately there is no extant record of the activities of these people during those days. Meares' Voyages includes an account of the movements of the Iphigenia during the whole of that year's voyage, but all it says about those particular five weeks is:

The Iphigenia remained in Friendly Cove after the departure of the Felice, till the 27th of October, the interval of which was employed in fitting the North West America for sea and making such other preparations as their approaching voyage rendered necessary. At noon on that day they quitted Nootka Sound and proceeded on their way to the Sandwich Islands.<sup>1</sup>

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1 The man in charge during that period was Captain Douglas.

In Appendix V of Meares' Voyages appears the letter of instruction he gave to Douglas (dated September 20th):

As I mean to proceed, immediately on the launch of the North West America, to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence to China--the whole charge of the Iphigenia and North West America will consequently devolve on you.

At no point in this letter, which is long and full of details, did Meares make any reference whatsoever to the house. Therefore, there is no indication that it was pulled down; but this fact can be gathered from the things said (and those left unsaid) by members of another party which was at Nootka at that time and subsequently. This assumption is further strengthened by entries made in the records of the Iphigenia when she returned to Nootka, a few months later.

#### Contemporary Testimony of the Americans

The departure of the Iphigenia and the North West America was watched by the Americans of the Washington and the Columbia who remained at Friendly Cove for some time afterwards. Let us see what testimony can be gathered from them. In the log-book of the Washington, written by Haswell,<sup>1</sup> the house is mentioned three times during the sojourn of the Meares' expedition,<sup>2</sup> but, significantly, it is not mentioned

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1 As stated elsewhere, the log-book of the Columbia for this period has disappeared.

2 The first I have quoted earlier. The second states that on October 1st celebrating the anniversary of the sailing of the American ships from Boston, a gun salute was fired from "the house on shore". The third is a retrospective reference to March 5th when one of the men, who was confined to the house as a mutineer, escaped. (Voyages of the Columbia, p 57.)

after the departure of the expedition. Just as silence can sometimes be eloquent, so the fact that the house is not mentioned in connection with certain other events can be taken as evidence that it had ceased to exist. Haswell, recording the departure of the Iphigenia and the North West America on October 27th, wrote: "...all our boats towed the Ephigenia out of Friendly Cove, bound for the Sandwich Islands." He added: "...the natives no sooner saw the snow clear of the Sound [he refers, of course, to the schooner North West America] than they flocked to us in good numbers...and a very friendly intercourse soon commenced..."<sup>1</sup>

Then, in a general, brief account for the whole month of December, Haswell wrote:

We had a shed made onshore of the long boat turned bottom upwardmost where a constant guard was kept to prevent the natives from steeling our water casks, etc., which were landed at this place to make room onboard the ship but to our great amazement on the morning of the 12th we found the natives had landed and carried off 5 small cannon given to Captain Kendrick by Captain Douglas, 15 water casks besides several things of less importance the water casks were a heavy loss nor knew we any method to retrieve the indians habitations were far distant from us of course there chiefs and people of consequence were out of reach...<sup>2</sup>

Indirectly revealing, too, is this entry:

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1 Voyages of the Columbia, p 54.

2 Voyages of the Columbia, p 55.



Wednesday 28 [January] the natives now began to come down in great numbers and a friendly intercourse subsisted and a good many sea otters were purchased and about the last of this month the natives came to reside in the cove.<sup>1</sup>

Haswell also stated that Kendrick decided to spend the winter at Friendly Cove. Four lines below (in his entry for October 27) Haswell wrote: "Captain Kendrick led all hands to build a house on shore which kept them employed several days, and again this fell through."<sup>2</sup> (This last statement means that this was another of the Captain's uncompleted schemes.)

What can be concluded from all this evidence? Assuming that the house had been left intact when the last of the British departed, then one of two things should have happened. Either:

a) in keeping with what had been arranged with Meares (according to Meares himself), Macquinna and his tribe would have occupied the house; or

b) had the Indians not done so then, surely, the Americans would have made use of it--it was, after all, a convenient building, well suited to fill their many needs.

That the first of these possibilities did not occur is proved by Haswell in the quotations above. He stated that no sooner had the British ships left than the

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1 Voyages of the Columbia, p 57.

2 Ibid., p 54.

Indians "flocked" to the Americans: that is, to Friendly Cove. If the Indians had taken over Meares' house, Haswell would surely have mentioned it, for the event of the Indians' occupying a building so different from their own, and so close to the American ships, would have claimed his attention. Also significant is the statement that the pilferers could not be caught. Let us recall that, before the departure of the Iphigenia, the natives had removed their village to a place some distance from Friendly Cove, and that Haswell noted the time at which they returned to the Cove to live: the following January. If, in the meantime, some of them had come back to occupy Meares' house, undoubtedly the Americans would have wondered whether the stolen articles were there, and would have tried to search the house.

Nor could the Americans have occupied the house: The fact that Kendrick had his men busy building a house should surely be obvious and conclusive proof that there was no house available there.

#### Indirect evidence from British reports

The Iphigenia returned to Nootka on April 20th. Her Journal (as published by Meares) makes no reference whatsoever to the house. On the other hand, an entry for April 22nd (two days after her arrival) reads: "[We] sent some sails on shore and erected a tent to put our empty casks in."<sup>1</sup> If these

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix XII to Meares' Voyages, April 22nd.

people had found the house still standing there, surely they would have used it, instead of erecting a tent and placing the empty casks in that--where there would be a risk of their being stolen, as had happened at other times. Undoubtedly the British would have used the house for other purposes as well, and would have mentioned it in the ship's records, for it would have been quite a significant experience for them to see and use the building they had erected some months previously.

At that time, two more ships belonging to Meares and his new associates were on their way to Nootka. Meares issued a letter of instruction to their commander, Captain Colnett (Macao April 3, 1789), advising him "to form a treaty with the various chiefs, particularly near Nootka". But Meares did not even mention the house which he was supposed to have passed on to the Nootka Chief until such time as he himself or his associates returned to Nootka.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Meares said later in his Memorial to Parliament, that Colnett "was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound" and "... with that in view, to erect a substantial house on the spot, which your Memorialist [Meares] had purchased in the preceding year...."<sup>2</sup> These instructions clearly suggest that Meares knew that the house he had built there, supposed to be a substantial structure, was no longer standing. Moreover, this

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1 The Colnett Journal, p 20.

2 Meares' Memorial, p 2.

assumption is further proved by the records of the Spanish expedition which arrived at Nootka before Colnett did.

Later "evidence" gathered by the Spanish

The first Spanish ship, the Princesa, Captain Martínez, arrived at Friendly Cove May 5 (6), sixteen days after the arrival of the Iphigenia, which was still moored there. There is no indication in any of the many papers of the Spanish expedition (official and private) of the existence of Meares' house. Yet Meares claimed that the Spanish appropriated it.

Assuming the Spanish had done so, surely they would have mentioned this fact in some of their records, for they would not have considered it illegal to appropriate a British building situated on land which they considered to be exclusively Spanish. They might have met with some opposition from the captain of the Iphigenia, and they would have kept the record of such an occurrence.

In 1792 the Spanish commander at Nootka<sup>1</sup> obtained two statements with references to Meares' house. One was from two Americans who were there in Meares' time: Joseph Ingraham, pilot of the Columbia, and Captain Gray, captain of the Washington. This is what they said:

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<sup>1</sup> This commander was J.F. Bodega-Quadra, then negotiating with the British Commissioner, Capt. Vancouver, the terms of the Anglo-Spanish Nootka Convention. These two statements are in Bodega-Quadra's Journal.

On the arrival of the Columbia in the year of 1788, there was a House or rather a Hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards made by the Indians but this Cap<sup>n</sup> Douglas pull'd to pieces prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands the same year the boards he took on board the Ephigenia the roof he gave to Cap<sup>n</sup> Kendrick which was cut up and burn'd as firewood on board the Columbia so that on the arrival of Don Estevan Joseph Martinez there was no vistage of any house remaining.

The other statement is from Francisco Jayvier Viana, the fake Portuguese captain of the Iphigenia during Meares' expedition:

...the house, which we had on shore was a very small house, made out of a few boards from the houses of the Indians; and when we left, we proceeded to dismantle it completely and when...Martinez entered this port of Nootka, there was no house of any kind anymore.<sup>1</sup>

These men, Ingraham, Gray and Viana may have been desirous to please the Spaniards, but in any case their statements agree with the rest of the evidence considered here. All of it is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the house built by the Meares' expedition was pulled down or dismantled by members of that expedition at some time before the departure of the last party, which left Nootka in the Iphigenia.

This point is not merely academic, but has much

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<sup>1</sup> Literal translation of Viana's letter in Mexican Archives. Bodega-Quadra explains this point on page 23 of his Journal.

bearing on the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Nootka because it proves that a major premise of the British case was based on a falsehood, put forward by Meares and his associates. As Manning has said, Meares' Memorial "...is so written, doubtless intentionally, that the careful reader would infer that the house was still there and that evidences of English occupation were unquestionable....this failure of Meares to tell the whole truth...led the British Parliament and Ministry into the error of believing that their rights to the place were unquestionable and that the conduct of the Spanish commandant<sup>1</sup> was little better than high-handed robbery."

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<sup>1</sup> Manning, op.cit., pp 313 & 314.

## CHAPTER V

### PREPARING THE COLNETT EXPEDITION

#### Meares' company combines

When Meares, commanding the Felice, arrived at Macao in December 1788, he discovered that Joao Carvalho had become bankrupt, and that "from the demise of the Governor of Macao, had lost his influence there."<sup>1</sup> In consequence the "Associated Merchants", whose ships were officially the property of this man, were in difficulties, and it appears that they had to sell the Felice, or leave it in bond for Carvalho's debts.

Just a few days after Meares' return two ships came to Macao from the N.W. coast: the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales, belonging to the King George Sound Company (or the Etches Company, as it was often called). Let us recall that this firm held licences from the two big trading monopolies, and that two of its captains punished Meares for trading on the North West Coast without similar licences.

So the Associated Merchants and the King George Sound Company were rivals. But, laying their differences

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<sup>1</sup> Burges, A Narrative of the Negotiations Occasioned by the Dispute Between England and Spain in the Year 1790, 1; p. 28. (See Chapter IV).

before the golden altar of commerce, they decided that, henceforth, they would embrace a state of commercial matrimony. "Apprehending that trade would suffer by a competition", as Meares put it, the two concerns reached an agreement "making joint stock of all the vessels employed in that trade". The new firm, sometimes called "United Merchants", was constituted by a document which says, in part:

This agreement does therefore bind the above parties to carry on their Joint commerce to the North West Coast of America from Cape Horn to the North Pole through the Northern and Southern Pacific Oceans and China agreeable to the South Sea Charter and permission obtained from the Honourable East India Company as contained in the several grants for this purpose...and whereas Charters were had by Messrs. Cadman Etches and Co. from the Hon. East India Co. and from the South Sea Company giving them a Licence to follow the commerce in the north-west side of America in the Pacific Oceans and to China as the said licences will expire in the Year One Thousand and Seven Hundred and Ninety or thereabouts... the said Richard Cadman Etches and Co. shall use their endeavours to have the aforesaid Charters renew'd for the Joint Benefit of all the parties herein mentioned or their Heirs administrators and assigns.

The new company, feeling strong, made ambitious plans: it would not merely carry out seasonal trade on the North West Coast but would also set up a permanent establishment there. Meares himself did the planning but this time he did not take part in the expedition but stayed at headquarters in China. Captain James Colnett, who had



commanded the Prince of Wales throughout the previous season, was put in charge of the execution of the scheme.

### Ships and status

In the meantime, the Prince of Wales had been sent to London; but the new company acquired another ship, the Argonaut. The Felice was not recovered. The new company therefore had at its disposal four ships with which to undertake the expedition; the Iphigenia, the North West America, the Princess Royal and the Argonaut. The first two were then wintering in the Sandwich Islands, and their captains had standing instructions to sail for the North West Coast in the following spring. The Princess Royal and the Argonaut were being overhauled in Macao.

It is not quite clear (at least to me) what was the legal position of the new concern, or that of these four ships, with regard to the rights and monopolies of the East India Co. and the South Seas Co. Both these companies had granted licences to the King George Company (Etches) for trading within the areas of their respective monopolies; but the point arises as to whether these licences were given in general terms, and for any ships that the company might employ in trade, or whether a specific permit had to be provided for each vessel. In other words: would these licences, given to one company, automatically cover the whole of the shipping of the new amalgamation? Logic would suggest that each ship had to be registered and individually licensed;

moreover, the existence of documents specifically mentioning the licensing of the Prince of Wales and of the Princess Royal seem to support this view. When the Prince of Wales was sent to England (and probably retired from service) its licence was given to Colnett who carried it in the Argonaut. It is uncertain whether the Argonaut (acquired to replace the Prince of Wales) could be considered as having been properly licensed--despite the fact that no licence had been issued in her name--while she carried the licence issued to the ship that she had replaced.<sup>1</sup> But it would seem that the new Company had no right to operate the Iphigenia and North West America (furnished by the Associated Merchants, or Meares' firm) on the North West Coast, because these ships definitely did not carry licences from the East India Company.

There were other problems connected with these two ships. As we have seen, they had been officially registered as belonging to Joao Carvalho (who later became bankrupt), and they had been flying the Portuguese flag. The problem, and the solution decided upon, were explained by Colnett in these words:

Captain Mears the preceding season had left on the Coast of America Captain Douglas in the Snow [Iphigenia] with the Schooner built on the Coast and named the North West America, which were the Vessels now belonging to the Joint Concern of Mears and Co., and Etches and Co., per signed agreements. Those vessels were

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1 At the time of writing, it had not been possible to clarify this point. It is hoped that further documents permitting clarification may be discovered during future research.

left under Portuguese Colours. A Person call'd Cavello [obviously Carvalho] a capital merchant in Macao procured them those Colours and afterwards went to Manila. It was soon after discovered he was much involved and his return much doubted but not confirmed till a few days before I was ready for sailing, which occasioned a new Obstacle to be started. Thus it was thought if Captain Douglas came to Macao the Creditors of Cavello would cause some trouble about the Vessel and Cargo, and also the Governor, provided she returned under English Colours and having sailed with Portuguese, which to evade was proposed I should Shift Vessels with Captain Douglas when we met...

So the company gave Colnett a letter for Captain Douglas, informing him of the "entire union" of the two former companies, and other relevant details.

You will then receive orders relative to the Colours you are to hoist which will be those of the United Company of Merchants trading under the sanction of the S. Sea and Hbl. East India Company's Charters. Mr. Cawalho of Macao having sold the said Co., and lawfully made over the share and concern in the Iphigenia and the American they are now to be considered Entirely as English property.

The Company also wrote a letter to Captain Funter, of the North West America, which says, in part:

We particularly direct you to hoist the English Colours and take possession of all new discovered parts for the King and Crown of Great Britain and let it be done with all due formality and entered in the Journals of your proceedings.

This order itself suggests that the English colours had not been hoisted before. By the time it reached Captain Funter, both the Iphigenia and the North West America had gone back to Nootka under Portuguese colours and had been encountered by the Spanish.

Obviously, therefore, the legal situation of this shipping combine was far from irreproachable, for, as F.W. Howey says, it was operating with "four vessels apparently of mixed and uncertain nationality with only two licences."<sup>1</sup>

### Instructions to Colnett

Let us now consider what the new company--whose inspiring brain was Meares--intended to do on the North West Coast in general, and at Nootka in particular. This was expressed in the instructions given to Colnett. Here are the main points:

"You shall try to form a treaty with the various Chiefs particularly near Nootka" so that "you at once become possessed of the furs of that great district". If there was a possibility "of conquering our competitors we beg it may be done in a mode so honourable to ourselves as generosity and humanity and also a strict attention to our business [require]. On the strength of a Treaty we form considerable hopes, for though at the moment it may not be productive yet in time...."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Article on "The Journal of Capt. James Colnett", Transactions of the R.S. of Canada, Ottawa, 1939, pp. 91-2.

<sup>2</sup> Meares to Colnett, Macao, April 3, 1789.

Colnett was to set up a factory, to be called Fort Pitt, which was expected to be "a solid establishment and not one to be abandoned at pleasure". He was free "to fix it at the most convenient place" provided it be "fully protected from the fear of the smallest sinister accident". The object of the fort was "to draw the Indians to it, lay up the small vessel in the winter season, to build, and other commercial purposes". In wintertime, some vessels would be sent to the Sandwich Islands to obtain provisions and, if possible, natives of both sexes who were to be brought to the factory and to be "made useful in our employ". In due course, once this establishment was successfully operating, subsidiary trading houses would be set up at convenient points along the coast. In preparation for that, rewards should be offered to members of the expedition who would take up residence with the natives in different parts of the coast, in order to collect their furs, and assure them of the coming of the Company's vessels, thus encouraging the Indians to trade only with the Company and refuse its competitors. Colnett was also ordered to deal with ships of other nations "with that good faith and generosity which is the Characteristic of the English nation" and was warned of "the absolute necessity of avoiding all Subjects of dispute with foreign powers." The point was emphasized in this solemn paragraph:

...a commerce that is not carried on with Honour and respectability, as well as humanity, will be entirely repugnant to our feelings as men, and Characters as

British Merchants, a Character that appears to us in so respectable a light that no Emolument, no advantage whatever, would persuade us to countenance the smallest deviation from it, in the persons and acts of those whom we employ.

Such brave words were written, or at least inspired, by Meares, a man whose character now appears to fall far short of these noble standards.

We have seen that the text of the "instructions" does not specifically state that the projected fort was to be at Nootka Sound, and leaves the matter to the discretion of Colnett. However, it is perfectly clear from many other references that Nootka was the place chosen. Meares had already laid the ground for it and he himself said in his Memorial: "Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound". The same statement appears in the version of his report of events given to the British Cabinet.<sup>1</sup> However, the company undoubtedly would allow for unforeseen circumstances, and leave the final decision to the man on the spot. It appears from a Spanish document that Colnett carried the plans of the proposed fort, and that such a plan<sup>2</sup> was later sent by the Spaniards to the Viceroy in Mexico. There does not seem to be any reference to this plan in any of the British documents available. It may be wondered whether

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1 Quoted by J.B. Burges in "A narrative of the Negotiations..."

2 I have been unable to find this plan and I have not come across any mention of it in Spanish archives. It may have disappeared.

it was drawn by Colnett himself on the way to Nootka.

The Argonaut was also carrying the pieces necessary to build a schooner, or, in the words of Colnett: "a Boat of 92 feet keel in frame which I was carrying out to set up on the Coast of America."

Such were the plans and expectations of the new company about the forthcoming expedition of its four ships. According to plan, the Iphigenia and the North West America sailed from the Sandwich Islands, and arrived at Nootka; and according to plan, the Argonaut and the Princess Royal sailed from Macao, and arrived at Nootka. But, afterwards, nothing else went according to plan, because another plan was destined to conflict with the British one; for, coincident with the preparation of the Colnett expedition, an expedition was being prepared by the Spanish with a similar objective: the occupation of Nootka.

### Equipment

For that ambitious commission assigned to Colnett,

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1 Wagner noted that Douglas, on the Iphigenia, trading along the North West Coast in June, gave the name Fort Pitt to a place which he located at 54° 58' and 229° 43' latitude, which appears on Meares' chart. Wagner thinks it "very possible that the real intention of Colnett was to build his fort somewhere in this neighbourhood" but there is no clear indication of that. Besides, the brief description of the place given in Meares' Voyages states that it looked like a fortress, and so perhaps the name was given just because the spot "resembled" a fort. On the other hand, I think this happened before Douglas was told of the intention of setting up a Fort Pitt, for he only heard of it when he met Colnett in Nootka.

the Argonaut and the Princess Royal were suitably manned, and equipped with tools and with provisions for three years. Colnett stated that his complement, totalling sixty men, included English, French, Spaniards, Portuguese and Chinese. Meares claimed that there were "nearly seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers on the American coast", but it is obvious from Colnett's Journal and from several Spanish documents that there were only twenty-nine.<sup>1</sup> These unfortunate Celestials were smuggled from the shore "to prevent the imposition of the Mandarins".<sup>2</sup> The poor fellows were in for surprises, because some months later they found themselves prisoners, in Mexico!

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<sup>1</sup> Manning was surprised by Meares' statement because the Spanish papers only listed (and actually named, in a funny Spanish spelling) twenty-nine Chinese. But as Colnett's Journal had not been found at the time, Manning could not be firm on the matter. It is now clear that there was yet another of Meares' exaggerations and distortions.

<sup>2</sup> Colnett Journal, p. 40.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE SPANISH DECISION TO OCCUPY NOOTKA

We have seen that, about 1789, Spain discontinued her voyages of exploration on the North West Coast, an area which she had always considered to be her own territory and exclusively reserved for further Spanish expansion. Some eight years later, the natural desire to explore that area further, and the accumulation of disturbing news about "foreign" moves along the coast, prompted her to renew exploration and, subsequently, to occupy Nootka Sound.

#### The Martínez-Haro voyage, 1788

In 1788 the naval establishment of San Blas was ordered to dispatch two ships to continue previous explorations of the North West Coast up to latitude 61° (Cook Inlet area), and to investigate the impact and extent of the Russina establishments along that coast.

San Blas was then poorly staffed with officers and the man in charge, Camacho, was old and sick, with the result that the task of exploration was entrusted to two junior officers: Esteban José Martínez, (who had been second pilot on the Santiago voyage of 1774), and Gonzalo López de

Haro--commanding, respectively, the ships Princesa and San Carlos. They were provided with an interpreter of the Russian language, Esteban Mondolfía. They sailed from San Blas in March, 1788, and proceeded directly to Prince William Sound. They took possession of one or two points on the coast with due ceremony, and came into contact with the Russians at various places, discovering that there were Russian establishments with a total population of about five hundred inhabitants. In one of them the officers of the San Carlos met a man whom they called Del Haro (obviously Delaroff) who claimed to be of Greek origin and born in Constantinople. As, at that time, the Spanish interpreter, Mondolfía, was on the other ship, one wonders in what language Delaroff and the Spaniards communicated! They later quoted him as saying that Russia was planning to send two ships to occupy Nootka in the following year. During this voyage, Martínez angered López de Haro and other officers, for which reason each of the two captains of the expedition made his own way to Mexico. Later, Martínez reported to the Mexican Viceroy:

During my stay in Onalaska I endeavoured to win the good will of the Commissioner Cusmich as well as that of the other Russians who were with him...Cusmich assured me that the settlement of Onalaska by people of his nation had been established 28 years ago, and that their motivation was no other than to collect furs in order to trade with the Tartars and the Chinese....that the English nation in the last few years, as a result of having anchored in Onalaska a Packetboat and a Frigate, were sailing from (salían de) the ports

of Bucareli and Nootka where the English collected many Otter furs every year.... Cumich also told me that as a result of his having informed his Sovereign (Soberana) about the commerce which the English from Canton were carrying on at Nootka, he was expecting four frigates from Siberia to sail next year to populate and establish themselves in the port of Nootka, situated around the 49° 36' Latitude North and in the Longitude of 20° 15' West of San Blas, adding that his Sovereign has a better right on this Coast than any other monarch (potentado) on account of its having been discovered by the commanders Bering and Esterical [meaning, obviously, Chirikov] on orders from his Court in the year of 1741, for which reason it seems to me very wise that in the next year of 1789, it should be endeavoured (with such forces as you may judge appropriate) to settle and establish a garrison in the aforesaid Port, which, judging by what is learned from Cook's book and what I saw in the first expedition I made in the year of 1774, has the right proportions required for that purpose, and should this be done we would gain the control (regro) of the coast on land from Nootka to the Port of San Francisco, a distance of 317 leagues, and the dominion over a multitude of native tribes, offering myself to carry out this Assignment and, to prove the feasibility of it, I will sacrifice my life in the service of God and the king if Your Excellency approves it.

#### Spanish concern over "foreign" moves on the N.W. coast

This information may have been coloured by Martínez' own ambition and by his obvious eagerness to carry out the big assignment which he was suggesting to the Viceroy, but in any case the news confirmed an obvious trend on the part of Russia to continue her expansion along the North West Coast.

Spain had long known about Russia's moves on that coast, and had countenanced them only because it would have been too difficult to oppose them effectively, especially as Russia was her ally. But Spain was anxious at least to forestall Russia's progress and to prevent her from extending her footholds further south.

France was, officially, Spain's main ally. The two countries were linked by an alliance called the "Family Compact", based on the consanguinity of their respective reigning dynasties, both sovereigns being direct descendants of Louis XIV. But this alliance was far from perfect, and suspicions and rivalries existed between the two governments. The Spanish government had viewed with alarm the Le P rouse voyage, which Spain rightly suspected to have been made with the object of extending French colonisation to the Pacific coast of North America.

Great Britain had long been Spain's arch rival. In the past Britain had managed to establish footholds in several parts of the Americas which Spain claimed as her own--such as Honduras and the Bahamas--and had taken over places which Spain had already occupied. Since she had lost her thirteen American colonies Britain--her naval power unimpaired--was not only certain to look for other footholds on that continent but also strong enough to seize such footholds, and she might easily covet those coasts where her merchants were making handsome profits in the fur

trade. To the Spanish government, embodied by the king's minister Count Floridablanca and inspired by the outlook of what was termed "enlightened despotism", Britain was the more to be feared because of her democratic system of government. In the words of Floridablanca:

We cannot trust any treaty or any assurance given by the British ministry, even though its members and the Sovereign be full of probity and other virtues. The responsibility of that Cabinet has toward the whole nation, be it separate or united in her Parliament, makes it timid, inconsistent and even incapable of fulfilling its promises. Hence the need to live always attentive, alert and distrustful of England and to increase our naval power as far as possible in order to enforce a respect of the existing treaties or compromises and maintain our rights, our possessions overseas and the freedom of commerce, both at home and abroad.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish government, therefore, was aware that Russia, France and Britain might well be preparing to annex parts of the coast; but the Mexican Viceroy, who was the Spanish "watchman" for those parts, had an intuitive suspicion about the existence of yet another source of danger. At about the time that Martínez was reporting on this recent voyage of his, Viceroy Flores was pondering over the news sent by his colleague in Perú that two ships of the "independent American colons", or the "Boston nation", were on their way to the North West Coast. Flores had an

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<sup>1</sup> From the "Instrucción Reservada a la Junta de Estado", Obras originales del Conde du Floridablanca, Biblioteca de Autores espanoles v. 59, pp. 242, 263.

intuitive premonition that this "Boston nation", America, was inspired by the urge to expand. Thus the Viceroy wrote to the Spanish Minister for the Navy (Mexico, December 23, 1788):

It is to be suspected that this Frigate, and the small Packetboat, which departed from Boston in convoy, have the intention of discovering a Port and territory proportionate to our Southern California coasts, in order to develop and sustain some new Colony of their Nation....what other object could have motivated the undertaking of such an extensive voyage...?

The Viceroy then mentioned the overland voyage of Jonathan Carver from Boston, in 1766-67, and commented:

We ought not to be surprised that the English colonies of America, being now an independent Republic, should carry out the design of finding a safe port on the Pacific and of attempting to sustain it by crossing the immense country of the continent above our possessions of Texas, New Mexico, and California.

Although some action was taken, following the receipt of this warning, it is obvious that the Spanish Government was not very worried at that time. Of course, the Viceroy was over-suspicious in this instance, and the new American nation on the Atlantic coast of the continent was too unsure of herself to dream of expanding towards the Pacific; but he may have been right to express his uneasiness at that time, for eventually that new nation did expand, taking over much of the area of the Mexican Viceroyalty.

The Mexican Viceroy decides to occupy Nootka

With all of these reports and background, Viceroy Flores had a disturbing vision of four hungry foes roaming those northern shores beyond the Californias, the backyard of his Viceroyalty. He was so concerned that he decided to act even if he had to exceed the letter of his powers.

In the aforementioned letter to the Minister for the Navy, Flores explained that in order to remove the danger of foreign moves in that area, as far as was in his power (since he had only been instructed to get information about the Russian establishment in those coasts), he had decided "that we should feign to have already occupied the port of Nootka" which Juan Pérez had called San Lorenzo.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, in a reference to the ambitions of Russia and Britain on the North-West Coast and to the fact that Spain had been active on that coast before either of these nations, the Viceroy said:

The designs of both nations are as dangerous to Spanish interests as their claims are baseless...  
It is clearly our just and pre-eminent right to occupy the coasts discovered to the north of California and to defend them against foreign colonising powers.

The Viceroy chose for this commission the man who had openly sought it, Esteban José Martínez. In spite of the open hostility which had developed between Martínez and López de Haro, the Viceroy, having practically no other officers

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<sup>1</sup> In his instructions to Martínez. (See below).

available, was obliged to give these two men command of the ships which were to make this voyage. It was his expressed desire that they should work together with more harmony.

### Instructions to Martínez

On December 23, 1788, the Viceroy gave Martínez full instructions about that commission. These begin with a statement on the reasons for the occupation of Nootka,<sup>1</sup> and include the following points:

a) Martínez was made commander of the expedition, and captain of the Princesa, which was to sail with the San Carlos, Capt. López de Haro;

b) Both ships were to be well-armed and manned with the same complement of naval officers and seamen as in their previous voyage; (1788), together with an appropriate number of soldiers (Article 2);

c) Sufficient weapons should be carried so that the crew as well as the troops might be trained in their use, and practise while at sea and also in port when they were disengaged (Article 2);

d) Cook's charts, data, and nautical observations<sup>2</sup> were to be used (Article 6);

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<sup>1</sup> The instructions are divided into "articles". I offer the essence of them here, in what I consider a better sequence than that which they follow in the original.

<sup>2</sup> From later information, it is gathered that Martínez had with him a French translation of Cook's work on his north-west voyage.



e) The greatest care should be used in dealing with Indians (Article 6), in an effort to gain their affection and good-will by barter and trade. If successful, the four missionaries in the expedition "may begin to proclaim the Holy Gospel", but care was to be taken not to offend Indian susceptibilities (Article 7);

f) The expedition was to try to establish a formal settlement by cutting timber and building a large hut to serve as a headquarters, for protection against bad weather, as an entrepôt for Indian trade and as a fortification for the defence of the port (Article 8);

g) In daytime, most of the force might be stationed in this hut, but at night they should retire on board ship;

h) The main purpose of the hut was to assess the Spanish right of occupation of Nootka and its neighbourhood, but within these terms of reference Martínez was free to act as he thought fit (Article 9);

i) If any Russian or English vessels arrive "you shall receive their commanders with tact and civility as demanded by the conditions of peace and friendship existing between Spain and both these nations, but declare Spain's pre-eminent rights and stress the efforts she has made to explore these coasts and to attract the Indians to our king and faith. As far as possible, you should prevent the Europeans from trading with the Indians." (Article 10). "All this you are to explain prudently but firmly, and without

falling into harsh language which might cause serious ill-feeling and bring about a rupture. If they should use force, you shall repel them without encroaching on their rights."

j) Martínez was told to be particularly careful in his dealings with the Russians because of their alliance with Spain which permitted Russian ships to use her harbours (Article 12);

k) To the English Martínez should explain, with conclusive reasons, the priority of Spanish claims, citing the fact that Cook acquired the silver spoons which in the year 1774 the Indians had carried off from him, (Article 13). He was to remind them also that Cook had been instructed not to put in at any part of the Spanish Dominions except in case of dire need, and then only for the minimum time<sup>1</sup> necessary and without giving any cause for complaint.

l) "You may use more powerful arguments with the subjects of the independent American colonies if they should appear on the northern coasts of California." The Viceroy went on to mention a frigate, said to belong to General Washington, and a small packet sailing in her company, which appeared to be on their way to that coast. Should Martínez meet them, he should take any steps, within his discretion, to make known to them, as to all foreigners, that Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy, knowing that Martínez had a copy of Cook's Voyages, excused himself from actually quoting but gave the reference--Vol. I, p. 32, (probably referring to the French version).

sovereignty stretched beyond Port William, formally taken<sup>1</sup> by Spain in 1779.

m) "Once you have completed the works of the establishment and assured yourself of the friendship of the Indians you should get the San Carlos ready with provisions, medicines, and articles for trade with Indians and, under the command of Haro, undertake the reconnaissance of the coasts between 50° and 55° which were not explored either by Cook or by Spaniards"(Articles 17 and 19). [In other words, the expedition was aimed at clearing doubts left by the expedition of 1779 as to whether there were openings to the sea, towards the north-west, which had not been discovered.]

n) The ships Concepción and Aranzazú would be constantly used to carry supplies to California and to Nootka (Article 20). In March, if possible, the Aranzazú would carry supplies to California and take to Nootka the supplies which the Martínez expedition could not carry;

o) Martínez should send to the Viceroy, through the Aranzazú, a report of what had happened and an exact statement of everything needed for the success of the enterprise. "Scrupulous and constant adherence to truth in the reports" was urged of everyone (Article 21);

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1 It will be seen that the captains of these two ships adroitly avoided this issue, and made friends with Martínez and with other Spanish commanders at Nootka.

p) Martínez and his men were urged to keep in good harmony, to treat the Indians with good judgment, tact and care, and to show diligence in keeping everybody in good health. (The Viceroy went into details about the prevention of scurvy, the preservation of food, etc.)(Article 21).

The Viceroy ended with the usual references to God's favour and royal rewards for zeal shown. "I shall take care to repeat my just recommendations to His Majesty in proportion to the merit you have shown and with which your companies labour in their devotion to royal service."

#### Only a token occupation?

It may be asked what kind of an establishment Viceroy Flores had in mind. He ordered Martinez to "pretend to be engaged in setting up a formal establishment by building a large hut". In his letter to the Minister he further explained: "The main object of this expedition is...that of forestalling the Russians in taking possession of the Port of San Lorenzo, or Nootka, feigning, if these or other foreigners should arrive, that we are already occupying it, and that in order to strengthen our establish-<sup>1</sup>ment we have, travelling by land, a commander with a

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<sup>1</sup> W.R. Manning interpreted this as meaning "that a land expedition was to follow" (p. 303 of his essay on Nootka). For some time I doubted that this was what the Viceroy meant by the words "trasiton por tierra", since this implied that Spain was able to send forces, by land, from California to Nootka. However, after carefully re-reading the Spanish text I came to accept Manning's interpretation. However, I wonder if Flores could really have thought that this could be believed. Spain was deliberately and carefully concealing her moves, possessions, and forces; but the Russians and the British were not easily fooled by such flimsy camouflage as Spain could employ to protect her empire.

sizeable troop, Missionary fathers, settlers, cattle and other supplies pertinent to such enterprises."

These statements seem to suggest that Flores intended to effect only a symbolic occupation of Nootka in order to ward off foreigners. He probably limited his plans to these modest proportions out of caution, since he was acting on his own initiative and may have feared the King's displeasure. He may also have been restrained on account of shipping shortage, as this was the reason he gave only a few months later for ordering Martinez to discontinue the occupation of Nootka. That Flores was considering the possibility of setting up a permanent post there is borne out by the fact that he had four Franciscan fathers sent with the expedition (in addition to a chaplain for each ship), so that after gaining the goodwill and confidence of the Indians they should "begin to announce, gently and without annoying them, the voice of the Holy Gospel". The report issued later by the superior in charge of these friars discussed (pessimistically) the possibility of turning Nootka into a "mission" such as those Spain possessed in California.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MARTÍNEZ EXPEDITION

#### Sources of information

The Martínez mission to Nootka proved to be very eventful. It will be studied in detail in this Chapter and those following. The information available can be classified, according to sources, as Spanish, British, and American.

#### Spanish Sources:

- a) Martínez' Journal; it contains detailed accounts, although indifferently written, and confusing in places;
- b) Martínez' reports and letters to the Viceroy, found in Mexican and Spanish archives;
- c) Affidavits composed by Rafael Cañizares, acting as Martínez' clerk or secretary;
- d) A short personal diary written by Father Francisco Sánchez, covering events up to his departure from Nootka on July 27. It has some interesting details, especially

about the first days of the Spanish occupation of Nootka;

- e) A report by José Tovar y Tamariz, covering events up to his own return to San Blas commanding the British ship;
- f) A brief report by Father Severo Patero, the superior in charge of the four Franciscan missionaries in the expedition. It gives only a general description of Nootka, and has few details of events;
- g) A report by an anonymous Franciscan father, from the San Fernando monastery in Mexico, written some time later; the events based on documentary and oral information probably provided by the Franciscan fathers in the expedition.
- h) The historical and descriptive account "Notícias de Nutka", written by the scientist José Mariano Moziño in 1792, in which are included some references to the Martinez expedition;
- j) Letters and instructions and other papers by Viceroys Flores and Revilla-Gigedo. To be found in Spanish Archives, the Mexican National

Archives, and in the collection of  
 Revilla-Gigedo papers in the Bancroft  
 Library.

British sources:

Meares' Memorial to the House of Commons--in-  
 cluding several appendices with statements from  
 members of the Colnett expedition and others;

The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard  
 the Argonaut, 1789-1791, (edited by F.W. Howey);

Letters from captains Colnett and Duffin to the  
 Mexican Viceroy and to the British Ambassador in  
 Spain (to be found in the Mexican Archives, or  
 in the book mentioned above);

A personal report made by Captain John Meares  
 to an unnamed official of the British Government.  
 (Found in Burges, "A Narrative of the Negotiations  
 ...")

Affidavits made by the Portuguese Captain Viana  
 and the British Captain Duffin, at the request  
 of Captain George Vancouver in 1792. (Found in  
 Vancouver's Journal and other places.)

American sources:

Log books and letters of the officers and captains  
 of the American ships Columbia and Washington,



(edited by F.W. Howey). (Extremely useful details are provided by these. Unfortunately, some of the logbooks have disappeared.)

A description of Nootka made by Joseph Ingraham, at Martínez' request, in 1789. (Found in the National Archives, Mexico.)

An affidavit made by Ingraham and Captain Robert Grey, in 1792. (Included in Bodega-Quadra's Journal of his visit to Nootka in 1792.)

### Preparing the expedition

The actual preparation and equipment of the two ships for the expedition was left to the personnel in the naval establishment at San Blas. Martínez was far from satisfied with their work. He made several requests, suggestions and complaints before sailing,<sup>1</sup> and he later recorded the shortcomings that he had encountered. However, he was hoping that another ship, the Aranzazú, would carry to Nootka some of the extra supplies and equipment for which he had asked.

The expedition consisted of one hundred and

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, he complained that he had to sail carrying only enough bread for eight months instead of for twelve or eighteen. He also requested the appointment of an accountant to the expedition, which was denied. Letters, February 7th, 1789, Mex. N.A. V. 65, Carpeta.

ninety-five men.<sup>1</sup> The San Carlos carried a total of eighty-nine men, including two pilots, four boatswains, a coxswain, a sailmaker, two carpenters, two caulkers, one leech, one cooper, a constable, a steward, twenty-one gunners, twenty sailors, twenty-three ship's boys, six servants; plus fifteen men for the garrison (one sergeant, one corporal and thirteen soldiers).

We know the names of the officers and the ships' chaplains in the expedition, but there does not seem to be a list of the crew of either ship.<sup>2</sup> A few of their names appear in reports, and especially in Martínez' Journal.

In a passing remark about the crew of the Princesa, Martinez revealed something very interesting: "with the exception of the naval officers and one or two others who are Europeans, the majority of the crew and garrison in this frigate are natives of the vicinity of San Blas". We may take it for granted that this would also apply to the other ship, the San Carlos. Since, at that time, almost all the natives of the vicinity of San Blas were purebred Indians it may be assumed that most of the "Spaniards" who came to occupy Nootka were actually Mexican Indians and, therefore,

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1 Baird says 184. Throughout this thesis, whenever I give the total numbers of the crews I include the servants. The Spanish, when totalling the numbers in their sailing notices, did not include those poor creatures.

2 This was so in all the ships voyaging to Nootka, i.e. only the names of the leaders were given. However, at one time a list was made of the crews of all the ships in San Blas.

not very different in racial features from the Nootka  
 natives.<sup>1</sup>

The four friars in the expedition had a special assignment. In the words of a chronicler: "At the request of His Excellency the Viceroy" the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, belonging to the religious order of Saint Francis, "appointed four able friars" who would "smoothly explore and captivate the minds" of the Nootka natives in order to establish missions there, eventually, "if the land should so permit".<sup>2</sup>

Actually, these four Franciscan friars did practically nothing while at Nootka. Two of them--Father Lorenzo Socies and Father José Espí--apparently left no trace of their stay, and wrote nothing about it. Father Francisco Sánchez wrote a naïve and rather brief Journal. The superior in charge of the Franciscan group, Father Severo Patero, wrote two short letters to the Viceroy, giving his impressions on this assignment.

#### Martínez--the man

Martínez carried out the Spanish occupation of Nootka with obvious zeal and enthusiasm, expecting it to be a lasting enterprise. Yet, through some of his actions, he

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<sup>1</sup> A few years later somebody stated that the Spanish force then occupying Nootka consisted of Spaniards and "Peruvian Indians". They were not "Peruvian", but Mexican-Indians. But this remark permits the conclusion that most of the "Spaniards" who were seen at Nootka were actually Indians from Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous, "Noticias de Nutka", p. 293-4.

was destined to be responsible--however unwillingly--for its failure. In proportion to the length of time for which he was in command there, he wrote much more about it than did any of his successors, and his impact on its history is considerable. A study of his background and personality would be fitting, at this point.

His full name was Esteban Josef Martínez-<sup>1</sup> Fernández, and he was born in Seville. There is no indication of the date of his birth. He graduated from the Naval Academy of San Telmo, in Madrid, in 1755, and began his sailing career in 1758. It is fair to assume, from this, that he was in his early fifties at the time of his appointment to Nootka in 1789.

According to the British Captain Colnett, Martinez claimed that he was a grandee of Spain and a nephew of the then Viceroy of Mexico. There is no evidence whatsoever to support the first claim, and it can be dismissed absolutely. However, there may have appeared to be a basis for the second. The Viceroy's full surname was Manuel Antonio Flores Maldonado Martínez de Angulo y Bodquin: that is to say, one of his surnames was Martínez. But this is a very common Spanish surname and, moreover, its place in the whole set of the Viceroy's surnames does not support such a claim.

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez always signed his second Christian name as Josef, although this spelling was becoming obsolete and giving way to José. He never signed his second family name, but he revealed it when he applied it to a volcanic island on the North West Coast (July 16, 1788). Vide: Wagner, Cartography, Vol. 1, p. 204.

The American navigators, who became very friendly with Martínez, never mentioned such lofty assertions. So we may infer either that Colnett misunderstood him or that Martínez made such claims simply to impress Colnett. Both men appear to have been conceited and given to boasting, and they may have been carried away in their attempts to outshine one another.

Martínez had a questionable reputation. There is a record of a letter from the Viceroy of Mexico to the Governor of California, Pedro Fages, written on May 29th, 1787, and ordering that Frigate Ensign (Álferez de Fragata) Martínez be seriously reprimanded because of his misbehaviour in California and that he should not be put in command of ships engaged in the transport of provisions, except in case of absolute necessity. Colnett said that he drank "freely", and there are other indications of this. Complaints were made about his actions as commander of the Princesa, during the aforementioned voyage of 1788. The commander of the San Carlos, López de Haro, reported in his diary that Martinez seemed to be bent on losing him and his ship; that is, on leaving him behind. Haro also wrote to the Viceroy, saying that Martínez had ill-treated him. An officer of the San Carlos, Antonio Serantes, reported that Martínez, in a fit of drunkenness, had insulted him, knocked him down, sat on him, and transferred him as a prisoner to the other ship.

As a result of these complaints an inquiry was started, but the Viceroy ordered it to be suspended and

cautioned everyone concerned to forget their quarrels and avoid further trouble under risk of severe punishment.

When the Viceroy appointed Martínez to lead the expedition to Nootka, two men of higher rank were available, Lieutenant José Camacho and Lieutenant José Cañizares; but the Viceroy explained to the Minister of Marine that Camacho was too old and sick--which was true--and that he was reserving Cañizares for the job of carrying supplies to the Californias. Perhaps Flores was also motivated by the fact that it was Martínez who had advised him that Nootka should be occupied. As Martínez claimed that he had visited the Sound during the voyage of the Santiago in 1774, he probably gave the impression that he knew something about the place. Furthermore, it is quite possible that, in spite of his bad personal reputation, he was considered to be a skilful sailor.

While at Nootka, Martínez not only had a clash with a British expedition but also, in one of his rash moods, shot an Indian chieftain dead--an act which made him hated by the Nootka natives, who kept him long on their black list.

Just as his name was becoming famous (or infamous), his wife, in Spain, complained to the Government that he was neglecting both her and their daughter--then eighteen years old--and that they had not seen him since his departure for the Americas in 1775. After his first and

momentous stay at Nootka in 1789, and a second brief period there, in a minor capacity in the following year, Martínez returned to Spain. There, sometime later, he wrote a long document advising the Spanish Government as to what it should do in California. This was passed on to the new Viceroy of Mexico, Revilla-Gigedo, who dismissed the whole plan as "one of the many projects which have preoccupied the inconsistent (ligera) imagination of Martinez, without real knowledge of the causes and therefore without realising the difficulties, the expenses and the results".[Gigedo to Valdés, January 31st, 1793.]

The careful reading of Martínez' papers suggests that he was a very complex man: energetic and active, with much initiative and imagination; cunning but not really shrewd--indeed, rather gullible at times. He had a keenly observant eye and a careful concern for detail, but was very confusing over some points, perhaps because something shady made him so. He was probably an expert mariner, though. Fond of power and authority, he could be alternatively ruthless and compassionate. He was conceited and full of self-esteem. He was also very fond of pomp, ceremony and distinction--as can be judged by the solemn way in which he carried out official acts. Some of his references to geographical and historical events suggest that he was well read, if not thoroughly educated. He seemed to imply that he could read French, when he mentioned that he had with him a French version of Cook's Voyages. He was also very

pious--or, at least, he often mentioned the symbols of his religion.

Some idea of the man and his self-esteem, his awe of the mighty, and his religious bigotry, may be gathered from some passages in his writings. For example, this is how he ended a letter to Viceroy Flores on the eve of his sailing for Nootka:

I hope, out of the kindness of your Excellency, that during my long assignment you will not forget Martínez; that you will keep him in mind for the purpose of promotion, for I, being grateful, will do nothing but continuously pray to God for the important life of Your Excellency.

Very expressive of the man's piety is the letter of invocation to the Virgin Mary, written as a dedication or preface to the Journal of his mission at Nootka. Yet one may wonder at the vain-glory which prompted the writing of this impossible piece of pretentious prose.

To the Queen and Sovereign Empress of Heaven, Mary, Mother of God and of Men under the title of Our Lady of Sorrows

My Lady

In truth I would not boast of being a Spaniard, and a Sevillian, if from the first moment of your existence I would not lose the last drop of my blood upholding that you conceived without Original sin, [and] with what affection I behold you in your Birth [Motherhood]! In vain do I see a Creature, glory of the Angels, honour of Men and Terror of Hell. In your



Presentation a pleasing Offering to a  
Just God. In your ~~Espousal~~ all the  
lines taken for the greatest Deed of  
all....<sup>1</sup>

On the way

On February 17th, 1789, the Princesa (Captain Martínez) and the San Carlos (Captain López de Haro) sailed from San Blas on a direct course for Nootka. Both crews had received their pay on the previous day.

During the first days of the voyage Martínez recorded his feelings about the inadequacy of his equipment: "...the stores and extra supplies and other necessities... should have been provided in larger quantities". He had already complained about it earlier, and had been given assurances; but "when out at sea I have found the contrary to be the case, and that I was not dealt with honestly by either of the officials". He had much trouble with the sails and "the same has happened with the other supplies because they were insufficient". A host of rats swarmed the ship because, "when this vessel was overhauled this was not done as thoroughly as it should have been, and it was not given the customary fumigation in order to lessen the number of rats." The ship "is in a worse state than when it arrived from the last expedition." "The decks did not leak then, but now they leak like a sieve from the 'wales up. If it were not for the great pains that have been taken,

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<sup>1</sup> From the copy of Martínez' Journal in the Huntington Library, California.

the storehouse for provisions would have been rendered useless."

While sailing on, with variable weather and only small incidents, Martínez made a few notes about the health of the men in his ship.<sup>1</sup> Some were suffering from "a disease with which the class of sailors is usually infected": that is, venereal disease. Most of the crew being natives of the San Blas area were "naturally warm blooded [and] as creoles, accustomed to the heat". Consequently the high latitudes with sharp winds and cold weather did not agree with them and "they were down with colds, congestion of the lungs and catarrh". Though the ship was carrying two friars and one chaplain for the care of the souls, it did not have a qualified doctor for the care of their bodies--only a leech. "We have applied to the sick what medicines were suggested to us by our experience and natural reason, since we have no qualified physician to administer remedies. These have not produced the desired effect, as they are old, few in quantity and have lost much of their effectiveness." The venereal cases were "treated by alleviative methods" not described.

On March 12th, Martínez made a strange statement about one patient: "un Grumete hidrópico y lleno de llagas"

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<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to find the logbook or Journal of the other ship, the San Carlos.

a quien se ha mandado disponer por dificultarse su mejoría".

The only meaning suggested by this is the one given by a translator of the Journal:<sup>1</sup> "one dropsical ship's boy who is covered with sores; I have given orders to get rid of him on account of the difficulty of his recovery". However, I hesitate to believe that it means what it seems to mean, so I assume that he was just dismissed from service.

A few days later, Martínez recorded: "the ship's leech has been much troubled." In fact, the fellow soon found himself in such bad shape that either he leeches himself to death, (as Father Sánchez says), or (as Martinez has it) was bled by his own orders: "At four o'clock in the morning April 27th the leech, José Jacinto de la Mota, died as a result of a cold after he had been bled by his own orders." Some irreverent soul might have commented on this outcome with these words from a jocular song:

de aquí lector se infiere<sup>2</sup>  
que el que a hierro mata a hierro muere.

The dead man was committed to the deep "with all possible solemnity", according to Father Sánchez. The ship, which sailed without a doctor was now without a leech. To fill

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<sup>1</sup> I am referring to William L. Schurz. There is a copy of his translation in the U.B.C. Library. Not having a copy of the original Spanish text I have worked with this translation but I checked a number of points (like this one) with the original copy of the Journal in the Huntington Library, California.

<sup>2</sup> From here, dear reader, it follows that he who kills by the sword dies by the sword.

the vacant post, Martínez appointed Juan Gallardo, an artilleryman, who had acted as a leech and had been employed for ten years in the Royal Hospital at Manila.

The two ships had, so far, been sailing close together but, on the night of April 8, fog and a storm separated them and the San Carlos lagged behind for the rest of the voyage.

On May 2nd, land was sighted, and Martínez reckoned that it was Esperanza Bay. Indians in their canoes approached the Princesa, presents were exchanged with a chieftain and some bartering was done; the Indians exchanging fish and dead duck for Spanish trifles. Noticing that he had sailed to the north of Nootka, Martínez then bore south. As he was getting close to his destination, he proceeded to organise his staff: he appointed artilleryman Rafael Cañizares as clerk or secretary of the expedition, and the corporal of dragoons, Gabriel del Castillo, as English interpreter.

#### Meeting with the Washington

On the following day, May 3, when Martínez was sailing just off Nootka Sound, a sloop was sighted which "was carrying the American colours of the Congress of Boston". (Obviously Martínez had not yet learned the name of the new nation which had resulted from the Boston Congress.) The Spanish ship signalled to the sloop, and two officers

disembarked from it and went aboard the Princesa.

Interrogated by Martínez, through interpreter Castillo, these men said their ship was the Washington (Captain Robert Grey), in the convoy of Captain John Kendrick, who "was anchored at Nootka with the frigate named the Columbia". They were "sailing along the coast of America in search of materials for pipe-and-barrel-staves" because the Indians "had robbed them of most of their iron hoops when they had left their casks on shore". They showed their passport "which was signed by General Washington and countersigned by Captain John Kendrick..." "They likewise said that there was, anchored in the port of Nootka, a packet from Macao, whose captain was a Portuguese, the first mate a Scotsman and the crew English, and that she was engaged in collecting sea-otter skins. They said, however, that the crew did not belong to their nation".<sup>1</sup> Martínez, somewhat distrustful, ordered his first pilot, José Tovar and the interpreter to go on board the sloop to check that information. There, Captain Grey confirmed it all, gave them a number of presents for Martínez and saluted the Spanish flag with seven guns.

The log of the Washington gives a brief account of this meeting, stating that Martínez returned the compliment of the seven-gun salute. He offered any help that he could give, "endeavoured to do everything to serve us, he made Captain Gray presents of Brandy wine hams sugar and in short

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<sup>1</sup> An obvious reference to the Iphigenia.

every thing he thought would be acceptable".

Martínez stated that "his ship was fitted out in company with two others from Cádiz to make discoveries on this Coast. That he had put in on the Coast of New Spain and loss't most of his European seamen the defishancy he was obliged to supply with the Naturalized natives of California."<sup>1</sup> Either the Spaniard was misunderstood, or he deliberately misinformed the Americans. He had not sailed from Cádiz, he had not lost his crew, and he had not been, on that occasion,<sup>2</sup> to the Behring Straits.

On the other hand, it would seem that Martínez either believed, or preferred not to challenge, the statement of the Americans that they were merely searching for pipe-and-barrel material, while they were actually looking for furs to buy. So far, Martínez did not seem to worry about the "Boston" men, though he had been specifically warned to be careful with them--which meant, of course, that he should not allow them to trade in those areas. In fact, as will be seen, Martínez let them do as they pleased and maintained very friendly relations with them.

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1 Haswell's log, Voyages of the Columbia, pp. 84-5.

2 H.I. Priestley in an article about Martínez' diary commented 'Haswell, probably misunderstood Martínez, who must have been describing his voyage of 1788' - well, perhaps. "The log of the Princesa," Oregon Hist. Quarterly, VXXI, 1920, No. 1. A few days later Martínez was reported to have told another, but also untrue, story to Captain Douglas of the Iphigenia.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BEGINNING OF SPANISH OCCUPATION

#### Events at Nootka before the arrival of Martinez

Let us again turn our attention to Nootka Sound, and to what happened there between the departure of the Meares! expedition and the arrival of the Martinez! expedition.

Meares, commanding the Felice, left Friendly Cove on September 24th, 1788, and the Iphigenia and the North West America left about one month later. The Boston ships, Columbia and Washington, were there at the time and stayed through the autumn and winter. On March 16, the Washington left Nootka on a trading cruise, to Clayuquod and some time later Kendrick moved the Columbia to the anchorage of Marwina, where she lay idle for another few months.

We also saw that, in September 1788, Macquinna and his Indian tribe left Friendly Cove for the site of their winter quarters--as they did every year--and that they returned to Friendly Cove at about the end of January, 1789.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to Haswell (quoted above). Voyages of the Columbia, p.

For some time, during March and April, there were no ships anchored at Friendly Cove. The next important event was the return of the Iphigenia and the North West America, which, as we have seen, had spent the winter in the Sandwich Islands. The Iphigenia entered the cove on April 20th, 1789. Her Journal recorded:

At 10 A.M. weighed with a southerly wind. Shortly afterwards came alongside Captain Kendrick and officers; they had wintered in Friendly Cove and had only removed a few days with their ship up to Mowenna, about 8 miles higher up the Sound. At 11 ditto dropped anchor in the Cove, and moored with the pieces of junk. Employed unbending sails, and getting the top gallant masts and yards down on deck. This log at midnight.

And, two days later: "We sent some sails on shore and erected a tent to put our casks in."

On Wednesday, April 22nd or 23rd, the sloop Washington returned from her cruise. The British learned that she had been to the coast south of Nootka, where she had acquired many furs, and that, in a few more days, she would sail northwards for the same purpose. Between the

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1 The Journal of the Iphigenia for this period (April 20th to June 1st, 1789) was published together with Meares' Memorial. Although there may have been some tampering with the original text of the log book, it is a very important document from which we shall have to draw much information.

2 I have already commented (Chapter IV) upon the bearing of this statement on the question of Meares' house at Nootka.

3 Douglas recorded this in a few words. The log of the Washington states (23) "we anchored in Friendly Cove we found Captain Douglas riding here having a free days".



22nd and the 24th, the North West America appeared in the offing; with help from the Washington, she made her way into the cove and was moored beside her consort, the Iphigenia.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards, the Washington proceeded to Marwina, where Kendrick was still enjoying his idleness. Expecting that this sloop would soon undertake another fur-trading trip, the British decided to forestall it: after being speedily refitted and repaired, the North West America sailed northwards on April 27, to purchase furs from the Indians on the coast. This was destined to be her last cruise under that name, for upon her return, six weeks later, she was to undergo a change of identity and nationality--and, later, a change in shape, also.

For about a week, from April 27th, the Iphigenia was the only ship in the Cove. On May 5 or 6, her captain, Douglas, was told there was a ship in the offing. He immediately thought that it was the Felice, because Meares had planned to return in it at about that time; but it proved to be another ship.

#### Arrival of the Spaniards

It was, in fact, the Spanish frigate Princesa, commanded by Captain Martínez. With the help of a launch, which Douglas dispatched for the purpose, she was anchored in Friendly Cove. Then the crew celebrated their happy arrival with the singing of a "salve" to the Virgin of the

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<sup>1</sup> Voyages of the Columbia, p. 82.

Rosary (her patroness), with a salvo of fifteen guns, and with three cheers for the King of Spain. Thus began the Spanish occupation of Nootka.

Both Martínez and Douglas agree that their respective ships greeted each other with gun shots, and both reported their subsequent meeting, but with some differences in the accounts.

According to Douglas, Martínez paid his compliments to him and invited him to dinner on board the Spanish ship; he accepted, and presented the Spaniard with "a long feathered cloak and cap". Douglas apparently understood Martínez to say that he was just back from Onalaska. We have already seen that, only a few days before, the officers of the Washington understood Martínez to say that he had come straight from Cádiz, Spain. It is doubtful whether Martínez would gain any advantage, either in prestige or in any other way, by deliberately deceiving the Americans and the British, with a different lie to each party, about the facts of his voyage. It is possible that Martínez did not mean to deceive, but that he was simply misquoted or his statements were incorrectly translated. It should be borne in mind, when considering this matter as a whole, that the two parties communicated through Martínez' interpreter, Castillo, whose abilities as a linguist appear to have been somewhat deficient.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At least, according to Duffin who wrote: "I have every Reason to suspect there was a Misunderstanding between the Two Parties, for the Linguist spoke English very imperfectly and in all likelihood interpreted as many words wrong as right." (Duffin's letter to Meares, July 12, 1789. Published as Appendix 13 of Meares' Memorial, p. 26 of original edition.)

It is interesting to note that, in the published version of his Journal, Douglas appears as the only captain of the Iphigenia, and makes no reference whatsoever to Viana, who was the official captain of the ship and presented as such to the Spaniards. This is how Martínez described his first meeting with these two men:

There immediately came on board our ship the captain of the packet, don Francisco de Viana, a native of Lisbon, and the first mate of the vessel, Master William Douglas, a native of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion, Martínez did not say, in so many words, that the Iphigenia was flying the Portuguese flag, but it is evident that he considered her to be a Portuguese ship. When first he was informed about her, by the Americans, before his own arrival at Nootka, he referred to her as "a packet from Macao" and, as Macao was then a Portuguese port, the implication is obvious. And a few days later he referred to the ship as carrying Portuguese<sup>2</sup> colours.

#### Making the acquaintance of the Indians

Martínez and Douglas were at the lunch table with Father Sánchez when a visitor came in. It was Kendrick,

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez, p. 79. Father Sánchez uses practically the same words when describing this. Martínez added a comment on Douglas which has direct bearing on our story: "The latter is the same person that I mentioned on my former voyage as being in Unalaska. It was he who circulated there some bad copper money, of which I acquired two pieces that I sent to His Excellency."

<sup>2</sup> When the Portuguese flag was lowered and the Spanish flag hoisted on her.

who had come from Marwina in the longboat of his frigate. Then, at about four o'clock, the three captains went ashore so that Martínez could meet the Indians. Douglas made only a brief, ironical note of the event: "Captain Kendrick arriving from Mowena, after dinner went on shore accompanied by don Joseph, and three padries that were to make all the Indians Christians; I thought that they had taken a hard task in hand".

But both Martínez and Father Sánchez took the event seriously, and wrote long notes about their first contact with the Nootka Indians. The fathers were probably pondering on the possibilities of setting up a mission there, but Martínez took this first opportunity to gather evidence from the Indians in support of his ever-firm conviction that he had been there, or thereabouts, in 1774. This is how Martínez described the meeting:

...Being informed by the captains of the two vessels anchored in this port that the Indians of the neighbouring villages were peaceful, and would do us no harm, I determined to go on shore. Here the Indians received us with great joy but as soon as they saw the sergeant and the seven armed men of the garrison, who accompanied me, they gave me to understand by signs that the soldiers should go back [que se volvieren], that we need take no precautions [que no tuviesemos cuidado], but that they were friends. This they repeated saying "guacass, guacass"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Meares reported that the Nootka Indians often shouted the words wacush, wacush, meaning "friends, friends". An English or Germanic 'w' often corresponds to a Spanish 'g', and as Spanish has no sh sound Martínez probably tried to render it by ss.

which, according to the before-mentioned captains--who already understood much of their language--meant that they were friends. I at once had the squad return on board, and, accompanied by the missionary fathers, Severo Patero and Francisco Sanchez, the captains mentioned, and the first pilot of my frigate, Don José Tovar, I visited some houses of the chief men of the village. In the house of their head man [en la del que haze caveza de todos], whom they honour as king, named Macuina, they gave a dance after their fashion. For the occasion they painted their faces, and covered their heads with very small white feathers, which they fastened to their heads with bear or whale grease. Macuina, his brother, and another Indian, named Kelekem, wore, besides the small feathers which they had on their heads instead of powder, other large ones in their hair, which they told me were from eagle's tails, and that only the kings or heads of villages could wear them. These feathers they held in high estimation, and they are one of the presents which pleased them most.

At the dance, Macuina presented me--in the name of his daughter, a little girl--with a sea-otter skin. I recompensed him with a little woollen cloth, flannel, glass beads, scissors, and other trifles.

While I was in Macuina's house, he showed me the shells which I had given him in 1774 when I came to this port with the frigate Santiago, under the command of the first pilot and brevet-ensign of Don Juan Pérez, which corroborated all that I had said to the Englishmen at mess. Macuina also told me that the Indian who had robbed me of the two silver spoons (which incident Captain Cook mentions in his work) had died some time before.

Likewise I learned from the English that the Indian whom I hurt when I threw the shells off the ship was a brother of this Macuina. Both men recognized me,

and said that when I ~~was~~ here before in 1774, they were then mere boys.

At sunset I returned on board accompanied by those mentioned above. During the night I maintained an adequate guard, as much for the security of the frigate as in order to observe if the Indians of the neighbouring village were quiet. However they were quiet all night, remaining in their houses and sleeping.<sup>1</sup>

We have already mentioned, in an earlier chapter, this testimony about the Indians. It is curious, however, that Martínez does not give a full account of the way in which his spoons were stolen, or how the shells hit the fellow on the head. The Santiago may have been off Nootka, and the bare facts, as put forward by Martínez, may be true; but one need not take him too seriously on these details.

Early on the following day (May 6), many canoes, paddled by Indians, approached the Spanish frigate bringing fish, fresh vegetables, and otter and bear skins, which they bartered to the Spaniards. The Indians did not care much for flannel or woollen cloth, beads, scissors, etc. They accepted pieces of iron, knives and glass beads; but the things they valued "like civilised nations value gold and silver"<sup>2</sup> were large shells, such as can be found in Monterey.

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<sup>1</sup> Father Sánchez' description of this day is much shorter than Martínez', but agrees with it in most respects. He adds that the Indians, in their chanting, repeatedly mentioned the name 'Martínez', and that, after the dancing, the visiting party strolled along the beach before going back to the ships.

<sup>2</sup> Father Sánchez confirms this information.

Three friendly captains

Martínez either forgot or openly ignored the warnings he had received about the "dangerous" Bostonians. Later on that same day (May 6), Martínez, with his first pilot and the two missionary fathers, Patero and Sánchez,<sup>1</sup> went to Marwina, where they paid their compliments to Kendrick, who entertained them to dinner on board the Columbia, and had his men drink, three times, the health of the Spanish sovereign "and each toast they followed with a salvo of thirteen cannon shots". Martínez had obviously noted, a few days before, that the Washington, when saluting the Spanish ship, had fired thirteen guns. He felt that more bangs were due to His Catholic Majesty of Spain, and decided to make his displeasure known to Kendrick. But the American had a ready answer: "that the reason for not giving more shots each time was since there were thirteen of the American states and thirteen stars in the canton of their flag, they had orders from their Congress to fire these salvos with a like number of shots."<sup>2</sup> Thus the infant nation was already asserting her importance.

Afterwards, Martínez and his party, together with the captains of the two ships, walked to the Indian village near Marwina and visited the homes of the principal Indians.

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1 The other two fathers were on the San Carlos, which was still on her way.

2 Martínez, p. 82.

Martínez wrote in his diary, with obvious satisfaction:

Kendrick told them in their own language that I was his brother, that I had come to live with them for some time, that not only did I intend to do them no harm but, in case any foreign nation wished to molest them, I would defend them and that...they should show themselves very friendly to me...The chief men of the village answered with happy expressions on their faces, taking me by the hand, 'Guacass, guacass' or 'friend, friend'. Everything which the captain said in their own language, he spoke in English to my interpreter, Gabriel del Castillo, who translated it to me in Spanish that I might understand it.

That evening, the three cheerful captains and their retinue dined in the Spanish frigate. They treated each other "with much civility, good feeling and friendship", and Martínez added, "I returned their favours with the greatest courtesy."<sup>1</sup> Father Sánchez also commented that during these days the captains and officers of the other ships continued to visit the Spaniards "with great courtesy, affection and friendship and we endeavour to reciprocate with the utmost politeness".<sup>2</sup>

According to the Journal of the Iphigenia, on May 11 (10, by Spanish reckoning) "in the Morning, the Spanish Commodore went up to Moweena, taking his Cot and Bedding along with him". It also records that, two days later, he returned "accompanied by Captain Kendrick and

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1 Entry for 7th May, p. 84.

2 "con la major política"--entry for May 7th.



some of his Officers." Martínez gives no indication whatsoever of this move. Both his Journal and that of Father Sánchez clearly contradict such statements, because both give full accounts of what he did during those three days. Perhaps Douglas was confused about the dates.

CHAPTER IX  
MARTÍNEZ AND THE IPHIGENIA

May I see your papers?

In keeping with the spirit of his instructions, Martínez, proudly acting as the representative of his Sovereign, took good care to check the credentials of any ships approaching that port, which he considered to be part of the Spanish dominions. So, according to his diary, on May 7 (the British say on May 8) Martínez asked Viana and Douglas, whom he understood to be the captain and supercargo, respectively, of the Iphigenia, to show him their credentials.<sup>1</sup> They produced their sailing instructions and passport, written in Portuguese, issued by the Governor of Macao and stamped with the Royal Seal of Portugal. Martínez had a copy of the passport made at once, and had "the said captain and supercargo" sign it. Martínez and his secretary attested it. "Since the instructions were longer, and I did not have the time to have them copied at once, they were left with me until a copy could be made."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> We shall see, later, that on the same day Kendrick showed Martínez some of his papers--probably on request.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez' Journal. There is no reference to this in the logbook of the Iphigenia, but there is no reason to doubt it. See Chapter III for details of this passport and the background of this matter.

He did not pause to study the contents of these Portuguese papers until six days later. Perhaps, as Douglas suggested, he was away from Friendly Cove for part of that time,<sup>1</sup> but, whatever the reason, he did not appear to feel any anxiety about the matter. This seems to contradict a statement made in the log book of the Washington on the day her officers met Martínez off Nootka Sound: "he was very inquisitive what ships were laying in the Sound when he was informed Captain Douglas lay there he said it would make him a good prize". If Martínez had been so set on seizing the Iphigenia, would he have waited so long to do so? He did not seize her until he had been at Nootka for about nine days, and then still with some hesitation.

#### Arrest of the Iphigenia

On May 13 (14), Martínez (according to his diary) "took into consideration" that document. He could not be sure of its contents, as it was written in Portuguese and he did not have anybody "who is master of this language and can translate it and interpret it in our language". However, he felt that sections 1, 18 and 19<sup>2</sup> of it were objectionable

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1 Martínez' diary does not confirm this point, but suggests that he never left Friendly Cove. However, he may have gone to Marwinna (see p. , below, in connection with this matter). The Journal of the Iphigenia states that Martinez went to Marwina on May 11 (the 10th, by Spanish reckoning) and returned two days later.

2 The affidavit which Martínez signed in connection with this did not mention section 1. It would seem that there was a mistake, either in the original of the diary or in the translation I have.

"so far as we can understand them" and "being guided by the sense which we gave these sections and keeping to the actual words written". These words were undoubtedly the paragraphs starting with the words: "In case of your meeting in your voyage with any Russian, Spanish or English vessels..." (quoted in chapter III above).

Martínez then decided to summon the two men he considered to be captain and supercargo of the Iphigenia. With his usual fondness for formality, he had Cañizares,<sup>1</sup> his secretary, write a "summons", in which Martínez, by virtue of his authority as Commander in Chief of the expedition sent to occupy San Lorenzo de Nootka, etc., etc., stated:

I ought to order and have ordered to appear before me Don Francisco Josef Viana, an inhabitant of Lisbon and captain of the packet boat Iphigenia Nubiana, coming from Macao...and likewise that he should be accompanied by the so-called cargo, M. William Douglas, in order that each one, in so far as he is involved, may indicate himself in view of the charges which I have to make against them...on account of sections 18 and 19 of the instructions which the said captain presented me on the 8th of the present month.

Cañizares, undersigned this summons and personally delivered it to the interested parties, as he formally declares in his own affidavit. Then Viana, Douglas--and also Adamson, the first pilot of the Iphigenia--repaired

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<sup>1</sup> Cañizares was sometimes referred to as "notary" of the expedition.

on board the Princesa. Martínez submitted them to a formal inquest. Cañizares wrote an affidavit outlining the procedure of questions and answers.

The introductory sentence states that Martínez "asked the captain of the Iphigenia, Francisco Joseph Viana and its supercargo Guillian Douvlas with what authority had they come to anchor in a port belonging to the dominions of our Monarch; to which they answered...by virtue of a passport which the Governor of Macao had given them, which they had produced sealed with the seal with the Royal Arms of Portugal together with the instructions which he had brought on the same day signed by Juan Carvalho, a merchant from Macao. That as for the port belonging to the Spanish dominions, they did not know it because it had not been so publicised in the foreign Courts of Europe. That they had understood by the first chapter of their instructions that the Coast had been discovered by Admiral Fonte of the Portuguese Nation, to which it was replied that in case this were so, and in the year 1640, as expressed by the aforementioned Instructions, Portugal was at that time under the dominion of Spain."

"Likewise the aforementioned were asked, who was Carballo that he should speak and give instructions with such despotism that perhaps a Minister of a Sovereign would not have given them. To which they answered that he was the owner of the sloop or Packetboat, a businessman in Macao.

Likewise they were reminded of chapter 18 of the aforementioned Instructions in which it is suggested that in case of encountering in the Port of Nootka or on the Northern Coast any Russian, Spanish or English vessels and if they realised that the forces of any of these were superior to their own they should treat them with all friendship and generosity, permitting them their visits but trying to avoid any surprise, and that these were to explain the object of their voyage... and being likewise reminded of article 19 of their instructions which says: That in case they should find themselves with superiority (in strength, that is) he should proceed to take possession of the Vessel and its cargo and carry the vessel as well as her officers to Macao so that it be declared good prize and the officers and equipment punished as pirates..."

The affidavit (poorly written) goes on to say that the accused answered by trying "to hide to soften and to twist" the literal meaning of their instructions, explaining these as meaning that in case of a mutiny of the crew Viana should seek the help of ships from the three aforementioned nations in order to overpower the rebels and carry them to Macao. To which the Spanish replied something to this effect: "then, what is this business about capturing a ship? What ship? Certainly not your own!" To this the accused answered unsatisfactorily. Martínez "realised that they were only trying to "hallucinate" him and that they could not produce convincing excuses. Consequently on behalf of his

King and in keeping with the naval regulations, he told them they should consider themselves as war prisoners which they accepted without a protest.<sup>1</sup>

A postscript to the document states that subsequently the Spanish seized the Iphigenia "taking down the Portuguese flag and hoisting the Spanish one. They acknowledged this change with a gun salute from the frigate." Then the artillery, powder ammunition and other weapons were removed from the Iphigenia "and all the precautions considered necessary for the safety of the ship and the prisoners were taken..."

Naturally the fact that Viana and Douglas signed this affidavit should not be taken as meaning that they fully agreed with its contents, especially as the document contained the implication that they meant to deceive Martinez. Although they never claimed to have been subjected to any pressure, it is most unlikely that they signed cheerfully and of their own free will.<sup>2</sup>

I here paraphrase Douglas' account of this incident, starting from nine o'clock in the morning of May 13 (14)

As soon as I was on board the Princesa he took out a paper and told me that was the King of Spain's orders to take

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A.,<sup>Hist.</sup> vol. 65, carp 5. The text of this copy differs slightly from the one in Archives of the Indies (subsequently referred to as A. Indies) 90-3-18.

<sup>2</sup> This is Manning's opinion too. Vide: Nootka Sound Controversy, p. 318.

all vessels he met with on the coast of America, that I was now his prisoner. I urged the distress we were in before reaching the harbour ...that if I had steered for any port in South America, the Spaniards would not have seized my vessel, but supplied me with the necessaries I was in want of, agreeable to the law of nations; to take me a prisoner in a foreign port that the King of Spain had never claimed to, was a piece of injustice that no nation had ever attempted before...I enquired the cause of his not taking the Washington sloop, as he had orders from the King of Spain to take every vessel he met with on this coast. He gave me no satisfactory answer, but told me my papers were bad; that they mentioned I was to take all English, Russian and Spanish vessels that were of inferior force to the Iphigenia, and send or carry their crews to Macao, there to be tried for their lives as pirates. I told him that they had not interpreted the papers right...which mentioned, if I was attacked by any of those nations, to defend myself, and if I had the superiority to send the captain and crew to Macao to answer for the insult they offered. The padries and the clerks read the papers over, and said they had interpreted the papers right. The Portuguese captain, Viana, was silent, although he must have known to the contrary.

Apart from these statements by the two contenders there is little evidence about this incident. Father Sánchez' diary only gives a brief account--obviously and unconditionally approving of Martínez' stand. The American officers, Grey and Ingraham, giving evidence two years later, did not furnish any important details and merely affirmed that the seizure of the Iphigenia was due to Martínez' misinterpreting the Portuguese papers. Douglas stated that



the Franciscan "padries" stood for Martínez' interpretation--or misinterpretation--of the papers. Yet one may ask whether Portuguese is so different from Spanish that such a misinterpretation could easily occur. Martínez had the opportunity of consulting with Mondolfía, who knew some English, and with the two fathers and his ship's chaplain--all of whom had had some education and should have been able to understand the simple Portuguese vocabulary of that document. In addition, it is quite likely that the Portuguese, Viana (the official captain of the Iphigenia) also knew some English--since he was with English people--and, being a sailor, might have picked up some Spanish. On the British side, Colnett had, among his servants, a "Filipino boy who knew Spanish" who might have been used to help explain the meaning of the documents.

Martínez himself admitted a few days later, as we shall see, that "a different interpretation could be placed upon the instructions" of the Iphigenia.

Actually, a comparison of the text of the instructions with Martínez' affidavit shows beyond doubt that he misunderstood it. That this could have happened in spite of the very close similarity between the language of the text and that of Martínez and his party casts a poor light on them. They were probably carried away by a prejudice which made them hastily conclude that the references to seizing ships and using violence were meant in a hostile

and piratical sense. However, the Iphigenia must have appeared suspicious to them because, although it carried Portuguese papers and flew the Portuguese flag, the fact that it was actually British could hardly be concealed. If, as Douglas states, Viana was silent when the Spanish questioned his papers (which declared him to be the captain of the ship) the Spanish must have sensed there was something irregular in the situation. An expression in Martínez' Journal shows that he soon realised that the Portuguese identity was only a camouflage.

Additional evidence about the fact that the Iphigenia and the North West America were under Portuguese colours appears in two impartial accounts from members of the Kendrick crews. John B. Treat, writing to Samuel Break from "Nootka Sound, July 14th 1789, said: The most important news...is the arrival of...la Princesa and the San Carlos...four other arrivals have since taken place, three of which are captured: two of them under Portuguese colours and the other an English snow: commanded by J. Collinett whose orders were to establish a factory at this place."<sup>1</sup> And Captain Robert Grey, in a letter to his employer Joseph Banell (written in Canton on December 18th, 1789--only a few months after the event), states that the Spaniards "have taken possession of a Snow and a Schooner under Portuguese Colours".<sup>2</sup>

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1 Voyages of the Columbia, p. 124.

2 Ibid., p. 129.

### Treatment of the prisoners

Martínez wrote in his diary that after he decided to seize the Iphigenia he ordered his first pilot, José Tovar, to go on board her, "to take charge of everything in it and to guard against the robberies which usually take place under such circumstances". To this effect Martínez had the launches of the two Spanish ships manned and armed to guard the prize. In addition, he ordered the Portuguese flag hauled down and the Spanish flag run up. This change of emblems on the Iphigenia was acknowledged with a cannon shot from the Princesa. Subsequently, he had the Iphigenia disarmed and all her firearms and ammunition transported to the Princesa; while her officers and crew were taken prisoner and moved aboard the two Spanish ships.

Martínez had little to say about the treatment of the prisoners but Douglas reported that it was brutal: that, on his arrest, the keys of his chest were demanded; that the Spaniards took possession of "everything that was in the vessel" including his charts, journals and papers, and that he was not even allowed to go on board. But only a few lines further down, Douglas wrote:

In the evening of the 15th when Kendrick came on board the Iphigenia I refused to see him. This being reported to the Spanish Commodore, I was ordered, at Ten O'Clock at night (although I was very unwell) to turn out, and carry my Bed on Board the Spanish Snow, it both raining and blowing at the Time. Here I remained for some Time without a Soul to speak to. My servant, that was a

Manila Man, and spoke the language very well was not permitted to come near me, for fear of his discovering some of their Proceedings that was carrying on. In short they stole a number of Things, and afterward laid the Blame on my Servant. My people were divided between the two vessels and every method made of use of to entice them to enter.

Douglas says that, upon his arrest on May 14 (15), he was not even allowed to go on board his ship. Yet he further says that he was on board her on the evening of the 15th (16th), when Kendrick tried to see him there. So the denial could have lasted one day at the most. Then he reports (no specific date):

A captain was appointed, and Officers, to carry me and Mr. Viana to St. Blaws .....I was requested to choose the quietest of my Men to go along with me and submit a list of them, very soon, because they were to sail in a few days.

Douglas adds that he refused to do so, and told Martínez that "he might send Home if he thought proper"; that the Iphigenia was not fit to go to sea until she was caulked and her leaks were stopped, whereupon the Spaniards immediately set about to carry out these repairs in order to make use of the ship.

After taking every Thing out of her, Copper, Iron, Trade of every Kind, all my Sandwich Islands Pork, they filled the Afterhold with Sand Ballast, that we had been at so much pains to get out.....

On the 22nd, the Irons arrived from Moweena, which were made by Captain Kendrick's Armourers. We were now to proceed instantly to St. Blaws, and I was once more requested to choose One Half of my Men, as the other Half was to remain with my Officers. Finding not one of them would enter, or desert me, I declined giving the Preference to any. Before we sailed, I requested my own private Papers might be delivered up likewise a copy of my Portuguese Papers which was promised to me.

The Spanish did not write anything about the prisoners during these days, and there is no way to check the accuracy of Douglas' statements.

#### Release of the Iphigenia

There is enough evidence in Martinez' writings (both in his diary and in his affidavits) that his first intention was to send the Iphigenia and her men to San Blas at the disposal of the Viceroy of Mexico but it is perfectly clear, too, that he soon changed his mind. In his diary for May 16 (17) he says: "I do not wish to prevent its return to Macao as I have too few men to send it to San Blas, and also to attend to the different duties on shore and on shipboard. Besides this, they have not enough provisions to keep them longer in this port." So the Iphigenia was not sent to San Blas. But Martínez must have wondered what would happen if the Viceroy should decide that the ship's owners deserved punishment. In his desire to make sure that they could still be punished after releasing the ship, Martínez decided to have an inventory taken of

everything there was on board her "and at the bottom of the inventory...a debenture to be signed by the captain, Viana, and the supercargo, Mr. Douglas, binding them at all times to guarantee the value of the prize whenever His Excellency,<sup>1</sup> the Viceroy of New Spain, should declare it a good prize."

So on that same day (May 17), Martínez ordered his secretary, Cañizares, to prepare another affidavit which said, in part:

...On account of not having anyone who could perfectly understand the Instructions presented by the captain of the captured packet-boat and of the difficulty of sending the prize to San Blas because of the scarcity of personnel who could man it and because such personnel are necessary here for the different activities which have to be attended to both on land and on boardship, I should order and do order an inventory to be taken in full detail of everything which the aforesaid packetboat contains and at the foot of it to have an obligation signed by his the Captain's own hand by which on behalf of the owner of the aforesaid captured packetboat to answer at all time for the value of the ship and the cargo which it has so as to ensure the value of the aforementioned prize in case H.E. the Viceroy of New Spain should declare it as good prize, and authorise them to leave for the port of Macao.<sup>2</sup>

A few days later, on May 23 (24), Martínez, in his repetitive manner, once more explained the whole matter

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1 Journal, entry for May 16 (17).

2 This document, like most of the others concerning the incident, is very poorly written. I have translated it fairly closely to the original, improving it somewhat in places. I shall do the same with the others, keeping to the original as far as possible.

and reiterated his decision.

I have reflected thoroughly that a different construction could be placed upon the instructions in virtue of which I proceeded to seize the said ship. This probably was due to their being written in Portuguese, which no one in either of our ships is master of and can translate into our own language. Accordingly I determined that they should make a debenture in triplicate at the end of the inventory. In this they should bind themselves in the name of Don Juan Carvallo who was the legitimate owner of the seized packet, and who had given under his signature the above-mentioned instructions--to pay at Macao the value that would be set on the vessel in case His Excellency, the viceroy of New Spain...should declare them a good prize.

Here is the text of this "obligation":

"On Board His Majesty's Frigate called Our Lady of the Rosary (alias) the Princesa,  
25th May of said Year...

We declare that we obliged ourselves (in Name of said Cawallo, to whom belongs said Packet Boat) to satisfy, whomsoever shall present to us the Import of Valuation...of the said Vessel, with Landing and other Appurtances on Board;...in case that H.E. the Viceroy of New Spain, may judge the said Packet Boat the Iphigenia to be a Prize, on account of having found us at Anchor in said Port of Nootka, without a Passport, Permission, or particular Licence<sup>1</sup> from His Catholick Majesty, for so doing, that is, for navigating or Anchoring in Seas or Ports belonging to his Dominions. For all which we bind

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<sup>1</sup> This word "Licence" is missing and appears as a blank in the edition of Meares' Memorial.

ourselves to the said Dn John Cawallo ...to the Satisfaction of the Quantity of Contents of said Inventory, Masts, Stores, Cargo, etc.; subjecting ourselves...to the Laws, Pragmatic sanctions, and Ordinances of said Sovereign; and renouncing as we do renounce all Laws, Liberties and Privileges which might favour us, without it being necessary in the Exhibition of the said Value, in which we may be condemned, to have recourse to Law Suit; for although this Obligation be made upon simple Paper, we give it as much Force and Value as if it were a Writing made before a Royal or Public Notary...

Martínez asked Douglas to sign...

Douglas reported in his Journal that Martínez asked him to sign four different papers. Two of them were letters to the captain of the North West America, and will be considered later. As for the other two, this is what Douglas wrote:

He [Martínez] proposed to return the Vessel, and supply me with provisions to carry me to the Sandwich Islands, if I would sign a Paper that was already prepared and presented me. This I refused to comply with, till I had Witnesses, and knew the Contents of the Paper. Mr. How, Supercargo of the Columbia, was requested to write a letter to Captain Kendrick and Mr. Ingraham, to come down from Moweena, to be Witnesses to the papers I was to sign. On the 24th they arrived; the Papers were interpreted to me, which mentioned he [Martínez] arrived on such a Day, and found me in the Bay of St. Lawrence, Nootka; that I was in Distress, and in Want of everything; that he had not stopped my navigation, but supplied me with every Necessary I was in want of to



carry me to the Sandwich Islands. This paper I refused signing, for Two Reasons; One was, he had not only stopped me in my Navigation, but had taken Possession of the Ship, and everything that belonged to her; another was, the Spaniards could lay no Claim to a Port they had never before seen, nor had any of the King of Spain's Vessels ever entered. The Commodore said, in the Year 1775 he was Second Officer on board the King's Frigate that was on Discovery, that saw the Port, and named it the Bay of St. Lawrence. I told him, having the Chart of that Voyage by me, I begged leave to differ in Opinion from him.<sup>1</sup> If I did not choose to sign these Papers, he told me he would keep the Vessel, and send her along the Coast as a Privateer to trade with the Natives. The papers were instantly laid aside, and Captain Kendrick went to Moweena. My people were after me every Hour of the Day, requesting I would sign the Papers that they might get on Board their own Vessel. Although the Commodore had promised to supply me with what he thought would be necessary to carry me to the Sandwich Islands, and made this Promise before Mr. How and Mr. Ingraham, still there was no Dependence to be put in his Word; however on the 26th this Paper was once more produced. The Portuguese Captain Viana said it was a Pass for him, and signed the Paper. I was under the necessity of doing the same. At Eleven O'clock on the 26 I carried my people on Board, and took Possession of the Iphigenia Nubiana.

Manning unreservedly accepted this statement, but the actual text of the letter does not appear either in the Douglas' papers or in the Spanish files. Martínez' Journal (which was found only after Manning's essay was published) makes no reference whatsoever to such a letter. Moreover,

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<sup>1</sup> I have mentioned this point in Ch. II and expressed serious doubts that such a chart existed.

a careful reading of Douglas' Journal shows that he got somewhat mixed up about facts and dates--partly because he probably did not write a day-to-day record, but a retrospective summary after he was released. It could be that he was confused on this point.

This is how Douglas explained the second paper in his entry for June 1st:

Another Paper was produced, which the Commodore requested I would sign, and to be witnessed by Capt Kendrick and Mr. Ingraham, the contents of this Paper they told me was, if my Portuguese Papers were bad, the Vessel was to be delivered up at Macao. It was easy to see through those Artifices. I signed the Paper after the Portuguese Captain, and requested a Copy, but this was not complied with.

Douglas must have been somewhat mixed up here, too.

The description of this paper fits the text of the "obligation" signed by Viana and Douglas--which appears not only among the Spanish documents, but also among the papers printed alongside Douglas' Journal as appendices to Meares' Memorial. This means not only that a copy of the document did not reach Meares until after the event, but that it must have been carried either by Douglas or some of his associates. Furthermore, the text of it, as published by Meares, ends with this note, signed by the Spanish clerk Cañizares: "This is a literal copy of the Obligation, of which Triplicates were signed at the Foot of the Inventory

made of the said Packet Boat of Macao, whereof I certify".

It would seem that Meares himself realised that Douglas' description was confusing and somewhat contradictory at places, and he supplied an explanation for it, making it a trick of Martinez. So, according to Meares, the Spanish commander persistently urged Douglas:

to sign an instrument purporting, as he was informed (not understanding the Spanish language) that don Martínez had found him at Anchor in Nootka Sound; that he was at that Time in great Distres; that he had furnished him with every Thing necessary for his Passage to the Sandwich Islands, and that his Navigation had in no respect been molested or interrupted; but which Paper<sup>1</sup>...appears to be an Obligation from him and Mr. Vinania, the Second Captain, on the Part of their Owners, to pay on Demand the Valuation of that Vessel...in case the Vice-roy of New Spain should adjudge her to be lawful Prize...Douglas did frequently refuse to accede to this Proposal, but...Don Martínez, partly by Threats, and partly by Promises of restoring him to his Command, and of furnisheing him with such Supplies of Stores and Provisions as he might stand in need of, ultimately carried his Point; and having so done, he was set free and restored to the command of the Iphigenia.

Whether or not Douglas and Viana signed a document falsely stating that Martínez had been so kind and helpful to them may not be of great importance. They undoubtedly did sign the "obligation" binding their employers to pay

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<sup>1</sup> Here Meares adds that the paper is printed there with an appendix no. 2; actually it was appendix no. 4.

indemnity to Spain if she were to decide so. That they signed this only under pressure, or even under threats, seems very probable. On the other hand, perhaps the signing of this document did not disturb them unduly: it is doubtful whether they would really be afraid of committing their firm to an irrevocable loss; and they might well have imagined that once the Iphigenia disappeared out of reach of the Spaniards she would be quite safe in spite of that piece of paper. Viana, in particular, had no major concern in the matter, and it is possible that he did not offer much resistance to signing the paper, and that Douglas was then persuaded to sign it, too. The only person really fooled by Martínez was Martínez himself, who probably imagined that the might of Spain could reach every corner of the Universe.

### Pilfering and abuses

Douglas repeatedly accused the Spaniards in general, and Martínez in particular, of theft. In a passage obviously referring to Martínez (although its subject, grammatically, is the Spanish interpreter) Douglas said:

He had now got every Thing out of her that he took a liking to; and what things I had belonging to myself he robbed me of in as gentle a Manner as he possibly could, by letting me know he must have my Gold Watch, my Sextant, my Stove, and all my Charts; likewise all my long Feathers, Cloaks; even my Shoes and Boots, and very Bed Cloaths went; as a Reason for doing so, he told me some of those things could be got at Mexico.

In another passage:

In short, they stole a Number of Things and afterwards laid the Blame on my servant.

(This servant was the "Manila boy" who spoke Spanish.)

According to Douglas, the pilfering went on until the minute the Iphigenia was released:

In the afternoon, the Spaniards left the Ship, each carrying what he could lay his hands on.

We have seen that Martínez provided Douglas with some articles he needed. Douglas later reported that he was afterwards billed for them:

...charging Five Times the Quantity and Five Times the Sum they cost; in short I was going to return most of them, but I found if I returned any I must return the Whole. As I had made no Charge against him of my Pork, Iron, Copper, Watch, Stove, Sextant my Cloaks, Caps, and Charts, which he deprived me of, on this Account I granted him the Bills he requested.

Martínez merely mentioned that he provided the Iphigenia with some provisions "so that she may be able to reach the Sandwich Islands", but did not mention that he had set a price on them--and no receipts appear among his papers.

However, as regards the matter of the treatment given to the prisoners, some of Douglas' own words suggest that it was not as brutal as he had stated elsewhere, and it

appears that he was even able to plot with the Indians:

The Schooner North West America and the Felice Adventurana being daily expected in, none of us were permitted to speak to the Natives, although I found an Opportunity to acquaint Mc Quilla Maquinna, and the other Chiefs, as did Mr. Ingraham, Chief Officer of the Columbia. We requested them to have Boats ready to go off to Captain Mears and Captain Funter, and acquaint them not to come in to Nootka. That I was Cap Chet led they told us they understood. They wanted to know if I was a Colt--that is, a Slave--that if I would go with him, they would send Boats to watch for an opportunity to carry me off. They instantly shifted their Village about Four Miles to the Northward, so that I am in great Hopes both Captains Mears and Funter will have intelligence of my being captured.

Douglas then explains that when one of his men was bargaining with the natives for fish, he was seized by the Spaniards:

put into the Stocks, strictly examined threatened severely, if he did not tell whether he had mentioned to the Natives for them to go and acquaint Captains Mears and Funter not to come into Nootka...and whether the Natives had told him that they had seen a vessel in the Offing.

The man denied everything, and he was then set free, "but ordered never to converse with the Indians, or speak to them in future".

The Iphigenia leaves Nootka

Douglas reported that, on May 30 (31), he went on board the Spanish ship to tell Martínez that he would sail for the Sandwich Islands as soon as possible. Martínez had been led to believe that he was actually planning to proceed northwards, but Douglas reassured him:

I mentioned that whoever he was that told him so, could not be so well acquainted with the State of my Vessel as he was himself; that by his own Calculation I had not above Six Weeks Provisions; that he had only left me with 10 or 12 bars of Iron, which would only purchase me as many Sea Otter Skins...we should only starve before we got to Macao, as he left us nothing else to purchase our Hogs with at the Sandwich Islands; besides he had not left me a Chart to carry me to China, let alone the Coasts of America. My people, I told him, were on high Wages, and that it was necessary for me to make the best of my way to Macao.

On the following day, May 31 (June 1), Martínez wrote: "I turned over to the captain, Don Francisco José Viana, the artillery and ammunition of the Iphigenia."<sup>1</sup> Her officers and those of the American ships were invited to dinner on board the Spanish frigate. Douglas wrote in his Journal that, during the meal:

...every Method was made use of by Captain Kendrick and others, to find

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas agrees on that point; but Martínez still spoke of Viana as the Captain of the Iphigenia.

out if I intended to touch to the Northward. I gave them the same Answers as before, telling them I have no intention to throw away the lives of my People. On this Day they drank my Health, wishing me a good Voyage to Macao and accompanied it with Thirteen Guns.<sup>1</sup>

Martínez said that he ordered his two launches and boat to tow the Iphigenia out of the port. It seems that Martinez and Kendrick were on board her then, for Douglas says: "At 3 P.M. the Spanish Commodore and Captain Kendrick left me and went on shore." As the Iphigenia was sailing out of Friendly Cove the Spanish saluted her with five guns. She started with her course southward, but after sunset, being some eight leagues from Nootka, Douglas felt better:

Having got out of the hands of my Enemies, I was now at liberty to judge for myself, knowing it would be a Length of Time before the Spaniards could have their Snow ready which they intended to send to the Northward, and being of Opinion they would not permit Captain Kendrick to sail before he was ready, the interval was therefore mine.

I had no idea of running for Macao, with only between Sixty and Seventy Sea Otter Skins which I had on Board. My People had been accustomed to short Allowance, I therefore gave Orders at Midnight to put the Ship on the outer Tack, and stand away to the Northward. I was in great Hopes I should sail in

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1 Douglas gives the impression that it was on that day that he was persuaded to sign the statement binding him and his employers to the decisions of the Spanish authorities on the Iphigenia. We have already discussed that point. There is no doubt that it was really on that day he signed a letter for Funter, the captain of the North West America.



with Captain Funter, and I am fully resolved if I do take the People and Cargo out of her, and set her on fire, if I find I cannot carry her along with me.

Only a few pages before, Douglas had written that the Spaniards had robbed his ship of everything of value. Yet he admitted here that he had sixty or seventy otter skins left. So, (as Manning commented) something of value was left after all. Gray and Ingraham actually affirmed that her troubles were a blessing in disguise. This is what they said about it:

upon the whole we both believe the Ephigenia's being detained was of infinite service to those who were concern'd in hers this must be plain to every one who will consider the situation of the vessell when the Princessa arrived and the advantages reap'd from the assistance and supplies of the Spaniards the detention of it may be call'd so would be no detriment for had nothing took place she must have remain'd two months longer at least having...put into port in distress of course they could not have sail'd till supplies arrived which was not till July as will appear in the sequel whereas being early fitted as has been mentioned she sail'd on the coast North of Nootka Sound and there being no vessels there they collected upwards of Seven Hundred Sea Otter Skins which has often been represented to us by Capn Douglas and his officers after our arrival in China.

This statement was part of an affidavit written by these two Americans at the request of the Spanish. It may be biased by the desire to please them; but it may contain some truth, too.

The Iphigenia was the only one of the four vessels of the Etches-Meares combine which was not seized by Martínez. In due course she reached Macao where her owners heard the story of her troubles.

## CHAPTER X

### MARTÍNEZ GIVES THE NOD TO KENDRICK

Martínez had been specifically warned (articles 14 and 15 of the Viceroy's instructions) about the "Boston frigate and the small boat which accompanies her"--meaning the Columbia and the Washington. He was to take "any steps that may seem practicable and convenient" to make the Americans understand, "as to all other foreigners", that Spain held sovereignty over the whole coast and the adjacent islands up to Prince William Sound. The implication of this was that Martínez should prevent any "foreigners" from trading, and from occupying lands or setting up establishments, in those areas. Whether it was also intended that he should stop others engaged in honest exploratory activities, or prevent them from repairing damaged ships, is an open question.

Using explorations as their pretext, the captains of the American ships got away with their trading and made a long stay at Nootka--not only unhampered, but on very friendly terms with the Spaniards.

As we have seen, when Martínez met the Washington while on his way to Nootka he made no objection to her papers, and did not challenge the statement of her officers

that she was merely exploring. Kendrick, the captain of the Columbia and leader of the American expedition, obviously endeared himself to the Spaniard by the very tactful way in which he introduced him to the natives, thereby implying his recognition of Spanish sovereignty there.

On May 8, when Martínez requested to see the credentials of the Iphigenia he made a similar request for those of the Columbia. He recorded that Kendrick produced the 'certificate of good behaviour' that he had obtained from the Governor of Juan Fernández Island. Martínez had his secretary copy it, and Kendrick countersigned it. (It is obvious that the Governor was persuaded that these ships were engaged in exploration.)<sup>1</sup>

Though Martínez did not mention the fact, it appears that, in answer to his request for information, Kendrick wrote him two letters. In the first one, written on May 8, he respectfully stated that he had suffered accidents and hardships during his voyage, including the deaths of two men due to scurvy, for which reasons he "was Infallibly oblig'd" to anchor at Nootka:

and now as you may Observe we are getting our Ship in readiness for Sea with all possible dispatch and as soon as this is accomplish'd shall depart from the port.

The second letter, written four days later, was

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<sup>1</sup> The text of this 'certificate' is given in Voyages of the Columbia, p.

about the Washington:

...with respect to my Sloop she being ready for sea the 2d of May...I thought best to employ her on discovery to the Northward of this port particularly to explore the Streights [sic] of Admiral De Fonte likewise if possible to procure Hoops to replace the Water Casks I made mention to you the Natives stole from me during the last winter...<sup>1</sup>

Both Martínez and Father Sánchez explained that "the Boston people" left on board the Princesa two medals bearing the inscription: "Columbia and Washington, Commander J. Kendrick. Fitted at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean", which "they left as memorials of their expedition wherever they landed".<sup>2</sup> Even this simple act aroused in Father Sánchez some suspicion: "I do not know the reason for this, although it could be in proof of possession". But Martínez was not intrigued and merely stated that he would send the medals to "His Excellency".<sup>3</sup> It was not recorded whether he did so, but in the first mail dispatched to Mexico he included this explanation to the Viceroy:

I did not deem it necessary to forbid him [Kendrick] from following his course or 'capitulate' him...as I have done to those of the Packetboat from Macao because this one...does not contain written instructions, or anything derogatory to the rights of our Sovereign.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez makes no reference to either of these letters. Copies of them were found among Kendrick's papers. Vide: Voyages of the Columbia, pp. 118-19.

<sup>2</sup> Vide: A print of this medal in Voyages of the Columbia, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Martínez.

<sup>4</sup> July 13, 1789--Mex. N. A., T 65, cap. 3.

...once it was repaired he was determined to continue his route around the world carrying out exploration, which is the purpose of his commission; in spite of this I have requested him in the name of our Sovereign not to return to these seas and their coasts without carrying a Passport, a "premio" or a specific Licence from Our Monarch, and made him understand that he [the Monarch] has forbidden any foreign nation from navigating along the coasts of America.<sup>1</sup>

It may be wondered whether Martínez was really duped by Kendrick into believing the story that he was merely on a voyage of exploration. This seems hardly credible, but the possibility should perhaps be admitted. Kendrick, himself, was doing practically no trade at that time, and his ship, Columbia, had been idle for many months in Marwinna. The sloop, Washington, did some trade, but perhaps the Americans managed to disguise this fact. In any case, when, more than two months later, these two ships left Nootka (July 15), Martínez wrote that they were "to continue their voyage of discovery". But at the end of October, as he himself was preparing to leave Nootka, Martinez stated that he had been duped by the sly Americans:

The sloop Washington continued on her way, not on a voyage of discovery, as her commander said, but in pursuit of the fur trade which is the principal object of all the people who come to this coast. I could have taken this ship and the frigate Columbia but I had no orders to that purpose and my

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1 A. Indies, 90. 3-18, cap. 1.

situation did not permit me to do it.  
I treated this enemy as a friend...

This curious statement--so naive in a man as complex as was Martínez--seems to reflect an uneasy conscience. If he had really swallowed the American story he was ridiculously gullible. In spite of the language barrier it should have been easy enough for him, after his many meetings with the Americans, to ascertain whether or not they were engaged merely in exploration. It may be that Martínez had an uneasy conscience, and preferred to pass as a dupe rather than admit failure in his duties.

Assuming that, at some stage before this rather silly delayed admission, Martínez had realised the truth of the situation, one cannot help but wonder why he allowed Kendrick to do as he pleased. Perhaps it was a matter of affinities; it may even have been because Martínez started his career at Nootka indebted to Kendrick for the initial favours that he had received from him--or perhaps the relationship was based purely on a mutual dislike of the English. It is impossible to say what was at the root of Martínez' behaviour.

It is interesting to note, also, that at the time when he denounced Kendrick as a turncoat Martínez had the American's son serving under him, and could hardly have recalled any but pleasant memories of the father.

The relationship between Kendrick and Martínez

was so obviously friendly that Douglas, rightly or wrongly, accused the two of plotting together to accomplish his seizure:

...having been informed Captain Kendrick was privy to my being taken prisoner, and that it was settled when the Spanish Commodore was last at Moweena, when he came on board the Iphigenia I refused to see him...<sup>1</sup>

Douglas added that Martínez punished him for this stand by making him move, at night and in the rain, to the Spanish ship.

However, Douglas' revulsion could not have been too deep, for he wrote further:

I afterwards had a Conference with Captain Kendrick; he denied being accessory to my being taken; that the Spanish Commodore had mentioned to him that he would take Captain Mears Prisoner as soon as he arrived in the Harbour; that he had said every thing and had made use of all his Interest to prevent my being taken Prisoner.

Moreover, Douglas suggests that Martinez was playing a double game with Kendrick. He claims that after Kendrick had gone back to his headquarters at Marwina Martínez "told me his Orders were to take Captain Kendrick, if he should sail in with him any where in those Seas; and mentioned it as a great Secret, that he would take both him

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas' Journal.



and the sloop Washington as soon as he arrived in Port".<sup>1</sup>

In another entry Douglas appears to insinuate that Kendrick provided Martínez with irons for the purpose of chaining the prisoners. Martínez does not say, anywhere, that this occurred; but there is a letter from Kendrick about some "iron work" which may justify such a supposition. On May 16, Kendrick wrote to Martínez as follows:

...I this moment received a Letter  
Handed me by a man of Capn Arrow's  
[Haro's] Boat which I take to be the  
Blacksmith by what I can understand  
by him that you want some Iron work  
Done and if that should be the Case  
I will have it done for you with all  
possible dispatch that I can. I  
hold myself in readiness to serve  
you in any and every thing in my  
power but as to the Letter it is so  
unintelligible as to the English that  
I can make nothing of it. I have the  
honour to Remain...<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all these accusations Douglas, as we have seen, shared a meal with both Martínez and Kendrick on board the Spanish frigate, after which the two went on board his ship until it was off the port. Since he could still stomach the presence of these men, one would wonder whether everything was as bad as he declared it to be.

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1 Douglas' Journal, May 24.

2 Voyages of the Columbia, pp. 119-20. Kendrick suggests that Martínez' interpreter did not know enough English to write a simple letter. Incidentally, I have been unable to trace the letter.

A little later, two other British officers, Duffin and Colnett, maintained that Martínez and Kendrick were engaged "into partnership in Commerce", and that Martínez "sends his Furs to Macao by Capt. Kendrick, who also trades for him in Shares." This is very doubtful.

As we shall discuss elsewhere, it seems that Kendrick also helped Martínez with a plan to build a schooner; which was not completed--probably because Martínez then detained another schooner, as explained in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XI

### MARTÍNEZ APPROPRIATES THE NORTH WEST AMERICA

The schooner North West America was not at Nootka when Martínez arrived, but he undoubtedly heard about it. According to Douglas he showed himself very eager to acquire it and, less than half-an-hour after releasing the Iphigenia, sent for him, and told him, "in the presence of Mr. Ingraham", that "he would not permit me to sail till the Arrival of the Schooner North West America, and that I must sell her to him for the Prize that Capt. Kendrick and Officers should set on her." Douglas adds that he refused, alleging that the schooner was not his property.

Then in his entry for May 27 (26), he says:

In the Evening the Commodore acquainted me he had intelligence from the natives that the Schooner was in Port a little Way to the Northward. He got out some Ink and Paper, and requested I would write a Letter to Captain Funter to come into Nootka Sound. This I would not comply with, so that he refused to send my Stores, or any of his own, on Board me.

Martínez does not mention any such requests in any of his papers, but he may have made them. However, the punishment for Douglas' refusal could not have been so serious, since Douglas himself stated, two days later, that

Martínez had supplied him with the articles that he had requested. Furthermore, Douglas admitted to having sat at the table with Martínez for a farewell dinner, prior to his departure from Nootka. When Douglas was about to leave the port:

The Commodore told me I must leave a Letter for Captain Funter if he should arrive in Nootka Sound to sell the schooner. I acquainted him Capn Funter nor myself had neither Power nor Authority to sell the Schooner; that I would write a Letter and leave it with him to be delivered in case of his returning to Nootka Sound.

Douglas adds that he did write a letter, and gives the text of it, but it makes no mention whatsoever of the schooner. Douglas does not say that he thus tried to fool the Spaniard, but Meares later explained this letter as a smart trick. He states that Douglas, having firmly refused to sell the North West America, "was told by Don Martínez, that on his ordering that Vessel to be delivered to him...he should have Liberty to depart with the Iphigenia; that he accordingly, on the First of June, wrote a Letter to the Master of the North West America, but cautiously avoided any Directions to the effect desired, and availing himself of Don Martínez' Ignorance of the English Language, he instantly sailed from Nootka Sound, though in a very unfit Condition..."<sup>1</sup>

Meares, who constantly depicts Martínez as a villain,

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<sup>1</sup> Meares' Memorial, p. 3.

makes him out to be very innocent indeed on this occasion. If Martínez was so keen on getting such a letter that he even used blackmail as a means of getting it, surely he would want to know immediately whether its contents were satisfactory. He probably had his interpreter beside him--or, at any rate, within easy reach.

Douglas, himself, does not appear to be too worried about the letter for he expected to frustrate Martínez' hopes:

...I was in great hopes I should fall in with Captain Funter, and I am fully resolved, if I do, to take the People and Cargo out of her, and set her on fire, if I find I cannot carry her along with me.

As a matter of fact, his own hopes were frustrated because he missed the schooner, which, about a week later (June 8), appeared at the entrance to Nootka Sound. Martínez helped her to enter Friendly Cove, and he entertained her captain, Robert Funter, and her first pilot, Thomas Barnett.<sup>1</sup> It is not known whether Martínez gave them Douglas's letter, but Meares explained that the Spaniard, realising that he had been fooled, "gave vent to his anger by seizing the schooner."

The Captain, Officers and crew of the North West America later wrote an affidavit about this seizure--but they did not explain Martínez' motives or reactions. They

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<sup>1</sup> Whom Martínez called Bennet.

simply stated that he:

...did tow or convey the said North West America, her crew, tackle, cargo, furniture, into the said Sound, and did anchor her close to the Spanish ships of war, and then did take possession of the schooner, her tackle, cargo, furniture, goods and chattels of the associated merchants in the name of His Catholic Majesty and as a good and lawful prize.<sup>1</sup>

Martínez admitted appropriating the North West America, and he gave his own explanation--both in his diary and in letters to the Viceroy. In the diary (p. 101) he wrote that, on the day after the arrival of the schooner, he gave orders to have her inspected and an inventory made of "whatever she contained that was useful and might be of service." He intended to send two copies of the inventory "to the superior government of Mexico", together with a proper account of what had happened, so that "His Excellency may decide whether she was bound by the instructions affecting the Iphigenia". Then Martínez determined to have the crew of the schooner divided between the two Spanish ships "since her captain...had informed me that they were without provisions...had been living solely on fish for twenty days." Martínez' men found that "the whole bottom of the ship was rotten and eaten through by ship worms, and that in order to put it in serviceable condition it was necessary to rebuild it almost entirely".

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Meares' Memorial.

Then Martínez added:

In view of the report which they presented to me, I determined to receive whatever she contained that was serviceable beside the cargo that she carried.

After explaining that he had an inventory taken, he commented:

Everything must remain unsettled until we receive the decision of ...the...Viceroy...to see if this vessel and her contents constitute a good prize...whether she is bound by the instructions which the captain of the Portuguese packet Iphigenia presented to me, and whether this ship as well as the other belongs to Don Juan Carvalho.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem that Martínez' conscience bothered him and he repeatedly explained this action, but with ever-different reasons. In a deposition made before his secretary, Cañizares, on June 12, he declared that, learning that the schooner belonged to Carvalho and was connected with the Iphigenia, he decided to take possession of it.<sup>2</sup> But in a letter to the Viceroy, on June 13, he explained that he had released the officers and crew of the schooner, which he had detained because it belonged to Carvalho and was "unfit for navigation unless it be rigged first and her captain and pilot had no means of doing so". In two

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1 Martínez, Journal, p. 101.

2 A. Indies, 90-3-18.

other letters to the Viceroy, (July 13) Martínez inferred that he merely had taken into his own use a vessel which others could not use. Here is a composite of the two statements:

The small schooner which they had built here and stays in this port because it belongs to Carvalho is in no condition to sail since she makes much water and has her bottom rotten and traspasado por la broma...and her captain has no means to caulk her, for lack of the necessary supplies.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Tovar, in a report to the Viceroy mentioned the fact, but did not give the reasons for the appropriation of the schooner.

According to the Americans, Martínez gave them two reasons for seizing the schooner.

Haswell, wrote (in the Log of the Columbia) that Martínez supplied the Iphigenia with many articles "and took Bills on their owner and in part pay the schooner North West America was to be delivered to him as soon as she should arrive, everything being settled thus Captain Douglas sailed for China".<sup>2</sup>

Grey and Ingraham, giving evidence at a later date, said that they could not say what right Martínez had, at first, to keep the schooner, but that "he always said it was

<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., v 65 carp 13.

<sup>2</sup> Haswell's log, first voyage of the Columbia--Voyages of the Columbia, p. 101.



an agreement between Capt Douglas and himself"; and that Martínez declared that after he heard that Carvalho was bankrupt, he decided "to hold her as security for the bills of Exchange drawn on said Carvallia [Carvalho] in favour of His Most Catholic Majesty."<sup>1</sup> This refers, of course, to the bills Martínez had accepted on him in payment for the supplies he furnished to Douglas.

There is serious doubt about whether Martinez told the truth when he claimed that a deal about the schooner had been reached between himself and Douglas: if this had been so, Martínez--always fond of formalities and documents--would doubtless have had an agreement duly drawn up and signed. There may be some truth, however, in Martínez' statement that he held the schooner when he learned of the bankruptcy of Carvalho (which rendered practically useless the bond which the Spanish had obtained from the officers of the Iphigenia).

In his writings he mentioned as one of the reasons for holding the schooner the fact that it belonged to Carvalho, but he did not make, in writing, the reasonably coherent statement mentioned by the Americans. Undoubtedly, when he learned of the bankruptcy of the Portuguese merchant he must have felt that the bond he had obtained from the officers of the Iphigenia was practically valueless, but he did not give this as the main reason for appropriating the vessel.

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1 Affidavit in Bodega-Quadra's Journal.

If he employed high-handed methods in the appropriation of the North West America, Martínez at least did not attempt to keep all her cargo of furs. Out of the two hundred and fifteen that she was carrying, he transferred two hundred and three to another ship of the same company, the Princess Royal. However, this ship, after having left Nootka, came back a second time and was then seized by Martínez, so, therefore, the furs fell into his hands again. By arrangement with Kendrick, the men of the North West America were transported to China in the Columbia, under Captain Grey. Martínez shipped to their credit ninety-six skins to cover their passage and wages.<sup>1</sup>

The North West America becomes the Santa Gertrudis

Until June 14, Martínez never mentioned in his diary any plans to carry out explorations. Then he decided to have some exploration done in the Juan de Fuca Strait--but not in the northern coasts up to Prince William Sound, as the Viceroy had instructed him to do. Martínez appears to have had "a bee in his bonnet" about that Strait. He wrote in his Journal that in 1774, during the voyage of the Santiago, he had noticed, in latitude 48° 20', an inlet stretching deep inland: he wanted to explore it then, but his commander refused his consent. Now he would have it explored.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence of all these facts appears not only in Martínez' papers, but also in the documents printed with Meares' Memorial.

For that purpose I planned to avail myself of the schooner, which, as it was in the state I have described before had been left abandoned on the beach by its captain, pilot and crew...

He ordered the carpenters and caulkers of both Spanish ships to leave everything else and concentrate on repairing the schooner. Martínez makes the whole thing look just like a grand idea of his own, and does not even bother to explain why he did not send the San Carlos to make the exploration, as he had been instructed to do. This urge to explore the Strait was probably the hidden reason for his seizing the North West America --although there may have been some truth in the reasons he offered openly: that she was in a bad state of repair; that he may have need of a bond on Carvalho, etc.

Then, on June 19, after the schooner had been fully refitted, Father Severo Patero proceeded to bless it, "giving it the name of Santa Gertrudis la Magna" (St. Gertrude<sup>1</sup> the Great). The Spanish flag was hoisted on her, and José Mario Narváez, the second pilot of the San Carlos, was appointed her captain.

According to Tovar, Martínez appointed as second pilot "a Boston man called Coliche...saying that he was embarking him to act as interpreter even though we ourselves

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<sup>1</sup> The former crew of this ship, in their affidavit about her, mentioned, ironically, that Catholic ceremony.

had a Phillipino Indian who having long navigated with the English understood the language of all of those Indians." Tovar misspelled the name of this American: he was R. David<sup>1</sup> Goolidge, mate of the Columbia.

The refitted schooner left for the Juan de Fuca Strait on June 21st, and returned on July 5th. Martínez wrote a long and enthusiastic report of this voyage, but it does not concern this study.

As we shall see later, this schooner was destined to undergo another major operation.

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<sup>1</sup> His name appears several times in the logbooks (edited by F.W. Howey in The Voyages of the Columbia) but there is no reference to this trip with the Spaniards.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE PRINCESS ROYAL COMES AND GOES

Martínez recorded that on the evening of June 15 (16) a ship was sighted from Friendly Cove; he and some of his men, in two launches, went out to verify her identity, and discovered her to be the Princess Royal. In order to help her enter the port, he ordered a light to be placed on the rocky island where he was erecting a modest fort, but the wind was too light for her to move in and she had to halt outside for the night. Martínez says that he "was obliged to remain all night on that ship to secure information and to make sure that she would not slip out."

The ship's commander, Hudson, gives a more detailed<sup>1</sup> and somewhat different account of his arrival at Nootka. Hudson was alarmed when he saw the two launches approaching his ship, and began to prepare himself for defence by loading two guns and arming some of his men. As they drew nearer to the Princess Royal, the men in the launches enquired, in English, who was her commander. After informing them, Hudson asked if they were armed and they answered--again in English--that they had no other weapon than a bottle of

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Mexican Viceroy, written from San Blas, on September 18, 1789. A. Indies, Estante 90, Carpeta 3, Legajo 21.

brandy. Whereupon Hudson invited them to come aboard his ship, and three men did so: they turned out to be Martinez, Kendrick and Funter (the commander of the North West America). The sea was so calm that the ship could not have moved even had Hudson wished to sail, and she had to be anchored there for the night.

Hudson added that if he had not been short of water and wood he would not have thought of entering the port, for he was intent on going somewhere else--as he told Martínez at the time. The latter, however, assured him "on his word of honour" that he had no instructions to seize British ships, but, on the contrary, had orders to help them--adding other reassuring words. Impressed by this language, and by the requests from captains Kendrick and Funter, Hudson decided to enter Friendly Cove. When he stated that once his ship was supplied with water and wood he would leave, Martínez replied that he could do so whenever he liked. Then the Spanish commander sent the two launches back to the Cove, and gave orders that they were to come out to the Princess Royal on the following morning. Martínez, Kendrick and Funter spent the night on board her.

The Princess Royal entered Friendly Cove on the following morning. She saluted the Spanish flag with five shots, and the half-built fort answered the salute with three shots. At noon, Captain Hudson had lunch with Martínez and Kendrick, and afterwards he welcomed Spanish officers aboard his ship.

Afterwards, Hudson and Kendrick went to Marwinna, where the Columbia was moored, and spent the night there. On the following day (June 17 (18)) the Washington returned to Nootka from her trading cruise, but went straight to Marwinna without entering Friendly Cove. Later on that day, Hudson, accompanied by Ingraham, returned to Friendly Cove. A few minutes after arriving there, he was given a letter from Martínez requesting him to: "...notify me of the reasons you have had for anchoring in the Strait of Nootka...if you enquire from Mr. Ingraham he will inform you that this port belongs to the King of Spain..." (Martínez does not mention the letter, but states that he asked Hudson this question). Hudson answered with a letter stating that he had arrived off Nootka "...after a voyage of 10 weeks and three days from the port of Macao, during which time my ship had experienced many storms and was in need of repair, and also was short of water and wood." This prompted him to anchor at Nootka. He hoped that Martínez would allow him to take the ship to the beach and have it repaired, after which he would leave immediately. Hudson explained that Martínez answered on the same day, giving his consent (though after some hesitation), and provided him with a circular letter for all commanders of Spanish ships he might encounter, asking them to let him navigate, as he was commissioned to carry out explorations.<sup>1</sup>

Martínez did not record these details, but explained

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<sup>1</sup> The letters mentioned here were appended to Hudson's letter to the Viceroy, mentioned above.

that he took pains to correct Hudson on one point. This innocent man believed that Nootka and the neighbouring coast were British, as a result of Captain Cook's discoveries:

"I convinced him, by making him see that I had anticipated Cook by three years and eight months when I had cast anchor in the port on the east shore." Martínez assured Hudson that he could check this point with Ingraham, "...who had noted it in his diary from the knowledge which he had gained from the Indians of that region."<sup>1</sup>

On July 1, Hudson came to take leave of Martínez who "granted him permission to depart for Macao" but gave him a warning not to approach the coast up to Prince William, "since this was the limit of the dominions of His Catholic Majesty", and not to trade with the natives, or else he would be arrested.<sup>2</sup>

As the Princess Royal was being readied for sailing, one of her crew, Robert Cant, decided to desert and went on board Martínez' frigate "to place himself under the flag of His Catholic Majesty." Cant claimed that "for twenty months he had not been paid his wages for his work or given loans that would enable him to satisfy his most urgent wants. To this was added the bad treatment that he had received from the captain."<sup>3</sup> Martínez accepted him as a gunner.

1 Martínez, Journal, July 1.

2 Martínez did not state that he gave this message in writing, but it appears that he did so. Hudson himself provided the text of Martínez letter of that date, to which he added a note stating that, until that date, he had never met Ingraham.

3 Hudson reported this desertion in the two letters to Colnett mentioned in the next paragraph.



Early in the morning of July 2 (3), the Princess Royal left Friendly Cove. Martínez wrote that she was towed off by Spanish launches; but Hudson gives credit for the towing to the launches of the Columbia and the Washington. Before departing, Hudson left two letters for Colnett, whom he expected to arrive at Nootka shortly afterwards, and left them in the care of Martínez and Robert S. Howe--a clerk on the Columbia. I shall refer to these letters in a subsequent<sup>1</sup> chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez informed the Viceroy about this visit of the Princess Royal, at the end of his letter of July 13 which acquainted His Excellency of the seizure of the Argonaut. He said that he was sending therewith an "hieroglyph" of the Arms she was carrying. I have found no trace of this.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE ARGONAUT CHECKS IN

The seizure of the Argonaut by Martínez was the main episode of the Anglo-Spanish incident at Nootka Sound: the subsequent events were a direct consequence of it, and almost ended in disaster. The two main characters in the drama provided detailed reports on the seizure, and various witnesses added their testimonies. But these and the writings of later chroniclers who reported on it have little to offer, and do not help in the drawing of a solid conclusion from the details given in these two original and often contradictory versions of the facts.

Colnett wrote three accounts. One was in his Journal, which was prepared for publication shortly after the event--but was not published at that time. In fact, the manuscript appeared only in recent times, so it was not available to scholars like Bancroft and Manning. The second account was written as a footnote to the first edition of Colnett's Voyage to the South Seas, published nine years after the Nootka incident took place. These two accounts differ in detail. The second one depicts Martínez as being more villainous, and Colnett more generous, than the first; but,

on the other hand, it also contains a detail which, in some ways, confirms Martínez' version of the facts. The third account was included in a letter which Colnett wrote to the British Ambassador in Madrid. This is a good and concise digest of his other two versions, but it adds nothing to them,<sup>1</sup> so will not be discussed here.

Martínez wrote two accounts, but they were written only a few days apart, and, in any case, both were to be made available to his superiors. The first was written in his Journal; the second one in a letter to the Viceroy which is dated July 13, though probably written before July 10 (on July 10 he stated in his diary that he had written to the Viceroy). They are very similar, but in the second one Martínez rationalises his own actions and depicts Colnett as being more villainous.

#### The Argonaut approaches Nootka

The Princess Royal left Nootka in the early hours of July 2(3). In the evening of the same day another ship was sighted in the offing. Martínez thought that it would prove to be the Aranzazú, which he was anxiously expecting to arrive with supplies. "I immediately ordered the launch to be manned with some troops in order to inspire more respect in case we should meet some Indians outside, as I am suspicious

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1 The original of this letter is in the National Historical Archives at Madrid--Sec. Estado, 4291. It was published in an appendix to The Colnett Journal, pp. 319-320.

of their untrustworthiness." He himself went in a launch to see whether it was the Aranzazú. It was not the Spanish vessel but the Argonaut, commanded by Captain James Colnett.

Colnett must have been surprised to discover that this was not the Friendly Cove he had expected, since it was now occupied by the Spanish. In his Journal, he states that he was full of apprehensions and very doubtful as to whether or not, under those circumstances, he should enter the Cove, which turned out to be the lion's mouth; but that he was manoeuvred into it by the combined effect of the reassuring tone of Hudson's letter, the double-faced attitude of his officer Duffin, and Martínez' unscrupulous mixture of sentimental cajolery and trickery. Duffin and Martínez have also given their interpretation of the facts. The former describes a mixture of Martínez' guile and Colnett's truthfulness, but he pretends to have warned Colnett against entering. Martínez' own account does not mention having made sentimental appeals but admits to a certain amount of trickery. It may be worthwhile to quote most of the points made by the protagonists and witnesses.

#### Colnett's version

This is how Colnett explained the facts. While the Argonaut was still outside the port, Martínez and Richard Howe came on board, and the former handed him a letter from Hudson. After mentioning that he had received "many civilities" from Martínez, the letter said:

Should you go into the Port I am confident the Commodore would order you every Assistance in his power as he has done me....I am sorry... that Captain Douglas has left the Coast and Mr. Funter's schooner is taken. Mr. Funter is going to Passenger in the Columbia, Kendrick, who is going to the Northward, Mr. Barnett his Mate stays on board as Captain. Bob Cant has ran away and is now on board the Spanish Commodore. Messrs. Funter and Barnett will be able to give you a better description relative to their proceedings than I am able to describe  
...

Colnett, finding nothing suspicious in this letter, listened without any bias as Martínez requested him to enter the Cove; appealing to his good heart, offering all facilities, and declaring himself to be a Spanish nobleman and of the same family as His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.

He then informed me his vessels were in distress for provisions and other necessaries and requested my going into port to supply him. On my hesitating he gave me his word of honour in the name of the King of Spain and also as nephew to the Vice Roy of Mexico, I should sail when I pleas'd, as the Princess Royal had done this day, and his being at Nootka was to prevent the Russians settling on this part [of] the Coast, but all other nations he met he was to pay the greatest attention to, and being Calm he offered his launches to tow me in.

Colnett then decided to accept Martínez' entreaty to enter Friendly Cove, "but still not perfectly satisfied with his outward appearance and behaviour (both being very much against his being a Nephew of the Vice Roy as he declared and a

Grandee of Spain and Commodore)." Being in this frame of mind, Colnett took the precaution "to order the Chief mate Duffin not to enter the Cove where the Spaniards and Americans lay, but to Anchor close to the mouth of it". Then he went down into the cabin with Martínez. When he came up again he discovered that Duffin had either misunderstood or, most probably, had "wilfully disobeyed" the order.<sup>1</sup> He wrote: "...on coming on deck to my mortification I found my Vessel in the centre of the Cove which was guarded in the entrance by the San Carlos, of 20 Guns."

However, Colnett decided to wear a cheerful countenance, while he would wait for a chance to leave the port or at least get the ship to the mouth of the Cove. Then the American, Howe, gave him the letter from Hudson. It said that the Spaniards had captured the schooner, North West America; that Douglas had been taken but later released and supplied with provisions; that Martínez had justified this on the ground that "Douglas' instructions, which he had showed him, were to make prizes of all Vessels of Inferior force of all nations whatever". Hudson expected that Funtar would still be at Nootka and would provide Colnett with full details. He also reiterated assurances given in his other letter, that if Colnett wished to enter the Port, the Spaniards

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<sup>1</sup> Why would Duffin "wilfully disobey" his captain's orders in this way? Colnett explains that "contrary to the sign'd Articles for the Voyage [Duffin] had laid in private trade which perhaps he thought he should by entering the port have an advantageous sale for".

would readily give him any assistance he may need.

Colnett reported later that Hudson had written him a third letter definitely advising him not to enter Friendly Cove, and had left it in the care of the Indians, who, <sup>1</sup> apparently, failed to deliver it.

Apparently, then, Hudson left three letters for Colnett--one in the care of Martínez, containing little which would put Colnett on his guard; one in the care of Howe, with a hint or two; and one in the care of the Indians openly warning him against trusting the Spaniards. These three degrees of frankness would seem to be conditioned by the circumstances, and the fact that Hudson took the trouble to write three messages seems to indicate that he did all he could to warn Colnett about the danger of falling into Martinez' hands. Yet Colnett was far from satisfied with Hudson and blamed him because he:

took no steps whatever to prevent my entering the Port but on the contrary did everything that I might fall a Sacrifice, I hope not intentionally. It's strange he should leave letters of introduction to me with a man he knew would make a Prize of me and write one of them also after he was out of his Power and had left but a few hours before--one quite the reverse which to my Misfortune I never got.<sup>1</sup>

Colnett also blamed Hudson for having falsely stated, in a letter to Martínez, that he had come to Friendly

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett Journal, p. 63, f.n.

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Cove because he needed help.

### Other versions

Robert Duffin gave another version of the facts. He said that Colnett took Martínez down to the great cabin of the Argonaut, and shortly afterwards he said to his men that:

...his intention was to go into Friendly Cove, and the Spanish Launch took us in tow accordingly. About Ten Minutes after this, came on board Mr. Barnett, whom I directly introduced to Captain Colnett, who informed him that there was a Spanish Frigate of 26 Guns, and a Snow of 16 lying in the Cove, as also the american Ship and Sloop; that the former had erected a Fort on Hog Island, on which 16 Guns were mounted, and had taken Possession of the Sound in the Name of his most Catholic Majesty, Carolus the 3d, King of Spain; that they had Captured the Schooner, and plundered the Iphigenia Nubiana, but had permitted Captain Hudson to proceed without any Molestation. As the Commodore heard this Intelligence, he immediately gave Captain Colnett his Word and Honour that he would not offer to detain him, but give him every Assistance in his Power, in doing which, he openly complied with the King of Spain's Orders. Under these circumstances, and depending on his Honour, Captain Colnett entered the Cove, and brought up between the Frigate and Snow, though I must add, Mr. Barnett, with others of our Well-wishers, advised us to Anchor without Side the Cove, that we might take a View of the surrounding Objects in the Morning.<sup>2</sup>

### Martínez' version

Martínez says that when he learned that Colnett had

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1 F.W. Howey remarked that this was a subterfuge, also used by Kendrick, which did not deceive Martínez--as his Journal shows.  
 2 Meares' Memorial, Appendix 13, p. 25.



come to set up a fur-trading establishment, to take possession of that area, and control the trade, he understood that these plans "could be in no way favourable to the Spanish nation", but that he "dissembled his intentions". By this expression Martínez seems to mean that he intended to prevent the setting up of a British trading-post at Nootka, but that he had concealed this intention at that time: perhaps in order to encourage Colnett to enter Friendly Cove, where he would be in the grip of the Spanish. This interpretation would be consistent with Colnett's claim that Martínez cajoled him into making that move. However, Martínez also states that Colnett asked whether anyone would try to prevent him from setting up an establishment in Nootka, and that he, Martínez, replied that he certainly would. He appears to mean that, on this occasion, he did not "dissemble" his intentions. As reason for refusing to permit the setting up of a British establishment, he told Colnett that he had already taken possession of that port in the name of his sovereign. He obviously implied that this was done during the voyage of the Santiago, in 1774; but Colnett objected that Nootka was discovered by the British captain, James Cook, and the two men argued about the point.

Both Colnett and Martínez report that the former asked the latter to let him anchor his ship in the Cove where Cook's ships had lain (i.e. Resolution Cove). Martínez refused, "seeing that this was merely a pretext to get away from us, so that, secure from harm, he could leave with less

risk to continue his way, or proceed to some place where he could act to better advantage".

### Colnett in Martínez' grip

Martínez, in a letter to the Viceroy, seems to indicate that while this argument was going on he had the Argonaut towed into Friendly Cove (metí al remolque a dicho Paguebote). It would seem, then, that Martínez was determined that Colnett would enter Friendly Cove, and did not stop short of trickery to achieve this purpose. Moziño, a reliable Spanish chronicler writing three years later, indicated that this was so: "...and still Colnett would not have entered that port if the Spaniard had not prepared him with particular<sup>1</sup> demonstrations of civility."

The fact that he had spent a whole night on the Princess Royal to make sure she would enter Friendly Cove supports the assumption that the Spanish commander would have done everything possible to ensure that the Argonaut entered, too, and his own Journal backs up some of Colnett's contentions.

Once the Argonaut was in the cove Martínez obviously arranged to control her movements: he tied her bow line to the Spanish ship Princesa, and her stern line to the American ship Columbia. She lay "under cannon of the fort" he had set on the rocky island of San Miguel and "within pistol shot of

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<sup>1</sup> Noticias de Nutka, Art. 9, p. 60.

the Princesa". Furthermore, a guard was posted on the Spanish ship with orders to keep an eye on the British one. Colnett reported that Martínez stayed on board the Argonaut until late "and drank freely, and constantly importuned me to make a stay for some time in Friendly Cove". Then, on Martínez' suggestion, the two men went on board the Princesa. The Spaniard went down to his cabin but a sentinel prevented Colnett from following him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F.W. Howey suggests that quite possibly both captains were intoxicated by then.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE ARGONAUT SEIZED

July 3 (4) was the date of the dramatic clash between Colnett and Martínez which resulted in the latter's capture of the Argonaut. It is difficult to assess the rights and wrongs of the two men on that crucial day, but any judgement should be based on a careful consideration of the various versions of the incident. Unfortunately, apart from the protagonists themselves, little information is offered by other sources.

The following is a composite literal digest of the two versions offered by each contender, as explained above (p.     ). The parts taken from their respective second versions are given in block letters here--not only for the sake of distinction, but also because these second thoughts show a deliberate effort at self-justification. Both men made proud statements about themselves and their respective nations, but these have been shortened to a minimum in this digest.

#### Morning of July 3 (4)

Martínez' account:

AT SIX O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING MY  
BOATSWAIN TOLD ME that after daybreak,

while he was on watch, he had seen Colnett leave his ship in a boat and gone [sic] outside the port and around the hill on which the fort of San Miguel is situated AS IF RECONNOITRING THE BULWARK. Then he came inside, went to the beach, examined the huts of the coopers and the forge as if he wished to find out what was being made. Then he returned on board. Both the Spanish and the American ships had raised their flags as it was done over the bastion, but Colnet's ship did not show its emblem. Thereupon I sent him an order to do so, THAT I MIGHT KNOW WHO HE WAS. He at once hoisted the British flag and a pennant which gave us to understand that he was a high ranking officer. Then I requested him to come on board my ship and show me his passport, instructions and the invoices or list of his cargo. He came and EXCUSED HIMSELF saying he could not comply because his chest was in much disorder. I told him to take his time and allowed him to drop his anchor. He invited me to his board, and we went together; his officers received me with great civility. I observed that the bulk of his cargo was canvas and sail cloth and THAT HIS CABIN WAS FILLED WITH CANVAS. I concluded these were intended for refitting the ships he expected to receive and equipping those he was to build. I LATER CONFIRMED THIS WHEN I DISCOVERED IN HIS HULL ALL THE WOODEN PIECES NECESSARY TO BUILD A SCHOONER. I again asked his purpose and he said he had the title of Governor of the port of Nootka; that his officers were to command the company's vessels, and others to take charge of the books of the factory. I told him I could not allow him to carry out such plans. Then, in spite of their invitation to supper I left them and came straight to my board.

Colnett's account:

AFTER I HAD ORDERED SOME PROVISIONS AND STORES FOR THE RELIEF OF DON MARTÍNEZ TO BE GOT READY, ON HIS INVITATION I HAD BREAKFAST WITH HIM. He received me very friendly and requested I would not sail till next morning and he would sup with me. He went with me to the Argonaut where I presented him with everything he took a fancy to and I again offered to supply him with everything he might want and requested him to send me a list. He claimed my boatswain calling him a native of Spain; although the man was actually from Gibraltar and was in debt with my ship I let him go. I GAVE HIM A LIST OF THE ARTICLES I INTENDED TO SEND HIM AND SAID I MEANT TO SAIL THAT DAY. HE WAS VERY PLEASED AND SAID HE WOULD SEND HIS LAUNCH TO ASSIST ME OUT OF THE HARBOUR AND IN IT I WOULD SEND HIM THE PROMISED SUPPLIES.

Then Martínez went back to his ship.

#### Afternoon of July 3 (4)

Martínez' account:

At three o'clock, COMPLETELY IGNORING THE MATTER OF THE DOCUMENTS I HAD REQUESTED, Colnett sent me a friendly letter asking permission to use a Spanish launch since he meant to sail the following morning. Judging that he had just used excuses not to show his papers and that he wanted to procrastinate until he could find a favourable opportunity to get away, I answered with a note saying that first of all he had to show the papers I requested, SO THAT I COULD COMPLY WITH THE ORDERS OF MY SOVEREIGN, for such were his orders. THAT AFTERWARDS I WOULD SERVE HIM IN ANYTHING HE NEEDED. He then came to my board and showed me a PASSPORT HANDWRITTEN IN ENGLISH ON A LARGE PARCHMENT WHICH HE SAID WAS SIGNED BY THE KING OF ENGLAND. COLNETT WAS IN SUCH A HURRY THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO GET AN IDEA OF ITS CONTENTS AND EVEN LESS TO TAKE A

COPY IN ORDER TO TRANSLATE IT INTO SPANISH. I TOLD HIM IN ORDER TO COMPLY WITH MY KING'S INSTRUCTIONS I HAD TO INFORM MYSELF OF THE CONTENTS OF THE PASSPORT and that it was imperative I should also see the invoice of his cargo. He answered that the instructions he carried were directed to him only and he was not authorised to show them to anybody. I insisted. Then, ceasing evasions, he answered in a most arrogant tone, that he had no instructions besides that passport, even though he had already said he had them. He did not wish to let go that paper [probably meaning the passport] or even let me take a copy of it. He added with much haughtiness he wanted to know if I would lend him my launch so that he could sail at once. I said I would not until he showed me his papers. I SAW THE GREAT PRIDE WITH WHICH HE SPOKE SAYING ALSO HE WAS AN AMBASSADOR OF THE KING OF ENGLAND WHEN IN FACT HE WAS COMMISSIONED BY A MERCHANT COMPANY. I SAID THAT IN THAT PORT I REPRESENTED DIRECTLY THE PERSON OF MY SOVEREIGN. EMPLOYING THE GREATEST TACT I TRIED BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS TO CALM HIM BUT WITH HAUGHTY ATTITUDE AND ANGRY SHOUTS HE SAID HE HAD NO OTHER PAPERS THAN THE PASSPORT AND THAT HE COULD NOT WAIT BECAUSE HE WANTED TO SAIL IMMEDIATELY TO GET BACK TO LONDON AND INFORM ABOUT HIS COMMISSION. Showing slight regard for my King's flag, or for myself as a representative of the Royal person, he said that with or without my permission he was going to set sail immediately and that I might fire at him, for he was not afraid of us AND DID NOT CARE AT ALL. He accompanied this talk by placing his hand two or three times on his sword, which he wore at his belt, as if to threaten me in my own cabin. He also added in a loud voice the evil-sounding and insulting words "God damned Spaniard". I had so far acted with prudence...DURING THIS ARGUMENT HE MADE THE GESTURE OF GRABBING HIS SWORD SEVERAL TIMES AS IF HE WANTED TO DRAW IT, AND REPEATED FOUR OR FIVE TIMES THE BAD-SOUNDING AND INSULTING WORD "GOD DAMNED SPANIARD" (GUARDEMI ESPAÑA). SEEING THAT SUCH AN

INSOLENT WORD WAS A LACK OF RESPECT TO THE PAVILION AND A DISHONOUR TO MY SOVEREIGN WHOM I WAS REPRESENTING, I considered that to let him go free from my deck would be to let His Catholic Majesty be dishonoured. Many would think I was afraid, when in fact my force was superior to Colnett's. I also considered his statement that he was going to sail immediately for London and report to his Government. If he should sail as soon as he got back to his packetboat I should have to fire on him, as he had said, prior to his sailing. This would mean bloodshed. To avoid it, I decided to arrest him in my own cabin. Therefore, I declared Colnett, with his men, prisoners of war and decided to send them, with his ship, to San Blas, at the disposal of the Viceroy of New Spain. Then I had both my launches, under my first pilot Tovar, armed and sent to the Argonaut with instructions to take charge of the vessel and to provide against the thefts which ordinarily occur on such occasions, and bring the prisoners to be distributed between the two Spanish ships, under the necessary guard. I first made the British haul down their flag in token of their having given themselves up as prisoners. Besides the sufficient reasons I have mentioned I had others that would justify my action. First, Colnett had come to take possession of this port and had failed because we hold it. As he himself has said, if he should manage to clear from here he would then carry out his plan on some other part of this coast. In that case we should have a bad neighbour, and in time of war an enemy near at hand, and the Californias, Old and New, with their weak defences would be exposed to its attacks. ONCE HE IS ESTABLISHED AND FORTIFIED IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO OUST HIM AND THIS WOULD REQUIRE USE OF ARMS. Second: if he should sail direct for England, as he said he would do, (which is not probable) that Government would receive the notices of this affair and would adopt measures before our Court could



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do so.

Colnett's account:

Being near 2 o'clock and desirous of being near the mouth of the Cove ready for sailing I sent Martínez a note requesting his launch, to assist me out. I meant to send in it the articles I thought him most in need of. His answer was he wished me to bring him my papers on his board.

ON MY PRESENTING MY PAPERS TO HIM HE JUST GLANCED HIS EYES OVER THEM AND ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND A WORD OF THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN HE DECLARED THEY WERE FORGED AND THREW THEM DISDAINFULLY ON THE TABLE.

After many equivocations, first that I might go, then saying I could not, and at times growing vociferous the Americans left the Cabin he produced a printed Book where he pointed out an Article which he said was an order of the King of Spain to Capture all English vessels he found on the Coast, at the same time acquainting me (as he had done all along by the Interpreter) that he represented the King of Spain.

I calmly told him to examine my papers, showing I had occupied for years past a very respectable station in the British Royal Navy, that I had royal permission to be in those seas...He just answered that my papers were forged and I was a pirate.

I argued in vain, told him about the Law of Nations and reminded him of his word of honour that if I went into port I might depart when I pleased, that I did so because he had pleaded distress.

He told me he did not capture me, only detained me and that I should not sail till he pleas'd. I answered that I must

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1 Curiously, in his letter to the Viceroy, Martínez omitted the words "which is not probable": obviously trying to make it sound 'probable'.

sail when I went on board without he fired at me (even if he fired at me) in which case, as my intentions were peaceful and was not armed for war I would strike my colours.

He flew out of the Cabin instantaneously, and three or four Sailors entered with muskets. One was presented Cocked to my breast, and another snatched my hanger from my side, and the third Collared me and tore my Shirt and Coat. Stocks were order'd to put both legs in; but on advice by an officer I was not put in the Stocks. I was confined a close prisoner in the Cabin, denied permission to speak to any of my Officers.

I NOW SAW, BUT TOO LATE, THE DUPLICITY OF THIS SPANIARD, AND WAS CONVERSING WITH THE INTERPRETER ON THE SUBJECT, WHEN HAVING MY BACK TOWARDS THE CABIN DOOR, I BY CHANCE CAST MY EYES ON A LOOKING-GLASS, AND SAW AN ARMED PARTY RUSHING IN BEHIND ME. I INSTANTLY PUT MY HAND TO MY HANGER, BUT BEFORE I HAD TIME TO PLACE MYSELF IN A POSTURE OF DEFENCE, A VIOLENT BLOW BROUGHT ME TO THE GROUND. I WAS ORDERED INTO THE STOCKS, AND CLOSELY CONFINED.

As the evening drew near I requested to have my bed on board which was refused; but an apology for one was found me, to which I preferred a Plank.

Furthermore, Colnett says that on the following day he had some words with Martínez:

I again remonstrated with the Commodore on capturing a vessel of the British nation and letting American and Portuguese pass. I soon learned the cause: they had nothing worth plundering, and the American he had taken into Partnership in commerce, and now supplied him with my provisions, stores and liquors to remain on the North West Coast...

Martínez, in one of his letters to the Viceroy (dated July 13), emphasized the point that Colnett had come to set up a fort in Nootka, and also to receive the Portuguese packet-boat which "the London Company had bought from the Macao Company", and that he, Martínez, concluded that the artillery he had seen in the hull (bodega) of the said packet (the Iphigenia) was earmarked for that purpose. Martínez also reported that he had another argument with Colnett on the matter: Colnett claiming that he could hardly have set up a fort with the small guns he carried in his ship, and Martinez answering that undoubtedly Colnett had intended to use the heavy artillery carried by the Iphigenia, and so on. In another letter of the same date, Martínez informed the Viceroy that he was sending him a box with "the model of the factory which the English had come to set up here, with the underground storehouses, bulwarks wall, and everything necessary to its security, and the design of the pile-driver for ~~driving in the~~ stockade".<sup>1</sup>

#### Colnett accuses Duffin

There is a curious sideline to this confusing story: that is, another accusation which Colnett levelled at Duffin, in connection with the fact that (according to Colnett) Martínez at one time seemed ready to let him go, but in the afternoon suddenly came up with the request for papers.

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<sup>1</sup> This was forwarded to the Minister for the Navy, according to a letter from the Viceroy--no. 1249, dated September 26, 1789.

Colnett says, in a footnote, that he understood this when, some months later, the Commander at Nootka "witnessed" him a paper which testified that, before the capture of the Argonaut, Duffin had proffered Martínez a paper in Portuguese "which he said signified he was the proper Captain and after the Vessel was captured he made no secret of declaring in Public he was as much Captain as I was, which was the Sole cause of all our following Misfortunes". And, when reporting that Martínez said his (Colnett's) papers were forged, Colnett commented in another footnote: "Not at all singular to be accus'd of having false papers when he understood there were two Captains to the Ship."

Colnett referred to the fact that, on the following day, Duffin "said I had ruin'd him" and "bellowed out...he was as much Captain as me..."

Furthermore, Colnett accused Duffin of complying with everything Martínez ordered, during his (Colnett's)<sup>1</sup> incapacity.

#### Other opinions of the incident

Duffin explained to Meares:

In the afternoon [July 3 (4)] Captain Colnett left the Commodore and came aboard his own vessel, where, after having put on the company's uniform, and his hanger, he took his papers

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1 This antagonism between captain and first mate continued and after their release by the Spanish they drew apart and did not sail together again.

on board the commodore. He was then informed by that gentleman, that he could not sail that day, on which some high words ensued between them, and Captain Colnett insisted on going immediately, which he said he would do unless the commodore fired a shot at him; if so, he would then haul down his colours, and deliver himself up a prisoner. Hardly had he uttered this, but he was put under arrest, his sword taken from him, the vessel seized, and the officers and crew taken out, and set prisoners, some on board the ship, and the rest on board the snow...

Duffin implied that Kendrick was in league with Martínez in this conflict.

...but what is most particular, he desired Captain Kendrick to load his guns with shot, to take a vessel that had only two swivels mounted, so that it was impossible to make any resistance against such superiority; indeed it would have been madness to have attempted it.

As for the reasons for Martínez' decision, Duffin said:

The Commodore's passion now began to abate a little, and he sent for me from the St. Carlos, where I was imprisoned. When I came to him, he seemed to profess a very great friendship for me, and appeared to be exceedingly sorry for what he said his officers compelled him to do. He declared to me, that he had given Captain Colnett permission to depart, and would have assisted him all in his power, but that Captain Colnett insisted on erecting a fort opposite him; said he represented the King of Great Britain, and that he came to take possession in His Britannic Majesty's name. The Spaniard quoted the same, and said that he was a representative of His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain; but I have every reason to suspect that there was a misunderstanding between the two parties, for the linguist spoke

English very imperfectly, and in all likelihood interpreted as many words wrong as right.

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Nootka: Tovar told the Viceroy that Colnett had come to

...with the tank of Governor of the said port to take possession and fortify himself [in it] in order to prevent any ships of any nation from entering or leaving and I am of the opinion that he would have done so if not in that port in one of the many which that coast has, to which purpose they already carried the house and the martinete para la estacada en punto reducido... besides the schooner of which I already informed Your Excellency thirty five Sagleve Chinese of different trades, who had been cheated (as they themselves confess) since he took them over telling them they were going to the coast of Bengal, and later they saw that they were in Nootka.

He added that Colnett meant to send his packet boat to the Sandwich Islands to buy a woman for each of them and in that way have the place populated without recourse to the natives, and that he was expecting the arrival of two frigates of war which were to come from London in the following year with all the supplies.

Mozziño tended to divide the blame between the two contenders, but with a heavier hand on Martínez: "The Spaniard committed the indiscretion of insulting him [Colnett] and even of grabbing his sword to put an end to his life. It

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1 Tovar said: "...Colnet a quien tuvo a bien el commandante de Nootka apresarlo arreglado a la ordenanza, atendido a la madera de construcción que traia a bordo...."

is not difficult (to understand) that the wild temper of both these men should take things to such extremes; for those who navigated with either of them were alike in complaining about them and in condemning their extreme rudeness."<sup>1</sup>

In a phrase in his statement, Colnett indicates that the Americans--that is to say, those of the Kendrick expedition--were present for part of this row with Martínez. It would be of enormous interest to this story if the Americans proved to have written an account of the events in their log books and this should be brought to light, because such an account would probably represent an unbiased interpretation of the facts. So far, the only statement available from that source is one written by Gray and Ingraham at Bodega-Quadra's request:

...Colnet ask'd if he would be prevented build in a House in the Port the Commodore mistaking his meaning answer'd him he was at liberty to erect a tent - wood and water after which he was at liberty to depart when he pleased, but...Colnet answer'd he was a King's officer but Don Estevan replied his being on half pay and in the merchant service rendered his commission as Lieut. in the Navy of no consequence in this business...it seems Capn. Colnet insulted the Commodore by threat'ning him and drew his sword...on which the Commodore ordered his vessel to be seiz'd - we

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<sup>1</sup> Notícias de Nutka, pp. 60-61. Father Sánchez' testimony is valueless, here. His very brief account is in no way different from that of Martínez.

did not see him draw his sword but  
 were inform'd...by those whose veracity  
 we had no reason to doubt.<sup>1</sup>

Colnett implies (see p. 217, above) that Gray and Ingraham witnessed the beginning of his row with Martínez, on board the Princesa. Yet their testimony, produced two years later, is short, vague, and almost evasive. Moreover, they were probably biased in favour of Martínez, whom they called their friend. In any case, their testimony is of little help in ascertaining the truth.

### What is Truth?

This, the main episode of the Anglo-Spanish incident, invites judgement on the rights and wrongs of the two parties; but judgement must be based on an assessment of the true facts. The testimony of witnesses, and other supplementary evidence, is so limited, in this case, that the assessor is obliged to rely, almost exclusively, on the reports of the two contenders, which differ considerably. There is hardly basis for judging either of the two men as being completely right or wrong.

Truth is elusive, even to honest minds. In a case like this, each contender visualises truth as his own recollection of the facts--usually coloured by his ego, and by his desire to make a good case for himself. People rarely resort to straight lies--to the invention of "facts"--rather

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bodega-Quadra, August 5, 1792. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 70, Carp. 11, pp. 14-16.



they tend to distort the truth by supressing details which harm their own case and stressing those which help it. In addition, certain factors, such as misunderstanding, excitement, or passion, may contribute to confusion. In this case, the language barrier probably caused confusion for, according to Duffin, the interpreter was very poor. His translations of English documents do not appear to have been very inaccurate, but it is possible that he was poor at oral English, and insufficiently skilled to follow, and translate, the rapid speech of the two passionate opponents. Manning is inclined to consider this as the major factor in the trouble.<sup>1</sup> Howey, however, believes that Colnett's statement that, on the previous night, Martínez drank "freely" is an indication that Colnett did the same. It would seem fair to assume that both were under the influence of alcohol, and were also intoxicated in other ways--such as by the surfeit of pride and prejudice common in men from two nations involved in a long-standing rivalry over world affairs and religious beliefs.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it may be worthwhile to re-examine the accounts written by Martínez and Colnett, on the assumption that each contains some truth. To attempt to assess the truth by steering between the two statements would result in mere speculation; but should the reader wish to do this, the following digest of the two contrasting reports may be of interest.

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1 Nootka Sound Controversy, p. 335.

Colnett:

Morning

I prepared supplies for him.

He invited me to breakfast on his ship; asked me not to sail until tomorrow. Then he came to my ship: I gave him many things

He said he would send launch to help me sail out.

Afternoon

Being ready to sail, I sent him note asking for launch to tow ship. He answered that he wished to see my papers. I went to his ship: showed him papers. He refused to peruse them; said they were forged. He produced book; pointed at order that British ships on this coast be seized. I explained my rank and service in Royal Navy; that I entered port only because he had claimed distress; that I meant to leave at once; if he should fire on me, I would surrender. He flew out of cabin, had his men arrest me in brutal manner. In a mirror, I saw behind me armed party. I put my hand on sword; was struck to the ground. Arrested. Following day I understood: Martínez was in collusion with Kendrick, who would obtain my stores.

Martínez:

Morning

He was seen inspecting port and our installations. I asked him to bring passport and instructions; he answered that he had them in coffers. We both went on board his ship. He said he had come as governor of port; I saw that he carried materials, men for establishment. I said he could not carry out such plans.

Afternoon

Ignoring my request for papers, he sent me note asking for help to sail. I answered that I had to see papers first. He came to my ship; showed me his passport, in a hurry, refusing to let me copy it. I asked for invoice and instructions. He said he had no right to show them; later said he did not have them. Said he was representing his king; but he only represented merchant company. He said he had to sail at once. I said I might fire on him. He said he did not care. Called me "God-damned Spaniard".

He made a gesture of grabbing sword several times, repeating insults.

Then I arrested him. Later, I understood that if I let him go he would set up establishment elsewhere on the coast; then it would be hard to expel him.

## CHAPTER XV

### MARTÍNEZ AND HIS CAPTIVES

#### Robbery

In his three letters to Meares, on April 12, 13 and 14, Duffin says that the Spaniards took from the Argonaut the chief part of the copper, all the guns, shot, powder, tar, pitch, twine, and other small items, and the spare canvas, and that Martínez meant to use the copper for trade, in association with Kendrick who would take the furs to Macao. Duffin also reported that Martínez "wanted Colnett to sell all his copper to him, and he'd give him bills for the ...<sup>1</sup> as he valued it, which Captain Colnett had complied with; but I [Duffin] objected, as I thought if his orders tolerated him to capture the vessel, they would undoubtedly tolerate him to capture the cargo too."<sup>2</sup> Duffin added that Martínez promised that if the ship were returned to the British in San Blas, he would replace everything he had taken, but: "there were a number of things taken out the vessel by theft, that Martínez did did not know about."<sup>3</sup>

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1 There is a blank at this point in the text. Vide: Meares' Memorial, p. 27.

2 Letter of July 14.

3 Letter of July 13--Meares' Memorial, p. 27.

The affidavit of the officers and crew of the North West America, written after the event, says that their ship "was given up to the plunder of the subjects of His Catholic Majesty", that, of the two hundred and fifteen sea otter skins she carried, twelve were either lost or stolen on board the Princesa; that the schooner would normally have collected another thousand sea otter skins; that the Argonaut "was given up by Don Joseph S. Martínez to plunder, not only of the goods, &c., of the Associated Merchants, but the private moveables and valuables of the officers and crew".

Colnett said that after he became "calm and settled" (at some unspecified date), the Spaniards "still continued their cruelty towards me, broke open my Chest where all my Charts, Journals and many other private papers were, took what they pleased and the remainder put down the forehold as they informed me". Later, Colnett wrote that most of his belongings were stolen: his sextant, chart, drawing paper and nautical instruments, "a fowling piece, Gold bushed and panned, and a pair of stell mounted pistols of great sentimental value". Martínez "either beg'd or took everything I had, except a looking Glass and Thermometer, the latter the Prize master his officer broke at St. Blas because the Commodore at that Port had ordered it to be delivered to me". And Colnett recorded, ironically, that Kendrick got a "time piece of Mr. Arnold's making for

his pretended intercession" for the release of the Argonaut. At a later date Colnett affirmed that the Spaniards had also stolen the live poultry from that ship.

### Cruelty

As for the treatment of the captured men, the British reports do not make any shocking accusations. Duffin does not complain of any humiliations while they were still at Nootka; but when he reports the preparations for their voyage to San Blas, he says that cabins were being built between decks for the seamen "where they are to be confined in irons during the night, but suffered to walk out in the day. The officers, I believe, are also to be used in the like manner. I am at present in possession of my cabin, as are also the rest of us, and the Commodore behaves with great civility, by obliging us in every liberty that can be expected as prisoners". The affidavit of the men of the North West America does not make any accusations of hardships and cruelty. William Graham, a sailor on that schooner, made an affidavit of his own, in England, on May 5th, 1790--that is, at a time when in that place there was much feeling against Spain--and he said that "the Spaniards entreated the whole crew of the vessel to pass to serve Spain, which they refused", the Spaniards "then put the crew of said vessels in irons, and fed them with horse beans and water for the space of about three weeks, and beat and otherwise ill-treated several of

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 them". Graham also said that when Hudson "came along side the Spanish frigate in his boat, the crew belonging to the same frigate beat said Hudson and his men, and threw said Hudson down the after-hatchway of said frigate saying, 'Get down, you English dog' and afterwards put him under a guard of soldiers". That he, Graham, was confined on board a Spanish ship three weeks, but that before being put on board the Columbia for the voyage to China he was several times on board the Argonaut, where he "saw Captain Colnett and his officers confined in the cabin, and the crew in the fore hatchway in irons".<sup>2</sup>

Graham also said that Martínez refused to let the Chinese return to their country "and employed them in erecting batteries and other works, and, as he had been informed, in digging in the mines." This was also stated by Meares: "Don Martínez had thought fit, however, to detain the Chinese, and had compelled them to enter into the service of Spain; and...on the departure of the Columbia, they were employed in the mines, which had then been opened on the lands which your Memorialist had purchased".

Martínez himself mentioned that the prisoners were put in chains for the voyage to Mexico. Thus he confirms, up to a point, the statements of the British on this matter.

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1 However, since the Spaniards had no horses there nor did they expect any, it is fair to assume that any beans they carried were meant for human consumption.

2 Graham, in his statement mentioned above, does not say why and how he went several times on board, but it would seem that he was not confined to a cabin.

Two testimonies mentioned that some leniency was used towards the prisoners. Father Sánchez, who did not write for anybody in particular, mentioned on two or three occasions, walks and outings taken by "the captain prisoner", who may have been Colnett or one of his two fellow captains, and there is no serious reason to doubt this testimony.

Gray and Ingraham, in their report to Quadra, wrote:

...with respect to the treatment of the prisoners although we have not read Mr. Mears publication we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don Estevan Joseph Martínez always treated them very kindly and all his Officers consistent with the Character of Gentlemen.

#### Colnett's fit of insanity

Martínez had not mentioned Colnett for a few days after the incident. Then, on July 9, he recorded:

Tovar...entrusted with the guarding of the packet, informed me that Captain Colnett, who I permitted yesterday to go back to his ship...had made a motion as if he wished to throw himself into the water. He had gone to the rail, and acted as if he were going to pass water. However, the men who were at work and some of his officers who were in sight prevented him from leaping overboard.

Tovar reported that, at daybreak on July 11, Colnett "had thrown himself into the water from one of the

portholes or windows in his cabin. However, on hearing the noise he made when he struck the water he was discovered from the quarter deck and was picked up by the packet's launch which went for him at once." They recovered him half-drowned, and made him return much of the water he had swallowed. Martínez ordered him shut in a stateroom "to prevent him from suffering harm in this way".

I was unable to prevent Colnet from throwing himself desperately into the water through a window with the intention of drowning; for I observed that even though he could swim he made no effort whatsoever to do so, but I ordered the ropes of the launch cut and I had my sailors catch him; this they barely managed to do grabbing him by the hair; since then I tried to secure him shutting him into a cabin with a sentinel on watch.

This fact is also mentioned by Father Sánchez and is largely corroborated by Duffin, in one of his letters to Meares:

...Since our being captured Captain Colnett has been in a high state of insanity; sometimes he starts, at other times he asks how long he has to live, who is to be his executioner, what death he is to be put to, with all such delirious expressions, accompanied by a number of simple actions...he has no fortitude enough...to support this unexpected stroke...

In a second letter to Meares, on July 13, Duffin said that Colnett "was in such a state of insanity ever since the vessel has been captured by the Spaniards, that



we are obliged to confine him to his cabin. He yesterday morning jumped out of his cabin window, and it was with great difficulty his life was saved. His constant cry is that he is condemned to be hanged." Then Duffin expressed both hope and fear: "I understand from the boy, Russel, that it is a family disorder, and that they all have symptoms<sup>1</sup> of madness, more or less."

In those circumstances Duffin deputised for Colnett, who later accused him of "complying with all [Martínez] ordered" and of "assisting the Spaniards at breaking open every case of the cargo that was in the Cabin out of which what they thought proper was taken". Colnett had also complained about Douglas.

The affidavit of the men and crew of the North West America, written in Canton on December 5, (obviously under the eye of Meares) admitted Colnett's insanity but made it a consequence of the ill-treatment he had received, especially because Martínez had affirmed "that if he did not comply with all orders, injunctions, and other demands, that

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<sup>1</sup> In time, when Colnett saw this letter (printed with Meares' Memorial), he challenged Duffin's ill-founded authority, and Meares published a note apologising for the "misinformation of Duffin". Colnett himself admitted that he had been out of his mind. In his Journal he said, immediately after a brief reference to events following his arrest: "The third night I was suffered to sleep on board my own Vessel, but the ill treatment and threats of the Spaniards, dissatisfaction of my Officers and Crew, made me distracted for five days and five nights during which time Mr. Thos. Temple [third mate of the ship] declared I never slept".

they would immediately hang the said Captain James Colnett at the yard-arm which pressed so forcibly on the mind of the said Colnett, that it deprived him of his senses; that he made repeated attempts to destroy himself, and did once jump out of the cabin window into the sea, and was with difficulty saved".

This is basically what Meares, himself, said in his Memorial and in his private report to the British Government.

#### Preparations to send the Argonaut to Mexico

This is what Colnett has to say about the day following, July 4 (5). In the morning he was permitted to go on board, where he was rudely addressed by his first mate. The Spanish colours were hoisted on his ship, and the main hold begun to be cleared. He again remonstrated with Martínez about why he had captured a British ship "and let Americans and Portuguese pass".

I soon learned the Cause; they had nothing worth plundering and the American he had taken into Partnership in commerce, and now supplied him with my Provisions, stores and Liquors to remain on the North West Coast and so civil, after taking Eighty four Sheets of Copper, to send me a message requesting I would sell the remainder which I positively refus'd, for which he broke to pieces three Cabin Stoves which were entirely complete and purchas'd in China at great expense, that during the winter on the Coast

might keep our Vessels warm. On seeing my trade Stores &c &c, going hourly to wreck I once more made the last remonstrance 'gainst breaking my hold till I was sent to a Port where my papers could be examin'd. This had no effect except threatening by the Padres that if I did not hold my tongue they would cause me to be hang'd. This the Commodore pretended to be angry at, but still went plundering and destroying.

It is curious to contrast this report with those of Martínez and Father Sánchez. Both recorded that the Americans of the Columbia were celebrating the anniversary "of the separation of the American English of the Boston Congress from those of Europe". At sunset, their ship fired thirteen guns and repeated the salvo several other times during the day. Kendrick invited Martínez with his officers and chaplains and the fathers, as well as "our prisoners of the English packet Argonaut" to a splendid banquet in the course of which "toasts were drunk to the health of Our August Sovereign Don Carlos III (whom God protect)".<sup>1</sup> Martínez ordered salvos from the San Carlos and the fort, excusing the Princesa because her "guns were loaded with ball and grape". There is no reference whatsoever to this banquet in any of the British documents. Not having the log of the Columbia, the information cannot be checked there, but there is no reason to doubt it. It is natural that such celebration should take place and the

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, that sovereign's health had already given way. He had been dead for some time before the news reached that remote and northernmost outpost of his vast dominions.

only two people who mention it (Martínez and Father Sánchez) had nothing to gain in "inventing" it. The interesting point is that this again suggests that the British prisoner officers were not too badly treated at the time.

Apart from the banquet, Martínez said that on that day he ordered the disarming of the Argonaut, and had its artillery, powder, ammunition and tackle brought over to the Princesa, and a detailed list was made of everything transferred.

Referring to the third night after his arrest, Colnett said "I was suffered to sleep on board my own Vessel, but the ill treatment and threats of the Spaniards, dissatisfaction of my Officers and Crew, made me so distracted for five days and five nights during which time Mr. Thomas Temple that remained with me declared I never slept."

It is pretty obvious from the Spanish sources, as well as from Duffin's letters to Meares, that Colnett did lose his mind, but that he was inaccurate about the dates. Let us now see how Martínez recorded the main events between July 5 and July 12--the date of act three of our drama.

July 5 (6) "Some of the prisoners remained on board the prize, others were quartered on the packet San Carlos and Captain Colnett was on this ship, all under guard". In the afternoon the Santa Gertrudis (North West America) returned from her voyage to the Fuca Strait.

Monday. July 6 (7) The transfer of the armament of the Argonaut continued. Provisions of rice, salted beef and pork were also taken for the supply of the twenty nine Chinese she had brought. These would not be sent to San Blas in the Argonaut, because there would not be room for them. Martinez meant, of course, to have the ship manned by his own men, and these plus the British prisoners would fill the ship.

July 7 (8) Work was started to make two store-rooms between the decks of the Argonaut, one to store the bread and the other to contain the prisoners of the crew; and a large stateroom at the entrance of the cabin, on the port side, where the officer prisoners could be placed "with every assurance of cleanliness and security". Having learned that the ship was leaking, Martínez had her inspected, and found she needed overhauling. He gave orders to have it done at full speed.

July 8 (9) Work was continuing to make the two storerooms and the stateroom, and the overhauling had started. The contents of her hold were stored away and the water tanks filled. Firewood was provided for the kitchen.

July 9 (10) The storerooms and staterooms were completed, as well as the loading of water and firewood. The stowing of the hold had been finished, and the overhaul of the rigging and sails had started "in order to have her ready as soon as possible". Since Martínez always detailed his activities, and mentions no others for these days, it

may be assumed that he had most of his men engaged in these jobs.

July 10 (11) The caulking of the Argonaut continued. Martínez chose the men who were to embark on her, and appointed Tovar and Juan Carrasco as her captain and pilot, respectively, for the voyage to San Blas.

## CHAPTER XVI

### SEIZURE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL

On Sunday July 12 (13), everything was ready for the departure of the Argonaut, and Martínez reported that he gave "the officers who were his prisoners" a "splendid" farewell dinner. Then, as he was preparing a folder with his reports for the Viceroy, he was told that another ship was on the horizon. That started the last scene of the Anglo-Spanish incident at Nootka--followed, on the next day, by the most shameful act of Spanish brutality to the Indians in the whole story of that place.

#### The Spanish versions

This is how Martínez reported these facts:

At five o'clock in the afternoon, they notified me from the fort that they had sighted a ship in the offing. They said that she had anchored at a considerable distance off and that they had observed with the glass that she had launched her boat into the water, and it, with several men, was making for the shore.

I immediately ordered the two launches to be armed and well manned to reconnoitre her. I had the second pilot, Don Estevan Mondofía, go in the launch of this frigate, and the first pilot of the same rank, Don José María

Narváez, go in that of the San Carlos. Going outside, they found that the ship sighted was the English sloop Royal Princess, which I had permitted to leave this port the second of this month, to return to Macao, as her captain, Thomas Hudson, promised to do. At a distance of 2' from the sloop, they met her captain, who was going ashore with five men. Hudson was among these disguised in the garb of a common seaman. They found various arms about his person and in the boat. As soon as the pilot Mondofia recognized him, he made him get into the launch (of this frigate). Without Hudson's knowing it, Mondofia disarmed him, taking away from him a pistol which he carried in his pocket. He then fired it off to prevent him from doing anything rash. Hudson was immediately brought aboard this ship.

The boat, which was very light, bore away from the launches. They were not able to overtake it, and it succeeded in entering a narrow channel inside this port. They made for the captured packet for the purpose of speaking with Captain Colnet, to receive his orders, and communicate them to the factory in Macao, which belongs to the Company of Free Commerce of London. But as it happened that I was in the packet, I did not allow the boat to come alongside, except on condition that they should turn it over to me and bring it on board my ship. I came over in my own launch, and at once had the Englishmen with whom it was manned placed in the hold.

As soon as I descended to my cabin and found Hudson there, I commanded him to write an order directing his sloop to enter the harbour. He begged off, saying that he could not give it unless he could first see his commander, James Colnet. He said that, furthermore, he had a good crew aboard to defend it, with the guns loaded, and with orders that if they saw any boats approaching the ship,



to fire on them without letting them draw close.

I was cognisant of the order which he had given, and I knew there was no way of making him do what I had commanded, in spite of the fact that I had given him to understand that he was as much my prisoner as those of the packet. I accordingly ordered the pilot Mondofia, in the presence of Hudson, to arm the launches and go out and bring the sloop inside. I told Mondofia to use all care, since the vessel's guns were loaded, and the crew were under orders of fire. I commanded him that if they did, he should board and seize her by force, putting her crew to the sword without quarter. I also gave Hudson to understand, by means of the interpreter, that if his crew offered any resistance I would have him hanged at the yard arm, as a warning to the other prisoners in the port. As Captain Hudson saw how the affairs actually stood, and that he could gain nothing by use of force, in order to avoid any harm happening to either side, he wrote out an order to his men to surrender. He requested me that before the launches should leave, I should send his own boat with my men and one of his own, to give the countersign and hand over the letter. Then when the launches should arrive his men would surrender without resistance. As soon as Hudson had written the letter ordering his men to surrender, I dispatched the sloop's boat, with one of the prisoners, my interpreter, and four men of my crew. They proceeded to the sloop and took possession of her, as I had ordered them to do until the launches should arrive.

Monday, July 13:

At one o'clock in the morning, I commanded both the armed launches under the charge of second-pilot Don

Estevan Mondofía to go out to where the sloop lay at anchor. There, in accordance with the written order which her captain, Thomas Hudson had given, and which he had sent ahead by his boat, in order that the vessel might be given up without resisting, Mondofía was to take charge of her to bring her in. However, if, in spite of this order, they should not be inclined to obey, he was then to resort to force and board her. However, he should so conduct the boarding that the ship would not be damaged, nor anyone killed. With this order he left the ship. He reached the sloop's side at half-past three in the morning. There he found our men who had been sent before in the boat, and who were on board waiting the arrival of the launches. The crew they had put under the Hatchway. As soon as the pilot Mondofía had entered the ship, he embarked all the prisoners on one of the launches and sent them aboard this ship. As soon as the sea-breeze sprang up, she made sail and entered this port of Santa Cruz, where she cast anchor at eleven o'clock in the morning. I went on board the sloop, accompanied by Hudson and the captured pilot who had begged me to let them go in order to change their clothing, since they had been in the water with that which they wore.

### The British version

The British accounts of these events agreed fairly closely with the Spanish ones. Hudson gave his own version in a letter to the Mexican Viceroy (written in San Blas, on September 18<sup>1</sup>), the essence of which is that when he left Nootka on July 2, he really meant to sail northward, but a storm drove him southward. Finally he was able to rectify

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately I have only the Spanish translation of this letter. It is in A. Indies, Est. 90, ~~Caja~~ 3, Leg. 21.

his course and on July 13 was back again in the neighbourhood of Nootka Sound. He was anxious to know whether Colnett was there because he needed supplies and wanted to have his instructions as to his future conduct. Therefore, he determined to leave his ship in the open and enter Friendly Cove in his launch, in order to ascertain whether Colnett had arrived. He was not afraid of being maltreated because Martínez had dealt so liberally with him before. As he was making his way into the Cove, he was met by two Spanish launches commanded by Senor Montisier (Mondolfía) who could say a few words in English. "Montisier" told him that Martínez wished to know if he needed any help and that he wished him to enter the port--"that Captain Colnett had arrived, that he was very sick and in bed", for which reason he could not write a letter to Hudson. Hudson said he did not have any need to enter and only wanted to know if Colnett was there in order to ask him for a few articles. However, Hudson decided to pass to the Spanish launch. He realised that it "was fully armed, with four pounders on stern and prow, and twenty men with guns and pistols." On enquiring about this, he was told it was done on account of the Indians. While the launch was making for Friendly Cove, Hudson called his men and ordered them to get to Colnett's ship. "Montisier", noticing that Hudson carried a pistol seized it and fired it off and threw it on the launch and asked if there were weapons in the launch. As the answer was in the affirmative, he wanted Hudson to order the launch

to approach the Spanish one, but it was too far away for Hudson to do so.

Hudson was taken to Friendly Cove, where Martínez told him that he was a prisoner and that it was all Colnett's fault. "He insisted that my ship should enter the Port and asked me to write to this effect to the officers on board; I answered that I could not give such an order and that I was sure they would not let any launch approach unless they knew perfectly well who they were; on hearing these words he became furious and ordered [the launches'] twenty soldiers to be armed besides 18 sailors on the oars, swearing that he himself would lead the expedition and that if any of his men were to lose his life, he would make responsible with their lives, those he already had in his power. I asked his permission to consult Captain Colnett but I was told he was off his mind and was a prisoner in his cabin."

In the course of this conversation "a Mr. Armstrong, second mate of Captain Colnett, and a Mr. Howe who belonged to the Columbia" arrived "and having seen that preparations were going on, they advised me to write to Mr. Jacques, my mate, telling him not to offer any resistance, since the results would be fatal as he was not in a position to resist, and since Capt. Colnett and I were prisoners I wrote to him...to surrender the ship to the officers commissioned to take possession of her; my boat carried the letter, and it

was accompanied by the two launches with one of my sailors to avoid any accident on seeing them approach her. This produced the desired effect and at midnight Señor Martínez went on board and took possession of my ship."

This presentation of the facts is not very different from Martínez' own account. It differs only in the fact that Hudson does not admit to his being "fully armed", to having disguised himself as a common sailor, and to his men having tried to fire at the Spaniards--as Tovar claimed. Hudson makes no mention of something mentioned by Colnett, Meares and Graham--namely that Martínez was intent on hanging Hudson if any Spaniard were killed. In Colnett's words:

I have been credibly informed that he had caused a Yard Rope rove to hang Captain Hudson and...myself provided any of the Launch's crew was killed by his Vessel; this man had Cruelty enough to do anything, for he killed Caleacan the Greatest Chief at Nootka for only telling him it was wrong to stop his friends the English.

On this point, as on any other, Graham strikes the sharpest note:

...when said Hudson came along side said frigate in his boat, the crew belonging to said frigate beat said Hudson and his men, and threw said Hudson down the after-hatchway of said frigate, saying, 'Get down, you English dog' and afterwards put him in the cabin under a guard of soldiers.

Neither Hudson himself nor Colnett--nor Meares nor anybody else--accused the Spanish of such brutality, and Graham need not be taken seriously. Hudson's report makes no mention of his being ill-treated. On the contrary, immediately after describing how his ship was seized, he explained that he "was then permitted to go on board and to any other part of the Port" he may wish. He made use of this permit to go and see Captain Colnett, who was not "off his mind", as Hudson had been told, but in the full enjoyment of all his faculties, and only with the sadness natural in his circumstances.

Colnett also reported that Hudson "was permitted" to visit him on July 13 (14), when Hudson told him his story and explained that he had written him a third letter. The fact that the British captains were allowed to visit each other suggests that some consideration was given to them.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE PRISONERS CARRIED TO MEXICO

As we have seen, the Argonaut was practically ready to leave for San Blas when the Princess Royal arrived on July 13. This delayed the departure of the former for a short time. Martínez added one more letter to the Viceroy, to report the latest events, and explained in his Journal:

At five o'clock in the afternoon I had the captured British packet put in readiness to sail for the Department of San Blas as soon as the wind should be favourable. When she was in the position (assigned) I went on board her and entrusted to her captain, Don Jose Tovar, the papers and passport, together with the instructions which he was to follow. I also placed in his charge three cedar chests in good condition. One of these was directed to His Most Serene Highness the Prince of the Asturias. It contained various curiosities from the Sandwich Islands, such as capitulary cloaks and capes of different feathers, and head-gear of the same materials, and various coins picked up along this coast. The two remaining chests are for His Excellency. One of them contains various curiosities from these islands and a costume of the Nootka Indians. The other contains the plan of the Fortification which Captain Colnet brought with him. After wishing the ship a good voyage, I returned aboard my frigate.

Among his instructions, Martínez told Tovar:

...you shall be very careful with the prisoner officers and crew, treating the former with the honour the King wants unless they give ground to the contrary, and the latter with the precautions you may consider advisable.

A few hours later, the Argonaut sailed for San Blas, carrying Colnett and his British officers and crew (a total number of seventeen), plus a Spanish crew. Most of the latter were sick men, "because the commander at Nootka wanted to get rid of useless people". The ship arrived at San Blas on August 15. There we shall leave Colnett and his men until we can turn our attention to them again.

As for the crew of the North West America, Martínez arranged with Kendrick to carry them to Macao in the Columbia, with a number of otter skins from the complement that the British had acquired. We have already mentioned that, apparently, a few of these furs were either lost or<sup>1</sup> stolen by the Spaniards. The Americans said that Kendrick politely gave the British prisoners free passage, but that Martínez gave him a number of otter skins to pay for it. The prisoners themselves claimed that they worked their passage, and that, but for their exertions, the ship would not have arrived at Macao. At first it seemed that Kendrick himself would go in the Columbia to Asia, and thence back to

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1 According to Grey and Ingraham, the furs that the ships carried, and later delivered to Meares, were worth about \$4875, independent of freight.



Boston. But when he was in Clayuclat he changed his mind. Deciding to stay on the North-West coast he transferred himself to the Washington, with only a few of his men and placed the Columbia under Captain Grey. After calling in at the Sandwich Islands for provisions the ship arrived in China in November, leaving the British and their furs there, and then headed for Boston, where she arrived on August 9th, 1890--gaining the distinction of being the first ship of the new nation ever to complete a voyage around the world. We shall see her again at Nootka later.

So the men of the North West America reached China. Their captain, Funter, carried three letters from Duffin to Meares--dated July 12, 13 and 14--containing an account of events (from which I have already quoted a great deal). Meares obviously received these letters together with verbal reports about what had happened to the ships of his company. Meares then started collecting affidavits and additional information and soon afterwards he sailed for England. There he laid his case against the Spanish government for the seizure of ships and property. He presented his claim verbally to the British government, and to Parliament in his famous Memorial. On the basis of this claim the British obtained indemnity and concessions from Spain, as we shall see.

Now for the Princess Royal, the third ship seized by Martínez. On July 13, he had all her armament removed,

and an inventory made, but allowed her men to stay: "I permitted her captain and pilot to remain on board her as they were dependable, and also that they may not be inconvenienced."

Sometime between July 22 and 24, the refitting of the San Carlos and the Princess Royal, in readiness for sailing to San Blas, was nearly completed. Martínez appointed the officers and crew who would man the latter vessel. He took some shocking measures, too: "I also ordered the master-smith to make some irons in order to secure those prisoners whom I intend to send to the Department [San Blas]."

On July 27, the San Carlos, under López de Haro, and the Princess Royal, under J.M. Narváez, departed with instructions to sail together as far south as latitude 38°. Then the British ship was to continue to San Blas "in order that His Excellency may determine what he thinks proper to do with her". The San Carlos was to proceed to Monterey "with letters for the Governor directing him to provide me with fruit, meat, and some vegetables, and other necessities for the men...in case the Aranzazú, which should come with supplies, should be detained too long." The San Carlos was also carrying a few of the Portuguese who had come to Nootka with Colnett.

The San Carlos reached Monterey and obtained supplies, but bad weather prevented her return to Nootka and

she eventually made her way to San Blas instead. The Princess Royal reached that port on August 27, and her British captain, officers and crew joined those of the Argonaut.

Thus the ships seized by Martínez, and most of their men, left Nootka. The twenty-nine Chinese and a native of the Sandwich Islands, who had come in the Argonaut, stayed until Martínez himself left with the rest of his party, on October 31. A passage in a letter of his suggests that a few Englishmen stayed too, but he does not state how many or<sup>1</sup> who they were.

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<sup>1</sup> Actually this is doubtful. Perhaps he was referring to the Americans from the schooner Fair American, which he seized just before leaving Nootka. The letter in question was written from San Blas on December 6 (letter no. 40 to the Viceroy).

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE FIRST SPANISH ESTABLISHMENT

The preceding chapters account for what may be called the "public relations" of the Spanish commander during the first period of the Spanish occupation of Nootka. Let us now turn to what may be termed the birth, life and death of the first Spanish establishment there. There is enough information to permit a fairly satisfactory picture of it: including the building activities, the comings and goings of ships, the relations with the natives, and a number of events and accidents. There would be some reasons for accounting separately for these several aspects; but I prefer to follow a chronological sequence that is not too rigid, and which has the advantage of showing the process of events. Here and there I shall make brief references to facts for which I have already accounted: mainly those relating to the clash between Martínez and the British officers and ships. I shall also make an occasional pause in the chronicle to discuss some doubtful or important points.

The sources of information for this chapter are, in the main, Martínez' diary and letters and Father Sánchez' Journal. The latter, unfortunately, covers only the period up to July 27, the date of his departure. He does not

contribute much, and what he writes corresponds fairly closely with what was written by Martínez. The narratives of Tovar, Father Patero, and of an anonymous friar from San Fernando College contain some useful information from which I shall borrow, especially in the section about the Indians. Little can be found in the Journals and other descriptions by the British because they refer almost exclusively to the incident with Martínez. Nor is there much in the extant logs of the American ships. The Log Journal of the Columbia has disappeared, and that of the Washington terminates at the end of May. Ingraham obliged Martínez with a short but very interesting description of Nootka and its natives from which I shall take some notes relating to the topic of this chapter. Where not otherwise stated, however, my quotations are from Martínez' Journal.

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### First Experiences

On May 5 and 12, respectively, the Princesa and the San Carlos of the Martínez expedition arrived at Nootka. Consistent in his conviction that this was the place which Captain Pérez, in 1774, had called San Lorenzo, Martínez wanted to keep that name; but recognising, after all, that the place was known to other people by the name which Cook had given to it, he mixed the two names and called it San Lorenzo de Nootka (or Nutka).

There is no indication as to whether, prior to his arrival, he had decided whereabouts in the Sound he would establish his headquarters. He may have expected to establish it where Cook had had his--in Resolution Cove. As for Friendly Cove, it is most unlikely that he knew of its existence because the stories of the fur traders who had been there--particularly that of Meares--had not yet come to the knowledge of the Spaniards at that time. In all probability the matter was decided by circumstances. Martínez, having met the officers of the Washington who told him that the Iphigenia was moored in that cove, went there to investigate (he would not fail to check her credentials!) and found the place satisfactory. Although he was probably told that it was known as Friendly Cove, he decided to call it Puerto de Santa Cruz (Port of the Holy Cross).<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards did not do very much during the first seven or eight days there--they probably spent the time getting used to the environment, doing routine jobs on board ship, and recuperating from the hardships of the voyage, which had been especially unpleasant for the Mexican-born members of the expedition. Meanwhile, their commander, with the officers and the chaplains, was making the acquaintance of the captains and officers of the Iphigenia, moored near the Spanish ships, and of the Columbia, which was a few miles up the Sound. I have already mentioned

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<sup>1</sup> His successors in command of the place seldom used his names. They simply called the Sound by Cook's name for it, and they seldom differentiated between the Sound and the cove itself.

that, accompanied by these foreigners, Martínez went to meet the local native chieftains of the district, and tried to prove to everybody that the Spanish had discovered that port.

Then, on May 13th, Martínez seized the Iphigenia, arrested her crew and had them moved to the Spanish ships, where they spent thirteen days. In all probability, a number of the Spaniards occupied the captured vessel during this time. As soon as the first round of this incident was over, Martínez started work on building an establishment.

#### Martínez starts building

It would seem that, from the outset, Martínez had a glorious vision of himself as the founder of an ever-expanding establishment, which would extend to those northern shores the area of effective Spanish sovereignty on the American continent--thus forestalling any possible British attempt at occupation, and blocking the southward push of the Russians. It was he who had put this idea into the Viceroy's head, after having seen for himself the prosperous Russian establishments further north. He probably saw himself as a budding governor when, while his expedition was being prepared, he complained of insufficiencies and applied for the services of an accountant--and when, as he approached his destination, he appointed a secretary. He was firmly convinced that in time a mission

and "presidio" would be set up there.<sup>1</sup> Now he was going to lay the foundations of it all.

The Viceroy had simply instructed him to erect a building to be used as a meeting-place in which to treat with the Indians, and to act as protection against the weather and his enemies. Martínez, looking beyond these instructions, conceived a more ambitious building programme which was started on May 15th.

His first concern was the defence of the port. He decided to set up what he called, from his first inception, a "bastion". He had no difficulty in finding a site for it: a glance at the chart shows clearly that he was right in saying that "the best situation for the defence of this port is the point to the NE which forms the entrance". That point is the northernmost of the rocky islands (discounting the reefs and rocks) which close the cove. Martínez called both the "bastion" and the island, itself, San Miguel. (The American and British mariners generally called the island Hog Island.) The island immediately to the south of this he called San Rafael.

Subsequently, Martínez began to erect buildings and to have more and more activities carried out on shore. As a result, the Indians were more or less deprived of the use of that spot. The historian, F. W. Howey, stated that they were forced to abandon their old homes and to select a

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Viceroy (July 13), which will be mentioned in this chapter, he said this in so many words.



new locality some five or six miles up the Sound, and that in later years their chief complained that, with great sorrow, they had to quit the home of their forefathers. Howey added this comment: "except for the sentimental point of view this was not a serious matter, for they were in the habit of regularly changing their homes at least twice a year".<sup>1</sup>

Actually there is no indication that the Indians were forced to quit the cove. Father Sánchez stated on May 14 that the natives "moved their village or their homes to another place at a distance of about three-quarters of a league from here because of scarcity of fish, which is their daily food, and also they move whenever the fish withdraws". The fact that, on the following day, the Spanish began to build a hut on shore may have some connection with this move, and it could be that Martínez ordered the Indians to move away. However, according to another source,<sup>2</sup> a few days after the arrival of the Spanish "the Indians moved their homes further west at a distance of about one league from the Pacific Sea leaving in the site of Yucuat only their kind of pillars in which they had carved the figures which they call Klumona..." If Martínez ordered the Indians to move away, there is no evidence of it in either the Spanish or the British reports.

The possibility that the Indians were ousted has

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1 Howey, The Spanish settlement at Nootka, pp. 163-4.

2 "Notícias de Nutka", written by the anonymous Franciscan father.

to be admitted. On the other hand, things may have occurred just as the Franciscan fathers described them--or perhaps the Indians, on their own initiative, removed themselves from the vicinity of the intruders.

Now let us look at the day-to-day events as recounted by Martínez--with the help of an occasional word from other Spaniards, especially Father Sánchez.

May 16. "Today I began transporting the artillery ashore to mount it on the bastion".

May 17. "We are levelling the ground as best we can in order to mount the cannon...we have five on their carriages, so far, although there is no parapet as yet for those who are to man them."

May 18. Martínez ordered "all those who know how to use an axe to cut the wood necessary for the construction of a building for the men to live in while on shore."

May 19. "...we continue cutting wood...in spite of the fact that several of the seamen are ill, though not dangerously so".

May 20-21-22. During those days it rained so much that "it looked as if it were pouring from the heavens by the bucket". (Father Sánchez.) Therefore the wood cutting had to stop.

May 25. The Iphigenia was returned to her people.

May 26. "Some sick men are staying in the cabin which was built for the copper, so that on days when the weather is good they may exercise by walking on the beach." The levelling of the ground on San Miguel Island continued "in order to finish mounting the artillery which is intended for it. These guns are six twelve-pounders and four eight-pounders."

May 28. Both Martínez and Father Sánchez mentioned that although the Indians were not living in the Cove they were coming, now and then, to see the Spaniards and to sell them fish and otter skins.

May 30. The Iphigenia was ready to sail after recovering her armament, munitions, and other items of equipment. (She departed on the following day.) Martínez made a note about the winds, and mentioned that since his arrival it had been raining very often.

May 31. The commander of the Iphigenia reported: "I made sail out of the Cove, the Fort on Little Hog Island saluting me with Five Guns, which I begged to be excused returning." Martínez, so careful to mention details, does not mention this one, and everything else in his diary suggests that the fort was far from completed at the time. Perhaps the cannon shots were fired from the Princesa, or from the guns temporarily placed where the fort was being erected.

June 1-2-3. Heavy fog, drizzle, bad weather generally. "I ordered the carpenters and choppers from both vessels to continue the cutting of wood for the construction of the house in which we have to pass the winter on land." The work continued, with better weather, during the following days, but the levelling of the ground for the fort required considerable effort, as the hill was of bedrock. "Neither can earth or sand be found close by, since that of the neighbouring beaches consists of such stones that they look like musket balls and heavy shot."

### Visiting Indians

June 6. In the morning, four very large canoes and several small ones were sighted coming from the SW with many people on board. When they arrived at the side of the Princesa they shouted "Martínez, Martínez, Guacass, Guacass"<sup>1</sup> "which means, in their language, 'Friend! Friend!'" They were the tribe from Clayuclat, with their chief, Guicananish, "who is recognised as the principal king of this region." They had been warring with other tribes and were carrying, as spoils of victory, sea otter skins and several prisoners whom they had turned into slaves. They offered the otter skins to Martínez for barter. He offered, in return, woollen or flannel cloth or glass beads. The Indians did not accept these articles as currency, but they were quite willing to accept them as presents!

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<sup>1</sup> We have already seen this word in the previous chapters.

Then Martínez, in his patronising way, explains how he was sociable to them:

I permitted the said King or Captain Guicananish and two or three others of what seem to me the principal men to come aboard and enter the cabin. I honoured them by giving them a little woollen and flannel cloth. They then retired to the interior of the port to eat fish, and returned later at five o'clock in the afternoon. They remained at the side of the ship until sunset; when they went away, friendly and pleased.

At ten o'clock that night there was some fear that the Indians may try to come to the Spanish establishment and steal something, or do some harm, for which reason a gun was fired "so that with the noise they would go away." (Father Sánchez.)

Martínez commented that he had always meant to

...treat the Indians with much kindness in order that, seeing themselves well treated, they may come to love our nation. In this way we may conquer them and make them vassals of our Sovereign, and enable the light of the Evangel to be spread. The result is that they come from various villages at a distance from this port where I am in order to visit me, calling me by my name, since the report of my friendly treatment has reached even to their homes.

Alas! only a few days after writing these conceited words Martínez shot one of the Indian chieftains.

. . .

June 7. "As today should be carefully observed on account of the adorable mystery of the Most Holy Trinity,

I did not allow anyone on my two ships to do any work, and only gave them permission to go ashore to walk about and wash themselves."

On several Sundays and festivals Martínez made similar statements, and we may imagine that the Spaniards would enjoy these holy days--washing themselves, taking walks, probably singing and playing games.<sup>1</sup>

On that day (June 7) the North West America returned to Friendly Cove from a trading cruise. Martínez entertained her captain and pilot to supper. On the following day he appropriated their ship, stating that "she had been abandoned on the beach by her captain, pilot and crew".

. . .

June 10. Some of the men continued cutting wood "for the construction of a house on shore where we could pass the winter", while the others continued the levelling of the ground for the fort. In a later reference, Father Sánchez stated that on that day nábanos (probably a variety of turnip) were planted, which grew quite well.

June 11--the Feast of Corpus Christi. All work was suspended. Fifteen gun shots were fired at sunrise and

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<sup>1</sup> Neither Father Sánchez nor Martínez ever made any reference to any amusements, but it is fair to assume that the men would sing and play sometimes. There are one or two indications of that at a later date (1791-92).

the same number at noon "in celebration of this mystery". In the morning, the seaman Juan Reyes died "from a cold and because his chest had closed up. The missionaries were present with him until the end, exhorting him until he died". Then they shrouded him in the habit of Saint Francis. In the afternoon "the body was carried ashore, and a spot of ground near the mountain was blessed" and there "after the vigil had been sung" the man was buried. According to Father Sánchez, the captain and officers of the San Carlos and the first pilot of the Princesa attended--this suggests that Juan Reyes belonged to the crew of the San Carlos. He must have been the first Spaniard (or Mexican-Spaniard) to die and to be buried in what is now Western Canada. One member of the Meares expedition had already laid his bones there, being probably the first Briton to do so.

Later in the same day two canoes loaded with Indians arrived, carrying a boy with his head broken by a stone thrown by a companion. Martínez ordered the leech to cure the lad, who was treated "with great kindness, causing the Indians to leave very pleased". The following days were devoted to the building activities.

. . .

June 14. Martínez wrote that, during the voyage of the Santiago in 1774, he felt sure that he had seen a wide inlet in latitude 48° 20', but as his captain had not

allowed him to approach it he did not then mention his supposition in his diary. Now, being his own boss, he would try to ascertain whether or not his sight had deceived him. This is where the North West America came in: Martínez had her examined and overhauled, so as to dispatch her to explore that part of the coast.<sup>1</sup>

June 15. Some of the men were working on the schooner, and the preparation for the fort. Others were dispatched to bring wood and water for the ships. In the evening the Princess Royal approached but did not enter the Cove. Martínez spent the night on board her, lest she should run away! She entered on the following morning (June 16) and throughout the day her captain shared meals and exchanged courtesies with Martínez and Kendrick.

#### The Spanish offend the Indians

June 16. Father Sánchez wrote that on that day Martínez sent some men to get "some boards from the neighbouring village (ranchería) to build in the fort a house for the shelter of the people, which was done as ordered."

On the following day the friar wrote:

June 17. "At nine in the morning arrived to the

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<sup>1</sup> On May 14, Father Sánchez stated: "On this day, on orders of the Commander, building of a schooner was begun in the Port of Marwina." On June 13, he recorded that work was proceeding in the construction of a schooner; and some days later he again stated that the work was being done at Marwinna. Such work was never mentioned by Martínez.



side of the frigate eight canoes with several Indians amongst whom were Macuina and Quelequem [Keleken] and these were complaining about our people because they had stolen their boards, but we tried to placate them as best we could and they returned to their village."

Martínez does not mention these two facts, but in his entry for June 17 he states something which may be taken as a confirmation of them. The levelling of the ground for the fort being completed, he ordered work on the building of "a large wooden hut inside the precincts of the fort...as a shelter for those who are serving the artillery, whom it will protect from the rain here. It will also afford a place for storing the powder for the guns of the fort, and will serve to hold the arms for our defence and to protect them as far as possible from being rendered useless by the heavy rust."

Father Sánchez' statement about a robbery--which he does not deny--and Martínez' silence about it may be taken as evidence that the Indian complaint was justified. Keleken was probably referring to this robbery when, a few days later, he uttered the word "thief", which prompted Martínez to shoot him.

On that same day (June 17) the Washington passed through Friendly Cove before making her way to Marwinna. Her log book recorded:

...when we pass't Friendly Cove I was surprized to find a fort on Hog Island.

On June 19, the "large wooden hut" in the precincts of the fort being completed, Martínez "ordered the men of both crews to complete the mounting of the artillery which the roughness of the ground permits. Ten guns of twelve and eight-pound calibre are now placed on their carriages, in order to fortify myself as best I can, for I have information that several vessels are coming to this port during the summer."

On that afternoon Father Patero went on board the schooner North West America to bless it and rename it Santa Gertrudis la Magna. As her commander Martínez appointed the second pilot of the San Carlos, José María Narváez.

June 20. The second death occurred: seaman Juan José Magdaleno Torres died of dynamic fever (de un fuerte tabardillo). After a funeral service, attended by the four friars and conducted "with all possible ceremony", the man was buried beside the grave of Reyes. (Father Sánchez.)

June 21. Martínez invited the captains and officers of all the "foreign" ships then moored at Nootka--the Columbia, the Washington and the Princess Royal--to join him and his officers and missionaries for a "splendid dinner". After the meal the Santa Gertrudis sailed to explore the coast south of Nootka.

June 22. The third step in the building of the fort was begun: "several pieces of wood and long logs" which had been brought over from the forest were transported in two launches to San Miguel Island on that day. Martínez "ordered the rest of the two crews to the same place to make an entrenchment or parapet with these timbers, in front of the artillery which is mounted in this fort, for the protection of those who are to man the guns".

### Taking possession

June 22-23. Martínez was preparing for the act of formally taking possession of Nootka for Spain. To that effect, cutters and carpenters were making a cross twelve varas long, according to Father Sánchez. In his entry for June 23, Father Sánchez said: "...this afternoon came those who were working in the port of Marwina in the building of the schooner to this port to attend the function of tomorrow."<sup>1</sup>

June 24. This was a great day for Martínez. With the pomp and ceremony of which he was so fond, he took possession of Nootka in the name of his King. In a letter to the Viceroy,<sup>2</sup> he explained that he had not done it before because he had been waiting for the arrival of the frigate Aranzazú "in order to do it with the utmost solemnity and brilliancy", but he felt he should not wait any more. In his diary he gave this glowing description:

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<sup>1</sup> This is one of the two references made by Father Sánchez to the schooner being built in Marwinna, which I have already mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> On July 13.

Wednesday, June 24th, 1789. The day having dawned clear and quite...at nine o'clock I landed on the beach of this harbour of Santa Cruz, which is situated at the entrance of the port of San Lorenzo de Nuca. I was accompanied by the officers and chaplains of the two ships under my command, by the missionaries from the College of San Fernando, and by the entire garrison force. Here, with the usual ceremonies, I took possession of the port of San Lorenzo, its coasts and adjacent islands, in the name of my Sovereign, Don Carlos III (whom God protect!). As soon as the cross was set up, the voice of the Holy Evangel resounded by means of a sermon which the Most Reverend Father-President, Fray Severo Patero, delivered to all who were present. Several foreigners, English and American, were present at the act of taking possession. The crew having climbed to the rigging, as prescribed by the regulations, the call of 'Long Live the King' was voiced seven times. [Seven cheers to the King.] The English and the Boston men were present at this ceremony and repeated the same number of times the cheers to the King. At noon both the foreigners and the officers of the two ships under my command were served a splendid banquet. At the end of this, I, my officers, the friars, and the foreigners, drank the health of Our August and Catholic Monarch. This was followed by a salvo with the same number of guns as before, by the frigate, the packet and the fort...

The document of possession<sup>1</sup> was put into a bottle well closed up with pitch and then buried at the foot of a low stony hill on the beach, from which the point of Santa Clara bears NE by E, that of San Ignacio NNE, and that of San Francisco NE by N, all by the needle.

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<sup>1</sup> An English translation of this long and pompous document appears in British Columbia, by E.O.S. Scholefield, vol. 1, pp. 140-43. From this translation it would appear that Martínez knew that Friendly Cove was located on an island, which he called after himself--but nobody else called it so. Other Spaniards, later, called it Mazaredo Island.



In the letter to the Viceroy, mentioned earlier, Martínez was careful to emphasize that this act was effected "without an opposition in spite of the fact that several Foreigners of the English nation and of the American Congress were present".

Father Sánchez gave these additional details about the ceremony: "At the close of this function the troops, formed in battleline, fired a volley, to which the frigate responded with a salvo of thirteen guns, followed immediately by a salute of the same number of gun shots from the packet San Carlos and the buttress of San Miguel, and the 'Viva el Rey!' was given seven times, which was attended by several foreigners of the English and Boston nations who repeated the same."

When reporting this event, the anonymous Franciscan father who composed the chronicle "Noticias de Nootka" commented with sectarian haughtiness: "The ceremonies of this function were sufficient to move the Protestants who attended it, as they themselves declared to our Commander. Let their d.d. [doctors of divinity] call useless and superstitious the ceremonies of the Church with which the Catholics raise their minds to the Creator while with their bodies they pay Him the homage due to Him as Giver of all the benefits."

. . .

June 27. The "entrenchment" on the fort was completed. Work on the building of a house on shore had been going on during the last few days.

June 28. The Washington and the Columbia, which had been under repair at "Marwyna" (Marwina) came to Friendly Cove.

### Buying children

June 29. Some men were engaged in "filling up with ballast some hollows in the fort in order to level the esplanade as well as possible."

Through the agency of Captain Kendrick I bought an Indian boy of the region of about five or six years of age. He was brought aboard and I entrusted him to the reverend missionary fathers, so that they could teach him the Spanish language and give him instruction to prepare him for baptism.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to the Viceroy, Martínez explained this acquisition for his country and his faith, and described how the poor child was loaded with the names of all the "Spanish-Nootken Hierarchy". The christening was performed by Father Severo Patero, who

...decided to do it on the day of the glorious apostle, Saint James, our Patron; giving him the names of Estevan Lorenzo Francisco Severo Martínez y Flores, in honour of the first Martyr of the Faith,

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<sup>1</sup> Father Sánchez confirms this information. He estimates the boy to be six or seven years old.

and of Saint Lawrence because he is Spanish and because this port bears his name in general, and the surnames because Your Excellency has the same.

Actually on Saint James' Day (July 25) no christening was recorded, either by Martínez or by Father Sánchez; but it appears, from a reference made on September 13, that by that date the boy had already been baptised--as had a native girl whom Martínez had acquired later.

. . .

June 30. Martínez made a note on the weather for that month. The winds had "returned" but were not very strong. For two or three days rain "obliged us to remain under cover".

July 1. The levelling of the ground at the fort was completed and the cannon were placed "in position in batteries" and "heavy planks were placed under the wheels of the carriages so that they would not sink into the ground". At this stage the fort may be considered to have been completed.

#### Dealings with British and Americans

The captain of the Princess Royal, Thomas Hudson, came to take leave of Martínez and "to ask for licence to clear the port in order to go on his way to Macao". Martínez gave him the usual Spanish warnings not to touch any part of the coast south of Prince William Sound and not



to trade with the natives, or he would be taken prisoner. Apparently Hudson said that the British vessels Queen Charlotte and King George, as well as a Portuguese packet belonging to a citizen of Macao and an American brig, were directing their courses towards Nootka to trade in furs.<sup>1</sup>

On this day a certain Robert Cant, from the Princess Royal, deserted his ship and joined the Spaniards.

July 2. Early in the morning the Princess Royal sailed away, and in the evening the Argonaut arrived.

July 3. This was the dramatic day of the clash between Martínez and Colnett, and the subsequent seizure of the Argonaut and the imprisonment of her crew. One may wonder how much of the day's events was comprehended by "the carpenters and woodcutters [who] continued all day at their work". Undoubtedly they would be trying to discover what was happening, and speculating amongst themselves as they carried out their humble chores.

July 4. "At sunrise today the frigate Columbia fired a salvo of thirteen guns, in celebration of the number of years that the American-English had separated from their kinsmen in Europe; they fired several more in the course of the day, of the same number of guns."

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez passed on this rumour to the Viceroy, and used it as an extra reason for advising him to keep the seized British ships in order to control the North West Coast.

"At noon Captain John Kendrick invited me and all the officers and chaplains of the two vessels under my command, besides the missionary fathers and our prisoners, the officers of the English packet...Argonaut. He had a splendid banquet served for us, in the course of which toasts were drunk to the health of Our August Sovereign, Don Carlos III (whom God protect!). This was followed by a salvo of thirteen guns, to which I ordered the packet San Carlos and the fort of San Miguel to respond. I excepted the frigate Princesa, because her guns were loaded with ball grape."

Meanwhile, the smaller Spanish fry were engaged in disarming the Argonaut, in cutting wood, and attending to other duties.

July 5. The Santa Gertrudis returned from her voyage of exploration, and Martínez wrote an enthusiastic report claiming to prove that the entrance he had sighted in 1774 really and truly existed--that it was the Juan de Fuca Strait, and he was bold enough to guess: "there is ground for believing that this Strait forms a connection with the Mississippi River in an ESE direction".<sup>1</sup> The natives along the coast considered themselves vassals of

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<sup>1</sup> Actually Martínez did not convince everybody. There is a paper (Mex. N.A., Hist. T65, carp. 12--unsigned), probably written by his antagonist, López de Haro, casting doubts on these geographical assumptions. Viceroy Flores was very sceptical, too, and stated (in a letter to the Minister for the Navy, dated September 26, 1789--no. 1248) that Martínez had not adequately followed his instructions on this exploration.

Guicananish, even those of Nootka "because in wars between them the Nootka Indians were always defeated".

July 6. The disarming of the Argonaut continued. "I also sent over some provisions, consisting of rice and salted beef and pork, to supply twenty-nine Chinamen (of all occupations) whom they [the British] had brought along to make up their establishment. It will not be possible for these to go along when the prize is sent to the Department of San Blas, since the captured packet is very small, and has not the room to carry them."

July 7. Martínez ordered his carpenters to make two store rooms between decks and a stateroom at the entrance to the cabin of the Argonaut, for extra storage and for quarters for the imprisoned officers. In addition, the caulkers started to overhaul her.

July 8. "having gone ashore today with Captain John Kendrick, and entered the forest, he showed me an inscription carved on a tree, which read: 'William Cooper, year of 1786 and 1787'. This led me to conclude that it was evidence of the act of taking possession in the name of their sovereign the King of England, which the English had made in those days."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> William Cooper probably belonged to one of the British ships which visited Nootka during the years mentioned; but there is no evidence of any such act of taking possession on behalf of the British Crown.

The overhauling of the Argonaut continued; the storerooms and stateroom were completed. Colnett, whose mind was disturbed, "made a motion as if he wished to throw himself into the water".

July 10. Arrangements for the dispatch of the Argonaut to San Blas were continued; Martínez chose the personnel who were to man her, and was busy preparing his reports to the Viceroy about the events of these two months at Nootka.

July 11. Early in the morning Colnett threw himself into the water, but was rescued and later placed under guard. Father Sánchez' Journal, following a brief reference to this fact, records that Martínez went ashore "with the prisoner Captain" and showed him the inscription carved on the tree by William Cooper--obviously the one mentioned by Martínez three days previously.

This entry leads the reader to believe that Martínez took Colnett ashore for a walk. Yet Martínez does not make any mention of it; and it is a matter for doubt that he would have taken ashore a man who had just tried to commit suicide and was obviously out of his mind. One may wonder whether the captain referred to by the friar was, perhaps, the captain of the North West America.

July 12. The Princess Royal returned--only to be seized by the Spaniards and her officers and crew put

under arrest. She was destined to become, on the following morning, the scene of one of the most shameful acts to take place during the whole of the Spanish rule in Nootka, for it was while on a visit to this ship that Martinez shot poor Keleken.

### Martínez kills an Indian chieftain

July 13. Martínez had gone on board the Princess Royal when, in his own words:

One of the captains of the neighbouring village, named Keleken, had (meanwhile) approached the side of the sloop. He had seen my men go out to bring her in, and he now insulted me from his canoe, saying to me in his language 'Martínez pisce, Martínez capsil'. The prisoners interpreted it to me by saying that the Indian captain meant that I was a bad man and a robber, that, not content with taking the vessels that came in, I went to rob those that were outside. When I heard what he said, I called to him from the sloop, but he paid no attention to my words, and continued insulting me in the same fashion.

Irritated by such abusive language, I took a gun from among those which my men carried over when they went to bring the sloop in, and fired it at him, but I misfired. One of my sailors, observing that, took another gun and fired it, killing Keleken.

The abusive actions and language of this Indian were due to the conversation which Captain Colnet had had with him in the morning of the third of this month, when the former came into this port at daybreak. He had told the Indian that he had come to be master of this land, and that he would expel us all from this port.

Father Sánchez' account of this crime is very brief and agrees almost entirely with that of Martínez. Tovar also mentioned it in his report to the Viceroy but gave no additional details--apart from the comment that the English rejoiced greatly when they heard Keleken call Martínez "thief" and other names.

Martínez claimed that the fatal shot was actually fired by somebody else, but all the other reports attributed it to him. In any case, the responsibility for the crime was entirely his. The most shocking things about it are the lack of any expression of regret on his part, and the manner in which Father Sánchez attempted to exculpate him for this most un-Christian of deeds.

A more critical and a more humane view was held by Moziño who, two years later, gave the following description:

Many Englishmen were able to reach the shore (in spite of being prisoners), and complained to the natives calling Martínez a thief. Macquinna abstained from seeing Martínez, from fear rather than from indignation. Quelequem showed himself less timorous and went to visit Don Gonzalo de Haro on the San Carlos. He boldly declared his abhorrence of the conduct of Martínez but assured Haro that this would be no reason for breaking the friendship that he had cultivated with other Spaniards. Haro on his part tried to calm him, made him some presents and dismissed him fully satisfied. On his way ashore Martínez noticed him from the deck of the Princesa and at once invited him to come aboard, probably with the design of pacifying him, and ridding him of

the impression created by the calumnious information of the English. But the Indian did not condescend to accept the invitation.... A small offence for that officer to have taken the barbarous resolution of ordering him to be shot.... The dead body of Quelequem that remained floating on the waters and the blood with which these had been dyed excited the Natives in the highest degree, and even the Spaniards themselves to this day abominate that assassination... The timid Macquinna abandoned his village and fled to the protection of that of Huiquinanis in Clayuclat, leaving Martínez free to establish his huts on the land which he [Macquina] was abandoning.

As Moziño was not at Nootka at the time of the deed his report could only have been based on hearsay. Perhaps Haro, himself, told him of his interview with Keleken; but it should be kept in mind that Haro and Martínez were antagonists and that this description may be biased.

Martínez, in a way, confirmed that Macquinna abandoned his residence in Friendly Cove, but suggests that this was because of the "evil reports" spread by the English, and that the Indian chief's absence lasted only for a short time. He stated that the Indians renewed their contacts with the Spaniards, and that Macquina himself visited him on several occasions--as will be mentioned in following chapters. It is proved that Macquina was living in Clayuclat in the following spring, and stated that he did so out of fear of Martínez; but perhaps he did not move there immediately after Keleken's death, as Moziño suggests. It may be that

he just moved to Tahsis, his usual winter quarters.

Surprisingly enough, the British did not make too much of this crime, which was mentioned only by Colnett and Meares. Colnett merely made a passing reference to it when commenting on Martínez' cruelty: "...this man had Cruelty enough to do anything, for he killed Cakeacan the greatest chief at Nootka for only telling him it was wrong to stop his friends the English." Meares published a description of the event, which he claimed to have:

...received from the master of the North West America, a young gentleman of the most correct veracity, who was himself a mournful witness of the inhuman act: Callicum, his wife and child, came in a small canoe, with a present of fish, alongside the Princesa, the Commodore's ship; and, the fish being taken from him in a rough and unwelcome manner, before he could present it to the commander, the chief was so incensed at this behaviour, that he immediately left the ship, exclaiming as he departed 'peshae, peshae' the meaning of which is 'bad, bad!' This conduct was considered so offensive that he was immediately shot from the quarter deck, by a ball through the heart. The body, on receiving the ball, sprung over the side of the canoe and immediately sunk.... His father asked the Spaniards permission 'to keep the body beneath the water' but this was refused 'till the poor afflicted savage had collected a sufficient number of skins among his neighbours to purchase, of Christians, the privilege of giving sepulture to a son whom they had murdered...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Meares actually made a mistake about the date of the crime, saying that it happened in June.



If, in describing Keleken as "the greatest chief at Nootka" Colnett intends to infer that he was the highest-ranking of the Nootka Indians, the inference is inaccurate. Meares, Kendrick and Martínez always stated that Macuina was overlord of the area, and that Keleken, who was probably his brother, came next in rank.

As for the cause of Martínez' wrath, the Spanish interpretation seems more convincing that Colnett's contention that Keleken was merely championing the British--or with Meares' version, which depicts the Spanish as monsters of perversion who would kill, without any provocation, a man who was bringing them food. Perhaps Keleken had some justification for calling Martínez a thief, since Father Sánchez described, on June 14, how Martínez had sent some men to get boards from the Indian village, and, two days later, how Keleken and Macuina had come to protest to the Spaniards about the theft of some timber. This may well have been what prompted Keleken to say whatever angered Martínez.

#### Martínez reports to the Viceroy

On July 14, the Argonaut sailed for San Blas carrying most of her own crew, as prisoners, and manned by a Spanish crew commanded by Tovar. This voyage provided Martínez with the first opportunity to report to the Viceroy about his expedition, so he prepared a bulky batch of papers which he dispatched in the care of Tovar. These

consisted of reports, affidavits and inventories concerning the Iphigenia, the Princess Royal, the North West America and the Argonaut--plus a last-minute note reporting the return of the Princess Royal to Nootka. In addition, Martínez reported on his building activities and his dealings with the natives; he made requests for extra supplies; quoted information and heresay obtained from British sources, and went so far as to make suggestions on matters of Imperial policy. Much of this material has already been used, or mentioned, in the previous chapters, but the points not already mentioned may be noted here.

He reported the building of the fort, which included a wooden building for the use of the men and for storage of material and ammunition. On shore he had built three wooden houses or huts--one for the men working out there, one for the blacksmith and baker, and one for storage.

He sent a chart of "Santa Cruz de Nutka" (Friendly Cove) and announced that he would prepare one covering the whole Sound.<sup>1</sup>

He sent the Viceroy a description of Nootka penned by Joseph Ingraham, and explained that, in due course, he would write his own description. This he did later, in his Journal. In the meantime, he passed on to the Viceroy a few of his own impressions about the Indians, and his ideas

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<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to trace the first one. A copy of the second, which was prepared by López de Haro, appears in AGN Vol. 31.

as to the possibilities of the place for future development. He noted that it would be impossible to grow even an "almud"<sup>2</sup> of wheat or other cereals, because all of the area was stony ground and the rainfall was too heavy. The natives had been very friendly. Their chieftains, Macuina, Caleken (Keleken), Janape and Gacananish "visit me and know the superiority I have over the other nations which have so far appeared at this port, for when they [the natives] consider that any individuals of the other foreign nations do an injustice to them, they come to me to have justice done." However, he still distrusted the natives, who were unreliable and dangerous and cruel. "They don't even spare their own children for food, and, as a proof of what I have said, fifteen days ago the father and mother of a girl of about one year of age tried to sell her to me so that I may eat her, but not having at present any copper to buy her, which is the only thing they value, they took her back with them, with much sorrow in my heart seeing the risk in which that creature was."<sup>2</sup>

Martínez, who had left San Blas in the hope that another ship would bring him extra supplies to Nootka, now felt that he would need a great deal more, and made a long list of what he wished to have. It started with a request

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1 almud de tierra--about  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre.

2 Throughout the years, visitors to Nootka stated that the natives there practised cannibalism. Martínez himself made another reference to it in his description of Nootka (p. 205). The point was discussed by some historians. "Many historians of our time considered that it was merely ritual"; Howey, Voyages of the Columbia, p. 60, footnote 1.

for "appropriate quantities" of flour, rice, "garbanzos", beans, lentils, fat, oil, vinegar, wine, wax for the religious service, a big bell for the church, a complete set of religious garments "in all colours" and "everything else required for the service of the altar, in case a formal presidio is to be set up, which I consider indispensable."

He then went on to request two hundred pairs of "English or Catalan boots for water" (probably meaning waterproofed), four hundred pairs of thick shoes of all sizes, two hundred ordinary hats or caps for the sailors, four packages of thick needles, some pounds of "pita azul" of the kind which is woven in the prisons of Mexico City (probably meaning some kind of rope), copper for presents to the Indians--this being the only thing they cared for--three or four notebooks in which to keep accounts, because he had little left of the paper he brought over from Mexico (no wonder!), pens, and arabic glue for inkmaking. Then comes a list of requirements for the ships and the fort: powder, tar, nails, caulkers' tools, sailcloth, and other items--and "brandy and wine for the crews and garrison, because the climate is very cold"!

He also made a request for medicines, complaining that what he had been given was far from sufficient and "of little virtue". The list contains such items as: Catholic balm, crabs' eyes, "tompate" of poppies, whale

sperm, mineral "ethiop", mercurial panacea, bats and frog plaster.

Turning to his favourite field of power politics, Martínez told the Viceroy:

a) that Colnett had passed through Cape Horn the year before, and had left "on Fire Island (Isla de Fuego), which constitutes the Strait of Mayne"<sup>1</sup> twelve Englishmen who were supposed to stock whale oil there; that Colnett was to pick them up on his return voyage but, having come to Nootka to trade, he had neglected them, and the poor fellows were still there. Perhaps the Viceroy would consider doing something about it.

b) that the British had carried to London two chieftains from the Sandwich Islands who were relatives of the one Colnett had brought to Nootka.<sup>2</sup> Martínez therefore suspected that the British were planning the conquest of those islands. He reminded the Viceroy that they had been discovered by the Spanish (who called them Islas de la Mesa). "They have [an] abundance of hogs, hens, potatoes, casave, sugar-cane, bananas, melons..." So he recommended the setting up of a Spanish settlement on the island of Owyhee to try "to conquer those natives who are fairly civilised, and at the same time put an end to the trading

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez was probably referring to the men whom Nathaniel Portlock left on Stassen Island (now known as Staten Island, or Isla de los Estados) in 1788.

<sup>2</sup> This man, called Matututuray or Motroy, is mentioned at other points in this narrative.

which foreign nations are having with those natives, and deprive them [the foreign traders] of that shelter where they always stop for supplies."

. . .

July 15. "Today we finished dismantling this frigate [Princesa]. I had the tackle and other cordage placed under cover, so that it would not rot. We thus left it in a position to pass the winter."

So Martínez was definitely counting on the permanence of his establishment--but he was in for a bad shock.<sup>1</sup>

. . .

#### Kendrick Junior changes sides

The Columbia and the Washington left Friendly Cove, carrying the captain and crew of the former North West America, plus a number of furs. Thus the Americans disappeared from the Nootka scene until the following year. One of them, however, stayed with the Spaniards. Up to this time, Kendrick had had with him his son, John, who held the position of second pilot in his ship. For reasons unknown the younger Kendrick was prompted to join the Spaniards and embrace their religion. Martínez reported to the Viceroy, in one of his letters of July 13, that the boy "has left

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<sup>1</sup> In his entries for the 14th and 15th, Martínez listed all the ships supposed to have visited Nootka--and gave the names of a few of his men: Juan Moranda, Antonio Marques, Francisco Molina, José Martínez.

the side of his father and has come with me with the avowed intent of abjuring the errors of Luther and embracing the Catholic religion; he is a well-educated boy and very industrious in the study of navigation for which reasons I request you to extend to him the appointment of second pilot so that he has means to support himself, for I have him on my expenses."

Tovar confirmed this, and added that upon leaving his father Kendrick Junior stated: "That he knew the religion of the Spaniards was the true one, that he knew what was the estate he was due to inherit, and that he was giving up everything to gain glory, and that he should permit him to pass onto us; then his father hugged him, weeping, and said that he, in the whole of his life, had had no other wealth than being an honourable man and so he advised him to follow his example, and many other words which I omit, from which we were all moved, and therefore he was given the best treatment possible and it was kept in mind that he was the second Pilot of the aforementioned frigate Columbia."<sup>1</sup>

#### Treatment of the prisoners

July 16. "Today I had the cannon, powder and

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<sup>1</sup> Informe de Tovar, Sept. 18, 1789; Mex. N.A. section 19, Vol. 65.

other armament of the sloop transferred but I permitted her captain and pilot to remain on board her, as they were dependable, and also in order that they might not be inconvenienced."

Father Sánchez wrote: "Today the captain prisoner with his launch and some of our men went for a stroll (fué a pasear) and they brought some three hundred salmon between large and small, many mularras, and other varieties of fish."

Two or three other details like this suggest that the prisoners were not always treated as badly as Colnett affirmed.

. . .

July 17. The main activity at that time was the preparation of the timber for the house on shore, which, as Martínez said again, was "to be used as a lodging place for me and the other officers and fathers who are with me."

I also ordered all the men from both crews, and the Portuguese and Chinese from the Packet Argonaut, who remained here, to go on shore and open a road through the woods from where the cutting was going on to the beach of this port...in order that the wood which is being worked up for the construction of the house may be more easily moved. They did this, and afterward brought some of the wood which is ready to the place where the house is to be built.

This is the only Spanish reference to the use of



labour from the British expedition. Martínez himself did not mention it again and it may be wondered how much use he made of British labour. Meares wrote that Martínez had "forcibly employed some of the crew of the Iphigenia and many of them who attempted to resist were severely punished." He also claimed that Martínez had compelled the Chinese who had come in the Argonaut to enter into the service of Spain, and that later, on the departure of the Columbia, they were employed in the mines which had been opened on the lands that he [Meares] had purchased.<sup>1</sup> William Graham, of the crew of the North West America, also affirmed<sup>2</sup> that Martínez had employed the Chinese "in erecting batteries and other works and, as I have been informed, in digging in the mines."<sup>3</sup> It is curious that the captains of the Iphigenia and the Argonaut did not make any such statements--either about compulsory work or about punishments. No serious scholar accepts any of Meares' statements without critical analysis, and the affidavit of William Graham is obviously filled with exaggerations on many points. The only other statement that I have discovered that is directly or indirectly related to these two references to mining at Nootka at that time is this paragraph of Martínez':

As for minerals, we have seen several

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1 Meares' Memorial--penultimate paragraph.

2 Appendix to Meares' Memorial.

3 These statements about a mine, or mines, have been noticed by two or three scholars who neither accepted nor refuted them; but they were accepted as truth by B.A. McKelvie, in his book Macquina the Magnificent.

pieces of ore but have not been able to work them. The hill of San Miguel is composed of some metal that looks like copper or bronze. I am taking some pieces to New Spain to test them. This same metal is found in the country to the rear of the port. Although the Indians know of its presence there, they do not make use of it.

If any mining, in the proper sense of the word, had been carried out there would probably be other references to it in some other document. I therefore believe that, at the most, Martínez had set some men--perhaps the Chinese--to dig, in order to ascertain whether minerals could be found at Nootka.

Another point about the Chinese deserves mention: Meares stated that there were "about seventy"<sup>1</sup> but the Spanish documents, as well as some entries in Colnett's diary, prove beyond doubt that there were only twenty-nine. Martínez recorded their names: "Jinfo, J..., Alon, J...en, Atton, Ah...he, Amusayah..." Obviously some of them must have proved too difficult to spell!

#### A brave Indian

July 20. Father Sánchez reported that a canoe with four Indians arrived. One of them had one foot badly injured; another Indian had fired a gun, badly wounding the man--and hurting himself, also, but not badly. The

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1 Antepenultimate paragraph of his Memorial.

injured man was carried to the San Carlos. There the surgeon began to wash his foot, but before he had finished the toes just dropped off. Then, as the surgeon was tearing off all the injured part, the man fainted. Soon afterwards "he cheered with a glass of wine, but what surprised all of us most was that during the whole of this cure he did not utter one scream." The friar added that the Indians were asked to bring this man again for further curing, but they did not, "...from which we gather that he must have died."

. . .

### Gardening

July 25. This being the day of Saint James, the Patron Saint of Spain, "I did not permit any work to be carried on except that I kept them [the men] for a time pulling out some grass (zacate) where I had some vegetables planted for my table."

Two days earlier, Father Sánchez reported the picking of turnips (nábanos) which had been planted on June 10 and had grown nicely.

The friar and the commander both explained that vegetables were successfully cultivated. Martínez wrote: "A few days after my arrival in this port I had some vegetable seeds sowed which I brought along. These have grown up and on several occasions, so far, there have been eaten

in my cabin lettuce, radishes, cabbages, and various other vegetables that we had sown."<sup>1</sup> Father Sánchez gave this list of vegetables which had been grown successfully: cabbages, cauliflowers, turnips, nábanos, lettuce, garlic, onions, potatoes. Both these and other chroniclers agree that most of the land around the establishment was hard and stony, and unsuited to growing cereals, but that there were some patches suitable for farming.<sup>2</sup> In later years, much gardening was done in those patches.

#### The San Carlos and the Princess Royal leave Nootka

The Viceroy had told Martínez<sup>3</sup> that in the month of March the Aranzazú would be dispatched to carry supplies to Nootka, but this was not done at that time. However, despite the fact that the promised supplies failed to arrive on time Martínez never gave the impression of having run very short of food. Undoubtedly this was partly due to his having grown vegetables on the spot and to his having acquired fish from the natives. In addition, some supplies were probably taken from the captured ships.<sup>4</sup> By July, however, Martínez began to feel that perhaps the Aranzazú

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1 This is part of the description of Nootka written by Martínez, in his Journal, towards the end of September.

2 Father Patero, Haro and Tovar agree with this statement made by Martínez (p. 75 of translation in U.B.C. Library).

3 Article 3 of his instructions, Dec. 23, 1788--quoted above.

4 Colnett claimed that this was the case.

had been lost and, assuming that he would spend the winter at Nootka, he was anxious to obtain extra supplies before it was too late for safe navigation. Around July 12, he started to get the San Carlos ready to sail for Monterey with a request for supplies from the Governor of California. Throughout the next ten days or so the ship was boot-topped, her sides were scraped and painted, her rigging was tarred and her sails were set. By the 24th she was ready for sailing.

It would seem that the Princess Royal did not require much preparation, and by the same date she, also, was ready to sail for San Blas. On July 27th, the two ships sailed together--the Princess Royal carrying her own officers and crew, but manned by Spaniards.

Their captains were under orders to sail in company as far as 38° from which point the sloop is to continue its way to the Department of San Blas... The packet San Carlos has orders to proceed to the presidio of Monterey with letters for the Governor, directing him to provide me with fruit, meat, and some vegetables, and other necessities for the men. (I have taken this precaution in order to secure us in case the Aranzazú, which should come with supplies, should be detained too long. When winter begins, I shall not be able to make use of aid from that presidio.)

The San Carlos, commanded by López de Haro, carried Father Sánchez. Therefore, as from July 27, we are deprived of his notes and have to rely almost exclusively on Martínez' writings for information about Nootka. The

Princess Royal was commanded by José María Narváez, and was carrying twelve Englishmen, three of them officers--and also some Portuguese from the Argonaut.

We have seen that the Portuguese who had come to Nootka in the Argonaut were not sent to San Blas in their own ship. Martínez explained that this was because the ship had not enough room for them, which may have been true since she was carrying, in addition to the English prisoners, a number of Spaniards. When he dispatched the San Carlos to Monterey, Martínez put on board her a number of those Portuguese, with a request to the Governor of California to send them on to San Blas in another ship. It would seem, however, that some of the Portuguese objected to being separated from their British companions and, consequently, were sent to San Blas in the Princess Royal. Martínez explained to the Viceroy, in a letter of July 27:

...in the aforementioned sloop are also six prisoners belonging to the crew of the English packet-boat who are of Portuguese nationality, and they have refused to join either this frigate [Concepción] or the packet San Carlos, and since these two nations [obviously meaning Portugal and England] have always been very united the Portuguese in particular do not like the separation, particularly being ordered by Spaniards, since Castilians are for them a hard meal which they will never be able to stomach.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Later, while at San Blas, the Portuguese decided to work for the Spaniards--according to a Spanish report.

Martínez reports again

The Princess Royal carried another batch of papers from Martínez for the Viceroy. In one of them he said that the first and second pilot of the Princess Royal, Christobal Jaques and Humphry King (Christopher Jaques and Humphrey King) who were voyaging to San Blas in that ship, had declared to a Spaniard that they were secretly Catholic (católicos ocultos), and that when their captain heard of this "los arrojó de su Cámara"<sup>1</sup> (presumably meaning that he deprived them of their cabins) and made them eat and work with the rest of the sailors"; that they tried, from the time of their arrival at Nootka, "to pass into the service of our Sovereign, under his flag, in the same category as pilots", but that he, Martínez, not having the power to admit them, was passing the matter on to the Viceroy in case he would consider them useful to the Department of San Blas, so short of personnel, and would appoint them second pilots "since they are rather skilful at that art, and well acquainted with the coast.."2

Another suggestion Martínez made to the Viceroy was that the British ships should be declared good prize: "because they belong to the Free Trade of London" (whatever he meant by that). Obviously taking for granted that they

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1 I am not sure what Martínez meant, exactly, by these words.

2 The Viceroy ordered the commandant of San Blas to ascertain how sincere was the catholicism of these men. The conclusion was that they had only pretended to be Catholics in the hope of getting a better deal. This shows that Martínez could also be innocent at times.

would be appropriated, he advised that they be careened with the utmost speed and sent to Nootka to undertake the explorations that the Viceroy had expected the San Carlos to carry out. The Princesa and the San Carlos could then be returned to San Blas. (Martínez was always ready to solve the Viceroy's problems with speedy methods!)

The Princess Royal arrived at San Blas on September 1. The San Carlos arrived at Monterey on August 10, and, after obtaining some supplies, started on her return voyage to Nootka on September 24. Four days later, however, she ran into such heavy seas that her captain and officers were discouraged from continuing the voyage. According to Father Sánchez, López de Haro learned in Monterey that the Aranzazú was on her way to Nootka, carrying an order for Martínez to abandon the place. It must have been obvious to Haro that the Aranzazú was carrying the expected supplies for Nootka, so perhaps it is not surprising that he decided not to continue the voyage northwards when he encountered stormy seas. He changed to a southbound course, and arrived at San Blas on October 30.

#### The Aranzazú brings bad news and rotted food

About thirty hours after the San Carlos had left for Monterey with a request for supplies, the Aranzazú arrived at Nootka bearing supplies--and surprises! The date was July 28.

Martínez, after having inspected the place in the



woods where his men were cutting timber, was taking a walk along the beach with the friars. On the horizon they noticed a ship which, with the aid of the glasses, they identified as the Aranzazú. She fired a gun (which was duly answered from the fort) and gave the signal of recognition which had previously been agreed upon at San Blas. Martínez then took a launch and went out to board her (probably accompanied by the friars). He ordered the boatswain to help her enter the Cove, but she was becalmed and had to be anchored at a league's distance from the port--so she did not enter the Cove until the following morning. Martínez spent the night on board her, probably ascertaining what supplies she brought.

She had brought the supplies that Martínez expected; but she had also brought an evacuation order (which he did not expect!), and news of the death of the King of Spain, Carlos III. Of all the many and scattered places over which his sovereignty extended, Nootka was perhaps the last one to receive this news. For His Majesty had died eight months previously! When the news "was learned by the several missionary fathers, their president called them together in the cabin [that of the Aranzazú or that of the Princesa?], together with the chaplain of the crew. Here they all intoned a vigil, during which time several cannon shots were fired at regular intervals."

On the following Sunday (August 2) Martínez wrote: "...a vigil was sung, and a Requiem Mass was chanted for the

soul of Don Carlos III (may he rejoice in God!) by the missionary fathers and the chaplains of the Princesa and the Aranzazú. During these exequies, flags and pennants were lowered, as the ordinance prescribes, and cannon shots were fired at intervals until noon."

The Aranzazú also brought a surgeon--Don Carlos Álvarez del Castillo--who was badly needed, for the establishment did not have a qualified one. Two days after his arrival he moved on board the Princesa.

On August 5 the supplies brought by the Aranzazú were checked. It must have been a pathetic sight: the bread arrived entirely rotted and had to be thrown to the pigs;<sup>1</sup> only half of the cheese was fit to eat; about two-thirds of every barrel of lard was spoiled, due to the heat in the hold; all that remained of the garlic was the empty husks.

#### Departure of the Aranzazú

On August 8 six men from the Aranzazú were transferred to the Princesa, which was short of personnel and had a few of her men laid low because of sickness. The Aranzazú was ready to leave as soon as the weather would permit, but for two days it looked too dangerous. She set

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<sup>1</sup> This statement of Martínez' is the only reference to pigs kept at the Spanish establishment. I have been unable to ascertain whether the animals were brought from San Blas, and am inclined to believe that they were acquired at Nootka.

sail early on the 10th, but the current drove her on to San Miguel Island (where the fort was situated). When the tide rose it was possible to get her off, undamaged. She was moored for that night, but was able to leave on the following morning--carrying the usual bundle of letters from Martínez!

#### Enlargement of the Santa Gertrudis

In the same letter in which he ordered Martínez to abandon Nootka, Viceroy Flores repeated his earlier order that the San Carlos be sent to explore the coast to the north; but by the time Martínez received this reminder he was unable to act on the instruction because he had already sent the San Carlos to Monterey.

During the earlier period of his expedition's sojourn at Nootka, Martínez had sent Tovar to explore the Juan de Fuca Strait, because he had "a bee in his bonnet" about that area. Undoubtedly he would not dare to send the San Carlos on a northward voyage of exploration during the time of the conflict with the British, for her presence at Nootka would be invaluable to him in that situation. So, having failed to carry out that part of the Viceroy's instructions, it was now necessary for him, on receipt of a reminder, to excuse himself.

He wrote to the Viceroy and explained that, fearing the Aranzazú had been lost, he had dispatched the San Carlos to Monterey to get supplies. For this reason she would not

be able to carry out the explorations on the Bucareli part of the coast: "...if I had known this last and new determination of Your Excellency [the order to evacuate] I would have dispatched it immediately after we anchored here in May..." But he did not do so because he found that foreign vessels were visiting Nootka and that others were expected to come later--and also because the Viceroy had ordered him to send the San Carlos to explore the north after the arrival of supplies. Even if the San Carlos were then at Nootka, it would be too late in the year to send her to such regions. However, the Viceroy may set his mind at ease: "I assure Your Excellency under my word of honour that I am aware of all the points there are on this coast, since my industry and zeal have not excused any fatigues to get to know everything." Thus spoke Martínez!

In his Journal, he put forward another excuse, followed by an account of yet another of his high-handed decisions. In his entry for July 29th he wrote that: "...it would be difficult for the packetboat San Carlos to make a reconnaissance of the coast with exactness without exposing herself to being lost because of the great amount of water which she displaces." On the other hand, he had found that there were forests of excellent timber in the Nootka area, and this discovery had given him an idea: "I determined to build a schooner of about sixty English feet in length and to that effect I succeeded in buying from the Boston Captain, John Kendrick, the necessary iron, some nails, oakum

(estopa) and sail cloth, two-handed saws and other tools necessary to that effect; moreover I had brought two boxes of hatchets [and] one of saws and carpenters' saws (sierras y Zerruchos) which I bought in Mexico to present to the Indians." Martínez went on to say that he divided his men into two gangs--one for building the houses and the other to prepare the timbers for the schooner.

When the Viceroy's evacuation order came, Martínez reconsidered the matter and changed his plans. He decided to have "...the lumber that was already cut for the schooner brought to this port and with it and on the same gálivos of the one the English left behind, rotten, and adding three extra cubits to her length, I would build another one, capable of undertaking any navigation required, then take her to the Department and present her for the benefit of the King. Work on this plan was started at once."<sup>1</sup>

So the Santa Gertrudis (formerly the North West America) was then rebuilt and enlarged. On two or three occasions, Martínez briefly mentioned how that work was proceeding. She was launched on October 20, and "fitted with supplies and provisions on the 23rd so that she could sail...to San Blas." Later, (after his return to San Blas), Martínez gave the Viceroy a few more details about the rebuilding:

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<sup>1</sup> And yet, in one of his letters, he requested the Viceroy to grant him the use of the captured British ships for the purpose of carrying out the explorations he had been instructed to undertake.

I ordered the dismantling of the Schooner which the English abandoned as useless and, as I was getting ready to have one built for the service of His Majesty, of 52 English feet length, for which I already had cut the timber, bought iron and other necessary things: at the superior order of Your Excellency that I should retire, I carried out the building of another one of  $41\frac{1}{2}$  feet of keel making use of the dismantled one (which was smaller), some Cross-timbers and Frames; and while I had her with me it gave proof of her resistance, good qualities and much speed...<sup>1</sup>

Later, Martínez claimed to have incurred expenses, implying that he had paid them out of his own pocket, and requested a refund:

...being at Nootka with the desire to advance the discoveries I put into practice the building of a schooner, and for that purpose I bought from the Boston expedition, and another English vessel which I had detained there, several parts (pertrechos) which I needed and I used most of them in the aforesaid construction, in that of the Buttress and the cutting of wood for making Houses.<sup>2</sup>

Martínez added that when he left Nootka he brought to San Blas all the utensils which were left, and he requested that their import be paid to him. The request was denied, because the Attorney for the Treasury (Fiscal de Hacienda)

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1 Letter of December 6th

2 Letter--Martínez to Viceroy, Mexico City, June 11, 1790; AGN Californias, T78, f. 163.

concluded that Martínez had not bought such things on his own account ("por su mano") and that therefore they belonged to His Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

The schooner was incorporated in the shipping of San Blas but, in due course, the Spanish government had to pay the Meares firm a handsome compensation for her.

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Californias, T78, f. 167.

## CHAPTER XIX

### MARTÍNEZ ORDERED TO ABANDON NOOTKA

#### Reasons for the evacuation order

Why did Viceroy Flores decide to discontinue the occupation of Nootka? Because the actual text of his order did not come to light until recent years, the few scholars interested in this matter--Bancroft, Manning, Wagner and Howey--were left to speculate about it.<sup>1</sup> The explanation is now clear from the wording of that order:

It is not possible, as you explained to me in your letter of the 7th of this month, for the packetboat Aranzazu to carry the supplies to the presidios and missions of California and those which the vessels of the expedition under your command are lacking. It will be even less possible for the frigate Concepción to be made ready in sufficient time to transport the first-named in light of the fact that she is now being careened...

These insuperable difficulties, and the well-founded conviction that it has always been my intention only to pretend... [a few unintelligible words follow] some Establishment at Nootka, oblige me to tell you that in spite of

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<sup>1</sup> For a digest of some of these speculations, see a note on "Why the Spanish temporarily abandoned Nootka", Canadian Historical Review, June, 1936. Also a comment by Howey in his essay "The Spanish Settlement at Nootka Sound", p. 167, However, as these were mere speculations, they need not be considered now, when evidence is available.



what is required by Articles 5, 7, and 17 to 20 inclusive of my official instruction of December 23rd last...

1. Upon arrival of the two vessels of the expedition at Nootka, you shall immediately dispatch the packetboat San Carlos Filipino to...carry out the explorations as ordered.
2. The time which may be spent on these explorations and in that of the pretended establishment of Nootka will undoubtedly be until the coming winter and since it is not customary for the Russians or the subjects of other foreign powers to undertake any enterprise in those waters at such a season you may consider your commission concluded.
3. (Since you will not need many more supplies, the Aranzazú)...will transport only those which may be necessary to carry out your duties and return without delay to the port of San Blas.

It is obvious from these paragraphs that the main reason for this decision was the painful awareness that the Department of San Blas did not have enough shipping to maintain the necessary connections with the missions and presidios in California, and, at the same time, supply an establishment much further north. On the other hand, Flores was consistent in his original intention to effect merely a formal occupation of Nootka, and it is obvious that he felt sure that no other power would come to occupy it in winter-time. He may also have had another reason at the back of his mind: the fact that he had acted merely on his own initiative, and without previously having obtained the approval of His Majesty's Government. Under these circumstances, Viceroy Flores' decision appears to be a sensible--almost an inescapable--one. However, he failed

to mention it later, when he should have done so, and even behaved as if he himself had forgotten it--which caused some confusion.<sup>1</sup>

### Martínez' reaction

The order to abandon Nootka was issued on February 25, only five days after the dispatch of the expedition which was to occupy the port. However, this order did not reach Martínez until five months later. By then, he had already been in Nootka for three months, had carried out a great deal of building there, and had been further persuaded, by the presence of "foreign" vessels, that it was essential for Spain to maintain that outpost. Indeed, he had already expressed these views to the Viceroy, requested extra supplies to carry his men through the following winter, and made several suggestions regarding the maintenance of the establishment.

On July 13, Martínez had sent to the Viceroy, by means of the Argonaut, a list of the supplies that he wanted, and expressed this hope: that "Your Excellency may determine that I and those who accompany me are to remain in this port...to make myself more respectable to the foreign nations which come yearly to this port and to this coast to do trade with the Indians."<sup>2</sup> When he dispatched the Princess Royal--precisely on the day before he received the evacuation

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<sup>1</sup> See chapters XXIV and XXV.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of July 13. Mex. N.A., Hist., T. 65, Carp. 9.

order--Martínez sent the Viceroy another letter (dated July 27)<sup>1</sup> advising him to appropriate this ship and the Argonaut and send them to Nootka to carry out explorations.

Several entries in Martínez' Journal (some of which are quoted in this chapter) show that he was taking for granted that he would spend the winter there. The long list of supplies he requested obviously proves this, too. It was precisely the fear of not getting them in time which prompted him to send the San Carlos to bring some from Monterey. He must have been stunned when, only thirty hours after the ship sailed from Nootka to carry out this commission, another ship arrived bringing the order that he abandon his cherished, budding establishment.

In his letter of August 7, acknowledging receipt of the order, he gave vent to his disillusionment and appealed for a cancellation of it:

I can only say to Your Excellency that in my opinion this is very regrettable in light of the fact that this coast is visited with frequency by the English, Portuguese, Boston men and Russians, as I have already informed you...

If Your Excellency in view of the news which I have sent you [by the Argonaut]...does not send me orders to the contrary, reaching me at this Port by the end of October, I shall find myself obliged to blindly obey the estimable (apreciable) order of Your Excellency and withdraw inviolably (inviolablemente) to the Department

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1 Mex. N.A., Hist., T. 65, Carp. 6.

with the Ships under my command the first days of November next...<sup>1</sup>

At the end of another letter to the Viceroy, bearing the same date, Martínez repeats his plea:

...but this Port must not be abandoned, even if it be for a short time, as I explain to Your Excellency in my letter no. 33, in spite of all I shall always obey blindly the superior order of Your Excellency at the time stated, unless after the arrival of the prize ships to that Department Your Excellency does not immediately communicate me another order to the contrary.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, on two occasions (July 13 and August 7) Martínez appealed either for extra supplies or for a counter-order--always suggesting that the establishment should continue. Let us now see how the Viceroy reacted to these appeals.

The first one, sent through the Argonaut, reached the Viceroy on August 26. He approved Martínez' request for more supplies and, consequently, sent to the Head of the Department of San Blas this message:

Agreeable to Martínez' request for provisions in order to remain in the port of Nuca I have decided that the supplies and articles listed in the enclosed note be acquired and sent there...so that the [Commandant] at Nootka is not left without supplies but without the Department being deprived of all it needs.

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<sup>1</sup>Mex. N.A., Hist., T. 65, Carp. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Mex. N.A., Hist., T. 65, Carp. 11.

It should have been obvious that Martínez had requested such supplies on the assumption that he was to spend the winter at Nootka. Whether or not the Viceroy, in issuing the order above, had followed and accepted this implication can only be guessed. He must have known that it would take five or six days for the order to reach San Blas, a fair amount of time for the supplies and the ship to be ready, and about five weeks for the ship to make the voyage to Nootka. This consideration, and his statement that the provisions were to be dispatched "in order [for Martínez] to remain in the port of Nuca", seem to indicate that Flores had forgotten that he had ordered Martínez to abandon that outpost before winter-time.

Martínez' appeal for a cancellation order arrived at the Viceroy's office around September 5.<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy might have tried to rush a ship to Nootka with the counter-instructions which Martínez was requesting, but there is no indication that he tried to do so.

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<sup>1</sup> The letter was carried by the Princess Royal, which arrived at San Blas on                      The mail normally took about five days to reach Mexico City.

## CHAPTER XX

### MARTÍNEZ HOLDING OUT

#### Occupation forces

From the arrival of the Spanish expedition until about the middle of August, there were always two, three or more ships--with a total of between one hundred and three hundred men--at Friendly Cove. At first the Iphigenia and the Princesa were there, and the San Carlos joined them five days later. After the departure of the Iphigenia, the North West America arrived; and then the Princess Royal, which stayed for just over two weeks. The Argonaut arrived later, and the Princess Royal returned just as the former was ready to leave for San Blas. The Washington paid two or three brief visits during this period--the other American ship, the Columbia, having remained at anchor in nearby Marwina for several weeks, during which time her captain paid frequent visits to Martínez.

On June 28, these two American ships paid another brief call, and then left for good, carrying off the crew of the North West America. The San Carlos and the Princess Royal left on July 27, but, just a little over one day later, the Aranzazú arrived and stayed for about two weeks. After her departure, on August 10, only the Princesa remained at Nootka.

Gone were all the British and the Americans--and even some members of the crew of the *Princesa*--and the only "foreigners" remaining with the Spaniards were the twenty-seven Chinese who had come in the Argonaut. The total personnel of the establishment, at that time, must have been about one hundred and twenty people. With such inadequate manpower, bad weather setting in, and the disappointment which the evacuation order undoubtedly caused him, Martínez must have felt rather depressed. He was expecting the return of the San Carlos with supplies, and he probably cherished a hope that either this ship or another one would bring word from the Viceroy that he should remain at Nootka. His Journal gives the impression that he clung to that hope for a while, but finally began preparations for the return of his force to Mexico when it became obvious that the Viceroy would send no counter-order. During this interval, he recorded a few events:

August 7. Thick clouds. "The men were employed in bringing from shore the cannon of the fort of San Miguel, and in cutting wood for the daily consumption and to store away."

August 8. "...the men on board, occupied in emptying some casks and clearing a space in the hold, so that we could place in it the artillery of the fort of San Rafael."

#### Fort San Rafael?

The reader of Martínez' Journal may be surprised at

this reference, because there is no previous reference to the existence of such a fort or even the inception of plans for it. It may be wondered whether Martínez erected a second bulwark, in addition to the one he called San Miguel, or if he made a mistake in the sentence quoted above and in two subsequent references to "fort San Rafael". This moot point will be discussed in another chapter.

August 10. "...some canoeloads of Indians came to the side of the ship with fish and sardines, which we took in exchange for some trinkets."

August 12. Wood cutting and carpentry work continued. The mischievous rats had played such havoc with some of the sails, sailcloth and unused canvas that these would be good only for use as mending material. On July 28, Martínez had mentioned that rats on board the Princesa had been attacking her spare cloth as well as that which had been taken from the Argonaut. The material was then stored--partly in the house within the fort and partly in the carpenter's hut on the beach.

August 13. "The sun was very warm, causing heat like that of extreme heat in Andalusia". "I had a deep hole dug in the glen near the frigate. In this I had buried all the bricks which I brought along for making the furnace in which we were to make our ship's biscuit, beside three hundred more that Captain Kendrick had given to me. I left them covered with much earth and ballast from the beach . . .



the lime was buried in boxes in the same place". Thus Martínez was cancelling his building schemes but he was probably hoping that the settlement would be rebuilt in the following spring.

August 15. This was the hottest day so far experienced by the Spaniards at Nootka, and, its being a holiday (commemorating the death of the Virgin Mary), Martínez allowed his men "to go ashore to bathe". Some jumped overboard the frigate for a swim. Martínez, true to his fondness for ceremony, recorded: "I decided to have a Mass chanted on shore with the greatest solemnity for the fortunate reign of our new Sovereign, Don Carlos IV. The chaplain, Don José López de Nava, officiated. The missionary fathers and the majority of the seamen accompanied me to the ceremony. To make it more impressive, the garrison troops went ashore and fired several volleys during the Mass". Alas! those prayers did not make the reign of Carlos IV a happy one.

. . . The English who are our prisoners gave the Indians of this region evil reports of us in order to put us in a bad light with them. For this reason, the natives have for several days refused to communicate with us. However, seeing that we did them no harm, and did not persecute them, but that on the contrary whenever we see them we treat them kindly, some canoe-loads of them have returned today. They approached the side and visited us, bringing us fish. I made presents to them, giving them knives, pieces of iron, copper, some glass beads, and other trifles, in order to court their friendship and disabuse them of the bad impression which they had formed of us through the influence of the English.

One of the canoes that came remained most of the day close to our side. In the middle of the afternoon the ten Indians who came in it went ashore and entered our houses, where they gave the men to understand that they were going to pass the night in the forest. They gave us their reason that they were afraid of Macuina, captain of the village, because he wanted to kill them. Thereupon, the Reverend Father Francisco Jose Espi, who with several others was present at the spot, told them to come aboard with me. He said that I would give them presents, but they excused themselves and entered the forest, carrying their canoe.

At half-past ten o'clock at night those who were ashore saw two figures approaching. They suspected that they were these Indians who had entered the forest in the afternoon. The latter were (apparently) wandering about to see if they could steal something, since they, like all other Indians, are addicted to stealing. My men fired a shot in the air, on my noticing which, I at once ordered off my boat with some soldiers to search the beach and see if they could find the Indians. However, the darkness of the on one hand and on the other the undergrowth of the forest, concealed the natives so that they could not be found.

For the next four days, the work carried out consisted of the tarring and splicing of cables, scraping the poop of the frigate to get her ready for painting, splitting wood "for the supply", bringing water, adjusting the main-topmasts, the fore-topsails and main yards. The weather, which had been so good recently, turned to fog and rain.

August 16. As usual on Sundays, Martínez "permitted the seamen to go on shore and walk about and rest". He himself received the visit of "one of the principal men of the neighbouring village, Jawape".

August 17. "The men on board were engaged all day in storing away the cannon of the fort of San Rafael in the hull and in placing on top of them some casks of water." Other men cut wood "for the extra supply", brought water, and were engaged in tarring the main fore and mizzen shrouds, and overhauling and mending the sails.

August 18. The tarring of the shrouds and the overhauling and mending of the sails continued. Some Indians came along with fish which they bartered to the Spaniards.

### Aurora borealis

An anonymous chronicler<sup>1</sup> reported that on August 18, and on September 6, 25 and 26, the phenomenon called aurora borealis was seen at Nootka, and that one of the friars there described it in these terms:

It was about nine o'clock at night when it was announced in the cabin that some extraordinary signs were to be seen in the sky. We all came up on the deck and we observed that some vibrations could be seen which, following the course of the sun, rose to a point right above us. We saw another similar display to the west, although we still perceived that the first movement was to the east. These vibrations were followed by two others like enormous columns of a reddish shade, which was more vivid although there was a sort of smoke spread through the same colours. For six or seven minutes all the red must have been in the middle of the celestial globe, after which time it began to disperse at the same places where it had risen. As soon as we saw the brightness

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1 The Franciscan father, author of "Noticias de Nutka".

disappear we observed, coming from the east, a little white cloud apparently about the size of a sheet, which, moving to the south and raised about three varas in the east, apparently moved to the west, at which time all that aurora disappeared.

### Taking possession again!

It would appear that Martínez was afraid that the ceremony of taking possession, which he had carried out at Friendly Cove, might not have been adequate to incorporate in the dominions of Spain the land just across the water.

On Sunday, August 23, he recorded:

. . . After Mass had been said or heard, I ordered the launch manned, and ordered the second pilot, Don José Verdía, the sergeant of the garrison, Matias Palazuelos, with some troops, and the man acting as secretary of this expedition, to embark in it. I ordered them to go to the beach at the east of the port, and set up a cross in some place where it would be seen and where the Indians would not remove it. I commanded them to carve on it the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and that of our august Sovereign Don Carlos IV. On the reverse side of the cross they were to place my name and (surname) expressed by these letters P.D.E.J.M. and the years in which I have visited this port of San Lorenzo de Nuca (which) were 1774 and 1789. They carried this out with the most solemn ceremonies that the roughness of the ground permitted. This is on the point at the northernmost part of the beach of the inlet.

After the cross had been set up and worshipped by all present, the troops fired three volleys, which were answered by the (fort) of San Miguel with a salvo of nine guns. The bottle containing the documents of possession was buried to the west of the cross at a distance of nine

paces from it. From this place the fort of San Miguel bore W by NW. The hut which is located on shore in the corner of this port that is easiest seen bore WNW by  $9^{\circ}$  W. The channel that forms the Isla de Cerdos, where the fort of San Rafael is situated, bears W by  $6^{\circ}$  N. The point farthest south and west from the west shore, which can be seen from this place, bears W by SW. The latter place is where the Indians have a village, of which Macuina is captain.

After concluding the act of taking possession, the seamen and troops passed along the beach and among the nearby hills, without anyone trying to hinder them.

#### Relations with the natives

On August 25, the scraping of the sides and poop of the Princesa, the tarring of the main yards, lower mast-tops, and tackle, continued. There was also a nice piece of public relations:

The captain of the neighbouring village, named Macuina, had, since the arrest of the English, left this port, and had no longer come to visit me as he had done before, for the prisoners had aroused in him a fear of us. Today he came from the direction of the outside where his village was situated. He was making toward the interior of this port to set up his habitation for the winter in the place they call Thasis. His people were carrying the boards with which they make their houses when the move from one place to another. (With the purpose of coming into close sight) of us, he approached our side. I had him come aboard, and I treated him kindly and made presents to him, giving him cloth, glass beads, iron, some pieces of copper and other trifles to banish the fear which he had of us because of the reports of the English, I

had a little ship-biscuit given to his men. They eat them with much relish and ask for them whenever they come.

By means of the son of Captain John Kendrick, who remained in my company and who understands the language of the Indians, I made Macuina understand that I was about to leave this port, to search for copper and shells to present him. I told him that until I returned he should not allow the Indians or any foreigners who might come, to remove the cross, or take the wood which was {worked up} for the construction of a house, because I was to return to live with him and defend him from whomsoever might wish to harm him. I promised him that when I departed I would leave him some goats, kids, hogs, cows and calves, which they had gone to look for, in order that they should go on breeding. Informed of all that was said to him, he answered through Kendrick that he would take care of whatever was left, and that he would not allow his people to take it. He would neither permit them to burn the wood nor to take down the cross. He declared that when I returned I would find it in the {same} place that I left it. Leaning over the gunwales of the frigate, he sighted some canoes containing Indians which apparently did not belong to his tribe. Speaking in their language he told them to go away, for that land was his own and he had given it to me so that I might live there. According to Kendrick's interpretation, since he spoke to me through the latter, he asked me not to permit that tribe to remain there. He said they came only to rob, and that they had stolen from him several times, and that they belonged on the other side [of the port].

Then he asked me to give him a little "cha" or tea [which is the same thing] to drink. I had it brought to him at once, and as soon as he had taken it, he went away in great content, saying that I was his friend, as proof of which he presented me with four sea-otter skins and some salmon that he had in his canoe. He then returned outside of the port.

Between August 26 and September 3, variable but mostly rainy and stormy weather interfered with work in the open air, and for three consecutive days practically none was done; but some assignments were carried out on board the frigate: making new splices for pulleys, adjusting the rigging, mending the sails, finishing the scraping of the starboard side, "beginning the painting of the poop, the prow figure-head, and the privies".

On September 1, Macquinna paid another visit to the Spaniards:

. . . Captain Macuina, who putting aside all his terror, (had come) (to this ship) last week, returned today to the beach of this port. He was looking at the timbers that had been prepared for the construction of the house which I had determined to build on land as a winter quarters, when he called to me from the shore. After I had joined him, he assured me that he would not permit the Indians of his village to remove the cross (which I had set up on the beach on the day when we took formal possession). He also said that he would not allow them to touch the timbers, nor the houses which had been put up on shore for the shelter of the workmen, and that he would take care of the garden and whatsoever I might leave with him as if it were his own. I told him that when I went to search for "chipoks" (which in our language is copper, which they value highly) I should leave some animals to breed. He appeared very content, and came aboard with me in the boat.

Some other Indians in a canoe brought me a quantity of whale grease (for which we gave in exchange pieces of iron). I secured this to use in painting the sides of the frigate. Then they asked me for a little biscuit to eat, and when I had given it to them, went away very contented.

Two days later, on September 3: "In the afternoon Jawape, the Indian who is one of the principal men in the village in the interior of this port, came out and brought me a little Indian girl about eight years old. He had purchased her in the port of Claigvayat [Clayuquot] from the captain of that village, named Guicananish, and sold her to me for a kettle and a copper frying-pan." Presumably the economic laws of supply-and-demand were followed in this transaction!

September 4. The mending of sails and the painting of the frigate continued, and "since the rain of the previous days had washed off some of the paint" a second coat was given to the parts affected. "The Indians brought some salmon and whale fat, for which we exchanged a little iron".

September 5. The painting job continued, and the sides of the Princesa were being coloured "with a mixture of red earth, whale-oil and resin" while the sheer sails were painted black and yellow. Martínez recorded: "The Indians still come to visit me frequently to bring me fish, grease, and red earth in exchange for iron".

#### Dismantling and careening

During the next few days, with changing weather, the men were preparing the ship for careening in order to clean her bottom. The boot-topping being finished, the ship was again righted. Then the painting of the quarter deck began; the rails were painted black and yellow. No work was done on September 8, in commemoration of the birth of the Virgin Mary



(just as on August 15 they had commemorated her death).

September 10 and 11: "The men were engaged in the breaking-up of the fort of San Miguel. They also brought part of the artillery, which they placed in the hold, in order that they might be ready when the San Carlos should arrive".

September 12. "The men on board were occupied in bringing three cannon from the fort of San Miguel. They placed them in the hold and made them firm with two launch-loads of ballast which they brought from the beach to fill the gaps between the guns and between the rollers on which they are mounted. On top of all this they are to put two anchors and some casks of water".

September 13. "As soon as they had heard Mass, I despatched some men with the launch to the interior of the port to ask for a little whale oil and red earth to finish the painting of the frigate. As soon as the Indians saw the launches approach their house, they fled to the woods in the belief that our men were going to harm them. They left one or two of the oldest to take care of the houses; but, being reassured that no harm was intended to them, some of those who had hidden themselves in the forest came down to the village again. They brought out a little oil and paint, and bartered it in exchange for some pieces of iron."

#### A youth from the Sandwich Islands

The Argonaut had brought to Nootka a native from the

Sandwich Islands, whom Colnett called Modetroy.<sup>1</sup> Martínez, who called him Matututuray, told the Viceroy (letter of July 13) that he was hoping to send the youth to Mexico City where he could be taught Spanish and later be used for imperial purposes. On September 13, Martínez introduced Matututuray in his Journal, and told a charming little story about him. Martínez had acquired a native boy on June 29, and later a native girl. Both were baptised at a later date, and given the names of Esteban and Dolores, respectively:

The Indian Matututuray had noticed this, and today, which is the date when the Church our Mother honours the blessed name of María, he asked the missionary fathers who are with me why they did not give a name to him as well as to the others. He said that he wished to have a Spanish name (protesting) that he was well, and that he did not like to be called Matututuray, but María. He said that when he had been sick he had asked Mary to take away his infirmity, and that he was now well. [He explained his meaning] in these uncouth words, that was a kind of jargon or mixture of Spanish with his native language, saying

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1 See Colnett Journal. This lad (between twenty and twenty-five years old, according to a Spanish source) was taken to Mexico by Martínez. The Spanish wished to keep him in case something could be gained, but Colnett repeatedly requested that the lad be returned to him because he had promised to carry him back to the Sandwich Islands. His request was granted, but the boy died while on the way back to Nootka. This story is partially told in two articles: F.W. Howey, "The Hawaiian Islands. Early Relations with the Pacific Northwest" (Honolulu, 1930) and R.S. Kuykendall, "An Hawaiian in Mexico, 1789-1790", Hawaiian Historical Society, 1923. However, neither of these essays includes the whole story. I do not propose to include it in this study; but I hope to write it at a later date.

"Matututuray mate", while he pointed to his legs, which had been swelled by the dropsy but which had been cured aboard [this ship]. He continued, "María mate and guete", giving us to understand by his motions that he had asked the Virgin to cure his infirmity, and that he was now rid of it. In view of this, the reverend fathers told him that in future they would call him by the name of Mariano. He answered them, calling himself by this name, and exclaiming something like "Mariano mate lite, Matututuray anda quete". He wished thus to make them understand that when they would call him by the name of Mariano, he would respond but would not answer to the name of Matututuray, because the latter has gone to "Saulmita". Accordingly, we all concluded that doubtless he had received some effectual aid today, and that Our Lady wishes him to go on believing in our religion. Besides this, he told the reverend fathers that if the Spaniards should come to his country, they would be received and treated well; he said that those Indians were more advanced than those of Nootka. He further said that the Spaniards conducted themselves better than did the English...that he knew this to be so, for he had lived with both.

September 13, 14, 15 and 16 were foggy days.

Martínez had one of the extra anchors placed in the hold, casks set in position and filled with water, the artillery from the waist of the ship stored beneath the pantry, and on top of that were placed "the remainder of the provisions"--meaning, perhaps, what food there was left at the time.

With better weather from the 17th to the 20th, the Spaniards were busy with preparations for their departure: "hauling taut the main ropes of the top fore-sails, swaying up the fore-topmast, bringing water, storing in the hold "more than three hundred large posts which had been used in

building the entrenchment of the fort of San Miguel" and were to be taken to San Blas, and embarking seven hundred balls and five hundred sacks of grape which were brought down from the fort.

September 20. "Since it was a holiday, no work was done beyond going ashore to the beach on the east side for an outing, to get a little fine sand to throw on the decks after washing them".

On that day Martínez sent a present to Macquina, which was carried by boat--probably to Tahsis. The Indian chief accepted it, but the man who handed it to him was expecting that he would respond with some other gift. As this was not done, the man told him that since Martínez was being generous he, Macquina, could well respond with some otter skins. "Macquina penetrated immediately the soul of these words and without stopping for one second" he answered something to the effect that a present was a present and not a purchase, and that he, Macquina, had enough copper to buy any furs Martínez may care to sell.<sup>1</sup>

From September 21 to 26, the weather was bad and, for three days, made it impossible to do much work. On the 26, the weather changed and the men brought out wood and water. On the following day, Martínez noticed that recently "...all the Indians of the coast villages to the east and west" appeared to have retired to the interior of the port, "...to

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<sup>1</sup> From the anonymous Franciscan's chronicle, "Notícias de Nutka", pp. 309-310.

the place they call Tasis and to the surrounding land. They intend to pass the winter there, as they are accustomed to do every year." Another chronicle states that, on August 25, the Indians of Friendly Cove (who had earlier moved to a nearby spot): "...moved with their boards, which are the walls and roofs of their houses, and all of their utensils to the place of Tahsis where, as they stated, they intended to spend the following winter."<sup>1</sup>

Only a few days after Martínez had recorded the disappearance of the last white patches atop the mountains in the interior, they again appeared whitened with snow, which fell on the night of September 26.

On the 28, Martínez "dispatched the boat to Tasis, to Macquina's village, in search of a little red earth and whale oil which we needed for the painting."

Tuesday, September 29 was another holiday--obviously on account of the feast of Saint Michael and All Angels.

On September 30, "the men were occupied in scraping and greasing the main and topmasts. The carpenters and caulkers began to overhaul the counters and upper work of the poop. These they found in bad condition from being gnawed by rats in such a way that they would require several days' work. They had not done this before, for they were afraid that these animals might gnaw in some other place where they would do more damage."

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<sup>1</sup> From the anonymous Franciscan's chronicle, "Notícias de Nutka", p. 279.

## CHAPTER XXI

### MISCELLANEA

After the entry which closes the previous chapter, Martínez filled a number of pages of his Journal with a description of Nootka, its people, weather, flora, fauna, etc. He probably borrowed information from Ingraham and others, but he was astute enough to make some observations himself, too.

The other Spanish chroniclers of this period--Father Sánchez, José Tovar, López de Haro and the Franciscan author of "Noticias de Nutka"--also wrote similar, if shorter, descriptions. Most of their material is irrelevant to this study; but some details have already been incorporated in it, and there are still a few points in these writings which have some relevance to the Martínez period of the history of Nootka. As I have not been able to find a better place for them, I shall make room for them here.

#### Nootka unsuitable for establishment or mission

Father Patero, the head of the four missionaries in the Martínez expedition, wrote a very poor letter to the Viceroy (July 13), giving his impressions of Nootka and its

inhabitants. He said that although the British and American traders accused the Nootka natives of being "inhuman, robbers and cannibals" the Spanish had not suffered any harm to date, but had been kindly welcomed and entertained in the Indian villages and homes.

As for the possibility of setting up some sort of a mission there, Father Patero was pessimistic:

...because the land is hard, rocky and there is no place where half a "Lanega" of grain could be sown, and unsuited, also, for cattle raising, for it could hardly feed one dozen animals. The natives feed themselves exclusively with fish, and, unlike other American Indians, they do not even eat the seeds which the soil spontaneously produces. They just go where they can get fish, moving their dwellings so that, in little more than two months, they have inhabited three different places, rather distant from each other...

López de Haro concurred with this, although he was only concerned with the possibilities of setting up an establishment:

The port of anchorage is very good but as for the possibility of setting up an establishment there could hardly be a more fatal spot in the whole world because all of it is rocky mountains covered with thick forest, with no plains...the only one there is where we anchored and took possession, and this does not reach two rifle shots [distance] and when it rains the whole of it is a mud bed and one can not walk on it even when wearing boots...

The anonymous Franciscan father included several

descriptive passages in his writings; and at least one amusing anecdote:

The Indians, having observed the difference in dress between the friars and the officers, asked one of the Americans what were the friars doing. He answered that they were there to lead them [the Indians] to heaven, and they retorted at once: "And what are you doing there, then?"<sup>1</sup>

He commented that the friars were trying to learn the language of the natives, and the latter were trying to learn some Spanish:

They would meet, as if at school carrying out some kind of contest as to which would be the first in answering or pronouncing them, and the friars were amused when the natives could not pronounce their words. When the Indians met a Spaniard they would greet him with the words "A Dios amigo", "Amar a Dios", and other Spanish words they had learned.<sup>2</sup>

### Cannibalism

Perhaps out of fear of being slain, there was much concern among the visiting crews about the subject of cannibalism, and many views were expressed by successive writers. The anonymous Franciscan father makes this rather dogmatic statement:

One thing was ascertained by one of the friars shortly before his

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1 "Notícias de Nutka", p. 338.

2 Ibid., p. 314.



departure, and that was that Macuina used to eat the children of his enemies who had the misfortune of becoming his slaves; to that effect he would try to fatten them first and when he felt like it he would get them together, forming a circle (as he did about a week before our people left that Sound): he would place himself in the middle with an instrument in his hand and, staring at the poor creatures with a furious countenance, he would decide which one was to be used for his inhuman dish, until, falling upon the wretched victim of his ravenous appetite, he would open his hands and while he was beginning to feed himself with that innocent and raw flesh he was all smeared with blood.<sup>1</sup>

Martínez included the following passages in his

Journal:

Robbery

The natives of this inlet are inclined to carry on trade, as I have said before, but at the same time they are skilled thieves--a fault which is common among all Indians. From the Boston expedition they stole many casks and barrels, and some iron swivel-guns. The commander, John Kendrick, was never able to recover

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<sup>1</sup> "Notícias de Nutka", p. 315. There may be a few more pages on Nootka still undiscovered. This author, for instance, states (p. 284) that he has seen a manuscript relating to events which occurred at Nootka in 1789, containing a reference to the height of the trees. And on page 324 of his work he states that, on July 13, 1789, he received a letter from one of the fathers at Nootka which contained a reference to the weather. I asked Father Lázaro Lobo, who is doing research about the College of San Fernando, whether he had found any such documents. He had not done so at that time.

any of these objects, as hard as he tried. However, far from taking vengeance on them, he always treated them with much humanity. So say the English who were in the port at the time, and the Indians confirm the story [of him]. A few days after he had anchored in this port on his first voyage here, the Indians robbed Captain Thomas Hudson of his yawl. I lent him my boat with some men to hunt for it, and although they penetrated into several villages, they never were able to find it. They have treated the other ships in the same way, though on my part I believe that I have been [the] most free from their depredations, in spite of their having on several occasions robbed me of various pieces of carpenters' tools. They have also taken seven guns, which had been left at the forge for repairs, besides pieces of iron, nails, and barrel-hoops. One day we took away from an Indian a number of pieces of iron from our gun-carriages, and a cutlass with the King's mark on it. As I did not have any copper or iron to give them, I succeeded in buying some iron pots and frying-pans with handles from Captain John Kendrick so that the men on shore might cook with them. I gave the chiefs several pieces of frying-pans and old copper pots we had on board, but I was not able by this means to recover any pots from them. Whenever they came on board I gave the chiefs and the rest something to eat besides paying them well for their fish and whatever we bought from them.<sup>1</sup>

### The British and the Indians

...the English, who have been less patient in this region than we have been, have treated the Indians haughtily, taking their fish from them by force, and depriving them of their lives. Thus Captain Hanna of the packet Sea Otter acted. He went among

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez, Journal, p. 205-6.

the villages situated along the NE arm of the inlet, where he killed more than fifty Indians. Not content with this, one day, when Macuina...went on board his ship to visit him, and when they had seated him near the binnacle, they sprinkled a little powder under his chair, giving him to understand that this was an honour which they showed to chiefs. He supposed that the powder was dark-coloured sand, but soon felt its effect, when one of the Englishmen set off the charge. Poor Macuina was raised from the deck by the explosion and had his buttocks scorched; he showed me the scars.<sup>1</sup>

Martínez commented that the only British captain about whom there were no complaints was Berkeley. One may wonder whether the fact that he had a spirited young wife with him had anything to do with this excellent reputation.

### Guns

Martínez said that the Indians along the coast had acquired guns and other weapons, especially in their trading with the English: "some use them with facility although they have had some accidents among themselves on account of their not understanding the effect of powder."

### Trade

As proof that there was much trading among the

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez, Journal, p. 207.

Indians along the coast, Martínez mentioned that a silver spoon was stolen from him and that the men who went in the schooner (Santa Gertrudis) found it and bought it from the Indians at Clayuclat.<sup>1</sup> According to Martínez, Macuina exercised a sort of monopoly: "Macuina prevents the other villages from trading with the ships, because he and his people want to have this trade exclusive to themselves..."

### Canada

Martínez mentioned Canada once in his Journal: "...It would be much easier for the natives of the Nootka coast to obtain these metals from San Francisco, Monterey, or the Mississippi country...than from the posts of Hudson Bay or Canada."<sup>2</sup>

This is the only place in the Nootka papers that I have consulted where the name of Canada is mentioned. It may be trite to state that nobody, at that time, could dream that Nootka would belong, one day, to the same nation as that remote Colony on the other side of the continent, which would stretch "from sea to sea."

### Vegetables

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1 The reader will no doubt recall that Martínez had claimed that two other silver spoons had been stolen from him in Nootka.

2 Martínez, Journal, p. 200 (translation).

During our stay we have succeeded in growing all kinds of European and American vegetables. Among these are cabbages, turnips, radishes, lettuce, garlic, onions, potatoes, corn beans and rice. We have eaten all of these, except the last three, and those only failed to produce because we did not cultivate the ground as we should have.

### Minerals

As for minerals, we have seen several pieces of ore, but we have not been able to work them. The hill of San Miguel is composed of some metal that looks like copper or bronze. I am taking some pieces to New Spain to test them.

Martínez stated that there were twenty-two native villages within Nootka Sound.

Tovar estimated the latitude of Nootka to be 49°37' N.<sup>2</sup>

### Rumours

Many of the officers at Nootka passed on to the Viceroy rumours that they picked up. I have already mentioned

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1 Martínez, Journal, p. 205 (translation).

2 Tovar, "Informe", sect. 19. Compare this with other estimates on p.

some reported by Martínez.

Tovar wrote that he had learned from the officers of the Argonaut that in that year (1789) a packet voyaging under the Portuguese flag and carrying a Spanish supercargo would arrive at Nootka, with a licence and passport from the Governor of the Philippines, and that it would voyage from Nootka to Monterey and from there to Acapulco. There could hardly have been any element of truth in this rumour.

#### Suggestions about Nootka

Tovar advised that four frigates, properly armed, should patrol the North West Coast in summertime, and spend the winter in the most convenient ports. One of these vessels should be stationed permanently at Nootka, with infantry, marines and gunmen.

Martínez made the following comments and suggestions:

There is no doubt that if the Company of Free Commerce of London paid its expenses from the lucrative trade of furs, we could do the same thing. It is evident that Spain is better fitted for trade on this coast than is England, who has no advantages. We have easier navigation, we have provisions nearer at hand in our establishments of San Francisco and Monterey, the stores for our ships can be brought from Asia at even less cost than from San Blas, and the production of skins is abundant, since the Californians produce many. With these we could initiate this trade in Canton, first preventing other nations from taking part in it, and then, having a monopoly of the fur supply in Asia, we could make better sales than can those people who control the trade now. It would

not be necessary to exchange the furs for merchandise, nor to introduce or land in America more goods than would be necessary for the support of the ships and their crews, the troops that might be stationed there and also for bartering with the natives of the country. I am sure that by means of that trade we could gain authority over these Indians, and the royal treasury would be benefited, after all expenses were paid. All this is on the understanding that the Government decides to carry on this trade by its own ships, and not by a company.

A single spare ship at Nootka, two packets or brigantines and two schooners of sixteen guns would be sufficient for guarding, registering, and collecting the furs along this coast, and making an annual voyage to Canton to sell the furs for silver or on better terms if possible.

In this same way we could succeed in communicating with the Natives of the Table or Sandwich Islands, particularly as I have an Indian of those islands, who is very well inclined towards us, and realises the difference between our treatment and that of the English.

We could probably accomplish the reduction of all the islanders, and our Sovereign would have those new subjects, who are doubtless more intelligent than the natives of the Philippines or the Ladrões. Furthermore, their land, which abounds in everything that is necessary, is placed in the centre of the Pacific Ocean at an almost equal distance from San Blas, Nootka, Prince William, Siberia, Japan, the Philippines, and Canton. The voyage each way requires but a month, and it is an advantageous stopping-place where ships sailing between this coast and Canton can take on a store of provisions. Lastly, as a proof of their fertility, these islands support a population of 400,000 souls, and they have succoured with provisions all ships that have touched them, as all who have come to Nootka will testify.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez, Journal, p. 210.

It should be interesting to compare these suggestions with those put forward by Malaspina and his associates two years later.



## CHAPTER XXII

### MOOT POINTS ON SCHCONTERS AND FORTS

Martínez is, in many respects, baffling and confusing in what he writes, and frequently reticent and inconsistent. This chapter deals with two points about which he was baffling, confusing, and even contradictory.

#### Building and re-building schooners

On May 14, Father Sánchez wrote: "On this day the building of a schooner was begun in the port of Marwinal<sup>1</sup> by order of the Commander." On June 6, the same friar recorded: "Work on the construction of the schooner is proceeding." The entries in Martínez' Journal for those dates make no mention whatsoever of such building activity. Nor is there any reference to it in any of the other Spanish papers available--including those of Father Sánchez.

The Washington was not at Nootka, at that time, but the Columbia was there, and some information on this subject may have been included in her log. However, this document has disappeared, so there is no way of checking this point from that source.

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1 Where the Columbia had been at anchor for months.

It may be wondered whether the friar was, perhaps, referring to the re-building of the North West America; but this was done at a later date--and at Friendly Cove, not at Marwinna. Indeed, neither Martínez nor Father Sánchez saw this schooner until after June 8. So Father Sánchez could not have been referring to her, and obviously referred to the building of a new schooner. Searching through Martínez' papers (especially his Journal) for any references to such an activity, the reader can find one or two statements which may be construed as being connected with Father Sánchez' words. In his entry for July 29, Martínez wrote:

From the time I arrived in this port, I took pains to reconnoitre its surrounding territory, its harbours, arms and inlets...However, knowing that it would be difficult for the packet San Carlos to make a reconnaissance of the coast with exactness without exposing herself to danger of shipwreck I have proposed to build...a schooner of about sixty English feet in length, that should not draw more than six or seven feet. For this purpose I succeeded in buying from the Boston captain, John Kendrick, the necessary iron, some nails, oakum, and sail-cloth, two-handed saws and other tools necessary for outfitting her. Besides these, I had brought two boxes of hatchets, and one of carpenter's saws, which I had bought in Mexico to give to the Indians. Having thus secured the necessary equipment, I divided the men into two gangs of wood-cutters, one for the construction of the houses, and the other to prepare the timber for the schooner.

Then Martínez added that, having received the evacuation order, he "suspended all work".

The reader finds it difficult to decide what construction to put on these two statements. It is possible that Martínez did not build the schooner, and that he was merely boasting. Or that he had ordered the building of a schooner, and the work did not materialise. On the other hand, he may have built the schooner, and forgotten to enter in his Journal any details about the construction of it.

As the entry quoted above is dated July 29, it would seem that the building of the schooner started shortly before that date. The beginning of Martínez' statement with its reference to the time of his arrival at Nootka suggests that he felt the need of such a vessel at about that time (in May). During that early period he had many men under his command, and it would have been much more sensible to commence the work in May rather than towards the end of July. Since Martínez' statement is vague, in any case, and was made "a posteriori", it may well be that he started building a schooner at about the time stated by Father Sánchez: that is, on May 14.

If the schooner was being built at Marwina, this was undoubtedly by arrangement with Kendrick. Why should it be done there, and, so to speak, under Kendrick's wing? It is possible that Martínez was short of skilled workers, and that, in addition, Kendrick probably had some sort of workshop at Marwina--where he had remained for some time. Yet why should Martínez fail to mention these facts in his papers?

Perhaps because he did not want to appear to be too friendly with the man over whom he was supposed to keep a careful watch--or even to expel from Nootka.

Kendrick is described by his officers as an unsteady man who constantly changed plans and seldom got things done. If this was so, it may be inferred that the building of a schooner for Martínez would be a very slow affair. If there is any truth in Douglas' statement that Martínez coveted the North West America before he even saw it, this might well be because he was so anxious to have such a vessel. It may be significant to notice that the last reference by Father Sánchez to the building of a schooner is dated June 6: two days before the return of the schooner North West America to Friendly Cove. A few days later, Martínez appropriated this schooner and had it repaired (as has been mentioned in a previous chapter). Perhaps Martínez satisfied his wish in this way, and then abandoned the original plan--which was probably not progressing at a very encouraging speed. Some of the timber prepared for the building of the proposed schooner may have been used in the repair of the North West America.

But this was not the end of the matter. In addition to the remark that, after receiving the evacuation order, he discontinued the building of the schooner, Martínez' entry for July 29 also includes this sequence:

I immediately had the lumber for the schooner that was already cut brought

to this port [Friendly Cove]. With these timbers I ordered the construction of another vessel, that would be able to undertake any voyage. She was to be on the same model, but her keel was to be three cubits larger than the schooner which the English had left (in a rotten condition). I planned to have her taken to the Department to be presented to the King for his services. I set the men about this work at once.

This statement clearly suggests that Martínez meant to build another schooner, similar to the one "which the English had left": namely, the North West America, which he had transformed into the Santa Gertrudis. In other words, the only logical interpretation of that statement, as it stands, is that Martinez meant to have two schooners. He made five other references to this project, at different dates, but a careful reading of them shows that the two images soon began to fade into one of a single, if perhaps larger, schooner.

On August 1, he stated: "The carpenters and woodcutters continue working up the timbers for the construction of the schooner Santa Gertrudis." So, only three days after he announced the building of another schooner, we find that he was building...the Santa Gertrudis! He could hardly mean to have two schooners called by the same name, to be used in the same ports. This would be sheer stupidity.

On August 3, he again mentioned that "...the carpenter and his assistants are working up the timbers for the construction of the schooner..." and on August 13, he stated: "Today we mounted two large saws for sawing the boards and

beams that are to serve in the construction of the schooner."

After these entries, he said no more. During the rest of August and the whole of September, Martínez mentioned many other activities but made no further mention of this work. Then, in his general entry for the month of October, he simply said: "Meanwhile, we have finished the construction of the schooner Santa Gertrudis..." There is no comment on the quality of the work, no mention of a christening, no pride. When, at the end of that month, the time came for him to depart from Nootka, Martínez took with him his own frigate and just one schooner--called Santa Gertrudis.<sup>1</sup>

Either Martínez expressed himself very badly in his entry for July 29 (which is hardly credible) or he soon changed his mind. If the latter is the case, it is not difficult to venture an explanation: the job proved to be too complicated. There was no indication that Martinez ever had many skilled men among his crews, so it is likely that, had he originally contemplated the building of a completely new schooner, he would soon have simplified the scheme into one of enlarging the Santa Gertrudis.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. John Baird, in his thesis on Nootka, was led by Martínez' text to conclude that he had built a second schooner which he called by the same name as the one he already had. Apart from the fact that this would be too confusing, there is no record whatsoever of this second vessel, and upon Martínez' return to San Blas no such "twin" is mentioned in any document. Professor Wagner also inferred that two schooners were built--see: Spanish Explorations in the Juan de Fuca Strait, p.

Martínez made one further statement on the matter at a later date--in a letter that he wrote to the Viceroy on June 11, 1791--but it does not shed much light on this question. On the contrary, it merely helps to further the impression that Martínez was a very confusing person:

...finding myself in Nuca with the desire to advance the discoveries, I put into practice the building of a schooner and in order to do so I bought from the Bostonese expedition and from another British Vessel which I had detained there, several utensils which I needed, most of which were used in building the aforementioned [schooner] and a bulwark and in cutting wood for the construction of houses.<sup>1</sup>

What Martínez wanted, at that time, was compensation for the expenses which he claimed to have incurred in respect of this work. The compensation was refused on the grounds that he did not actually pay for such items out of his own pocket.

Did Martínez build a second fort?

Martínez recorded the inception, building, and eventual dismantling of what he called Fort San Miguel. This was located on the island that he called by the same name. The Americans and the British, however, were in the habit of calling it Hog Island--as is borne out by Haswell's commenting, upon returning to Friendly Cove on June 17: "I was surprised

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Californias, Vol. 78, p. 163.

to find a fort on Hog Island."<sup>1</sup> The sizeable island south of this one was called San Rafael by the Spaniards. When describing how to enter Friendly Cove, Martínez wrote:

"You approach the hill of San Rafael at a distance of a musket shot. From here you head toward the point of Santa Clara, on the hill of San Miguel, where we had our fort..."<sup>2</sup>

On August 8, Martínez stated that room was being made (obviously on board his frigate) "...for the artillery of the fort [of] San Rafael." This is a surprise to the reader, because there is no previous reference whatsoever to the existence of such a fort. Nine days later, Martínez reported that his men were "...storing away the cannon of the fort San Rafael into the hull."<sup>3</sup>

As there is no previous reference whatsoever (either by Martínez or by anybody else) to the existence, or even the planning, of such a fort, one may be inclined to assume that Martínez merely made a mistake, twice, and used the name of the wrong saint when describing his only fort. This would, perhaps, be understandable, as the islands are adjacent and he could have made the mistake of naming the wrong island as being that on which the fort was situated. However, his third reference (August 23) seems to preclude this possibility, and, at the same time, opens another question:

<sup>1</sup> Voyages of the Columbia, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> This reference occurs in the first pages of his description of Nootka. (See page 188 of the translation in U.B.C. Library.)

<sup>3</sup> These two references have been quoted, in full, in previous pages.



From this place the fort of San Miguel bears W by NW. The channel that forms Hog Island (Isla de Cerdos) where the fort of San Rafael is situated, bears W by 6 N.

Here Martínez mentions both Fort San Miguel and Fort San Rafael: it would, perhaps, be too much to assume that he made the same mistake three times, and that, in this case, he even confused the two names within the same paragraph. Yet, while this statement strongly suggests that there were two forts, Martínez places Fort San Rafael on Hog Island. Actually, this is, as far as I could ascertain, the only instance in which Martínez used such a name. It may be asked whether he misunderstood the British and Americans, and assumed that they had given the name "Hog Island" to the island which he had named "San Rafael".

If Martínez did not make the same mistake three times, and there really was, at some time, a Fort San Rafael, one might well ask when he started building it. There is a possible explanation as to how the reader could account for the presence of a "fort" on San Rafael Island. It will be recalled that Fort San Miguel was completed by the time Martínez seized the Argonaut, and that, after he seized her, he had her artillery transferred to his own ship. After he seized the Princess Royal, he stated that he had ordered her artillery to be removed (on July 16), but he did not state where he had placed it. Since his own ship must have been fully-armed by that time, and he was becoming anxious lest other nations might covet the port of Nootka, he may well

have decided to set up another fort on the hill of San Rafael-- using the artillery of the Princess Royal as its armament. Upon receiving the evacuation order, he may have decided to dismantle the incipient fort, while still keeping the other fort in use.

If Fort San Rafael existed at all, it could hardly have consisted of more than a few guns protected by a modest breastwork. It is possible that some traces still remain, even of such a small structure as this, and that they may be brought to light by excavation of the site--despite the fact that a lighthouse has been erected there in recent times. I hope to investigate this possibility when I visit Friendly Cove.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### MARTÍNEZ LEAVES NOOTKA

#### October: dismantling

After September, Martínez did not care to continue the day-to-day account of events which he had made so far. He probably spent much time composing his description of Nootka, and then, towards the end of the month, he gave a general report of what had happened, starting: "This entire month has been spent in preparations for my departure. We have been expecting and awaiting the packet San Carlos...which I sent out south to bring supplies....Meanwhile we have finished the construction of the schooner, Santa Gertrudis; we have undone all the work which we had completed; we have dismantled the fort; we have piled up the lumber which we intended for the big house, and have left the other buildings in the possession of Macquina, who will certainly tear them down whenever he fancies."

Then Martínez recorded a number of events, but without specifying the dates. One day in October, he dispatched the boat, in charge of "the second pilot, Don Juan Kendrick" (the son of Captain Kendrick had now become a Spanish "Don") and the interpreter, Gabriel del Castillo, to "search for

whale oil and red ochre". Having reached Tahsis, they determined to explore the sea arm towards the west, despite the fact that their provisions were running low. They reached the ocean, after crossing the Bay of Esperanza, and took possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain. And Martínez proudly recorded: "As evidence of this, they set up, at a distance of about 20' from the aforesaid Tahsis, a cross with the inscription 'Carolus IV Hispanarium et Indiarum Rex' with the name of Don Estevan Martínez engraved in these letters: P.D.E.J.M." (the "P" obviously meaning "por" or "by"). Martínez claimed that "no other people" had seen that passage and that the British mariners had expressed doubts about it. He himself knew of its existence when he took possession of Nootka, and in the document recording this he described the island formed by the passage as Martínez Island.<sup>1</sup>

On October 23, being "tired of waiting" for the San Carlos, Martínez had the Santa Gertrudis supplied with provisions and began to make ready to sail for San Blas.

#### The seizure of the Fair American

The last important event of Martínez' short "reign" at Nootka was the seizure of one more ship--this time an

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<sup>1</sup> Later, the Spanish called it Mazarredo Island, as can be seen in some charts and in the first paragraph of Moziño's Noticias de Nutka. Mazarredo was an admiral of the Spanish Navy, and, at one time, a minister in the government.

American schooner. On October 13 and 17, a schooner was seen off Friendly Cove, and on October 20 "she was forced by the wind" to enter Nootka Sound--casting anchor under the lee of the islands in the centre of the bay, toward the northern arm. The following day, after ascertaining her position, Martínez dispatched the boat and launch, with a message for the captain bidding him to come into Friendly Cove. The captain complied and, on October 22, he anchored the schooner near the Spanish frigate. He turned out to be "Don Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe, a youth of eighteen years of age at the most" and a native of New York. He had only four men with him and was sailing under verbal instructions from his father, who was in another ship, the Eleanora, somewhere on the Pacific. The Fair American "had left Macao on the 5th of June, and after crossing the open sea to Unalaska in forty-two days, she reached Nootka...without provisions, with her mast sprung and with her sails split." Martínez commented, on another page, that these five men "were exposed to the greatest dangers from rough weather and lack of provisions...sailed over the open sea for more than 3000 leagues...exposed to a thousand insults from the heathen..."

Metcalfe carried no written passport or written instructions, and no papers except his diary. In latitude 54° 20' he had met the sloop Washington, whose people told him they had seen his father's ship somewhere.

Martínez wondered what he should do. "On the one hand, taking pity on the hard condition in which the captain

and the others of the schooner were, and on the other forced to act according to my duty, to prevent all commerce along this coast, as I had been commanded by the superior government, I could not but retain this schooner, and take her to San Blas, where the superior government might determine what best to do with her." She carried only some casks of water and sixty-five otter skins. "Although the captain himself said that he had more than one hundred, they could not be found either among my crew or his own." Martínez refitted the Fair American, having her sails overhauled and providing a new mast and new cordage, as well as compasses for navigation. Following his precedent, Martínez did not allow her captain to command her, but put her under the command of Kendrick Junior whom he provided with instructions and signals.

#### Second thoughts on Kendrick

So this courageous young American found himself a prisoner while Kendrick and his party were left undisturbed. By then Martínez had probably heard that Kendrick had not sailed for Asia but, exchanging positions with Grey, had taken command of the Washington and remained in the area of the North West Coast. After making some notes on the Fair American, Martínez, at some unspecified date, wrote in his Journal the following denunciation of Kendrick:

I could have taken this sloop and the frigate Columbia, but I had no orders to that purpose, and my

situation did not permit me to do it.<sup>1</sup> I treated this enemy as a friend, ~~entrusting~~ trusting to him 137 furs to be sold on my account at Canton. The proceeds he was to entrust to the Spanish Ambassador at Boston to the credit of the Crown.

Captain John Kendrick informed me that he had not completely carried out his commission, and asked me if he might operate on this coast next year after a trip to the Sandwich Islands and Canton. I informed him that he might do so on condition that he always carry an official Spanish passport, as he said he expected to do, and under the further condition in this case that he should buy on my account in Macao two altar ornaments for the Mass and seven pairs of boots for the officers of the San Carlos and of my own ship. However, I believe that none of this will be done.<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted that Martínez did not mention these details at the time of Kendrick's departure. At the beginning of the second paragraph quoted above, he seems to suggest, once more, that Kendrick was carrying out some official exploratory commission, but Martínez expresses himself in terms so weak that the reader feels that he is most uneasy.

#### Preparations for departure

The Santa Gertrudis was also ready to sail. Martínez appointed as her commander José Verdía (who was originally a member of the crew of the San Carlos but remained at Nootka

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, these are rationalisations. Martínez had far more concrete backing to proceed against these ships than against the British-Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez, Journal, p. 224 of translation in U.B.C. Library.

when that ship left), and supplied him with passport, signals, charts and instruments. These two schooners were to go in convoy with the Princesa, but in case of being separated on the way the three ships were to meet at the island of Isabella, off the Mexican coast, and then make their entry, together, into the port of San Blas.

Before abandoning Nootka, Martínez still thought of one or two things. He had some wheat sowed "for the purpose of resting the ground in case we return next year".<sup>1</sup> Then he made one more affirmation of Spanish sovereignty and of his own importance:

I had a tablet fastened to a tree...I had it put in the most conspicuous place, and on it I had engraved this inscription, in legible letters, to make known to all nations who may come to this port that it belongs to the dominions of my Sovereign, the Catholic King of Spain: "During the reign in Spain of the very powerful Lord, Don Carlos III, this port of San Lorenzo de Nuca was discovered in 1774, and in 1789 formal possession of it was taken in the name of the said King." The words expressed by the letters "P.D.E.J.M." The inscription continues: "...and on the mainland, in the name of his august son, Don Carlos IV (whom Good keep!) on the twenty-third of August of this same year."

Underneath this inscription, Martínez placed a smaller tablet with these words carved on it: "Haro, I left Nootka for San Blas at the end of October under superior orders. Martínez." This was in case Haro, the commander

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez, Journal, p. 224 of translation in U.B.C. Library.



of the San Carlos, should return to Nootka--but we know that he did not.

Some of the buildings were left standing, it appears. Martínez mentioned that Macuina had promised to look after them, but that he was sure that the Indian would pull them down "as soon as he fancied". And this is probably what happened, for when another Spanish expedition arrived, some months later, there were no buildings to be seen.

And that was the end of the first Spanish occupation of Nootka. On the morning of October 31, the Princesa, the Santa Gertrudis and the Fair American left Friendly Cove, and, with favourable north wind, they steered SSW.

On the way to San Blas--chasing another ship

One more event, however, enriches the story of Martínez' adventures in that area. When they had been sailing for four and a half hours, a ship was sighted, heading for the coast. Martínez could not leave her unmolested. He dispatched two schooners to reconnoitre her, and "crowded sail" toward her; but night set in without his having brought her within reach. On the following morning the search was continued, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the schooners discovered that she was a packet-boat. The Princesa approached to within about two leagues of her, and crossed her course with sails backed and the King's flag raised. A cannon shot was fired. The packet, however, would have nothing of this--she raised the American flag and acknowledged the Spanish one,

but hastened as quickly as possible towards the coast. Young Metcalfe recognised that ship--it was his father's! Perhaps the lad also mentioned her name, Eleanora. Martínez commented that the man "was doubtless afraid that I would make him Prisoner". No wonder! It may be gathered that old Metcalfe did not get close enough to the Spanish convoy to realise that his son's schooner formed part of it.

Giving up this effort to add yet another to his string of captured ships, Martínez ordered the Princesa, the Santa Gertrudis and the Fair American to return to their southward course. The Princesa was soon found to be making water, but was able to continue. A bad storm was encountered on November 13, and the two schooners disappeared from her sight, re-appeared, and disappeared again. On November 15, when approaching the shores of Monterey, Martínez wrote that he had "promised" he would enter that harbour to see what had happened to the San Carlos, but he changed his mind "since I had some Englishmen on board who might inform themselves of the small force of this presidio and ultimately communicate this knowledge to the Court of London." Spain was afraid that the British might raid those areas, as they had raided the old city of Panama and other coastal establishments.

En route, the tireless Martínez composed a "vocabulary of the language of the natives of the Sandwich Islands translated into Spanish". In order to do this, he had poor Matututuray repeat his native words for the parts of the body,

the family, the time of day; and for "song", and for "ink-stand", and for "candlestick", and "snow", and cokernuts", and "dead man", and "Let's go", and "I do not understand you", and so on. One may hope that the lad received at least a few biscuits for his work!

On the night of December 5, the Princesa moored at the island of Isabella. The Santa Gertrudis had already arrived, but the Fair American had not. On the night of November 13, a storm had forced her to enter the port of Monterey. On December 6, the Princesa and the Santa Gertrudis arrived at San Blas, and as soon as the sails were furled the crews sang a "Salve Regina", while the guns fired no less than twenty-four shots--and Martínez was thanking the "Most Holy Mary and her Most Holy Son for the great good fortune" that he had had.

Then, without taking a rest, he started writing letters to the Viceroy, warning him against the English and suggesting that "in no way is it advisable to absolve or set free these prisoners, not even the American one I seized lately, because..." He also offered to go back to Nootka whenever the Viceroy may wish. He did go, but only in a secondary position--and only for a short while. He would have no more to do with Nootka; but he had left his mark there, and had reached the surface of history--infamous, rather than famous.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### POLICY

#### Viceroy Flores requests reinforcements for San Blas

In the same letter in which Flores informed the Minister of the Navy of his decision to occupy Nootka, he also mentioned the scarcity of shipping and personnel at San Blas. There were only five vessels: the packet boats Aranzazú and San Carlos, and the frigates Princess, Concepción and Favorita--but the latter was useless at the time and needed a complete overhaul. So, for all practical purposes, only four ships were available. As for personnel, the Viceroy, repeating earlier requests, said: "The coming of a Commander and Naval Officers, with some good Pilots, Surgeons and Chaplains, is urgently necessary". This would cost money, but Flores commented that while it was wise to curtail expenses in other matters, "there should not be any curtailment of the expenses required for the very important object of defending from foreign establishments the Northern coasts of the Californias".

In another letter Flores tried to justify himself for not having followed the usual procedure before incurring the expenses involved in the occupation of Nootka. Having

carried out the scheme without the prior consent of the King's Government, Flores sought its approval "a posteriori".

His Catholic Majesty's Government gave him its blessing by a Royal Order of April 14th, which instructed him to vigorously sustain the Nootka establishment. In answer to his request for personnel, seven naval officers were dispatched from Spain to serve at San Blas. The senior, Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra (who had been there before), was appointed commander of the base--succeeding Camacho, who was old and ailing. The other six officers were Jacinto Caamaño, Francisco Eliza, Salvador Fidalgo, Salvador Meléndez-Valdés, Manuel Quimper and Ramón Saavedra.<sup>1</sup>

By that time Flores was approaching the end of his period of office as Viceroy of New Spain. He had held it for less than two years but he had resigned because of poor health.

To succeed him the King appointed Don Juan Vicente Guêmes Pacheco de Padilla Orcasitas y Aguayo, Count of Revilla-Gigedo. Himself the son of a former Viceroy of New Spain, Revilla-Gigedo was a man of great ability, and is generally regarded as one of the best of the rulers of colonial

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<sup>1</sup> The list of officers concerned was sent to Viceroy Flores by Revilla-Gigedo, his appointed successor, but I have not found it. Wagner gathered, with sufficient secondary evidence, that the men were those listed here. All these men (with the exception of Meléndez-Valdés) were to play important parts in the history of Nootka.



Excmo. Sr. Don Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla  
Horcasitas y Aguayo

Conde de Revillagigedo, Barón y Señor Territorial de las Villas y Baronías de Revillagigedo y Rivasroja, Caballero Gran Cruz de la Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Carlos III, Comendador de Peña de Martos en la de Calatrava, Gentilhombre de Cámara de S. M. con ejercicio, Teniente General de sus Reales Armas, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitán General de la Nueva España, Presidente de su Real Audiencia, Superintendente General Subdelegado de la Real Hacienda, Minas, Azogue y Rango de Tabaco, Jefe Conservador de ésta, Presidencia de la Real Junta, y Subdelegado General de Corpsas en el mismo reino, desempeñó los empleos el 17 de octubre de 1789. Desarrolló una actividad que se reflejó en el siguiente documento asombroso:

Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo.

Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

The Viceroy-elect, and also the aforementioned naval officers, a priest,<sup>2</sup> and some physicians who had also been appointed to serve at San Blas, voyaged from Spain in the ship San Roman, and landed at Veracruz, on the eastern coast of Mexico, on August 8th.

### The Viceroy hears about the Nootka incident

In the meantime, Flores had received news about the results of Martínez' expedition to Nootka and his seizure of foreign ships there. The bulky packet of papers which Martínez sent to the Viceroy by the captured ship Argonaut reached San Blas on August 15th. With them was a request that the commander of the naval base would forward them to Mexico City by special and urgent courier; but somehow they were held in San Blas for a few days, and did not reach Viceroy Flores until August 26th.<sup>3</sup> Being about to relinquish

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1 One of his many accomplishments was the reorganisation of the official archives of Mexico, and it is thanks to him that most of the documents of that period were adequately preserved. He kept copies of the documents relative to his own term of office, and had them classified and catalogued in a very efficient way. They have been acquired, recently, by the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The portrait reproduced here hangs in the main room of the National Archives in Mexico City, which are located in a wing of the Presidential Palace.

2 This priest, Alexandro Jordán, later quarrelled with Eliza and Caamaño, see Ch.

3 The Viceroy complained to the Commander of San Blas about this delay. The Commander answered that this was due to sickness, and to prove it he produced a medical certificate. However, the Viceroy was not too well satisfied, and his reply was stiff, with a warning that such things must never happen again.

his office, he could hardly have been cheered by these papers, since they brought him the unexpected and ticklish problem of deciding whether the captured ships should be declared 'good prize' or should be released.<sup>1</sup> His first impulse was to "pass the baby" to his superiors, and to his appointed successor who was still in Veracruz. So Flores hastily had the Martínez' documents copied and within one day he sent the copies, with his own report, to the Minister for the Navy, and wrote to Revilla-Gigedo--thus initiating a correspondence between the two men on the ticklish problem.

In his letter to the Minister, Flores stated that he was not sure of the real nationality or the motives of the owners of the ships involved. They were obviously intent on occupying Nootka

either for the vassals of the King of England or of Portugal, for anything can be inferred from the statements in the (aforesaid) documents, among which are the haughty and not at all legal instructions of the Portuguese, Juan Caravallo, that concerning the occupation of Nootka, carried by the Englishman Colenet, and the Patent, issued by the Prince of Wales in favour of the owners (armadores) of the London Free Trade Company.<sup>2</sup>

Flores gave very firm, if implicit, approval of Martínez' actions, and went as far as to say that he should have seized

<sup>1</sup> We shall see in another chapter what measures Flores took with regard to the prisoners from the British ships.

<sup>2</sup> Flores to Valdés, Mexico, August 27, 1789; A. Indies 90-3-18.



all those ships, including the Ephigenia Nubiana, which Martínez had set free, "because the licence which he (Martínez) gave it to return to Macao, even though made under the conditions which he explains, leaves the suspicion that those people, properly armed, might try later on to carry out their ideas with the help of stronger forces..." However, this could not be helped now and the only thing to do was "to be very cautious in our future decisions". As far as he was concerned, Flores would take the first practical steps about the ships and the prisoners but would not make major decisions: "I am going to take immediately preparatory [steps] to send appropriate supplies to Nootka but I shall not proceed to decide on the more important matters because they already concern my successor".

Viceroy Flores consults with his successor-to-be

Five letters exchanged between Flores and Revilla-Gigedo dealt with these four points: Was Martínez right in seizing the British ships? Should they be declared good prizes? Should they be used by the Spanish, in view of the shipping shortage at San Blas? When should a relief expedition be sent to Nootka?

In his first letter Flores gave a brief account of the Nootka incident, commenting that the British ships had been seized "with just reason" according to the documents which he had received from Martínez.

Flores considered that "those news of the utmost gravity" required "many and delicate decisions" in order to carry out wisely what His Majesty had recently ordered (the maintenance of Nootka). He wished merely to take the first steps to carry out promptly the decisions which he expected Revilla-Gigedo to make on the more grave of these matters: Flores felt that he himself should not decide on them, "for, on my part, I do not venture to enter upon them finding myself so close to handing over this office and being yourself within the area of this Vice-royalty". "I think that this matter is paramount to all others and if you rate it in the same way I hope you will oblige by hastening your coming to Guadalupe,<sup>1</sup> where I shall explain to Your Excellency my views on the matter."<sup>2</sup>

Revilla-Gigedo answered this letter with one dated August 30th. He started by saying that he had already been informed about Flores' decision to occupy Nootka and about the subsequent Royal approval. He recalled that Flores, explicitly drawing attention to the British Admiralty's instructions warning Captain Cook against touching any part of the Spanish dominions in America, had ordered Martínez to quote this precedent in case he should meet any British ships attempting to do so. Revilla-Gigedo complimented Flores on this decision, but disagreed with his reasoning about the way Martínez had

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<sup>1</sup> The town near Mexico City where the two men were scheduled to meet.

<sup>2</sup> This and all the subsequent letters exchanged between Flores and Revilla-Gigedo are in A. Indies 90-3-14. Let this reference suffice for all of them.

interpreted those instructions when he seized the British ships. To Revilla-Gigedo, the careful attitude of the British Admiralty was inconsistent with any decision to send vessels to occupy Nootka; thus he implied a doubt that Hudson and Colnett voyaged there in an official capacity, as both Martínez and Flores believed: "It is incredible that the London Government should have given them a commission of this kind". Hence, Revilla-Gigedo expressed a respectful disagreement with Flores' view that the captured ships should be considered good prizes:

If, as Your Excellency assures me, they have been seized for a good reason, I am, of course, for your verdict, but mine would have been to tell their captains to return whenever they liked to the Ports from whence they had come, and still now I think there is time to do this unless...they be smugglers or Pirates...

Furthermore, the small size of these particular ships led Revilla-Gigedo to assume that they had not come from Europe but from Botany Bay or from somewhere in India, "with no orders or instructions to commit such a trespass".

"I do not consider this matter as dangerous at the moment, for the English cannot plan any expedition from Europe, being at such a long distance, and we can speedily facilitate any support necessary." Revilla-Gigedo felt that the British Government "so well-informed in this respect" would not thus jeopardize its good reputation---of course, the Spanish government would not fail to react to any such challenge.

He went on to say that Flores need not wait for his arrival in order to make decisions on this matter. He himself was not alarmed. Without refusing Flores' request that he should hasten to Guadalupe, the Viceroy-elect said that he could hardly miss the unique opportunity to make himself acquainted with Veracruz, which he considered in every respect the most important place in Mexico after the capital. However, he would not delay his journey one moment more than strictly necessary.

Flores was obviously displeased by this answer, and, on September 2nd, he wrote back to Revilla-Gigedo:

I explained to Your Excellency that these prizes had been taken with justice, as appeared from the documents which Don Estavan José Martínez sent me, and I think that your Excellency will ratify my opinion when you make yourself acquainted with the copies of the documents I am sending to Your Excellency. The English Captain emphatically told Martínez that he was under orders from his Sovereign, the King of England, to take possession of the Port of Nootka as Governor, to fortify himself and establish a factory, to which effect he was carrying the necessary people and 29 Chinese Sangleyes of all trades.

Flores believed that Colnett had given up his intent only because of Martínez' opposition, and the realisation that the Spanish had "superior strength".

Then Flores reiterated his opinion that Martínez should have seized all the foreign ships he encountered at

Nootka, including the Ephigenia "and even the frigate and bilander from Boston" (the Columbia and the Lady Washington) because these ships, armed by the British and the Portuguese, might endeavour to carry out their original intention to occupy Nootka. Indeed, Flores was sure that Martinez had not seized those vessels because he had not sufficient forces and shipping to do so.

In an obvious reference to Revilla-Gigedo's argument that the seized ships were not on any official British mission, Flores stated:

Whether or not the English Court has any part in the desire to occupy Nootka, we have seen many times that they have based a right of possession of ports and territories occupied by tradesmen or vassals of their nation, and there is no doubt that they have on call naval forces incomparably superior to the maximum numbers we may have to oppose them from the Department of San Blas.

Consequently Flores firmly held that the seized ships should be declared good prizes. However, since his successor-to-be did not agree he would not make such a declaration himself.

Flores then turned to the question of sending supplies to Nootka. The available shipping force at San Blas, at the time, comprised four vessels only! "I shall not venture to affirm that their scant numbers and their present state would suffice to...supply the Peninsula of

California, to keep the port of Nootka, and to resist the ambitious designs of foreign nations; therefore, it is not as easy as Your Excellency may have assumed to send adequate supplies." Martínez was still at Nootka "with some supplies and articles from the seized packet-boat and most of the artillery", and ~~he~~ he had requested supplies and troops. He (Flores) had taken some preparatory steps to satisfy this demand, but would not go any further until Revilla-Gigedo, considering everything, "would decide the release or the retention of the English packetboat, for, in the first case, I shall not be able to provide Martínez with the supplies he needs until the return of the Aranzazú, or another of the ships now at Nootka".

Flores regretted that Revilla-Gigedo could not come to meet him earlier to discuss these matters. So he ended his letter, again requesting his successor to decide whether or not the English packetboat, then moored at San Blas, and the bilander, which had been left at Nootka, should be released.

Revilla-Gigedo's answer to this was again somewhat ambiguous: he started with an apparent approval of Flores' views on the seized ships, but then reiterated his opinion that Martínez should not have seized them. "I cannot but repeat to Your Excellency that in my aforementioned letter I was, of course, in favour of Your Excellency's verdict, considering that Your Excellency was telling me that the

seizure had been done with good justification, and also that I told Your Excellency that there was time to set them free excepting in the case of their being smugglers or pirates."

Through Your Excellency's letter and the documents which accompany it, I have the satisfaction of seeing that all the opinions which I had made on the aims and the authors of the expedition of the English packetboat and bilander have turned out to be correct and well-founded, for although Martínez states that the captain emphatically told him that he had orders from his Sovereign, the King of England, to take possession of the port of Nootka as Governor, the seized papers, which are the thing that matters anyhow, show that he was dispatched by a trading company to make a deal or to trade with the Indians, not as Governor but as tradesman, not to build a fort but a trading-post, and not to be built precisely at Nootka but in a spot where he could do it without difficulty, and this only for storehouses to supply the ships and for other commercial purposes even though the post was to have the name of Fort Pit, as it could be given any other name.

As for the fear that the Boston and the Portuguese ships may have carried to the British an early notice of the Nootka incident, Revilla-Gigedo felt that this would not have justified the seizure of those ships, and that such an action would have considerably increased the expenses of the keeping of the crews, and the difficulties of the whole matter.

In his opinion, the British trading company concerned had dispatched ships to Nootka only because Captain Cook had mentioned the economic possibilities of the fur

trade. The important thing was that, in fact, the British had not effected an occupation "since the English captain, giving up his purpose, only requested to set sail". Therefore "all the suspicions should have stopped, especially as not only the English were deprived of taking possession but we ourselves had taken it". This seems to mean that Martínez should have allowed Colnett to leave Nootka freely.

Revilla-Gigedo would not commit himself on the main point to which Flores wished to elicit an answer:

Since Your Excellency has already informed the Court about the events at Nootka...it seems that we are in the situation of not being able to change anything until His Majesty's determination comes; besides it would be unwise in the respect of the dispatches which will undoubtedly be sent by our Ministry to that of England in the sense that the ships are seized, if, by the following post [it appears that] they have already changed their situation and are free.

However, on the other point upon which he was requested to make a decision, Revilla-Gigedo gave his backing to the retiring Viceroy: since there was no other ship at San Blas than the seized Argonaut this should be used to send supplies to Martínez, as in any case its use for this purpose would add only a small amount to the damages to be paid if the ships were not declared good prize.

Flores, who could not be too pleased with the results of this correspondence, closed it with a letter dated September 16th acknowledging Revilla-Gigedo's approval of the



use of the Argonaut and stating that he would proceed with the plan to send it to Nootka with supplies.

Flores explains himself to the Government

After this epistolary exchange with his successor, Flores probably felt the need to justify himself fully to his Government on the question of this matter. So on September 26th he wrote his last message to the Minister for the Navy on the subject of Nootka and the seized ships, and explained his position in some detail, describing the last steps he had taken and the policy he would suggest to his successor.<sup>1</sup> This letter represents the clearest and most complete statement of Flores' position with regard to the whole matter.

He said that he had not yet decided to declare the ships good prize even though, on lesser grounds, the Viceroy of Perú had declared the Kendrick ships as enemies. That was done on the basis of a Royal Order of 1692, (of which Flores enclosed a copy). The essence of it was that, by the terms of a Treaty concluded between England and Spain in 1670,

if, because of a storm or persecution by pirates...either subjects or ships of any of the two contracting parties should be thrown into Ports, Rivers or Harbours of the America in the Northern Sea, they be treated in a humane and benign manner, be provided with supplies and whatever they may need to continue their voyage; so that according to the capitulations of this treaty it is recognised that only in the

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<sup>1</sup> Together with this letter, Flores sent the plans of the projected Fort Pitt which Martínez had taken from Colnett's ship, and the reports of Martínez and Tovar about the latter's exploration on what he considered to be the Juan de Fuca Strait.

aforementioned cases may the vessels of England be admitted to them, when they are actually voyaging to her territories and Establishments; but not on those of the Southern Sea, where she has none, nor any right to acquire or possess any.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, the Spanish authorities in the Coasts of the Southern Sea on the American continent were very emphatically forbidden:

to admit in them any foreign nation or nations which may try to arrive there in their vessels, but such should be treated...as enemies of the Crown, and not be permitted to trade, nor to examine or admit Patents, but effectively shut the doors to them so that they cannot be admitted, regardless of any cause or pretexts they may allege, but be given every hostility if they should try to do so, treating them as declared enemies.

Viceroy Flores admitted that the observation of this order "may admit distinctions considering that in the period of nearly a hundred years [which have] elapsed since that date the system of the World has changed much". Nevertheless, he went on to say that he would not like to disapprove of Martínez' action: "for although he was not faced with the precise case which I anticipated in Article 11 of my instructions, to repel with all his forces those of any enemy, he had to prevent those ships from establishing posts and trading with the Indians of our Coasts, and this he

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<sup>1</sup> This is not a literal translation, but a paraphrase of the document.

could not do without making them Prisoners".

Turning to the question of what to do with the captured ships, Flores said:

It seems to me that in order to economise in expenses and to avoid friction between our Court and that of London it might be advisable to permit the return of both ships to Macao, capitulating beforehand with their commander in the same way Martinez did with the Captain of the Portuguese Frigate Princess Nubiana. As there is no time for me to take this step, I shall suggest it to my successor, the Count of Revilla-Gigedo, so that he may put it into effect if he sees fit, although combining it with the other [steps] about the maintenance of our new establishment at Nootka.

Flores then said that assuming this conditional release of the ships be carried out it would "be necessary to make restitution in kind or in money to the two ships that belong to them, and what has been eaten from them, deducting the import of the expenses of careening and the keeping of the prisoners".

#### Flores' fumbling about the evacuation order

At this stage, having mentioned all the background, it is possible to take up a point advanced in another chapter: namely that Flores failed to mention to his successor, or to the new Commander at San Blas, that he had ordered Martinez to abandon Nootka before wintertime. Scrutinizing all the messages from Flores to Revilla-Gigedo, to the Minister for the Navy and to the authorities at San Blas, one finds that

at no time did he make the slightest reference to this fact. Furthermore, some passages in the aforementioned messages seem to convey precisely the opposite inference. They contain expressions such as "conservar el Puerto de Nuca", "facilitar a Martínez los socorros que necessita con urgencia", "socorrer y asegurar el Establecimiento de Nuca" which could hardly be interpreted to mean anything other than the continuation of the occupation.

The same impression is conveyed by Flores' last letter to the Minister for the Navy (summarised above) reporting that the Princess Royal and the Argonaut were being readied to be sent there "for the purpose of recovering what Commander Martínez had taken from them." And, as will be seen,<sup>1</sup> the return of Martínez, with all his force, to San Blas, caused much surprise and alarm there.

The oddity of the case lies in the fact that by the time the evacuation was carried out none of the possible reasons for issuing the order for it were valid any more. Lack of shipping, which was the obvious and outspoken reason, had been remedied--temporarily, at least---since Flores was able to use the Argonaut. The possible fear that the government might not approve the occupation of Nootka was dispelled by its clear and encouraging approval in a Royal Order of April 14th 1789. The shortage of personnel at San Blas was being remedied; with the coming of officers from Spain, and with the expected addition of men from naval

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXV.

posts in other parts of Mexico, the base would be well staffed.

Moreover, since the arrival of reports from Martínez, Flores knew that the British had actually planned to establish themselves at Nootka--which was the very thing he wanted to forestall when he decided to effect a 'semblance' of Spanish occupation. Consequently it was in the interests of Spain (and in keeping with her traditional American policy) to maintain the token occupation of Nootka in order to ward off the possibility of further attempts, by British or any other power, to claim that part of the Americas.

Flores announced to the Minister for the Navy (in letter 1245) that he meant to explain to his successor his ideas about Nootka but, according to the latter, he did not do so. Revilla-Gigedo, who undoubtedly read a copy of that letter (probably filed in the Viceregal office), explained to the Minister:

When my predecessor, Don Manuel Antonio Flores, handed over to me the command of this realm in Guadalupe we had several and repeated conferences; but, perhaps on account of natural forgetfulness or because of the priority of other weighty matters, he did not inform me on the matter of the English Packetboat and Bilander seized in Nootka. He should have done so because he left this matter pending my decision in the confidential letter n° 1245.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Revilla-Gigedo to Flores, Mexico, October 27, 1789; A. Indies 90-3-21.

This letter does not state, specifically, that Flores failed to inform Revilla-Gigedo about the evacuation order; but at the time of writing, Revilla-Gigedo obviously had no knowledge of it. Apart from other indications, there is proof in another passage in this same letter, where Revilla-Gigedo mentions his plan to send "reinforcements" to Nootka. Consequently, Revilla-Gigedo implicitly blamed Flores for not having briefed him on this matter.

Yet it would seem that the evacuation order was not a close secret. Father Sánchez reported that on August 27, when he was at Santa Clara, California, on his return voyage from Nootka, he heard that the Aranzazú "had gone to carry to Martínez an order that he should withdraw with all the Expedition...towards the end of the present year." It may be wondered whether other people--the Commander and officers at San Blas, for instance--knew of this order; or if only those on the Aranzazú knew it because they opened the seal while they were already on their way to Nootka.

There is every possibility that other people knew of the order. But the fact remains that Flores did not mention it when he should have done so, especially when he issued instructions for "reinforcements" to be sent to Nootka, and during his discussions with Revilla-Gigedo on the subject of the captured ships. If Flores still wanted Martínez to abandon Nootka, he should have informed or ~~reminded~~ everybody concerned; if he had changed his mind he

should have dispatched counter-orders to Martínez. He took neither course. The reason is obscure; perhaps he had intended to send a counter-order by the ship which he planned to dispatch to Nootka with supplies, or perhaps he forgot completely that he had issued the evacuation order.

A new Viceroy: his views on the Nootka question

The retiring Viceroy and his successor met at Guadalupe, where Revilla-Gigedo took office on October 17th,<sup>1</sup> but it would seem that they did not [REDACTED] discuss the Nootka question fully. Perhaps because they did not see eye to eye on it. A few days later, (October 27th) Revilla-Gigedo made his first official statement on the matter in a letter to the Minister for the Navy, which began with the complaint that Flores had not fully briefed him about it. He went on to disagree with Flores' suggestion (in Flores' letter no. 1245 to the Minister for the Navy, September 27) that the captured ships be returned to Nootka and there released under a capitulation, which Revilla-Gigedo considered "useless".

My verdict has always been opposed to the seizure of those Vessels but since my predecessor approved of it (lo califico por bueno) when informing the Government in his letter no. 1182 of August 27th, I have thought that no changes should be made until the sovereign decision of the King is received, for the considerations about saving expenses and avoiding frictions between our Court and that of London

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. John Baird (in his thesis on Nootka) says on the 21st, but this is probably a mistake.

are already untimely (inoportunas) and fruitless.<sup>1</sup>

Then Revilla-Gigedo explained that, not having other vessels available at San Blas, he had made use of one of the British ships--the Argonaut--to carry artillery from Acapulco to reinforce the defences of the little fleet at San Blas.

Afterwards I shall again make use of the two seized ships so that, together with the frigate Concepción, which is due to return from California in November next, they transport to Nootka the food, medicines and articles which are needed there, as well as the First Company of Volunteers...

Revilla-Gigedo hoped that by the time that expedition would be ready he might have received the King's decisions "as to whether to keep or set free the English". "The three aforementioned ships will sail in January next under the command of two Royal Navy officers and one of them will remain as Commander at Nootka, taking over from...Martínez".

This letter crossed with one dispatch from the Minister for the Navy--dated October 13th--instructing Revilla-Gigedo precisely to despatch another expedition to Nootka.

It was some time before His Catholic Majesty's

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<sup>1</sup> Manning's translation of this paragraph on p. of his essay is slightly inaccurate.



Government made a decision on the matter of the seized ships. The first word about them sent to Revilla-Gigedo was a letter from the Minister for the Navy, dated January 26, 1790, which served as a general reply to the various letters of Flores and Revilla-Gigedo--and tended to support the views of the retired Viceroy. His Majesty had approved of the measures taken by both these men, and had decided that the seized ships should be returned "on the same conditional terms in which Martínez returned the Portuguese frigate called Iphigenia Nuviana to her Captain." Revilla-Gigedo was instructed to send to Spain those papers having a bearing on the subject of whether or not these three ships constituted good prizes, so that the King may decide on them.<sup>1</sup>

#### International repercussions of the Nootka incident

The Nootka incident had wide repercussions. On the Spanish side, the wave went from Nootka to San Blas, to Mexico City to the Spanish Court. On the British side it reached the British Government by two routes: 1) The British officers who were not arrested by Martínez reached China and informed their employers, whereupon Meares, representing them, went to London where he presented a report to the British Government, and to Parliament, accusing Spain of unlawful seizure of ships and cruel

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., History 65, file 7.

treatment of their officers and crews. 2) The British Ambassador in Spain gathered information and rumours from Spanish sources and passed them to his Government.

The incident, thus reported at high levels, developed into a first class diplomatic and international conflict. This will not be studied in these pages, but due reference will be made to its outcome and to its bearing on the fate of the Spanish establishment at Nootka.

## CHAPTER XXV

### PREPARING THE RE-OCCUPATION OF NOOTKA

#### Flores' plans an expedition of supply

One of the topics dwelt upon in the correspondence between Flores and Revilla-Gigedo was the question of sending supplies to Nootka. Reference has been made to it in the previous chapter but, even at the risk of some repetition, it may be appropriate here to deal with it in more detail and consider the discussions, and the preparations, made up to the time when Revilla-Gigedo took over the Viceregal office.

On the strength of a Royal Order of April 14, 1789, instructing him to "keep the Nootka establishment", and in answer to Martínez' requests for supplies, Viceroy Flores sent orders, on August 26, to the Naval Department of San Blas to prepare the supplies which Martínez had listed. However, Flores soon realised that at the time there were no available ships at San Blas, and that until the return of other ships the supplies could not be sent. Actually there was one ship at San Blas--the captured packetboat Argonaut. Flores, himself, would not have hesitated at all to make use of it, since he considered that it should be

declared good prize and kept by the Spanish but, as we have seen, he decided to consult Revilla-Gigedo, his successor, on this matter. In his letter of August 30, Revilla-Gigedo told Flores that he felt (in keeping with information he had obtained) that, until the month of January, no expedition involving such a "long and painful voyage" should be sent, unless it be of extreme urgency, because of the bad weather.

Flores' concern was the need "...to sustain the Peninsula of Californias, to maintain or keep the port of Nootka and to oppose the ambitious attempts of foreign nations." He felt that the sending of supplies "should not be postponed waiting until the month of January...for His Majesty's ships should navigate at all times when there are emergencies which so require". The difficulty was that there were then no Spanish ships available for the purpose. However the problem would be solved if the British ship Argonaut could be used. For this reason Flores wanted Revilla-Gigedo "to decide the release or the retention of the English packetboat".

Revilla-Gigedo answered (September 9) repeating his view that "the second expedition to supply or keep Martinez should be carried out in January because that is the propitious season to navigate on those seas", unless there was cause compelling earlier action. "His Majesty's ships should navigate at all seasons when emergencies so require", but it was difficult to appraise when voyages could be effective, and there

was the danger of getting negative results. So, again Revilla-Gigedo, believing that Martínez was still in control at Nootka, felt there was no urgent need to send supplies there. As for the release or the retention of the Argonaut, Revilla-Gigedo did not wish to make a decision since Flores had already consulted the Spanish Government, and he felt that they should simply wait for its orders on the matter. However, in the meantime and in view of the shipping situation, the Argonaut could be used:

...having to supply Martínez for the sustenance of his People and to assure the establishment and there being no other vessels except the seized Packet-boat, I am of the same opinion as Your Excellency that it should be used to this effect since this determination can only contribute to increase by some small amount whatever may have to be reimbursed for the detention and damages to the owners of the aforementioned Ship in case it is not declared a good prize.

Flores replied that, with this approval, he would proceed with his preparations "to supply and to reinforce (asegurar) the Nootka Establishment".

In this letter and in his last official communication to the Minister for the Navy (September 26), Flores gave further details about the plans he was making and outlined suggestions for future action.

The measures taken so far are merely to speedily despatch the supplies and articles

requested by...Martínez; a complete medicine cabinet and other minor supplies. I have likewise warned the First Company of Volunteers, which consists of 80 men and which is at present garrisoned at Guadalajara, to be in readiness to move in due course to the Port of San Blas and thence to Nootka, either fully or partly on the English packetboat on the Aranzazú or on the Frigate Concepción, if these two opportunely complete their voyages to Nootka and to California respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The Viceroy was referring to the "First Company of Volunteers from Catalonia"<sup>2</sup> and he explained to the Minister for the Navy that its eighty men would fall considerably short of the two hundred requested by Martínez, but that he had left it to his successor to decide whether to send other troops (perhaps the other Company of Volunteers from Catalonia, which was then serving elsewhere in Mexico).

The Argonaut was then being careened and the same would be done with the Princess Royal if she should need it. Since "both these vessels have to voyage to Nootka to collect what Commander Martínez took from them", the Viceroy felt that it would be wise to utilise these ships, with some of the Spanish ones, to carry to Nootka "the supplies of food, articles and [the] troops which the aforesaid Martinez has requested, transporting also the English and Portuguese Prisoners so that from that Port they may continue their navigation to Macao in the ships of their property".

1 Letter to Revilla-Gigedo, September 16.

2 Letter to Minister Antonio Valdés, September 26, 1789-mentioned above. (These companies of volunteers were named after Catalonia, a part of Spain. Mr. McKelvie, in his book Macquinna the Magnificent, calls them the "Catalina" Volunteers!)

### New plans for the expedition

Flores started planning the expedition to supply Nootka on August 26, 1789, and he obviously hoped that it would leave within a few months; but this did not happen. Flores himself was preparing for retirement, and he soon discovered that his successor was not in favour of dispatching the expedition before January. Consequently, no action was taken for several months.

Towards the end of the year, however, Revilla-Gigedo ordered the resumption of preparations for an expedition to Nootka. Unaware that the Spanish force was no longer there, but on the way back to San Blas, the Viceroy conceived the new expedition as one which would simply carry supplies to the establishment and bring about a change in its command. On December 7, he wrote to Bodega-Quadra ordering him to prepare an expedition of three ships which "should leave, without fail, during the month of January, to carry supplies to Nootka to relieve the ship Princesa." At the same time, the new Viceroy ordered the comisario at San Blas, Francisco Hixosa, to get supplies ready, including a tentative amount of food for one year, so that "when the exact size of the expeditionary force is known, no time is lost in getting the ships supplied". The Commissioner answered from Tepic<sup>1</sup> (December 23) that His Excellency "may live entirely unconcerned" since everything was ready.

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<sup>1</sup> The officers and commander of San Blas tended to operate from nearby Tepic, as has been mentioned earlier.

### Reorganisation at San Blas--new commander

Meanwhile, the six naval officers who had come from Spain to serve at San Blas had reached their destination. The senior, Bodega-Quadra, took command of the establishment early in December, 1790. He had been there some years previously,<sup>1</sup> and was a man with a very distinguished naval career behind him. As he voyaged from Spain with Revilla-Gigedo it may be assumed that the two men had already had consultations on the policy to follow at the establishment, and it is obvious that, from their first contacts in their respective new offices, they trusted each other fully and cooperated without any friction. They were responsible for the life of the Nootka establishment for about three years--until Bodega-Quadra's illness and subsequent death in 1793.<sup>2</sup> Bodega-Quadra carried out a thorough reorganisation of the Naval Department at San Blas. Viceroy Flores had decided to increase its garrison by another fifty men to be drawn from the naval and merchant ships in the port of Veracruz on the basis of voluntary enrolment. In due course, an increase in salaries and a new set of regulations contributed to an improvement in the morale at the base.

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1 He had participated in two voyages to the North West Coast. See Chapter I.

2 In his aforementioned letter to the Minister (October 27), Revilla-Gigedo complained that Flores had not informed him about the standing regulations at San Blas. He was busy preparing new ones which would increase the inadequate salaries of the personnel. Bodega-Quadra was also active, fortifying and reorganising the place.



### The Viceroy's instructions

In a long document showing much sense, foresight and care for detail--but also revealing strong national and religious bias--the Viceroy gave Bodega-Quadra instructions about the forthcoming expedition and outlined the policy to be followed with regard to the Nootka establishment. He began by recalling that Martínez had taken possession of Nootka in the King's name, had protected the place with a battery of ten guns and had set up a number of buildings. "The King wants this establishment to be kept with all the necessary authority." "The present circumstances merely require the maintainance of our possession and the new establishment, lest foreign nations try to insult it". "The dislodgement of the Russians from their present points of occupation is up to the Sovereign, who has friendly pacts with that nation. As for Britain, we have always kept our pledges and will continue to do so unless higher motivations compel us to ignore that harmony."

"Consequently, during the month of January the frigate Concepción, the packetboat Argonaut and the bilander Princesa Real<sup>1</sup>, well-manned and equipped and armed with guns and ammunition" should sail for Nootka. The Viceroy wanted that place to be properly fortified and garrisoned by the "Free Company of Volunteers from Catalonia". The company, then stationed at Guadalajara, would move to San Blas to join the

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1 The Spaniards hispanicised the name of the Princess Royal.

expedition for Nootka where it would serve under the Commander of the establishment. This position should be given to the highest-ranking naval officer in San Blas, or to the one best qualified by his disposition and talents. The Viceroy entreated Bodega-Quadra "to devote the greatest care in making this choice among your subordinates with justice and in such a way that the King will be well served".

The new commander was to take over from Martínez (whom the Viceroy believed to be still at Nootka), and to require from him "a detailed account of the explorations carried out on those coasts, the state in which he leaves the establishment, his dealings with the Indians and with foreign visitors, and measures taken for the conservation and security of the place." "The establishment will be served by five ships--the frigate Concepción, the packetboats San Carlos and Argonauta, the bilander Princesa Real and 'the Portuguese schooner left by her owner and repaired by us'." (The Viceroy meant the North West America, which Martínez had enlarged and rechristened Santa Saturnina.)

"These ships shall continue exploring the coasts from Nootka to Prince William and will get supplies from San Francisco and Monterey, and, above all, shall promptly bring any news worthy of the attention of the Government." The ships Aranzazú and Princesa, which were due to return to San Blas, would be used solely for sending supplies to the California establishments.

Voyages should be made from Nootka to continue the exploration of the North West Coast, (the Viceroy gave some specific instructions on this matter), and the new commander at Nootka was to "carefully observe the movements of the Russians in view of the news of having fortified themselves at Cook River."

The Viceroy also referred to several requests and suggestions made by Martínez. As regards the request for medicines and food the Viceroy stated: "five boxes of medicines, fresh, and carefully chosen by the Professor of Botany in Mexico City, have been sent to San Blas together with large supplies of rice, lentils, garbanzos, flour, fat, cheese, ham, vinegar, wine, cooking oil, etc."

Martínez had suggested what the Viceroy considered possibly "a good way to support the new establishment, namely, carrying there five or six thousand pounds of copper in sheets (barido en hoja) to barter for otter skins which should be sent to Acapulco and sold at Canton by our Phillipine Company."

As this project involves little risk, I am giving orders to obtain what [copper] I can in this city and I confirm orders from my predecessor to obtain more from Guadalejara: this will all be sent to San Blas for your expedition. More will be sent to Nootka by the packetboat Filipino<sup>1</sup> next March. You will keep exact accounts of the distribution of this metal and of the furs obtained, and you will send these to San Blas.

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1 The San Carlos, alias Filipino because it was built in the Phillipines.

As for Martínez' advice that the Spanish should occupy the Sandwich Islands, the Viceroy would keep the matter in mind but would not make any decision as yet.<sup>1</sup>

### Consequences of the evacuation of Nootka

A few days after the issuing of these instructions, Bodega-Quadra informed the Viceroy, with apparent surprise, that Martínez had already abandoned his occupation of Nootka and had returned to San Blas. The Viceroy was therefore alarmed at the thought that Nootka was at the mercy of any other power. In a letter (no. 195) to the Minister for the Navy he explained that his plans had been "destroyed" by the return of Martínez who had abandoned Nootka on orders issued by Flores. Revilla-Gigedo implicitly blamed his predecessor with this comment: "such has been the result of that first voyage and the expenses incurred in its undertaking". Revilla-Gigedo went on to say that he had already "suspected" this move, but did not say why. Perhaps he had sensed something in Flores' conversations, or perhaps he had latterly discovered the text of the evacuation order. In any case, said Revilla-Gigedo, "this made me extremely anxious to have the vessels leave soon."<sup>2</sup> On December 17, he wrote to Bodega-Quadra that this fact made it the more urgent to despatch the expedition promptly. The three ships must leave in January, as had been planned, and whatever they could not carry would

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1 Another point in the Viceroy's instructions, viz. the matter of would-be Catholics among the British prisoners, will be considered later.

2 A. Indies, Estante 90, Carpeta 3, Legajo 19.

be carried by the San Carlos, which would leave for Nootka in March.

The Viceroy defined the new purpose of the expedition: to fortify Nootka immediately after arriving there, in order

to resist the entry of any other power which may try to do so in defiance of our preferential right of possession, to oust at once any which may have taken advantage of the brief interval of the absence of our arms, although in this matter, as well as in the dealings with foreign ships which are on those coasts or which may reach that port, the commander shall act with the greatest tact and discretion, shall not insist on scrutinising them carefully and shall not seize them unless they disrespect our flag, for in such case force will have to be used to stop and punish the insult.

#### Martínez' role in the expedition

In that same message after confirming his earlier instructions about the choice of a commander, the Viceroy decided that Martínez should be second-in-command "so that the commander may use the knowledge and practice which Martínez has already acquired in that position". This letter from the Viceroy crossed with one in which Bodega-Quadra informed him (December 23) that he was speedily readying the expedition and had already started preparing the supplies to be sent in the following March. He had taken measures to obtain artillery to send to Nootka, but he feared that unless more guns came from Spain the whole scheme might be handicapped. He had chosen as commander of the new expedition,

and consequently of the Nootka establishment, Francisco Eliza who was the senior lieutenant in the Department.

On December 26th, upon receipt of the Viceroy's letter of December 17th, Bodega-Quadra wrote to tell him that the appointment of Martínez as second-in-command of the expedition (as the Viceroy had indicated) might bring dissatisfaction among the officers and cause difficulties: "Martinez is a graduate Pilot. If I appoint him as second-in-command of the expedition I shall be unable to send any 'oficial vivo', or even any of the senior pilots, and therefore those who should be in command on account of their character and circumstances would be left ashore." Consequently Bodega-Quadra suggested that Martínez be appointed as pilot. Martínez knew that the Viceroy wished him to be second-in-command of the expedition. The Viceroy himself had written to him (December 17) acknowledging his various letters, and explaining that he wanted him to go back to Nootka:

having under your charge the Packet-boat Argonaut and carrying out the functions of second in command of that expedition since in this way you will be able to instruct the first [commander] of everything you have learned...when the new commander of Nuca informs me that he is thoroughly informed about all the matters...I shall order that you return and recommend your services to His Majesty so that they have their just reward.

Martínez evidently heard that Bodega-Quadra was trying to change the Viceroy's mind on the matter, and by

the same mail he sent the Viceroy an impassioned appeal, using expressions like these: "Your Excellency's orders are dictated with equity and justice: the service of the King my Lord is interesting. In its fulfilment I carry out my duty...."

The Viceroy answered Bodega-Quadra (December 30) approving of his considerations on this matter, and instructing that Martínez, on account of "the importance of his practical knowledge acquired in that capacity", should go as first pilot of the Concepción, under Eliza. To Martínez himself the Viceroy wrote a few soothing words: "I am certain that in any of these important services you will go forward in your merits and you may be sure I shall duly reward you..."

But this was the beginning of the end for Martínez. There had been earlier complaints about him, and he was perhaps not popular at San Blas. His wife, in Spain, had complained that he had been neglecting her and their daughter. The Minister for the Navy ordered that one third of Martínez' salary be held over and sent to Mrs. Martínez every six months.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards Martínez himself asked the Viceroy to relieve him as soon as possible, and this was done. As we shall see, he did not remain long at Nootka and only played a very inconspicuous part in its reoccupation.

#### Instructions to the Commander

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1 Valdes to Revilla-Gigedo, October 13, 1789.

As the expedition was almost ready to set out, Bodega-Quadra composed a set of instructions for its commander, Eliza, incorporating the Viceroy's decisions, and going into details of a nautical and administrative character.

Since the main purpose of the expedition was "to fortify ourselves in Nootka before any other power establishes itself there", Eliza was ordered to sail with all possible speed. If, upon arrival at Nootka, he found that representatives of some other power "had taken advantage" of the absence of Spanish forces, Eliza was to act with tact and discretion and inform them:

of the right and preference we have and of the orders you carry to oust whoever should in vain try to resist and only in such case or in case of insult to our Pavilion may you use force.... you shall treat with the utmost prudence, friendship and discretion the foreign ships in that port...and you shall not insist on carefully scrutinising them or apprehend them but shall give them help for their return without permitting them to carry out any trade with the natives.

Immediately upon arrival at Nootka, Eliza was to unload the twenty cannon he carried, and to place them in the most suitable spot, keeping there an appropriate number of gunmen and guards, but without depriving the ships of adequate forces.

The fortification would be commanded by the Captain of the Regiment of Volunteers from Catalonia, but



both he and the garrison would be under the command of Eliza or of whoever should succeed him in his position (point 3). Once the frigate Princesa and the whole port were made ready to stop any invasion, the other ships should be dispatched to carry out explorations and surveys starting from Cook River and investigating whether the Russians had fortified themselves there.

Eliza was also ordered to make observations on the flora and fauna, as well as on the customs of the natives in the Nootka region (point 4). He was to treat the natives with civility and consideration, and present them with trifles and "curiosities".

He was to acquire as many furs as possible, using for barter the sheets of copper with which he was provided.

He should take possession of any propitious part of the coast in the name of the King of Spain, and with the consent of the natives.

The men should abide by the regulations of the Navy. The text of these was to be read to them on Sundays after Mass. Since not all of them had been in the royal service before, leniency should be used in punishments until everybody became better acquainted with their duties.

All of them should be taught the use of firearms--both guns and rifles--and Eliza was formally urged not to neglect this duty.

He was also instructed to take every opportunity to send to the Department of San Blas reports of his activities and maps of the regions explored.

Bodega-Quadra added other instructions of naval and administrative kinds, and he ended the document with an appeal to the zeal and honour of the men in their work, and a suggestion that the Sovereign would generously reward their individual merits.<sup>1</sup>

### The expeditionary force

The Viceroy had originally intended that the Argonaut should take part in the expedition, but Bodega-Quadra told him that he considered the San Carlos more suitable, in view of the respective size of the two ships and of the sailing conditions at that time of the year. The Viceroy readily accepted Bodega-Quadra's suggestion. Consequently, the ships definitely assigned to the expedition were the Concepción, the San Carlos and the Princess Royal. The first was to be stationed at Nootka, while the other two would be engaged in explorations of the northern shores of the continent.

The Compañía franca de voluntarios de Cataluña moved from Guadalajara to San Blas. The Company then had a total strength of seventy-eight men (a captain, a lieutenant, a sergeant-major, two sergeants, three first corporals, three second corporals, and sixty-five soldiers). Most of them

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<sup>1</sup> This appeal seems to have been customary in such Spanish documents of that time.

were "good European people", according to Viceroy Flores.<sup>1</sup> Their commander, Captain Pedro Alberní, was in disgrace at that time because of a quarrel he had just had with a civil servant in connection with the payment of the Company. For that reason, he had been reported to the Viceroy, and had been accused of disrespect.<sup>2</sup> The Viceroy therefore instructed Bodega-Quadra to hold Alberní under arrest during the voyage to Nootka. Bodega-Quadra passed on this order to Eliza, instructing that he keep an eye on the man. Before sailing, Alberní wrote the Viceroy a long letter giving his own version of the facts, and putting forward what appears to be a strong case for his actions. His subsequent record was so good that it may be assumed that his attitude with regard to this incident was justified, and that he had been prompted by concern for the welfare of his men.

The Concepción carried one hundred and sixty-seven men, classified as follows:

Officers ( <u>oficiales mayores</u> ):	8
Troop (of the Regiment of	
Volunteers from Catalonia):	50
Naval Officers ( <u>oficiales</u>	
<u>de mar</u> ):	16
Artillerymen:	26
Sailors:	21
Midshipmen:	32
Pages:	3
Servants:	10

The oficiales mayores were: Captain Eliza; the captain and

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1 Letter to Valdés, September, 1789. According to Colnett, "most of them had served at the taking of Minorca" (Journal, p.83). He obviously meant during the Spanish campaign to recapture that island from the British, in 1781-2.

2 Letter from Villaurrutia to the Viceroy, December 18, 1789.

lieutenant of the Company of the Regiment of Volunteers from Catalonia, Pedro Alberní and Mauricio Jaulia, respectively; Chaplain, Alejandro Jordán; Naval Ensign, Esteban José Martínez; Pilot, Gonzalo López de Haro; Second Pilot (pilotín), Antonio Verdía (or Berdía); Surgeon, Juan Terron. The Spanish did not list the names of subordinates, but some appear in records for various reasons. The inventory of the ship for this voyage shows the names of the men responsible for certain sections of it. A few signed, but others, obviously illiterate, delegated the signature to somebody else. Among the ship's complement there were bricklayers and blacksmiths, and tools for these trades were carried.

The Concepción also carried provisions sufficient to supply a crew of one hundred and fifty men over a period of ten months, as well as water for ninety days. She also carried twenty-eight guns: twenty of calibre 4, two of calibre 3, two of a variety of calibre 3 (pedreros) and four of calibre 2. It seems that twenty of these guns were meant for the fortification of Nootka, and that the others would remain mounted on the ship. As food for these fiery mouths, the ship carried one thousand nine hundred cannon balls (balas rasas) and two hundred and thirty bags of gunshot.

The San Carlos carried eighty-nine men, distribution as follows:

<u>Oficiales mayores:</u>	5
Infantry troop (Catalan Company):	22
Artillerymen:	17

Sailors:	15
Midshipmen:	13
Pages:	2
Servants:	5

The oficiales mayores were: Salvador Fidalgo, Commander; Josef López de Nava, Chaplain; Salvador Menéndez, first pilot; Antonio Serantes, second pilot; Juan de Dios Morelos, Surgeon.

A note states that ten boxes of copper and sixty bags of gunshot were transhipped from the Concepción for transportation to Nootka. This probably means that the Concepción had no room for these articles.

The Princess Royal carried thirty-five men, classified as follows:

<u>Oficiales mayores</u> :	3
Infantrymen (Catalan Company):	4
<u>Oficiales de mar</u> :	7
Artillerymen:	7
Sailors:	6
Pages:	2
Servants:	3 <sup>1</sup>

The oficiales mayores were: Captain, Manuel Quimper; Second Pilot, Esteban Mondolfía; Pilotín (junior pilot), Juan Carrasco.

The expedition also carried the frame of another ship: the Argonaut had sailed from Macao for Nootka, and subsequently for San Blas, carrying a schooner-in-frame. When the Argonaut was dispatched back to Nootka, she still

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<sup>1</sup> The report of these ships gave the total of plazas, without counting the servants. For instance: the total given for the Princess Royal was thirty-two, when, in fact, she carried thirty-five men.

carried this unborn baby in her womb. The sailing sheet of the San Carlos recorded that she was carrying "part of the futtock timbers (ligazones) of the schooner." There is no indication that other parts were carried by any of the other ships, and it appeared later that some parts were missing. Perhaps they had never existed; or perhaps they had been used by the Spaniards at Nootka, or at San Blas.

The expedition was supplied, on the whole, according to the requirements put forward by Martinez. Bodega-Quadra felt that the latter had omitted an important item: baize. So he requested the Viceroy to provide fourteen pieces of it, to be distributed on the spot by the commander of the expedition. The Viceroy gave orders to have this item provided. Another item included at the time was fifty sheets of good paper (50 pliegos de papel de Marca), probably intended for use as stationery.

#### The expedition under way

It had been expected that the expedition would sail for Nootka during the month of January, but Bodega-Quadra explained to the Viceroy that there would be a delay "because of the difficulties encountered with the careening and outfitting of the ships".

By February 3, everything was in readiness (one of the last activities being the payment of the crews),<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to one of the Journals of the expedition.

and the Concepción, the San Carlos and the Princess Royal sailed from San Blas on that date.<sup>1</sup> After a few days' navigation, it was found that the Princess Royal could not keep pace with the other two ships. Eliza, who had been ordered to make haste, was worried. On February 15, he sent a message to Fidalgo (probably through the longboat) stating that, because of the slow speed of that vessel, the other two ships were wasting precious time while the weather was excellent for navigation. He requested that Fidalgo and his officers agree that the Princess Royal be left behind. Fidalgo replied that they agreed, "in order to attend to the main objective". So the Concepción and the San Carlos made full speed.

On March 15, Manuel García, a soldier on the San Carlos, who had been suffering from some chest ailment (estaba lastimado del pecho), fell into the sea. A life-buoy and all the logs and boards available were thrown into the water, the launch was speedily lowered, and the ship turned round while a signal was made to the Concepción; but, having tried for about an hour to rescue the man, Fidalgo gave up the search and the ship continued on her way.

The sea was rough when the Concepción and the San Carlos approached Nootka, on April 3. Fidalgo feared that if the two vessels should try to enter Friendly Cove at the

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1. The journals of the Concepción and the San Carlos are in the Mexican National Archives, but I have been unable to find the journal of the Princess Royal.

same time they might foul one another; so he gave orders for the sails of the San Carlos to be lowered to permit the Concepción to enter first--but she merely approached the entrance. Both ships spent the night off the Cove, and did not enter it until the evening of the following day, April 4, after two months of navigation. The Princess Royal arrived two days later.



## CHAPTER XXVI

### BEGINNING THE SECOND SPANISH ESTABLISHMENT

#### Sources of Information

Both the Viceroy and the Commander of San Blas had urged the captains of the Concepción, the San Carlos and the Princess Royal to send them ample information about their experiences; but they did not report very much about the events which occurred during the first three months of the new occupation of Nootka. The man most to blame was the commander of the establishment, Eliza, who wrote only the most laconic accounts. His report of July 5 contained only a few lines about the beginning of the re-establishment. Fidalgo made a few notes covering the thirty days that he spent there. Quimper may have written something about this period, but I have been unable to find the relevant part of his Journal.

Upon receiving Eliza's inadequate report, the Viceroy wrote to Bodega-Quadra:

In the description of the news, I miss that of the way in which the natives of Nootka received our people; if with satisfaction or with indifference, and whether it has been endeavoured to

entertain them in order to attract them and communicate to them affection for our nation, so that they receive the great benefits of the Faith.

The Viceroy also regretted that Eliza had not offered him information about the land at Nootka, the advantages that it offered, and other particulars. He then requested Bodega-Quadra to obtain more information on these matters, not only from Eliza but also from Martínez, and from Matute and Caamano--the commanders of the ships that had been there immediately prior to his request. In due course, but at very different dates, these men complied, and offered some extra information--almost exclusively about the Indians.

Martínez--who played only a minor part in the setting up of the second Spanish establishment, and was probably feeling sour and depressed--wrote a brief and probably distorted account. Eliza wrote his answer much later and, as usual, was appallingly laconic and vague. Fidalgo said very little, but he at least entered some notes in his Journal. Quimper gave a few interesting details. There are practically no other sources of information about this period, apart from a later report by Moziño<sup>1</sup> which includes one or two particulars. From all these sources it is possible to make a composite digest of events at Nootka--leaving for another chapter the accounts of relations between the Spanish and the Indians.

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1 In his "Notícias de Nutka", 1792. See chapter

### First impressions

The Spanish had considerable misgivings about the possibility that, during their absence from Nootka, some other power might have established itself there. The members of the expedition must have been watching eagerly, as they were approaching Friendly Cove--none more curious, undoubtedly, than Esteban José Martínez: it was about five months since he had reluctantly abandoned the place. He had left there one or two huts (or more), a cross standing on the spot where a bottle containing the documents of possession had been buried, and a couple of commemorative inscriptions nailed to the trees. Macuina had promised to look after the buildings, but Martínez felt sure that he would have pulled them down.

None of the brief reports is very explicit as regards the situation existing at Friendly Cove upon the arrival of the Eliza expedition. Quimper stated later that the place looked deserted, and that the one sign of human life was a stockade on the beach, on which there were fish hanging to dry. Eliza said that he found the Indians had left Friendly Cove precisely on the day before his arrival.<sup>1</sup>

### The actual occupation force

If my assumptions about the crew of the San Carlos

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<sup>1</sup> None of the reports mentions whether any of the structures left by Martínez were still there, but that fact alone suggests that they were not. Quimper's words definitely imply that this was the case.

are correct, the Eliza expedition to Nootka consisted of two hundred and ninety-two men. The Concepción was to be stationed at Nootka, but the other two ships were to stay only until ready to set off on their exploratory voyages. The San Carlos did so on May 4, and the Princess Royal on May 31. The nucleus of the occupation force was to consist of the crew of the Concepción and the company of Catalan volunteers. A number of soldiers served on the San Carlos and the Princess Royal during their subsequent explorations; but most of them stayed at Nootka for some time. It may be estimated, therefore, that during the month of April, 1789, <sup>1790?</sup> the Spanish force at Nootka consisted of two hundred and ninety-three men. Throughout May there were about two hundred and twenty, and after the end of that month the number went down to about one hundred and eighty-five.

### Rebuilding the establishment

During the first days the weather was bad, with hail and rain which probably hampered activities. We may suppose that the crews of the San Carlos and the Princess Royal were busy repairing their ships--the former had suffered damage when it anchored, and the latter was in need of careening. Fidalgo also had a hut, for the use of the sick, built on the beach by his men; and at some early but unspecified time Eliza had a few huts (xacaloncitos) erected there. The Company of Catalan Volunteers was no doubt responsible for guard duty, and for rebuilding the fort, under the orders of Captain Alberní.

Eliza was ordered to fortify the port, and one of his first activities was to rebuild, and probably enlarge, the simple fort which Martínez had started on San Miguel Island. In his own words:

...from the 6th to the 12th [of April], eight guns were placed on the fort, it being impossible to place more because the ground did not permit it, but I am now considering how to place the 6 guns of 24 calibre. I think this will be rather a hard task, although with these 8 the port is well protected and absolutely nobody can enter it without being sunk.<sup>1</sup>

Fidalgo stated that by April 10 eight guns were set, and the flag was hoisted and saluted by the battery. He also recorded that the men under his command were busy careening the boat, mending the pipes (la pipería), and carrying ballast aboard. On Sundays they did not work, but went ashore to take a walk and wash their linen. Eliza does not say this, but undoubtedly his men had Sunday off--as had the men at the establishment during the time of Martínez' command.

#### The San Carlos and the Princess Royal explore the coast

Fidalgo was also directing the preparations for his departure on a voyage of exploration in the San Carlos. He had accommodated a number of sick men in a hut ashore. Nine of them were subsequently discharged from the ship, and replaced

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<sup>1</sup> This is typical of Eliza's descriptions--so different from the detailed accounts of Martínez.

by an equal number from the crew of the Concepción. Eliza passed on to Fidalgo the instructions and maps which had been provided in San Blas for his exploration, which was to cover the coast in the region of Prince William and Cook's River. (Some Spaniards spelled it "Rivera de Koo".) The San Carlos left Nootka on May 4.<sup>1</sup>

Eliza states that the Princess Royal was beached, and underwent repairs from May 7 to May 23. On May 31, she set out, under the command of Caamaño, to explore the coast south of Nootka, especially around the entrance to Juan de Fuca Strait. She carried forty-one men, including nine soldiers "in case anything should happen".

On May 2, the Princess Royal arrived at Clayuclat, where the local chieftain, Huiquinamichi,<sup>2</sup> sent messages to Caamaño asking him to go ashore. He did so, and found that Macquina was residing there. Caamaño befriended him, and persuaded him to return to Nootka.<sup>3</sup>

About August 4, Caamaño was back at the entrance to Nootka Sound. For six days he tried in vain to enter the port, as he had been ordered to do, but persistent bad weather made this impossible. After consulting his pilots he decided to turn southwards, and the Princess Royal anchored at Monterey

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1 Before leaving, Fidalgo wrote a description of Nootka and its natives, from which we shall take one or two items of information.

2 Generally called Guicananish by English-speaking people.

3 See Chapter XXVIII.

on September 1. On September 14, the San Carlos anchored there, too, on her way back from her voyage of exploration (she did not call at Nootka). Both ships sailed for San Blas on October 1; the Princess Royal arrived on November 13, and the San Carlos probably on the same day.

### Building activities

After the departure of the Princess Royal, and for a period of three weeks, the only ship left at Nootka was the Concepción. With her crew and the Catalan Company the establishment had a total strength of approximately one hundred and eighty men.

The only activity reported by Eliza, during that period, was the assembling of the schooner-in-frame which the Argonaut had carried. Eliza discovered that a number of futtock timbers were missing, and he had a hard time replacing them. He found that the only wood suitable for the purpose was the roots of pine trees. The cutting of wood was made difficult because the two saws that Eliza had brought from Mexico continually broke. He experimented with "el fierro grueso de Cabillón" (which probably means "the heavy iron of an old Belaying-pin"), but the experiment failed because the iron splintered. He had expected to have the schooner built by the middle of August, but for these reasons the building actually took much longer.

This is all that Eliza reports about this period,

but it may be assumed that ~~some~~ work was going on towards the completing of the fort, and perhaps on the building of huts on shore. There are no references to gardening at that time, but later references show that Alberní was credited with the creation and care of vegetable gardens which became very productive. He probably started cultivation early in the spring. During the previous year, Martínez had already started some gardening and had left some seeds in the ground. Alberní probably took advantage of that earlier work.



## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE PRINCESA AND THE ARANZAZÚ BRING SUPPLIES

It had been decided that, of the three ships dispatched with the Eliza expedition, two would return to San Blas--leaving at Nootka the Concepción, and the schooner which Eliza was to build out of the pieces carried by the Argonaut.

But something prompted the Viceroy to provide additional forces for the remote establishment in the north. News reached San Blas that two British frigates had been seen along the coast of Perú. Bodega-Quadra hastily placed some guns at the entrance to the port of San Blas and informed the Viceroy. He was not particularly worried about that port; but, remembering that Martínez had been told that two British frigates were scheduled to visit Nootka, he wondered whether those seen off the Peruvian coast might be on their way to the northern outpost. Bodega-Quadra communicated this fear to the Viceroy, who answered (February 23): "...in case a foreign power should attempt an attack there, there may not be enough forces with which to hold our position, which is the purpose of the King's instructions." Therefore, the Princesa, properly armed, should be dispatched to Nootka (leaving supplies for California on the way), and should spend

the winter there, alongside the Concepción. This was to be done in addition to sending supplies in the Aranzazú, as had been planned.

Bodega-Quadra gave the commander of the Aranzazú, Matute, sailing orders for both his ship and the Princesa, and additional instructions for Eliza. The two ships sailed from San Blas on April 15, and arrived at Nootka on June 25.

As the Princesa was scheduled to remain at Nootka for many months, it may be pertinent to note what supplies she carried.<sup>1</sup> Her crew of ninety-seven men was made up as follows: Five oficiales mayores, five infantrymen, one troop of artillery, fourteen naval officers, nineteen gunmen, twenty-four sailors, fourteen midshipmen, two pages and three servants. The "oficiales mayores" were: Commander, Lieutenant Jacinto Caamaño; Chaplain, Nicolas de Loera; First Pilot, Josef Tobar (or Tovar); Second Pilot, Josef Narváez; Surgeon, Luis Pava. She carried four guns of calibre 4, and six of calibre 24. The latter were to be placed at the most convenient spot for fortification.<sup>2</sup> In addition, she carried forty rifles, twenty-one pistols, six boarding-pikes and six grappling-irons. She also carried supplies for fifteen months, and some extra supplies for the Concepción "to complete 17 months from her departure from this port [San Blas]."

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1 I have not found any details of what the Aranzazú carried, but it may be assumed that her supplies consisted mainly of foodstuffs.

2 Bodega-Quadra's instructions to Eliza, April 16.

Also sent to Nootka, either in the Princesa or in the Aranzazú, were ten pieces of baize, twenty-four quintales<sup>1</sup> of gunpowder, five hundred sheets of copper, four boxes of cigars (or cigarettes), and seventy-eight rifles, with bayonets, for the Catalan Company--with instructions for Captain Alberni to send back to San Blas the ones used by the Company so far, in order that they might be re-fitted.<sup>2</sup>

Eliza was instructed to hold the packet-boat San Carlos and the sloop Princesa Real, after their return from the voyages of exploration, for just the time required to put their maps, documents and reports in order, and then send them back to Mexico. "You may ship in them any sick men you have, keeping in their stead any other men you require, and in case any priest, pilot, surgeon or naval officer wishes to exchange places (permutar) you may grant them this favour but you shall not allow it to the Interpreter or to anyone holding an important position except in case of dire need."

The Aranzazú was to return to San Blas, carrying the garrison soldiers who had voyaged on the Princesa. She was also to carry Esteban José Martínez--if another officer was needed to replace him, Eliza may keep Quimper, passing the command of the Princess Royal to Esteban Mondolfía.

The men were to be charged for the supply of tobacco,

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1 One quintal = 100 pounds.

2 Letter from Bodega-Quadra to the Viceroy, March 5.

baize, and such non-essential items, and the Commander was to keep careful accounts. Since Eliza was to be at Nootka for some time, he was urged to be diligent in acquiring furs, and to take every care in keeping his men in good health.

The Aranzazú returns to San Blas, carrying Martínez

The Aranzazú stayed at Nootka for about three weeks, and, on July 12, she sailed for California and San Blas. She carried off Martínez, who thus disappears from the Nootka scene. There is no information whatever as to what he did during his second stay there, apart from his own indication that he was occupied in purchasing furs from the natives.<sup>1</sup> It may be assumed that he was of some assistance to Eliza during the first days; but he may have been embittered by having to play such a minor role in the place in which he had pioneered with such great enthusiasm. Revilla-Gigedo, mindful of the fact that Martínez had served at San Blas since 1773 (in another place he says "for nineteen years"), decided that he should be given the rank of "oficial vivo" of the Navy.<sup>2</sup> Martínez had requested permission to return to Spain, and, this being granted, he left Mexico for the Peninsula shortly after his return from Nootka.

The Aranzazú also carried to Mexico a brief report from Eliza (for which we have already accounted), and a note stating that he had sent Quimper to explore the entrance to

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1 See next chapter.

2 Letters to the Minister for the Navy, January 29, 1790.

Juan de Fuca Strait. Upon completion of the schooner that he was building, he would dispatch it--under the command of Caamaño--to explore the coast in the vicinity of Nootka.

There is indirect evidence of a message from Eliza to Bodega-Quadra, dated July 5,<sup>1</sup> stating that the four boxes of tobacco--meaning, probably, the ones carried to Nootka by the Princesa and the Aranzazú--did not suffice to meet the demand. Some of the men had been speculating and carrying on "illicit trade", selling tobacco at as high a price as three and four reales a package. In an attempt to counteract this, Eliza took from the Aranzazú four of the ~~boxes~~ of tobacco she was to carry to the California settlements, claiming that they were not so badly needed there.

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1 I have been unable to find this message.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND THE INDIANS

Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo was displeased with the scant information that he had received about the re-occupation of Nootka, particularly with regard to the relations between the Spanish and the natives there. Eliza, whose duty it was to furnish such information, had reported practically nothing. The Viceroy wrote to him saying that he wished to have some information "as to how the natives of Nuca welcomed our people...and whether these had endeavoured to entertain them in order to attract them and instigate their affection for our nation and to receive the great blessings of the Faith."<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy also communicated with the Commander at San Blas, and requested him to obtain more information on that subject. Bodega-Quadra then wrote, to that effect, to all the captains of the Spanish ships which had gone to Nootka during that year (and also to Martínez).

In due course, all of them produced some additional information. Eliza, however, was the last one to do so,<sup>2</sup> and again he fell short of what might have been expected of

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Eliza, November 17, 1790. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, Carp. 5, f. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> On July 7, 1792, when Eliza was back at San Blas.

him. All these reports, in addition to the few items of news which had been reported before, provide a fair amount of information on the subject of the relations between the natives and the Spanish at Nootka during the first months of the Spanish re-occupation.

### First impressions

Fidalgo stated: "The day after our arrival came some canoes with fish and the Indians appeared somewhat distrustful, but as soon as they saw the good treatment we gave them, they started to come in large numbers bringing deer, fish and otter skins for bartering, 'jumping' on the beach and joining our crews without any show of distrust."<sup>1</sup>

Martínez declared: "...upon arrival they received us with the most expressive demonstrations of affection and friendship, especially seeing fulfilment of the promise I had made them before my departure from that place, which was that within the period of six Moons they would see me again."<sup>2</sup>

These statements contrast with this one by Quimper:

...from the first day of our arrival  
the natives of Nootka and vicinity have  
appeared afraid of our arms; seldom did  
they come up on board my ship and I

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Bodega-Quadra, Tepic, December 1, 1790. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez to Bodega-Quadra, Tepic, December, 1790. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, Carp. 11, p. 38.

suppose the same thing happened to the other ships. When they did so they stopped an instant inside them, attracted by the presents and entertainment they were given, and stayed in their canoes beside the frigate and sloop the time necessary for the sale of fish, otter and bear skins, and other trifles. Having done so, they would return to their villages, since they had evacuated the Port out of fear, as they themselves confessed, alleging that their Talli<sup>1</sup> Macuina absented himself out of fear of Martínez, and they did the same, all of which I verified later, when I reached Clayuclat, where this Captain was a refugee under the protection of the captain of that place called Huiquinanichi...<sup>2</sup>

#### Trade, courtesy and theft

Martínez seems to have been in charge of the trade in furs, for he says that he "bartered many skins on His Majesty's Orders."<sup>3</sup>

According to Fidalgo, the Spanish did a great deal of bartering with the Indians, who highly appreciated shells from Monterey, for which they gave in exchange "many planes, chisels and knives which they had acquired from English and other traders. They willingly bartered not only furs but even their children, for shells, which they definitely valued more than copper. They also brought deer and fish to barter."

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1 Talli (or Tayee or tayis) was the Nootka word for "chief"--whether native or foreign.

2 Letter to the Viceroy, Tepic, December 3, 1790, Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, p. 261.

3 Martínez to Bodega-Quadra, December 1, 1790.



Fidalgo also stated that he used Cook's vocabulary of the Nootka language, in order to communicate with the natives. He found that they understood certain words but not all, and that, the vocabulary being small, he could not obtain all the information that he wanted. He did not mention the vocabulary which Martínez had prepared--which was perhaps based on Cook's.

Fidalgo remarked that he was very anxious to visit an Indian village, but that bad weather had prevented him from doing so.

Martínez said that Commandant Eliza treated the chief Indians in a very friendly manner and offered them tea, bread and other things, and had instructed his steward to provide him (Martínez) with anything he needed to please the natives. He added that these were inclined towards robbery; that the only way to contain their depraved intents was rigour and fear, and that since the Spaniards were in a minority there they should try to give the impression of being invincible.

Caamaño wrote that the errant life of the Indians "and the impossibility for the Spaniards to supply them with food (because of the scarcity of suitable land), the ravages of rats, and natural causes" were the reasons why little or no progress had been made in the "important object" of attracting the Indians to Christianity; that by the time he left Nootka only seventeen Indians had been attracted, and

this because "they had been bought to this exclusive end".

Caamaño's impressions of the Indians are not very warm: like other captains, he accuses them of pilfering; he also calls them treacherous, inhuman and cowardly. But the main instance of cruelty that he quotes refers to the Indians of San Estevan Point, and their killing of the shipwrecked English sailors.

Juan Matute stated that the Indians always preferred their own meals to those offered by the Spanish, whose courtesies were wasted on them and not appreciated. This annoyed the Commander, who was keen on befriending them. "They are hostile," Matute added, "and even if they are armed with bow and arrow they hardly ever come up to the ships, in spite of our universal and peaceful efforts."<sup>1</sup>

The Indians traded otter skins and mats (petates de estera rustica) with the Spanish, and also traded some children. Four children thus acquired were transported to San Blas in the Aranzazú: a girl under the care of the chaplain, two under the care of Martínez, and the eldest one under the care of Matute himself. The Indians were inclined to robbery, Matute said, and at the time of his arrival at Nootka, they stole a number of casks and some iron articles.

### Incidents

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<sup>1</sup> A letter to the Viceroy--very poorly written.

A few incidents involving Spaniards and Indians were mentioned in these reports.

Quimper said that not many canoes landed at Friendly Cove, since the Indians had no village there; but a few did so, and sometimes they would carry members of the crew or of the garrison between the ships and the shore--or to the fort on the island. On one occasion, a Spanish soldier requested some Indians in a canoe to take him to a Spanish ship, but he was carried off to the Indian village. When he was reported missing from his company, Eliza started a search for him. Among other measures taken, he dispatched "the Interpreter" to request help from the Clayuclat Indians. These were very friendly with the Nootka Indians, and they obtained the release of the soldier and brought him back to the Spaniards.

Martínez reported that one day in June, at midnight, the Indians of San Esteban Point tried to steal some barrels which the Spaniards had on shore. The troops and crew heard them and killed five Indians. Martínez, himself, saw one of the bodies, and he commented that he did not know whether the Spaniards had orders from the Commander to kill the offenders.

Mozíño, who came to Nootka two years later, confirmed this incident, and blamed Eliza for it--saying that he should have found a milder punishment.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mozíño, Notícias de Nutka, p. 64.

Matute mentioned another incident supposed to have happened before his arrival:

...an Indian approached the Spanish and told them that another Indian was going to kill Don Esteban Martínez because during the earlier expedition he had killed their King, Keleken. Immediately they [the Spanish] thought of seizing him but he ran away. Then he began to say that he was one of those who would come the same night and set fire to the Frigate and plunder it, and although Don Francisco Eliza doubted of this warning, he nevertheless made preparations for the night and in the middle of it the troops shouted, "Indians! Indians!" and upon the noise thus made they [the Indians] fled, some swimming to the shelter of their canoes, others through the wilderness...

Then Eliza ordered his men to chase the Indians, who were fleeing on land, and two or three were killed, Matute, undoubtedly knowing that Eliza had not reported this incident, was careful to explain that this was "because he [Eliza] was sick and he thought he could do so upon the return of the ships he was expecting, through which he would report this and other points concerning his mission..."<sup>1</sup> However, Eliza never reported this important event.

Caamaño explained that, on two occasions, the Indians forced the withdrawal of the Spanish to their boats, despite the fact that these were carrying troops and stone-mortars. On the one occasion, the Spanish were going to fetch

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1. Matute to the Viceroy, Tepic, December 2, 1790.

thatch for roofing the houses in the establishment, and on the other they were ordered to go and purchase boards for the same purpose. Upon the arrival of the fleeing boats at the Spanish establishment, they were dispatched with reinforcements to the same places to make a show of their might:<sup>1</sup>

...searching for the Indians everywhere and doing them some small act of hostility, which would do little harm but impress much. They never appeared to defend their land, and only did so when they had probability of success. Only once, when the [Spanish] boats, better equipped and furnished to avoid a repetition of the same thing as in previous times, went to request...the aforementioned boards indispensable to the completion of our buildings, those of the Indian village, following the example of their fellow natives, appeared in the number of more than 300, as we were told. Facing them [the Spaniards] made the outcome doubtful because they had orders not to kill or do considerable damage to the Indians, unless they found themselves compelled to do so. The Indians threw arrows in vain at the boats, which answered with some shots from the stone-mortar. After that, the natives withdrew to the hills having lost one man, as was ascertained by all. In order to prove to them that our people had gone too far and that the boards (which were easy for the Indians to procure)...were meant to be bought and not stolen, they were presented with several sheets of copper, the only thing which could be given to them and they appreciate... Then, the Captain of that village became the most friendly one we had.

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<sup>1</sup> The following is a slightly-altered translation of Caamaño's words. His style is too poor to stand literal quotation.

Mozino was probably referring to this incident when he wrote:

Two things....I found reprehensible in the behaviour of our people during that time. The first was to have ordered a volley to be fired at the Indians when these came by night to steal a few casks and barrels, as this evil could have been remedied...by some other punishment...The second is the violence with which they took possession of the boards of the village of Hua-pa-na-nuth for the building of the main house in our establishment. That "Tayee" had no others than those in use in his cabins, and it is an injustice as great as robbery...The fault of Eliza in this incident consists in not having sent with the Soldiers and Sailors some of the Pilots he had, whose genial mildness would have served as a restraint.<sup>1</sup>

### Cannibalism

The theme of cannibalism at Nootka appeared again and again in Spanish narratives. Many officers believed that this was practised by the natives, and some of their accounts sound rather convincing because of the details included. Caamaño states that he had it from other Indians that Macuinna himself practised cannibalism in a brutal manner. He adds that the Spaniards had been told about it by "the English of the Argonaut, and that in consequence:

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<sup>1</sup> Moziño, Notícias de Nutka, p. 64.

...we made him understand, as well as we could, the great wickedness that he was doing, that if it came to our notice that he did it again we would go to his village and burn it and put to the sword all those in it, as a result this reprimand, which had originally been decided upon as a whipping and had not been carried out for fear of frightening away the Indians, caused him after three or four days to bring for sale a girl whom I bought for a sheet of copper and I gave her the name of Dolores...I was able to gather, on knowing her age (7 or 8 years), that he would have had her for his depraved purpose notwithstanding that he denied it and assured me that it was merely slander that had been spread about him by the people of the other villages. The fact is that previously to his bringing her they had tried to sell to our vessels the legs and arms of infants.<sup>1</sup>

#### Macuinna returns to Nootka

We know from Quimper that Macuinna had left the Nootka district and had gone to live in Clayuclat, but there is no indication as to when he did so. Moziño seems to imply that it happened soon after Martínez killed Keleken, and as a result of this slaying; but Martínez reported having met Macuinna several times after this event.

On June 2, Quimper, who was exploring the Clayuclat coast, went to see the chief Huiquinanichi. There he met Macuinna, too. Recognising Quimper's first pilot, Haro (who had been at Nootka in the previous year), Macuinna asked

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 69, p. 14.

him if Martinez was still in command there. He was told that the "Tayee" there now was a man called Eliza, who was anxious to meet and entertain Macuinna--as was Martínez.<sup>1</sup>

On the following day, Haro gave presents to Macuinna and to his wife and children, but (Quimper says) it was obvious that the chieftain "still mistrusted the friendship of Martínez and doubted our words because he continued asking the sailors whether Martínez or Eliza was the Captain of the Frigate which was at Nootka, and as they answered the same way he would hug us with great joy saying, 'Amigo Amar a Dios' (Friend Love God), words which he had learned at Nootka."<sup>2</sup>

Thus Macuinna seemed to imply that he had exiled himself out of distrust of Martínez. This may be so, but one should not expect Macuinna to be very consistent in his acts: there is proof that he was not always so.

On June 4, Macuinna, obviously reassured, asked Quimper for a sail for his canoe, stating that he had decided to go back to Nootka. Quimper, sensing that it was advisable to please him, obliged. A party was held, during which complimentary words were exchanged and the Spaniards again gave Macuinna more presents. Quimper left Clayuclat, to continue his voyage, confident that the chieftain would

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<sup>1</sup> Wagner, Spanish Explorations in Juan de Fuca Strait, pp. 84-87.

<sup>2</sup> Quimper's Journal. Mex. N.A., Vol. 68.



soon return to Nootka.<sup>1</sup> There is no indication as to when he did so. It appears, from two references made by Caamaño, that he visited the Spanish establishment on October 19;<sup>2</sup> and some time later, Caamaño mentioned that the Spanish were on excellent terms with the chieftain: that he was very cooperative, and that he was living "fairly close to Friendly Cove".

Later references show that the natives did not dwell in Friendly Cove after the arrival of the Eliza expedition. Indeed, these references insinuate that the natives left that site when the expedition arrived.

By combining all these fragments of information, the reader may infer that Macuinna returned to Nootka shortly after he met Quimper (perhaps late in June), but that he did not visit the Spanish establishment. There are indications, in later references, that he could be extremely moody, and it is not surprising that, in spite of his friendly meeting with Quimper, he remained aloof from the Spanish at Nootka.<sup>3</sup> Moziño tells a very interesting story which suggests that Alberní, knowing that the chieftain was in that vicinity but refused to appear, contrived, by means of a clever trick and subtle flattery, to persuade him to renew his

1 Quimper's Journal. Mex. N.A., Vol. 68.

2 See next chapter.

3 If, indeed, he was so set against Martínez, perhaps he did not want to visit the Spanish as long as this man was with them; but he may have decided to do so after Martínez left (July 12).

acquaintance with the Spanish:

...Alberní took advantage, with rare wit, of the propensity of Maquinna to listen with pleasure to flattery, and to oblige him to visit the Spaniards, with whom he had broken all familiar communication since the tragic affair of Quelequem, composed a verse with the few words he knew of the language, celebrating the grandeur of Maquinna and the friendship that the Spanish professed to that chief, and to all his nation.

Macuina, Macuina, Macuina,  
Asco Tais Hua-cas;  
Espana, Espana, Espana,  
Nua-cas Macuina Nutka.

Maquinna, Maquinna, Maquinna,  
is a great prince and friend  
of ours;  
Spain, Spain, Spain,  
is a friend of Maquinna.

He taught the troops to sing it to the tune of "Mambru"<sup>1</sup> so that the savages would hear it and bring it to the notice of their Tayee. This amusing trick had all the effect its author wanted for Macuina came to the spot and asked that his praise be sung several times running, in order to learn it by heart and repeat it, as I was still able to listen to it after two years.<sup>2</sup>

This story is quite consistent with the excellent reputation of Alberní (who was repeatedly praised by English and Spanish captains), and has all the ring of truth; but

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<sup>1</sup> This was a famous song, honouring the great British general, Marlborough. I have tried to sing Alberní's lines to the tune of the song (as I know it), but they hardly fit. I wonder if there were variations of the tune which may have fitted better.

<sup>2</sup> Notícias de Nutka, pp. 63-4.

I cannot trace it through any other source, and Moziño does not state when it happened. However, it is fair to suppose that Alberní practised this cajolery at some time prior to Macuinna's first recorded re-appearance at the Spanish establishment, on October 19--perhaps this was, indeed, his first visit during the period of Eliza's command.

It appears that, from that date, the relations between the chieftain and the Spanish were most cordial--although still subject to ups and downs. Macuinna did not come to live in Friendly Cove, but he frequently came to visit the Spanish, often staying for a meal.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### NINE MONTHS OF STEADY DEVELOPMENT

Between the departure of the Aranzazú in July, 1790, and the arrival of the San Carlos on March 26 of the following year, the size, composition and command of the Spanish occupation force remained unchanged, and its life was active but rather uneventful. For these reasons, this period is treated and reviewed as a unit, in this chapter. The main event at Nootka, during this period, was the two-month sojourn of the Argonaut at Marwinna (January 4 to March 2, 1791), which was preceded by some dramatic incidents; but, for reasons of method, this point will be taken up in another chapter.

The only piece of gossip about life at the Spanish establishment, during the whole of its existence, was the report of some petty disputes between the chaplain of the Concepción, Father Alexandro Jordán, and captains Eliza and Caamaño. Most of the incidents between the contenders occurred during the period covered by this chapter, but the story extends beyond and reaches its climax at another time and place. For this reason, it will be necessary to deal with it as a complete unit, which I have done in Chapter XXXV.

There is a fair amount of information about these

two subjects, but the available data about other aspects of life at Nootka during the second half of 1790 and the first quarter of the following year is very scant. There is no indication that Eliza wrote any form of report, and it would appear that he provided only a few notes about the arrival of the Argonaut and the health of his men. Caamaño, the commander of the Princesa, recorded a few events in his log-book, and these--apart from details about the two topics mentioned earlier--constitute all the data available about this period.

. . .

During these nine months, the Concepción and the Princesa were at anchor at Nootka and, but for the visit of the Argonaut, no other ship entered or left the port. The exact complements of the two Spanish ships, at that time, are not clearly recorded, but it may be possible to make a fairly accurate estimate of the numbers. The Concepción had carried to Nootka one hundred and sixty-six men (one had died on the way from San Blas), including fifty Catalan volunteers. Martínez and possibly three or four sick men had departed in the Aranzazú. The Princesa brought eighty-seven men, and it is possible that some of the twenty-two soldiers whom the San Carlos had carried from San Blas were left at Nootka, and did not participate in the subsequent voyage of that ship to Alaska. Not many soldiers would be needed on those voyages. According to Alberní, the captain of the troop, the total number of Spaniards at Nootka

throughout that period was never below two hundred and fifty.<sup>1</sup> So it may be reckoned that this was approximately their number for the period reviewed in this chapter.

September was a month of fair weather and clear skies. The building activities continued, and two of the six guns (of 24 calibre) which had been brought in the Princesa were placed in the "castle". The schooner-in-frame (taken from the Argonaut), which Eliza had commenced building on May 26, was completed on September 25.

On September 29, another structure was begun which was scheduled to become the bakery for the establishment. By the end of the month, according to Caamaño, ten houses were completed, including the one within the fort. It is not stated whether these included the small sheds (jacaloncitos) which were built soon after the arrival of the Eliza expedition. However, these were probably temporary structures, and not counted as buildings or "houses".

On October 1, "the sick men in the frigate Concepción were moved to the hospital which was built ashore, and on the same day the carpenters began to cut the lumber to build a house in which they would do their work". So, by that time, eleven buildings had been completed and another one was in process of construction.

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<sup>1</sup> Information supplied to Captain Malaspina. (See Chapter XLI.)

On October 17, one of the crew of the Concepción was reported missing. Two days later the boat, well fitted out, was sent to search for him. The canoe in which he had gone fishing was found on a rock, but the man was never seen again. Caamaño does not state why a search was not started immediately he was reported missing, nor does he mention the name of the victim. He was probably Agustín Vicente, of the Catalan Volunteers.<sup>1</sup>

Then, in a note, Caamaño says:

On the 1st (November) we christened the schooner which has been built in this port; it was given the name of Saturnina, and was brought to the side...

Later information shows that the full name was Santa Saturnina, but that, like many other Spanish vessels, it was also given an alias: Horcasitas (sometimes spelled without the initial 'H'), this being the surname of the Viceroy, Count Revilla-Gigedo.

Caamaño has very little to report from this date until the end of the year. For the remainder of November, he made only a few references to the weather and to events in connection with Colnett and his men--which are recorded in another chapter of this work. During December, he wrote only forty-five words, giving his customary references to

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1 Indirect evidence suggests that this was the man.

the weather and to events in connection with Colnett and his men--which are recorded in another chapter of this work. During December, he wrote only forty-five words, giving his customary references to the weather (milder than in previous months), and the news of the deaths of a soldier and a sailor. He does not name these *men* but, from other references, it may be assumed that they were Josef Ramos and Juan Perdomo, respectively.

For early January, 1791, Caamaño reported clear skies and a considerable increase in the number of men sick with scurvy, haematic diahorrea, and other ailments. This was the month when the Argonaut returned to Nootka. From then until the arrival of the San Carlos on March 24, there is very little information available.

February was a month of rain and storms. Eliza found himself without fresh food (dietas vivas), for much food had gone bad--probably on account of the humidity. Caamaño gave a few particulars of the kinds of ailments with which they had to contend:

The most common diseases experienced during our stay have been catarrh, rheumatic pains, colds, colitis and gastro-enteritis (cólicos flatulentos o ventosos), diahorrea, dysentery--or evacuations with blood--and scurvy. The latter is the one which most afflicted our crews, threatening [them] with fatal consequences if our surgeons had not stopped it with a concoction they made, as a kind of tea, with the shoots (pimpollos) of pine or fir trees, to which they



added the anti-scorbutic medicines that they considered adequate; and this unusual prescription, which they administered in regular doses, had a wonderful effect. No remedy was found for blood dysentery. Whoever suffered from it died, inevitably, if he did not leave that region.

Eliza also mentioned one or two details about this matter:

Since the 1st of January it has hardly risen above 24 degrees and only seldom above 30. I have consulted with the surgeons, and they say that it is not possible to treat the men in this climate.<sup>1</sup>

#### One year's record

In place of a detailed history of the progress of the Spanish establishment during the first year of its re-occupation (April 6, 1790 to March 1791), it may be more appropriate to give a general description of its growth and of the life of its occupants, drawing information from all available sources.

The movement of Spanish forces during those twelve months was as follows:

April 4-7 to May 4: Three ships and 391 men.

May 4-31: Two ships and 202 men.

May 31 to June 25: One ship: probably 160 men.

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<sup>1</sup> Eliza to Bodega-Quadra, March 9, 1791.

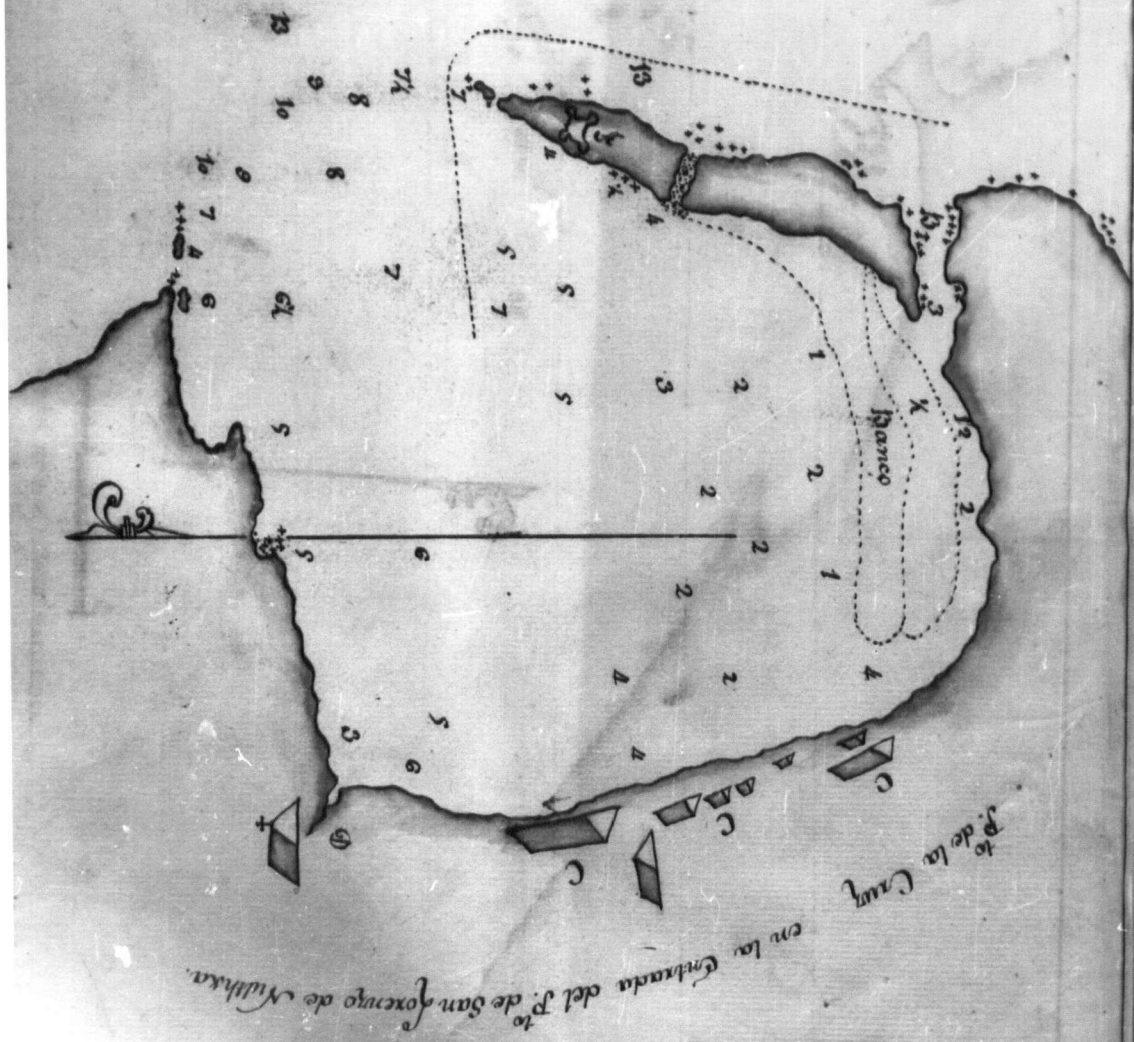
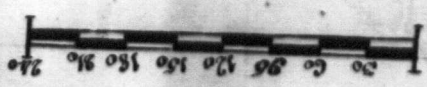
June 25 to July 12:	Three ships.
	( <u>Concepción</u> ; probably 160 men.
July 12 to March 10:	( <u>Princesa</u> ; probably eighty-
	(one men.

As stated above, a few of the soldiers brought by the San Carlos in May, 1790, may have remained at Nootka, and their number would raise all these totals by about ten men.

The garrison was probably engaged in guard duties, and in rebuilding the fort and setting up a hut within its precincts. The remainder of the men were obviously engaged in routine duties, both on board ship and ashore, and especially on building activities. The latter included the building--or, rather, the assembling--of the schooner-in-frame which had been taken from the Argonaut (a task which, apparently, was not an easy one), and also the building of wooden structures which were sometimes called houses and at times, "huts". Soon after the arrival of the occupation force, some sheds (xacaloncitos) were built on the beach. By the end of the year (according to Caamaño) ten buildings were completed, including one in the fort.

Caamaño drew a very simple chart of Friendly Cove and the Spanish establishment (reproduced on the following page) which certainly belongs to some time within this period, but it is not sufficiently detailed to give a clear impression of the actual size and disposition of the buildings. There are several charts and drawings providing

Escala de Puercas del Rio de los Puercos



en la Entrada del P<sup>to</sup> de San Lorenzo de Villalva.  
J<sup>to</sup> de la Cruz

Castilla de S<sup>ta</sup> Angust  
B. Boca Chica  
C. Casas fabricadas por los Españoles  
D. Vasillos en donde los Españoles  
fabricaron una yelca año de 1720.

excellent detail of the layout and the actual shape of buildings, and other installations, and the location of vegetable gardens, but these appear to have been executed at a period somewhat later than this one (see Chapter XLI), with the possible exception of the "Plano del Puerto" by an anonymous cartographer.

There are indications that members of the garrison were housed in living-quarters ashore from an early date, while the crews and most of the naval personnel were probably lodged on board their ships. It appears that the sick were housed on shore, also, even before the hospital hut was built. The fact that, at one time, the chaplain, Jordan, lived ashore for some time suggests that perhaps other people were lodged there, too--possibly the tradesmen: blacksmiths, bakers, and others.<sup>1</sup>

At some unspecified date after the arrival of the Eliza expedition, vegetable gardens were started on land, undoubtedly following the pioneering work begun under Martínez during the previous year. There are no contemporary accounts of these activities,<sup>2</sup> but subsequent evidence suggests that this work was commenced at an early date, and the main credit for it was given to Captain Alberní.

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1 Some charts of the establishment, probably drawn at a later date, seem to confirm this assumption. (See end of chapter.)

2 Only a note in Mex. N.A., History, Vol. 68, p. 23.

The following year, 1790, the command was assumed by Don Francisco Eliza and Don Pedro Alberní. To the industrial genius of the latter, that in no way contradicted the general character of his Province of Catalonia are owed the Houses, Offices and Gardens that have afforded relief and gratification to so many navigators. He employed his crew in the production; he excavated wells and aqueducts: he bred a number of birds, and would have been able to defend from hunger the entire personnel by his continuous expedients. Eliza, on his part, followed this example, and they both employed their sagacity in attracting the good-will of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

Pantoja wrote:

With much effort they have started several vegetable gardens by clearing and drying a part of the forest, where beautiful cabbages, lettuce, radishes, potatoes, turnips, garlic, onions, carrots, artichokes, and tomatoes (grow), but they only enjoy these advantages from the middle of October because of the frequent rain, snow, (and) storms which root up, burn and rot the plants.

On its very wild mountains there are bears, wolves, coyotes, bison, and a small animal similar to the kind of ferret found in Spain. Before it was realised that they existed here, they caused much alarm to the poultry which the Commander had ashore, for on a certain night they killed sixty between big and small.<sup>2</sup>

Possibly not all of these activities were carried out during 1790, but it is obvious that a good start was made.

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1 Moziño, Notícias de Nutka, p.

2 Pantoja, Journal of the San Carlos...1791, p. 237. Naval Museum, Madrid; N.W. American coast, Vol. 1 (331), folder 7. (Copy in Bancroft Library.)

As for wells, the latest of the charts show that there were two, and it would seem that one of them was dug during this first year of the re-occupation. A somewhat obscure line in Caamaño's writings suggests that dry, rotten tree-branches and leaves were used as fertiliser on the sandy ground. It may be inferred that building and gardening activities were considerably curtailed during the winter months, and that the men were often obliged to remain inactive. Perhaps they were given some military drill for the sake of fitness.

There is no indication whatsoever about the forms of relaxation available for these men, with the exception of a reference to the fact that there was at least one guitar.<sup>1</sup> It seems doubtful that there was any sexual intercourse with native women: most accounts describe these women as being very chaste. Moreover, the native quarters were situated at some distance from the Spanish establishment, especially in wintertime. In later years, this situation changed somewhat.

Mass and other religious duties were carried out on board both ships, although there were some processions and occasional services on the beach.

Sickness descended upon the Spanish force during the winter of 1790-91, and, if Eliza is to be believed, food became very scarce.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXXV.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE CAPTURED SHIPS AND CREWS IN MEXICO

At this stage of the narrative it is necessary to retrace our steps and recount what happened to the ships and crews which Martínez had seized at Nootka and sent to Mexico.

#### The Fair American

The Fair American with Captain Metcalfe and crew had arrived at San Blas on December 13. I have been unable to find any information as to where they were quartered or how they were treated; but, in any case, they were there only for about six weeks.

The Spanish authorities were not worried about the youthful Captain Metcalfe and his small crew, and in December, 1789, Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo decided that, since they "had not shown hostility or offended the Spanish establishment, they had carried out, possibly in good faith, the fur trade which had not so far hindered the Spanish", they should be set free with due apologies for any inconvenience they may have suffered.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, Metcalfe began preparations to sail for the Sandwich Isles. However,

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<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy to the Minister for the Navy--letter 198, dated December 27, 1789. A. Indies, Est. 90, Caja. 3, Legajo 19.

Bodega-Quadra wrote to the Viceroy, on January 25, 1790:

"...considering that the speed with which Metcalfe is preparing for his voyage to the "San Duic"<sup>1</sup> Isles might handicap Your Excellency's plans if, as I am persuaded, he passes on the news of the situation at Nootka, I have thought of delaying him (entretenerlo) until the departure of the expedition." By "the situation at Nootka" Bodega-Quadra obviously meant the fact that the port was unoccupied at the time.

The Viceroy approved of this suggestion, and added that if it were not too late he would recommend that the Fair American voyage under the Spanish flag as far as Nootka and there be set free. But Bodega-Quadra, obviously having reconsidered the matter, was now able to ease the Viceroy's mind: even if the Boston schooner should go directly to the Sandwich Isles and make such a report (as he had feared earlier), the Eliza expedition would, by that time, already be established at Nootka. So, feeling that there was nothing to fear from this quarter, the Spaniards gave Metcalfe nautical help, and some supplies which, according to a Spanish document, amounted to one hundred pesos in value. These included "cables, a compass, 22 arrobas of biscuit, 18 arrobas of salted meat, 2 fanegas of beans, 6 arrobas of flour, 150 wax candles, 30 pounds of ordinary powder,

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1 It appears that the Spanish thought that "Sandwich" was the name of a saint, but that they did not quite know how to spell it.



30 pounds of bullets."<sup>1</sup> There is no indication that Metcalfe was made to pay in any way for these articles.

Colnett, who did not fare so well, suspected some sinister intent behind this apparent Spanish generosity:

News now came from Mexico to let the American go and fit him with everything wanted, at no expense, with a Licence to go where he pleas'd but this I credibly inform'd was only a trap to catch his father. They also supplied him with money, which he believ'd was a gift, at the same time unknown to him open'd his packages of Skins and took fifty of the best.

I have been unable to ascertain how far this last accusation is true. As for a Spanish plan to catch the elder Metcalfe, there does not seem to be any reference to it in Spanish papers.

Nor is there any report as to the experiences of the crew of the Fair American while under detention. If any of them wrote anything on the subject, the papers probably disappeared at the time of their tragedy--for their voyage ended tragically. The Fair American sailed from San Blas on February 26.<sup>1</sup> Upon her arrival at the Sandwich Isles, on February 1, 1790, the natives massacred all but one of the crew. This sole survivor was Isaac Davies, who was later

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<sup>1</sup> Letters from Hixosa to the Viceroy on March 3, and receipt signed by Metcalfe on February 29; Hist. 65, Chapter 15.

<sup>2</sup> Bodega-Quadra to the Viceroy, San Blas, March 5, 1790. History 65, Chapter 15.

associated with the famous John Young in the days of Kahameheha I of Hawaii.<sup>1</sup>

### The British Prisoners

Colnett's Journal contains an extremely interesting account of his experiences in Mexico, with many details about the way he and his men were treated, and about his official transactions in connection with his ships. The Spanish records offer very little information on the first point, but shed some light on the second.<sup>2</sup>

The Argonaut, commanded by José Tovar, arrived at San Blas on August 15 carrying, as prisoners, the British members of her own crew and that of the Princess Royal. The remainder of their crews--Chinese, Portuguese, and a native of the Sandwich Islands--remained at Nootka for some time. According to Colnett, shocking sufferings and hardships were the lot of his men during that voyage from Nootka to San Blas. "Lice, Maggots, and every other vermin that this filth collected, made them prefer being stark naked rather than keep clothes on them to harbour additional plagues." They arrived "their bones crawling through their flesh."

The Commander and Commissioner at San Blas failed to forward to the Viceroy the reports written by Martinez and

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1 F.W. Howey, Hawaii, Early Relations, (Honolulu, 1930). Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom. Some references to the Fair American can be found in Voyages of the Columbia.

2 As Colnett's Journal has been published I shall omit some details from his narrative.

Tovar with the promptitude requested by the former officer. It was not until five or six days after the arrival of the Argonaut that those papers--plus a report from the Commander--were dispatched to the capital. Pending orders from the Viceroy, the Commander and Commissioner had to decide what to do with the prisoners. The officers were quartered in the residence of the Commissioner, where they were allowed to move only within the house, its backyard and verandah, and were under the surveillance of part of a corporal's guard. The rest of the crew (what Colnett called "the company of the Argonaut") were kept in the port's prison in the custody of the remainder of that guard.<sup>1</sup> The same arrangement was made for the officers and company of the Princess Royal, after she arrived at San Blas on August 27<sup>2</sup> "carrying twelve English prisoners, three of them officers, and the rest sailors."<sup>3</sup> At that time living conditions at San Blas were notoriously bad, especially during the rainy seasons.<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising that Colnett wrote:

...mosquitoes were intolerable and the heat scarce to be borne with; the water so nauseous altho' our thirst was great, it was almost impossible to swallow it...we were saluted during the night with the Bells, which announc'd the death of

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1 Colnett, Journal, pp. 69-70.

2 Colnett said it was on the 28th--see Journal, p. 72.

3. According to a Spanish report.

4 San Blas is quite a pleasant and healthy summer resort, nowadays.

four or five, which next day I was inform'd always happen'd at this season of the Year, it being the unhealthy time, which I afterwards found very true.<sup>1</sup>

Colnett and his men took their meals with the Commissioner, José Monterde, whom Colnett considered "a mercenary wretch and a robber." He was also contemptuous of the interpreter, but he did not say much about the Commander of the establishment, José Camacho.<sup>2</sup> As this man was ailing and about to retire, he may have had little personal contact with the prisoners.

On August 29, upon receiving the reports concerning the Nootka incident and the arrival of the Argonaut at San Blas, the Viceroy complained to Commander Camacho about his delay in dispatching those papers<sup>3</sup> and informed him and his staff that, in case the Argonaut had not been unloaded, they should proceed to do this "in the presence and with the intervention of the English Captain, who shall sign the inventory." The Viceroy ordered that any perishable articles which may be included in her supplies should either be sold or consumed, and due allowance for them should be made to the prisoners--who were to be given all their clothing, but not their weapons, which should be kept together with the

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1 Colnett, op-cit, p. 72.

2 Colnett always wrote the names of the Commissioner and the Commander as Cosé Monterda and José Comancho.

3 The Commander excused himself on the grounds that he was sick, and produced a medical certificate. In spite of this, the Viceroy refused to be placated, and persisted in his belief that considerable negligence had occurred with regard to that matter.

ships' stocks. "All shall be given good treatment and lodging according to their ranks, and shall be paid the salary corresponding to their rank, as from the day of their arrival at that Port." With their money they could acquire any supplies or other articles they may need; a formal account of these transactions was to be kept, with the cooperation of their Captain "who, like all the others, will be left in liberty within the port." The Argonaut should be properly repaired, "with all scrupulous formality." As an afterthought, the Viceroy added a note stating that, in spite of what he had written, and while insisting that the prisoners should be well treated, great care should be taken "to prevent them from making themselves acquainted with the Port and its Coasts" and from leaving the place. "A person or persons of trust should accompany them everywhere and observe their actions and behaviour." "Should any of them abuse their freedom or commit any offence," he was to be held up and an account of the facts should be sent to the Viceroy.

Camacho, acknowledging these instructions, told the Viceroy that they had been faithfully followed, and Colnett's Journal bears this out.

I had the privilege of taking anything out of Store I pleas'd by giving receipts for it and having some porter there which I knew must spoil in this Climate I got it out as we wanted it...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 73.

On October 1, Commissioner Monterde asked the Viceroy whether the prisoners' salaries were to be reckoned according to the scale then effective at San Blas, or in keeping with Colnett's requests, and whether they should be given the usual daily allowance of one real and a half as was the case for the men in the Department when they were ashore.

Monterde added that he had already reported that Colnett and other "oficiales maiores" were given "decent if moderate table: to that effect small amounts have been given to the Spanish Cook who has been assigned to them." Colnett was informed that the value of the food as well as the sixty pesos he had requested for small expenses such as laundry and other items, would be deducted from their pay. "To this Clonet answered through the interpreter that, as he was a prisoner, he did not request or want any salary to be paid either to himself or to his Officers and sailors...but only their keep at the expense of the Royal Treasury, as heretofore."

On October 6 Viceroy Flores again wrote to the Commander and Commissioner at San Blas, repeating that "good treatment and accommodation should be given to the Prisoners according to their rank, that the necessary supplies be given to them, and that they should enjoy freedom within the port." But he also repeated his previous instructions that "caution should be taken so that the prisoners do not get to

know the situation of the Port and its coast, by leaving the place."

Colnett, to some extent, confirms these points; but he was far from pleased and made many complaints, not only about the Spanish but also about some of his own men. He reported that the unloading of the Argonaut was checked by her Chief and second mates, whom he distrusted: "It would have been much better if it had been left entirely to the Spaniards for their [the mates'] giving away everything that was asked for and more, was a plea for their Robberies and when settling with them [the Spaniards] whatever I ask'd for that was missing their answer was it was given. I believe there was a deal of Truth in what they advanc'd..."<sup>1</sup> Although in this case Colnett partly excuses the Spaniards, in many other instances he accuses them of robbery, as he had accused them in Nootka. Commenting upon the suicide of one of his men, he wrote: "This unfortunate circumstance was a good opportunity for Don Cose Monterda to plunder again: he ordered great part of our knives at his house, and all the People's with their razors; those of the Crews he never returned and great part of mine." In another place Colnett also stated that "...what was not given they took, even the utensils we eat off, wearing apparel and other articles, whenever we put them out of our hands." However, as a result of his complaint that the soldiers guarding the

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<sup>1</sup> Journal, p. 73.

the prisoners around the port were unreliable: "They were taken off, and sailors sent to Guard us. From this time we lost nothing, Captain Hudson and self suffered to go where we pleas'd except into Houses, the Officers a Sailor to follow them, and the seamen, a Soldier."

### Deaths and Suicide

At some unspecified time Colnett noted that he, Hudson and most of their men were down with fever. Soon afterwards they were led to believe that they would soon be released and, thus encouraged, all the prisoners worked hard at the task of repairing the Argonaut--only to discover, later, that they had been "rascally deceived". "This acted Strongly on my self, Officers, and Crew, and Shortly after departed this life Eight including the Chief mate of the Sloop and my Boatswain the informer." (The latter was one whom Colnett had repeatedly accused of duplicity and dishonesty.) Colnett seems to infer that these deaths were almost exclusively the result of disappointment; but what he himself had said about the climate at San Blas should also be taken into consideration.

One prisoner, however, was the victim of depression which led him to commit suicide. Colnett merely mentioned that the man, James Hanson, "cut his Throat in the necessary" and that the chief mate, Duffin, "seiz'd on all his [Hanson's] papers etc., so that if he gave any reason for so going he destroyed it or kept it a secret to himself."



A Spanish report on this incident states:

Immediately after, we went to the house where he was staying together with the other prisoner officers and in the privvy we found him already dead, fallen to the ground with a shaving razor between his legs, its end tied with a handkerchief all stained with the blood which he had shed in abundance through the right carotid artery which he had cut....the doctor stated he had hardly lived two minutes after having injured himself....Several men, among them the Cook, Diego Pons, affirmed they had not been away from the place in the whole morning and they had seen Hanson and other Englishmen very cheerful and that with a very calm face he had gone into the privvy. The Cook, himself, was the first to get to the privvy after the tragedy and from the door he turned and called for water thinking Hanson had had an accident. Colnett and others appeared at once but too late. Hanson had borrowed the razor from a small box belonging to the English surgeon, Thomas Temple Halson. He had been seen near the box but nothing was suspected at the time. The same day Hanson was buried in a hidden part of the mountain (en lo oculto del Monte como correspondia) as the case required.<sup>1</sup>

The anonymous Franciscan chronicler boldly assumed that this Protestant sinner would suffer eternal punishment--unlike another of the prisoners who was fortunate enough to have embraced the Catholic faith just before he departed this life:

In the meantime our Faith triumphed in

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<sup>1</sup> As a suicide, Hanson was buried in unconsecrated ground and in an unmarked grave. The fact that he was a Protestant, in addition to being a suicide, probably prompted this final comment.

one of the Englishmen of the two seized ships; he felt himself attacked of a mortal disease and, excited by an omnipotent grace, he recanted his errors and being Baptised with the rites of our Catholic Religion, died a son of the true church.<sup>1</sup> A different fate was met by another English Pilot who, six days after the arrival of the Argonaut at San Blas, took his life, in desperation, in a privvy with a razor blade firmly tied to his arm, beginning to experience already, in his death, an effect which on an incomparably larger scale will torment him forever.

### The Prisoners moved to Tepic

On October 1, Colnett wrote to the Viceroy:

The Climate of San Blas has much impaired my health, as well as all my officers and crew; an Indulgence of residing a few miles in the Country or some distance from hence for a few days, part of us at a time, will be look'd on as a great favour.

This request was granted and on November 14 the British prisoners were moved to Tepic, a mountain town some distance from San Blas, where the staff of the Department contrived to spend as much time as they could. By then Colnett and his men "were on the recovery", as he himself said. It appears, from Colnett's own words, that the life of the prisoners, while in Tepic, was bearable:

We had the privilege of the Town and Country to ride, walk, or Shoot, night

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<sup>1</sup> The Father did not give the name of this "lucky" one. Perhaps he was referring to "Huxfry" Keene (see p. 451 below).

or day; and the People [probably meaning the sailors] till 8 o'clock at night. Inhabitants behaved civil and we were invited into most houses, except where the Jealousy of the men prevented it. The European Spaniards were most attentive, and our Situation became tolerable, and were not sorry for Shifting from San Blas.<sup>1</sup>

Hudson and Colnett were allowed to rent a house:

...one of the best houses in the Town, but said to be haunted, for which reason no Spaniard would live in it. It was pleasantly situated and Commodious; in this we lived the remaining part of the time we stay'd in the Country.<sup>2</sup>

Actually Colnett, himself, was away from Tepic for two months and a half, having gone to Mexico City to plead his case with the Spanish authorities there.

Colnett wrote very interesting descriptions of San Blas and Tepic, and recounted a few events, some pleasant, some unpleasant. The latter referred mostly to acts of bigotry and mischief experienced by him and his men--the main villain being the curate of Tepic, "a Man void of every Qualification to admit him into any society but brutes and savages". As an example of Colnett's stories, here is one in connection with that curate:

He Caus'd Bills to be stuck up  
throughout the Town at Tepick forbidding  
all families to admit us into their

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1 Colnett, Journal, p. 81-2.

2 Ibid, p. 89.

houses particularly those whose husbands were absent, or having none, on pain of the Inquisition: describing us as heretics, and no better than beasts. Before I went to Mexico he took a great deal of pains, as well as did many of our well wishers, to promote an entertainment, which was called Henry the Eighth, which was frequently acted in the Public Market wherein the English, and their religion are pictured in as horrid a light as possible. This was done to induce the populace to detest us, but as we always attended ourselves and laugh'd at it, and explain'd the life of Henry, etc., which few of them knew, it had not the desired Effect; and when the Young Lady that acted Anna Bullen prefer'd acting the more amorous part of Henry's Character with some of my Officers in Private to that in Public, and latterly refus'd to play at all without better paid for it than an absolution of Sins from ye Padre. When we left the Country she had grown very fat and was past playing. Poor Henry the Eighth is allowed no rest in New Spain; he with Cardinal Wolsey and Cromwell in every Mazon<sup>1</sup> Porch are painted in purgatory up to the Eyes in liquid fire.<sup>2</sup>

Eventually, the remainder of the crews of the Argonaut and the Princess Royal arrived at San Blas, too. Some of the Portuguese had been transported from Nootka to Monterey in the Argonaut, and transferred to San Blas later. The rest of the Portuguese, plus the Chinese and the young man from the Sandwich Islands, left Nootka with Martinez and arrived at San Blas on December 13, 1789.

Colnett reported that "the Chinamen were sent to

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1 Obviously a misspelling of 'mesón'; 'inn'.

2 Colnett, Journal, p. 82.

Tepeak (Tepic)", that "the Portuguese consented to work for the Spaniards" and that the Sandwich Islander--whom he called Modetroy (the Spanish called him Matututuray)--was kept by force by Martínez. Martínez had little to do with this lad at the time. The Franciscan fathers who had gone to Nootka took him to the College of San Fernando, in Mexico. Later, Colnett repeatedly asked the Viceroy to order that this young man be returned to him, and after a good deal of discussion and correspondence on the matter the British captain won the point.

At some time (probably in June, 1790) the Viceroy told Colnett that the Chinese had requested to be sent to China in a Spanish vessel, but that he had refused their request because he wanted these men returned to Colnett. The latter accused his "bitter enemy the curate of Tepic" of having plotted this move and written the appeal for these Celestials.<sup>1</sup> In any case, six of them deserted Colnett on June 11.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish records state that six of the Portuguese deserted the British, too. Colnett, himself, seems to imply this in his statement that "the Portuguese were anxious to Run away for Consideration of Pay 20 Dollars Pr Month". He specifically complained that one of them "had

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1 Colnett, Journal, p. 125.

2 Ibid, p. 129. Also confirmed by the Spanish accounts of the prisoners' stay in Mexico.

Shifted dresses with the Spanish Boat's Crew...and 'scaped on shore greatly in debt to the Vessel."

British Catholics?

Spanish records reveal that some of Colnett's men claimed to be Catholics and anxious to pass into the service of Spain.

Martínez had written from Nootka, on July 26, 1789, that the first and second pilots of the Princess Royal, Christobal Jaques and Humpry King (also, and equally incorrectly, called Huxfry Keene by the Spanish), had declared to one of the Spaniards that they were secretly Catholic; that when their captain, Thomas Hudson, heard of this "he threw them from their Mess and put them to work with the rest of the sailors", and that "from the first day of their arrival they endeavoured to pass to the service of our Sovereign, under his flag, in the same category as pilots." Martínez felt that he had no authority to comply with their wishes, but he suggested to the Viceroy that they should be employed at San Blas as "second pilots" since they were rather skilled at navigation and knew the coast.

Martínez had also reported that John Kendrick, Junior, was a Catholic, and wanted to pass into the Spanish navy.<sup>1</sup>

Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo noted these points in the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, page .

letters which Martínez had written to his predecessor. Although he had doubts about the wisdom of Martínez' suggestions, Revilla-Gigedo wanted to give them fair consideration. He instructed Bodega-Quadra to investigate the matter, and to think of the most suitable job which could be offered to the Englishmen if they were found to be sincere Catholics. However, since the pilot is responsible for the course of the ship, the Viceroy felt that "it would be unwise to place this trust in foreigners whose Catholicism is questionable." The Viceroy also wanted to take into account the fact that these men did not speak Spanish, which Martínez did not seem to have considered.

With reference to Kendrick, the Viceroy recommended the same caution because "these Protestants frequently suit their religion to their particular interests, and with the same facility with which they receive it they reject it when it does not help their fortunes."

While attending to his many duties, Bodega-Quadra had to find time to attempt a psychological and religious assessment of these Englishmen. One of them, Humphrey King, had died in the meantime (on October 29th); but it appears that, during the interim period, certain other prisoners had claimed to be Catholics at heart. Bodega-Quadra interviewed Christopher Jacques, Thomas Temple, "and several others who had expressed similar desires", and gave the Viceroy his opinion (letter of January 23, 1790):

I have found that only the fear of remaining prisoners made them abjure and that they do not have a perfect vocation...none of the Englishmen ever seriously thought about the matter; only the Bostonian, John Kendrick, gives signs of a perfect vocation. He left his father, and with this intention he stayed voluntarily at Nootka, carried out with the utmost care the command of the schooner which Don Esteban Martínez entrusted to him and, in a word, applies himself to the Doctrine and ardently desires to be a Catholic and serve in this Department...

Therefore Quadra recommended that Kendrick be accepted as a pilot, which the Viceroy approved.

It is curious that Colnett does not make the slightest reference to this matter (nor do any of his associates); but he confirms, indirectly, the case of Kendrick: "Commodore Quadra out of humanity took the Young man under his care and on his Changing his religion stood God father, and got him an appointment as second Pilot in their service."<sup>1</sup> It appears, from a letter of instruction he received from them that Colnett's employers had "the strongest reasons to be dissatisfied with Jacks [Jacques]", and Colnett was told to return him to China.

#### The British ships

We have seen that both the outgoing and the incoming Viceroy felt that the captured British ships should be used on Spanish voyages. At first, Flores meant to use

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 214.



the Argonaut to send supplies to Nootka in the autumn of 1789, but this was not done. However, the vessel was used to carry artillery from Acapulco. Colnett reports that, at some unspecified date, "an order came to fit my Vessel out and for the Englishmen to do it." "Altho' our crews were in a very weak condition, their spirits seem'd to be a little rais'd with the news, and though scarcely unable to crawl...[they did the job]. After the Vessel's Bottom was completed, we were rascally undeceiv'd by Camacha informing me the Argonaut was to go to Acapulco for Guns for their service."

It will be recalled that Revilla-Gigedo decided later, that the Argonaut should participate in the Eliza expedition, but that he was dissuaded by Bodega-Quadra who considered her unsatisfactory on account of nautical considerations. However, the Princess Royal was sent to Nootka, as part of the Eliza expedition. On January 14, when Colnett learned that this was to be done, he wrote to Bodega-Quadra to say that "this being so opposite to the Laws of Great Britain and her Colonies and settlements..." he protested against the ship being employed "till condemn'd by the Laws of Civilised Nations and Capture." Bodega-Quadra answered that the ship was to be used on an interim basis "pending , decision of the Court....Should it have suffered any damage on its return and if the King orders that it be returned [to the British] it will be delivered to you careened to your satisfaction."

A few days later, Colnett asked to go to San Blas (from Tepic) and inspect the Argonaut, which had been damaged "going and coming from Acapulco". He subsequently reported in his Journal:

Next day [probably January 23] I went down to San Blas with the Commandant and took my Carpenter to survey the Vessel which I found to be in want of nothing, altho' the Master Builder made his estimate at Three Thousand Dollars' repair, and on my refusing to heave down reply'd he hoped we should sink the first time we went to sea, but the truth was this: I had refused to sell my Copper etc., the people in power here thought when missing it would be a good plea to say it was on the Bottom....

Angered at this, Colnett then wrote to the Viceroy (San Blas, January 29):

To my surprise when I went on board, from what I could see myself, and also my Carpenter, it was entirely false information. I now grew completely tired of the deception put on me, and also of the duplicity repeatedly treated with. In consequence of which, this morning, I apply'd to Commodore Don Francisco Quadra for permission to be sent with such officers as I chose to Mexico. In answer he informed me it was not in his power till Your Excellency was acquainted with it.

#### Colnett's requests

Colnett, feeling that he could make no headway with the men at San Blas, requested the Viceroy's permission to go to Mexico City and discuss his problems there. Revilla-

Gigedo granted the request,<sup>1</sup> and on about March 15, Colnett left Tepic for the capital, where he arrived on April 7--staying for about five weeks. During that time he had several interviews, and exchanged several letters, with the Viceroy concerning the treatment of the prisoners; their pay; the release of the ships; payment of compensations for damages; complaints about Martinez; the case of Matututuray, and other topics.

On March 24, the Spanish Government ordered the Viceroy to set the British ships free if this had not been done.<sup>2</sup> This was precisely what Revilla-Gigedo had been wishing to do, and he was undoubtedly pleased to carry out this order. On April 27, (just as he had finished letters to his employer, to the British Ambassador in Spain and to the British Admiralty, protesting against "such Piracy and Ill Treatment"), Colnett was given a message from the Viceroy stating that the Argonaut would be returned to him at San Blas "with all the individuals of your nation and everything else that belongs to you". He might sail to any destination, but "taking care not to trade in establishments or coasts of the Spanish nation." The Princess Royal would be returned to her commander, Hudson, at Nootka "in useful and in good condition of service." "The schooner in piece which can no longer be safely floated again will be made good to you either in

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1 Letter of February 23.

2 Report of Minister Valdés to the "Junto de Estado", March 28, 1790. National History Archives, Madrid--Estado 4291.

lumber or in money....everything will be returned to you in the condition in which it was received or you will be paid for whatever may be missing..." The Viceroy suggested that Colnett send a claim for any compensations over and above the amounts credited to him, so that "the King may decide as he pleases, reimbursing the London Company." In the meantime, the British Captain would be given some money for his expenses, pending the settlement of accounts.

On that same day, orders were dispatched to Bodega-Quadra, at San Blas. He was to return the Argonaut to Colnett and was to instruct the Commander of the Nootka establishment to return the Princess Royal to Captain Hudson.

Not unnaturally, Colnett wanted more than the mere recovery of the ships, and, in a letter to the Viceroy, dated May 5, he listed the following requests:

1. That in view of the "slowness" with which affairs concerning him were managed, he be granted the services of an interpreter so that he may help speed matters.

2. That such articles as he needed and were not available in San Blas or Tepic be provided for him in Guadalajara or Mexico City.

- 3a. Colnett was prepared to sail for his destination "which is to trade with the free Indians, absolutely avoiding doing so with any of the Spanish establishments". He promised to treat Spaniards and their flag with all courtesy--but in order "to avoid troubles such as the one I have just

had" he applied for a passport addressed to all Spanish commanders.

3b. He also asked to "be given the schooner in its present condition", and that he "be allowed to make in it whatever changes I deem fit."

4. That orders be given for the Princess Royal "to come as soon as possible from Nootka to San Blas to receive on board its habilitation (sic) and crew, or that the one and the other be sent to Nootka without delay."

5. That the crews of the two captured ships be given only "the money that I consider convenient and I explicitly name under my signature: and the rest, in conformity with the power I have, be handed to my Company in Europe with the other accounts."

6. That he be given a loan, up to three thousand pesos, so that he might try to replace several articles, for his personal use and nautical direction, which were missing.

7. "As my men must be paid in conformity with what the King of Spain pays his Navy employed on the South Seas, I beg Your Excellency to condescent to determine in what class I be considered, if as Commander of an Expedition or as Naval Lieutenant, it being my duty to state that in the last case I would be the only loser in this arrangement."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This letter appears on pp. 106-108 of The Colnett Journal.

The Viceroy replied, point by point:

1. He would give instructions to speed up matters at San Blas; and Colnett would not need the services of an interpreter.

2. No objection, but really not necessary.

3a. "I have no objection to giving you the passport for which you ask, fixing the precise regular peremptory term to sail directly to Macao and absolutely forbidding you to stop to trade with the Indians you call free, for all the coast of this continent to the north of California Peninsula belongs to the King of Spain where foreigners are not allowed to trade and therefore, if you do so, you will run the risk of your boat being captured as Legitimate prey..." The Viceroy added that if he then set Colnett free it was because his employers, when they directed him to trade on that coast, were undoubtedly ignorant of the fact that it was a Spanish possession.

3b. Orders had been issued to restore to Colnett the schooner-in-frame which the Argonaut had been carrying "but if by any chance it has been disposed of, you will be reimbursed for its just value without any delay."

4. The Princess Royal was then at Nootka. There it would be delivered to Hudson "whom, together with his crew, you must transport in your packetboat Argonaut as is decided."

5. Granted, provided the crews agreed.

6. Repeated orders had been given to restore to Colnett all his belongings. Therefore the money he requested would not be necessary.

7. Colnett would be paid as a Lieutenant of the Navy and not as commander of an expedition. The Viceroy insinuated that Colnett should be glad of this because, if he had actually gone to Nootka as the commander of "a true Royal expedition, perhaps I would be forced to suspend the freedom which has already been granted to you by my desire to prove our loyal and friendly relations with the subjects of the King of Great Britain."<sup>1</sup> 2

On May 6, Colnett replied to the Viceroy insisting that his men should not be given any cash without his approval, "as I am the properest Judge of the Quantity that may be necessary to each, and am, in the name of the Company, responsible for the Remainder..." It would be unwise to give these men extra money, and he requested the Viceroy to "take

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<sup>1</sup> The Colnett Journal, pp. 109-112.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Valdés, explaining his answer to Colnett's nine points, Revilla Gígedo says: "En el septimo articulo hizo present~~a~~ que le faltaban diversas prendas de su uso personal y dirección Nautica, solicitando que para reemplazarlas le librase la cantidad de tres mil pesos: pero yo me negué....Dio ordenes de que se le devolviese...Despues supe por el mismo Colnet había encontrado la habilitacion que deseaba y le franqueó, segun noticias extrajudiciales, el Teniente de Navio...Maurelle en gratitud del buen trato y obsequios homosos que le hicieron en Canton los Factores de la Compania Mercantil de Londres." 27 Mayo. Carta 538, Reservada. A. Indies, Vol. 90, Carp. 3, Legajo 21.

into consideration the evil consequences that may result to me and my employers by desertion, want of Subordination, &c". The credit he had requested was no longer needed, since someone whom he did not know before had promised to advance him any amount of money he may wish.<sup>1</sup>

### The Passport

Three days later, Colnett wrote to the Viceroy again, to follow up the matter of the passport, and the Viceroy's decision that he should sail directly for Macao without stopping on the American coast.

The British captain explained that the Viceroy was placing him in an inconsistent position for these reasons: He had been ordered by his employers "to commerce with the Indians and form settlements for that purpose wherever I thought most advantageous, with the express injunction to avoid entirely the Spanish settlements and keep peace and Concord with all Nations." The claims of the Court of Spain on the American coasts remained an open question, since Britain obviously did not accept them. On the other hand, the privilege granted to his company, the South Sea Company, was due to expire that same year, "and the Court of Madrid may oppose the renewal of it, if they intend to support their claim to the entire Coast." Colnett hoped that these matters would

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett did not mention this person's name.



be amicably settled by the respective governments, "but in the meantime I do expect from the Justice, as well as the Generosity, of Your Excellency, not to oppose the peaceable execution of a commerce undertaken with so much good faith and at so vast Expense to the Company..." Therefore he requested a passport "with only the Prohibition of Commercing with any of the Spanish Settlements".

Colnett practically won his last point and, on May 11, the Viceroy issued a passport allowing both him and Hudson "to return to Macao or proceed to where they should think proper, with an Express prohibition of going, without very urgent necessity, into any Port or Bay belonging to our south Sea Coast of America, or forming any settlement, or trade on them, with the Indians: but this they may do in other places, Islands, or Coasts, which do not belong to the Dominions of His Catholic Majesty."<sup>1</sup>

Actually the wording of this passport is such that it may bear more than one interpretation, but Colnett obviously felt he would get away with his trade.

#### Why was Colnett released?

The Viceroy made a point of stating and repeating to Colnett the reasons why the British ships and their crews would be released. In his answer to point 3a of Colnett's

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, pp. 119-121.

first letter, he said: "...for if I now grant you your liberty it is because I consider that if the London Company sent you to Nootka to establish yourself there and trade on its coast, it was surely because they did not know that they [those coasts] were Spanish possessions, because if they had known, I believe they would not have tried to disturb by an improper act the sincerity and harmony which reigns between Spain and England." In the text of the passport issued to Colnett and Hudson, this point was further emphasized:

This officer [Martínez] acted in accordance with Royal Ordinances which not only absolutely prohibit any kind of Navigation, Establishment, or Commerce of Foreigners on our South Sea Coasts of both Americas, but moreover strictly command that they be looked upon as declared enemies, without considering such a Treatment a Breach of National Friendship or contravention of the treaties of peace concluded in the Year 1760, ratified and Confirmed by the 2nd Article of the Treaty of 1783, that the visits of all Foreign Vessels are not permitted and much less the introduction of Navigation or Commerce on the above mentioned Coast....In virtue of these decisive declarations referred to by both sides, the Sloop and Snow were justly detained as lawful prizes. However, instigated by a sincere desire ...good harmony...friendly agreement...."

Manning considered this stand to be a reversal of Revilla-Gigedo's previous views on the matter.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this was so; but it is also possible that Revilla-Gigedo, while

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIV of this narrative--"Policy". For Manning's comments, see The Nootka Sound Controversy, pp. 354 & 357.

personally believing that the seizure of the British ships was unjustified, did not wish the British to notice any inconsistency in Spanish policies, and therefore preferred to justify Martínez' actions officially.

Immediately after the reference to these negotiations, Colnett's Journal reads:

From Captain Hudson and Officers I learnt the Argonaut was fitting out when they left Tepic and (it was said) for California. This threw a damp on me again, for I had overheard as much on my road to Mexico. I began to believe it too true, and no longer faith to be put in a Spaniard, from first to last. I again applied to my faithful Oracle and Padre [Father Hidalgo] who was father Confessor to the Vice Roy's secretary, wife, and Daughter. He friendly exhorted me to make myself easy and by ten next morning, he would inform me whether it was so or no. He was true to his word, and my Information good, but an express had been sent to Stop her.<sup>1</sup>

In a later passage,<sup>2</sup> Colnett added that no sooner had he set out from San Blas for Mexico City "than they began to prepare her for a Voyage to California, and the Post only arrived an hour in time to Stop her sailing, which was a great disappointment to the Leading men at San Blas, as they miss'd an Opportunity of Smuggling a great quantity of goods, which they had purchas'd for that Country,<sup>3</sup> and now lay on

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1 Colnett, Journal, p. 121.

2 Ibid, p. 130.

3 I do not know what kind of smuggling this was supposed to be.

their Hands--for the North West America and other small schooner of their own were scarcely able to Carry the Corn alone my Vessel had in."

Whether it is true or not that the Spanish were planning to use the Argonaut in this way, Colnett obtained assurances that it would not be done, and he became more optimistic: "I began now to make myself as content as possible, still building hopes to make a saving voyage." A few days later, he started on his way back to Tepic, and arrived there on June 1.<sup>1</sup>

#### Compensation to Colnett and his men

On June 3, Bodega-Quadra ordered the Argonaut to be returned to Colnett who then appointed Robert Gibson as Chief Mate, and on June 4 the British colours were hoisted again--it being the birthday of His Britannic Majesty. On June 8, Colnett and Hudson went to inspect the ship, and again they found that more things had been stolen. Then preparations started for the Argonaut to sail, while her captain was discussing with the Spanish the accounts of losses, compensations, pay due to the British crews, and other matters.

One of the difficult matters to decide was how much Colnett should be paid for the schooner-in-frame. The Spanish had carried it to Nootka and had assembled it there, and Bodega-Quadra had convinced the Viceroy that insuperable

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 122.

difficulties prevented its return to the British. According to Colnett, the Commisary and his officers offered him only ninety-two dollars for it. Consequently, he "positively declared" that he would not agree to any settlement "without allow'd five hundred Dolars for my Boat, Prime cost...this, after brief deliberation, was agreed to."<sup>1</sup> So it was included in the balance sheet.<sup>2</sup>

Colnett also stated that after some discussions about the settlement of accounts Bodega-Quadra "flew into a violent passion" and forbade the interpreter to explain things further to him, and that, having no option and being very anxious to get away, he gave up his fight and accepted the account-sheet prepared by the Spanish, after having it duly undersigned by the Commander and the Commisary of the Naval Department, and dated July 8.

The balance-sheet included salaries due to the crews of the two captured ships--not including the accounts which had been advanced to them--the value of provisions and goods which Martinez had taken from those ships, payment for goods sold by the British to the warehouse at San Blas, and the cost of medicines and provisions for the stocking of the two ships and of the careening of the launch.

The total amount credited to British party ██████████

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1 Colnett, Journal, p. 128.

2 Ibid, p. 133.

was estimated at 22,520 pesos and the debit at 13,261 pesos. So Colnett was given the balance which, with the fractions, was exactly 9,258 pesos 6 reales 6 granos.<sup>1</sup>

Colnett felt that the Spanish had again been mean: "No article allowed me for what was either stole at Nootka, on the Passage, or out of Store at San Blas. What Stores and provisions they allow'd to have appropriated to their own use they set their own Value on, as they did the articles supplied me in lieu. My Guns, fowling piece, and Nautical Instruments, the Commandant inform'd me were order'd to be delivered me at Nootka. All my Expenses for Self and Officers for the Journey to and from Mexico, fell on myself, as well as the Carriage of the Crew to and from the Country."

F.W. Howey considers that Colnett was right in many of his complaints, and that the balance-sheet, itself, "supports some of his claims"; also that "it seems fair to agree with Colnett that the Spaniards helped themselves to anything that was on the captured ship." I have not studied this point myself, but I am inclined to give Judge Howey credit for his statements. In any case, the matter did not turn out too badly for Colnett's employers, for the Spanish Government subsequently paid them 210 thousand hard dollars in specie<sup>2</sup> as compensation for all losses. Although this

1 See Colnett's Journal, pp. 133-168.

2 Manning, p. 467.

was only one third of what they had claimed, through John Meares, it was probably fair compensation since Meares' own statement of "actual and probable losses" was undoubtedly exaggerated.

Should Colnett be grateful?

According to Colnett, Bodega-Quadra repeatedly pressed him to sign a statement, prepared by the Spaniards, to the effect that he was very pleased with the way he was treated at San Blas. Colnett gave many reasons which prompted him to sign it, after much hesitation:

Everything was ready on board the Vessel, most of the crew anxious to be gone; the Portuguese to run away for Consideration of pay 20 Dollars Pr. Month; the Vessel in a Roadstead where she had parted one Cable; the Bad season advancing fast, and several of the crew already down with the Country disease (fever); all our Baggage and everything on board but our persons. Remaining at San Blas was certain Death and if we refused the Vessel we might be sent a round-about way to Europe..."<sup>1</sup>

Colnett still added the fear that the ship may be sent to California and that he had heard from a friend in Mexico City that "a mail had come from Europe where it had been determin'd by the Court of Madrid, if the Vessel was not clear'd by then the Vice Roy to make prizes of them." This information was not true, but it is natural that Colnett should be anxious to leave Mexico.

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 129.

The statement he signed includes these sentences:

I will always gratefully acknowledge the good journey and the civility with which I have been treated....I have been a prisoner in name only....I have had the regard of the Commissary and of the whole Département....but....I must....clear my responsibility for the damages and delays which the Company has suffered because of Martínez and the bad faith with which he seized me, which action I shall never be able to forget.<sup>1</sup>

If it is true that Bodega-Quadra urged Colnett to sign this prepared text, then it would appear that he was ensuring that the blame would fall upon Martínez. It is quite possible that Bodega-Quadra disliked Martínez, but it is doubtful whether he would use such an oblique way of attacking him. It may well be that Colnett himself was the author of that particular paragraph.

Colnett implies that had he not been under pressure he would not have signed that letter praising the Spanish for their attitude to himself and his men. Actually he made similar statements on two other occasions, with no signs of pressure; but, in these later instances, it is possible that he was carried away by the desire to win the goodwill of the Spanish. In a letter he sent, by their favour, to the British Ambassador in Madrid (on May 1, 1790) he stated that he and his men were "treated with all humanity and kindness and every attention paid them, in the day they have liberty

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 129.



to go where they please", and in his first letter to the Viceroy he praised the Commander at San Blas, José Camacho (for having encouraged him to write a frank letter to the Viceroy), and stated that all the cruelties that he and his men had suffered at Nootka were entirely compensated by the kindness and humanity shown to them at San Blas, for which reason they would be ever grateful to Camacho.<sup>1</sup>

The pedantic and bigoted friar, author of "Noticias de Nutka", said: "they were cared for more as honoured guests than as prisoners until they were freed, either because the King did not approve what had been done or because he wanted to extend liberty even to those he was in a position to oppress." The father added that these facts were confirmed by a letter written by Thomas Hudson to the Viceroy, on September 18, but in fact this letter says nothing at all on the matter of how the British prisoners were treated. Colnett certainly was not as pleased as the friar would suggest.

No great importance need be attached to the anonymous friar's statement, firstly because it seems obvious that he wrote only from hearsay and when far from the scene of events, and secondly because of his definite Spanish bias. Colnett himself, both in his letters to the Viceroy and in the intimacy of his Journal, gave vent to endless complaints about the way in which he and his men were treated and about all sorts of unfair practices they were made to suffer.

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 123.

Several months after he sailed from San Blas, even, he still listed grievances suffered there. In his last letter to the Viceroy he wrote:

...when my Vessel return'd from Acapulco with Cannon, and was survey'd by the builders of the Arsenal it was computed it would cost Three Thousand Dollars to repair the Damages she had received. I objected to it. If this was the real Opinion of the Artificers at that time, it was a degree of Cruelty to send me away without informing me the Vessel had been on shore since that survey twice. In addition to it, I was obliged to Salt my meat in the heat of the Autumnal Equinox, which in most parts is consider'd in that Latitude an impossibility--and also take such Beasts as that unhealthy and dry season afforded; Beasts that would have been given to Dogs in my Country, in lieu of the Best beef Great Britain afforded and many other exhorbitant Charges. The Robberies committed on my Ship and Cargo no allowance was made for, because I could not point out the particular aggressors. It was not possible for me, who was confin'd in a Place four foot Square to know them...<sup>1</sup>

In due course, the Viceroy sent Colnett a dignified answer to this last letter.

The experience of finding himself a prisoner and his ship seized, and both transported to a strange country, must have been extremely un-nerving for Colnett, who appears to have been a very intelligent but hypersensitive man who often complained not only about the Spanish but also about some of his associates. It is impossible to determine how far he was right in his complaints about the Spanish. That

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 209.

he included among those with whom he found fault a man like Bodega-Quadra, whom everybody else praised in the highest terms, seems to cast some doubts on Colnett's equanimity. Fortunately, he also found a number of helpful and friendly people, and on the whole seems to have been pleased with Commander Camacho and with the Viceroy.

Among his own associates, Colnett had a particular dislike for Duffin, the Chief Mate, because, among other things: "he had alter'd the [ship's] Articles, Made himself Commander." Colnett says the other men signed a statement exposing this forgery. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he was given back his ship (June 3) Colnett appointed another man, Robert Gibson, to fill Duffin's position.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Argonaut leaves San Blas

The Argonaut was readied to sail from San Blas with most of her own crew and that of the Princess Royal. Apparently Robert Duffin was left behind at San Blas. Also missing were the seven men who had died in San Blas, or nearby; and twelve men who had deserted the two ships at various times, among whom were six Chinese and three Portuguese. At least one of these deserters voyaged to Nootka again, in the Princess Royal. I have no information as to what became of these men.

On July 9, after suffering many other disappointments,

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 123.

Colnett finally sailed:

I took what money they [the Spanish]  
chose to give me, took leave of them,  
and got on board late in the evening  
July ninth and Sail'd Immediately;  
and released myself from the Tyranny,  
Cruelty, Robbery, of the Inhabitants  
of New Spain.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p. 131.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE DISASTROUS VOYAGE OF THE ARGONAUT

The Argonaut's last voyage to Nootka was destined to be a disastrous one. Here is a chronology of the events which occurred during that voyage:

- July 9, 1790 Argonaut sails from San Blas.
- Sept. 13 Colnett dispatches the long-boat to trade, after making arrangements to meet again.
- Oct. 8 Argonaut arrives at Clayuclat.
- Oct. 17 Colnett sends the jolly-boat to Nootka, to seek Eliza's help.
- Oct. 21 Long-boat arrives at Clayuclat.
- Oct. 24 Colnett dispatches the long-boat with Captain Hudson and four men to Nootka to enquire about the jolly-boat.
- Oct. 28 Arrival of long-boat at Nootka.  
(Eliza and Caamano record event.)
- Oct. 30 Long-boat, under Gibson, leaves Nootka for Clayuclat with letters from Eliza.
- In the evening, Macuina tells Eliza that a boat has sunk about seven leagues south of Nootka. Eliza requests Macuina to go to that spot and try to find a box which was on the boat (box with letters).
- Oct. 31 Macuina sets out to look for traces of jolly-boat.
- The long-boat returns to Nootka. Rough seas had prevented it from reaching Clayuclat.
- Nov. 6 Long-boat sails again for Clayuclat.
- Macuina returns to Friendly Cove and brings clothing from drowned men.

- Nov. 8      The long-boat anchors off Macuina Point, firing volleys (pedrezazos) as if asking for help.  
Eliza sends boat to help.
- Nov. 14      Colnett very worried about both the jolly-boat and the long-boat (the first had been absent one month, the second three weeks).  
Gives letter to Indian Chief, Hanna, for Eliza.
- Nov. 16      Colnett learns that Hanna has not gone to Nootka. "...Agreed with another but paid no advance."
- Nov. 17      Five men from the long-boat leave for Clayuclat in a canoe--only two men remain in the long-boat, the first and second pilots.  
  
On an unspecified date, according to Gibson, Eliza had tried to have the Indians carry a letter to Colnett.
- Nov. 19      The canoe with the five Englishmen returns to Nootka, after their having been rowing night and day.
- Nov. 21      Detouch Que Settle (Hoskins called him Tootescoosettle), brother of the Clayuclat chieftain, tells Colnett that the jolly-boat has 'drowned'. Brings pair of trousers from one of the dead men.  
  
Colnett holds an Indian chief to ransom, while letters are dispatched to Nootka. (The letters were carried by the chieftain's sister--an elderly woman.)
- Nov. 22      The old woman leaves Clayuclat with letters from Colnett to Eliza.
- Nov. 23      Arrival of Indians in three canoes with letters for Eliza.  
  
On the same day they go back, with letters from Eliza and from Gibson reporting facts and suggesting that Colnett comes to Nootka.
- Dec. 13      The long-boat (Gibson) leaves Nootka for Clayuclat.
- Jan. 1, 1791    Arrival of long-boat at Clayuclat.
- Jan. 1      Argonaut sails for Nootka.

Jan. 4            Argonaut arrives at Nootka.  
 March 3           Argonaut leaves Nootka for the Sandwich  
                  Islands.

The Argonaut sails from San Blas

July 9, 1790, at Ten P.M., the day and hour of release of a Twelve Month and four day's Cruelty, Robbery, and Oppressive treatment of the Spaniards of New Spain.<sup>1</sup>

Thus repeating an earlier comment, Colnett records the departure of the Argonaut from San Blas, bound for Nootka. He certainly had not the slightest intention of complying with the Viceroy's restrictions on his right to engage in commerce: "I had determin'd the first port I met to part company with my Long Boat, and send her on a trading Voyage up the Coast and Join me to the North."

This was done at what Colnett called Drake Bay (which was probably the present Bodega Bay, some eighteen miles north of the present Drake Bay). The longboat of the Argonaut was hoisted out, and a crew of eight men, commanded by Robert Gibson, took it over. Colnett gave Gibson written instructions, obviously worded in a way calculated to placate the Spaniards, should they discover the boat in "forbidden" places. The first paragraph gives as the reasons for the boat's having been separated from the Argonaut: "...foul winds and bad weather...reduc'd to three Butts of water and

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett, Journal, p. 131.

the ship's badly damaged...and too weak to carry the Long Boat on her Deck in Bad weather."

Then Colnett adds:

As there is a great probability that you may fall in with some Spanish Vessels on the coast, I have furnished you with the Viceroy's Pass from Mexico to San Blas which will be very sufficient, but be careful you are not surprised and avoid all Vessels or European Boats, and let no inducement whatever tempt you to go near them, but on the contrary use every Caution to prevent their speaking to you, which will be the means to prevent all Misunderstanding, which has been the cause of our Detention in that horrid Climate San Blas.

On September 13, the Argonaut and its longboat left Drake or Bodega Bay together, but soon they parted company.

### The Argonaut at Clayuclat

On October 8, on reaching Port Clayuclat, where he expected to meet the longboat, Colnett halted. The Argonaut was in need of repairs and short of supplies. Captain Hudson volunteered to take the jolly-boat and proceed to Nootka where he would request supplies from the Spaniards. Colnett claimed that he was averse to this suggestion because the greater part of the way was dangerous inland navigation, but that he reluctantly consented because he was afraid that if he waited too long to get to Nootka the Princess Royal, which he was hoping to recover there, may sail



away. "I unfortunately acquiesced but as I meant to put no restraint on the people I sent for them one by one, and asked them if they were Volunteers on this undertaking, when they answered 'yes'." However, Hudson's chief mate, Jacques (or Jacks), was so reluctant to accompany him that he was replaced by another man.

#### A boat bound for Nootka

The next morning, October 17, the jolly-boat carrying Captain Hudson and five men, left for Nootka. Colnett said that "the Boat was too Deep, most of the seamen having taken [a] great part of their Clothes and himself [Hudson] no small Quantity". The party carried "a Packet of letters cas'd in wood, and also covered with Tarr'd Canvas to escape any injury of the weather". These letters were Spanish official messages; plus one from Colnett for Eliza, in which, with excuses and half-truths, the British captain appealed for help:

I was only victualled for 7 months at San Blas and part of the meat cured there is now spoil'd. My passage to this part of the Coast has been so much Longer than I could have expected, that I am at present but very Short of Provisions. I have to supplicate you to assist Captain Hudson in that article particularly, and in every other that the Vessel may need, when you deliver her [meaning the Princess Royal] to him as I am by distress of weather very deficient in stores of every kind, for which he will give Bills on the South Sea Company payable in China or London.

Colnett referred to "the known generosity and humanity of the Spanish Nation", and volunteered to carry to China any skins or letters that Eliza may wish to send there.

On October 21, while the jolly-boat was on this mission, the long-boat arrived at Clayuclat. It was decided to have it "clear'd with all despatch and Victuall'd afresh to go to the Assistance of Captain Hudson." Colnett gave Gibson three swivels which he had borrowed from the Naval Department of San Blas, and a hog and a case of sweetmeats which he was asked to carry to Nootka with another letter for the Spanish commander there. The long-boat left Clayuclat on October 24, and arrived at Nootka on October 28. Gibson and his companions discovered that the jolly-boat had not been seen there at all.

#### Another boat dispatched

On October 30, the long-boat departed again for Clayuclat, carrying Eliza's answer to the two letters from Colnett. On that same day, Eliza reported that Maquinna came to tell him that "at about five leagues to the south of this Port a boat had been lost and seven men had been drowned, from which I immediately inferred it would be that of the English". Eliza asked the Indian Chief to go to the scene of the accident and try to find a wooden box: that is, the one containing the letters which Colnett had dispatched to Eliza. Maquinna promised to do this service, starting at dawn on the following day.

During that day (October 31) the long-boat of the Argonaut arrived back at Friendly Cove: it had been unable to proceed to Clayuclat because a strong current kept drawing it in a north-westerly direction and the wind was too light to counteract this. During this voyage Gibson met some Indians who told him the bad news about the jolly-boat. Thus the long-boat was again in Friendly Cove, and stayed there a full week (probably because the sea looked too rough). During all this time Colnett was without news of either of the two parties he had dispatched to Nootka.

It was not until November 6 that Gibson and his men set out for Clayuclat again. A few hours after their departure from Friendly Cove, Maquinna arrived, having been to "the spot where the boat had been lost, which is called Ysquat...[after a village there] and said that the Indians from it had refused to show him anything of what they had seized except a pair of sailcloth trousers, and one of white baize, and a pair of woollen yarn stockings opened at the sides because the Indians had opened them to pull them off the legs [of the dead men] and this was the only thing Macquinna brought..." Eliza "...gave him five sheets of copper for himself and for the Indians he had in his canoe."<sup>1</sup>

On November 8, the British long-boat was seen at anchor of Maquina Point, firing volleys (pedrezazos) as if asking for help. Eliza immediately gave orders to have it

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<sup>1</sup> All the information from Eliza included in this chapter is to be found in the Mexican National Archives, Hist. V. 69, Carp. 3.

towed into Friendly Cove, which manoeuvre was successfully accomplished. Once again it had failed to reach Clayuclat and "was nearly lost". According to Gibson (in a letter to Colnett, November 23), Eliza "did all in his power" to have a letter sent to Colnett. "He offered Macuilla [Maquina] 10 Sheets of Copper, I myself 200 Pounds of Iron and the two Caps I have but he would not go".<sup>1</sup>

### Colnett worried

While the Spaniards, at Nootka, were aware of these accidents and misfortunes which befell the English boats, Colnett at Clayuclat, was still without any news of them. By November 14 he "felt very uneasy at not hearing from Captain Hudson nor the long-boat. The first had been absent one Month, the latter 3 weeks." Consequently, on that date, Colnett commissioned an Indian chief, called Hanna,<sup>2</sup> to go to Nootka and find out what had happened to the two boats and their crews, and paid him, in advance, two sheets of copper. By the 16th, finding that the man had not kept his word, the captain engaged another Indian "but paid no advance"!

Colnett decided against going to Nootka himself, with the Argonaut: "should I or they be blown off the Coast

1 Colnett's Journal, pp. 196-7.

2 This Indian, from Ahousat, on Vargas Island, had adopted the name of Captain James Hanna, of the Sea Otter, in 1785-6.

there was no probability of our ever joining Company again, and while I lay here was always to be found." Besides, the predominant winds at that time of the year were such that, in all probability, the boats would be leaving Nootka for Clayuclat just at the right time for the Argonaut to leave for Nootka. Confusing stories about the missing boats were then circulating among the Indians at Clayuclat, and on the 21st Colnett heard, from one whom he trusted, this report:

...the Jolly Boat was stove on the Rocks, Captain Hudson and the whole of the crew drown'd at a Place called Ashqueot, a few Miles to the North of Breakers Point, in the entrance of Nootka, and about 6 or 7 Miles from where the Spanish Commodore lay; and that Captain Hudson, Mr. Temple, and two of his crew had been wash'd on shore. To convince us of which, [he] brought with him a pair of Canvas Trousers known by some on board to belong to Andrew Russell, Carpenter [of the Princess Royal]. He also informed me Mr. Gibson had been at Nootka and had endeavoured to Join me twice or thrice but was blown back...

Colnett was prepared to believe that the jolly-boat had been in trouble; but not that all the men were drowned, since only one of them could not swim and two had the ability "to continue in the water a whole day without drowning". Yet the trousers which Hanna had brought belonged to one of these two good swimmers, and it was also ascertained, afterwards, that the stockings which had been taken to Eliza belonged to one of these two men. "I also learnt if any of the Crew reach'd the Shore, there could be no Probability of the Indians letting them live, as the Spaniards had been but a

little time before to Plunder them and, on being Oppos'd, had fired on them, and kill'd several; but the Indians beat them off."

### Colnett tries a trick

At that stage (September 21), Colnett was so worried that he decided on a trick to make the Indians unravel the mystery:

The Native that accompanied Detouch que settle, was of the lower class of Chiefs. They were both down in my cabin. The former differ'd minutely in his Stories, and widely at times from De touch que settle, in the History of the Long Boat; and prior to this several of them Inquisitively and repeatedly enquired of me, and others on board, what force she was of. Being so long used to Indians [actually Colnett had only dealt with them for about 8 months in 1787-8], and well acquainted with their Treachery and Cunning, I began to be suspicious in my turn. Reason'd with myself that the only method to come at facts was by conveying a letter to Nootka and getting an answer. And this could not be done but by detaining these men which became a tender point, one being a Brother of the King's who had four or five Thousand men at his Command, and in Possession of as many Muskets as I had, but rather short of Ammunition, and also men that had never done me an Injury, but on the Contrary had render'd me every service in their Power. However my Situation was desperate; short of Provisions, no Boat, Shortmann'd, Season advanc'd for going to China, a leaky Ship, Bad Sailor from the state of her Copper on the bottom. I thought [these] must for once plead for me in a breach of Friendship with the Indians and might also be excusable in me who had often borne from other tribes repeated Insults and Injuries unprovoked, and suffered them to go unpunished and without the

smallest molestation, might Justify me for taking a Step that would not in any other situation [have] been excusable. At the very moment I had determin'd this matter with myself, the remaining officers on board, anxious for their surviving and unheard of messmates, came to me urging I would detain those people I had in my power till I had some news of them. My Indian Guests Observing our Conversation rather serious began to be alarm'd and rose to go away which I forbade, telling them they must stay with me till letters were convey'd to Nootka and answers brought back. For which service I would pay him [Detouch que settle] Ten Sheets of Copper, which was equal to Thirty Sea Otter Skins, and besides this gratuity I would make him considerable presents, according to their dispatch. The Chief (being as powerful a Man as I ever saw: myself and two Officers put together not able to make such another for bulk and Size) at first endeavour'd to brave me. As I saw nothing but force would Stop him and his friend, my Pistols being loaded at hand and produced, he resigned himself to his fate, with more seeming content than I had expected....[Here follows an interesting digression about the views of the natives on the Anglo-Spanish rivalry] The Companion of Detouch que settle burst into tears. I dispatched his Canoe and Slaves to acquaint his Brother [Wickananish] what I had done, and my determination. I soon learnt the Village was in an Uproar and much discord in their Councils what to do. In the evening an Elderly woman, the Chief's sister, came. She was always much attach'd to the English, as was her husband a Second Rank Chief at Nootka, who for his attachment to our Countrymen lost his Life, being murdered by don Esteban Martínez for finding fault with him in Capturing the English in his District, and afterwards demanded five Sea Otter Skins before he would let them take the Body away to Bury it. The old woman told me she could not Paddle herself, but in the morning if I would get the letter ready she would carry it, and bring another in Answer. The morning it was bad weather. There was no probability of proceeding, but we were supplied with great quantity of fish

mostly Salmon, which was liberally paid for. We learnt from our prisoners; Captain Hannah by name, that got a letter from me on the 14th and promised to carry it to Nootka, was in possession of part if not all our deceased Companions' Clothes and that he, the said Chief Captain Hannah by name, had acted towards us with the greatest duplicity for all the numberless presents I had made him. The letter was at his house now, and that he had long known the unfortunate end of our Jolly Boat's Crew. This afternoon he pass'd at some distance from the Ship but did not come near us. The Chief (Detouch que settle) Chanted Prayers constantly for good weather, and when any of equal Rank was along side they Joined in Chorus; his Companion cried. In the afternoon it Moderated. The old lady came according to her promise. I presented her with a double Blanket to keep her warm on her Passage...

She was also given a letter for "Don Frans Elisha Commodore of M.C.M.S. Nootka", in which Colnett explained that he had dispatched two boats to Nootka, hired Indians to convey letters to him, that three Portuguese had robbed the Argonaut and run away with a Canoe which he had bought from the natives, and that he thought they were on their way to Nootka.

Colnett concluded his account:

When the Old Lady took leave of me, she informed me my Royal Prisoner's wife and children would die with Grief before she return'd. As soon as she was gone I desired the Chief to send for his family and I would make them presents, and assure them I would not hurt him. They all seem'd sensible of this. Their greatest fear was that I should carry him away. They visited me, and I pacified them greatly with my presents and



protestations that on an answer from Nootka I would give him his liberty. During the remaining part of the time I detain'd him they slept but a small distance from the Ship, and most of the day continued along side conversing thro' the scuttles of the Cabin. In their absence and frequently while along side during the day he Chaunted his Prayers to his Co--cates or God for the fine weather. Whether his Prayers had the desired effect I cannot say, but fine weather Continued the whole time the Canoes were gone. They returned the 4th day bringing two of the Long Boat's Crew with them.

They also brought two letters from Eliza<sup>1</sup> (dated October 29 and November 23) and one from Gibson. The Spaniard expressed his sympathy for the troubles the British had experienced, offered help, and stated that he had dispatched the Princess Royal to San Blas. Gibson gave a brief report of the incidents, explained that the Spaniards had treated him and his party well, and assured Colnett that he would be welcome at Nootka: "You have nothing to fear on the Spaniards' side, it is not Martines. They curse the day he ever saw Nootka."

#### Later information

What had actually happened to the jolly-boat and its crew was never ascertained. When the conscientious Viceroy, Revilla-Gigedo, received the reports of Caamano

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<sup>1</sup> Eliza forgot to record the arrival of the old Indian woman and her party, but Caamaño wrote, on November 23: "three canoes came from the port Clayuclat with letters for the Commander of this one which Indians were dispatched the same afternoon."

and Eliza about these incidents, he noticed some contradictions between the two and, consequently, ordered Bodega-Quadra to get a thorough report.<sup>1</sup> The latter then asked the two for more detailed reports. Caamano, going further than he had in his Journal stated that the "seven Englishmen...were killed by the natives of Saint Estevan Point where they arrived fatigued after having swum a long way from the place of their wreckage". Bodega-Quadra, however, noticed that Caamano himself had not said this in his first report, and felt that there was not sufficient proof of it. Eliza believed that these men had died "in the wreck of their boat at five leagues from the Port" (probably meaning Nootka), and Bodega-Quadra was inclined to accept this assumption.<sup>2</sup>

A few months after these events, the Columbia visited Clayuclat, and her log-keeper, Hoskins, wrote, in his entry for June 15, 1791:

On our first arrival at this harbour  
 [Clayuclat] I was informed by  
 tootescoosettle...that Cap Colinet  
 was here. . . having sent Captain  
 Hudson, Mr. Temple, and four hands,  
 in a sail boat to Nootka; in their  
 passage thither, they ran on to a  
 ledge of rocks and they were drowned;  
 a few days after, their bodies were  
 found by the natives, taken up,  
 stripped, gashed, and thrown out for  
 the crows to devour. this account has  
 also been confirmed by Cleeshinah or  
 Captain Hanna, and several other

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1 Mex. N.A., Hist., V. 69, carp 3.

2 Bodega-Quadra to Viceroy, Tepic, June 11, 1791. Mex. N.A., Vol. 69, letter 237.

Chiefs; with this addition, that it blew very hard, with a heavy sea, one of which upset the boat; the natives of Esquot [Hesquiat Harbour between Clayuquot and Nootka] seeing it, went off in their canoes to their assistance but before they got to them, the boat's crew were all dead; they picked them up brought them ashore, and treated them as above related.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE ARGONAUT AGAIN AT NOOTKA

At long last, Colnett had definite news about the two parties he had dispatched to Nootka. On the day after Colnett received his letter, Gibson himself, with his companions in the long-boat, returned to Clayuclat and preparations began at once for the Argonaut to go to Nootka. She sailed on the first day of 1791 and, after encountering difficulties with the natives and with the weather,<sup>1</sup> she entered Friendly Cove three days later (January 4). She stayed there exactly two months. Colnett wrote quite a detailed account of this period and of his dealings with Eliza and his men. Unfortunately, the Spanish wrote practically nothing about it. Therefore, it is impossible to assess how far the Englishman was right, and how fair in his complaints. Let us quote, in full, Colnett's account, and then examine the two or three notes made by Eliza and Caamañe.

Colnett states that when he arrived at Nootka "the Vessel steered badly" so he "fired several Guns for assistance from the Spaniards." He continues:

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1 Colnett, Journal, pp. 198-203.

As we drew near Friendly Cove their Launches took us in Tow. By 11, Anchored. Found Riding here the Concepción and San Carlos, with the Vessel they had built out of the Frame taken from me; also a settlement on shore, with part of the Catalonia Regiment. Great numbers of them were sick of the scurvy.

The Commandant behaved very Politely and offer'd me his Table, as I at this time was at the same allowance as my People 4 [lbs.] of Bread per week and little else but fish. I also had every assistance they could give me. I put the remaining Stock intended for the Sandwich Isles on shore consisting of 3 Hen Turkeys, a he-goat, a Bull, two Rams and 3 Ewes.

As soon as weather would permit and a convenient place found to lay the Ship on shore, the Spanish Launches assisted to tow the Vessel...8 Leagues up the Sound to a Place call'd by the Indians, Mowenna. Spanish Carpenter and Caulkers continued on board. Tents were erected on shore to receive the Trade, Stores and Provisions, and altho' it rained two thirds [of] the time, the 17th, haul'd on shore, and Shored with the Topmast and Top Yards.

February 6th, the Caulkers having Caulk'd the Decks and sides, and their Carpenters, with ours having made a new Main Mast, and new Yards fore and aft, all having been sprung or carried away, I discharged them. And the Spanish seamen growing sickly from Bad weather I only accepted from the Commandant, 2 men and his Launch to get my stores on board. The Commandant paid me a visit while here, and the Surgeon frequently came and attended the Sick, and those that Chose receiv'd into their Hospital. Two of the Spaniards shipt at San Blas went to the Hospital and requested to remain there; and as they were of little use to me, and bad dispos'd men, I consented to leave them in lieu of one Englishman in the Spanish service; this was approved of by the Commandant.

The long boat was haul'd up to repair or Cut down. But...apprehensive it would take me too much time to complete, I determin'd to Tow her to Friendly Cove, and request the Commandant to give me a Boat in lieu. The Bad weather retarded us greatly, that we did not leave Moweena till the 28th (or 21st) when the Spanish Launches assisted to tow us down to Friendly Cove.

Here I completed my wood and water, disposed of several Articles of trade that were either useless or damageable, purchas'd a number of Skins of Both Spaniards and Indians, that completed me near 11 hundred including a few of Captain Hudson's and Mr. Funter's. While here, I din'd daily with the Commandant; and sometimes my Officers. They and myself treated with the greatest Politeness. He made me several presents for the use of the Vessel, including 2 Hogs, a few fowls, and 4 Hams, for which I return'd an Equivalent, and made a present to his Sick of a barrel of Sugar and another of wine. March 1st, took on board the Live Stock for the Sandwich Isles that I put on shore. The Commodore having lost all his he-goats I left him mine, and on return he gave me a forlorn Cock Turkey. The Bull died a few days after I landed it. On the 2nd we rode out as heavy a Gale as ever I met on this Coast. While I lay at Friendly Cove I prevail'd on the Commandant to deliver me the Boat which they had built, and which I brought out in frame and they had completely fitted up, to be settled for in Europe which he consented to one day, and the next altered his mind; which he did several times in the space of an hour, but at last went so far as to take a survey of the Hull and Stores, Valued them and delivered the Vessel to me in form. I had completed Rigging her, when he sent for me informing me he had alter'd his mind, which I must pardon, as some evil dispos'd people had given out, I had bought her from him for 3000 Dollars, which accusation to falsify I must return the Boat, which my situation Obliged me to do.

Another Circumstance which marks the Character of the Spaniards I met with alike, he order'd his Artificers, he inform'd me to repair my Vessel without fee or reward, but before I dismiss'd them presented them with numberless European Articles: Tea, Sugar, Tobacco. They always lived as I did from my Table and as much Liquor as they chose to drink and left my Vessel perfectly satisfied, but after I arrived in Friendly Cove they Complain'd to the Commandant, the hardship of work for a Foreigner without payment.

On which the Commandant sent by one of my Officers requesting I would pay the Sailmaster 32 Dollars and Carpenters 60, which I immediately Complied with. I accidentally went on board when the Caulkers were making application to be paid also, when I remonstrated with the Commodore, and having a list in my Pocket of the Articles I had given them, it was set aside.

But the Commandant took my Long Boat and gave me another in lieu much less. I cannot help mentioning the total ignorance of the Spaniards of this Coast. Altho' they had survey'd Hope Bay, and Boasted what a Capital Survey they had made of it, they never saw the Port I anchored in the North Corner in the Year '87. On my Shewing them my General Chart, which I secreted when taken Prisoner; all my other papers and Charts they seiz'd on and Copied as they had done Captain Douglas's and had it not been for this kind of Information they would have been as Ignorant of the coast as if they had never seen it. Port Sir Francis Drake which I anchored in, they are entirely ignorant of tho' only 20 Leagues from their Settlement of S. Francisco; they superficially saw in the Year        and named it Bodega after their Captain, the same person that now Commands at S. Blas. Commodore Elisha shewed me several Charts of the Southern parts of the Coast which were survey'd by order of His Most Catholic Majesty in the Year 1790. Those I believe to be good. On his

requesting a copy of my Northern General Chart, I requested a copy of his Southern, which was granted, and a General one given me made up from information Stolen from the Europeans they had lately pirated on.

My Passport from the Vice Roy I secreted saying it was lost with Captain Hudson and only shewed him my Friendly Letter, which I receiv'd with it. In doing this it served two purposes: First, it kept them ignorant that I was expressly forbid trading on the Coast, and the Vice Roy's Ideas of Capturing us, and prevent their stopping any English that might arrive off the Coast.

Before I take leave of Nootka I shall describe the Situation the Inhabitants are thrown into by the new Settlers. In the first place they have driven Macquilla from two of his old residences and taken possession of them themselves. This the poor wretch timidly bears. Every artifice had been used to prejudice him against the English, but he has experienced too many Cruelties to believe all they say. I use the same arguments with him, I had done with Wickininish and he made the same application in return, requesting to see a larger ship. But he is a most miserable, cowardly wretch, at best, and flies whenever he sees the Spaniards, but some of his under Chiefs have given them battle several times, and at the Place where I fitted out in the Prince of Wales, a Chief named Wamaisel<sup>1</sup> drove them to their Launches when they came to unroof the Houses of his Village for the Plank, and only lost one man. Next day they return'd with Four Pounders when the Indians fled to the Mountains, and carried their Plank with

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<sup>1</sup> Colnett refers to this minor chief in his Journal of his first voyage under the name "Vau-maise". No other trader mentions him. His home seems to have been near Kendrick Arm. (Note added by Judge Howey, Colnett Journal, p. 208.)



them, but left at the Landing Place the Indian they had murdered hanging on a Cross, that their Pretended religion, and wanton Cruelty might stare them in the Face. The 3rd of March, 1791 the first, and only, fine day that had offer'd for time past, weighed and tow'd out of the harbour, and came to sail, leaving letters with the Commandant for Europe, and one for the Vice Roy....<sup>1</sup>

Thus Colnett related the story of his stay at Nootka. Now for the brief notes about it from Spanish sources. Caamaño merely noted that the Argonaut arrived; that Colnett asked permission to carry out repairs; that on January 8 the ship, with help from Spanish small craft, sailed for Marwinna, and that, on the 12th, the craftsmen of both the Concepción and the San Carlos went to work careening the British ship. Caamaño adds that by February 20, this work was completed, and almost all her masts and spars had been renewed.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish commander claimed to have provided the British with the services of carpenters from both Spanish ships, and with all the help he was able to give. Then he stated:

Colnett insisently asked me to give him the schooner which I had built here since he had not found the Bilander Princess Royal and I did not decide to give to him the boat

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1 Colnett, Journal, p. 209.

2 From Caamaño's Journal (mentioned above), Mex. N.A., Vol. 69, carp. 3.

of the packet-boat San Carlos, which had been lost on this coast and I subsequently bought back from the Indians with copper, in exchange for the schooner he had brought from San Blas, because he did not have a boat or a launch.<sup>1</sup>

Colnett does not give any indication, in his Journal, that he ever tried to recover the schooner, for which he had been paid rather handsome compensation.

Eliza further said that Colnett took in the Argonaut an Englishman who volunteered to go with him (obviously meaning one who was in Spanish service), and that on the day following the departure of this Ship, two "creoles" who had come in it from San Blas presented themselves to him [Eliza], stating that they had stayed behind because they were sick--which the Spanish physician certified to be true.

With regard to Colnett's map of the coast,<sup>2</sup> Eliza wrote to the Viceroy from Nootka (October 10, 1791.):

I send Your Excellency a Copy of the Plan which (as a reward for the help and favours which the Captain of the Arguonot Don Jaime Colnett received from me in this Port) he let me copy from the Original, stating that nobody had seen it, since it was the one he was going to present to his Sovereign about what he had examined during the several occasions when he

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1 Report by Eliza, dated March 9, 1791, Mex. N.A., Vol. 69, carp. 3.

2 See his statement, p. .

had been on this coast.

In spite of all his hard feelings against the Spaniards, Colnett decided to write a farewell letter to Eliza, expressing his "warmest thanks for your Humanity, Friendship and Assistance to fit and repair my damages to proceed my voyage...." He also wrote in similar terms to the Viceroy, and left in the care of Eliza a letter for the British Ambassador in Spain.

On March 3 (March 2, according to Eliza), the Argonaut left Nootka for the Sandwich Islands. Colnett never returned to Nootka, but, through his misfortunes there, he unwittingly contributed to the establishing of a British claim, and to subsequent British sovereignty over this part of the world.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE WANDERINGS OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL

The Viceroy had told Colnett that the Princess Royal would be returned to her captain and crew at Nootka. However, by the time any of these people arrived there, the ship had already left. In his two letters to Colnett (who was then at Clayuclat), Eliza stated that he had dispatched the Princess Royal to San Blas. This statement is not strictly accurate, but basically, it is true. Actually, Eliza had not been instructed to return the ship to the British, and it is very doubtful whether he knew of the Viceroy's decision about it. This decision was made--or at least communicated to Colnett--on May 4. About three weeks before (April 13), Bodega-Quadra had dispatched to Eliza, at Nootka, the order to use the Princess Royal to explore the entrance to the Juan de Fuca Strait and, upon her return to Nootka, send her in company with the San Carlos to carry the sick to San Blas. As has been mentioned, the Princess Royal carried out the exploration, and attempted to return to the port of Nootka. Having failed to enter the port, owing to bad weather, she had been obliged to turn southwards instead. It is probable that some Indians saw her, and told the Spanish about her movements, and that, consequently, Eliza

assumed that she had gone back to San Blas. Thus he had not dispatched her there, exactly; but he would have done so, in any case, for he had not received any instructions cancelling those given to him by Bodega-Quadra.

It may be wondered whether the Viceroy, when he promised the British captain (on May 4) that the Princess Royal would be returned to the British at Nootka, was aware that, three weeks beforehand, orders had been dispatched to Eliza which, for all practical purposes, would invalidate that promise. If he knew, he was, of course, deceiving the British (which is what Colnett came to believe). Perhaps Revilla-Gigedo was not aware of those earlier instructions to Eliza--or perhaps he estimated that by the time Colnett arrived at Nootka the Princess Royal would still be there. The Viceroy may be innocent in the matter, or he may not; but it would seem that Bodega-Quadra could be blamed for having kept a guilty silence. By the time Colnett sailed from San Blas, the Commander of the Naval Base should have been conversant with all the details of the affair: that is to say, that Colnett had been promised that the ship would be returned to her owners at Nootka, but that this would not be possible on account of the orders which Bodega-Quadra, himself, had given to Eliza. If he was aware of the situation, he should have informed Colnett.

The tone of Colnett's Journal--examined after the events--suggests that he truly hoped to recover that ship at

Nootka, despite the fact that he also claimed to have been warned about a possible deception on the part of the Spanish. He also claimed that Eliza had told him that the whole thing was another Spanish trick: "Don Elisha in Friendship acquainted me that Quadra knew well the Princess Royal was not at Nootka, having given him orders to dispatch her on Service, and from thence to San Blas. This corresponds with the Letters I received from Mexico before leaving S. Blas." While Colnett may be right in complaining about Bodega-Quadra, it is doubtful whether he received any letters from Mexico (that is, Mexico City) telling him of the trick. He does not mention the name of the sender, or quote any part of the actual contents of such letters.

So the Princess Royal was not returned to her crew at Nootka. What was the outcome of the matter? A succinct account should suffice, here, because this matter is only indirectly concerned with Nootka and because an account of it has already been published.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish decided to send the Princess Royal to the Phillipine Islands with a cargo of the furs acquired for the Spanish Royal Treasury. There the furs would be sold by the Spanish Phillippine Company, which would also send the ship to Macao, and place her at the disposal of her owners. Consequently, the Princess Royal sailed from San Blas on

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<sup>1</sup> R.S. Kuykendall, "James Colnett and the Princess Royal", Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, pp. 47ff.

February 14, 1791, under the command of Ensign Manuel Quimper, and carrying John Kendrick Junior who was then in the service of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Quimper was instructed to make a stop at the Sandwich Islands, to carry out some explorations. While he was in that area, he encountered the Argonaut and sent a message to Colnett stating that the Princess Royal was on her way to her owners. Whereupon Colnett conceived the idea of recapturing the vessel, there and then. So he sent an ultimatum to Quimper saying, in effect: "either you surrender the ship or we shall seize it." Quimper refused to comply with this. Colnett was apparently determined to use force, but (he stated) his officers dissuaded him, and the Princess Royal continued her voyage to Macao--where the Spanish crew left her, returning to San Blas in another ship, the San Jose.<sup>2</sup>

When the agents of the British owners saw the Princess Royal they refused to accept her, alleging that she was in very poor condition. Eventually, the Spanish Philippine Company was able to sell her for two thousand dollars, which was not too bad a price: her original cost had been three thousand six hundred dollars, and she had been in service for three years. However, in the final assessment of Spanish indemnities for the Nootka incident, the Princess Royal was allowed at ten thousand dollars.

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1 The Journal of this voyage has been preserved: "Noticia del Viage de Quimper a Manila", Deponito Hidrografico, Madrid, Libro b3a, Tomo II.

2 They arrived there on November 6, 1792.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE PRINCESA LEAVES NOOTKA

Eliza explained to the Viceroy (on March 9, 1791) that as a result of hard work and bad weather he always had a number of sick men. From early January "to date" there were twenty-four, and, on many occasions, there had been as many as thirty. Supplies were scarce because food was subject to rotting, the ravages of rats and other risks. He had consulted with the surgeons, who felt that the recovery of some of the patients would be long and, in some cases, impossible in such a climate. Therefore, he had decided to send some of them to San Blas, "rather than have to suffer the sorrow of being unable to supply them with what it is my duty to provide [for] them and which they had so far". The Princesa was to carry them to one of the California "presidios"--Caamano would decide which one.<sup>1</sup>

The ship was fitted up, and extra room made by placing wooden boards on both sides of her waist, or upper-deck. Thirty-two patients were installed on board. One of them had the privilege of having a berth "disoccupied" for him; he was Mauricio Jaulia, the lieutenant of the Company of

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1 Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, Carp. 3.



Catalan Volunteers. The first pilot and the surgeon of the ship were the same as before, but her chaplain was Alejandro Jordán, who had been transferred from the Concepción. Caamaño was entrusted with the carrying of some furs which had been purchased from the natives of the coast, and some papers from Eliza to the Viceroy (dated March 9): a very laconic report of events, and a letter requesting that the men who had served under him be rewarded in some way, and that they should not be charged for articles which they had acquired at Nootka (probably meaning clothing, cigarettes and, possibly, drinks). There is no indication of the response to the first request: in any case, such requests were normally made by commanders as a gesture of courtesy. As for the second request, the answer was in the negative: the men would have to pay.<sup>1</sup>

The Princesa left Nootka on March 10. Two important events happened on her way south: one was the death of Lieutenant Jaulia during the night of March 16--his body was committed to the sea on the following morning--and the other was a row between Caamaño and the chaplain, Jordán. This quarrel was the culmination of a series of incidents, involving Jordán and several other men, which, for the sake of unity will be described in detail in the following chapter.

The Princesa arrived at Monterey on either March

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 69, Carp. 3.

29 or March 30. The sick men (who now numbered thirty-one) and the medicine cabinet were taken ashore. On April 13, she set sail for San Blas, leaving behind "eighteen men between soldiers and sailors who, in the opinion of the surgeon, would take some days to be fit to embark again, and, for their assistance, Chaplain D. Alexandro Jordán and the bleech Luis Gálvez and two sailors." Obviously some of the patients were taken back on board. According to the report sheet, she was now carrying forty-eight people. As there is no indication that any passengers were added to the numbers coming from Nootka, some calculations would show that the total number of men that this ship carried away from Nootka was eighty-nine, which is four less than she had taken there.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### A CHAPLAIN MAKES ENEMIES

When a number of men live a tight communal life, with few comforts and amenities, in an isolated spot far removed from their normal environment, it is natural that some petty incidents should take place among them, and it may be taken for granted that many such incidents occurred in the Spanish establishment at Nootka Sound. Normally such trivialities would not be recorded in writing but, fortunately, one of those occurring at Nootka was so recorded. This was a series of disputes between Chaplain Don Alexandro Jordán Capell, on the one hand, and Commandant Eliza and Officer Caamaño, on the other.

It is very unfortunate that practically all the information available comes from the accusing parties: a very brief letter of Eliza's and three or four from Caamaño testify on their behalf. It appears that Jordan wrote a letter in self-defence, but I have been unable to find it.

Even by piecing together all the information available in the accounts of the case,<sup>1</sup> plus a few details

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<sup>1</sup> To be found in the Mexican National Archives, Vol. 78, pp. 297-330.

taken from other sources, it is possible to obtain only a one-sided, incomplete collection of trivial incidents. Despite this fact, the story may be worth recounting, not merely because it is the only one of its kind available but also because it sheds some light on the activities of the chaplains at the Spanish establishment--a subject on which there is but scant information.

At the time when these events took place, Jordán was, according to a doctor, "of youthful and sanguine temperament". He had voyaged from Spain to Mexico in the same ship as Revilla-Gigedo and the party of naval officers who were going to serve at San Blas--among whom were Eliza and Caamaño. During the voyage there was no friction, but, rather, excessive familiarity between the two men and Jordán. Whether Jordán had already been assigned to serve at San Blas in company with these officers, or whether it was decided later that he would do so, is not revealed in the papers available; but Jordán himself stated that he was officially appointed as chaplain to the Naval Base on March 7, 1790. Once at San Blas, he was assigned to serve in the same capacity in the frigate Concepción, which, under the command of Eliza, was to be the depot-ship during the occupation of Nootka.

Sometime after arriving at Nootka, Jordán began to have arguments with the Commander and the surgeon. When the Princesa and the Aranzazú arrived, Eliza and Jordán tried to

conceal their differences from the newcomers; but Caamaño, Commander of the Princesa, could not fail to notice some tension and he commented that even the crew of the Aranzazú could testify to the "unruly and immoderate character of Jordán." As soon as the latter ship left Nootka, Jordán "started again picking quarrels with the surgeon and the Commander, attributing to them imaginary faults concerning the assistance to the sick, and with an air of affected charity he began to make impossible requests, intent only on his perverse purposes."

Eliza and Caamaño had amalgamated the Messes of their respective ships, the Concepción and the Princesa, and the steward of the former was in charge of the food supplies for both vessels. Caamaño did not hear any complaints from the sick men in his own ship, whom that steward supplied with the same, "and possibly with less", rations than those in the other one. Yet, according to Caamaño, the chaplain:

...used to carry to the sick some servings of rice boiled with water and salt, not because he understood that they needed it--for they had more than sufficient--but in order to boast about it. The disorder caused the patients to get worse in their ailments because they ate more than the doctor prescribed and...he was obliged to give rations to those who should be on a rigorous diet so that the Chaplain could not say that they were deprived of necessary attention.

Eliza tried to stop Jordán from continuing this unwise practice, but the latter "...always refused to obey, repeating with the utmost firmness that he was not bound to take orders from

anybody."

Caamaño recalls that the first important incident that he witnessed was:

...that the Chaplain, having ordered a call for Mass at eight o'clock sharp the Commander, who was somewhat unwell, had to get up in a hurry because the three calls were made without pause and having gone to the Chamber where the altar was set, and everybody assembled, he said to the drummer, 'Another time don't call unless I order you so' to which the Chaplain answered, 'If I gave the order it is because you had so instructed me'. 'Well then, I now give a different order'. The Chaplain, who had so far been seated, stood up and said, "You want to bother me to death", because it was his purpose to make it appear to the crews (a el vulgo) that he was having great troubles. "I shall give you much trouble when I am back at the Departt--you are not fit to command, Sr. Dñ Francisco, you are not fit to command." To which the Commander answered, "Say your Mass, you little Angel." Such expressions were uttered in the presence of the whole crew and garrison.

A few days later, Eliza called Jordán to his cabin and told him he had decided to have one Mass said at eight o'clock and another at nine, so that those who were ashore could attend the second service; so far, many had missed Mass because it was held on the two ships, by their respective chaplains, at the same time. Jordán, without allowing Eliza to finish his statement, left the cabin saying, "Don't come to me with stories and complications. I'll say my Mass at

eight which is the time ordered by the regulations,<sup>1</sup> or else I won't say it at all." A little later, while Eliza was reporting this incident to some of his men, Caamaño could not help but break his firm resolve not to intervene and he commented that the Commander's orders were just and should be obeyed. Whereupon Jordán stepped into the group and accused Caamaño of being an informer. Caamaño answered, "If you were not a clergyman, I would throw you through the stern port into the water." There followed some bickering between the two men and then Eliza again asked the chaplain to say the Mass. He refused to do so, in spite of all the reasons advanced. Eliza, knowing that Jordán had accused him of lack of concern for the sick, turned to the surgeon and the steward, and appealed to them to witness that they could always have all they wanted for the sick--to which Jordán retaliated by making sarcastic and mocking remarks to the Commander.

#### Eliza's moderation

Finally, Eliza allowed the unruly priest to move his quarters ashore, but, far from being alleviated by this move, the situation actually became worse. One day Eliza, having gone ashore to the house (built by the crew of the Princesa) where Jordán had his room, saw that some men were working there. He asked whether there was a leak, and Jordán

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<sup>1</sup> Caamaño, when recounting this story, stated that such was not the case.

answered that there was--whereupon the Commander gave orders that it was to be repaired properly. Then, as Eliza made his way towards the vegetable garden, Jordán followed him and asked, "Why haven't you answered my letter requesting aguardiente [an alcoholic drink] and several things?" Eliza replied that as he had already complied with the request, no answer was necessary. Then the priest complained that Eliza was curious to know why he wanted so much of that liquor, and, in the presence of several men, he shouted, "I want the aguardiente to wash my bottom." The commander immediately warned the chaplain: "If you speak this way I shall have to suspend you from your office." The Chaplain answered, "I, I, shall have you lose yours." Whereupon Eliza ordered him placed under arrest on board the Concepción.

Jordán went aboard the ship, but finding that his room was not ready, he refused to wait and went back to live on shore. Consequently, Eliza sent him an order transferring him to the frigate, Princesa, whose chaplain, Don Nicolas Loera, was instructed to change places with him and take over the chaplain's duties in the other ship. This order was sent on November 14. Two days later, Jordán had not yet reported on board the Princesa, so Caamaño sent him a note: "...in case you have not received the order, reminding you that you have to live on board where the crew are, and eat on board the Concepción . . . where I have my Mess."<sup>1</sup> After reading the

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<sup>1</sup> This letter of November 16 a copy of which is in the files of the case affords the only clue as to the time when these events occurred.



note, Jordán said to the boatmaster, who had delivered it, "Say that the answer is this..." and he started playing the guitar.

Four days later, on November 20, Caamaño sent the recalcitrant chaplain another letter:

...not having answered me or carried out my just request, depriving the whole crew of the ship of the consolation of having someone on whom to call in their urgent spiritual needs, I notify you that tomorrow, 21st instant, you must say Mass in this frigate as His Majesty requires and the needs demand; to that purpose the boat will be on the beach so that you will not need any other means.

When the priest saw the writing of Caamaño, he tore up the letter, and did not go on board to say Mass despite the fact that, at the appointed hour, a boat was awaiting him on the beach.

Two days later, Caamaño wrote to Loera appealing for his help. He requested Loera, in view of Jordán's attitude, to try to see that the crew of the frigate Princesa had "someone to whom to turn in their urgent spiritual needs." If Jordán should refuse "such [a] Christian request", Loera was ordered "to take over the chapel-box and other utensils, since these should be in the hands of those who serve His Majesty and not of one who deliberately ceases to do so."

As a result of Loera's intervention, Jordán "offered to come to eat and say Mass on board, but not only did he not

do so, but he told Captain D. Pedro Alberní that if he should run into one of the two commanders ashore, he would murder him."

Jordán was supported in his attitude by the troops and some sailors, whom he had attracted by constant familiarity: recounting to them imaginary grievances and tearful stories of sufferings (llorando lastimas) eating with them at the same table, giving them money and frequent drinks, making rash promises, and leading them to believe that he enjoyed the complete support of the Viceroy. He even went as far as to state that "His Excellency the Viceroy" had sent him "to scrutinise the conduct of the Commander." He continued to behave like a rebel, "cajoling the 'plebs' and ridiculing his commander as being unmerciful to the sick and a thief of the King's property..."

Thanks to the kindness of Eliza, a reconciliation was effected, in January, 1791, and Jordán went to have his meals on board ship. He was well-treated, and it seemed as if bad feelings were being forgotten. Then for two days, the Chaplain ~~failed~~ to eat on board. Eliza sent him a note, suggesting that if he did not like to eat on board he could send for any food that he wanted--to which Jordán replied with the lowest expression in Spanish scatological language.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Caamaño quoted these expressions which he attributed to the chaplain, but I prefer not to quote them here. Let the reader imagine them, if he has any experience of barrack-room language.

Eliza continued to send messages asking the chaplain to come and live, and to say Mass, on board; but Jordán always refused to do so. Eventually, the Commander decided that Jordán must leave Nootka, and asked the chaplain of the Princesa, Loera, to prepare a report on the matter. However, that report was destroyed later, when Jordán consented to leave for San Blas on the Princesa. Loera remained at Nootka as chaplain of the Concepción.

#### Jordán and Caamaño leave Nootka

One day during the voyage to San Blas, Caamaño admonished Jordán for having appeared at table with his hat on--a thing which Caamaño would have overlooked in other circumstances. The chaplain protested and the two men exchanged hard words. On another occasion, when the commander, for some good reason, was strolling up and down the deck at night, the priest protested and insulted him with abusive and dirty language. From that moment, the commander decided to leave the priest at Monterey, the first port of call: "...as I would have left him on the first deserted island that I might come across."

At Monterey, when Jordán had gone ashore for a meal, Caamaño had the chaplain's baggage carried ashore, in the presence of the men who witnessed that it was not checked, stolen, or in any way damaged. In the ship's report sheet, Caamaño explained that the chaplain had been left at that port so that he could care for the eighteen sick men who were

also left there. Caamaño then wrote to the Governor of California, Pedro Fages, explaining this action and commenting that although he was then at the beginning of his (naval) career, he was fully justified in making this decision--despite the fact that it would interfere with the religious duties of the Easter season, as far as the men on board his ship were concerned, and deprive them of "the great and precious consolation which, in the urgencies, soothe and give eternal happiness."

Governor Fages, in a letter to the Viceroy (Monterey, April 10), reported these facts and supported Caamano on the basis of "confidential information" from the Pilot, the Surgeon, the Contramaestre, and other members of the crew of the Princesa, about the contempt with which the Chaplain had treated Caamaño.

It appears, from other documents, that Jordán also wrote to the Viceroy from Monterey (on April 12, 1791) "complaining about the multitude of insults, vexations and abuses he suffered at Nootka, from Eliza--and from Caamaño, on board the Princesa--because of the recommendations he, Jordán, had made about the ill-treatment suffered by the poor patients in their assistance and in the distribution of food and cruelty with the Gentile Indians." Unfortunately, this letter does not appear among the papers of the case.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I was unsuccessful in my search for it in sections of the Mexican National Archives.

On June 30, Bodega-Quadra submitted to the Viceroy the result of his investigation. He could not estimate the seriousness of the case until Jordán returned to San Blas. So far, he felt that although the expressions attributed to Jordán were very unbecoming to his cloth, perhaps the officers concerned were at fault, too.

In letters written some months later (November 2), Jordán stated that, because Governor Fages did not permit him to embark at Monterey, he had to travel three hundred leagues in order to embark on the Aranzazú in San Diego, which he did on the advice of her commander, Matute. Upon his arrival at San Blas (probably at the end of October 1791), Jordán obtained permission from the acting-Commander--Bodega-Quadra being absent--to travel to Mexico City for medical treatment. However, he did not go at that time, feeling that the Viceroy would wish him to remain at San Blas until the return of Bodega-Quadra. When the latter arrived, he supported the chaplain's request, and subsequently Jordán went to the capital for a period of four months, which was later extended to eight.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that some sort of judicial procedure was eventually effected, in this case. From an undated brief--probably written by a magistrate after the time of Revilla-Gigedo's term of office--it appears that the Viceroy felt that

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<sup>1</sup> By a permit from the Viceroy, August 21, 1792.

the trouble had started because of the familiarity and plainness with which the men concerned had been treating each other. He did not want to make too much of it. However, he disapproved of Caamaño's action in dropping Jordán in Monterey "and especially his intention to leave him on a desert island", advising him that, as Commander of the ship, he had facilities to correct abuses by other means. The Viceroy therefore instructed Bodega-Quadra that, unless other and more serious things had happened, he should try to reconcile these men and patch up their differences. Jordán stated that he would willingly forget the injuries he had suffered, but claimed indemnities for damages to the amount of two hundred and thirty-four pesos from Eliza and three hundred and fifty-one pesos from Caamaño. Eliza satisfied this claim, but Caamaño refused, alleging that the demands made by Jordán were arbitrary. The two parties being brought before a court, the Judge Advocate (Auditor de guerra) ordered Caamaño to pay to the priest the sum that he had demanded. So ended the case.

Jordán probably was then (or became later) a personal friend of Bodega-Quadra, for the latter named him as executor of his Will.

### The outcome of the case

Upon arrival at San Blas, Caamaño dispatched a letter that he was carrying from Eliza to the Viceroy, asking that Jordán be court-martialled because of his insulting behaviour, but the letter gave no details about the nature of the insults referred to.<sup>1</sup> Caamaño supported this request with two letters of his own, written from San Blas. (Both of them undated.) The commander of the establishment, Bodega-Quadra, obviously learned about this, and, being worried about the possible harmful consequences that might result from it, he wrote to the Viceroy, suggesting that the matter be "nipped in the bud". The Viceroy instructed Bodega-Quadra to ascertain the facts carefully. To Eliza and Caamaño he answered that he did not think there was enough evidence of "an offence warranting the proceedings of a Court Martial."<sup>2</sup> The letters of Eliza and Caamaño had not given any details of Jordán's behaviour; but then, in view of the Viceroy's reaction, Caamano sat down to write the Viceroy a letter covering twenty-four pages, repeating the accusations and supporting them with a summary of facts--frequently interrupted by his own repetitive comments and his appeals to the Viceroy's understanding and sympathy.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Eliza to the Viceroy, Nootka, March 9, 1791.

2 Letters to Eliza and Caamaño, Mexico, May 24, 1791.

3 This letter provides all the details given above about Jordán's alleged misbehaviour.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE OUTCOME OF THE INCIDENT

#### The news travels to Madrid and London

The Spanish establishment at Nootka Sound was governed at four levels. High policy was decided by the Government in Madrid, and communicated to the Mexican Viceroy either by the King's First Minister or by the Minister for the Navy. The Viceroy made most of the decisions concerning the actual running of the establishment. The Commander at San Blas directed the execution of plans, the dispatch of forces and supplies and the control of personnel, and issued all technical instructions. The Commander and his force at Nootka carried out the orders. There was, of course, a certain amount of overlapping, as was the case with Viceroy Flores' original decision to occupy Nootka. At that time, the Commander at San Blas played only a minor role (partly owing, perhaps, to his being old and ailing), but his successor, Bodega-Quadra, exerted his authority to the full and was often able to influence the Viceroy's decisions about Nootka.

Information about events at Nootka was passed, as it were, through the same four channels. Reports were written



by commanders and officers and were normally addressed to the Viceroy, but were always dispatched through the Commander at San Blas. At one time, some of these were addressed to the latter, but Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo objected to that practice because he wanted to be "directly informed": in other words, reports should be addressed to him although sent through San Blas.<sup>1</sup> In practice, the reports were always read by the Commander, who was allowed--and often requested--to comment on them. The Viceroy, on his part, drafted his own reports about Nootka and, in addition, often forwarded to the Spanish Government the papers he received from the officers in charge there. Most of these reports were acknowledged by the Government with comments, and sometimes with instructions. Documents and reports concerning extraordinary events, such as the seizure of ships by Martinez, were prepared and dated upon the occurrence of the event, but they could not be dispatched until shipping was available. Reports of day-to-day activities were generally brought up to date immediately prior to shipping. Naturally, the process of communication was slow. On the basis of most of the voyages carried out during the first two years of the Spanish occupation of Nootka, it may be reckoned that a direct voyage from San Blas to Nootka took over sixty days (the shortest recorded time was fifty days; the longest seventy-six). The time for the southbound voyage varied a great deal, and in many cases was broken by a stop at Monterey. A direct voyage

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<sup>1</sup> Revilla-Gigedo to Bodega-Quadra. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, Carp. 3.

took an average of thirty-eight days (the fastest recorded being that of the Argonaut, in thirty-three days). Mailing time between San Blas and the Viceregal office in Mexico City was about one week. There were facilities for special delivery of urgent messages, but these did not speed delivery very much. Mail between the Viceroy and the Spanish Government was generally shipped through the port of Veracruz, on the eastern coast of Mexico. Travelling time between Mexico City and Veracruz was two to three days, and from there to the Spanish court it varied considerably.

As regards the Nootka Sound incident, the information travelled to yet another recipient--the British Government. It is interesting to see the process of communication from the source of the incident to the various levels, and the two channels by which it reached London. The first was along the route Nootka-San Blas-Mexico City-Veracruz-Spain; and from there to London. The other traversed three-quarters of the globe: Nootka-China-London.

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The main episode in the drama of the Anglo-Spanish incident at Nootka--the seizure of the Argonaut--occurred on July 3, 1789. Martínez prepared reports about it during the following days and on July 13 he dispatched them, through this same ship, to San Blas, where they arrived on August 15. After some delay, which annoyed the Viceroy thoroughly, the papers were sent to him by special courier and reached him

on the evening of August 26.<sup>1</sup> Within one day he had them copied and dispatched, with a message of his own, to the Spanish Minister for the Navy. They probably reached Veracruz by August 29, and the Minister received them in Madrid on or before December 30, when he, on Royal orders, passed them on to the King's First Minister, Count Floridablanca, for consideration.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the head of the Spanish Government did not hear about the incident until nearly six months had elapsed.

The British charge d'affaires in Spain heard rumours about it and, on the basis of these, he wrote three dispatches to his government. The first one, dated January 4, 1790, reached its destination on January 21.<sup>3</sup>

Now for the other channel through which the British Government received a report of the incident. Two days after its climax (that is, on July 15), the crew of the North West America were taken aboard the Columbia and carried to Macao,

1 Flores to Valdés, August 27 (first paragraph). A. Indies.

2 Valdés to Floridablanca, January 2. Spanish National Archives, History, report No. 4291.

3 John M. Norris, "The Policy of the British Cabinet in the Nootka Sound Crisis", English Historical Review, Vol. LXX, p. 562.

Another version of the incident may have reached England via Spain. While in Mexico City, Colnett, on May 1, wrote accounts of the incident addressed to his employers' office in London and to the British Ambassador in Spain. The Viceroy forwarded these papers to Spain, but I have been unable to ascertain whether they were delivered to their addressees.

where they arrived on November 2. There they met Meares, who had already heard of Martínez' ways from the crew of the Iphigenia.<sup>1</sup> They gave him Duffin's letters,<sup>2</sup> and added their own account of the incident.<sup>3</sup> Soon afterwards, Meares voyaged to London, arriving early in April, 1790. A few days later, he furnished the Government with a report of the incident and of its background, and wrote a Memorial to Parliament, which was published at the end of that month. Through this channel, the news took nine months to travel from its source to official circles in London.

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Soon after receiving the information, the Spanish and British governments started an exchange of diplomatic notes culminating in a controversy which went far beyond the mere assessment of the case, and had far-reaching consequences.

#### Decisions about the ships and about Nootka

On July 27, Martínez dispatched the Princess Royal to San Blas with an account of the seizure of this ship and other matters. The report reached San Blas on August 27, and was forwarded to the Viceroy soon afterwards. One month

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1 She had arrived in Macao on October 5.

2 See Chapters XIII, XIV and XVII.

3 These facts have been mentioned in previous chapters.

later he sent it to the Minister for the Navy, who received it on or before January 2, 1790. He also received, at the same time, other dispatches about the incident from Viceroy Flores and Revilla-Gigedo, giving their views and outlining proposals with regard to the seized ships and future policy on Nootka.

In one of these messages (dated September 27, 1789), Revilla-Gigedo reported that he had released the schooner Fair American and its crew. On the same day, the Viceroy explained the plans he had made for the re-occupation of Nootka. He had ordered that this outpost "should be held honourably and vigorously" if any other power should try to dispute or to challenge Spain's rights on that coast, "but without unwisely insisting on inspecting or seizing ships which may be found there or may arrive later", lest Spain should be placed in the position of defending the honour of her flag. Other nations, and particularly Russia, should not be dislodged from any establishment they may possess on the North West Coast. He had also ordered the commander of the expedition to keep in mind rumours which had circulated about the coming of "four English vessels on the orders of Captain Johnson, and Captain Dumquin,<sup>1</sup> with the purpose of keeping Colnett in that Government of Nootka." The Viceroy himself was sure that this news was largely "apocryphal",

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<sup>1</sup> This rumour was probably circulated by Martínez.

but he preferred "to be alert in order to avoid surprises and not to indulge in dangerous, sleepy confidence."

On January 26, the Minister for the Navy, replying to some letters from Revilla-Gigedo and his predecessor, made the following points:

a) Expressed the King's approval of what the two Viceroys had done and the hope that they had already decided to return the Argonaut and the Princess Royal to their captains "on the same conditional terms on which Martinez had returned the Portuguese frigate Ephigenia to her captain."

b) Assuming that a thorough investigation of the Nootka incident was being prepared in Mexico, in order to decide whether the seized ships should be declared good prizes, the Minister wanted to know the outcome of the matter.

c) He explained that a protest "that an attempt was made to occupy territories belonging to the King and to urge that such irregularities be punished and avoided in future..."<sup>1</sup> would be lodged with the British Government.

On March 22, the Spanish Government formally decided that the seized ships should be set free if that had not yet been done,<sup>2</sup> and a Royal order to that effect was issued and sent to the Viceroy. It has been stated earlier (Chapter XXX)

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 65, Carp. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the Spanish Junta de Estado, March 22, 1790. Spanish Archives of National History, report No. 4291.

that, on or about April 27, the Viceroy ordered the release of those ships, and it seems, from the tone of his writings, that at that time he had not yet received the message of January 26, which made a vague recommendation to that effect. Moreover, he had not received the definite order: which means that he acted largely, if not entirely, on his own initiative.

On May 1, Revilla-Gigedo answered Valdes' message of January 26, and explained that no investigation was ordered immediately following the news of the incident, and that, subsequently, it had become essential to send Martinez back to Nootka in order that he might help, with his experience, in the re-occupation of the place. For that reason, no investigation was made, but Revilla-Gigedo felt that, after consulting the documents which he and his predecessor had sent, the Government would be able to judge the wisdom of his decision to release the captured ships and prisoners on condition that they should not trade or establish themselves on coasts claimed by Spain. He felt that such "small ships", found on a remote and deserted coast of our Colonies of California, should not be considered good prizes" and that it would be "useless" to incur the expenses involved in keeping the prisoners, who numbered nearly sixty men. In another letter, dated May 27, Revilla-Gigedo explained that he had told Colnett that the seizure of his ships was justified, that they were released only as an "act of grace" and that, consequently, his Company "was duty bound to reimburse all

the expenses caused by the careening of such ships which should have been treated as enemies." In keeping with this last thought, Revilla-Gigedo sent the Spanish Government an account of those expenses "for the fair request for their reimbursement by the London Trading Company." In another letter (May 27), the Viceroy repeated this point, adding that the company should also pay for keeping of the prisoners in Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Revilla-Gigedo was destined to suffer serious disappointment on this matter because the outcome of the Anglo-Spanish controversy was such that Spain had to pay the whole bill.

### The Anglo-Spanish Controversy

This thesis is not concerned with the details of the Nootka Sound Controversy. This subject was studied most thoroughly by R.W. Manning in 1904, in an essay which is still the main source of reference on this matter--despite the fact that some materials which might warrant a revision of his account (such as the Journals of the two contenders, Martínez and Colnett) have since appeared. An excellent paper on the attitude of the British Government to the crisis has been written by Dr. J.M. Norris, and a number of articles about various other aspects of the subject have also appeared in print.

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1 A. Indies, Est. 90, Carp. 3, Leg. 21.



It should suffice, for the purpose of this work, to mention only the main points and the outcome of the dispute, and its effect on the Spanish establishment at Nootka until the summer of 1792.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish Government started the dispute by lodging a protest with the British Government deploring the fact that a British ship had been engaged in an attempt to take possession of Nootka in the name of His Britannic Majesty, and requesting that "such undertakings be punished so as to avoid their repetition." The British Government was in possession only of the second-hand report provided by its representative in Spain, and refused to accede to the Spanish request, retorting that an act of violence had been committed against British subjects and that any discussion of the matter was precluded until proper satisfaction was given. Some time later, Meares arrived in London and put his case before the Government, asking for its support. What Meares and his associates wanted was handsome compensation from Spain, the guarantee of unrestricted right to trade on the North West Coast, and perhaps the recognition of their alleged right to certain lands on that coast. But Meares undoubtedly knew that the Government would be reluctant to take up the case of a British firm which had been flouting the laws concerning the monopolies of the East India Company and the South Sea Company, and which had but recently

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<sup>1</sup> Which ends the period covered by this thesis.

legalised its position. Meares (who may have received legal advice) was clever enough to discover the right approach by which to obtain official support for his case. He achieved his purpose by suggesting that the British Government should claim sovereignty over territories on the Pacific coast of America, or, at least, dispute Spanish claims to them. With that in mind, he produced, both in his private report to the Government and in his Memorial to Parliament, a glorified account of his own expedition to that coast in 1788, and claimed that he had then acquired tracts of land at Nootka and elsewhere, and had taken possession of them in the name of the British crown. Then he implied that his tract of land at Nootka, in addition to the house that he had built there, was appropriated by the Spanish force which had come to occupy that port in 1789. He implied, as well, that the Spanish had also appropriated territories in his possession at Port Cox.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he described the seizure of his firm's ships as a simple and plain case of assault which had caused the company enormous losses. Meares, therefore, asked that Spain be made to compensate his firm by payment of a large sum of money.

The British Government gladly seized the opportunity offered by Meares' complaint and decided to support all of his claims, which implied that British occupation had been effected

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<sup>1</sup> These claims are discussed in Chapter IV.

over parts of the North West Pacific Coast. The fact that Meares' ships were disguised as Portuguese vessels, and that all his actions on the North West Coast in 1788 could hardly be considered as being performed in the name of Great Britain, was conveniently ignored. The British Government then paid the cost of printing Meares' Memorial, and decided to take up the case with Spain--not only in terms of compensation to a shipping firm for losses incurred, but also as regards international law involving the principles of sovereignty.

The principle involved was an old and thorny point of contention between Spain and Britain. Following the discovery of America, Spain tried to secure control over whatever territories the continent may prove to contain. By agreement with Portugal, which was confirmed by a Papal Bull of 1493, Spain claimed exclusive right of sovereignty over all lands west of a conventional line, which coincides approximately with what is now meridian 45° West. Subsequently, Spain steadfastly adhered to this claim and, on several occasions, obtained recognition of it from other nations through treaties and conventions. On this occasion, the claim was again made by Spain (on April 20) on the basis of "the incontestable rights of Spain to exclusive sovereignty, navigation and commerce, founded on the most solemn treaties, on the discovery of the Indies and the islands and the continent of the South Sea, on ancient laws and on immemorial possession, which rights this Crown has continually exercised over the territories, coasts, and seas above mentioned, including the right always

exercised of capturing transgressors..."<sup>1</sup>

Great Britain, which had consistently pursued a policy of expansion similar to that of Spain, had traditionally ridiculed the theory that the "Bishop of Rome" could confer the monopoly of American territories to any power, and affirmed, in its place, another principle: that a nation could claim sovereignty only over lands which were actually and effectively occupied by her subjects. Of course, Britain herself was not always consistent on this point, but no nation has ever been free from inconsistency.

Drawing on the excellent, if distorted, material which Meares had provided for it, the British Government was able to put forward quite an effective answer to the Spanish claim of April 20. The British Foreign Minister pointed out to Spain that four ships had been seized and that "the soil at Nootka and in some other parts of the coast, particularly in a strait in or about the Latitude of 48 Degs. 30 Minutes, had, previous to this transaction, been purchased of the natives by a British subject, and the British flag hoisted." Although Britain would always restrain her subjects from interfering with Spain's legitimate possessions, she "could never in any shape accede to those claims of exclusive sovereignty, commerce, navigation and fishery, and also to the possession of such establishments as they may form, with the consent of

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Marquis del Campo to the Duke of Leeds, (the British Foreign Secretary), April 20, 1790.

the natives, in places unoccupied by other European nations."<sup>1</sup>

So Britain was making the most of Meares' claims.

Soon after the first diplomatic exchanges, Spain began to take stock of her forces and to make naval preparations; but the Spanish people were hardly aware of what was going on because the whole matter was conducted by the Government. There was no such thing as parliament or public opinion.

In Britain, the Royal Navy was mobilised and a press of seamen was effected all over the country. Parliament discussed the matter and, on June 10, voted large sums to support the Government's case against Spain. Public opinion was inflamed, and passionate pamphlets about the issue, as well as vivid drawings depicting the incident, were published. A curious example of the impact of this controversy on public opinion is the fact that it reached the stage of the most famous theatre in Britain: the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. For at least four nights (the fourth being June 9), the public was offered, as extra fare on the playbill, a comic sketch by a certain T. Harris, who described it as "A New Pantomimic Operatic Farce in One Act called: 'Nootka Sound, or Britain Prepared', with New Selected Scenes and Decorations". This amusing playlet is, in all probability, the first literary work related to what is now Western Canada. The trend of

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<sup>1</sup> John M. Norris, "The Policy of the British Cabinet in the Nootka Crisis", English Historical Review, Vol. LXX, p. 576.

British public opinion, at that time, is well indicated by the following lines from that play:

"...The hour is coming, when the injuries of Britain will be redress'd, and the doubloons of the Spaniards will repay the insult to the British Flag...

As to British freedom we're born, boys,  
Let nothing that freedom control...

The proud Dons then shall down with the ready  
They shall either refund or shall fight  
To refund they may give a denial  
That denial shall crown all our joys  
Of our courage we'll then shew a trial...

and if ever they recover the blow sufficiently to bear down upon us again in Nootka Sound, or any place within the sound of the British Fleet..."

. . .

The British Government, by means of a long-drawn-out argument, succeeded in turning what was originally a mere case of restitution into a dispute involving the principles of colonisation and sovereignty. The first formal British demand to the Spanish Government was made by the British Ambassador in Madrid on June 13. Britain demanded the return of the seized vessels, indemnity to the injured parties, and satisfaction for the insult to her flag. The Spanish Government, while refusing to accept the requests as they were phrased, officially answered that: a) it was ready to accept arbitration on the question of insult and satisfaction; b) no facts should be admitted in the subsequent negotiation unless fully established by Great Britain; c) satisfaction should not prejudice Spanish rights or the possibility of Spain's accepting satisfaction from Britain if the latter should be found at fault.

The British Government refused to accept these terms. As Manning says: "It appears that the English will decide to force from Spain, once and for all, the acknowledgement of the British principle of colonization." Nothing else would be accepted. It was this, and not simple justice, that she demanded.

From then on, Spain implicitly acknowledged that the seizure of ships was wrong, and was ready to give Britain satisfaction and compensation. Nevertheless, that was not all that Britain wanted at the time. The first step in this process of Spain's renunciation of her former views was the plan offered by Count Floridablanca on July 10, whereby:

1) Spain should retain exclusive possession of the North West Coast up to and including Nootka.

2) From Nootka to the 61st degree both Spain and Britain should have equal rights. However, south of the 56th degree British influence should be limited to a certain distance.

3) Britain should have the right to fish in the South Sea, and to land and set up temporary establishments in unoccupied places, although her vessels should not approach Spanish settlements within a reasonable distance.

The British insisted that Spain had occupied Nootka only a few days before the seizure of British ships, while British subjects had been frequenting the place and trading with the natives for many years. The British Foreign Minister instructed Britain's representative in Spain to insist on obtaining an admission that Spain was never in actual possession of Nootka, and stipulated that this admission should be dated as being prior to the satisfaction which Spain was to give. If the Spanish Government was able to prove that it held sovereignty over Nootka, Britain would then lose the grounds for demanding satisfaction, but--the Foreign Minister said--Spain could not really adduce such proof.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, a special Spanish commission had recently tried to produce such proof by compiling accounts of

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<sup>1</sup> Leeds to Fitzherbert, July 5, 1790. Manning, op. cit., pp. 403-4.



explorations, royal orders, laws, and other data purporting to prove that Spain had always claimed and exercised sovereignty over the Pacific coast and that the Treaty of Utrecht guaranteed those rights--but this "evidence" did not impress the British. The Spanish Government then made a further retraction, and on July 24 an Anglo-Spanish Declaration was signed as a first step toward a settlement of the dispute. Spain undertook "to give satisfaction to His Britannic Majesty for the injury of which he has complained", and to make "full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka" and to indemnify their owners for any losses that they had suffered.

At that stage the original British demands of June 13 were satisfied, and Meares and his associates were almost certain to get what they wanted from Spain. But the British Government, encouraged by the turn of international events, only accepted this declaration as a basis for further negotiations.

It is curious to notice how, even at that point, both countries maintained their respective stands on the matter and made certain reservations to avoid committing themselves. The Spanish declaration ended with the significant statement that the document "did not prejudice the subsequent discussion of any rights which His Britannic Majesty claims" but that of forming an exclusive establishment at Nootka--while the British declaration stated that it did not prejudice, in any respect, "the rights which His Majesty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or may desire to form in

the future, at the said Bay of Nootka." This means that the main point of dispute--the principle of sovereignty--was still unsolved at that stage. Therefore, both nations maintained the considerable military and naval preparations they had made and tried to assess what support they could get from their allies if the matter reached the point of war. Spain soon realised that her main ally, France--which was already in the turmoil of revolution--would not effectively abide by the terms of the "Family Compact", under which the two kings had promised to support each other in case of conflict with a third power. Indeed, Spain actually made overtures to Britain.

Great Britain had taken measures to ensure that Canada, the West Indies, and her other dependencies in the Americas were in readiness should war break out, and had ascertained that she could count on the effective support of Holland and Prussia--her partners, since 1788, in the Triple Alliance.

Thus reassured, and emboldened by the realisation that Spain could not depend on any help from France, the British Government took a decisive step to force the issue by presenting Spain with an ultimatum. In October, the British Ambassador submitted to Count Floridablanca two drafts of a treaty, with the threat that unless Britain received an answer within ten days she would withdraw her Ambassador--which would amount, almost, to a declaration of war. Meanwhile, Britain pressed ahead with preparations for this eventuality.

A Junta, comprising eight ministers of the Spanish

Government, was called to consider the two drafts and to advise the King on them, and on the whole matter at issue. They met for four days (October 21 to 25) and produced a long and detailed commentary which may be considered as a fairly representative expression of the traditional Spanish views on such matters. It was their opinion that Martinez' act at Nootka was not contrary to international law, and did not constitute an insult to the British flag. His act should warrant, at the most, only limited guarantees and satisfaction on the part of Spain. The Junta felt that a refusal of the British demands would not entail much risk because, if war should come, Spain was likely to be attacked not at home but in her American colonies, which could put up a good defence because they had better garrisons and would enjoy climatic and strategic advantages over an enemy. Prussia might not give much support to Britain, and the Turkish Empire might also make demands on her. Moreover, France might still be able to give some support to Spain. Consequently, the Junta advised King Charles IV to reject the British demands.

The ultimate decision, however, as were all others, was the King's prerogative. On international matters he generally followed the advice of his First Minister. Floridablanca did not attend that conference but was, at the time, in daily communication with the British Ambassador. Facing the issue, perhaps, with a more realistic view than his colleagues, and having to deal with a very able diplomat, Floridablanca was led to believe that Spain could not afford

to refuse the British demands. Thus, counting on the King's consent, he accepted the majority of the points made in the British draft treaty, after obtaining a few concessions. In the first article, concerning the restitution of buildings and lands, Floridablanca requested the inclusion of the words: "notwithstanding the exclusive rights which Spain has claimed", but the final draft contained only the following version of his suggested phrase: "setting aside all retrospective ~~discussion~~ of the rights and pretensions of the two parties...." The British sought recognition of the right to land in unoccupied spots on the coast of the Pacific (Article 3), but they also wanted it to include a demarcation of the limits of the territories occupied by Spain on the American continent. Floridablanca refused to accept this demand, which would have been tantamount to admitting British rights to land and establish colonies in practically any unoccupied spot in the Americas, including those places in Central and South America which were generally acknowledged as being under Spanish sovereignty. It was on this point that the Junta was most firm in its rejection of the British demands, and Floridablanca obtained the deletion of the point from the treaty. In fact, Spain obtained British recognition of sovereignty south of her northernmost outpost on the Pacific coast, but Great Britain gained the right to fish in those parts, and to set up "huts and other temporary structures" for this purpose--subject to some limitations incorporated in the Convention (Articles 4 and 5). She also gained more extensive rights north of those parts.

Great Britain did not secure the right to set up establishments in places south of the northernmost territories occupied by Spain, but she wanted to have a door open to this possibility. Consequently, the British Ambassador, after having accepted (in Article 6) some limitations to the original British proposals, tried to obtain Spanish agreement that such limitations should be effective only as long as no third power succeeded in establishing itself in such parts. Florida-blanca accepted this proviso, but, believing that it might put ideas into other nations' heads, he insisted on having it omitted from the public treaty and incorporated, instead, in a secret clause.

After a show of consideration to the Junta which was thus overruled, an Anglo-Spanish Convention was signed on October 28, and ratified on November 22, 1790. Here is a digest of its contents:

#### Article 1.

Lands and buildings and tracts of land, situated on the North West coast of the continent of North America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

#### Article 2.

"...a just reparation shall be made...for all acts

of violence, or hostility, which may have been committed since the month of April 1789" by the subjects of one nation to the other, and if any forcible dispossession has occurred it shall be re-established or a just compensation shall be made.

In due course, Spain paid Meares' company \$210,000, which was less than it had claimed, but possibly much higher than the sum of its total losses resulting from the incident.

Articles 3 and 5.

Britain secures, and Spain retains, rights of commerce, navigation and settlement on the Pacific coast above San Francisco. Each nation is to have free access to the establishments of the other nation in those regions.

Article 4.

Britain shall prevent her subjects from carrying on illicit trade with the Spanish establishments, or even from approaching within ten leagues of those coasts already occupied by Spain.

Article 7.

In case of complaints or infractions of the treaty "the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force" shall report to their respective courts "who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner".<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Howay. And Scholefield, British Columbia, p. 156.

## Article 6.

Neither party will make permanent settlements on coasts and islands of South America south of parts already occupied by Spain, but both powers may land for the purposes of fishing and of erecting temporary buildings serving only for those purposes.

## Secret Article.

Article 6 is to remain in force only as long as no settlement is made on those coasts by any third power.

The main significance of this convention was that, in practice if not officially, it assessed that Spain's dominions were limited to lands discovered by her and secured by treaties and immemorial possession, or effectively occupied by her subjects. Thus it amounted to a practical renouncement of her ancient claim to exclusive sovereignty, navigation, commerce and fisheries on the Pacific coast of America.

However, the Convention did not transfer, or attempt to transfer, to Great Britain the abandoned Spanish sovereignty over lands on that coast. It merely assessed Spanish renouncement, but did not effectively recognise any British acquisition. The territories north of the line, which might effectively be claimed by Spain under the doctrine of propinquity, were to be a sort of "no-man's land" which could only be acquired by effective possession and dominion over them.

In every respect this was a great diplomatic victory for Great Britain, who had hardly recovered from the disappointment of losing her thirteen North American colonies. Even before the Convention was signed, a map was published in London setting the northern limit of Spanish sovereignty over the Pacific coast at the port of San Francisco, and there was a revival of a British claim of sovereignty based on an act of possession made by Captain Francis Drake in 1557. Many people began to look at "New Albion" as part of the British Empire.

#### The Effects of the Incident on the Future of Nootka

Just as the incident, upon its occurrence, was reported upwards to the higher circles of authority, so its diplomatic liquidation at the top level was reported downwards, and eventually the news of it reached the commander at Nootka. He also received orders issued at the various levels of government, concerning the implementation of the Convention, and future policy with regard to the Spanish outpost.

By a Royal Order of May 23, 1790, the Viceroy was informed of the King's official approval of the release of the British ships. Three days before the signing of the Convention (August 25), the King's First Minister wrote to Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo informing him that a Convention settling the Anglo-Spanish dispute was to be concluded, whereby, if British ships should continue to appear on the North West Coast, Spain could protest to the British Court. This message mentioned only one point of the forthcoming convention and did not anticipate, in



the least, the concessions which were to be made to Great Britain. It would seem that Floridablanca was uneasy about them.

By a Royal Order issued on September 25, the Viceroy was instructed to inform all commanders of ports and naval bases under his control "not to show hostility to British ships or to establishments which the British may set up on deserted coasts, protesting in case there is an infraction of the Convention."

The commanders at Acapulco, San Blas and Nootka, and the Governors of California and Carmel, and all others concerned were duly informed (about January 30, 1891).<sup>1</sup>

On November 27, 1790, Floridablanca communicated the terms of the Convention to the Viceroy, and commented: "As I believe that the English had not occupied or built anything at Nootka when our crown took possession of the land, I cannot see that there is anything in that port which should be restored to them. However, if they should make any claim which has little basis or is contrary or harmful to our rights and to the King's mind [will], as explained in this order, you will endeavour to settle and arrange it all in a peaceful and friendly manner, protesting about it as contrary to the last adjustment with England and informing me so that I may notify His Majesty, and that he may decide what is best suited."<sup>2</sup>

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1 Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, pp. 243-47.

2 Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 67, p.

If the British had gained rights over the coasts claimed by Spain, the Americans were to be firmly excluded. A Royal Order of December 26, 1791, was dispatched to the Viceroy stating that American ships found navigating the coasts of the Pacific should be seized and confiscated, and tried according to law, if they were found to carry trading goods and if they refused to leave the coasts. This order was acknowledged by the Viceroy on January 31, 1792.<sup>1</sup>

On March 12, 1791, the official news of the Convention, and Count Floridablanca's message of November 27, were also communicated to the Commander at Nootka, together with a message from the Commander at San Blas stating: "...the differences between our Court and that of London having been amicably adjusted, it has pleased His Majesty to permit the English to take part in the commerce affairs from the port of Nootka to the north, and to establish themselves in the port without prejudice to the establishment which we today possess there." These messages were carried by the Aranzazú, and reached Nootka on May 17. Commander Eliza was then on a cruise of exploration and the papers were received by the acting commander, Saavedra. Eliza himself, in due course, acknowledged receipt of them (October 10, 1791).

It is obvious from the messages of both the Government and the Mexican Viceroy about this matter that neither fully realised (or they refused to admit) the unpalatable truth that

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<sup>1</sup> Revilla-Gigedo papers, Vol. 13, p. 79. Bancroft Library.

the outcome of the Nootka incident and the Anglo-Spanish Convention spelt the doom of the Spanish establishment at Nootka, and opened the way for Britain's occupation of the North West Coast. The language of these writings seems to convey an uneasy confidence. Count Floridablanca simply assumed that, as it would be easy enough to convince the British that no lands or buildings at Nootka were ever owned by British subjects, nothing would have to be restored to them; and both he and the Viceroy seemed to trust that the Convention would have no serious effects on the destiny of the North West Coast. Bodega-Quadra was alarmed when he came across the British map showing the port of San Francisco as being the northernmost limit of Spanish sovereignty on the west coasts of America, but the Viceroy refused to be intimidated by this. Nothing was done to close down the Nootka establishment, or even to limit its growth, but the Viceroy decided that, henceforth, a small garrison would suffice there (November 3, 1790).

In accordance with the terms of the Convention, a Spanish and a British Commissioner were to meet at Nootka, in order to carry out the provisions contained within it. The Viceroy was instructed to choose the Spanish Commissioner, and he chose the man who was obviously best qualified for the task--Bodega-Quadra. In 1792, Bodega-Quadra met the British Commissioner, Captain Vancouver, at Nootka.

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Note: The information contained in this chapter is drawn, in the main, from the following sources: Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy", The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904; and Dr. J.M. Norris, "The Policy of the British Cabinet in the Nootka Sound Crisis", English Historical Review, Vol. 70, pp.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

NOOTKA: SPRING, 1791

On November 3, 1790, the Viceroy sent to the Commander at San Blas a copy of the message that he had received from Count Floridablanca, the King's First Minister, about the expected settlement of the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Nootka. The Viceroy assumed that, by then, a "friendly convention" had been concluded and he considered that, in view of this, it would not be necessary to keep a large garrison at Nootka: "I think that in order to maintain Nootka it will suffice to have the Company of Volunteers from Catalonia, and a vessel ready for any speedy help or a sudden withdrawal." It would be up to Bodega-Quadra and the Commander at Nootka to decide whether to keep there one ship or two--and to choose the particular ship or ships.

As the Aranzazú was then at San Blas, the Viceroy instructed Bodega-Quadra to have her careened, so that she could leave for Nootka with a copy of the message from Floridablanca about the settlement of differences with Great Britain, new instructions for Eliza, and a load of supplies. Earlier, the Princesa and the Aranzazú had supplied Nootka with rations for eighteen months. The Aranzazú should now

carry supplies for a further eight months.<sup>1</sup>

Bodega-Quadra wrote to the Viceroy (December 18) suggesting a change in this plan. Since the San Carlos was a sturdier ship than the Aranzazú, and more suitable for navigation in the early part of the year, she should be sent to Nootka early in February with some of the supplies. The Aranzazú should leave in March, carrying another load for the Nootka establishment in addition to the supplies for the California presidios--exactly as she had done in the previous year. Bodega-Quadra also said that, in those circumstances, one frigate and the Catalan Company should suffice for the keeping of the Nootka establishment. The Viceroy approved these suggestions, but as regards the question of whether to leave one or two frigates at Nootka with the Company of Catalan Volunteers it would be up to Bodega-Quadra to make the decision after consulting with Eliza "who has the things before his eyes".<sup>2</sup>

#### The San Carlos goes to Nootka

The San Carlos was assigned a crew of eighty-four men, with Ramon Saavedra y Guiraldes as Commander, Joseph Valverde as Chaplain, Juan Pantoja and Juan Carrasco as first and second pilots, and Juan de Dios Morelos as Surgeon. The ship carried one hundred and twenty jars of oil, one hundred

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1 Mex. N.A., Vol. 68, Carp. 5, pp. 192-6.

2 The Viceroy to Bodega-Quadra, January 3, 1791. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 68, Carp. 5, p. 197.

and fifty-five cargas of flour, one hundred and thirteen arrobas of salted meat, sixty-four arrobas of bacon, one hundred and eighty-three arrobas of butter, sixty-seven and one half of cheese, four hundred and thirty-one of rice, thirty-three ?<sup>1</sup> of kidney beans (fríjoles), thirty-five and one half of garbanzos, eleven of lentils, four thousand heads of garlic, forty-one barrels of brandy, forty-one barrels of wine, twenty-eight barrels of vinegar, three hundred and eighty-four arrobas of salt, fifty-three and one half arrobas of wax candles, sixty-nine arrobas of chile, one hundred and eighty-two cuartillos of syrup, eight boxes of weapons, twenty-four arrobas of sugar, twenty-four arrobas of chocolate, six cargas of soap, one box of biscuits, twenty-four fanegas<sup>2</sup> of corn, twelve of bran (salvado), forty sheets of copper, four pieces of baize (bayeta de la tierra), one box of steel (probably steel sheets), eight boxes of nails, four boxes of cigars (or cigarettes).<sup>3</sup>

She also carried a boat with its skiff (con su correspondiente esquife) for the frigate Concepción, for which reason her own boat had to be left behind.

With that equipment, the San Carlos sailed from San Blas on February 4, 1791, and arrived at Nootka on March 26--two weeks after the Princesa had left.<sup>4</sup> Only the

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1 The appropriate measure of this and the following two items is illegible.

2 One fanega = 1.60 bushels.

3 Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 69, Carp. 2, p. 10.

4 Saavedra to the Viceroy. Letter no. 26, May, 1791. In National Archives. See footnote 3, above.)

Concepción and the schooner Santa Saturnina were there.

Nine months had elapsed since the arrival of a Spanish ship: that is to say, Nootka had been without fresh supplies for nine months. The Argonaut had brought a small amount of food, but the benefit of this was probably cancelled out by the food with which she had been supplied by the Spanish.

Juan Pantoja, who was writing the Journal of the San Carlos, reported that, as soon as she dropped anchor, Eliza came on board and explained that the winter season had been very hard, that five men had died, and that another thirty-two had been sent to Monterey, "mostly gravely ill with scurvy and blood diahorrea".

#### Events: March and April

Pantoja wrote a few notes about events at Nootka between March 26 and April 19, and gave two or three details about the establishment:<sup>1</sup>

March 28....although we came solely with the object of supplying him and returning immediately to the Department to take supplies to Lower California, he [Eliza] conceived it to be comfortable to the best service (according to superior orders which he has received) to leave our packet-boat to guard this port and to depart himself on an expedition in his frigate, the Concepción.

April 3. About 10:30 in the morning,

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<sup>1</sup> Naval Museum, Madrid. Costa N.O. America, Vol. 1 (331), folder No. 7. A translation appears in Wagner's Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

two Indians came to headquarters in a canoe saying that they had sighted off Bahía Buena Esperanza five vessels, one of three masts and the other four of two. With this information the Commandant ordered all the artillery of the frigate to be mounted, and eight cannon to be placed in battery on the packet-boat. Immediately afterwards, Pilot José Verdía departed in the boat for the Punta del Bajo, distant 3 leagues, from where the bay can be seen. Having returned at 6 in the afternoon, he reported that he had not seen anything. In spite of this, nothing was neglected which could be found (and) adapted for making the most complete defence when occasion should require. In order not to be surprised during the darkness of the night (for it was one of ugly aspect and continual rain) the Commander ordered the sentinels to be doubled, and to make their rounds by sea and by land and to pass the word from one to the other. In order to prevent a landing, which might be made on the beach at the back of the port (which is formed by a small tongue of low land with many pine trees on it) he ordered two bronze cannon to be mounted there, with all their accessories. He ordered the fort--which is situated at the very entrance to the port itself, on a small hill of rock--in which two cannon of twenty-four pounds, eight of twelve pounds and one of six pounds are mounted, to be garrisoned with sufficient troops. On the following day, the 5th, he dispatched the schooner Santa Saturnina, fully-armed and manned with fifteen seamen and four soldiers, by the arm inside of Noca which leads to the Bahía de Buena Esperanza, under the command of the 2nd Pilot, Don José María Narváez, for the purpose of finding out if the information referred to was correct. In case he found nothing he was to continue somewhat farther north to obtain the best information he could from the natives. On the 9th, he returned having found that what the Indians had said was uncertain. However, our interpreter, Gabriel del Castillo, learned from the natives at Buena Esperanza, by means of their method of counting by the change of the moon, that four months



previously four English vessels had sailed from there, one of 20 guns under a capt. named Mier,<sup>1</sup> and that, further, only 2 days before a large schooner had sailed for Cayuela. In view of this and that the frigate Concepción is a vessel much more to be respected than our packet-boat, as fully armed, she mounts 30 cannon of twelve and eight pounds each, the Commandant, Don Francisco Eliza, determined to leave her to guard the Puerto de Nuca under my commandant, Ensign Don Ramón Saavedra. His Honour has himself taken the San Carlos to proceed to the north as he has superior orders to explore the whole north coast from Cabo de S. Elias in 60 to the Puerto de la Trinidad in 41 ....

On the 19th, one of the crew of the Concepción died. May 3rd we were ready to sail with the packet-boat San Carlos and the schooner Santa Saturnina (alias Horcasitas). This day Our Lady of the Rosary (la Virgen del Rosario), our patroness, was deposited on land in the gallery of the carpenter shop, which was cleaned and adorned with becoming flags and a diversity of flowers. Mass was sung with the Litany to implore her clemency for the happy outcome of the present expedition. Then we embarked in procession, saluting her with artillery and with the cry "Viva la Virgen!" until we were on board the packet-boat where the Salutation to the Virgin Mary was chanted.

In a "note" describing Nootka, Pantoja added a few points of great interest about the Indians and the establishment:

Since our arrival there have been bartered for Copper and Shells from Monterey, 15 Indians of both sexes, the

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<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a reference to Meares, but he certainly was not there at the time; and it is most doubtful that any ships at all were there at that particular time of the year.

senior and naval Officers undertaking to bring them up and educate them, [those] who [bartered them] are not the Sons nor the Parents of these Natives, on the contrary they captured them in wars, as we have already said, and some of the smallest they eat very inhumanely, in spite of the fact that the Commandant--Eliza--has reprimanded them with great severity, signifying to them that it is a very wicked thing and that if he knew that they were continuing in their abominable cruelty, he would castigate them rigourously, with fear of which they are restrained...

...having refused to bring their village to this Cove, however frequently they have been offered [the site] from which they retreated on the arrival of our Vessels in the month of April of the past [year] '90, understanding that our coming was with the object of doing them harm, this mischievous idea they have formed because the English who were here so assured them, as the Commander of the previous Expedition of the year '89, Don Estevan José Martínez, was able to ascertain; although they have experienced the contrary, for besides the good treatment that they have been given, the Commander--Eliza--has given them many presents.

#### Eliza on exploration

The San Carlos brought Eliza instructions from the Viceroy:<sup>1</sup> a) to transfer to his own ship (the Concepción) the supplies brought by the San Carlos: b) to send the latter ship to San Blas, with the men who may be too sick to remain at Nootka, a report of events there, and any furs which he might have acquired for the Royal Treasury; and c) to refit one of his vessels and set out to explore the coasts of

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1 February 4, 1791. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 69.

Clayuclat, and the entrance to Juan de Fuca Strait and its immediate vicinity, leaving Caamaño in charge of the establishment. Obviously, some of these instructions were already obsolete.<sup>1</sup> Bodega-Quadra added other instructions about the explorations that were to be carried out.<sup>2</sup>

In his letter of April 20, acknowledging these orders, Eliza told the Viceroy that he would be unable to carry out explorations with the Princesa, because he had already sent her back to San Blas--or with the Concepción, because she was without cables and anchors. Therefore, he would use the San Carlos, and would leave at Nootka the frigate Concepción, "because of her being a more imposing ship to face any accident which may occur."<sup>3</sup> By that he meant that he would use the San Carlos, but that he would man her with the crew of his own ship, the Concepción.

The establishment would be under the command of Saavedra, with Captain Alberní responsible for the fortification on land. This was "in a condition to make a vigorous defence" with two guns of calibre 24, eight of calibre 12 and one of calibre 6, plus the necessary equipment.

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1 Baird says that Eliza was authorised to return some of the men if he felt that one company of Volunteers and one ship were enough.

2 March 12, 1791. Mex. N.A., Hist., Vol. 69.

3 Pantoja, writing on March 28, stated that Eliza had decided "to leave our packet-boat to guard this port and to depart on an expedition in his frigate Concepción." This statement bewildered me for a long time; but it then occurred to me that perhaps Pantoja had got the facts somewhat mixed up, because of the oddity of the crew of one ship manning another.

Eliza stated that he undertook this exploratory cruise under a great handicap: "...not having supplies to keep my Mess, the sick and, in a way, the crew, since [Saavedra] was only able to supply me with hens, two rams, two buck goats, two pigs, and ordinary biscuit for two months, finding myself in the case of having to carry flour in order to give them tortillas,<sup>1</sup> which is very hard to do." To the Viceroy he said: "Although the packet-boat San Carlos only has bread for two months and biscuit cannot be made in the oven I have ashore, as has been proved, I have decided to carry flour in place of the biscuit which I need."

Before sailing, Eliza left in the care of Saavedra a few letters for the Viceroy, all of them dated April 29. Some of them merely acknowledged receipt of official papers. One announced the sending of a chart of the port of "Santa Cruz de Nutka", so that the Viceroy could appreciate how Eliza had fortified it. Another letter testified to the fine behaviour of Captain Alberní, the Captain of the Company of Catalan Volunteers, and "condestable", whom Eliza had been instructed to keep under observation.

#### Eliza's departure and exploratory cruise

In these various letters, Eliza forgot to mention that he was taking along, on the exploratory cruise, the

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<sup>1</sup> Eliza was referring, no doubt, to the Mexican tortilla, a flat cake made from flour and water and pressed on to a thin, flat stone, or a sheet of metal, over a charcoal fire. The Spanish tortilla is an omelette, which contains no flour.

schooner Santa Saturnina, which would be commanded by José María Narváez. He also took with him Pantoja, who wrote the Journal of the voyage: as a consequence of which, the establishment was deprived of this very conscientious chronicler.

The San Carlos and the Santa Saturnina sailed from Nootka on May 4. As Eliza was taken ill, he halted his ship in what is now Victoria, while Narváez, in the schooner, bordered what is now the port of Vancouver and entered Puget Sound.<sup>1</sup>

During Eliza's absence--that is to say, for nearly four months--Saavedra was in command. The main events of this period were the visits of the Aranzazú and of two Spanish ships engaged in a scientific voyage around the world, under the command of Malaspina.

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<sup>1</sup> Narváez was probably the first pilot to explore the present port of Vancouver and to name its features. Thinking that what is now the main part of the city--between Point Grey and Patullo Bridge--was an island, he called it Langara Island, after a Spanish admiral. (See a pamphlet on José María Narváez, published by the Archivist of the City of Vancouver in 1941.)

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### THE VISIT OF THE ARANZAZÚ AND THE PROBLEM OF SUPPLIES

As agreed between the Viceroy and Bodega-Quadra, the Aranzazú, commanded by Juan Bautiste Matute, was dispatched to carry extra supplies to Nootka, as a supplement to those carried by the San Carlos. Matute was instructed to sail straight for Nootka, and to stop there only long enough to unload the supplies, refill the water tanks, ship aboard any furs which might have been acquired there, give some rest to the crew, and then sail back--carrying the reports which the Commander was expected to write. On the return voyage, the ship was to call at Monterey, where she was to leave four missionaries from the College of San Fernando who had embarked at San Blas. She would also embark at Monterey twenty-three men of the Catalan Company who had been left there in the previous year and were to be returned to San Blas.

The Aranzazú sailed from San Blas on March 12, 1791, and arrived at Nootka on May 17--staying for nine days.<sup>1</sup> She

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<sup>1</sup> It appears that Matute wrote a Journal of this sojourn. Mr. John Baird mentioned it in his thesis "San Lorenzo de Nuca", p. 112 ff. In his reference, he states that the Journal is in the Mexican National Archives, but he forgets to mention the number of the volume. I failed to find it when I was there myself and, because of a misunderstanding, have been unable to get a copy of it. I shall endeavour, in due course, to add to this essay any relevant information provided by Matute.

left the following foodstuffs: forty-four jars (botijas) of oil, one hundred and twenty-two cargas of flour, four arrobas of salted meat, fifty-four arrobas of bacon, fifteen arrobas of fat, one hundred and thirty-two arrobas of salt, three hundred and forty-six cuartillos of syrup, and four pieces of baize.<sup>1</sup>

#### Requesting more supplies

It will be recalled (Chapter XXXVI) that as Eliza was about to begin his exploration he stated that the establishment was extremely short of supplies of food. He obviously discussed the matter with Saavedra, who was to deputise for him as commander of the establishment. Both men knew that the Aranzazú was due to arrive shortly, with supplies, but they probably assumed that these would be insufficient. Therefore, they agreed that, upon the arrival of that ship, Saavedra would ask her commander to endeavour to obtain extra supplies at Monterey and carry them to Nootka.

In letters for the Viceroy--written on April 20, before leaving for his cruise--Eliza explained the reasons for that decision: foodstuffs were usually damaged, both ashore and on board ship, because of the "excessive humidity and the incredible abundance of rats which exist in both places, and it has not been possible to eliminate them in spite of the forty-four cats<sup>2</sup> and several fumigations of the

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1 One carga = 6.40 bushels; one arroba = 25 lbs; one cuartillo = 1 pint (wet or dry measure).

2 I could not resist underlining this!

ingredients appropriate to destroying them....it has to be reckoned that at least one third of the food is lost."<sup>1</sup>

Saavedra, on his part, explained to the Viceroy:

...in view of the extreme lack of fresh meat which I found in this establishment, for there were only six chickens and two bull calves (terneros) which would have been consumed already if Eliza had not taken the decision to send to San Blas the frigate Princesa with the number of 35 sick. With the meats I had left from my rations when I arrived here the expedition, which left on the 4th instat, was supplied.

Matute had been reluctant to comply with the plan which he (Saavedra) and Eliza had put forward, alleging that he was not able to change the terms of his commission. However, he hoped that Matute would still oblige, and that the Viceroy would approve of it.

The Aranzazú left Nootka on May 26 or 27. According to Pantoja, she carried "one soldier and six sailors from the garrison and from the crew of the Concepción, who were sick".<sup>2</sup> The ship arrived at Monterey on June 12, and Commander Matute dispatched letters from Eliza and Saavedra to the office of the Governor of California. The originals of these letters were lost, but it appears, from the Provincial State Papers of California,<sup>3</sup> that the two men asked the Governor to

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1 This letter bears no date, but was sent with others dated May 20.

2 Pantoja, Journal--see Wagner, Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, p. 191.

3 Archivos Provinciales de California, Vol. 4, MS Bancroft Library.



provide the Nootka establishment with the following items:  
 one thousand tiles, six thousand bricks, two thousand  
 adobe bricks, sixty fanegas of wheat, fifty fanegas of barley,  
 three hundred fanegas of corn, ten fanegas of peas (chicharos),  
 ten fanegas of broad beans, ten fanegas of white and red  
 haricot beans, sixty castrated goats, six buck goats,  
 twenty-four she-goats, twelve pigs, sixty big hogs (berracos),  
 sixty wethers [castrated rams], six milch cows recently  
 calved, six milch cows in calf, three bulls of between two  
 and three arrobos, twenty-four turkeys (male and female),  
 twenty-four pigeons (male and female), a box of vegetables  
 ready for planting (plantio), three hundred hens, twenty  
arrobos of dry beef, "guezos" (probably quesos--cheeses) and  
 biscuits, two sacks of laurel, twelve sacks of barley straw,  
 two hundred pumpkins, twelve arrobos of wax and thirty-two  
"saleas" (zaleas--undressed sheepskins).

In a separate note, as if it were an afterthought,  
 Eliza requested a blacksmith and a bricklayer.<sup>1</sup>

Saavedra also asked the Governor to send him the  
 "individuals belonging to the port of Nootka" as well as the  
 sick sailors who had been taken to Monterey by the San Carlos  
 and the Princess Royal.

Governor Romeu was absent at the time. His deputy,

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<sup>1</sup> Expecting the Aranzazú to come back to Nootka, Saavedra  
 kept the bricklayer, Salvador Rivera, from her crew.

Commander Agüello, told Matute that the transportation, alone, of the requested articles would take from twenty to twenty-five days, and implied that the fulfilment of the requests would require much time. So, on June 13, Matute asked his officers, Antonio Serantes and Juan Martínez-Sayas, for their opinions as to whether, in view of the circumstances, he should still fulfil the requests made by Eliza and Saavedra and sail for Nootka, or whether he should return to San Blas. His officers, in written answers, said that they were in favour of returning to San Blas. Serantes felt that "from the 15 of August on, any ship trying to enter Nootka takes a risk". Martínez-Sayas mentioned that other ships had failed to make that port in or after the month of August, because of heavy winds and thick fog. Matute, who probably was of the same opinion, then ordered the Aranzazú to make a southerly course and proceeded to San Blas--probably arriving on July 10.<sup>1</sup>

### Too many requests...

In addition to what had been requested from the Governor of Monterey by Eliza and himself, Saavedra requested other articles to be sent to Nootka from Mexico. In a letter to the Viceroy, written in April, Saavedra stated that there

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<sup>1</sup> All these papers are in the Mexican National Archives, History, Vol. 69, Carp. 5. Mr. John Baird, in his thesis "San Lorenzo de Nuca" (p. 118), stated that the Aranzazú actually returned to Nootka carrying "not only the supplies requested but even more." I have checked the evidence, and find that this was not so. But it is all too easy to become confused when consulting the mass of papers on Nootka!

was such a scarcity of thick clothes that abusive prices were paid to those who wanted to sell such items, and that some of the eight pieces of baize which were shipped from San Blas had been damaged, although he, Saavedra, had carried them in his own cabin (cámara). So he requested baize, Queretaro cloth, boots, shoes, woollen socks, cambaya, and some hats.

When the Viceroy received these requests, he ordered the Commander at the Naval Base in San Blas (August 23) to send some of the articles (although Saavedra had not mentioned the amounts that he wished to have), and expressed his regret that such shortages should be suffered at Nootka. When asked for his views on the matter, Bodega-Quadra answered that, even accounting for losses, there should have been more than sufficient foodstuffs because large quantities had been sent. Moreover, he felt that the natural resources of the area could provide the establishment with some deer, many ducks, fish, and some shellfish. As for clothing, in addition to the baize which Saavedra, himself, had carried, he had been provided with extra amounts "so that all [the men] could be properly equipped." In any case, it was too late in the year to send such help; but he advised that it be sent in the following February.<sup>1</sup> Five days later, the Commander and the Commissioner at San Blas sent the Viceroy a list of articles which they considered necessary for the maintenance of the

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., Hist, Vol. 69, Carp. 5. This letter is not in the same "carpeta" as the other concerning this matter--which is in carpeta <sup>4</sup> of the same volume.

Nootka establishment. The Viceroy approved the list, and ordered that those articles be prepared for dispatch (October 6). By November 10 they were ready to be shipped,<sup>1</sup> but it was obvious that they would not be dispatched during the wintertime. The Viceroy urged Bodega-Quadra and everybody concerned to see that the supplies were fumigated, where necessary, to protect them against the rats, and to exercise the greatest care to avoid waste and damage to the stocks. (October 10.)

Meanwhile, on August 10, Eliza--who was again in command at Nootka and had been waiting in vain for the return of the Aranzazú with the requested supplies--wrote to the Viceroy to express his anxiety. He feared that the ship might have suffered an accident, for he was sure that it should have arrived by August 1, or by August 10 at the latest--two months being more than sufficient time for the journey.

However, Eliza failed to mention that, in the meantime, the Malaspina expedition had brought a respectable amount of foodstuffs, clothing, and other articles (as we shall see in Chapter XXXIX). Moreover, Eliza's letter to the Viceroy bore an undertone of censure of Matute. The Viceroy passed this letter to Bodega-Quadra (with a marginal note), and the latter commented (January 26, 1972) that he

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<sup>1</sup> All these documents are in the Mexican National Archives, History, Vol. 69, Carp. 6.

"was well informed that the Nootka establishment had never suffered the shortages which have been pretended", and that Matute, knowing this full well, still had done his best to please Eliza. Bodega-Quadra even insinuated that Eliza was trying to "enhance his merit" at the expense of Matute.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### NOOTKA UNDER SAAVEDRA--SUMMER 1791

As has been stated, Antonio Saavedra was in charge of the Spanish establishment from May 4 to August 30, 1791. As a chronicler of events, Saavedra was of medium quality--not as bad as Eliza, but not as conscientious or as precise over detail as Pantoja and Caamano.

On May 26, Saavedra wrote several letters, which the Aranzazú carried to Mexico. Three of these--very brief--refer to the communication he had received about the Anglo-Spanish convention, and have been mentioned in the previous chapter. In another one, he stated that the captains of the neighbouring villages paid him frequent visits, that he did his best to treat them well, and that they professed great friendship for him. They were very happy, but anxious to see the Spanish go:

...they are at present very pleased and only wish that this frigate should leave, especially Macuina who always asks me when it is going to leave: meaning that until this ship is gone he is not prepared to live in this, his former, village.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mex. N.A., History, Vol. 69, Carp. 5.

In a report of events between May 27 and August 27, Saavedra gave the information mentioned in the following pages.

On May 28, a canoe-load of Indians passed by and reported that Eliza's voyage was proceeding without difficulties.

Nothing is reported between that date and June 9, when a boy of sixteen years and a girl whose age was between six and seven years were bought from the Indians.

On June 10, Clupananu, Captain of one of the neighbouring Indian villages, came along and presented Saavedra with forty boards. For his gift of timber, he was rewarded with two sheets of copper.

On June 12, Saavedra sent the Constable (probably meaning Alberní) and four armed soldiers to Macuinna's village to obtain some sperm oil and some red ochre in exchange for copper sheets. He wanted these materials in order to give a coat to the gun-carriages and the muradas of the frigate as protection against sea water and sunshine. These five Spaniards were met, first, by Clupananu and later by Macuinna, who helped them and entertained them with a dance. Saavedra states that Macuinna: "...after catching sight of our vessel in the distance sent all his people to the opposite coast and then recalled them after he knew that he was going to be presented, on my part, with an old canvas sail that he had requested of me; for his wife and the sons of Anasapi and Galapi I must also send a little Bread and

Sugar, which they value."

Two days afterwards, Macuinna came to Friendly Cove and he was given presents. He asked when the Spanish would leave the place so that he could re-establish his village there. Saavedra tried to persuade him to come to live nearby, but he refused because he feared that the Spaniards would violate his womenfolk. He was careful enough to state that he did not distrust the Military Staff Officers, whom he called "tayees".

On the same day the Indian, Anasapi, sold Saavedra twenty fairly long and wide boards of lumber, the price being two copper sheets and a boy fifteen or sixteen years old.<sup>1</sup>

On June 18, Macuinna and his wife and retinue came on board the frigate and were given presents--"as I am used to doing", says Saavedra. Then they went on shore where they received more presents. The chieftain was told that two bayonets and one pistol had been stolen from the frigate by somebody from his own or from Galapi's village. He promised to search for them, and on the following day he brought a bayonet that he had found in the hands of a Galapi man.

Perhaps as a joke, somebody had told Macuinna that

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<sup>1</sup> Although this is the only case I have found, it would seem, then, that the Spaniards could also trade back the Indians whom they had bought.



was still at Nootka.<sup>1</sup>

Saavedra had nothing further to report until July 5, when two Indians, about twenty-five or thirty years old, came to tell him that they wanted to go to Spain. After having questioned them to see if they wished to go of their own will or whether they were being inveigled by some Spaniard, Saavedra accepted them into the establishment. However, three days later some other Indians from Macquina's village came to enquire about these men, who thereupon went into hiding. Saavedra had them brought over to speak to the visiting Indians so that the latter could verify that they had not kidnapped. Not satisfied with this, Macquina himself came on the following day, but, obviously wishing to slight the Spaniards, he halted off the Cove and dispatched a man to talk to the two Indian deserters. One of them decided to rejoin his people, but Macquina was not entirely satisfied. Saavedra sent him four messages affirming Spanish friendship, but the chief still refused to appear at the Spanish establishment because he believed that the Indians had been enticed.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baird stated ("San Lorenzo de Nuca", p. 116) that on June 16 the Columbia arrived at Nootka, and gives as his reference: Haswell, Voyages of the Columbia, pp. 289-90, ms. tr. B.L. (This is obviously a transcript in the Bancroft Library. Haswell's log-book for this, the second voyage of the Columbia, to the North West Coast begins in August 1791. The two extant accounts of that voyage--by Hoskin and Boit--do not make any reference to that fact. Hoskin indicates that Nootka was by-passed, but not entered, on June 17 (p. 189), and Boit (p. 370) tells a similar story.)

The next day (July 10) the father and brother of the Indian who had returned home came to visit the establishment. Saavedra urged them to ask Macquina not to punish the fellow. At the same time, the Spanish commander asked the other Indian if he wanted to leave; he answered in the negative, and he remained--but he vanished after a week.

### Kendrick back at Nootka

Captain Kendrick, commanding the Washington, reappeared at Nootka Sound and stayed for eight days. After his previous long sojourn there, he had been trading along the coast for about two months and then sailed for China where he arrived in January, 1790. He sailed again in March, 1791, and in June arrived at the Queen Charlotte Islands--where the natives attempted to seize the Washington but the crew were able to repel the attackers, killing a number of them. Trading southwards, the ship reached Nootka Sound on July 12. Saavedra reported his arrival at Nootka:

...and, having passed with a Boston flag within hailing distance of the castle...I asked him where he came from and told him that he could enter the port without fear, to which he answered that he did not understand. At the same time I sent him the boat, with the interpreter, to welcome him on my behalf and to help him get into the port but having misunderstood my instructions they towed him into the Malvinas anchorage, three leagues inside the port. He sent word that he was John Kendric, who had been the captain of what was the sloop Columbia, and now of the Madama vvasinton (sic), that he had not

entered this anchorage because his pilots did not know it and he was in bed when he passed by. I learned from the coxswain and the interpreter that he carried 4 guns (all ready to be fired, and every man heavily armed and an imposing display of weapons everywhere) and in spite of seeing that my men were not carrying any arms he only allowed the second guardian and the interpreter to come on board and he asked them about Martinez, about our situation and whether we had news about the war with England.

Some of the ship's crew stated, later, that when they approached the Spanish fort Kendrick "ordered each one to place himself in the spot to which he had been assigned...only the captain and the steersman remained on deck..." The ship "carried 8 cannon of 4 pounds each, 12 swivel guns and 4 small guns" and the thirty-six men on board "were distributed through the battery, each with a pair of pistols, a musket, and a sabre".<sup>1</sup>

Saavedra again recorded:

On the 13th I sent a message to the Boston Captain informing him that this port and its coast are dominions of the King of Spain, to which he answered with another [message] which I did not understand because it was in English and my interpreter cannot read that language.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem, from this and the following passages,

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1 Pantoja's Journal. See Wagner: Spanish Explorations of the Juan de Fuca Strait, pp. 192-3.

2 I have the text of Saavedra's brief message, but I can find no trace of Kendrick's.

that Saavedra had an interpreter who could understand and speak some English but could not read it!

On July 15, having heard that Kendrick was trading with the natives, Saavedra sent him a dispatch, which I paraphrase here:

The trivial reasons which you gave my men for not coming into this port, your failure to come personally before approaching it and to send your passports and express in writing the causes of your coming (all of which is contrary to customary international practice) and your taking arms when you see our people (y el tomar Armas siempre que a vista de gente mia) make me suspect your intentions. Unless you give me satisfactory reasons I shall inform my Court.

You must not trade with my people or with the natives because, by virtue of the recent conventions between England and Spain, from Point Boyse northwards only the English shall be authorised to trade, and from that place southwards only the Spanish shall do so.

It appears that Saavedra sent some of his men to Marwinna, in a small boat, to deliver this letter to Kendrick. They returned with a letter from Kendrick and accompanied by three of his officers. Saavedra explained it thus:

...he sent me word that he could not write until the day after because he did not have time but he sent a copy of his passport, being unable to come personally, because he distrusted his officers

the first, second and third pilots [who were English]. These came personally, to inform against their captain, and so they stayed to dinner and slept here. I asked them if they had permission from the aforesaid captain to come and make complaints against him and my condestable [constable] handed me a letter in Spanish written by himself and noted and signed (notada y firmada) by Kendrick.<sup>1</sup>

The text of Kendrick's letter is as follows:

Mister Commander: I send you a copy of my passports which are from the Presidency of the Congress of North America. I know very well that I should have placed myself at your disposal but being faced with the dislike (indisposición) of my officers it is impossible for me to leave my ship alone. Because of this dislike these officers have decided to come to you with my full consent, and so you may receive them with satisfaction for I give in from my part having nothing to claim against them and I shall be very pleased if you do receive them. May God preserve you. Marguinas  
15 July 1791.

Saavedra then says:

Having examined them and seen that their reasons were none other than trifling dislikes acquired in these

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<sup>1</sup> It is strange, perhaps, to find that Saavedra's interpreter could not read English, while Kendrick, who was not officially concerned with languages, appears to have understood at least some Spanish. There is no indication that Kendrick enquired after his son, then serving under the Spanish.

ships,<sup>1</sup> continuously seeing the same persons, I told them I would advise their Captain to treat them better and either unsatisfied with my answer or else motivated by covetousness of the salaries at San Blas, or else because I found myself without any Pilot, they proposed to me that they should remain without salary until going there where with my report His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain would appoint them according to the talent, ability and conduct of every one; and I answered them that besides not needing them here or there I had no wish to cause Kendrick any losses in personnel because of their leaving him and [thus] lose my good reputation; but they, understanding my just reasons, contented themselves with their lot.<sup>2</sup>

Saavedra took the opportunity to ask these officers many questions. They told him that British warships, sheathed in copper, had sailed from English ports; that war between Spain and Britain was expected at any moment, and that if it should break out "...the English ships, equipped for war,

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1 The Spanish text, here, reads "en estas casas": "in these houses"--probably taken in the sense of "casa flotante", or "house on board", which applies to ships which are not merely vehicles for transportation but also homes.

2 Some time later, Saavedra sent these letters to Bodega-Quadra, together with one enquiring whether by the term "Nootka port" he was to understand merely the small cove called "Nutica" by the natives, or the whole series of havens and anchorages forming an archipelago; that in the meantime he had decided to tell Kendrick that by the agreement between England and Spain it was understood in the second and larger sense, stretching from Point Boyset northwards. There is no evidence of Bodega-Quadra's having answered this. Perhaps he did not bother to do so in view of the impending meeting between a British and a Spanish commissioner, at Nootka, to discuss the question of boundaries.

would come to privateer in these seas, for there is a Royal Company which they summon from the South Sea for this single purpose."<sup>1</sup>

If, as Saavedra said, these officers were English, they may have joined Kendrick in Macao some months earlier. They were probably referring to the mobilisation effected by Britain in May of the previous year. With the signing of the Anglo-Spanish Convention, the war was averted.<sup>2</sup>

Kendrick's officers also referred to their recent dramatic experiences on board the Washington, and to the sad end of Metcalfe Junior<sup>3</sup> in the Sandwich Islands (Yslas de S. Duit). That night the Englishmen obviously slept on the Princesa, and on the following morning they asked permission to see the establishment. Saavedra showed them only the vegetable gardens, and the outside of the buildings--without revealing their respective uses. After lunch he sent them back to the Boston ship in his launch:

Kendrick sent me word that upon his honour he would call to see me. They again found him with his decks cleared for action against us, but as they [Kendrick's crew] saw that our men carried no weapons they allowed them to board the ship.

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1 Pantoja also reported these rumours.

2 Mr. Baird, in a footnote, said that this was a reference to what is called "The War of the Oranges". But this war, in which Britain supported Portugal against a Spanish attack, was fought ten years later, in 1801.

3 The young captain of the Fair American. (See chapters XXIII and XXX.)

Later, the Indians told Saavedra that the Boston ship had sailed off on July 20; and Pantoja stated that Kendrick "...left on the 20th, getting into the sea without passing by the castle, for he did it through the sea arm which goes from the inside of this Port to the Bay of Good Hope." Kendrick had bought a tract of land from the natives in that area, and then proceeded to Clayuquod--from whence he sailed for China on September 25.

. . .

On July 21, Saavedra sent some men in a launch to look for a stone to sharpen the tools, and to bring some tall grass which was needed for repairs. (Probably as a roofing material.) The party carried provisions for half a day, and was obviously expected back shortly. But when they had not returned on the following day, Saavedra asked the Indian Clupananu for the loan of his large canoe in order to search for the missing men. After consultation with Macquina on the matter, Clupananu consented--but on condition that he be allowed to hold one of the Spanish boats as security. His tribesmen refused to accompany the Spaniards in the canoe, suspecting that the purpose of the trip was the picking of a fight with some other Indian tribe. The search was begun, but the missing launch returned on the following day. The men explained that they had run into such a strong current that they were unable to row out of it, and, as a result, the launch had run aground on a rock. The men apparently remained



there until the storm subsided. Having run out of food, they had to eat clams and grass cooked without salt. All managed to get back safely to the establishment, but they were very weak and had lost all their equipment. Upon their arrival, Saavedra had a gun fired as a signal for the search-party in the canoe to return to port. When the small craft was duly returned to its owner, both sides exchanged presents and displayed much courtesy and generosity.

On August 9, Saavedra was told that Macquina and his people had moved to Tahsis and that, in addition to being short of fish, the Indians were becoming sick. He was also told that Anasapi was going to the Nuchimas, to kidnap boys in order to eat them.

The tales of impending war which reached Nootka could not but worry the Commander. A few days after Kendrick's departure Saavedra had two cannon placed on the beach and one on Point Estevan, and ordered mock battles and daily target practice for the garrison. At seven-thirty in the morning of August 13, two ships were sighted at sea and the troops were ordered to battle stations; but as the ships approached they were identified as Spanish and a welcome was prepared for them. They proved to be the corvettes Déscubierta and Atrevida, under Captain Malaspina.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This information is based on a message from Saavedra to Bodega-Quadra, Nootka, September 20, 1790--to be found in Mex. N.A., History, Vol. 69, pp. 240-42. I did not find this paper, which is located in a different volume from Saavedra's other messages, and am borrowing the information from Mr. Baird's thesis, pp. 119-20.

Saavedra had very little to say about the visit of these two ships, which will be studied in the next chapter. The only other entry in his Journal is dated August 14, and reads:

...Captain Alberní sent from land an Indian woman who came across land from the Indian village (the nearest one being 3 leagues away) and she said that she was fleeing from the Indians who had tied her up, and that she was the mother of an Indian boy and of an Indian girl whom we have here and whom she recognised and immediately embraced, she was persuaded by her children that she wished to go with them to Spain and for that reason she stayed on board; we were all very moved to see the mother and daughter crying with joy at being in each other's arms. The mother must be about 30 to 35 years of age, and the daughter is between 6 and 7.

And there Saavedra's chronicle ended. At the end of August he handed back command of the establishment to Eliza and stopped writing his account.<sup>1</sup> He had confined himself to the reporting of outstanding events, and had not given a day-to-day account of the life of the establishment--as Martínez had done. Nor did he mention the weather, as Caamaño was fond of doing. Fortunately, the Malaspina expedition provided a comprehensive description of what the Spanish establishment at Nootka was like at that time.

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from this Journal, Saavedra wrote eight letters to the Viceroy--all dated May 26, and obviously carried by the Aranzazú. They are to be found in the Mexican National Archives, History, Vol. 68, Carp. 5. Here is a list of their topics:

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1. breve informacion viaje, llegada y toma de posesion del cargo.
  2. breve s. trata indios.
  3. acusa recibo R.O. 25 Enero - s/ingleses: "asi lo have interin regresa...Eliza".
  4. acusa recibo postadata.
  5. acusa recibo R.O. Floridablanca 27 Nov.
  6. Que de acuerdo con Eliza envia la Aranzazú a Monterey por viveres.
  7. pide mas bayeta, porque parte llevo averiada.
  8. Entrega al Comte. de la Aranzazú pliegos que le dejo Eliza.

In his letter of December 21, written upon arrival at San Blas, Saavedra told the Viceroy that he had dispatched the above through the Aranzazú, and that through Malaspina he sent "another report in rough to the Commander of the Department about what happened after the departure of the Aranzazu, so that through him it should reach Your Excellency's hands for, having so much to attend to and nobody to help me write, I was unable to send it to Your Excellency as I wished."

Through Malaspina, Alberní sent a very brief note about the sick in his Company.

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Author's note: Mr. John Baird, in his thesis "San Lorenzo de Nuca" (P. 119) says: "At the end of July the French ship, La Solide, captained by Etienne Marchand, called at Nootka." Mr. Baird gives as his reference Marchand's Voyage around the World, London, 1801, Vol. 1, p. 198. This is obviously a mistake. Marchand was actually intent on "procuring furs on the coast of the continent, at Nootka Sound", but, for several considerations "he determined not to begin his traffic on the coast until he had reached Berkeley Sound" (pp. 484-5). So the Solide did not enter Nootka Sound, and the Spanish did not even see her. (See also The Northwest Coast Catalogue, Eberstadt and Sons, p. 61.)

## CHAPTER XL

### THE MALASPINA EXPEDITION AT NOOTKA

#### Its character and data

In 1788 two Spanish Royal Navy officers, Alexandro Malaspina (an Italian in the service of Spain) and Josef Bustamente Guerra, submitted to the Spanish Minister for the Navy a plan for a voyage of explorations and scientific investigation around the world: a "Viaje Político-Científico" Malaspina called it. The Spanish government gave the plan its full support. Two ships, the Déscubierta and the Atrevida, were built especially for the purpose and manned with skilful officers. Several scientists were chosen to make observations: among them the outstanding German botanist, Tadea (Thadeus) Haenke, the brothers Arcadio and Antonio Pineda, and José Guio. Félipë Bauza was in charge of map-making. José del Pozo was appointed to do perspective drawings but had to leave the expedition, in Perú, on account of illness; his place was taken, in Mexico, by Tomás de Suría. The ships carried the best kind of scientific equipment available in the European capitals, in addition to marine samples and an appropriate selection of books. Malaspina was made commander of the expedition and of the Déscubierta; Bustamente-Guerra was to command the Atrevida.

The two corvettes set out from Cádiz, in the south of Spain, on July 30, 1789. They sailed along the coastline of Africa and then turned westwards to the coast of Argentina, proceeded around Cape Horn and then northwards along the western coasts of South and Central America. They stopped at Acapulco, in Mexico, in February, 1791 and then proceeded to San Blas, where they arrived on March 27. It had originally been intended that the expedition should proceed from Mexico to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to the North West coast of America; but while in Mexico Malaspina received orders from the Spanish government to proceed straight to the North West coast, and to sail along it as far as Latitude 60 degrees in search of the passage to the Atlantic supposed to have been discovered by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado in 1588.<sup>1</sup> This legend had been circulated afresh and given further credit by a report to the French Academy of Sciences in 1790, and the Spanish government wanted to have the claim investigated. Accordingly, the Déscubierta and the Atrevida left Acapulco on May 1st, and sailed as far north as the port of Prince William. Then they turned southward, and arrived at Nootka on August 13, staying until August 28.<sup>2</sup>

The Malaspina expedition produced an enormous amount of data about the places visited. A digest of it appeared in the printed official record of the expedition and

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1 See Chapter I.

2 Dr. Donald Cutter of the University of Southern California is preparing a book on this expedition. I am indebted to him for providing me with copies of drawings made by members of this expedition.

one or two of the personal journals have also been published; but most of the materials are still in manuscript form in the Naval Museum in Madrid. The following are texts from this source which contain information about Nootka:

- a) The official public record, Viaje Político-Científico Alrededor del Mundo por las Corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida al mando de los capitanes, Book 2, Chapter III, Madrid, 1885.
- b) "Diario alrededor del mundo", a manuscript attributed to Malaspina. (Vol. 479 of the records of the Naval Museum in Madrid.)
- c) "Examen Político de las costas NO de America", a manuscript in Malaspina's handwriting. (Vol. I, pp. 88-126.)
- d) "Descripción Física y Estado de las Cosechas", essays in California y Costa NO de America (Book C 3, Vol. I).
- e) Francisco Javier de Viana, Diario del Viage de las Corbetas espanolas Descubierta y Atrevida, Madrid, Imprenta del Ejercito, 1849.
- f) 62 Meses abordo, the diary of Antonio Tova Arrendondo.
- g) "Viaje en limpio de las Corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida", a description of the exploration of the Nootka Sound (folios 122-125).
- h) "Libro de guardias para la Corbeta Atrevida".
- i) The "Bustamente Journal", AMRE, Ms 13.

j) A private journal by the artist Tomás de Suría, from a translation published by H.R. Wagner in The Pacific Historical Review (Vol. V, pp. 234 onwards).<sup>1</sup>

k) Letters written by Malaspina to the Spanish authorities. (The originals are in the Mexican or the Spanish National Archives.)

### Arrival at Nootka

As the ships approached Nootka Sound they were greeted by canoes full of Indians. One of the canoes came alongside the Déscubierta: "the Indians climbing up with much speed without any ladder. We noticed in them a great liveliness and an admirable behaviour. The first thing they asked for was shells with this word pachitle conchi, alternating this with saying Hispania Nootka and then words which meant alliance and friendship. We were astonished to hear out of their mouths Latin words such as Hispania, but we concluded that perhaps they had learned this word in their trading with Englishmen or that it was a bad pronunciation." (Suria Journal.)

Upon anchoring at Friendly Cove the ships gave the customary salute and their greeting was returned from the fort. Saavedra, the acting Commander, and Alberní, the Captain of the garrison, went on board to welcome the visitors.

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<sup>1</sup> Wagner knew of only two unofficial reports of Spanish voyages on the North West Coast. This is one of them.

Supplies for the establishment

Saavedra and Alberní were each given separate quantities of supplies which the corvettes had brought from Spain and from Mexico. A complete list was made of all those articles and their values. As I am not sure of the meaning, or of the English equivalents, of some of the items I do not list them all, but include a copy of the list in Spanish, with a few details omitted. (Appendix III.)

Saavedra received several kinds of cloth to a total of 238 varas (one vara equals 2.8 ft.), 100 handkerchiefs, 30 red woollen caps, sewing cotton and 300 needles, 120 arrobas of wine from Sanlucar (Spain) and 55 arrobas of vinegar shipped at Cádiz (with their kegs and barrels), 39 quintales of biscuit, 5 quintales of bacon from Lima, 16 quintales of bacon from San Blas, 8 quintales of garbanzos, 10 kegs of salt pork (tocino), 12 plates, 12 cups and 6 jars for the service of the sick.

Saavedra also received ship's chandlery including one Spanish prow flag and one marine compass (aguja de marear), and 24 sheets of plate paper (papel de marca).

Alberní was given similar articles of clothing and foodstuffs in smaller amounts, plus 1600 "papeles" of cigars and 50 rifle flints.

There was something for the surgeon, too: 6 mattresses, 12 sheets, 29 varas of cloth for mattresses, 30 varas of Silesian linen (lienzo platilla) and medicines



to the value of 1200 reales.

### A composite journal

Now for details about the activities and observations of the Malaspina expedition, taken from the various reports and following, as far as possible, a chronological order. In a few cases there are slightly contradictory statements.

On August 13:

...the Commander arranged to send a request to the Captain and chiefs of the tribes to come from their homes and treat with us for the purpose of acquiring the information which we solicited about their customs, dress, physiognomy, etc. and compare them in this way with the foreign accounts which we had with us. By means of some Indians asking for shells, copper and other things, we sent word to Macuina, the head absolute chief of all the country and to Tlupamanibo, his subordinate, and who acts at times as head of the army in their military exploits. (Suría.)

At first the Indians appeared to be very suspicious and reluctant to meet the visitors, but the latter, by handing out presents and exercising patience and tact, gradually gained their confidence. Malaspina himself wrote:

Several causes contributed, at the time, to the shy and distrustful attitude of the natives. We only saw a few fishermen coming to the corvettes.

We wished to meet the Chiefs of Tayee. None had appeared nine days after our arrival even though we had given presents to the Indians in the canoes and promised some for those [the Chiefs] if

they would come to the corvettes.

Finally the 'secondary' chief Tlupananug, appeared. He was more trustful because of the friendship which had existed between him and our people. Yet he was almost astonished to see so many forces gathered on board. His portrait was taken and he was afterwards given several presents. (Un diario con letra de Malaspina.)

Suñía wrote a detailed account of the visit of this chieftain:

About 10 in the morning we saw a large canoe of different shape from the ordinary ones. It was manned by ten rowers on a side and in the middle was the chief named Tlupananibo with a large square chest. He came aboard, confident and happy, all by himself. Through Captain Alberni and a Guadalajara boy of the Gertrudis,<sup>1</sup> who served as interpreters, we made out his harangue:

'Although you may marvel and believe me a barbarian I am not ignorant of the inviolable laws of friendship. They inspire me to tell you not to confide in nor to feel safe from the dissimulated perfidy of Macuina. I tell you that he is crafty and overbearing and he looks at you with hatred and abhorrence. He shortly meditates dislodging you from this place...but he cannot do it while Tlupananibo lives, who...will know how to oppose it...

I know that you are men like us but more civilised and united to the universal and particular interests of yourselves and your nation, on which

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<sup>1</sup> I am not sure what the Gertrudis was -- perhaps the long boat of one of the corvettes.

account I do not admire your manufactures and productions so much esteemed among us. The 'plebes' do not yet think and so they attribute to prodigies and enchantments those operations you perform for the management of your great canoes. Finally, if you wish to gain the entire confidence of all the tribe proceed like the English do, who although more greedy, are upright and unchangeable and their treatment of us is familiar and gracious.

Suñía's entry for the following day runs thus:

On the 14th the pilots commenced to lay the bases for the port. The astronomers to make observations, and the sailors to repair some cables and construct a mast for the longboats for the expedition which the Commander contemplated during our stay in this port... [This expedition to explore the channels of the Nootka inlet was carried out a few days later.] The botanist, Don Tadeo Haenke, began to botanize. He made a collection of plants but very meagre because he could not find in the port other plants distinct from those of Europe...

On August 15 Macquina was still afraid of the Spaniards "which was confirmed this morning when Don Cayetano Valdés and Don Félipë Bauza went to Macquina's village and found all the houses deserted, and with great difficulty one or two of those who were hiding in the neighbouring woods approached them." <sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the Indian village near Friendly Cove, and not Tahsis and the rest of the year he lived in or near

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<sup>1</sup> Bustamente, Journal.

## Friendly Cove.

On August 17:

...we noticed that the natives were losing their fear which the outrage, that had been committed by Martinez, had produced in them. Whenever those natives thought about him they displayed the most extreme desire for vengeance. They now approached us with familiarity and assured us that their principal tais or chief would come to visit us. The noble Tlupananibo was lodged on the beach at the establishment where at certain hours he sang for us in company with his oarsmen about the glories of his nation and his ancestors, and at other times about his own feasts and military exploits, all in a metre like the anacreontic.<sup>1</sup> When he got to these last songs this old man took on such vigour and enthusiasm that he was able to represent perfectly with his actions the struggles, the leaping and dismay of his enemies and all that could give a true idea of his particular triumphs. At 4:30 in the afternoon he prepared his canoe for his return, leaving as a hostage a son of his and the square box until his return with the Emperor Macuina. He went away with a great swiftness. I drew a portrait of him which was much praised for its likeness to him in his features....<sup>2</sup>

Macquina was the last of the chieftains to come to Friendly Cove and visit the corvettes. This he did on August 19 according to one record, and on August 20 according to others. He came:

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1 Pertaining to or like the poet Anacreon or his poetry.

2 Suría, Journal.

...accompanied by one of his brothers, called Mquinis, a young man of about 15 or 16 years of age and of two servants. In both corvettes he received from us an abundance of presents without showing any sign of generosity or even of appreciation. He was bringing for sale a boy of between 9 and 10 stolen from the Nuchimanes and [who] was bought from him aboard the frigate Concepción for one sheet of copper. At about two o'clock in the afternoon he took leave of us and when we thought that he was returning to his villages in Tahsis we saw him come back with three of his women; we inferred that he had left them behind, on the nearest point, undoubtedly with the aim of collecting twice the products of his expedition; he would of course have achieved his preconceived purpose if his too untrustful and jealous character had condescended in letting them [the women] come on board as we insinuated with new offers: but it was not possible to convince him, depriving us therefore of the pleasure to have a portrait taken of one of them, young and good-looking...(Libro de guardias para la Corbeta Atrevida.)

On August 20, Tlapananug came to visit the Spanish, and he was taken aboard one of the ships when the officers were having a meal. He sat near the table and behaved very well:

...receiving with pleasure any courtesy he was given, and never forgetting his son, whom he had left in the canoe, to let him share a sweet. He did not miss this chance to ask for a sail for his large canoe. The Commander did not refuse but wished to see the canoe, because the said chief had built it...

We were fortunate to see it on the morning of 23rd; it was driven by 30 men

with their paddles, completely nude, whose songs and motions and skill surprised us from the first time it [the canoe] circled the corvettes. It finally anchored. They all covered themselves with their blankets and Tlupananug consented to our wish to see them dance and sing in chorus. The number of their motions, the variety of their postures and the appearance of their faces which generally tried to express horror, were the object of constant attention to the Painter, Don Tomas de Suria, in order to represent this truly curious scene...<sup>1</sup> (From a report probably written by Malaspina.)

Tlupananug was given the sail, as promised, and all the Indian party ate biscuit and drank wine, received some trifles and went away.

On August 25, the Spaniards tried in vain to persuade some of the Indians, paddling nearby in their canoes, to come into the port. Far from accepting, they would only paddle farther away.

#### A tour of the inlet (August 17-25)

At midnight on August 17, two longboats, each manned by sixteen men and equipped with two swivel guns and the appropriate ammunition and provisions, set out to explore the channels of the Nootka Inlet. The small expedition was

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<sup>1</sup> This statement is surprising since, as we have it from Suria's own Journal, he was then (Aug. 23) on the exploration cruise to the inside of the inlet--see following pages. Perhaps the author made a mistake about the date.

led by the officers José Cevallos and José Espinosa. A soldier and the "skipper" of the Concepción were in the party as interpreters. The artist Suría also joined this expedition, at his own request, and he was "provided with a gun, pistols, and ammunition as if [he] were a soldier."

The boats approached several Indian villages where they saw unfriendly faces. In Tlupananug's village, he himself being absent, the women and children started to run away when they caught sight of the Spanish launches and several men carrying sticks approached the visitors. The Spanish offered them presents which, at first, the natives refused, but after a while their anger subsided and they accepted the gifts.

The Spanish party were particularly interested in meeting Maquinna, but they felt that they would need to exercise much circumspection and tact to achieve their object since he had proved himself to be very aloof and frightened of the Spaniards. When the two longboats approached Tahsis, the village where he lived, a vast crowd of natives gathered at the waterfront, with their weapons in their hands. In a move to reassure them, the Spaniards concealed their own weapons and, when they were close enough to be heard, the interpreter shouted that they had come in peace and wished to greet Macuina. The chief obviously heard this or was told about it, but he took a full fifteen minutes to appear. On seeing him, the Spanish gave every signal of respect and

reverance:

...we begged him to come on board and, hoping to incite his greed, we showed him all those things which may be valued by an inhabitant of Nootka but the proud Chief retired without a word and after casting on us some glances full of indifference. This only spurred our desire to visit him in his home and having ordered the boats to withdraw half a cable from the banks to prevent any misconduct on the part of our sailors, and having left the appropriate instructions we landed in the little boat accompanied only by the interpreter. Upon our arrival the crowd withdrew and Maquina (who was probably reassured by our confident ways) met us half way between the village and the landing place and appeared with an affable air which did not correspond with his previous behaviour. He took us to his house where the first thing we saw was an armoury with fourteen guns well kept and a man with another gun mounting guard and in the attitude of leaning on the weapon.<sup>1</sup> The Chief introduced us to his favourite wife, whose beautiful face impressed us as much as the sentinel and the guns had; she was about 20 years old and was distinguished from the many other women by her extremely white colour as well as by the proportions and delicacy of her features; if after a long navigation it were possible to assess beauty with precision we would dare say that this gracious girl exceeds in beauty the heroines of novels as we conceive through the prestige of poetry and the creative imagination of the poets. After giving her several presents we showed her the portrait of a woman of the European kind and she contemplated it with that attention which women usually devote to women whom they consider their rivals and capable of disputing them the prize of beauty.

Afterwards we visited the family of Canapi, father of Maquina's first wife.

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<sup>1</sup> Two other reports state that there were 15 guns.



Canapi is a subordinate chief but holds a certain amount of authority: he himself was absent but his eldest son Keiskonuk came forward to welcome us, after having adorned himself with a valuable cloak of extremely fine otter, a ceremonial which Maquina had dispensed with. Having made this visit constantly surrounded by a large crowd which suffocated us everywhere and made it impossible for us to examine the things which caught our attention we toured the village (which has a frontage of about 300 toesas)<sup>1</sup> made out of houses, whose architecture, symmetrical and regular in its simplicity, is rather pleasant to the eye.

Late in the afternoon the Spanish visitors returned to their boats, accompanied by Macquina, who had remained with them throughout the tour.

The party then proceeded to Esperanza Bay. They were given a friendly welcome in all the villages visited, and they returned to Friendly Cove on August 25.

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<sup>1</sup> From the French: toise, a measure equalling almost 2 metres.

Zevallos also reported that Nazapi, chief of the Nucyhimases, visited the establishment (probably on August 26 or 27), gave some information, and stated that the Nootka people were cannibals.

The Spanish, through different emissaries, repeatedly requested Macuinna to visit them again, "insinuating to him that we were very anxious to ratify our friendship with him and testify with valuable presents how far we were interested in solid reciprocal peace between his people and our establishment." These messages, and the obviously peaceful intentions of the visitors, finally convinced the chieftain, who became quite changed and cheerful.

He took some cups of tea aboard the Atrevida, a custom which was already well established amongst his relatives and subordinate chiefs, he donned his head with a kind of reddish strap on which were sewn a few little glass stars. He alleged that the cares of fishing and his poor health had prevented him from visiting us more frequently. Finally he exaggerated (encarecio), with vivid and noble description, his present situation, which compelled him to live at some distance from the sea, made him short of food and kept him now extremely weak having previously been extremely strong and dextrous to the point of being able, unaided, to harpoon a whale.<sup>1</sup>

Macuinna was implying, of course, that he had lost his health

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<sup>1</sup> Bustamente Journal.

since the Spanish had "expelled" him from the place of their establishment.

Two sails for canoes, four window panes, a sheet of copper, some yards of blue cloth, and a few pieces of hardware, were the presents he was given, on that occasion, on the Descubierta. He then ratified the cession of land he had previously made for the present national establishment, assured us that there would be a lasting peace between the two parties...

By then (October 27), all the instruments and effects had been carried back on board, the crews had enjoyed a rest and some relaxation, and it was planned that the Déscubierta and the Atrevida would depart on that same night. But the Déscubierta made sail twice, and twice fell foul of the rocks--though she was easily extricated. It was not until sunset on the following day that the two ships succeeded in sailing towards the Californias.

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1 Official report, pp. 193-4.

## CHAPTER XLI

### A GLANCE AT THE ESTABLISHMENT

Successive commanders of the Spanish establishment at Nootka, and visiting officers, wrote chronological accounts of the events which took place there; but, apart from occasional general remarks, none of these accounts provided an accurate picture of the establishment or of the life of its occupation force. Fortunately, on two or three occasions, visitors to the outpost wrote brief but enlightening descriptions of it and of the activities of its personnel. Some officers drew charts showing the lay-out, with the locations of buildings and gardens, and artists sketched panoramic views and some of its corners. These materials are an invaluable aid to forming an idea of the appearance and the day-to-day life of the establishment.

The Malaspina expedition provided the first set of graphic and written descriptions. A letter from Malaspina to the Viceroy reported that "perfect health and good harmony prevailed in it, thanks to the good example and great activity of Saavedra and Alberní;<sup>1</sup> the houses and gardens had made considerable progress and the friendship with the chieftain

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<sup>1</sup> Suría also praised Alberní as "the distinguished officer who will occupy one of the most worthy places in the account of this voyage because of his skill and management of the natives."

Macuina was getting very firm, as had already been achieved with Hupanani, Nasape and other subordinate chiefs."

The printed official record of the voyage includes a page or two about the Spanish establishment, giving a brief historic sketch, followed by this description:

One could see in the background of the port several huts made of wooden planks; Alberni himself with the troops stationed on land were looking after the safety and good order of the place. The making of fresh bread, which was provided daily to everyone, the cultivation of the vegetable gardens in which Nature was already generous with her gifts, the care to preserve the foodstuffs and tools against an extremely destructive swarm of rats; the blacksmith shops, the 'continuation' or enlargement of the houses, with the necessary cutting of timber, were many other activities in which shone with equal intensity the subordination and tenacity of the ranks and the good example and wisdom of the officers, Commanders Eliza, Saavedra and Alberni. That also contributed to the preservation of the health and good harmony which was then enjoyed by all.

Another report, probably written by Malaspina himself, gives the following details, stating that they were gathered mostly from Captain Pedro Alberní:

The number of people from the two frigates from San Blas who spent a whole year in this Port was no less than 250. Don Francisco Eliza and Don Pedro Alberni soon realised that the welfare of these People depended rather on their continual Employment than on [any] preventive measures with which they might be helped. The first practical endeavour in this

respect was the clearing of the ground towards the sea and the starting of some vegetable gardens, this was soon followed by the construction of a Schooner and the beginning of several Houses devoted either to Workshops or for Living Quarters or Warehouses. Work in respect of the latter had to be expedited because an Epidemic of destructive rats made nothing safe on board the Ships: and so Winter arrived before they were able to accommodate anybody Ashore, except for the Troop, and before there were places of shelter where the Sailors could occupy themselves on rainy days in the useful work of sawing timber and carpentering.

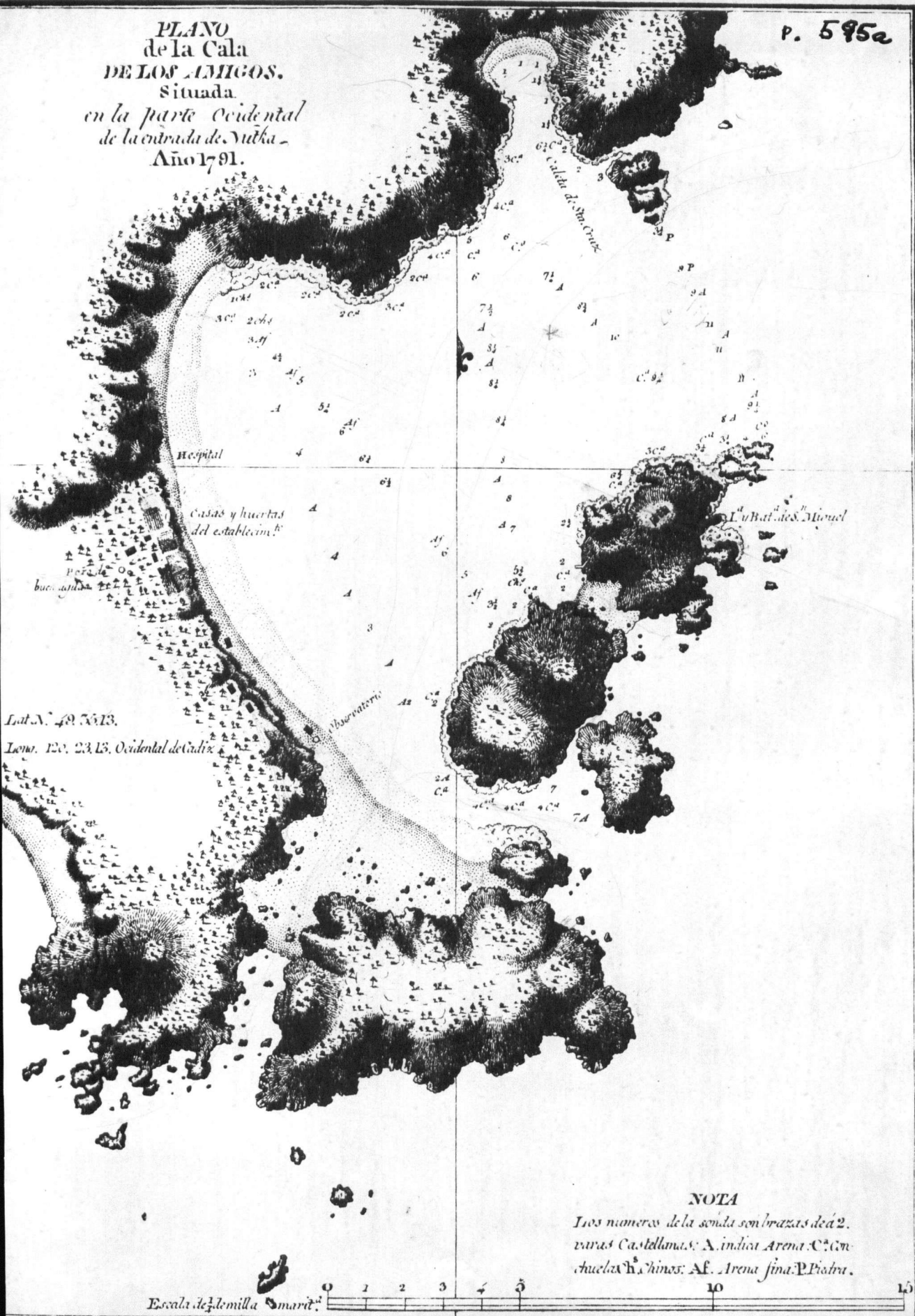
The necessity of living on board, the complete lack of fresh food, except for Fish, the excessive Humidity which one found everywhere, and the difficulty of being unable to stop work on rainy days resulted in a thousand anxieties over the well-being of the Establishment. Indeed, if the vegetables had not flourished so soon these circumstances would have become very unpleasant and perhaps fatal. But the facility with which the Cabbages, the Lettuces, the Onions, the Garlic, the Salt-Wort, Radishes, Turnips, Carrots, Parsley and Artichokes began to take root and grow vigorously not only encouraged many more men into the useful occupation of Cultivation, but it also became a powerful deterrent to the [otherwise] irremediable progress of Scurvy. So at the beginning of the Winter there were hardly thirty men suffering from the various symptoms of this Ailment. As at that time those were sent to Monterey in one of the Frigates, and considerable progress was made in all the Branches most necessary to the Establishment, which was presently freed from Diseases and since then the most perfect Health has abounded in all its Members. A great

See official name of current date in San Juan del Norte  
(Treaty of Washington) maps.

Num. 7. No 6.

P. 595a

**PLANO**  
**de la Cala**  
**DE LOS AMIGOS.**  
Situada  
en la parte occidental  
de la entrada de Nuña.  
Año 1791.



Lat. N. 49 56 13.  
Long. 120. 23 15. Occidental de Cadix.

**NOTA**

Los numeros de la sonda son brazas de 2.  
varas Castellanas: A. indica Arena: C. Gr.  
chueca y s. hinos: Af. Arena fina: P. P. hino.

Escala de 1/2 de milla

# Pto de la S.<sup>ta</sup> Cruz de Nuca

Castillo de S.<sup>n</sup> Miguel  
 Casa del Comandante  
 Casa del Capitan de la Froga  
 Cuartel de Ydm.  
 Casa de los Sargentos  
 Hospital y Almacén de Viveres  
 Galeon de los Pertrechos de la Fragata  
 Horno de Pan.  
 Carpinteria y Herreria  
 Viertan del Comandante  
 Ym del Capitan de la Froga  
 Camino que dirige a la Laguna  
 Banco de Arena

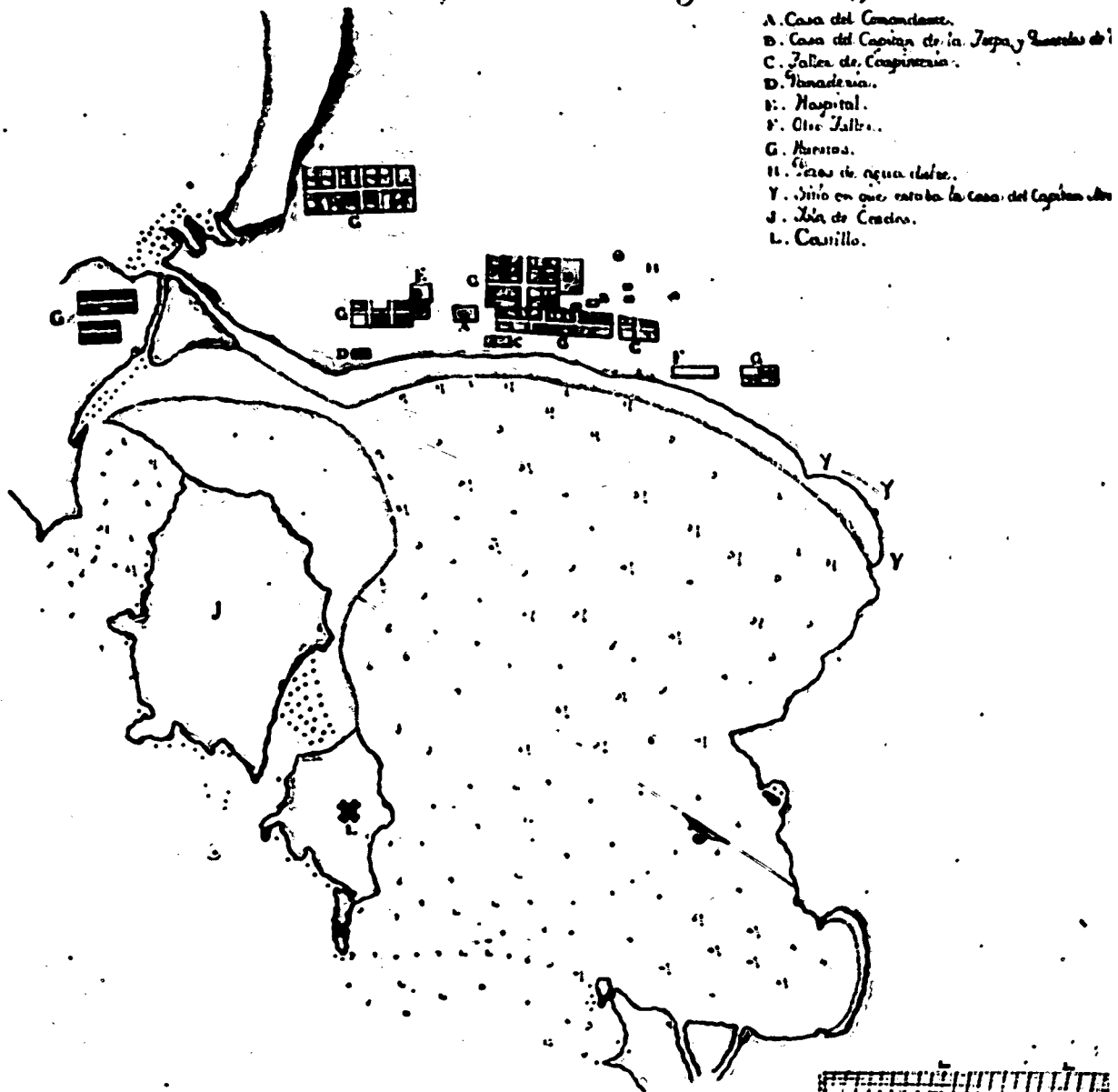
Nota.

num de la Sonda son braz de 6 Pies Ingls.





Plano del Puerto de Nuxa en la costa N.O. de America, situado en la latitud N. de 45.55. y en la longitud de 21. 21. al O. del Meridiano de S.<sup>a</sup> Islas, que dista del de Jeneife 88. 56. 13. igualmente Occidental.



- A. Casa del Comandante.
- B. Casa del Capitan de la Jopa y Guardas de
- C. Jalsa de Conspiracion.
- D. Monasterio.
- E. Hospital.
- F. Ofic. Jalsa.
- G. Murallas.
- H. Pozos de agua dulce.
- I. Sitio en que estaba la Casa del Capitan de
- J. Isla de Cerezo.
- K. Castillo.



Escala de Varas Castellanas.

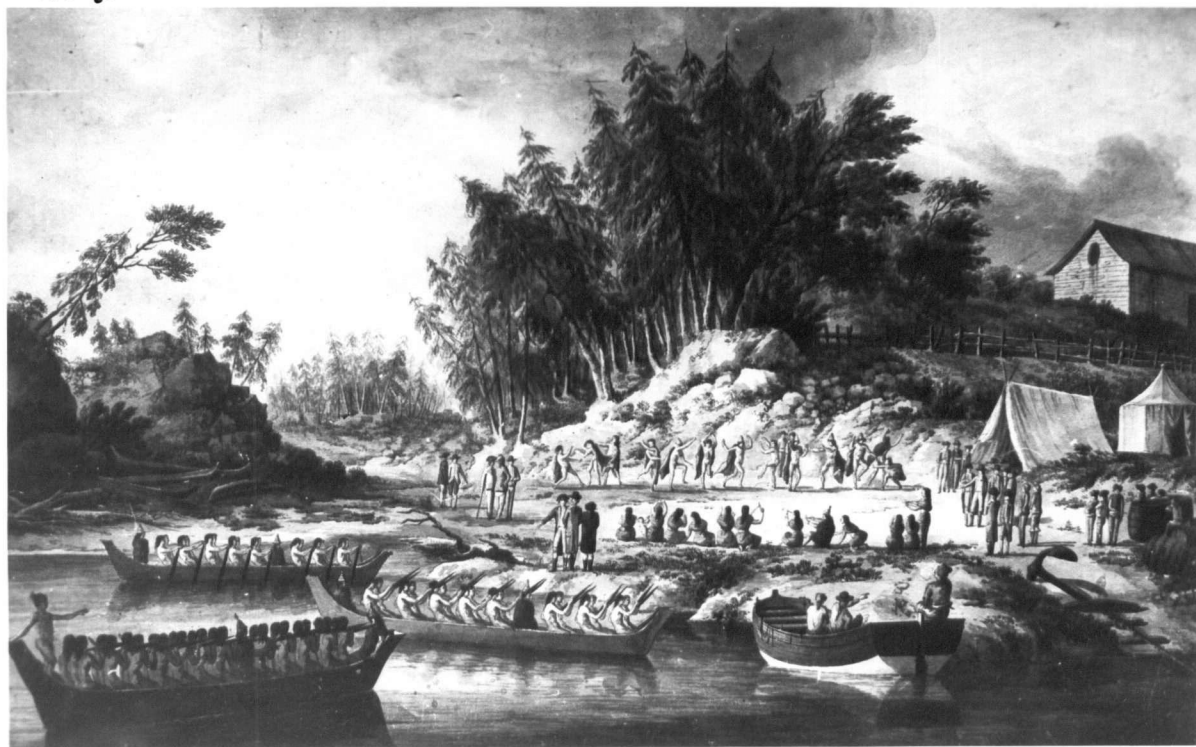
deal of Timber was sawn and sold by the natives, in order to speed up the building of Houses: at the same time it was possible to carry out new experiments with Seeds, and even though their hopes were not fully realised the Chickpeas, the Wheat and the Maize, and later the Barley and the Potatoes, [grew] successfully. And so did Kidney Beans and Peas, whenever the rain was not excessive, thus proving that the existence of a Settlement on that Coast would no longer be precarious or dependent upon Hunting or Fishing. As for the Vegetation, we make no overstatement at all when we affirm that we have seen Radishes with a circumference of  $\frac{3}{4}$  Vara and Lettuces of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  Varas (nueve cuartas) at the upper part of their Leaves. One may add that Cows and Hens have already proved that they are able to multiply admirably, the former needing only three or four months of Hay, and the latter resisting the cold so well that they produce two broods a year and do not need any care other than the protection of the Chicks from Rats and Ferrets...

In a brief statement dated August 23, 1791,<sup>1</sup> Captain Alberní reported that, at that time, the total strength of the Company of Catalán Volunteers was seventy-six men, but only thirty-one of them were at Nootka. A number had been taken to Monterey and San Blas, because they were sick, and the remainder were serving on the several ships then on voyages. As has already been stated, two soldiers died at Nootka, and the Company's Lieutenant died on his way to Monterey. The thirty-one men at Nootka discharged guard duties in the "castle" (that is, the fort), the frigate, and ashore-- with one corporal and four men posted to each of the three

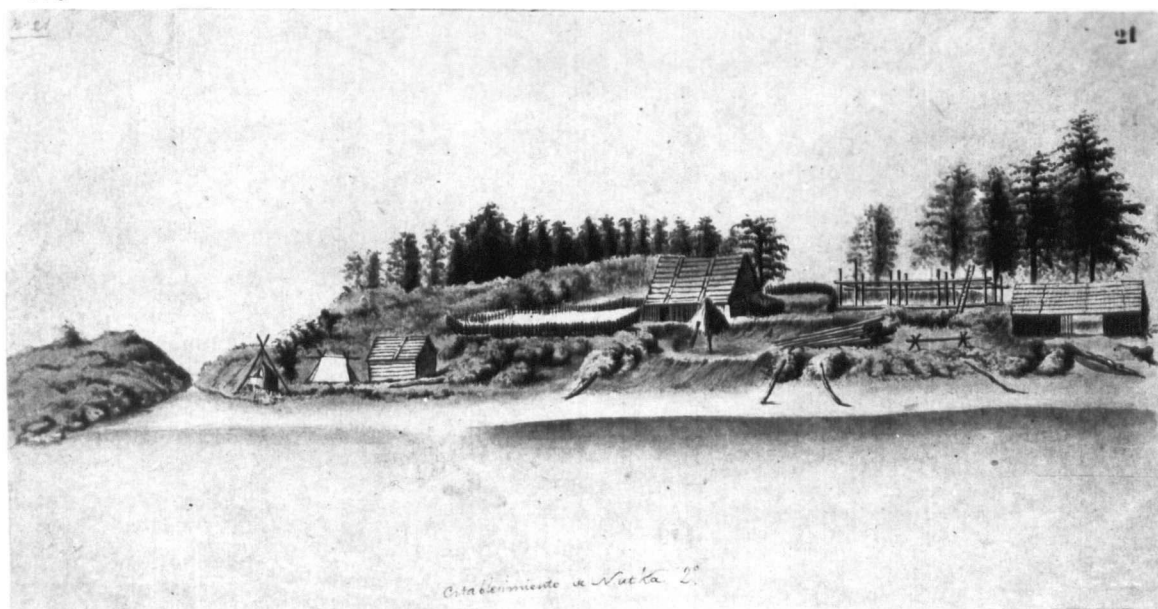
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<sup>1</sup> At about the same date, Alberní wrote a note for the Viceroy giving details of the salaries of his men, but he included no report of their activities.

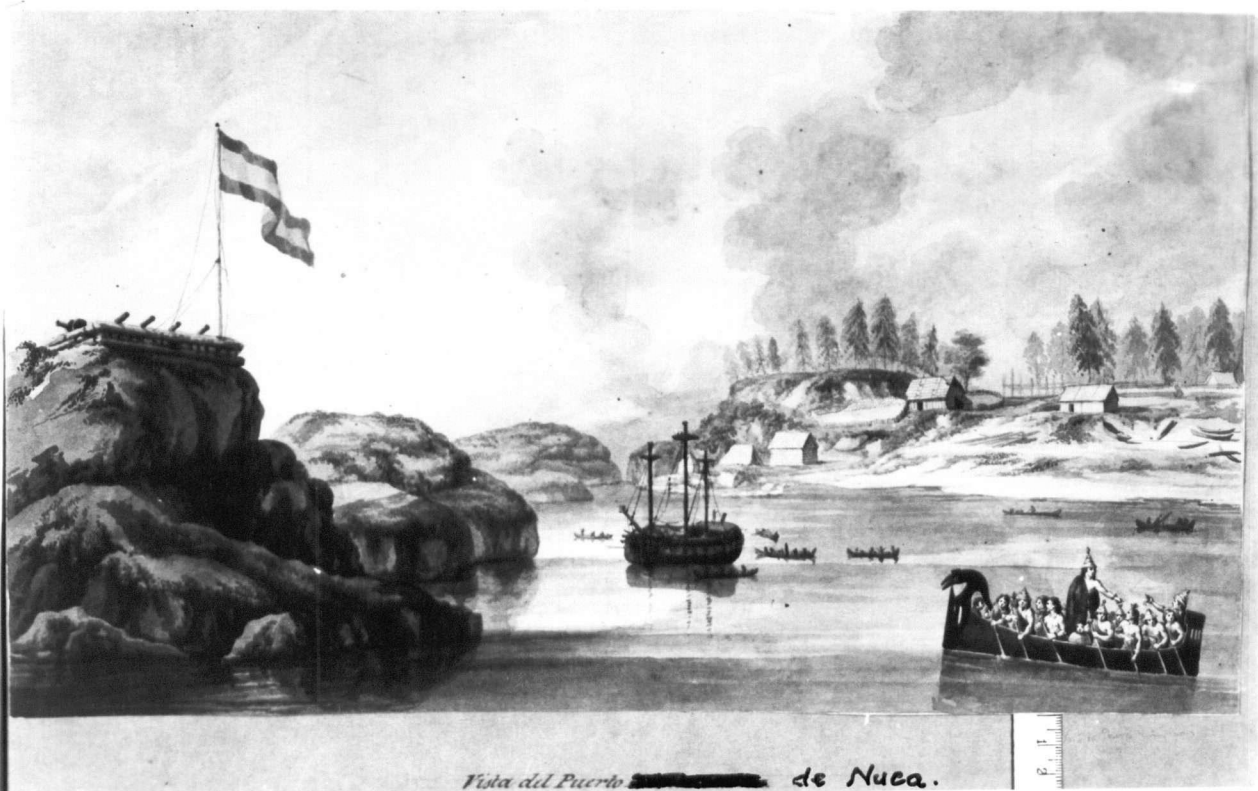
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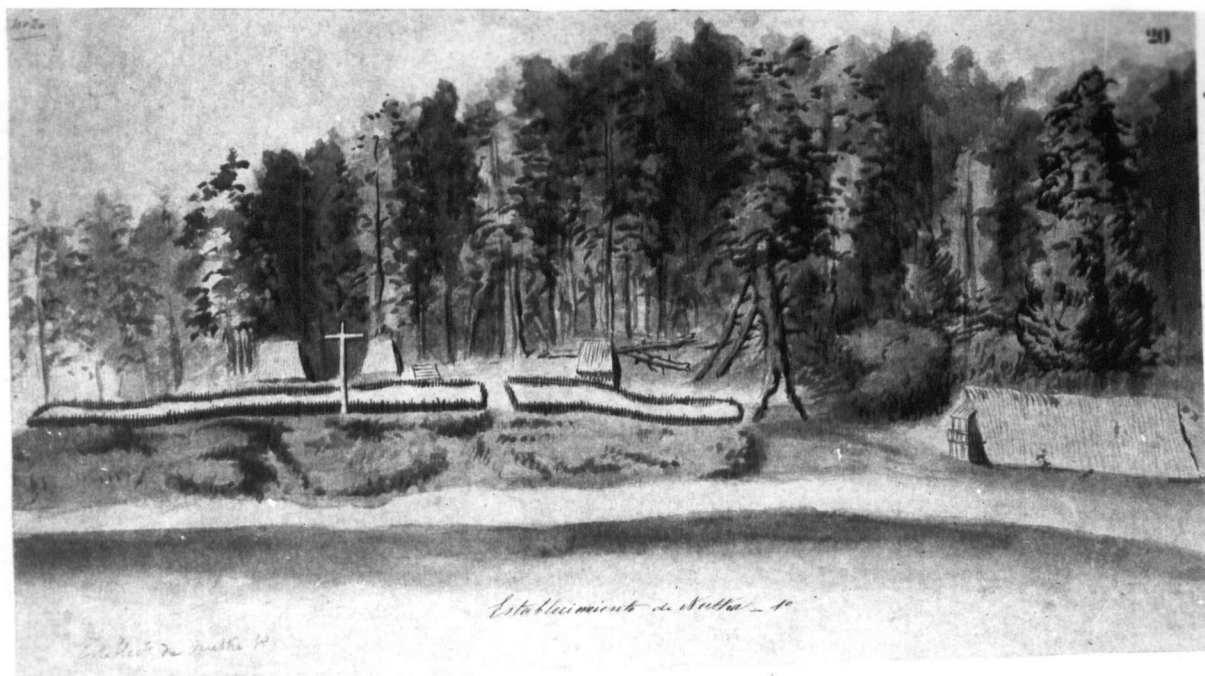
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Establecimiento de Nueva L.



No. 11.



No. 12.



VISTA DEL ESTABLECIMIENTO Y PUERTO DE NUTEA

places. It may be assumed that their duties were rotated.

## CHAPTER XLII

### NOTES ON THE NATIVES

During the era of exploration, the leaders of the many voyages to the North West Coast were instructed to gather information about the topography, the flora and fauna, and the native populations of the areas they visited.

The Cook and Malaspina expeditions included scientists and artists, commissioned to record this information both factually and pictorially--as did other expeditions outside the scope of this study. In general, their findings display more interest in man than in nature, and provide a wealth of information about the native populations and their way of life, in addition to vocabularies of their languages. No tribe aroused more interest than did that of the Nootka Sound district: the Spanish, alone, produced at least ten studies of the Nootka Indians, and several Nootka-Spanish vocabularies of varying lengths and accuracy. It has not been possible to include, within these pages, all the available information, and references to the life and characteristics of this tribe have had to be restricted to those which have a bearing on the story. However, several interesting items in the papers of the Malaspina expedition, and some notes about the fate of Indians whom the Spanish carried to Mexico or California,

might be included at this point.

### On the Indians

The Nootka confederacy does not exceed the number of 4,000 people as inferred by Lieutenants Espinosa and Cevallos during their cruise.

There were three subordinate chiefs (probably meaning subordinate to Macquina)--Tlapananath, Tatzepe, and Calaken (Keleken) who had been killed by Martínez.

(Examen político.)

We should not fail to speak of the progress in Cleanliness which these natives have made, particularly the Tahis. On board the Déscubierta Nazape has asked for another glass of water because there was a mosquito in the one he was given.

### On Macquina

The age of this chief...must be not more than 30, he is of small size and ill-shaped in the lower half of his body but he makes up these shortcomings with a spiritual air, full of majesty, and of nobility with which he naturally inspires respect. (Viaje en limpio.)

The character of Macquina is not easy to make out. He seems at the same time fierce, suspicious and fearless but the natural course of his inclinations must be considerably affected by the eagerness of the Europeans to gain his friendship, a treasure gathered in a few years,<sup>1</sup> the discords among the

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1 That is, the many presents that he had accumulated.



Europeans themselves, and perhaps the suggestions of this party and the other to obtain the Monopoly of the Furs...and on the other hand the weakness of his forces, the setbacks he has suffered, the utility of the Commerce and the all-too-frequent appearance of European ships in those parts.

The person of this Chief does not correspond to his rank: he is small and withered although he has a "nervous" [energetic?] constitution and thick muscles. He attributes his present state of emaciation to the scarcity of food since he had to abandon the village of Yucuat and he was recollecting bravely and without sorrow...the happy time when he alone dared to harpoon a whale when his health and strength were rather unusual.

(Examen político.)

...he stated very passionately that since we had established ourselves in this spot he had felt compelled to live permanently in Tahsis and in summertime he could not make sufficient provision of fish to keep himself in the winter and his strength had therefore weakened.

(Sanfelíu.)

#### Why the Indians stayed away from Friendly Cove

Don Alexandro Malaspina urged him to come again to live near our establishment assuring him that it would be strictly forbidden for our sailors to go to their homes. Macquina only feared that the soldiers would solicit their Indian women but he confessed that he never had any trouble with the officers. He was told that upon the departure of the Spanish he would be offered the house which was then being built and that the others would be given to the other chiefs. Macquina reciprocated this offer assuring the Spanish of his friendship and that they would always be masters of the place they were occupying and he sang several times a song. [This could well

be the song composed by Alberní to the tune of 'Marlborough'.]

(Tova.)<sup>1</sup>

When we were urging him [one of the chiefs] to establish himself again in Yucuat, at a short distance from our houses, he would answer...that very soon our men would try to violate the conjugal rights even though our chiefs, with their example and with punishments, would endeavour to control them; and that consequently he preferred the discomfort and limitations of the present life to that obvious risk.

(Examen político.)

### Commerce with children

From the time of Martínez' arrival the Spaniards, prompted by their desire to spread Catholicism, had been urging the natives to sell some of their children. Such sales had become a custom, "lately affecting indifferently to members of either sex and of any age." Bustamente said that the price of a child was generally two rifles or one or two sheets of copper.

Three of the reports (Bustamente, Sanfelíu and Examen Político) state that twenty-two children, both boys and girls had been sent to San Blas and put under the care of selected officers on the understanding that they could

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<sup>1</sup> This man, Antonio Tova, was the most active in anthropological investigation using much patience and a good knowledge of the Indian language. He himself stated that the most useful vocabulary had been that of Vázquez, from the frigate Princesa. I have not found any other reference to this man Vázquez, or to his vocabulary. It may well be that he composed the vocabulary that is in Martínez' Journal, and that a copy of it was left on board the Princesa--which was Martínez' ship in 1789.

enjoy absolute freedom when they came of age. (Sanfelíu.)

But Malaspina, afraid of the dangers of abuses, suggested that such trade be restricted or that laws should ensure the future welfare of the natives involved.

(Examen político.)

### Cannibalism

Nearly all the reporters of the expedition, as well as most of the Spaniards who, before or after, wrote about the Nootka Indians, wondered whether or not they really ate human flesh. The conclusions vary somewhat. Those of the more responsible writers leave the matter in doubt or are frankly sceptical about it; but some believed, rather too naively, that the Nootka Indians were cannibals. Suría said:

The chaplain of the ship [probably the Concepción] gave us six boys whom he had obtained through industry and interest in exchange for guns.... There was among them one whom the sailors called 'Primo'. He displayed quite a little vivacity and already could pronounce some words in our language. He had told us that he had been destined to be a victim and to be eaten by Chief Macuina together with many others, and that this custom was practised with the younger prisoners of war as well as in the ceremonies which were used in such a detestable and horrible sacrifice. Having discovered a way to escape he took refuge on the Gertrudis. This same day, when it was already night, two children arrived, a boy and a girl, brother and sister, who had also escaped from the fury of those barbarians. They said that they

came from the country of the Nuchimas,  
who inhabit the banks of a great lake  
seven suns distant from us, so they  
call their days.

(Suría.)

Bustamente wrote that some Spaniards gathered the impression that Macquina, alone, had the privilege of eating human flesh, but that this could not be ascertained.

Malaspina quoted some historical background and mentioned that although Cook noticed that the Indians exhibited human bones, skulls and hands he did not consider them to be cannibals. He pointed out the fact that Mackay, of the Strange expedition of 1786, spent a winter among the Indians and was not eaten. However, in 1788 Meares concluded that Macquina was probably a cannibal and that he and the other chiefs of his tribe had a monthly banquet of human flesh.

Malaspina also mentioned statements on this matter made by the several children bought by the Spanish:

One of those said that indeed Macquina liked human flesh and that the choice of a child for that horrid Banquet would depend on the direction of his hand, he had his eyes bandaged...[Macquina?]

But Malaspina himself was sceptical:

The only basis of suspicion was the statement of the child aged between eight and nine whose interpretation was doubtful.

Among the objects in Macquina's treasure place there were no human parts.

Natzape assumed that the human remains shown to Cook were fragments of bodies of enemies; the scars on their hands might be from the bites in battle.

(Examen político.)

### On Cook

Natzape, who at the time [of Cook's visit] was only 13 or 14 years old, remembered very well several features of that expedition, the house and village visited by Captain Cook were those of Calacan [Keleken]. He recognised the portrait of the Captain, mentioned, on his own account, Captain Clarke and expressed his belief that Lieutenant King [??] might be a son of Captain Cook.

### On trade

The value of iron has diminished so much that this article may be considered as one of secondary need among those natives.

Shells from Monterey, which until recently had no value on the spot, have been eagerly sought by natives all along the coast. They use them generally for eating [probably meaning as plates or saucers] and sometimes [are used] as ornaments. Their price increases disproportionately with relation to their size which may be considered great when the circumference reaches three lemes but simply because they were easily acquired our San Blas navigators have been very generous with them; there have been cases of giving fifty shells for a fur when at first at Nutka and lately at the entrance to Prince William one or two shells would buy a fine fur.

(Examen político.)

Malaspina probably had his information mixed up when he wrote:

Captain Cook found among them not only a considerable amount of iron but also the silver spoons (cubiertos) which Commander Quadra had lost in the Martires Sound (ensenada) on Latitude 47°.

(Examen político.)

By then Macquina appreciated only glass windows, firearms and blue cloth, Tlupananih wanted only powder, thin canvas sails (velas de vitre) and hemp rope (cavos de canamo) for use in his canoes.

(Examen político.)

There is insufficient evidence from which to estimate the number of Indians whom the Spanish carried to California or Mexico, and only scattered notes exist. At one time there was considerable concern regarding the fate of some of these natives. On December 3, 1790, Bodega-Quadra informed the Viceroy that a sixteen year-old girl, a younger girl and three boys had been brought from the North West Coast to San Blas. A magistrate was ordered to investigate the matter, and he reported (March 31) that it was clear that these Indians had been sold to the Spanish: "...which is against the extremely strict regulations of the laws which forbid that any person, in war or otherwise, should take, seize, occupy, sell or turn into slaves any Indians..."--even if these had been slaves of other Indians--"...under the penalty of losing all their property, and that the Indians [must be] returned to their own country and condition, with entire liberty, at the cost

of those who have so taken and held them as slaves."

The magistrate then recommended that the Commander at San Blas should ascertain "...clear and specifically if the Indians in question had been bought, by whom and from whom, at what price, in what category they are held, and how they are treated by their purchasers or holders, who should at once be told not to dispose of them in any way." The report should then be sent to the magistrate for further consideration.

Bodega-Quadra then reported, somewhat elusively, that by then (April 30) only three boys and one woman remained in Spanish hands, the other Indians having died. Two of the four were then in Tepic, under the care of a priest and a lady, and the other two were on a voyage with Ensign Juan Matute and the carpenter of the Princess Royal. All had been "ransomed" by members of the Spanish crews in exchange for articles, and for the purpose of "...freeing them from the death to which they were destined as nourishment for those Gentiles, and to lead them to the true Religion." Although he was sure that their keepers treated them "with due affection", Bodega-Quadra had warned those concerned not to dispose of their charges until the Viceroy had made a decision about the matter.

Upon receiving this report, the Magistrate re-examined the situation, and recommended that those persons having such Indians in their charge may continue to keep them on condition

that "they would not sell or dispose of them, or in any way consider them as slaves, but entirely free, taking care of their good education, upbringing and instruction in the Christian Doctrine, and treating them properly." The Viceroy ordered that these recommendations be put into effect, and Bodega-Quadra notified him, later, that the people concerned had been duly informed of that decision.

As is usual in official matters, the whole thing took some time to settle, and six and a half months elapsed between the first and the last communication on the matter.<sup>1</sup>

Some references to Indians brought from the North West Coast may be found in the records of the Spanish missions in California, and one author cites several instances. In the autumn of 1790, two Nootka children were confirmed at the mission of Carmel, and apparently remained at Monterey.<sup>2</sup> Father Lasuen baptised two children "from Nootka" who had been brought by the Santa Saturnina: one of them was given to a Dona José Arguella, but she was unwell and died soon afterwards. On November 14, eighteen children from Nootka and Clayuquot, who had been brought by the San Carlos, were instructed in the Christian doctrine by the Chaplain of that ship, Father José

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1 All of these papers may be found in the Mexican National Archives, Californias, Vol. 78, pp. 148-60.

2 James Culleton, Indians and Pioneers in Old Monterey, Fresno, 1950, p. 114.



Villaverde, and baptised. Several of them were confirmed, later.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Indians and Pioneers in Old Monterey, p. 258.

This is the only material that I have been able to find, on this subject, for the whole period of the Nootka occupation (1789-95). However, it is possible that the files at the Naval Department at San Blas which cover that period would contain some more information.

## CHAPTER XLIII

### AUTUMN AND WINTER AT NOOTKA--1791-92

#### Eliza back in command

Just as the two corvettes of the Malaspina expedition were leaving Nootka Sound they were sighted by the crew of the San Carlos who were returning from their cruise to the entrance of the Juan de Fuca Strait. They had run short of food, and scurvy was beginning to hit them. There were nine sick men on board. One, who had been suffering from an inflammation of the bowels (inflamación en el vientre), had died two days before.

The San Carlos was carrying seven Indian girls and thirteen boys, all between the ages of four and twelve, whom Eliza had bought at Clayuclat and entrusted to the care of some of his officers and "skilled" men.<sup>1</sup> Pantoja explained: "During our voyage from Clayuclat to Nuñez Gaona 16 capes of sea otter furs have been exchanged on behalf of the Royal Treasury for as many sheets of copper. Twenty small Indians of both sexes have been bought for 33 sheets of copper."

The Santa Saturnina did not return to Nootka. As

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<sup>1</sup> Eliza's report of October 10.

both ships were on their return voyage they lost sight of each other (around August 14). The Santa Saturnina followed course toward Nootka, but on August 28, having run short of water and food and encountered steady, contrary winds, her crew, doubting whether they could make Nootka under these circumstances, decided to turn south instead. The Santa Saturnina arrived at Monterey on September 14, and four days later proceeded to San Blas, which she reached on November 9.<sup>1</sup>

The San Carlos entered Friendly Cove on August 29 or 30.<sup>2</sup> Eliza relieved Saavedra and resumed command of the establishment, which he held for another eight months until Bodega-Quadra arrived and took over from him in April, 1792. For the first seven or eight weeks of this period (that is, until the departure of the San Carlos on October 25) we have some notes from Pantoja, but there is no supplementary information covering the rest of Eliza's term.

#### Pantoja reports--September and October, 1791

On September 9, the Indian Tutusiascu, the second son of Captain Guiquinanis [Guacananish], came from Clayuquod to visit Eliza, as he had promised Saavedra when they met a few days before.

On the 24th our Commander, Don Ramón Saavedra, departed in the longboat, fully armed, in search of the ship's

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1 Report by Carrasco. See Wagner's Spanish Explorations. I., pp. 200-202.

2 On August 29, according to Pantoja and Saavedra; and on August 30, according to Eliza.

boy, José Isidor de los Reyes, who for two days had been absent from his allotted task. Having reached the temporary settlement of native fishermen, two leagues to the north of this entrance, he did not find him so in order to oblige the Indians to hunt for him he brought two of them back as prisoners. These were placed in liberty on the 26th with a present of copper, bread and cloth as the ship's boy had been captured by the Volunteers during the first quarter of the night (por haverse a prima noche apresado por la tropa de Voluntarios). The Commander of the establishment ordered him to be punished with the proper number of lashes (con los azotes correspondientes).

The report does not say why the lad had disappeared.

#### The San Carlos leaves Nootka

The San Carlos was due to return to San Blas. By October 14, 1791, preparations for her departure were completed. Pilots Narváez, Verdía and Pantoja had completed the "many charts" which they had made of the coasts they had explored, including one of the port of Nootka. These were placed, and carefully sealed, in tin tubes, together with various papers for the Viceroy, and entrusted to the commander of the ship, Ramon Saavedra. Her crew included sixty-four men, from Commander to page (that is, excluding the servants, who probably numbered four). This was twenty men less than she had brought to

Nootka.<sup>1</sup>

Pantoja explained that among the crew there were eight men, including the first boatswain, sick and "unable to render any service."

The rain is the worst, because it and the great cold caused by the wet clothes chilling the body, particularly of those who have no change, as happens with most of those whom we have on board, prevent the crew from working. In addition to this, as the vessel has no other pilot than me, who am so worn out with the present expedition, nor any other army officer<sup>2</sup> than the Commander, we find ourselves obliged to stand the larboard and starboard watches.

On October 18, the weather looked propitious enough for the San Carlos to sail.

...we embarked the little food we had, particularly the ordinary biscuit, which scarcely reached 70 arrobas and is of poor quality as is part of what was left by the corvettes [Déscubierta and Atrevida]. We have been obliged to keep it in the galleries (galerones)<sup>3</sup> on land on account of the incredible number of rats on this ship, which in spite of the care observed and the

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1 This, and the following information about this voyage, is gathered from the reports of Saavedra (San Blas, December 21, 1791), and from Pantoja's account (translation in Wagner's Spanish Explorations..., pp. 195-6). Pantoja said that the San Carlos carried sixty-four men as against eighty she had brought, but he did not count the servants--who, on the incoming voyage, numbered four.

2 The Spanish, here, is "oficial graduado" which appears translated in Wagner's book as "army officer".

3 In Wagner's book, this word appears translated, incorrectly, as "galleries". The correct translation is "prison cells".

many killed daily have destroyed a set of sails and several strands of the cables and stream cables which we have in the store-room.

Four hens and four chickens comprised the sole supply of fresh meat.

A fresh wind, and subsequent rain which lasted for several days, made it impossible for the ship to sail until October 25. The voyage was beset with difficulties. Heavy winds and a heavy sea damaged the ship. "The roll[er]s were so great and so repeated that it was necessary to nail some strips of wood along the whole upper deck so that the crew would work as otherwise it was not possible to keep on foot." One day the rollers were so heavy that "the medicine chests upset, in spite of being very well secured with knobs. Many liquids, especially the oils, were spilled."

In addition to the eight sick men gravely ill, according to Saavedra, others fell sick during the voyage--among them the Chaplain, Father Joseph Villaverde, who was suffering from very acute diahorrea. The rats were still causing havoc, and the crew had to content themselves with ground ship's biscuit. When the San Carlos reached Monterey (November 9), the Governor of California, Romeu, provided all the supplies needed. After a two-week halt, the San Carlos proceeded to San Blas, arriving there on December 22.

Eliza reports

The San Carlos carried a note from Eliza,<sup>1</sup> for the Viceroy, explaining that a very gloomy winter was in prospect for the Spanish force at Nootka, which was then one hundred and twenty strong: eighty seamen, and forty sailors for the garrison. Eliza writes:

Consider, Your Excellency, in what wretched situation I am after four months of expedition, with two of them [spent] eating salted food. I arrive and I have to continue with the same kind of food with the exception of some cabbages, for I haven't the nerve to kill one of the three head of cattle I have considering that in winter-time they will be needed by the sick (because I find myself with few hens) so that if God does not take pity on us there will be many [sick] because it finds them all very exhausted and weak. I assure you that none of those who stay this winter will be capable of resisting or spending another one in this painful climate...

There is no trace of Eliza's having written any report to cover the following six months.<sup>2</sup> The only information from Eliza about that period is contained in the two letters which he wrote in Monterey on July 7, 1792 (that is, after he had relinquished his command and had left Nootka permanently).

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1 Dated October 10, 1790.

2 Mr. John Baird, assuming that the Commander would not fail to write one, says, "Eliza's diary for that period has not been found." Actually, there are not even indirect indications that he ever wrote one--as there are indirect indications of other reports: for instance, a note from the Viceroy, or from the Commander at San Blas, acknowledging receipt of the report in question, or a list of the documents sent. The first words in Eliza's later report, quoted below, support this conclusion.

One of them makes a general reference to that period, and the other is a delayed answer to the Viceroy's request for information about the Indians.

Here is the first letter in full:

From the 1st of October of last year when I have Your Excellency a report of everything through the packetboat San Carlos until the 29th of April of this year when the frigate Santa Gertrudis arrived in Nuca, nothing especial happened in that Establishment; although the winter was harder than that of the first year we did not suffer from the acute ailments suffered in the first, and this was as a result of the wise measures of Your Excellency to ensure that the supplies were received fresh and of good quality as it actually happened, and also because the house where I lived had a large and well-conditioned storeroom. No little work was done in that Port in the houses as well as in the vegetable gardens. Upon arrival of the frigate Gertrudis [April 29, 1792] I had only three tercios of flour, one of beans (fríjol) and three casks of meat, and everybody had been at half a ration from the 1st of April...

As for Eliza's relations with the Indians:

...from the time of my arrival at the port of Nootka all my orders and instructions had no other object than to find a way to attract them and to see that they realised the difference between them and us in their barbarous customs. I achieved this with the good treatment given them not only by myself but by everyone under my command in the establishment; they used to come to eat and sleep at my house only too often, not only the Tayises or Captains of the



villages at Nootka but also those who would come from Clayuclat to visit... This happened several times which proves that the Nootka people were pleased with the way they were treated. They were so civilised that I have no doubt, if the establishment were to last a couple of years, only very few would fail to be converted to our Religion. The number of those who were attracted during my stay and my expedition to Fuca were fifty-six among whom three men and one woman presented themselves on their own will saying that they wanted to come to Spain with me; the others were bought with copper.

On April 29, 1792, Bodega-Quadra arrived at Nootka in the frigate Gertrudis, and took command of the establishment. Eliza stayed on until June 24, when he left in the Concepción. He never returned to Nootka, although he had dealings with the place, later, when he was Commander of the Naval Establishment at San Blas.

The five months of Bodega-Quadra's command constitute the most lively chapters of the whole history of Nootka. They will be described in the continuation of this study.

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The central theme of this study is based largely on unpublished manuscripts from Mexican and Spanish archives, and on documents from British and American sources. The majority of these have been published. Most of the historical background is based on published works.

References to the manuscript materials which have been used are given in footnotes, and some chapters contain notes as to the sources on which they are based. A few of the most important manuscripts are also listed below, and some references are made to manuscripts partially translated and published.

The Bankroft Library in Berkeley, California, contains film strips of most of the relevant manuscripts from Mexican archives, and copies of film strips of many others from Spanish archives. A random selection from Mexican manuscripts was transcribed and typed at some time, and there are copies of these as well as typed English translations of about half of their contents in the B.C. Provincial Archives and at the University of Washington, in Seattle.

Dr. W.H. Manning transcribed many manuscripts concerning the Nootka Sound controversy, gathered from archives in Spain, Great Britain, France and the United States. A manuscript "copy of a copy" of these materials is available at the Library of the University of British Columbia (Howey-Read Section). Certain of the Spanish documents in this copy contain mis-spellings, obviously due to their being copied by a person not fully versed with the language.

The essays of Dr. Manning and Dr. Norris include fairly large bibliographies connected with the controversy. Mr. John Baird's thesis contains an exhaustive bibliography concerning all aspects of the history of Nootka - including much secondary material, as well as references to manuscripts.

Because these bibliographies are available and because this study does not cover the whole time-span of its topic, only a limited bibliography is listed here: including most of the basic sources and a number of secondary ones. A number of works to which I make only passing references, are mentioned only in footnotes.

I plan to provide the University of British Columbia with a card index of the bibliography listed in these studies, plus additional titles and a list of manuscripts. This will include notes giving my evaluation of the materials in so far as they concern the history of Nootka Sound.

**Note:**

The following abbreviations have been used in this study:-

Mex. N.A. refers to the Archivo Nacional de México, in Mexico City.

A. Indies refers to the Archivo General de Indias, in Seville, Spain.

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## APPENDIX I

## EVALUATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Charts

Several charts of Nootka Sound were drawn during the period with which this story is concerned. Perhaps the most interesting of them is the one showing, in detail, the sites and names of the native villages of the area. This chart appears in one of the manuscripts of Mozino's Noticias de Nutka. The topographical outline shown is identical with that of other Spanish charts of the period, and it may be assumed that Mozino copied one of those, in 1792, in order to show the locations of native populations in that area.

Of particular interest to this story are the several charts of Friendly Cove depicting the various stages of its occupation. The earliest, in all probability, is that "taken by Mr. Wedgborough" and published in Meares' Voyages. It shows the location of the native village and of "the English Factory": that is to say, the house built by the Meares expedition. (Illustration No. 4.) Several later charts also marked that location.

Perhaps the earliest Spanish chart of the Cove is one which appears in Fidalgo's Journal of his voyage of 1790.

H.R. Wagner attributes it to Antonio Serantes, but this man may not deserve the credit. The topographical outline is identical with that of Wedgborough's chart. As it would be unlikely that two cartographers using primitive methods could produce such similar results, it may be assumed that the Spanish version was copied from the duplicate of the English, obtained from the Colnett expedition. The two differ only in that the Spanish shows the anchorage of the Concepcion and the San Carlos, and omits the native village and the "British factory"--which were no longer there.

Another chart of the Cove, which appears in Caamano's Journal of the Princesa voyage of 1790, is probably the first ever to have shown the location of the buildings erected there by the Spanish; but there is no indication of the exact time at which it was drawn, and the technique is so poor that it does not help in the picturing of the place. (Chart No. 5.) The structures depicted look like simple sheds--in all probability the xacaloncitos erected soon after the arrival of the Eliza expedition, and later replaced by more solid buildings.

An idea of the layout and size of the establishment in August 1791 may be obtained by examining the "Plano" (illustration No. 6) produced by the Malaspina expedition, and reproduced in the Atlas illustrating the voyage of the Sutil and the Mexicana in the following year. The word "observatorio" undoubtedly refers to the place where the

expedition placed its meteorological post, under canvas tents--undoubtedly those shown in drawings 10 and 11, and possibly in drawing 9 as well. The word "hospital" probably refers to the tents where the sick members of the expedition were placed to recuperate. It could hardly refer to the establishment's own hospital, which several charts place as being near to the site of the Malaspina observatory. The small rectangles in this "Plano", of course, show the locations of the various buildings, and these agree fairly well with subsequent charts. The words "pozo de buen agua", and the little circle near them, indicate that there was already a well of good, potable water. Later charts show two wells.

Most informative is a chart of Friendly Cove which appears as an inset to a chart of the Juan de Fuca Strait and the coast of Vancouver Island, completed shortly before October 1, 1791.<sup>1</sup> This chart (number 7) provides the first detailed plan of the Spanish establishment, giving the number, sites and functions of its buildings, and the site and sizes of the vegetable gardens. A similar chart, probably drawn in 1792, is also reproduced here (number 8), because it complements the information provided by charts 6 and 7. Together, the three permit the identification of the buildings in the Cove, as they appear in drawings from Spanish and British sources.

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<sup>1</sup> This map played an important part in the San Juan Boundary arbitration, in 1871. See Wagner's Cartography, Vol. II, p. 356.

## Drawings

It appears that materials relative to the Malaspina expedition and those from the voyage of the Sutil and the Mexicana were combined, and now share the same resting-place in the Naval Museum at Madrid. This may explain why there is confusion about the drawings of Friendly Cove, reproduced here. They are listed as the fruits of the Malaspina expedition, but some may have been produced by members of the subsequent voyage--which, in many ways, was a continuation of that led by Malaspina. In any case, the period between the times when these drawings were executed would be less than one year.

Three drawings (illustrations 9, 10 and 11), attributed to the Malaspina expedition, show the corner of Friendly Cove where the expedition had its observatory, viewed from different distances. The one numbered '11' includes an angle of the fort, this being the earliest view of it. This drawing was reproduced in the Atlas mentioned above, which suggests that it was executed during the voyage of the Sutil and the Mexicana, in 1792; but the fact that all three of them show, in the foreground, the same unfinished building, would suggest that all were executed at about the same time. Drawing number 12, by the same hand as number 10 (it may have formed part of the same sheet), is a rough sketch showing the northern end of the establishment's "built-up" area. The cross is probably one set up at the time of the re-occupation (the

spring of 1790) on the same spot where Martinez had erected one (a few paces away from the place where he buried the documents recording his taking possession, on June 27, 1789). The accounts of the re-occupation in the following year show that nothing was left of the embryo establishment set up by Martinez, and it may be inferred that the Indians had removed or destroyed the original cross. Martinez was with the re-occupation force, and he may have ensured that the new cross was erected on the site of the old one. The huts behind the cross are obviously the ones occupied by the garrison. The larger one, on the right, was used for the storage of rigging and other materials from the ships.

Drawing number 13 shows a detailed, panoramic view of the whole establishment--excluding the fort. The largest house shown is undoubtedly the Commander's house. A problem arises here: Drawings 10 and 11 show the skeleton of a building which could hardly be any other than the Commander's house, despite the fact that the perspective is somewhat confusing. If these three drawings (10, 11 and 13) were really the work of the Malaspina expedition, which was at Nootka for barely two weeks, their content would indicate that, within that short time, the Commander's house was completed--which, to judge by its large size, could hardly have been the case. Moreover, the style of drawing 13--which resembles that of number 9--seems to indicate a different hand than that which executed numbers 10 and 11. It is not known at what time the big house was completed. The Malaspina papers, which provide

many details, give no indication of this. The Malaspina chart shows its site, but the structure may not have been completed when this chart was made. Eliza's last report written at Nootka states that, during the final winter there (1791-92) he was already occupying the big house. It may be surmised that the structure was completed after the departure of the Malaspina expedition: perhaps between September and October, 1791. If this is so, then drawing 13 could not have been produced by the Malaspina artist, but was, in all probability, the work of an artist voyaging either on the Sutil or the Mexicana.

Drawings from the Malaspina expedition should be attributed to its artist, Tomas de Suria.<sup>1</sup> Another artist, Josef (Jose) Cardero, joined the expedition, but left it before it reached the North West Coast. However, Cardero visited the Coast with the expedition of the Sutil and the Mexicana, and any drawings resulting from that voyage should be credited to him. I propose to study this matter when I visit the Naval Museum in Madrid, where the records of these expeditions are kept.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a book on Suria: Tomas de Suria y su viaje con Malaspina; but it contains very little information about the man, and none about this question.

## APPENDIX II

## A NOTE ON SPANISH NAMES

Spanish names consist of three parts:

1. Christian name, or names.
2. Paternal name.
3. Maternal name.

The complete name of a Spaniard consists of the Christian name, or names, followed by the paternal name and maternal name joined by the conjunction y. For example: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. It is incorrect to refer to this officer by his last name: Quadra. To avoid confusion, I have hyphenated his surname, and those of others mentioned in this work.

It is permissible to omit the conjunction y, and to follow the paternal name, immediately, by the maternal name. But the English rule that the final name should be used for reference does not apply with regard to Spanish names.



APPENDIX III

## EFECTOS PROPORCIONADOS POR MALASPINA AL ESTABLECIMIENTO

Entregados a Saavedra:

117 i 4 varas paño encarnado a 31 rs, v.  
 40 varas paño verde a 31rs  
 11 varas bayeta verde a 12 rs.  
 57 varas bayeta encarnada a 12 rs.  
 13 varas lienzo crudo a 12 rs. 16 marselleses largos con capucha,  
 a 95 reales vellon cada uno.  
 100 pañuelos listados de algodón a 7 i 2 rs. vellon  
 30 gorros lana encarnado a 7 rs y 3 ... de vellon  
 14 libras 6 onzas hilo blanco flandes para coser a 23 rs. libra.  
 8 libras hilo blanco mas fino  
 9 libras 16 onzas hilo azul y encarnado a 11 rs. libra  
 300 agujas coser a 12 rs. el millar.

Importe: 10074 reales

Entregado a Alberni

80 varas paño encarnado  
 53 varas bayeta verde  
 54 varas bayeta encarnada  
 10 marselleses largos, capucha  
 16 forros de lana.  
 6 libras hilo azul y encarnado.  
 1 libra hilo blanco.  
 2 libras id, mas ordinario.  
 52 pañuelos de algodón, pintados

Importe: 15968 reales.

A Alberni:

1600 papeles cigarros puros comprados en Acapulco a 1 2 rs. cada uno  
 1 lima escofina.  
 6 limas consumidas en varias piezas de azero para las armas que  
 le compuso el armero de La Descubierta  
 50 piedras fusil

Importe: 892 reales.

Viveres a Saavedra:

120 arrobas vino Sanlucar, embarcado en Cadiz a 30 rs 19 ,, a  
 55 arrobas vinagre embarcado en Cadiz a 8 reales 6 ,,  
 4 pipas arqueadas de fierro de embase del vino a 208 rs una  
 2 quarterolas embase del vinagre a 82 reales  
 5 barriles de carga arqueados .. embase vinagre a 52 reales  
 3 barriles embasede tocino a 45 reales  
 7 barricas embasé..  
 1 olla cobre con tapa, peso 8 libras: 22 reales

A los viveres y envases antecedentes ...se dupla su importe primitivo por razon de las mermas y averias en los dos años que han estado embarcados.

39 quintales galleta a 7 ps ¢  
 5 quintales tocino de Lima a 18 ps \$el quintal  
 16 quint y 15 l tocino S Blas a 20 ps \$ el q.  
 8 quint 37 l garbanzos Lima a 7 ps quint.  
 10 barriles embase tocino  
 12 platos barro para servicio enfermos a 1 2 rl uno  
 12 tazas y 6 jarros a id.

11.448

Viveres a Alberni:

4 arrobas vinagre embarcado en Cadiz a 8 r 6 ,,  
 1 olla cobre con tapa, peso 8 libras :22rs

Entregado al cirujano:

6 colchones a 6 1 2 ps.  
 12 sabanas a 3 ps.  
 29 varas de lienzo platilla a 5 rs.  
 1 libra de hilas.

Saavedra was also given some nautical objects, among others:

una Vandra Española de Proa.....100 rs.  
 un gallardete español..... 60 rs.  
 una aguja de marear con mortero de metal y dos pinolas , 160 rs.  
 24 pliegos de papel de marca a 3 rs de plata  
 50 cuadernillos de papel para cartuchos.

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This list contains the following notes:

"Reconocida esta Relación aparecen todos Rs de plata fuerte y no de vellon como se dice en el Resumen"

"Los 20 153 rr 30 mrs de Vellon a que asciende el duplo de los antecedentes generos componen un mil siete pesos, cinco reales diez y ocho mrs. de plata corriente de America contando cada peso fuerte por Veinte reales de Vellon"

This document is in the Mexican National Archives, Hist. vol 277,F.17.